Social Class, Urban Growth and the Rise of 'New' Education Economy in a Small City: A Study of Dhanbad in Jharkhand
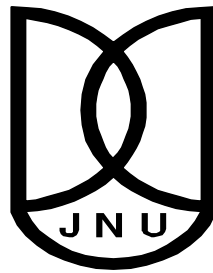
Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

JUHI SINGH

ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI - 110067

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DECLARATION

I, Juhi Singh, declare that this thesis entitled *Social Class, Urban Growth and the Rise of 'New' Education Economy in a Small City: A Study of Dhanbad in Jharkhand* submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my bonafide work. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

Juhi Singh

Juhi Singh

CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis entitled *Social Class, Urban Growth and the Rise of 'New' Education Economy in a Small City: A Study of Dhanbad in Jharkhand* submitted by JUHI SINGH, in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been so far submitted, as part or full, for any degree of this or any other university. This is her own original work, carried out in the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies.

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. S. Srinivasa Rao

Prof. S. Srinivasa Rao

(Supervisor)

(Chairperson)

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

Prof. S. Srinivasa Rao
Chairperson
Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

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List of Abbreviations

AICC	:	All India Congress Committee
AIEEE	:	All India Engineering Entrance Examination
AISHE	:	All India Survey on Higher Education
ASSOCHAM	:	Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India
AVS	:	Ajay Veer Singh
BBKMU	:	Binod Bihari Mahto Koylanchal University
BCCL	:	Bharat Coking Coal Limited
BHU	:	Banaras Hindu University
BIT	:	Birla University of Technology
CA	:	Chartered Accountancy
CAT	:	Combined Aptitude Test
CBSE	:	Central Board of Secondary Education
CCD	:	Café Coffee Day
CEO	:	Chief Executive Officer
CGL	:	Combined Graduate Level
CGPA	:	Cumulative Grade Point Average
CIIE	:	Centre for Innovation, Incubation and Entrepreneurship
CIMFR	:	Central Institute of Mining and Fuel Research
CMC	:	Christian Medical College
CMRI	:	Central Mining Research Institute (India)
CSM	:	Centre for Societal Mission
DPS	:	Dhanbad Public School
DSE	:	District Superintendent of Education
EAC	:	Entrepreneur Awareness Camp
EAD	:	Entrepreneurship Awareness Drive
EXCEL	:	Employability Excellence with College Education and Learning
FB	:	Facebook
G.S.	:	General Science
IAS	:	Indian Administrative Service
IBPS	:	Institute of Banking Personnel Selection
ICSE	:	Indian School Certificate Examination
ICU	:	Intensive Care Unit
IGNOU	:	Indira Gandhi National Open University
IISER	:	Indian Institute of Science Education and Research
IIT	:	Indian Institute of Technology
IIT (ISM)	:	Indian Institute of Technology (Indian School of Mines).
IIT-BHU	:	Indian Institute of Technology (Banaras Hindu University)
IIT-JEE	:	Indian Institute of Technology Joint Entrance Examination

INFLIBNET	:	Information and Library Network
INR	:	Indian Rupee
ISL	:	Indian School of Learning
ISM	:	Indian System of Medicine
ISRO	:	Indian Space Research Organisation
IT	:	Information Technology
JNNURM	:	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
JNU	:	Jawaharlal Nehru University
KIA	:	Kalyani IIT Academy
KVYP	:	Kishore Vaigyanik Protsahan Yojana
L.Kg	:	Lower Kindergarten
LDC	:	Lower Division Clerk
MBA	:	Master of Business Administration
MBBS	:	Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery
MHRD	:	Ministry of Human Resource and Development
MNCs	:	Multi National Corporation
MOOC	:	Massive Open Online Courses
MoUs	:	Memoranda of Understanding
MTS	:	Mobile Tele System
NAAC	:	National Assessment and Accreditation Council
NCAER	:	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCC	:	National Cadet Corps
NCERT	:	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NEET	:	National Eligibility-cum-Entrance Test
NIFFT	:	Indian Institute of Engineering, Science and Technology
NIT	:	National Institute of Technology
NLHC	:	New Lecture Hall Complex
NOC	:	No Objection Certificate
NOU	:	Nalanda Open University
NRI	:	Non-Resident Indians
NSE	:	National Stock Exchange
NSS	:	National Service Scheme
NSSO	:	National Sample Survey Office
NTSE	:	National Talent Search Examination
NUSSD	:	National University Students Skill development Programme
OASIS	:	Online affiliated School Information System
PO	:	Post Office
PPP	:	Public Private Partnership
PSUs	:	Public Sector Undertaking
R& D	:	Research and Development
RTE	:	Right to Education
SSC	:	Staff Selection Commission
SSLNT	:	Shree Shree Lakshmi Narayan Trust Mahila Mahavidyalaya

TISS	:	Tata Institute of Social Sciences
U.Kg	:	Upper Kindergarten
UCO	:	United Commercial
UGC-NET	:	University Grant Commission
UPSC	:	Union Public Service Commission
VBU	:	Vinova Bhave University

Chapter 1:   Introduction

The Indian cities have begun to witness big changes with the effect of globalization (Brosius, 2010). There is a new phase of urbanization that is centered on towns and cities in present day India, largely driven by the recent economic policy shifts (Shaw, 1999). Saskia Sassen (2005) explains that it is through cities that globalization operates. In her book *The Global City* she narrates the story of how a city emerges as an epicenter of economy within the global economic system.

Today the cities in India are attracting new types of investments, opening possibilities for new job opportunities. The effect of globalization can be seen in the arrival of multinational companies that offer job opportunities in an urban space. Liberalisation of Indian economy has led to establishment of various IT based companies in major cities[1] (Kamat, 2011). The opening up of markets has led to expansion of job opportunities in service sector. It has been also noted that the workforce entering into these new jobs is the highly educated professionals who form a strata of middle class with newness in their type of job and in their lifestyle (Upadhyay, 2012).

However, it may be noted that, unlike large cities and metropolises, the urbanisation in secondary cities may not be a direct result of coming of IT industries (Shaw, 2015) as it had happened in the case of cities like Bangalore, Chennai, Hyderabad, Pune, Gurgaon, Noida, etcetera. However, through expansion of job opportunities in IT and IT enabled services in these big cities have through cascade effect inspired growth in small towns and cities. The aspirations of a new generation are being shaped by the expansion of job opportunities in IT and IT enabled sectors. Expansion of job opportunities has triggered a

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[1]Kamat (2011) presents a study on Hyderabad and its rise as a hub of IT companies soon after liberalization of economy in India in 1990s. She very explicitly brings above the picture of Hyderabad which was Dubbed as the 'Silicon Valley of the East' by Bill Clinton during his visit to the country in 2000. She further writes that Hyderabad's new identity has been attributed to the visionary leadership of the state's then chief minister Chandrababu Naidu. Referred to as CEO Naidu or 'laptop CM', Chandrababu Naidu's Vision 2020 was the first official document that laid out an ambitious new plan to transform Hyderabad from a relatively obscure metropolis into a city that would be regarded as one of the nerve centers of the global economy within the decade.Chief Minister Naidu's proposal was to create HITEC city (Hyderabad Information Technology Engineering Consultancy City) that would be a self-contained city

greater demand for higher education that can make these job opportunities accessible. Therefore, the demand for expansion of higher education has steadily increased pressuring the state to open new institutions of higher education at par with those that already exist. However, there is an observable shift in the focus of national urban development with new industries and institutions of higher education being established in tier II cities rather than the usual trend of locating them in prominent cities. For instance, 8 of the 9 new IITs have been set up in tier II or tier III cities and 9 new NITs have came up in tier III cities, giving a major boost to education in these small cities. Also, 3 out of every 10 new colleges in India are in tier II cities, with Coimbatore and Jaipur being the leaders (Zinnov 2015). This in turn seems to trigger the real estate development in these cities which make the urban sprawl far and wide in these cities. These along with other developments in tier II cities have impacted the economy in tier II and tier III cities.

The expansion of institutions of higher education has also triggered a related mushrooming of coaching centres that assure admission to these institutions of higher education. According to NSSO 71st Round (January- June 2014), the number of students taking coaching classes or tuitions is estimated to be 7.1 million, almost 26 % of the total number of students in the country. This shows a definite growth in the 'shadow' education system of private tutoring and coaching which is not formal or regulated by government bodies (Majumdar, 2014: Bray, 2015). Along with it we can also witness the rise of private non-aided schools and low budget schools which are another major factor defining the education economy of tier II and tier III cities across the country.

It is because of these reasons that cities, mainly non-metropolitan, of late have caught the attention of sociologists, urban geographers and economists as they are witnessing demographic transitions as well as spatial, cultural and economic transitions too. Social scientists are now interested in knowing how the tier II cities are growing as a result of the global influences as well as local pressures. At the centre of their growth though is the economic transition, it does have ramifications for the class character of the growing city, aspirational landscape of such class structure and the resultant culture of the city spaces. As mentioned earlier, change in the class structure is also visible in these tier II and tier III cities. Several studies show that there is a definite change in lifestyles in these types of cities that warrant scholarly attention (Robinson, 2013).

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I. India after 1990s: Effects of Liberalisation on Socio-Spatial Structure

It is noticeable that in the last two decades, India has witnessed a huge change in infrastructure. One may see the growth of towns and cities across India. New towns have emerged from village clusters, older towns have transformed into metropolitan centres and mega or global cities. If we look at the National Capital Region of Delhi, we find that the satellite towns of the past have now shaped into global cities in their own right and the traditional towns have now converted into centres of global capital and networks. For example, Gurgaon, Noida and Greater Noida have turned into 'global cities' overnight. They have gained the status of the industrial hubs with big multinational companies operating from those cities. The growing hubs of internet booths, malls and coaching centres have also shown hint of newness in their structure. The small towns and newly designated cities which were till recent times marked by limited residential exclusivity and small shops are now witnessing a wave of transformation with the coming of huge gated and multi-storey apartments and shopping malls. The real estate in India boomed in the last decade across all cities and towns. The question thus arises as to what has led to these changes? What significant events happened in India over the past two decades? Who are the ones that are accessing and furthering this surge in spending? Where are they located and what are their predispositions and world views? These are some of the questions that the study has aimed to address.

Freer markets are said to be instrumental in the rise of occupational opportunities for educated individuals and led to expansion of the professional or the middle classes in India at least in the post 2000 era when the effects of neoliberal economic regime are said to have started percolating.

There are reports which show a significant rise in the middle class population in India. National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER 2005) observes that there has been a significant rise in the middle class and aspiring middle class population which is 35 percent of all households. With rapid economic growth over the last decade, the income of the average household in urban India has grown by about a third between 1993/1994 and 2009/2010. In this period, economic growth not only said to have lifted millions of households out of poverty, but also gave rise to an emerging middle class –

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with new consumption patterns and, potentially, a strong interest in sound and stable political and economic institutions.

However there has been some ambiguity to define who constitutes this middle class in India? India's National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) has been at the forefront of shaping this debate. NCAER's current definition identifies the middle class as comprising of two sub-groups: "seekers" with annual household income between Rs.200,000 and Rs. 500,000, and "strivers" with annual household income between Rs. 500,000 and Rs. 1 million at 2001/2002 prices. Assuming an average household size of 5 people and converting into constant 2005 purchasing power parity (PPP) dollar, these numbers would be about $8 to $20 per capita per day for seekers, and $20 to $40 per capita per day for strivers (NCAER 2005, pp 56).

Most recently, NCAER applied this definition to a proprietary household survey conducted in 2004/2005, the National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (NSHIE). In a NCAER-CMCR publication, Shukla (2010) rescaled this survey using National Accounts data and found that the Indian "middle class" doubled in size over the last decade, growing from 5.7 percent of all Indian households in 2001/02 to 12.8 percent of all households in 2009/2010. This corresponds to about 28.4 million households with a total of 153 million people (Meyer, Birdsall 2012, pp 2).

In a recent report by Ernst and Young (2013) it has been brought forth that after globalization there has been a rise in the strength of the middle class in Asian countries which has led to a rise in the number of markets. The products which were only available in western countries are now becoming a lifestyle for the middle classes in these third world countries.

We also come across several works which mark out a general description locating the place of middle class on the political, societal and economic space. B B Misra's (1961) work was one of the first ones to explain the middle class characteristics in contrast to other classes. According to him, the effect of capitalism made the middle classes an integral part of the social order. He argues that these middle classes did not simply stand between the capitalist and the worker. There were two other factors too that defined middle classes (Misra 1961). The first is that the middle classes formed a composite immediate layer consisting of wide range of occupational interests but bound together

by a common lifestyle and behavior pattern. Second is that this class stood for certain liberal, democratic values which they expressed in their social and political conduct (Misra 1961, pp 7). This explanation by Misra thus brings into play the societal, political and economic aspects distinguishing the middle class from other classes.

Locating middle class in a similar way, and yet with some variation, Satish Deshpande (2003) highlights different dimensions across which the definition of middle class can be outlined. He initiates this discussion by making a statement that defining a class depends on what we wish to do with the concept. Deshpande brings up the three dimensions deriving from Marxist explanation of class, i.e., economic, social and political. He then explains the economic definition which tries to identify the groups with shared economic sources like sources of income, ownership of type of assets and place in the economic structure. Then he describes the social aspect in which an attempt is made to demarcate on the basis of lifestyle, consumption pattern and social attitudes. Lastly, Deshpande explains that in the political dimension it means differentiating groups on the basis of the political party and the leader they support (Deshpande 2003, pp 131).

Urbanisation in India and changing lifestyles

Recent trends in urban population (2011 Census) show a definite rise in the urban population. In the last two decades, in particular, the urban population in India has witnessed tremendous growth. For instance, the proportion of India's urban population in 2011 was 31.2%, in 2001 it was 27.78 % while in 1991 it was 25.72%. We also see a rise in the number of towns and urban agglomerations which have grown from 2590 in 1971 to 4368 in 2001 (Shivaramakrishnan et. al 2005: Nijman 2012). With this rise in number of towns to such a significant level the scope for development of small and medium cities has also increased to a great extent. Traditionally secondary cities tend to have a combination of rural and urban socio-economic characteristics. They have relatively more heterogeneous population as compared to rural areas and small towns; their economies are dominated by commerce and services and their industrial sector is composed of small scale, industries; they tend to have a small share of the nation's manufacturing and employment (Rondinelli 1983, pp 383). However, in the wake of economic policy changes since 1990s, there has been an observable change in the way the income

generation has been occurring in small and medium cities and how it distinctly is changing the living style in these cities. The NCAER reports suggest that 10. 7 million people with an annual income of $23000 in the year 2006 were living in smaller cities like Vadodara, Vijayawada, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, etc.

Studies have revealed as to how these new urban centres have became more viable areas of spatial growth as the metropolitan cities are now showing stagnation (Singh, 2015). It is also discussed widely that how these small cities have been neglected in terms of development in the policy making (Bannerjee-Guha, 2013). Some studies also present alternative theories that how small cities can become better sites of global investment as these will retain the regional identity and will not get into the trap of globalisation (Banerjee-Guha 2013: Shaw 1996). The need to develop these small cities also emerges from the idea that small and secondary cities also help in development of rural areas adjacent to them (Brondelli 1983).

Annapurna Shaw (1999) in her work shows the growth pattern of different tier of cities after the coming of policies influenced by the LPG reforms since the 1990s. She argues that urban development in metropolitan cities like Mumbai and Delhi, Kolkata have slowed down. On the other hand, there is a simultaneous rise of other cities which were fast developing and are likely to acquire the status of metropolitan cities. According to her study, there was a rise of 23 cities which may be termed as metropolitan just after nine years of introduction of change brought by globalization.

The growth is also accompanied by significant changes to the culture of small towns and tier II and tier III cities. Derne (2008) suggests, that cable TV and Hollywood movies reaching small town in north India have had an effect on middle class lifestyles in India. The global culture which came to India through these means he contends in his study (2008) had a definite effect on the lifestyle of middle classes in small towns too. His study highlights the impact this global culture has had on marriage and gender related issues. Similarly, Robinson (2015) brings through her study captures a picture of small town which is undergoing change in the wake of globalisation. She argues that there is an opposition to the changes brought about by globalisation in small town, like the clothes women wear or the attraction to western culture. She speculates that "the small town middle classes may actually turn into a site of opposition to the metropolises" (Robinson,

2013, pp 81). In spite of becoming like the mega cities, these small towns, she explains, tend to become an amalgamation of 'traditional expectations and modern accomplishments'. Brian H. Roberts (2014), in his book *Managing Systems of Secondary Cities* however argues that secondary cities exhibit an amalgamation of traditional hierarchical systems and functional typologies of cities which bring forth a new hybrid and perspective of secondary cities. On the basis of these typologies he tries to build a new definition of secondary city and on that basis, he also classifies the type of secondary cities.

Thus, of late, small and medium cities have been catching the imagination of sociologists, urban geographers and economists as they are witnessing demographic transitions as well as spatial, cultural and economic transitions too. Social scientists are now interested in knowing how the small cities grew as a result of the global influences as well as local pressures. At the centre of their growth though is the economic transition, it does have ramifications for the class composition of the growing city and city infrastructure. A city should be studied in its complete form by anaysing the various changes on the material level and the impact it brings upon the people who reside these areas (Srivastava, 2015). According to Srivastava (2015), the development of the city is the spatial project of producing the consumerist citizens. He uses this lens to study Delhi and Gurugram, however, the lens could be used to study similar trends in small towns and tier II and tier III cities. It is this that interests the researcher in selecting the small city, not a metropolitan city or a small town as the site for exploring the linkages between the changing social class structures, urban growth and the rise of certain kind of economy that is rooted in the provision of education.

The development of small cities in the present wave of rapid urbanization thus raises many questions in regard to the nature of economy, educational growth, changing local class compositions, which shape and reshape the city, its space and life. In this course of change one major development which catches attention is the mushrooming of big coaching institute chains like AAKASH, FIIT JEE et cetera in the small cities. One such case is presented by the city of Dhanbad. Dhanbad has previously witnessed coming of private schools, colleges and institutes at various junctures of time which along with the government institutes of higher education shaped the education economy of the city. However, the city is now witnessing a new unique development in the form of private

coaching institutes. These coaching institutes have proliferated all across the city, running as private businesses with new marketing techniques. This certainly had added a new aspect to education economy of Dhanbad.

This study therefore aims to investigate two major objectives concerning this new phenomenon of the small cities, particularly with reference to the city of Dhanbad. The first is to study the city and its growth, its changing class character and the rising demand for education. The second objective is to delve into the growth of education economy in a small city, its triggering factors, the participants who are bringing in new aspects to education.

II. Middle Class Aspirations for Education and the Emergence of Educational Markets

The mushrooming of shadow education industry in small towns and tier II and Tier III cities is one of the most prominent changes that can be observed. However, educational pursuits cannot be divorced from their distinct class character. Middle classes have always used education to reproduce their middle classness (Bourdieu, 1984). The cultural capital which they gain through education is used to reinvent and reclaim their identity as a middle class in society. Weber (1978) also says that the life chances that one individual belonging to a particular social class avails are maintained through education. Bernstein was one of the few sociologists to raise the absence of research into education and the middle class. Bernstein points out that the middle classes are specialists in the theory, practice and dissemination of symbolic control (Power and Whitty 2002). Through this theoretical discussion of the essential relationship between middle class and education, it becomes imperative to situate this relationship in Indian context.

Nita Kumar (1988) argues that in contemporary times the middle class parents try to reproduce their class position inter-generationally through investing in education of their children. There is also an aspiration inter-generational social mobility that parents seek through their elaborate investment in their children's education. For this, Kumar (1988, pp 32) argues that middle class families plan their finances keeping educational expenses as a priority. Thus, the middle class in India, according to Kumar (1988), places a great importance on education to maintain its middle classness.

Nambissan (2010) argues that after the 1970s in India the choice of private schools has increased. The aspiring middle classes are taking the path of education to enter into the middle class strata. Donner's (2006) study on Bengali middle class families also reveals the active role that middle class mothers play in the daily educational activities of children. These mothers right from the morning to night work according to a schedule which is primarily based on school, tuition and extracurricular activities classes of children. Thus, the role of mothers in middle class families in determining children's education is critical.

Another empirical work by Drury (1993) based on middle class families of Kanpur bring above a very interesting picture of middle class parents. The choices of school and strategies which these parents employ bring forth the picture of a middle class family in a small town aspiring to achieve a relatively better status through children's education. To achieve this, Drury argues, they regulate their income too.

These studies in the Indian context bring in the interrelationship between education and middle classes in India and show that education acts as an important marker in understanding 'newness' in the middle class in contemporary India. The nature of middle classes brings before us the conditions under which the middle classes emerged during the colonial times. The nature of middle classes in the Indian subcontinent right from the pre-colonial times to the post independent times has received ample scholarly attention. Misra (1961) in his book traces the growth of the Indian middle classes, i.e., the class of people which emerged as a result of changes in the British social policy and as a result of the introduction of the new economic system and industry and with the subsequent growth of new professions, from about the middle of the eighteenth century to modern times. He also goes back to the pre-colonial times to trace the characteristics of middle class at that time.

In the late 1970s a kind of change was visible in India on the economic front. The change can be attributed to the effects of the green revolution, remittances from Indian migrant labourers in theGulf, and, more broadly, the complex of reforms collectively known as liberalization (Mazarella 1999, pp 2). With these changes there was a visible transition in the economic and social character of the middle classes. According to William Mazarella (1999),

> "The most general story concerning the transformation of the middle class in India describes a shift, in the 1970s and 1980s, from an older, relatively coherent understanding of what 'middle class' connoted – classically, a Nehruvian civil service-oriented salariat, short on money but long on institutional perks to entrepreneurial pretenders to the title." (Mazarella, 1999, pp 1)

As mentioned before, the era that began with the year 1990 marked a great change in the economy of India. The adoption of neoliberal reforms by the government opened it to the global market. With the adoption of neoliberal reforms there has been a huge transition in the economic policies of the state. The change is so big that it has almost led to the emergence of whole new political strategies which have redefined the middle class character. Leela Fernandes (2006) writes:

> "The growing visibility of this new Indian middle class embodies the emergence of a wider national political culture, one that has shifted from older ideologies of a state-managed economy to a middle class–based culture of consumption". (Fernandes 2006, pp xv)

We can see both Fernandes and Mazarella emphasising on the changes brought on the political front which led to the rise of new middle class which was very much different to old middle class. But what was so different about these middle classes that led them to be called as new middle class?

In *The new Middle class in India –A Sociological Analysis (1985),* Gurchain Singh tries to define the term new middle class in India. He actually does that on the lines of Bravermann who in his book tries to differentiate between 'old' or 'traditional' middle classes to the new middle class. He writes that the old middle class occupied its position on account of belonging to neither the capitalist nor the worker class. He then says that the new middle class occupies its intermediate position not because it is outside the production of increasing capital, but because it takes it characteristics from both sides

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(cited from Singh, 1985). Singh uses his framework in Indian context and says: "This new middle class has no independent existence rather it is incorporated in big organizations, corporations and administrative machinery requiring hundred types of professional, technical and scientific and administrative skills" (Singh 1985, pp 76). Thus, he tries to say that it is the expansion of the tertiary sector to which the growth of middle class can be attributed.

Satish Deshpande (2003) uses the terminology new middle class in the context of change in the middle class lifestyle influenced by globalisation. He uses the relational phenomena of Althusser and says that the change in the middle class character is like a connection between 'message' and its 'addressee'. This is when a person feels being addressed by an ideology and that it becomes effective (Deshpande 2003, pp 149). He further says that this change has been particularly witnessed by middle class particularly upper segment (professional-managerial) in the most influencing way. He also notices that there are factions among the middle classes too. He explains this by saying that there is an elite class and there are the masses. The masses are involved in production while elites consume those products (Deshpande, 2003, pp 147). In this work we get a constant view of the ambiguity which according to Deshpande (2003) one faces while defining the middle classes in India and thus in defining the newness too.

Leela Fernandes (2006) in her book titled *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in Era of Economic Reform* contends:"Policies of economic liberalization initiated since the 1990s have been accompanied by an array of visual images and public discourses that have centered on a shifting role of the middle class and their attitudes, lifestyles, and consumption practices" (Fernandes 2006, pp xv).

This new lifestyle has been so much predominant in today's era that it has now become the defining feature of the middle classes. The effect of these changes on the middle classes led to a whole new nomenclature of *new middle class*. Thus, in the contemporary period, the 'new' middle class, as a social group, is depicted as negotiating India's new relationship with the global economy in both cultural and economic terms (Fernandes 2006, pp xv). She very clearly writes that the studies on Indian middle class till today had tried to understand this change in the nature of intermediate classes through two major angles. One is by analysing the expanding population and the relevance of its

growth to the liberalisation policies. The other: she mentions that the other studies have studied this change in terms of the growing consumerist tendency among the expanding middle classes. Her idea of the 'new' in the new middle class can be seen as through her statement:

> "The rise of the new Indian middle class represents the political construction of a social group that operates as a proponent of economic liberalization. This middle class is not "new" in terms of its structural or social basis." (Fernandes 2006, pp xvii).

In other words, its "newness" does not refer to upwardly mobile segments of the population entering the middle class. According to Fernandes "the newness is in the production of distinctive social and political identity that represents to and lays claim to benefits of liberalisation." (2006, pp xviii). Through this definitional criterion Fernandes encompasses the idea of defining the newness in the middle classness just from the marker of consumerism whereas she talks about an identity building which mainly comprises the Indian youth who are English educated and have benefitted from the new job opportunities which have come up as an effect of liberalisation policies. She further explains that the effect of liberalisation can be seen in small towns in India in terms of growing importance of internet and English education and the above-mentioned identity becomes an aspiration for those small towns to achieve. Thus, by gaining credentials through education these aspirers from small towns try to enter the 'new middle class' regime. Therefore, the newness in this work gets reflected beyond the marker of consumerism mainly in the formation of a political identity which defines itself in the light of effect of liberalisation, privatisation and globalization, which is often referred to as LPG.

Minna Savaala (2010) however talks about newness of the new middle class. Savaala argues that the new in the new middle class refers both to the novel and the recent. The author further says that they are novel because they are different from the old middle class like wealthy merchants and professionals who traditionally have a long family history of engagement with organisations -- mainly the government and other public employers. The social status of the new middle class has recent origins in the sense that they or their parents have experienced upward social mobility (Savaala, 2010, pp 11).

She also presents in her study that these middle classes have led to the development of new consumer societies. However, in the later chapters Savaala, through her ethnographic studies of Hyderabad, talks about the daily struggle which a middle class person undergoes as regards preserving the moral values which a person carries being in the middle class.

Another work by Christiane Brosius (2010) focuses on the rise of 'new' middle class. It is a study based on empirical case studies which show how an urban space in India is undergoing transformation in the present economic scenario. The themes which have been dealt with in this work seem to explore how an urban setting like Delhi is undergoing change from its old colonial or national city structure to a global city in the light of real estate development.

Brosius (2010) also does a study of media reports and interviews and tries to explore the lifestyle of the changed urban space in India which according to her is a consequence of the effect of globalisation. She seeks to bring out the growing consumerism as an important marker the urban middle classes. She also writes that the new way of living, unlike the old middle class norms, allows them to demonstrate their newly gained wealth through consumption of the highest level (Brosius, 2010, pp 2). This growing consumerism is what she confirms as the new defining feature of middle class marking a departure from the old middle class attitude and thus giving it the name of 'new middle class'. However, while discussing the changing city space later in her study, she also explains the new middle class spaces of leisure time activities like Akshardham, a grand structure which explains an explicit rise in the stature of the middle class recreation activities.

Ray and Baviskar (2011) talk about the changes brought about by globalisation. They explain how the politics of the 1970s which was marked by the demand of *roti* (Indian Bread)*, kapda* (Clothes) *aur* (And) *makaan* (House) is now replaced by the demand for *bijli* (Electricity)*, sadak* (Road)*, pani* (Water). (Ray and Baviskar ed, 2011). The changes which have occurred in the lives of middle classes in India have been dealt with widely in this edited volume by Ray and Baviskar (2011). In the changing times when there are visible alterations in India, both Ray and Baviskar (2011) come forward with questions as to who were middle classes in India and what newness can be attributed to this

stratum of India population. To address this question, they have tried to explain the markers which can be seen as determinants of middle classness in India. These markers are mainly education, occupation and income which help us study the middle classness (Ray and Baviskar, 2011, pp 5).

On a similar note Vincent (2011) also tries to define the 'new' middle class. She says that the 'new middle class' is but one section of a much larger diversified class that includes a 'lower middle class' that continues to depend on public sector job opportunities. It is the 'new' middle class that is globalised, highly educated, professional and upwardly mobile (Ray and Baviskar ed. 2011, pp 168).

Ray and Baviskar (2011) and Fernandes (2006) discuss the marker of education, explaining how in the changing nature of the economy job opportunities are growing but undergoing a change. The private firms now provide much scope for IT jobs and Vincent (2011) argues that these have brought newness in the middle classness of urban India. To get placed in this occupational structure it thus becomes a prerogative to have a certain kind of educational background.

III. Demand for Shadow Education and the Middle Class Quest for Higher Education

Demand for professional education in today's neo-liberal world plays a very important part in shaping a child's future and to help them compete in the global race for jobs and hence gain a life of dignity and confidence. Our education system is very diverse and it does notreaches everyone equally. Getting jobs both in private and public sectors is very much dependent on one's education level. Not everyone in this country has access to quality education, which ultimately limits their chances of getting better job opportunities. Parents with good income seek for supplementary means of education like tuitions so that their children attain better education than their peers do. On the other hand, parents with low income, look at it as a means to supplement the poor quality of education their children receive in the government and private schools in which they afford to send them. Competition in the formal education system causes people to seek out for tuitions as a means to stay ahead of others in the competition (Bray, 2003). This is in context of the 'Diploma Disease' (Dore 1983, pp 3), which means for getting jobs and being selected for other occupations, the importance of

educational certificates is increasing. Screening of potential candidates is done easily by filtering out their certificates and degrees by recruiters, who believe in the technical skills a candidate would have acquired by those trainings and classes (Dore, 1983). This again stresses the need for private tuitions for better preparation and selection in entrance exams. Private tuition is referred as 'shadow education' system by Bray (1999). It can be provided by individuals who can be school teachers looking for additional source of income, college students, secondary school students, graduates and post graduates, coaching institutes and other organized businesses. Tuitions have changed from being just a supplemental source of income for individuals to organized and highly profitable businesses even providing jobs to qualified professionals, now becoming a part of a large-scale industry (Bray, 1999). This industry also runs on the demand and supply model where demand of students is met by increasing number of tutors and coaching institutes, based on their budget. Online classes have also shown a tremendous growth nowadays giving outstanding results, availability of which is ofcourse dependent on reliable internet connectivity.

The importance of these examinations is very high in the country. Clearing these competitive entrances is considered as a prestigious moment for families. This reinforces the demand for tuitions which help the students prepare for these competitive examinations. Societal pressure of clearing these exams is also another reason which causes students to opt for coaching institutions and tuitions. The ineffectiveness of the schooling system is also responsible for the rapid growth of tuitions (Silova and Bray, 2006 : Kim and Lee, 2010). Using UNESCO data, Baker et al. (2001), made an observation that in the countries which have less public funding of education, private tuitions are seen to be more common. As stated therefore, there can be either one or multiple reasons, which drive students and parents towards taking up of tuitions. The benefits derived from tuitions can be seen through various evidences quoting the selection of students in IITs or other entrance examinations to prestigious universities, by studying in some particular coaching institute, branded or non-branded or by taking tuition classes from some popular tutor in the area. This states that tuitions definitely help in increasing knowledge of subjects, education levels and greater success in examinations. In a study conducted by Dongre and Tewary (2014), on Indian elementary pupils it has been found there are positive effects of private tutoring on learning achievement in India. Taking into

account all these studies and evidences, it can definitely be said that supplementary means of education are contributing in increasing the education level and giving better results in examinations.

Taking into account all these studies and evidences, it can definitely be said that supplementary means of education are contributing in increasing the education level and giving better results in examinations. As stated in previous points, the rise of popularity of shadow education   among middle classes in India is growing (Sujatha, 2014). Apart from prestige and societal pressure, other factors which drive the attention of parents towards private tuitions is the sense of guilt in terms of negligence towards their studies at home. Getting involved only in family's work, watching television or sitting idle are some other factors also. The increasing trend of nuclear family and double-income has given parents the required money to send their children to tuitions. Also, admission of their children in a reputed private tuition or coaching centre is a matter of pride for their parents, which gives a boost to their image in the society. A sense of competition and comparison among children by parents is yet another factor boosting the rising trend of tuitions in the middle-class of India.

The increasing demand for limited seats in higher education in Indian context has accelerated the demand for private tutoring/coaching institutes in India. This marks the systemic deficiencies in education and the aspect of rights and choices of different classes in Indian education system (Majumdar, 2015). Apart from school fees and other expenditures associated with schooling, private tutoring has emerged as one of the most important component related to cost of education (Tilak, 2002). This factor also acts as the demand factor for private tutoring due to the low quality of education in schools.

According to Pratichi report on Education of India 2009 there has been a real regression, as opposed to progress, on the dependence on private tuition. The proportion of children relying on private tuition has gone up quite a bit. Underlying this rise is not only some increase in incomes and the affordability of having private tuition, but also an intensification of the general conviction among the parents that private tuition is "unavoidable" if it can be at all afforded.

Through all these studies we can see that there has been an increment in reliance on private tuition both in urban as well as rural areas. There are studies which show that how parents mainly from middle class background invest in private sector education. This emergence of coaching institutes and growing reliance on it also shows the coming up of *new education economy* which is going beyond the traditional education industry of India. This new education economy can be seen as a circuit of production of education, which is run through investment of capital, marketization. Further, it is connected to many networks of enterprises running to ensure the success of that business at various levels or in various places. This new education economy then also influences the society and peoples take towards education.

Studies show that how families from rural background also come to cities to get private coaching. They also go for low fee private schools and manage their economy just to make private education available for their children (Nambissan, 2012). This has infact triggered a massive growth of education economy in towns and cities all over India. So far there has not been any sociological study of such linkages between the social class aspirations, growth of city and the rise of educational economy in small cities. This is what the proposed study would aim to address. For this, the research aims to study the city of Dhanbad, which may be designated as a small city, which seeks to bridge the aspirations of those who cannot go to slightly bigger cities like Patna, Delhi, Ranchi, Kolkata etc.

IV. Middle Class, 'New' Education Economy and the City: Theoretical Framework

It is perceived that there was a refashioning of older cities due to deindustrialization in the 1970s and 1980s and a change in economy was witnessed. Cities transformed their economy by changing the *production of things* like consumer durables, automobiles, etc to *production of spectacles* which were mainly leisure and other cultural activities (Lin and Mele 2005). Thus, the understanding of a city under capitalism now started to focus on the production of services and spectacles which are the cultural symbols and themes that are built upon the material conditions of the city.

Sharon Zukin (2005) provides a lens to understand this kind of urban transformation. In her book, *Whose Culture? Whose City?,* she very explicitly brings out the dominance of symbolic factors of culture in studying city. Zukin starts her argument of the importance of symbols with a reference to production of space and class characteristics. She highlights on how developing a small place in the city as a site of visual delight becomes a oasis where everybody appears to be middle class' (Zukin 2005, pp 352). She explains this argument by saying that it is this part of the city where the division of labour is very clearly visible. At the front there are consumers who come to take part in the process of consumerism at various new avenues like restaurants, parks, etc and, at the back, there is a strata of labour who run these places and are mainly attracted to these sites of cities not as consumers but as migrant workers.

There is a construction of culture by the elites of the city who are the major sponsors of the changes which the city witnesses on material basis. Their lifestyle becomes the aspiration for other classes, be it middle or working class, which is visible to them through media. This leads to developing an imaginative reconstruction of the city at the behest of real city space. Thus, the symbolic economy creates a space which leads to production of spectacles which makes city attractive and an aspirational too.

David Harvey's work "*The Urbanisation of Capital*" (1985) is very relevant to explaining the changing character of city which is driven to a new identity by the new type of economy. Harvey argues that there is inner connection between the capitalism and urbanisation. Urbanisation is required to absorb the surplus that capitalism produces in order for capitalism to sustain itself. According to him, this process can be explained by twin themes of accumulation and class struggle. The class character of this urban world where the capitalist forces work ensures the domination of labour by capital and the labour class is also in command of the work process and that process is organised for the purpose of producing profit. The labour on the other hand has command only to its labour power which must be sold as commodity.

Under this law of accumulation, Harvey explains that there are three circuits of capital. In the first circuit, reinvestment can be done to solve the issue of over accumulation to sustain capitalism. This capital from the primary circuit may be switched to secondary circuit to build infrastructure and this circuit also includes production of commodities for

workers' consumption. This can then further be invested in tertiary circuit like service sectors such as research, law etcetera. Thus, we can well infer from this explanation of Harvey how capitalism leads to the production of an urban space which further defines the life and behaviour of the people affected by it.

Manuel Castells in his recent work has also talked about the **new economy** and urban space relationship. However, in this new work *The Rise of Network Society* (1996) he talks about the change in society due to the coming up of information technology. This new information technology becomes the causal factor for social change it also becomes important as it brings forth the new forms of production and management leading to globalisation of economy. The global economy is a network of financial transactions, production sites, markets, and labour pools, powered by money, information, and business organization. The network enterprise, as a new form of business organization, is made of networks of firms or sub-units of firms organized around the performance of a business project. In the light of development of this new economy a flow of space which is circuit of electronic information forms the base of material support to this new economy which coexists with the "space of places" where people organize their lives in localities.

Taking further the notion of production of different spaces in the city, another theoretical approach which captures the idea of different classes acting upon space is offered by Pierre Bourdieu (1993). According to him, a habitus is meant to generate meaningful practices and meaning. A particular location in a city may be seen as perpetuating a particular type of perspective towards daily life practice and world view too. A habitus, as Bourdieu puts, is a structured structure. This means that a particular segment of space which emerged as peculiar is influenced by certain economic and social forces further within the structure also generates certain economic and social principles. These unique social and economic ideas generated by habitus become the lifestyle of the people living in that habitus. Thus, according to Bourdieu, lifestyles are thus the systematic products of habitus which perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of the habitus become sign systems that are socially qualified (Bourdieu, 1984). The idea of lifestyle surely indicates that the different habitus within a city have different kinds of lifestyles. These lifestyles being different in different parts of the city clearly demarcate the class

character of the habitus. Thus, a major aspect which needs to be addressed while understating a city is the class analysis of the various habitus within a city.

Bourdieu (1984) also presents in his writings that the choices of different classes are differentiated by the 'cultural capital' they respectively possess. He explains through his idea of distinction that decision of any individual of a particular class depends on the level of 'cultural capital' one has. In the opening sentences of his seminal book *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu says, that "there is an economy of cultural goods, but it has a specific logic. Sociology endeavours to establish the conditions in which the consumers of cultural goods, and their taste for them, are produced, and at the same time to describe the different ways of appropriating such of these objects as are regarded at a particular moment as works of art, and the social conditions of the constitution of the mode of appropriation that is considered legitimate."

Thus, a major aspect which needs to be addressed while understating a city is the class analysis of the various habitus within a city. As put forth earlier the lifestyle becomes the symbol of social identity which is also determined by the economic forces which helps some people become a part of certain habitus. This may be further understood in words of Bourdieu who brings out the class analysis to define the nature of various habitus. As the different habituses are made up of people from different economic background the study of class becomes inevitable to understand a city.

Bourdieu (1984) proposes that people belonging to different economic backgrounds are classified into classes. The people divided on lines of class are also located differently in society. As a result of being located on distinct positions in the society these classes possess different characteristics. Thus, different classes divided as high, middle and low class have different approaches towards various aspects of life. Thus, life style of all the classes is determined by their class positions in society.

Bourdieu (2009) also presents in his writings that the choices of different classes are divided according to the 'cultural capital' they possess. He explains through his idea of distinction that decision of any individual of a particular class depends on the level of 'cultural capital' one has. Thus, his analysis of middle class can also be understood through this basic idea that choice of a class depends on the cultural capital it possesses.

Bourdieu argues, "Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier" (Bourdieu 1984, pp 7). What is implied by Bourdieu in this statement is that the choice which an individual makes defines his class category. The different classes can be categorized as high, middle and low classes. These classes are stratified in terms of possession of different forms of capital mainly cultural capital. Cultural capital can be defined as various non-financial assets such as education, physical appearance, recreational reading, listening to music and theatre and various other aspects which popularly define a 'cultured person' (Bourdieu 1973, pp 83). This cultural capital is transmitted in individual character by family he says. Bourdieu (1984) proposes the idea of *Distinction* to encapsulate the idea that one's birth in a certain class determines his choices and aspirations. These choices in turn differentiates the different classes from one another. Thus, this tends to become a cyclical process where there is no scope for one to get out. He actually differentiates the middle class and working class on terms of consumption.

For middle class he says that Middle class in light of Bourdieu's (1984) writing were those who maintained the status by keeping themselves away from other cultures. They appeared to exclude themselves by living in exclusive areas engaging in distinctive form of consumption. Whereas, consumption pattern of working class, he says, is more on popular taste. With popular taste he meant the schemes of the ethos, which pertain in the ordinary circumstances of life, to legitimate works of art, and so performs a systematic reduction of the things of art to the things of life. Thus, the approach towards consumption is different for a middle class and working class.

The works of many erudite thinkers on class analysis have always been the richest source of understanding the idea of middle class. The concept of middle class which is said to be undergoing change in the Indian context may well be analysed after we see how these classical thinkers viewed the concept of middle class.

Weber's concept of class does not come as independent analysis on class itself, but he associates it with to concept of status and power. He talks about the 'class situation' and notes that Class situation means the typical probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in life and finding inner satisfactions. By this he means that members of each class have similar life chances. Richard Breen (2005) explains this idea of Weber and writes that it is the market which distributes these life chances according to the resources

which individuals put to it and this may vary by many other factors. This can be elaborated as Weber goes beyond the ownership and non-ownership based explanation of class and ventures into the idea of skills and other assets which also affect the definition of class. The concept of class, Weber says, is divided mainly in three genres: property class contingent on the property one has, commercial class described on the basis of marketability of goods and services and last is the social class that makes up the totality of those class situations within which individual and generational mobility is easy and typical the various controls over consumer goods, means of production, assets, resources and skills each constitute a particular class situation (Weber 1978, pp 303). The classes, Weber writes, can be defined in terms of the kind of property and the kind of services that are offered in the market (Weber 1978, pp 928). The resulting four classes from this analysis are the "dominant entrepreneurial and propertied groups"; the petty bourgeoisie; workers with formal credentials (the middle class) and those who lack them and whose only asset is their labour power (the working class).

This classification which is presented by Weber defines middle class as the one class which is a working class but is with the skill provided by education. The role played by the middle class depends on the credential they possessed. The level of education provides one of the characteristics of a middle class. Thus, Weberian approach to class seeks to understand it in close relationship with consumerism which marks the importance of market and the skills which is associated largely with education and when he talks about the inner satisfaction his emphasis is on the embedded notion in Weber's analysis of class.

According to him, class is not a group but status is a group. He describes status as an effective claim to social esteem in terms of positive or negative privileges; it is typically founded on lifestyles, hence formal education he mentions is a determining factor. Moreover, during the time Weber was working on conceptualising class, the white collar jobs were expanding and he witnessed the formalizing of status-oriented professional networks which were shaping what Donner (2012) calls as 'the new collective culture'. Thus, we can see that the white collar professional, who in recent works too are counted as middle class, was analysed by Weber in terms of identity and social mobility.

Taking this notion of identity in class analysis another theoretical approach was put forward very cogently by Pierre Bourdieu (2009). He says that people belonging to different economic backgrounds are classified into classes. The people divided on lines of class are also located differently in society. While being located on distinct positions in the society these classes possess different characteristics. Thus, different classes divided as high, middle and low class have different approaches towards various aspects of life. Thus, life style of all the classes is determined by their class positions in society.

Another very important analysis on class especially middle class has been presented by Erik Olin Wright (1997). His idea of middle class rests on his idea that a class is defined on the basis of three conditions. The first, is control over investments or money capital; second, is control over the physical means of production; and the third, control over labour power. According to Wright the capitalist class has all the three controls whereas working class has control over none. But in between both of them there exists the middle class that present a very ambiguous position. Wright argues thatthey are in contradictory class locations. This is because they are able to influence production to some extent but are denied control over it (Giddens, 2000; 304). Thus, the middle classes, according to Wright, are the class which stands in between the capitalist class and working class.

Wright (1997) also uses skills and expertise to elaborate class position. There are two reasons why Wright adds these to class. The first reason is that knowledge and skills are scarce resources, limited by talent and the acquisition of credentials. As a result, people with expertise and skills are able to command a wage in excess of the cost to produce and reproduce their labour, for example, high level managers. The second reason, Wright suggests, is that expertise and knowledge are extremely difficult to monitor and control. This difficulty makes "loyalty rent" the most reasonable option (Wright 1997). This loyalty rent as Wright explains is maintained through exorbitant salaries. This salary which is certainly not equal to the profit incurred by capitalists but more than the unskilled working class population and marks the distinctive characteristic of middle classes.

The above discussion helps us situate what middle class is and how it sustains itself as a class and reproduces itself overtime. It also highlights that space is accessed differently by different classes. In addition, education emerges as determinant of class position and

therefore becomes crucial point for defining a production of space and it relation to class.

A city in its entirety is not only about the structures and geographical locations and boundaries. To understand a city completely one must also know the people and the community which lives in that city. Further, a city cannot be completely defined on the basis of its formation both at the materialistic or institutional level. It is a mere architecture and not a lived experience when we do not include people in our attempt to understand it. According to Park (1967) a city apart from being a geographical and ecological unit is also economic unit which is based on division of labour. It gets a corporate character due to the multiplicity of occupations which is due to the private or public interests.

Thus, a study of city according to Park (1967) can fully be accomplished only by covering all the three dimensions of it: its physical organisation, its occupation and its culture. The first part of the study is analysing its physical organisation. The physical organisation refers to various parts of the city which may be divided on several lines. This physical organisation may also be analysed in the light of dominant occupations which exist in several parts of the city. These occupations may be carried out by different people in different areas of the city. They must be working in some part and residing in the other. Both the areas with the different nature of occupations bring above the cultures which persist in these areas at the workplace as well as residence. This will thus give a complete view of the city.

Louis Wirth in his work *Urbanism as a way of life* (1938) also brings above the idea of understanding the urban process by bringing the difference between urbanism which is a complex of traits that makes up the characteristics mode of life in cities and urbanism which denotes the development and extensions of those factors that are not exclusively found in urban settlements. The three variables number, density of settlement and degree of heterogeneity of the urban population according to Wirth is the way to explain the characteristics of urban life and to account for difference cities of various sizes and types. He also explains further the way in which urbanism as a characteristic mode of life may be approached empirically from three interrelated perspectives: as a physical structure comprising a population base; a technology and ecological order as a system of social

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organisation involving a characteristics social structure; and a series of social institutions and a typical pattern of social relationships; as a set of attitudes and ideas and as a constellation of personalities engaging in typical form of collective behaviour, subject to characteristic mechanisms of social control. This approach of Wirth presents the idea that the city can be studied by focussing on its physical space and social relationships. This brings above again the requirement of studying city in light of its economy and culture.

Mike Savage and Alan Warde (1993) in their seminal work *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernism* also talks about the development of urban sociology. Their approach to describe urban sociology mainly rested on the interrelationship of two major entities which are capitalism and modernity. Capitalism as they mentioned was the economic order of Western societies in which production is for the profit making. While describing modernism they mentioned it 'as an environment which promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of the world and at the same time threatens to destroy everything we have everything we know, everything we are' (1993, pp 4).

Combining these two ideas they both present the changing face of cities as according to them the search for profit leads to the beginning of a dynamic, competitive, and conflictual economic system prone to crisis which affects the nature of cities heavily. This effect of capitalism and modernism on the cities has been described cogently through various themes in their book. Tracing the historical development of urban sociology mainly covering the two major strands of Britain and America these two writers explains the need to combine both, the traditional way of looking the social conditions of the city along with newer approaches of studying economy. They then move to explain that how the developments of cities under globalization vary according to locations. They also argue that theories are insufficient to explain cultural dimensions of modernity. Further they explain the three major aspect of understanding city, gentrification, suburbanization and households divisions which have different impact on the different cities all across world while further creating divisions within the city. They also elaborate on the studies which have tried to look at way of life which can be same for all across the world similar for all cities. But they contest this idea of a generic urban way of life and counter the idea both of Simmel (Simmel, 1903 cited in Savage and Warde, 1993). They then also emphasise on the micro study of cities mainly personal accounts of city residents. The last

area which they deal with is the local level studies of cities like its politics and local economic policy and politics of consumption.

This elaborate work on studying urban sociology by Savage and Warde (1993) brings above the two important words for analysis of cities which are capitalism standing for the economy and modernism which is for culture of city. Thus, studying any city in any juncture of city primarily consists of analysing the dominant economic system in the city and also the culture which is produced in light of that economy.

It is perceived that there was a refashioning of older cities due to de-industrialisation in the 1970s and 1980s and a change in economy was witnessed. These cities transformed their economy by changing the *production of things* like consumer durables, automobiles among other things to *production of spectacles* which were mainly leisure and cultural activities. (Lin and Mele, 2005). Thus, the understanding of a city under capitalism now started to focus on the production of services and spectacles which are the cultural symbols and themes that are built upon the material conditions of the city.

This type of culture may be analysed through the lens developed by Sharon Zukin (2012) who very explicitly brings above the dominance of symbolic factors of culture in studying city. She writes, "*Symbolic economy recycles real estate*" (2012, pp 95). Zukin starts her argument with these opening lines alluding to the importance of symbols which helps in the production of space and different class characters. She also say that how developing a small place in the city as a "site of visual delectation becomes oasis where everybody appears to be middle class" (2012, pp 98). She explains this argument by saying that it is this part of the city where the division of labour is very clearly visible. At the front there are consumers who come to take part in the process of consumption at various locations like restaurants, parks etcetera and at the back there is a strata of labour who run these places and are mainly attracted to these sites of cities not as consumers but as migrant workers.

There is a construction of culture by the elites of the city who are the major sponsors of the changes which the city witnesses on material basis. Their lifestyles become the aspiration for other classes, be it middle or working class which is visible to them through media. This leads to developing an imaginative reconstruction of the city at the behest of

real city space. Thus, the symbolic economy creates a space which leads of production of spectacles which makes city attractive and an aspirational culture too.

The study thus considers all these perspectives to explore the emergence of new education economy within the context of a small city like Dhanbad.

V.   The Study

Objectives and Specific Research Questions:

1. To study the urban transformation of Dhanbad city in a historical context. To situate the social and economic transformations that have been brought about by this urban transformation.
2. To study the growth of shadow educational infrastructure and formal educational infrastructure in the city of Dhanbad.
    -   What have been the conditions/ factors contributing to this growth?
    -   What were the contexts, conditions and factors for the rise of private education system in general and private coaching industry, in particular?
3. To study how the city of Dhanbad facilitated the growth of private coaching industry.
    -   How did new populations/families migrate into the city to better access education in general and coaching in particular?
    -   How did these migrant populations shape the city spaces?
    -   How did the education economy differentiate cityscapes in terms of social class differentiation? What is the nature of education economy that prevails in different urban spaces of the city?
    -   What are the ancillary industries that grew in the city as a result of the emergence of coaching industry? How do these economic activities shape the social class structure, urban sprawl and the experiences of life in the city?
4. To study the responses and strategies of families in Dhanbad living in different localities where new education economy shaped the urban ways of life.

- What have been the responses of the parents of middle and lower classes towards these shadow education institutes and what strategies do they adopt?

- What opportunities and constraints do parents see in availing services of such education economy?

- How do people living in urban spaces where education economy sprung up view their everyday lives and experiences and how do they differ from those of the old city spaces?

5. To study the dynamics of 'new' education economy.

- How does education economy operate in a small city?

- How are market principles deployed to further the 'business' by the players/ actors in the new education economy?

- Who are these actors involved in making of this new education economy and how is this politically motivated?

Dhanbad and its changing economy

Commercial exploitation of coal in India began in 1774 by the Britishers. Later in 1894, Seth Khora Ramji Chawda, was the first Indian to break the British monopoly in the Jharia Coalfields. Post-independence, siting the energy requirements in the country, the National Coal Development Corporation (NCDC) was formed to effectively increase the coal production in the country. In the year of 1973, all coal mines in the country were nationalized under the Coal Mines (Nationalization) Act. BCCL was incorporated in January, 1972 to operate coking coal mines in the Jharia & Raniganj Coalfields, taken over by the Government of India on 16th Oct, 1971, to ensure planned development of the scarce coking coal resources in the country. It is the major producer of prime coking coal (raw and washed) in India. It had an annual coal production of 37.04 million tonnes in 2016-17. It had the highest turn over of 11505 crores so far, as published on its website.[2] BCCL has contributed to the development of the city significantly since its inception by giving employment to its people. BCCL has opened its hospital, Central Hospital

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[2]http://www.bcclweb.in/, accessed on 30/01/2019

operative in Dhanbad for its residents, and is one of the largest among hospitals run by CIL.

However the city's economy has gained an addition by proliferation of an ancillary industry of coal industry and several companies have emerged in Dhanbad. Some of these companies have beocome very prominent in the scene of redefining the economy of Dhanbad. These companies not only work in the field of coal industry but also have expanded their reach and contribution to the areas of real estate. Moreover Dhanbad being an industrial city and in close proximity to financial corridor of Kolkata, the nearest metropolitan acts as a logistic centre to many big corporations for their investment here and nearby. Therefore the various companies in Dhanbad also work in the field of providing logistic facility to bigger corpotation for their involvemnet and investments in the city.

Sadbhav Engineering, one of the fastest growing company in construction and development business.It is involved in infrastructure projects which include construction of roads and highways, bridges, mining and irrigation supporting infrastructure.[3] It has declared that it has emerged as the lowest bidder for a project in BCCL with a contract valued at Rs 263.64 crore.[4] Its work will involve extraction and transportation of coal in AKWM colliery of Katras area and Tetulmari colliery of Sijua area and hiring of heavy earth moving machinery for removal of overburden.

Dhansar Engineering Company Private Limited also known as DECO is a premier engineering and mining company.[5] The work of this company mainly involves removal of overburden, construction and widening of National Highways, extraction of coal, transportation and wagon loading, site levelling and grading etc. Most of its mining projects are provided by BCCL, where the work location is Dhanbad.[6]

Black Diamond Explosives Pvt. Ltd. with its office in Dhansar, Dhanbad, is involved in the manufacturing of industrial explosives like Bulk Emulsion explosives, Permitted Explosives, LD explosives and Emulsion explosives. Alongwith its products, it also

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[3] https://www.sadbhaveng.com/about-us/, accessed on 30/01/2019
[4]   https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/indl-goods/svs/engineering/sadbhav-engineering-bags-rs-263-64-crore-project-from-bharat-   coking-coal-ltd/articleshow/24487282.cms, accessed on 30/01/2019
[5] https://www.decopl.com/, accessed on 30/01/2019
[6] https://www.decopl.com/coal-project-ongoing.html, accessed on 30/01/2019

provides satisfactory technical services to its customers. It is the leading manufacturer and supplier of explosives in the eastern part of the country. To meet the increasing demand, it stresses on producing value added items. It is accredited with ISO-9001 Certification. It has experienced and dedicated people running its laboratory. Product quality is check at various stages and product is checked thoroughly before dispatch.[7] Anup Malleables Limited (AML) has its office in Govindpur, Dhanbad. It works primarily in four divisions. Heavy machine division assists different production units of Indian Railways for their different kind of bogies of different diesel and electric locomotives. It also involved in manufacture of different bogies including Fretting, Grinding, Heat treatment and other processes. The Fabrication Division supplies all types of Fabricated Bogies and bolsters, main base etc. to the Indian Railways. Equipment Division developed coke Oven equipments for different coal washeries all over the country. Rehabilitation Division takes up orders for re-conditioning of bogies involving cleaning, repairing, stress relieving etc. from Indian Railways[8]. M/S GSA Commercials Pvt Ltd an associate of DECO work towards promotion of its business in the coal and affilaited industries. The metallurgical coke used in pig iron manufacturing units of TATA MOTORS LIMITED is converted here from coking coal in close association with M/s Tatat Metaliks Ltd.[9]

These are the companies whch are have added to the coal industry and acted as an ancillary to it. However after the liberalisation and inflluence of it the make over of small cities like Dhanbad. In the list of these type of comapies the Shri Ram Group tops the list with its immense work in bringing spaces of recreation which have further affected the social aspects of lifestyle by providing avenue which were limited to metro cities only.

`The idea of The Shriram Ozone Group in Dhanbad is a pioneer in real estate in, logistics and franchise operations in Dhanbad.[10] Being founded by the Sonthalia family from Dhanbad, it has expanded into cement industry as well. Few of its residential projects involve Shriram Vatika, Ozone Exotica and Shriram Palace. Among the commercial projects are Ozone plaza and Ozone Centre in Bank More and Ozone Galleria in

[7]https://www.decopl.com/associate.html, accessed on 09/10/2018
[8]http://www.anupmalleables.com/divisions.html, accessed on 09/10/2018
[9]https://www.decopl.com/associate.html, accessed on 30/01/2019
[10]http://www.shriramozone.com/company_profile.php, accessed on 30/01/2019

Saraidhela, built for retail and commercial purpose in the city.[11] It is the only Tanishq franchise in Dhanbad.[12] It is the only C&F partner of IOCL at Dhanbad and has been supporting their business via logistcs and transportation since 1990. They provide support to ACC cement and have their warehouses in Dhanbad.They are involved in steel distribution in Jharkhand. It produces the popular Bengal Super Cement and supplies to major projects like NTPC Development Farakka project.

In 2016 the government of Jharkhand[13] has acknowledged the areas of investment like resorts and restaurants also. In this light several level of investment in making resorts with amenities catering to the wedding demands from social class which earlier moved out of Dhanbad to avail those facilities. However, with the opening of new hotels such as Wedlock Green Resorts and Sonotel, people of Dhanbad are witnessing the change in the style of wedding celebrations in the city. Wedlock Green Resorts provides various packages for wedding celebrations. One such is 'Polki - A Palatial Wedding Package'.[14] It has huge banquet hall namely IRIS for wedding rituals which can accommodate upto 700 guests. A lush green garden for reception and garden/hall/poolside for *sangeet* (Music Ceremony in wedding) and other ceremonies is also provided by this new development. Executive and suite rooms are available for stay of relatives and friends. With all these features, it makes planning a dream wedding in Dhanbad very easy and in most cases, it is cost saving as well, when compared to Destination weddings in Jaipur and Udaipur.

These new companies and areas of investment have added to the economic structure of Dhanbad giving space to certain aspects of industrial growth which is beyond the coal industry introduction. The various companies and their investment pattern have transformed the city mainly infrastructural and creating spaces influenced by neo-liberal strategies of investment. The most striking feature of these new developments in the economic structure of Dhanbad is the coming of the above mentioned companies in the form of corporations which act and operate through networks and nodal centres either on physical space as well as virtual space influenced by the dominant information technology aspect of neo-liberal economy.

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[11]http://www.shriramozone.com/project_res.php?cms_id=90&adv_id=3, accessed on 30/01/2019
[12]http://www.shriramozone.com/other_business.php, accessed on 30/01/2019
[13] Jharkhand Industrial and Investment Promotion Policy Report 2016
[14]https://www.wedlockgreens.com/weddings/wedding-engagement-packages.html, accessed on 30/01/2019

Sources of Data

1. Newspapers Archives.
2. Departments of Town planning/ Municipality.
3. Department of Education and Commercial taxes.
4. Government dignitaries like Mayor, District Officials, Revenue Officials, Politicians etcetera.
5. Eminent citizens like Educationist from several generations, Business men across generations, journalists both active in present and the one retired, writers, members of educational/ cultural societies etcetera.
6. Parents and children of middle classes in the city.
7. Owners of educational institutions/ coaching centres.
8. Principals, teachers and instructors of coaching institutions.
9. Various websites of business centres working in Dhanbad

Methodology

Since the research in sociology of space is one of a kind in which methods are used according to the contextual demands of the type of space which is being investigated. Several researchers have delved into the urban research and have come above various ideas and have written extensively in this regard. Some of the arguments in this ethnographic data collection techniques have been listed out here before entering into the detailed account of what this particular study have used.

The methods used are influenced by the theoretical approach which is used in framework of study. The study has employed four types of research methods. These methods are mainly the survey, observation, interview and secondary analysis. These methods were used in the following ways to derive the type of data mentioned below.

- First, it was seen that how the city has undergone change and what are the new localities developed. The data for this will be collected from government records, commerce and industry chambers, industries themselves and the professional bodies doctors and engineers and lawyers. The data may also be obtained by the town planners and the municipal/ revenue authorities.

- Second, we looked into the different class structures of the people living in different localities which may be the old areas of Dhanbad and the one living in newly inducted area which marks the growth of city. As there were many localities which represented these two areas, we selected two mohallas from the old areas and two residential complexes or colonies from the new part of Dhanbad city. To study this through random sampling people from both the localities will were selected. An open-ended interview schedule was used in collecting data.

- Next, we will look into the new emerging education sector of Dhanbad. As it is observed through a pilot study done in the city of Dhanbad in November 2015 we could see the emergence of various private coaching institutes which may be seen as building the new face of education by bringing in shadow education system in Dhanbad marking a new economy of education there. To study this new education economy, we conducted interviews with different actors who were involved in the making as well as seeking of this kind of education economy. Open ended interview schedule was used in interviewing the coaching institute owners, coaching institute teachers and the parents and students who were seeking education through these coaching institutes.

- Another method which was used in doing an overall changing structure of city and education sector was visual ethnography. Photographs were collected from different sites of investigation to understand the different level of development. The sites may involve the new structures of the city like malls, parks, and the old ones like library, road side advertisements, billboards etc. Another site will be coaching institutes in different parts of the city. As Douglas Harper in his book Visual Sociology (2012) puts it by giving example of a book on city and wrote that the photos collected for the book had nothing artful about the images they were 'data'.

- Simultaneously, the newspaper newspapers archives for information/ data on the new jobs in the city, city expansion, schooling opportunities, coaching institutes etc.

- The usage of theoretical understanding of Castells (2002) of the network economy which is also based on the networks made by information

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technology. Hence, most of the investigation which was around the various economic sectors adding newness to the economic structure of Dhanbad was through information available on various internet sites, which serve as their representation on the virtual networks. Several websites of the business centres of all category involved in redefining the economy of Dhanbad in general and education economy in particular has been analysed. In this light the websites and social media sites of companies of Dhanbad and coaching institutes have been used to gain relevant pictures which define their daily business activities.

Sample

The sample population for study was selected from four different localities of Dhanbad. Two were taken from old part of Dhanbad and the two from the newly inducted areas of Dhanbad. From each location 40 households covering different class background may be covered. In each house parents as well as students who have been seeking private coaching tuition were interviewed. The various type of coaching institutes were covered to know the new education economy of Dhanbad in general but the focus of the interviews was on the families in which children are going for engineering and medical entrance preparation. Since the major coaching institutes are located in the new region of Dhanbad which is Saraidhela the whole network of this new economy is concentrated in this region. Therefore, the families who send children to these coaching institutes was also taken into account.

Scheme of the thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction provides a thematic introduction of the problem which this study is dealing with. The first part of the chapter is looking into the overall scenario of India in which the raised issue of new education economy rests and derives its roots. The chapter then delves into story behind emergence of neo-liberal economy in India. The Indian economy then witnessed the coming of knowledge-based economy and its impact on the social structure of the city, job demands and an obvious rise in demand for professional education. However, this rise was seen defining the city space a new facet.

Chapter 2: Dhanbad: Urban Spatial Transformation and Emerging Social Class Structure - gives a socio-historical growth of the city and its changing social class composition. The chapter gives a view of the spatial change which this city has gone through in the last 100 years of its growth as city. This chapter deals with how the several classes have migrated into the city and have made it a cosmopolitan city in the real sense. The economy has also grown in this city in relation to occupation and how today this has become a new city with the growing ethics of neo liberalism engulfing the city both in its space and its class behaviour and choices.

Chapter 3: Educational Growth and Impact of ISM on the City - This chapter focuses on the education sector of Dhanbad, its growth and functioning. In this chapter a detailed account of the educational development within the city has been shown and also the three major genres of education like school education, general and professional higher education and shadow education have been discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Middle Class Discourses on Educational Aspirations and Strategies - This chapter captures the educational choices which the people of Dhanbad from various social class backgrounds mainly middle classes. Moving further through these ideas from perspectives this chapter illustrates how middle classes capture the idea of competition and the fear of losing in this race of education in knowledge-based economy.

Chapter 5: Demand for Private Schooling: First Step in the Making of a New Education Market - This Chapter focusses on how parents and children aspire and shape their strategies to access and seek to benefit from the emergence of new education economy.

Chapter 6: Dynamics of Shadow Education as Avenue for New Education Economy –This chapter focusses on the shadow education aspect of education economy in Dhanbad. In this chapter the ideas from various actors who are involved in this economy were captured. The providers who have opened these coaching institutes and the seekers who go to these coaching institutes, their perspectives and the reason for their choices were looked into this chapter. It also tried to cover the various other perspectives on the rise of coaching centres and its cultural impact like educationists from various generations, schools teachers, people from older generation.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusions- The final chapter summarises the findings of the study and draws a few concluding remarks.

Chapter 2:   Dhanbad: Urban Spatial Transformation and Emerging Social Class Structure

Smaller cities tend to transform into spaces of global importance with material advancement in the context of present day liberal economic system. Donner and De Neve (2006) note that along with the metropolitan cities, the cities of Tier II and Tier III[1] category are equally important sites of studying the impact of globalisation. Shaw (1999) observes that the growth of small cities in India is a result of the forces that are mainly driven by the policies made in the light of globalization.

Theoretically, the transformation or development of a city due to transformation in the economic system is elaborated by the political economy perspective. The basic argument presented by the Marxist school of political economy is that land and particular use of land are the necessary conditions for growth of capitalism. These conditions of capitalism in thecontemporary economy are based on a series of events like production, consumption and reproduction which are organised in and through the material environment, leading to continuous change in the built environment of a city (Juahiainen 2007, pp 179). Further the space with all its features like the built-in environment, the signs and symbols of landscape can all be bought and sold. Moreover, space, according to Lefebvre (1991), is an economic good. It helps in sustaining economies and the smooth flow of capital. Lefebvre writes that capitalism has laid "its imprint upon the total occupation of all pre-existing space and upon the production of new space" (Lefebvre 1991, pp 326).

On a similar line, tracing the relationship between land and economy, Harvey (2000) argues that land holds an integral and pertinent part in the process of capitalism. It is through different spaces of the city, the major activities of different circuits of capital take place (Harvey 2000). In the process of capitalism, the city acts as the centre where different stages operate only to diminish into other forms of capitalism like taking

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[1]The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) uses the same population criteria to define the "Tier centers" - a concept used in designing incentives for bank branch / ATM expansions etc. Towns with population below 5000 are called Tier -6 centers. Tier 1 comprises metropolitan and urban centres, Tiers 2, 3, and 4 comprise semi-urban centres and Tiers 5 and 6 comprise rural centres.

physical space to industries to becoming centres of improvement for labour and machineries and also for spaces of consumption of commodities and reproduction of labour force.

It may be kept in mind that the changes in the economic system in the context of globalisation lead us to understand the relation between economic system and city. Saskia Sassen (2005) for example explains that it is through the cities that globalization is operated entirely. With the advent of global economy, Sassen (2005) writes, the centralized nature of national economy gets subdued. It is through cities that global economy is operated and even the small cities act as centres of disbursing the dominant aspects of global economic system. This may be elaborated by going beyond Harvey[2] and see how globalization has led to a crisis in the economic system.

It is in this context, the chapter describes the story of transformation of a small mining town of Dhanbad which has witnessed various phases of urban growth over a century or so. From a conglomeration of small residential colonies, the town of Dhanbad grew as a city with over a million population and of large residential blocks. In this journey of transformation of the city, diverse localities and neighbourhoods of the city come to be identified in terms of their social class character and composition.

The chronicle of Dhanbad thus comprises of stories representing diverse historical trajectories accounting change the city had undergone structurally and aesthetically[3]. For instance, in the Gazetteer of Dhanbad (1964), P C Roy Chaudhary (1967) describes the then Dhanbad as 'a cosmopolitan city' (p. 167). The usage of the word 'cosmopolitan' in the 1960s for Dhanbad represents the city as an amalgamation of several cultures and populations from different parts of the world due to the mining development.

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[2] Harvey explains Capitalism by categorizing its growth through three stages and each one he calls Circuit of Capital. He writes about Circuits of capital but only limits himself to the three Circuit of Capital and do not foresee the global characteristics of liberal economic system becoming prominent in 21st century. Hence the explanation regarding the present day changes in the economic system may go beyond the three circuit of capital idea of Harvey and cover the effects of other stages of Capitalism on city engrossed by the global changes.

[3] The idea of development in a city 'structurally' defines its infrastructural change and how the population structure has also changed in the city throughout the years. The aesthetic essence of the people of Dhanbad city has taken new shapes and definition over years. This may be understood as an analogous to the understanding of middle class and their taste. This will be discussed in details as the chapter unfolds with the introduction of every phase of development of Dhanbad.

The Gazetteer of 1964 also mentions that, prior to 1861, there was nothing particularly unique about this area which is now called Dhanbad. However, at the end of nineteenth century, the coal mines were discovered, and the extraction of coal began. We see Dhanbad experiencing major changes ever since the opening of collieries in the Jharia coalfields and by the year 1908, development of Dhanbad or Govindpur or Manbhum became so rapid that 281 collieries were opened (Chaudhary 1964, pp 67-68). The opening up of collieries led to a rapid development of the adjacent areas as well. This has had a lasting impact on the urban growth story of the city of Dhanbad and the chapter explores the various transformative stages of its urban growth story.

The chapter thus describes the transformation of the city from being a small mining town to an administrative and commercial town to a city where global economic changes are quite visible in the structuring of the city, its economy and the overall population dynamics. The stages of urban growth and transformation discussed here may also indicate how we can depict the city as mainly of middle class though the idea of middle class itself is heterogenious in our understanding. The class character of the city ever since its evolution has rooted in middle class ethos though there has been a larger mass of working classes migrated to the city from different parts of the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. In our understanding, as these were largely salaried, they did exhibit certain characteristics of middle class such as in terms of aspirations for life styles and education that generally help middle class to maintain and reproduce its class position. It is at this outset, we suggest that transformative stages that we describe here are in a way may not necessarily exclusive stages, but are indicative historical processes of people formation and the broader economic and social changes occurring in the urban space of Dhanbad.

Fig. 2.1: Depiction of the City of Dhanbad and its transformation

Source: From Source: A page on Facebook[4] named 'Dhanbad' in 2014

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[4] Facebook is an online social media site which is based in California. The Facebook service can be accessed from devices with Internet connectivity, such as personal computers, tablets and smartphones. In

Source: From a page on Facebook named 'People of Dhanbad' 2019[5]

I.   The Pre - Industrial Era

Dhanbad was not a city in its ancient and older form but a geographical space which was home to people of the indigenous groups. The geographic area which is now called 'Dhanbad city' is a part of the larger area of Chhota Nagpur plateau[6]. The earliest habitation in this region was that of some tribal groups. These tribes lived in the fertile plains of Ganges and were forced to move to the present day Chhota Nagpur region when the Aryans said to have invaded the alluvial lands. The travel accounts of Hieun Tsang have some definite account of this area. The archaeological remains of monuments found in this region indicate the prominence of Jain culture which later in the 7th century A.C.E (After Christ Era) gave way to Hindu culture. The historical evidence also points to the prevalence of commercial routes from Tamluk to Benares via Patna, Gaya and Rajgir. This route covered its distance while crossing the region of Dhanbad.

However, the influence of culture from outside was not much beyond the trade related activities. It was mostly a jungle area inhabited by people who were later referred as

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the last decade it has become a platform to connect with people who may be not near you physically. It also gives a place to express your views and perceptions about any topic. Hence through this platform some people of Dhanbad are forming pages to present the idea what these active group of people hold about Dhanbad in present times and show how this is drastically changing. Their views may be personal and biased but the purpose here to highlight that how a certain group which has a urgency to represent Dhanbad on the global media platform and bring above the world the updated version of what Dhanbad is in today's times. accessed on 24/6/2015

[5]accessed on 8/12/2018

[6]Chhota Nagpur Plateau is a plateau in the eastern part of India which covers the state of Jharkhand in totality and also some parts of Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Chhattisgarh. The present day Dhanbad district comes under the broader area of Manbhum part of Chota Nagpur Plateau which is the lowest step of the plateau.

'Bhumij'[7]. The whole Chhota Nagpur region came under the rule of the tribal groups after 10th century A.C.E. (After Christ Era). In the Islamic Rule also, this region was ruled by the tribals. Chaudhary (1964) mentions about a textual source *Bhabishyat Purana* compiled in 15th – 16th century A.C.E. in which reference to the Chhota Nagpur region is made but with another name, 'Jharkhand'[8].Except this source, there was hardly any evidence which mentions about the land of 'Jharkhand'. Thus, the historical evidence for the city of Dhanbad which is a small part of the region of Jharkhand is hardly found. This area, for a long time, was left unexplored or can be said uninfluenced by any external force. As the legends go, this place was known for diamonds and white elephants. Interaction with the outer world is evident with the discussions of few tribal princes e.g. the ruler of Panchet. Some migration of the Muslim groups as well Hindus is seen at the end of Muslim rule for the purpose of military and religious services[9]. It was only at the end of 18th century, the British showed some interest in this region after the discovery of coal mines. This incursion of British marks the beginning of an epochal change which in the later centuries gave way to the emergence of the city of Dhanbad (Ray Chaudhary cited in Schmitt, 1980, pp 12).

Singh (1965) explains that it is a broad inference that with the beginning of the railways and the development of the jute mills of Calcutta, the steam boats used for navigation had generated the need for coal (pp. 303-304). Inspite of knowing earlier about the mines, he further adds that, only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that the actual exploitation of the coal reserves in the Chhota Nagpur area and the neighbouring districts was initiated.

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[7] Bhumij literally means autochthons which is an adjective used for people who are indigenous rather than descended from migrants or colonists.

[8] Jharkhand means land of Jungle which is covered with forest of sal and other trees and it has rich deposit of copper, iron and zinc mines. The people of region were referred to as irreligious people who lived on snakes and their means were loot and hunting. Women appeared as 'rakshashis' with no proper cloths and no habits like human beings. However, Moser-Schmitt (1980, 3) mentions this description as negative exaggeration of the ethnic living conditions and habits of the tribal people by the historians of that time. However, Jharkhand was also adopted as the name of the present day state which covers Chhotanagpur region, which became a state in the Indian Territory on 15th of November 2000 covering the southern region of the earlier state of Bihar.

[9] Moser- Schmitt, Erika, A demographic profile of dhanbad district, pg, in Urban Growth and Rural Stagnation: Studies in the Economy of an Indian Coalfield and its Rural Hinterland ed by Rothermund, Dietmar; Kropp, E; Dienemann; G, Manohar, 1980

II. Emergence of an Administrative Town for Mining

The first mention of the British interference in the region of Manbhum is around the year 1767 when the British entered the region of Barabhum and Manbhum to suppress the increasing attacks by the 'Chuars'.[10] This was the earliest encounter of the British with the tribal population of the Manbhum region. However, a detailed description of how the demography of this area underwent change is very well depicted in the works of W.W Hunter. Hunter in his 1868 work titled *Statistical Account of Manbhum*[11] writes that the area was populated by aboriginal or semi-original races who were completely dependent on jungle for their food. According to H. Coupland (1911), during the 19th century, a major portion of India's coal production was from the Raniganj field (pp 55). The significance of the Jharia field was evident by the end of the century. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Jharia and Raniganj fields with their output of around nine million tons and six million tons respectively, however, continued to dominate the coal scene in the country.

The history of the development of the coalfield region was evident in the rather rudimentary forms of local governance that evolved in this area. Prior to the growth of this industry, there were no major centres of local governance for the Manbhum area and the powerful Zamindari estates, who in the long run profited from the coal leases and built large estates (Jameson, 1882). The special privileges bestowed upon the Zamindars of the Jungle Mahals by the permanent settlement were retained by the government. According to Wadhwa and Rothermund (1978), their estates were recognized as inalienable. In a few great zamindaris, there were several thousands of tenure-holders who were incorporated within the system (cited in Wadhwa and Rothermund 1978). Hence, when coal mining began, the coal companies inserted themselves into this structure at the intermediate level of tenure holders with leases obtained from the zamindars or Rajas.

In the year 1908, the city was given the status of a sub-division. Jharia coalfield and the area of Dhanbad which were administered from Govindpur changed. The headquarters was shifted from Govindpur to Dhanbad. With the increasing number of collieries in Jharia there was a constant requirement for executives and other officials to visit the

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[10] Chuars or freebooters of early administrative history of Dhanbad were one of the ethnic groups of Chhotanagpur region. They are called as tenacious race who were driven from Northern – Hazaribagh in capacity to resist against the encroachments of Hindus. (Erika Moser Schmitt, 1980,4)
[11] P C Roy Chaudhary, 1964 pg 48

collieries at one end in Jharia from the other end of Govindpur. Meanwhile it was felt that the middle area which was the Hirapur (the present day Dhanbad) could be the best choice for the offices as Govindpur seemed difficult in terms of accessibility and, moreover, with every passing day Jharia needed special attention. In 1904, it was decided by Sir Andrew Fraser, the then Lt. Governor of Bengal, that the headquarters of the sub-division be transferred from Govindpur to Dhanbad. The actual transfer, however, took place on the 27th June 1908 (Ray, 2013, pp 87). Thus, there was transference of the sub-division office from Govindpur to Hirapur, a part of Dhanbad in 1908.

Growing demand for the new coal reserves added responsibility to the sub-division office at Dhanbad. It was very strongly felt that the sub-divisional officer with limited powers could hardly control the area and required much more attention from the Deputy Commissioner. In 1912, it was proposed that the headquarters of the Manbhum district be shifted from Purulia to Dhanbad. But this idea, as mentioned by P C Roy Chaudhari in the Gazeteer of Dhanbad 1964, was not liked by Mckintosh, the then Commissioner of Chhota Nagpur, who pressed for more powers for the sub-divisional magistrates. "He was of the opinion that the sub-division should invariably be in charge of the senior and a specially selected officer who should not be disturbed frequently" (Chaudhary 1964, pp 69).

Meanwhile, in 1912, another major development took place when separate provinces of Bihar and Orissa were created. This led to much more expansion of the collieries. This in turn led to the concentration of development in the new sub-division of Dhanbad. By this time, Dhanbad and her neighbourhood had more than 200 collieries where around one lakh labourers[12] worked. The expansion of the railway and various institutions including technical ones that were springing up in Dhanbad added to the importance of Dhanbad than Puruila, the headquarters of the district. It was increasingly felt that the Deputy Commissioner of Purulia was handicapped for effectively administering Dhanbad Sub-Division and the difficulty was further accentuated by the creation of two more Boards – the Water Board and Mines Board of Health with the Deputy Commissioner as the Chairman (Chaudhary 1964, pp 70).

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[12] They were mainly from northern Bihar where job opportunities were very less. These labourers also included the tribes who were once living in this place nit were displaced to other rural areas and were devoid of a living due to growing urbansiation and had no place but the newly discovered mines to go an work as laborers. (Chaudhary, 1964)

The British Government had already been considering the matter, in order to experiment decided to appoint Mr. T. Luby, as the Sub-Divisional Officer of Dhanbad to be also the Additional District Magistrate of Manbhum. This was a temporary appointment in the third grade of Magistrate and Collector for a period of six months with effect from the 31st March 1916. It was Mr Luby who renamed 'Dhanbaid' to 'Dhanbad'. However, there is no authentic record as such to show how Dhanbad took its name. One of the reasons popular among public is that this area was famous for the growth of 'Dhan' or paddy of 'the baid' or bad quality. Another theory as is believed by the public is that it is derived from the wide word 'abad' meaning occupation in general and therefore the name Dhanbad means occupation by paddy. Till 1918, on official records, Dhanbaid was the name until Sub-Division head Mr T. Luby removed the 'i' from Dhanbaid and made it only Dhanbad. This was the time when in the offices the practice of writing Dhanbad Sub-Division in place of Govindpur Sub-Division had started. The police station of Dhanbad was however known as Hirapur police station.

Fig. 2.3: Map of Manbhum in 1911 in which Dhanbad is marked as 'Dhanbaid'[13]

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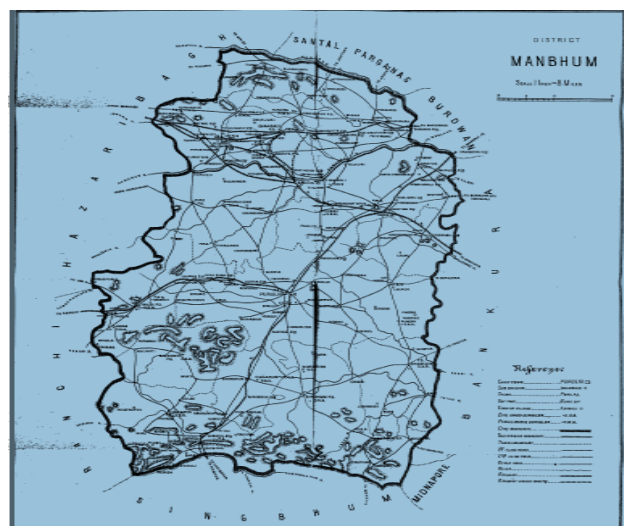
[13] This is a map accounted in 1911 of Manbhum. This map marks the area of Dhanbad by the name of Dhanbaid. Mr. T. Luby, the subdivisional Officer of Dhanbad to be also the Additional District Magistrate of Manbhum who renamed 'Dhanbaid' to 'Dhanbad'. However, there is no authentic record as such to show how Dhanbad took its name. One of the reasons popular among public is that this area was famous for the growth of 'Dhan' or paddy of 'the baid' or bad quality. Another theory as is believed by the public is that it is derived from the wide word ABAD meaning occupation in general and therefore the name Dhanbad means occupation by paddy. Till 1918, on official records, Dhanbaid was the name untill subdivision head Mr T. Luby removed the 'i' from Dhanbaid and made it only Dhanbad. This was the time when in the offices the practice of writing Dhanbad subdivision in place of Govindpur subdivision had started.

III. Urban Spatial Transformation as a Result of change in Urban Function

This change in administrative headquarters led to the development of one the oldest and still most important part of the Dhanbad, namely, Hirapur as the official as well as the main residential area of the old city of Dhanbad. With the shifting of the Sub-Division offices from Govindpur to Hirapur the law fraternity who were associated with the Court faced a problem in travelling to the Court. Reaching out to the new office was actually a task next to impossible, says Mr Dutta, a respondent whose grandfather was an advocate in the Govindpur Court at that time. Mr Dutta a 75 year old lawyer, is a resident of Durga Mandir Road, one of the oldest parts of Hirapur which was inhabited by his grandfather and his grandfather's colleagues in the colonial times. He represents the third generation of the Dutta family who can be designated as one among the earliest settlers of the Hirapur region of Dhanbad. He recalls the stories narrated to him by his grandfather as to how they came from Govindpur to resettle in Hirapur. There were families related to the Court of Law settled in Govindpur who were disturbed by the transfer of Court to Hirapur. This fraternity needed a new settlement near to the new court area.

Under the leadership of Jatindrachandra Mallick also known as J.C Mallick, some members of the affected families went to the King of Jharia, Raja Durgaprasad Singh. The request was made to grant these families land near by the court within Hirapur so that they could continue their living from the court. The King offered them a land near the rail lines (the present day Barmasiya, Dhanbad which was earlier called Budha Mauja).

A different story was told by Mr. Dutta with regard to the demand of new lands and rejecting the Budha Mauja[14]. He remembers that as a child he was told the story of how his grandmother and other women from the families who shifted from Govindpur to Hirapur revolted against their proposed settlement in Budha Mauja. He mentions that while men in the day time went to the Court it was the women's responsibility to look after the children. However, it was extremely difficult for the women to handle the kids who were much attracted to the nearby rail lines. Before any incident could take place

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[14] Mauja meaning in English according to Harpers Collins dictionary 2014 means a village. A village which consists of group of houses and together with other buildings such as Church, schools, in a country area.

these women foresaw the consequences of vulnerability, they were exposed to by living near the rail lines. They were scared that the '***huge iron giant***' may kill their kids as their houses were very near to the tracks. These women on one fine day gathered and made their fear visible to the men. This was taken as a serious problem and then after much of pondering they decided to again visit the Raja of Jharia. The King heard their request and then agreed to grant them areas which were close to the Court but away from the railway lines. This time, unlike the Budha Mauja where a single stretch of large plot of land was given to all the families, separate lands were given in wide spread area of Hirapur Mauja.

The plots of lands were also divided according to the official ranks. This in fact explains the roots of social class formation in the city of Dhanbad. The clerical level employees of the court were given 1 *bigha* (traditional unit of measurement of area), the *mukhtars* (head of local government) 1 or 1.5 or sometime 2 *bighas* of land while the advocates were given plots more than that. The land given was far off and was not inhabited by people. These were areas mainly Durga Mandir, Jharna Para and Hari Mandir. By 1904, some prominent names in the field of advocacy at that time like Mr. J. C Mallick, Mr Mukherjee and many others made use of the chance and also bought some land around these areas and got it registered in their names.

However, these areas which started off with few families to settle down forming present day separate *'mohallas'* (Traditional Colonies). While this area was inhabited mainly by the *Vakils* (advocates), *Mukhtars* (head of local government) and clerks.

The English administrative officers were attracted to the other end of Hirapur which is near the railway station where it is currently located. This area is presently called the Hill Colony that was mainly formed after clearing the rich forest cover. Soon a Church and a Club were also constructed within the settlement (Ray 2013, pp 166). These quarters exist till today and are popularly known as *'patthar kothi'* (House made of stones) as they are very huge structures made up of extremely heavy stones. These buildings have preserved the architecture from the British times and the Church continues to exist even today in its old form with the addition of a missionary school named, Mount Bretia.

In this process of usage of geographic locations of Dhanbad as residential spaces whether be it the establishment of *mohallas* by the Indian population or the *patthar kothi* developed by the British, each transformed the space into an urban area with each social

class of the town claiming their right to the city in formation (Harvey 2003, 2012). However, the city with its differentiating spaces for British and the Indians mark a rise of segregating spaces which further define the class relations among two groups of people who initially inhabited the town.

However, this stage of urban development was marked by a transformation when there was development around the industrial ventures related to coal by going beyond the coal mining. The establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur in 1911 was an important step which enabled proper utilization of the coking coal from Jharia field (Srinivasan, 1985, pp58). Increased demand for coal during the war of 1914-18 boosted the coal industry. There was considerable increase in industrial activity throughout the country. Exports also improved appreciably. By the end of the First World War, it escalated to nearly twenty-one million tons per annum, of which the share of the Jharia and Raniganj fields was about11 million tons and 6.5 million tons respectively (Schwarz 1978, pp 5-7). However, between the years 1920 and 1926, there was a a serious decline of output by nearly 3 million tons (Singh, 1965, pp 325-30) due to the World War. The abnormal trade depression of 1920-21 thus had grave effects on the industry. Initially there was great optimism at the end of the war. This was reflected by an import of industrial machinery and mill work at an hitherto unprecedented rate (Rothermund 1978, pp 5-10).

The new settlement witnessed further changes in the subsequent era. Along with the collieries there was also rise of people coming from adjoining regions to find Dhanbad as an economic centre. For instance, the chronological development of small scale enterprises, as Tienmann (1980) puts forth, started from 1930 to 1948. However, he mentions that two out of 68 small scale enterprises listed through research established in the above mentioned years were, one, was for making suitcases, boxes, almirahs made of steel sheets since 1930 and belonged to a Muslim family, and the other, came up in 1946 which produced spare parts for trucks and also carried out repairs too. Other areas of production which were most prominently taken up were:

    1) Production and repair of coal mining equipment; a) exclusively, b) diverse equipments for industry and public service undertakings,

    2) Production and Repair of truck, spare parts, bodies etc

3) Production of construction elements; a) Structure elements, b) doors, frames, grantings, grills etc

4) Production of steel furniture, boxes etc; a) exclusively, b) construction elements

5) Production of agricultural equipments, buckets, pumps etc.

By 1921, Dhanbad was converted into a '*Police Zila*' (Police district) (Ray 2103, pp 169). Ray accounts that the population of Dhanbad town was 12,951 in 1921 and, by the year 1931, it increased to 16,356. Dhanbad continued as a part of Manbhum district from 1833 to 31st October 1956. The State Re-organisation Commission had vested Manbhum district and there were suggestions and counter suggestions as to whether this portion of Manbhum should go to West Bengal or not. With the decision of the State Reorganisation Commission that the main portion of Sander Sub-Division of Manbhum district should go to West Bengal, two 'thanas' (police stations) of the Sadar Sub-Division (Chas and Chandankeari) came over to Dhanbad Sub-Division and the status of Dhanbad was upgraded into a full-fledged district. It may be mentioned here that another small portion of Manbhum Sadar Sub-Division, went over to Singhbhum district in Bihar as well. Dhanbad district has got two sub-divisions- Dhanbad and Baghmara. Three 'thanas', namely, Topchanchi, Baghmara and Katras, were excluded from the Dhanbad Sub-Division and were added to the newly created Sub-Division of Baghmara which was also given Chas and Chandankeari areas. Dhanbad, by 1956, became a cosmopolitan zone[15] inhabited by people from all parts of India who worked in collieries and other industries, and various kinds of trades and professions in private and public sectors.

After Dhanbad became a district in 1956 there was a gradual change visible in the urban landscape of the town. The change of urban space was related to the coal mining development in the area. The coal mining from its inception was in the hands of private owners. Factions within the colonial regime had opted for nationalisation and, later on, during the Nehru developmental regime, steps towards 'centralisation' were taken, e.g. through setting up of the Committee on the Amalgamation of Collieries in 1955. However, when Indira Gandhi was in power in the late sixties and early seventies, she

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[15] The city was cosmopolitan in nature because of the people who were migrating to the city in search of job or trade opportunities.

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proposed to nationalise mining. The demand primarily came from the non-coal big industry such as iron and steel and power and not from the coal industry.

The 'idea' of nationalising the mines was neither new, nor did it express any 'popular' socialist shift within the ruling class. Formally the main mines might have been 'privately owned', but they were dependent on institutional (World Bank) credit, state controlled prices, mainly state-run industries as consumers. The mining sector itself was already much centralised: a few mining houses accounted for 70 per cent of the total output; in 1971, 34.5 per cent of the mines produced only 1.32 per cent of the total output and 60.9 per cent barely 10.6. In this sense 'nationalisation' was rather formal because the consequences of it presumed were rather official only but not in practice.

IV. Nationalisation of Coal Mining and its Impact on the Urban Context

After the nationalisation in 1971-73, it was not sufficient to merely change the formal ownership of mines, the actual production process had to be reshaped. The first main shift in the Dhanbad area was a kind of selection process between mines, which were to be incorporated into Coal India Ltd., and mines to be left out in the 'illegalised fringe'. For the following reason this process was the most intense in the Dhanbad-Jharia region. Coking coal reserves where coal with high energy content which is important for steel production constitute only 15-20 per cent of the total Indian coal reserves and these reserves are concentrated only in the two fields of Jharia and Ranigunj. In 1972, Jharia coal fields accounted for about 66 per cent of India's total output of coking coal. These coal fields were characterised by the highest share of small mines with over 300 small mines in total. The dualism of 'illegal mining' and 'centralised mines' became sharpest in this particular area. The emergence of 'the mafia' was also based on its bridge function between these two sectors of uneven development.

The process of 'nationalisation' thus re-shaped the 'illegalised sector' and its relation to the 'official economy'. The boundaries of a hierarchical division within the local working class were re-drawn and enforced in legal terms. This can be again well understood through an insight of the newly emerged section of people who regulated the illegal mining and slowly became mafias of the coal sector parallel economy. Therefore, with

this account of the history of mining activities in the Dhanbad- Jharia region one can well visualise the type of coal mining that had emerged since the years after independence, particularly the coming up of illegal mining and with it the rise of coal mafia.

Coal mining under the private Indian ownership had, by the decade of 1960s, became predominantly 'slaughter mining' meaning the owners paid no heed to safety, future of the mine and carried out unscientific mining to make as much profit as they can. The owners had no capital to invest, did not pay minimum wages and the musclemen originally brought from the ABC (Arrah, Balia and Chhapra) districts of Bihar to control the workers in the 1940s had become powerful mafia type contractors in the late 1960s.

However, the major change in the structure of the city came up with the establishment of a subsidiary office of Coal India Limited (CIL). Bharat Coking Coal Ltd (BCCL), which was formed on 17.10.1972, the major organisation working on behalf of the government in the coal rich district of Dhanbad. It produces coking coal to be used mainly in iron & steel industry. This is one of the three subsidiary offices of The Coal India Limited.

With the establishment of BCCL there was a huge effect on the structure of Dhanbad. A new wave of infrastructural change was witnessed to accommodate the new influx of population related to this new project. This change in the city was prominently evident in the Census of India, 1971 in which the district of Dhanbad is accounted to have a population of 1.5 million out of which 6,38,000 lived in urban areas. Rothermund[16] mentions that as the Census of India, 1971, brought some definitional changes in the study of the cities.In this Census report the word 'town group' was replaced by 'urban agglomeration'[17].Till 1961 Census, the 'town group' in Dhanbad was mentioned as Dhanbad, Jharia and Sindri and they were termed as only townships in the district of Dhanbad. However, in the 1971 Census, Rothermund notices that the mining settlements which were excluded in the earlier records were now treated as "continuous well recognised urban outgrowths" which defined the term 'urban agglomeration'.

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[16] Rothermund, Dietmar, Urban Growth and Rural Stagnation
[17] "Urban agglomeration refers to refers to the population contained within the contoursof a contiguous territory inhabited at urban density levels without regard to administrative boundaries. It usually incorporates the population in a city or town, as well as that in the suburban areas outside but adjacent to the city boundaries (United Nations Population Division 2007a). According to the Census of India (2001), the core town or at least one of the constituent towns of an urban agglomeration must be a statutory town, and the total population of all the constituents should be ≥20 000(as per the 1991 Census)." (Amit Kumar et al. 2011, 7653-7654)

Mr Suman Bhandari, a respondent, himself an employee of BCCL, recalls how the structure of Dhanbad town changed with the coming of BCCL. He was born and brought up in Dhanbad. The increase in population of Dhanbad post BCCL demanded a new settlement. In the year 1977, a new township was created in the Saraidhela and Damodarpur villages. The areas of these villages were taken up by the Government and the BCCL Township which is now known as Koyla Nagar was created. The residential quarters of different levels of officials/ work force were made and the employees of this fast-growing industry were accommodated in this new township.

With the development of this new township there was rise in demand for a new market apart from the Hatia which was in Hirapur and far away from this new township. As the population grew there was also growth of additional sectors other than residential areas. Starting with small shops, the area around Saraidhela soon emerged as a new market hub catering to the growing demands of the new township. Mr Bhandari further informs that a change was very explicitly visible in the living standards of the people of Dhanbad. He mentions "people are now *shehri* types, their clothing sense changed, there are *pucca makaans*, electricity and other related gadgets which now people availed". Thus, with this change one can clearly say that due to the establishment of the new area in the Dhanbad town ship there was also a remarkable change in the lifestyle of the people.

New housing colonies have also emerged. Among these, Housing Colony, CCWO (Cisco Commerce Work Space) Colony and the Bartand region where offices of CIMFR (Central Institute of Mining and Fuel Research) came up as middle class localities. The reason behind the development of these areas was again the coal field related sectors. These areas slowly grew in number around the 1980s and gave space to the migrant population who entered Dhanbad mainly as skilled professionals either to join offices related to coal or the court and other administrative services. Thus, the nature of the main influx of population was not only the professional class, but was related to the new government offices, and emergence of new service classes as well.

There were also a large number of people who were now coming to Dhanbad not in relation to BCCL or other office jobs. The growing infrastructure now provided scope for people of different skills and businesses to come to Dhanbad and serve the functions which are very much required in the making of a city holistically. The making of a new

township gave space to various un-skilled or semi-skilled workers too to come and participate in the making of the township. The nature of this new influx of population may be seen very clearly in the Census Report of 1971. The peculiar nature of mixed population of Dhanbad can be seen in the business entrepreneurs too. G Teinmann (1980) studies how there are a rise of small business entrepreneurs in the city of Dhanbad. The products related to coal and other mineral reserve of Dhanbad along with the rich coal mining also gave way to the small level businesses. These businessmen also represented a unique feature in the population of Dhanbad.

This was also the time when there was a spurt of small scale entrepreneurs entering the newly found space of Dhanbad where there was scope for much coal related businesses. The major stats from where these small scale entrepreneurs came were Bihar, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana and Rajasthan. According to a study done by G. Tienmann in 1980 the entrepreneurs in the iron- processing small scale industry are different from their counterparts in the traditional sector in the traditional mining sector.

However, as mentioned earlier, one of the most significant developments during this period is the growth of coal mafia. In terms of power and money (mostly black money), coal mafia may be counted as the richest people of Dhanbad. From being musclemen from ABC (Arrah-Balia-Chhapra) districts of Bihar and they gradually turned into contractors and then illegal coordinators between labourers and formal sector, this strata have been highly dominated by upper castes of Bihar. This is evident in the studies done by Venugopala Rao (1983). In his study, Rao writes that

> Using the vast money, muscle and caste power, trade union leaders have built up a Mafia-like empire which totally controls the life and economy of Dhanbad ... workers who constitute about 40 percent of Dhanbad districts population are mainly tribals, adivasis, Harijans and backward castes, while the trade union musclemen are mostly Rajputs of Bhojpur and Rohtas districts".

Vijayendra (2009) also explains the context of emergence of Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union (BCKU) against the mafias who were mainly from the northern Bihar and belonged to upper castes. The coming up of BCKU marks the initiation of a class struggle by the workers who are mainly lower castes and tribals. According to Vijeyandra (2009)

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> "The Mafia raj was dominated by upper caste male outsiders from ABC (Arrah-Balia-Chhapra) districts of Bihar and Azamgarh district of UP. A situation of a very humiliating kind of exploitation against lower caste, tribal and women existed."

This chaos led the workers to organise a movement against the mafia under the banner of BCKU. This became more acute after nationalization because the ABC mafia became stronger.

By the late 1970s, the 'Party of Independence' contested for the first time and lost elections in 1977. From then on, the trade unions became more important in the faction fights within the political class in the town. The 'mafia dons', who had started their careers as transport contractors and union leaders, became politicians. In 1978 B.P. Sinha, who had been a mafia/ trade union leader close to the INTUC/ Indian National Congress was killed, Suraj Deo Singh formed a new union, Janata Mazdoor Sangh (JMS) close to the now ruling Janata Dal was elected as an MLA from Jharia. Dhanbad thus had seen the transformationof the mafia as Members of Parliament. This is more evident with various news articles which show the relation of political mafia with the local government.

The unique development of nationalisation of coal mines which took place in the 1970s era in Dhanbad marks a precursor to the change that was witnessed by town in the coming years. The rise of small entrepreneurship and the real estate (though at a small level) gave way to the rise of population which in some or the other way was related to coal mining industry but was not in the direct relationship as an employee to the organisation. This shows a shift in the working character of the population of Dhanbad who were now professionals working in the coal mining related offices only.

The city of Dhanbad was designated as a most urbanized districts in India with a population of 6,38,000 living only in urban areas as per the 1971 Census of India records. Rothermund (1980) observed that the nature of urbanisation in Dhanbad is very peculiar as it is largely 'coalfield urbanisation'. This atypical characteristic of urbanisation due to development in coalfield makes the urban development of Dhanbad a unique case. However, Rothermund (1980) also writes that the pattern of urban growth in Dhanbad also followed the general trend of urbanisation in other industrial areas of India. In the

later years however when the whole of India was undergoing transformation due to the effects of globalisation Dhanbad could not remain away from this wave of transformation.

V.   The Post- Liberalisation Era

A study by Amit Kumar et al (2011) of the three districts of Jharkhand which included Dhanbad reveals the pattern of urban development which took place in these districts over the last 20 years[18]. This study has a special section on Dhanbad which has shown how the urban agglomeration of Dhanbad has undergone change and growth. The study reveals that the Dhanbad urban agglomeration has witnessed 91.1% growth between the years 1986-2005. However, the usage of land for built-up purposes presented in this study shows a very peculiar picture. According to the study, between the years 1986-1991, the growth was 21.48%, while it reduced to 16.62% and 15.20% during 1991-96 and 1996-2001.

But just after this year, from 2001-2005 there was a spurt of development in the built-up land. The reason behind this sudden growth is attributed to the new development on the political front with the making of a new state of Jharkhand. Through, this study one can see that there was a definite increase in the urban agglomeration till the year 2005 from 1986 which covers the initial years of LPG (Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation) reforms. But the study gives us a description of urban dynamics of Dhanbad till 2005 only. Moving beyond 2005 one can find that there was quite a speedy acceleration in the urban agglomeration and urbanisation of Dhanbad.

The Census of India 2011 considers Dhanbad as a city with a population of 1,161,561. The bulging numbers put it into the category of a million plus city. The officers at the municipal corporation when asked about the changes and the huge rise in the number of population increase in the city attributed it to the increase of middle class population in the city.

The effects of changes in the demography of Dhanbad of the 1970s can also be seen after the 1990s LPG reforms. The rise of new group of real estate developers can be seen for filling the rising demand in this field. Apart from these we can see a significant rise in the

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[18] AMIT KUMAR, ARVIND CHANDRA PANDEY, NAJMUL HODAand A. T. JEYASEELAN, *Evaluation of urban sprawl pattern in the tribal-dominated cities of Jharkhand state, India, International Journal of Remote Sensing,* Vol. 32, No. 22, 20 November 2011, 7651–7675

sectors like medical industry; private banking establishmentswhich have come along with some new news agency in both print and electronic media. There has been also been a significant rise in the number of schools, pre-schools and coaching institutes and various other educational centres which is discussed in the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

Thus, there has been a continuous growth in different wards of the Dhanbad city which marks establishment by newer population and also a change in the infrastructure. This change in infrastructure was not only in residential spaces but for the very first-time new developers got involved in the city marking a departure. This is evident in the rise of spaces for leisure activities. This was possible only because of the rising interest of the existing business class people of the city in real estate as well as the outside companies working on a global level which began to invest in the city of Dhanbad.

Rise of Real Estate: An economic venture

The huge structures which have engulfed the city of Dhanbad in the post 2000 era definitely presented it as one of the provincial towns under transformation. The area which was a few years before was merely barren land came up with a large number of new residential plots. These plots stand unique to the 1980s' Dhanbad as it stands separate from the old housing structures. There is a sense of replication to the structures once quite famous in metropolitan cities in Dhanbad too. S N Singh, a small scale entrepreneur in real estate, mentions that he has been in this business of real estate for the last 13 years and has seen a huge change in the working scenario in Dhanbad. He mentions that in Dhanbad, today, as many as 300 real estate projects are under operation. He talks about a project which according to him is the largest in Dhanbad, being planned in the region of Bhuinphore. This area of Bhuinphore which is very much near to the Dhangi hills was once marked as being outside the main township of Dhanbad. This is a site of the biggest real estate project for today. The project is expected to have 565 flats divided into 16 towers with two big malls inside the residential area. He further elaborates that this work will be different as it will have malls within its gates.

Mr Singh further says that there is a demand and that is only encouraging them to work on more projects. Going by the words of Mr Singh if one looks at the number of projects which have been operational and are still to come up, we can say that the process of gentrification of the city is at a very high pace. According to Mr. Singh, all this demand

for new housing projects with modern amenities comes largely from the middle classes and it is this demand they try to meet in their new projects.

Mr. Singh also talks about the limitations they have had to face in Dhanbad that restricts the city's growth. The land transactions in the state of Jharkhand are governed by a rule called Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act 1908 (CNT) according to which a tribal cannot sell his land to a non-tribal in any area of Jharkhand. This constrains many builders who happened to belong to the non-tribal background to gain land and thus the projects either come on hold or stop because of unavailability of land. Mr Singh also mentions about the ever-increasing land rates. He says that in fourteen years of Jharkhand governance almost ten times the land rates are revised. This in turn discourages the real estate developers to invest in Dhanbad thereby slowing down the process of infrastructural development. However, in comparison to earlier years one can see that there is a significant change in the city.

The infrastructure of Dhanbad has definitely changed which is clearly visible in the advertisements in the newspapers. A run through the newspapers show unique advertisements referring to real estate. The type of pictorial representations in the local newspapers attract the local customers through various means. The most unique feature of all these advertisements is the explicit mentioning of the 'cheaper rates' at which each company promises to deliver projects.

Further, the Municipal Corporation was formed in 2003 and in the subsequent years it did bring a change in the infrastructure under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) norms. However, major changes which were brought in the last decade, say 2010 or so, were from the private sector. This is evident in the number of projects active in Dhanbad by large number of private real estate developers. The real estate developers also noted that there has been a growing demand for apartment type of residences. This has led to the coming of gated communities of middle classes in Dhanbad.

Effect of Gentrification

In a span of twenty odd years, one can see as a consequence of global effects on Dhanbad spurt of gentrification happening in the city. In the post liberalisation era, the city

expanded and there was a huge change in the urban space of Dhanbad. This change is quite visible not just in the growing number of structures which have gone beyond the earlier urban limits (Amit et al 2011), but also in the beliefs, behaviors and cultural practices. Now there are certain new areas which are marked exclusively for the middle classes, as a result of what Hackworth and Smith (2011) observe as the 'growing relationship between globalization and gentrification'. They say that the wave of gentrification which has started in the post 1990s has been profusely affecting the changes in local spaces as a consequence of global processes. The process of gentrification is no longer confined to western cities and it has become global. The study had clearly established the fact that the city of Dhanbad is not left behind in these developments. It is in this global economy that exchange value and capital accumulation come up as dominant forces which shaped urban space.

However, various urban spaces that have developed in the post 2000s have different characteristics, physically as well as culturally. The latest wave of gentrification not only produced places that are mere structural spaces but also spaces which would have new ways of life matching what one may call 'global society'. These spaces though meant to have traits exclusive which the traditional housing spaces 'fail' to possess. But one interesting phenomena in Dhanbad is that the housing areas with all their exclusivity tried to include as many of owners who may have least of the ownership capabilities. For instance, this may be understood rightly as we could see in the old parts of the city how in small spaces apartment structures have been constructed. The idea is to replicate a lifestyle of a 'society' even if the affordability is not there.

The spaces in Hirapur region of Dhanbad which have very narrow lanes one could see apartments like Hari Om Towers and Akansha Towers which act as a 'small' society. These spaces have facilities like a parking space, all time guard, lift, etc. However, the space is not enough to have playground for children or any good place for celebrating any festive occasion. In a conversation, a very unique situation came up where it was known that many apartment owners in various towers started a business where they allow people from outside to use their parking space for keeping cars at 3000 a month as they don't own a car and people living in individual houses don't have a parking space due to narrow lanes leading to their house.

On a very contrasting picture, we can also see societies like Chandra Courtyard located in Chandra Vihar Colony which is actually an extended space of the city recently developed in the Dhaiyya region of Dhanbad. This is comparatively a new area in Dhanbad which is inhabited by mainly retired officials of government agency like CIMFR. Moreover, it is also looked upon as a better space for habitation by officials from railways, banks etc who like to have a society which is much more advanced culturally and can give them the life of a global standards. These societies are famous for their huge structures, spaces for children, better facilities, better connectivity with the spaces of new origin in the city like malls, multiplexes, etc. Hence, we can well see that the city of Dhanbad is witnessing an infrastructural growth while giving rise to a symbolic culture which is desired by many, but achieved by a few. The desires also do not remain unfulfilled as the city has a unique character of producing spaces which would look like a place of high stature but may not be in reality moreover affordable in its all sanctity giving a sense of globally attracted lifestyle.

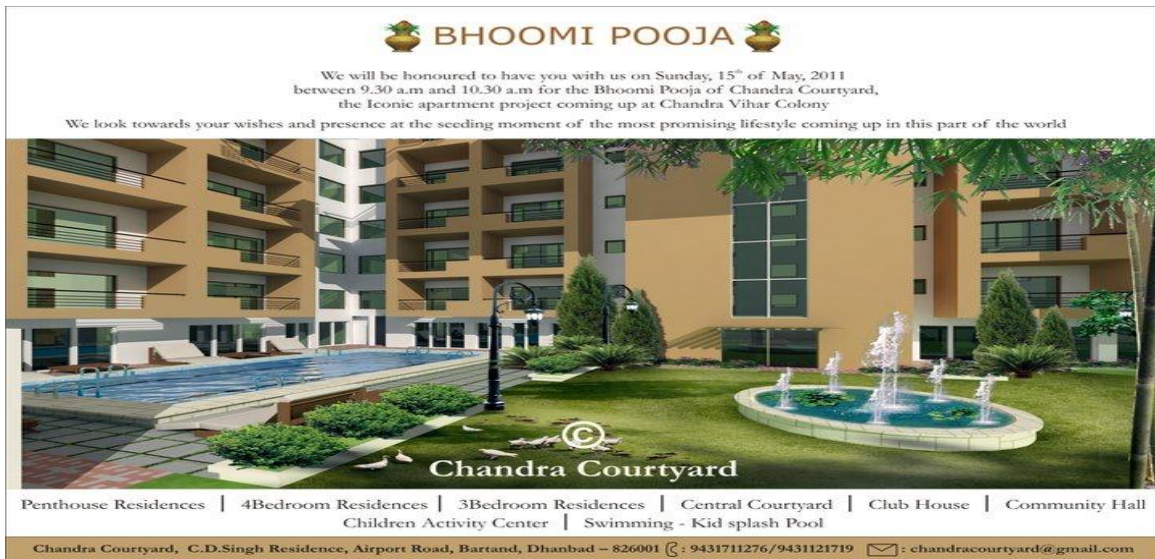**Fig. 2.4:Banner of inauguration of Chandra Courtyard depicting with mention of facilitiesthere**

Fig. 2.5:Newly beautified Bekarbandh Park, Dhanbad

Development of spaces of Market and Leisure

Similar kind of development is seen in ***the market hubs***. As mentioned earlier, the market of Hirapur Hatia developed as a requirement for the Hirapur residencies. In the course of time another very important market in this area Park Market was developed, serving the changing demands of the people living in Hirapur which was in itself expanding. Moreover, every residential area in its adjacent areas witnessed a large number of changes and markets developed in every residential area. Today, one can see several new structures coming at different places of the city serving to the new demands, mainly for the global brands. The new Sahyogi Nagar which is seen as the extended end of Saraidhela has, along with the new demands of residential structures, gained the status of huge market hub with the largest mall in its area, called Ozone Galleria. This new mall caters to the demands of a multiplex and exclusive brands and retail shops like Big Bazaar.

Another structure which is very prominent in terms of the market is the City Centre which is in Dhaiyya, the newly developed area. However, the largest numbers of malls are mostly in *Bank More* (Place in Dhanbad). This part of Dhanbad was very famous for *Bada Bazaar* (Old market in dhanbad) that has been an active market since the British times serving the areas at the other side of Dhanbad railway station. Presently, Bank More along with a large hub of market has new malls like Basil International, Central point, Ozone Plaza, Urmila Tower, Shanti Bhawan and Madhuri Palace. These are the few names of the

malls which have developed in the last decade giving a new shape to the shopping areas of the city.

However, the markets in Hirapur Hatia developed as a requirement for the Hirapur residences. In the course of time, another very important market in this area that developed was Park Market serving the changing demands of the people living in the Hirapur which was in itself expanding. Moreover, every residential area in its adjacent areas witnessed a large number of change and markets developed in every residential area. It may be thus noted that this changing face of Dhanbad is an off shoot of changing middle class composition of the city as well.

Thus, Dhanbad in course of its urban growth can be seen producing spaces which may be new in structure but different in nature and characteristics. The old and new spaces of Dhanbad may be seen different in their time of existence as the city's recognized space but there are few areas like Hirapur and Bank More which form the earliest habitations in the city of Dhanbad among which Hirapur being the earliest. However today along with the old 'mohalla' culture that has been in the city since ages we can also see new structures coming up there. Thus, we can find that a set of new structures have brought in a new kind of newness in the lifestyle among the people of Dhanbad.

The idea that a space produces its own symbol of spectacles (Zukin, 2005) attracting every strata of population to aspire to own that lifestyle becomes very prevalent in Dhanbad too. However, these symbols of redefining class characteristics also produce various new facets to the education industry in Dhanbad. The educational avenues in Dhanbad have expanded in such a way that has become an inevitable manifestation of gaining class position or maintaining the class position. The chapters that follow highlight this development.

Fig. 2.6: Master Plan of Kandra Indutrial Area, Dhanbad prepared by JIADA, Bokaro[19]
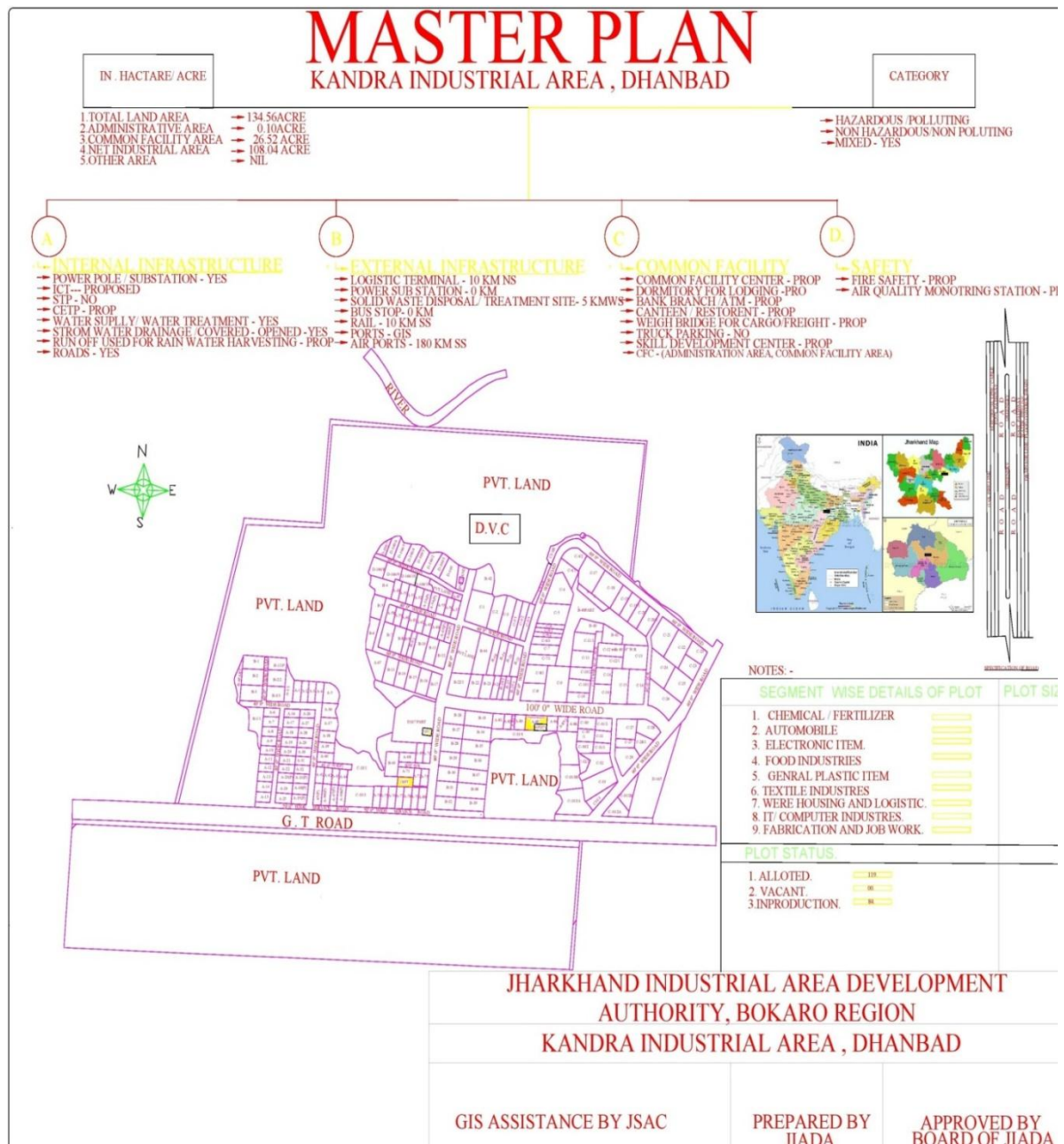
[19]http://www.jiada.co.in/docs/mp/Masterplan-fina-dwgBOKARO-govindpur.pdf, accessed on 25/11/2018

Fig. 2.7: Figure from a news report by The Telegraph listing the flawed areas of ranking the different sites of Jharkhand[20]

ONSITE TRUTHS

Site	Rating	Reality
Tatisilwai Industrial Area, Ranchi	Fifth in internal infrastructure and utilities	Waterlogging due to poor drainage, frequent power cuts, irregular trash removal, poor roads
Kandra Industrial Area, Dhanbad	First in business support services	Erratic power, water scarcity
Balidih Industrial Area, Bokaro	Second in external infrastructure, environment safety	Erratic power, water scarcity

City Space, Economy and Class Characteristics

The Shri Ram Group has recognised Saraidhela part of Dhanbad as the hottest spot for investment. This they have explained through their advertisement where they have very broadly talked about the changing class characteristics of that particular area of Dhanbad. This area of Saraidhela according to the company, has provided the city dwellers an elevated living and lifestyle. This may be understood in terms growing residential colonies mainly gated ones and also the coming of Ozone Galleria mall in this area both seem to have changed the mode of living and lifestyle. The company site further accounts for its geographical location which is in the heart of the city. The advertisement justifies this by saying that till midnight or the last show timing of the multiplex, Fame, one may get cabs and three wheelers very easily. The mode of transport highlighted shows a very interesting character of the city as being a small city with short destinations to cover the three wheelers are still seen as the viable source of transport along with Ola cabs which may be seen as costlier as well as modern way to commute.

However, the existence of both indicates a mixed class characteristics or people from various class positions are keen on accessing the places leisure like malls very frequently.

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[20] https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/jharkhand/govt-gives-jharkhand-industry-hubs-top-rating-leaving-business-to-deal-with-broken-reality/cid/1676074, accessed on 01/12/2018

One more interpretation of this is that most of the consumers of this type of facilities are students from ISM who are living the night life most prominently. In the last lines of advertisement, the Shri Ram Group marks out a very important aspect of interdependence of city space, people and investment. It says, 'Life has been made smoother for people of Dhanbad and Saraidhela has catalysed the growth of Shri Ram Ozone'. Through this the Company justifies their advertisement of Saraidhela as a choice for investment in a mall.

Fig. 2.8: An advertisement picture by Shri Ram, under its Ozone Galleria unit

Source: Official Website of Shriram Ozone Galleria[21]

[21]http://www.ozonegalleria.com/saraidhela.html, accessed on 01/12/2018

Summary

In this chapter, the main aim was to present a historical understanding of the evolution of Dhanbad and its urban transformation. The dimensions through which the whole discussion was brought forth were mainly the economic change which the particular geographic location was witnessing at various point of historical juncture and its impact in the urbanisation of the city. The next chapter discusses the educational development and the role ISM had played in the urban transformation of Dhanbad.

Chapter 3: Educational Growth and Impact of ISM on the City

According to the Gazetteer of Dhanbad (1964), the educational facilities and opportunities started growing in the city of Dhanbad ever since it became a district headquarter. Another way to put it is that the progress of education in Dhanbad itself is the reason behind Dhanbad gaining the status of a district (Roy Chaudhary, 1964). The first educational institutions of Dhanbad, two government-aided secondary schools, were set up in 1866 at Jharia and Pandra by Raja Durga Prasad Singh. The students of these schools were entitled to receive free education from the colonial government. After Hirapur came into existence, the residents who were mainly from the Bengali middle class (Ray, 2013) made demands for some educational facilities within Hirapur as the only school that was available to them then was in Jharia which was difficult for these middle class children to access. It was in the year 1908 that Shri J C Mallick, one of the prominent figures of the Bengali fraternity in Hirapur, established a school called 'Hirapur Middle School'. This school was renamed as High English School in the year 1910 and is still popularly known as H E School.

In the year 1928 Hatia School also came up and grew as a significant school in the heart of Hirapur. Vishwesh Rai Mitra, a respondent recalls that schools like Hatia School were mainly paathshalas (lower primary schools) which were later converted into government schools. The other major schools were Khalsa High School and Gujarati High School to cater to the mixed population growing in Dhanbad. Later in the year 1954 an important school, Mount Carmel School, came up in Digwadih, which became a popular choice for girls. It was not a government aided school but conducted by a missionary, Sisters of Apostolic Carmel. Girls were first trained in a middle school in Dhanbad and then sent for higher education to Carmel School in Digwadih. It was a highly reputed school which prepared girls for the Bihar Board in English medium. This was a significant change for girls' education in Dhanbad at that time as Abhoya Sundari School, another private school, had only Bangla as medium of instruction. This also suggests that the residents were now not only the Bengalis but included migrants from other parts of India as well

and their demand for education was also met by these schools. It also marked the emergence of first English medium schools.

The growth of higher education in Dhanbad can be traced to the establishment of ISM, which was established under the name, School of Mines. This institute was established in the year 1926 and it is considered as one of the best mining institutes in India. It has a history of shaping a number of engineers who have proved their excellence in the mining field in India as well as outside the country. Today a number of courses other than mining engineering are also taught in this campus. A number of good research studies have also been contributed by this institute.

This chapter tries to present a picture of schools and higher education institutes in Dhanbad. The present-day growth of educational infrastructure is indicative of the population growth and change in demand for educational facilities. The growing educational facilities both at the school as well as higher education level not only reflect the change in social composition of Dhanbad but also the demands of neo liberal job market. ISM which is considered a symbol of educational excellence in Dhanbad has also had a huge impact on the people of Dhanbad in different ways. ISM has transformed the educational scenario by creating discourse around importance of getting into an educational institution of such a big stature.

I.   Growth of formal educational infrastructure

A number of private English medium schools came up post 1990s in the city. Some of the prominent private schools in Dhanbad are Delhi Public School and Dhanbad Public School.Later in 2000 another set of schools like DAV Koylanagar, St Xaviers and many others were set up. Another important school which came much earlier to these schools was De-nobili which came in 1956 and Carmel school, Bekarbandh also came in 1956 which are still very popular private schools.

All these schools are affiliated to CBSE, except De-nobili and Carmel, which are affiliated to ICSE Board. These schools individually have their unique way of functioning. All these schools focus on overall development of students, where they make sure that best quality education is being provided to their students, with teachers using different methodologies to inculcate knowledge which would help the children

throughout their lives. Proper infrastructure is available in these schools both for indoor and outdoor games including basketball courts, football ground, badminton courts. Science labs, auditoriums, music and dance rooms, karate rooms are also present in these schools. Annual functions, Independence Day celebrations, music and dance competitions, debates, extempore and many such events provide a platform to students to bring out their talents with fun and at the same time help them develop their personality and others skills, useful for their future. Scholarships on the basis of merit are also provided in some of these schools.

In the present day, some schools like the Delhi Public School, have turned their classrooms into smart classes by using digital aids like smart boards. A smart classroom is onethat is equipped with computer and audio-visual equipment, allowing the instructor to teach using a wide variety of media. These include smart interactive white board, DVDs, PPTs and more, all displayed through a data projector. Smart classes are a modernized method of education in Indian education scenario which provides quality education to students by helping them in better concept formation, concept elaboration, improvement in reading skills and academic achievement. Delhi Public School has also developed collaboration with Khan Academy[I]in terms of online courses which this portal provides for free.

In the recent years, many new schools have also developed in Dhanbad, both on large scale and small-scale basis for example, Cambridge International School and National Convent School. Few primary schools have also been established at local levels in the community like Mission of Knowledge and Vivekananda Vidyamandir.

II.   Growth of Higher Education

Prasanna Kumar Roy Memorial College, commonly known as P K Roy among the masses in the city of Dhanbad, was founded by the philanthropist Roy family of Katrasgarh in 1948.[II] It became fully functional in 1960 to spread the light of knowledge in KoylanchalDhanbad. In 1977, the college was under Ranchi University where honours degree in various subjects of Arts, Science and Commerce were provided. In 1984, PG courses were started in the college with permission from its stakeholders based on its

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[I]https://www.khanacademy.org/, accessed on 12/02/2019
[II]http://wikimapia.org/1515052/P-K-Roy-Memorial-College, accessed on 12/02/2019

performance over the years. Later it moved to VinobaBhave University and now currently it is under Binod Bihari MahatoUniversity.As quoted on its official web page its vision is "Quality enhancement in all spheres of life encompassing social values, scientific interests, patriotism, leadership quality and overall concern for the world leading to the formation of just and equitable society".It thrives towards ensuring quality education for its students for their grooming so that they can contribute to overall growth and progress of society, nation and mankind at large.[III]

With a total strength of fifteen thousand students coming from Dhanbad and its adjacent areas and from West Bengal, P K Roy offers graduation and Post graduation in various subjects of Science, Social Science, Commerce, language and other vocational studies such as Biotech and Business Administration. Currently the number of subjects covered in PG teaching is 13. Distance learning courses covered under Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) and Nalanda Open University (NOU) are also included in its programmes. P K Roy has started Swayam Prabha Classes,[IV] Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs)[V] and is utilizing other facilities of Digital India Programmeto make quality study material available to its students round the clock. The students and teachers have access to 61 lakh digital books, since the college is a member of National Digital Library of India. It also has access to national and international journals through INFLIBNET[VI] facilities.

The college has various labs to cater to the needs of research and development. Language Lab is very crucial as it helps the students develop their soft skills. Another initiative of the college is implementation of EXCEL (Employability Excellence with College Education and Learning) programme modeled on the basis of the scheme NUSSD (National University Students Skill development Programme) a flagship programme initiated by Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS)[VII] to help students develop soft skills

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[III]http://pkrmc.ac.in/pkrmc, accessed on 12/02/2019
[IV] The SWAYAM PRABHA is a group of 32 DTH channels devoted to telecasting of high-quality educational programmes on 24X7 basis using the GSAT-15 satellite.
[V]Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) are free online courses available for anyone to enroll.
[VI]Information and Library Network (**INFLIBNET**) is an Autonomous Inter-University Centre (IUC) of University Grants Commission (UGC) involved in creating infrastructure for the sharing of library and information resources and **services** among the academic and research institutions.
[VII] The EXCEL programme was modeled on the National University Students' Skill Development Programme (NUSSD), a flagship programme initiated by TISS in 2013. The programme was successfully piloted in 9 states in India and is currently in the second phase where it is being implemented in 120 colleges in 4 states in India. In 2015, the United Nations (UN) Steering Committee on Children and Youth

which would help them in getting jobs in the long run.It is the second phase of execution of this programme in which Jharkhand Government has launched this programme for implementation in various colleges. P K Roy college of Dhanbad is also among those colleges which have started this programme to enhance their student's employability skills. Moreover, the college has its own placement cell also to assist the students in their start-up ideas and work towards providing employment to the students.

Fig. 3.1:Front view of P K Roy Memorial College   **Fig. 3.2:NSE P K RoyMemorial College**

Source: Official Website of PK Roy College, Dhanbad[VIII]

Apart from education, the college has several departments and takes initiatives for development of the students for contributing towards the society. It has its own cultural societyand sports club. NCC teams present in the college train the students in developing character, leadership qualities and discipline to later serve the nation and its defense forces.The National Service Scheme (NSS) is a Central government-sponsored public service program conducted by the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports of the Government of India.The sole aim of the NSS is to provide hands on experience to young students in delivering community service[IX]. The college has four units of NSS to train students to work for development of the society and extendsuitable help for societal

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recognized the NUSSD programme as a "Skill Development Best Practice" in the country. The project is managed by Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai and based on credit marking. The entire course from teaching to awarding the NUSSD certificate is done by TISS. Since October 2012, TISS on the sanction of Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports and office of Advisor to the Prime Minister had been working on this project. www.avenuemail.in/jamshedpur/graduate-college-launches-excel-to-help-students-grab-job-opportunities/117280/
[VIII]http://pkrmc.ac.in/pkrmc/AboutCollege.html, accessed on 15/03/2019
[IX]https://nss.gov.in/, accessed on 15/03/2019

causes by creating an environment conducive for motivating the young Indians to participate in resolving various issues plaguing their surroundings.

In recent years the college has been recognized by the Jharkhand Government as a premier college of Jharkhand and viable investment has also been proposed to expand and renovate the college. In 2014, the college was awarded grade B with CGPA 2.58 by the National Assessment and Accreditation Council, Bangalore, suggesting that the quality of education being offered is good.

Another major development in the field of higher education in Dhanbad is the coming up of a new university, "Binod Bihari Mahato Koylanchal University. Chief Minister of Jharkhand, Raghubar Das, laid the foundation of this university in November 2017. Its vision is "To emerge as an internationally acclaimed Technical University to impart futuristic technical education and creation of vibrant research enterprise to create quality engineers and researchers, truly world class leaders and unleash technological innovations to serve the global society and improve the quality of life."[X]

The university derives its name from Binod Bihari Mahato[XI], who was an advocate, politician and the founder of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha[XII] in 1972. He fought for the making of Jharkhand so that the indigenous people of Dhanbad could get their basic rights. His idea of education gets reflected in his slogan of '*padho and lado*' (Get educated and fight) where he emphasises on the fight for land and education for the displaced people of Dhanbad due to massive capitalist incursion.

[X] http://bbmku.ac.in/vision-and-mission/, accessed on 15/03/2019
[XI] Binod Bihari Mahato was member of the Communist Party for 25 years. He had disbelief in all India parties. He had thought that Congress and Jan Sangh were a party for feudalism, Capitalist and not for dalit and backward castes. So it is difficult to fight for dalit and backward caste as a member of these parties. Then he created Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. Under the banner of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha several agitations took place for a separate state of Jharkhand. Binod Bihari Mahoto always tried to spread education. He had given slogan of "Padho and Lado". He had donated money for the establishment of several schools and colleges. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Binod_Bihari_Mahato, accessed on 15/03/2019
[XII] Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) (translation: Jharkhand Liberation Front) is a state political party in the Indian state of Jharkhand which was founded by Binod Bihari Mahato.[4] It has one seat in the 17th Lok Sabha. Shibu Soren is the president of the JMM. JMM is also an influential political party in the state of Odisha and parts of neighbouring of states. The party was officially created on the birthday of Birsa Munda, the 19th century tribal warrior of Jharkhand, who fought against the British rule in present-day Jharkhand. The State of Jharkhand also came into existence on Birsa Munda's birthday in 2000.

Fig. 3.3: Front view of Binod Bihari Mahato Koylanchal University **Fig. 3.4: Logo of Binod Bihari Mahato Koylanchal University**

Source: Official Website of Binod Bihari Mahato Koylanchal University[XIII]

It has 10 constituent colleges listed as below:

1) P K Roy Memorial College, Dhanbad
2) Bokaro Steel City College, Bokaro
3) SSLNT Women's College, Dhanbad
4) R.S.P. College, Jharia
5) R.S. More College Govindpur
6) B. S. K. College, Maithon
7) Katras College, Katrasgarh
8) Sindri College, Sindri
9) Chas College, Chas
10) K. B. College, Bermo

Colleges such as BokaroMahila College, Bokaro and DAV Mahila College, Katrasgarh, Dhanbad are among the 18 colleges affiliated to the university. There is one minority affiliated College, Gurunanak College, in the university.[XIV] There are 25 B.Ed. colleges, two engineering colleges, two law colleges, and one medical college running under this university. Graduate and post-graduate courses are offered in this university with around post graduate degree in 21 diverse subjects in Department of Management,


[XIII]http://bbmku.ac.in/, accessed on 24/03/2019
[XIV]http://bbmku.ac.in/affiliated-colleges/, accessed on 24/03/2019

MassCommunication, Computer Science and Environmental Science and Disaster Management.

Prof. (Dr.) Anjani Kumar Srivastava is the first Vice Chancellor of the University. He is an eminent academician and popular administrator.

Fig. 3.5: List of Colleges and Students enrolled in Binod Bihari Mahto Koylanchal University, BBKMU[XV]
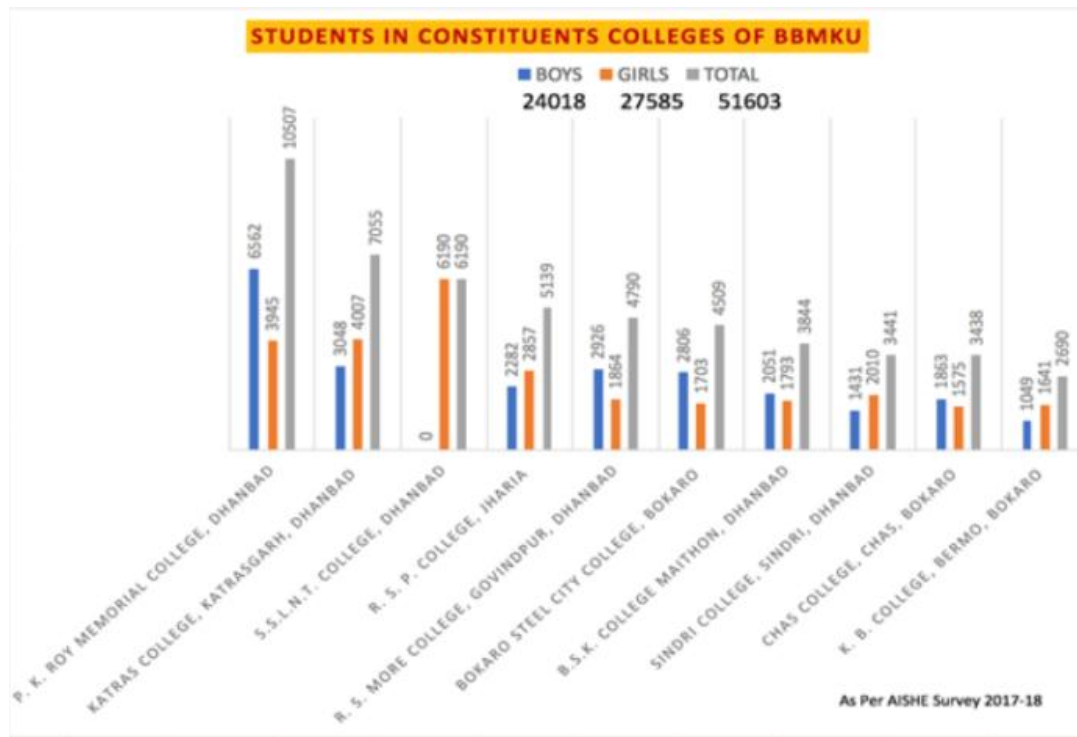
The website of BBKMU has listed its number of colleges and number of students in each college across two districts which are Dhanbad and Bokaro. This list was based on the data available from report from All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) in 2017-18.[XVI] The aim of the data presented here is to emphasise upon the reach to the significant number of students within the umbrella of this university. The number of constituent colleges represents the much needed establishment of this university as now these colleges will have a headquarter/university based in Dhanbad itself as earlier when affiliated to Vinova Bhave University students of these constituent colleges of Bokaro and Dhanbad had to commute to Hazaribagh where there was the headquarter of VBU.

[XV]http://www.bbmku.org.in/?p=content&page=3, accessed on 15/03/2019
[XVI]http://www.bbmku.org.in/?p=content&page=3, accessed on 15/03/2019

Hence, with the responsibility of these constituent colleges under its name, BBMKU in Dhanbad boasts of serving to educational needs of the large number of students taking refuge for higher education in these constituent colleges.

Higher Education for Women

Just eight years after Indian independence, with a vision of improving women's education in the area, Shree Shree Lakshmi Narayan Trust Mahila Mahavidyalaya (SSLNT) was startedin a single room with 9 students and 2 lecturers. It was established on 19th August 1955 with the joint efforts of two social workers of Dhanbad, HirendraNath Chatterjee and Mriganka Shekhar Mukherjee. Later in the year 1962, the foundation of the main college building was laid by the then Governor of Bihar, M. A. Ayyangar. The main building of the college was inaugurated by late Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi on 11th July 1965, who was at that time the Information and Broadcasting Minister of India. During its inception it was affiliated to Bihar University, and then to Ranchi University in 1961. For a long time, from 1962 until 2017, it functioned under Vinoba Bhave University. In 2017 it became a part of the newly formed Binod Bihari Mahato University, Dhanbad.

In 2019, it successfully completed 63 years with strength of 5000 students and 30,000 degree holders. It operates with the vision of 'women's empowerment by imparting quality higher education and overall development' thereby educating and empowering girls to lead a respectful life and contribute in the development of the society as a whole.

The science stream of the college became functional in 1966 and commerce stream in 1983. As published on its official website, its students secured top position in each subject every year which led the college to start its post-graduation course in science and arts in 1984.Various vocational courses alongwith B. Ed were introduced in 2006-07 so that overall development of the students is ensured. Few of the courses covered are degree courses in arts in subjects such as Maths, Science, Economics, Philosophy, Psychology, Political Science etc. Among courses in languages, degree courses in Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu, English are covered. Degree in Music and Home Science are also offered by the college.

The college has its own infrastructure for both indoor-outdoor games. Inter-College tournaments are held every year by the university. Field works for research are conducted by the students of all departments. Seminars and various competitions in debate, drama, music, writing is organised with distribution of prizes to boost the morale of the students and enhance their communication skills and ultimately shape them to face the real challenges of the competitive world after college. Importantly, the college offers scholarship of INR 28,800 to six meritorious students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

Fig. 3.6: Some clips from official website of SSLNT College[XVII]

Source : Official website of SSLNT college Dhanbad

XVIIhttp://www.sslnt.in/photo-gallery.php, accessed on 28/03/2019

One of the most renowned educationists, P. Shekhar, Principal of Gurunanak College, Dhanbad talks elaborately about higher education of women in Dhanbad. He mentions that how Guru Nanak College, started women's wing and it was realized that this would serve the cause of underprivileged and downtrodden especially those women who would not have the freedom to go far off places to study. Today most of the girls come from Wasseypur area, in which if there are 2500 girls, approximately 1250 would be from Muslim families. This has been the trend for 10- 15 years. The Principal shared:

> The result is such that people of Wasseypur come and tell me that their society has changed. These girls who pass out from this college have new ideas. They come here in burqa but go back as fashionably dressed women because education liberates. These liberating ideas not only gives you financial independence but also instils self-respect. Thus, that way society has changed. The educational institutions in Dhanbad may not be famous as JNU or BHU but have reached to the poorest of the poor, the underprivileged. Hence the remotest has been touched.

Further, he added:

> We do get students from Ishri Bazaar, Jamtaada. The feasibility to come these colleges for students has made it successful. Reputation travels and this is the reason we are getting students from outside. We have youth festival to be happening in Vinobha Bhave university we are sending 40 member team to the festival out of which 16 are girls and 3 are Muslim girls. That is very big change as Muslim parents sending their children to youth festival shows the amount of work that we have done. They are topping the university and this shows that we have reached the one who needed education the most. If the society has to improve and develop in the true sense our women must be independent and bright.

Hence a significant change in the outreach of education through these colleges to the women of Dhanbad has occurred. The introductions of so many courses have certainly attracted women from various backgrounds to join these colleges for higher education

degrees. The success story of women from minority background leaves an impression of growing awareness towards education among these families also

III. ISM and its impact on Dhanbad

The city of Dhanbad developed into a place of habitation only because of coal mines and execution of several projects around it. Long back in 1910[XVIII] mining became a trend and there was a necessity to explore the adjacent coal mines of Jharia[XIX]. The then Dhanbad thus emerged as a provincial town. To derive the best out of the largest mineral reservoir of the country, Dhanbad was developed as a hub of coal mining related activities. In the last century, at various junctures of time, centres of advancement in the field of mining has been developed in the city of Dhanbad. In this respect the first and foremost institution which was established was Indian School of Mines which is in the present day known as Indian Institute of Technology (Indian School of Mines). IIT (ISM) stands as a monumental piece of educational abode in the small city of Dhanbad.

IIT (ISM) has crossed many years of greatness to finally emerge as an IIT, the esteemed brand institution of India in 2016. The presence and growth of this institution has had a deep impact on the educational scenario of Dhanbad. It is reflected in something as small as the fact that the whole city witnesses a makeover every time a renowned personality makes a visit to the IIT (ISM) campus.

Establishment of Indian School of Mines

The institution as we know was established in the year 1926 by Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India. This was initiated with an aim to launch a high grade institution for training mining engineers as well as geologists who may be required for the mining and mineral industries of the country.

[XVIII]It was in the year 1910 that first trace of habitation in the present-day town of Dhanbad can be known. Earliest memoirs of establishing a residential area for various migrants from Govindpur to the newly established court in the present-day region of Dhanbad can be recalled from 1910.

[XIX] Jharia is a neighbourhood in Dhanbad in Jharkhand state, India.Jharia is famous for its rich coal resources, used to make coke. Jharia plays a very important role in the economy and development of Dhanbad City, and can be considered as a part of Dhanbad City.

Though some centres for geological education were opened in Calcutta and Madras University in the 1890sthe place selected for the establishment of School of Mines was Dhanbad, keeping in view the fact that it was the centre of the coal industry in East India, which was producing country's 75 per cent coal. Moreover, another reason for its establishment was that the first Principal for this institution was appointed from the Chief Inspectorate of Mines which was also situated in Dhanbad. This made it easy for the person in charge of both the institutions to manage the School of Mines as well as the parent department, Chief Inspectorate of Mines.

This school followed the Royal School of Mines, London, both in terms of syllabus and training. The original estimate for buildings, workshop, staff quarters, etc was INR 22 lakhs, but in spite of this amount other important expensive additions were made. In 1926 the first batch of students were admitted. The administration of the school was in the hands of Governing Body whose President, ex-officio was the Director of the Geological Survey of India. The first President of the school was Dr. D Penman who later became the Chief Inspector of Mines.

The school admitted initially about 25 students per year, the majority of whom chose Mining Engineering. The course extended over four years, the eligibility condition being a background in science at the intermediate level. During the first two years the students mostly studied common subjects which were Engineering, Elementary Geology and Elementary Mining, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. The third and fourth years were devoted to specialization in Geology or Mining. General instruction was given in different branches of Engineering, Civil, Mechanical and Electrical, as well as in various branches of Geology and in principles and practices of Mining, both in coal mines and non-coal mines. As an adjunct to these courses there were also supporting courses in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry to ensure that the students' knowledge is up to the mark for understanding these subjects of Geology and Mining.

By 1964 there was also a Department of Languages which taught English, German and French. In the initial years after the establishment, the students were allowed to take the "Certificate" of the school after three years of completing the course as that was considered sufficient for mining engineers to become managers of mines, after the

necessary practical experience in mines. There was also the Diploma of the Associateship which was given after four years of study and examination.

In 1945 Government of India appointed a Committee to consider the reorganization of School of Mines. As a result of the report of that Committee, the number of admissions to the school was increased to 48 students per year. Certain important changes were made in the curriculum of the institution and the three year "Certificate" was abolished. The Governing Body was converted into an Advisory Committee while a small Executive Committee was formed for looking after the more immediate problems of general administration. During this period the name of the school was also changed to Indian School of Mines. In 1957 the Governing Body and the Executive Committee were replaced by a Governing Council and the Secretary of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi, is the Chairman of the Committee.

The institution was affiliated to Bihar University in its Faculties of Mining, Engineering and Applied Geology in the 1954-55 session. But with the reorganization of universities in Bihar, the institutions has been affiliated to the newly formed University of Ranchi with effect from July, 1960. The Associates of this institution by 1960s were earning the BSc Degree with Honours in Mining Engineering, BSc Honours in Petroleum and MSc in Applied Geology and Applied Geophysics. Regulation regarding the post-graduate courses in all the four branches of study at this institution in 1964 was under the consideration of Ranchi University. It may be mentioned in this connection that the first batch of 26 graduates in Petroleum Technology (Production Engineering) and the first batch of seven graduates in Applied Geophysics came out in 1961.

The Associates were offered the benefits of Post- Graduate Practical Training Stipend Scheme of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. With effect from December, 1961, Prof R T Deshmukh, formerly Professor of Practical Training of this very institution, was put in charge of a separate Directorate of Practical Training which looked after the placement training and supervision of graduates of Mining Engineering from all over India. Every student in this scheme was paid an allowance of INR 150 per month after graduating in practical training in mines.

Academic Diversification and Growth of ISM

Situated in the heart of the country's prime coal belt, 260 kms from Kolkata with a campus spread over an area of 393 acres, (with 218 acres of existing campus and 175 acres under acquisition and development) the fully residential ISM has all the facilities of world class academic institute. What started as an institution to impart mining education has graduated into a full-fledged technical institution of international acclaim offering a host of programmes like B. Tech., M. Tech., M. Sc. Tech., and MBA. In addition to this, the School offers M. Phil. and full as well as part time Ph. D. programmes, while also awarding D.Sc. as the highest degree of academic achievement.

The serene campus comprises academic buildings, student hostels and 100% residential facilities for faculty and staff apart from other infrastructure facilities for a cosmopolitan community. The School has links with reputed universities and institutes across the globe and has an alumni base all over the world. It is making foray into the newer areas of academic endeavours in tune with the changing times.

Journey from ISM to IIT(ISM)

ISM was converted into IIT on in July 2016. Though it is a recent accomplishment the movement to convert ISM to IIT began quite early in the 1990s. It was in the year 1997 that ISM started taking IIT-JEE qualified students. After IT-BHU was converted to IIT-BHU in 2012, ISM was the only institute left which in spite of taking IIT-JEE qualified students was not an IIT. ISM through its Finance Committee, Executive Board and General Council proposed for its conversion into IIT. In 2010 this resolution was then moved over to Ministry of Human Resource and Development (MHRD), Government of India. After this a detailed report was prepared by EdCIL (a public sector enterprise) on the conversion of ISM into IIT on the directions of MHRD.

In a written reply to the Rajya Sabha, Minister of the then State for Human Resource Development, Shashi Tharoor, according to several news reports said that,

> "The Planning Commission has recommended that ISM, Dhanbad may be converted into an IIT while ensuring that its core competency in mining and geology would be central to the institution and would not be diluted."

Students and the faculty had also launched a campaign in 2010 for upgrading ISM to an IIT and had submitted memorandum to the Jharkhand governor in 2010.In the year 2011, a 900 crore rupees plan was approved by the Government of India for the then ISM. Under that plan an approval of allotment of expansion upto 240 acres of land for ISM was also done. In a newsreport covered by The Telegraph, Mr M K Singh, the registrar of ISM in 2011 stated that, "an amount of 10 crores was already released to expand the 220 acres vicinity of ISM into 240 acres campus". He also talked about the increase in number of intake of students with also a subsequent increase in the number of teaching staff with an aim of getting one teacher for every 12 students[xx].This gives us hint of expansion drive which ISM was already going through in 2011 itself while preparing for a much needed conversion into IIT (ISM).

One of the major developments in the discussion regarding the conversion of ISM into was IIT seen in a quote mentioning the case in 12th Five Year Plan of Govt. of India. It read as follows:

> "Older Central institutions will be financially supported to redevelop campuses to achieve scale and build state-of-the-art facilities. In some cases, multiple campuses would be encouraged to enable economies of scale and institutional efficiency. The campuses to be upgraded during the Twelfth Plan would include ISM Dhanbad to IIT-level, BESU Shibpur to an Indian Institute of Engineering, Science and Technology, and NIFFT Ranchi as a premier institution for forging and foundry technology. HEIs with potential in the UTs that come under the Central Government (through the Ministry of Home Affairs) and have potential like the

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[xx] In a newsreport by The Telegraph titled, 'ISM on Rs 900 crore expansion track' by Praduman Choubey, published on 18.05.2011, https://www.telegraphindia.com/states/jharkhand/ism-on-rs-900cr-expansion-track/cid/392912, , accessed on 11/06/2017

> PEC University of Technology and
> Chandigarh College of Architecture would
> also be upgraded." (12th Five year plan,
> Govt. of India, 99)

Political intervention for change of ISM into IIT

Following the various developments accounted in news reports one could see this move towards the conversion of ISM into IIT was politically supported too. MPs, local MLAs channelised their agenda in regard to conversion of ISM into IIT. Rahul Gandhi, General Secretary of AICC All India Congress Committee in 2009 made an assurance to the protesting students of ISM that ISM would soon get a status of IIT[XXI]. Arjun Munda, the then Chief Minister made a visit to ISM and promised to turn ISM into an IIT[XXII]. However, the major impetus came when the 14th and current Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited ISM before 2014 elections. He in his speech declared that as soon as his party will come into power, he will definitely work for making ISM an IIT. However, Arjun Munda's government had already passed that ISM will become IIT in its state legislature. Meanwhile ISM also did institutional planning for representation as an IIT.

The major reason behind the conversion of ISM into IIT was thus political. Students have been demanding the status of IIT since 2009. This was because inspite of cracking the IIT entrance, their placement was not in accordance with the IIT placements. The salary package was low due to its tag of ISM alone. The students were losing on monetary terms. The mass perception to get into IIT also had an impact in its admission procedure. Before becoming an IIT the opening rank of ISM in admission was 5000 but after becoming an IIT the rank improved to 1300. Gradually administration also realised the need to convert ISM into IIT. They felt the need for conversion and rebranding of the institution and started to develop itself on the lines of IIT.

[XXI] In a Newsreport by The Time of India titled, 'Rahul assures ISM students to take up the IIT- status issue' published on 15th Oct 2009, at 7.10 IST, timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ranchi/Rahul-assures-ISM-students-of-taking-up-IIT-status-issue/articleshow/5125295.cms

[XXII] In a newsreport by The Times of India, titled 'Chief Minister Arjun Munda to visit Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad' by Sanjay Ojha on 5th August 2011 at 19.13 IST

The students held several protests to place the matter before the concerned authorities. They formed committees and wrote blogs and several letters to the authorities demanding the conversion which they claimed to be their right.

Fig. 3.7: Studnets of ISM staging protest for converting it into IIT[XXIII]

Growth of IIT (ISM): Academic Expansion in newer fields of Scientific endeavors

Since its inception and for more than nine decades, IIT (ISM) has been serving Indian industries in the energy, mining, mineral and petroleum sectors by providing high quality trained and specialized manpower in the form of engineers, scientists and managers to develop and sustain the ever-increasing activities in these industrial sectors at various levels of exploration, exploitation, management and environmental protection. In fact, it may be said with considerable confidence that a majority of the mining and mineral based industries in both the pre- and post- independence period of the nation have been planned and executed by the eminent alumni of IIT (ISM). The institute has also made an indelible

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[XXIII]   https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/services/education/ism-students-hold-protest-over-iit-tag-demand/articleshow/22233671.cms?from=mdr, accessed on 08/09/2018

mark for itself at the global level by providing quality, trained, technical manpower to the industry/academia in other contemporary engineering disciplines.

The Institute has eighteen departments and 284 faculty members as on 31-03-2017. A list of the Departments is stated below:

Table 3.1: Department and year of establishment of ISM

Department	Year of Establishment
Department of Applied Geology	1926
Department of Mining Engineering	1926
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences	1926
Department of Applied Geophysics	1957
Department of Petroleum Engineering	1957
Department of Mining Machinery Engineering	1975
Department of Fuel and Mineral Engineering	1976
Department of Management Studies (Erstwhile Industrial Engineering and Management)	1976
Department of Electronics Engineering	1977
Department of Applied Chemistry	1989
Department of Applied Physics	1989
Department of Applied Mathematics	1989
Department of Computer Science and Engineering	1997
Department of Mechanical Engineering	1999
Department of Electrical Engineering	2005
Department of Environmental Science and Engineering	2007
Department of Chemical Engineering	2010
Department of Civil Engineering	2013

The Institute offers a host of Academic Programmes of considerable relevance such as Engineering in Mining, Petroleum, Mining Machinery, Electrical, Electronics, Computer Science & Engineering, Mechanical, Civil, Mineral, Environmental Science & Engineering, Chemical at under-graduate and post-graduate levels. It also offers higher degrees in Management and Humanities. Additionally, it is acknowledged for International Standards in its areas of core competence, viz. Mining, Oil and Gas, Mineral, Mining Environment, and Mining Equipment.

IIT (ISM) as an influence on the population of Dhanbad

IIT (ISM) acted as a source of inspiration for many individuals in Dhanbad and beyond the city too. Established primarily as a mining institute, today IIT (ISM) has grown into a full ledged university while giving space to various other courses beyond science stream like M Phil and PhD in subjects of Humanities. Giving allowances to students while doing their PhD encourages many students to enter into the university for courses apart from engineering. Importantly, it made Dhanbad a desirable space for pursuing higher education in general subjects which was earlier only possible if the students moved on to Delhi or other metropolitan cities. Thus, it also created opportunities among the people of Dhanbad to help them opt for educational choices for which they do not need to go outside Dhanbad. Thus IIT (ISM) almost acted as a catalyst in making Dhanbad an education hub by acting as a symbol of achievement and source of inspiration for those who want to enter the global workforce. The high-class placements gained by the IIT (ISM) students gives the aspiring students and parents of Dhanbad a sense of closeness to success. Since the institution of such a magnitude exists in the city it gives a hope that to attain a seat in the institution of this greatness is a doable job.

The campus and its surroundings have created a unique atmosphere. According to Dr Mritunjay Singh, Associate Professor of Maths from IIT (ISM),

> The educational institution will be providing opportunities for various courses within the university. It will also have a lateral impact on the development of overall education industry of Dhanbad which is also shaping the city. Therefore, IIT (ISM), a premier educational institution in Dhanbad has a unique impact on the education economy of the city after

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becoming an IIT. By providing opportunities of new courses it is inviting several new students from all across the country. A major growth is seen in the participation of students in the research area in ISM. These students in return are now enriching the city with new kind of transactions they have while they live in the city.

This was very prominently visible when a stretch of market just outside the IIT (ISM) gate was brought in the purview of investigation. The market which came up within a time span of 5 to 7 years only has attracted many petty traders mainly selling food items to the students of the campus. The most interesting aspect of this market is that it is beside the connecting road between the Hirapur and Saraidhela region[XXIV]. Thus, the range of shopkeepers, including those who own the shops and those who have rented, both resided either in Hirapur or fringes of Saraidhela. The everyday observations of and interaction with the students of IIT shapes the aspirations of the shop owners and gives them ideas about their children's education. Thus, whenever the researcher interviewed these petty businessmen, IIT (ISM) was always mentioned in the discussions around their children's education.

IIT (ISM) and initiative for entrepreneurial development for the people of Dhanbad

The Jharkhand government in its 2016 policy of Industrial promotion and investment promotion policy have emphasised on the entrepreneurial skill development as one of the thrust areas to be worked upon[XXV]. With most of the population looking for jobs and lacking motivation to become entrepreneurs, this policy recommendation may be seen very welcoming. Hence Dhanbad also saw an endeavour growing in this regard and the strong need of institutions and groups to encourage and guide the people was seen in the efforts of IIT (ISM).

CIIE, Centre for Innovation, Incubation and Entrepreneurship formed in IIT (ISM) Dhanbad, dedicated to promoting innovation and entrepreneurship in the state. Their

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[XXIV] This geographical explanation may be contested as it may not be exactly a divide between Hirapur and Saraidhela. But this is approximately a small geaographic location which may be seen as a bridge between the two major areas of Dhanbad mentioned above. This market stretch is actually running across a road which runs between these two areas which is also called National Highway 2.
[XXV] Jharkhand Industrial Promotion and Investment Promotion Policy 2016, http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/Jharkhand%20Industrial%20and%20Investment%20Promotion%20Policy.pdf, accessed on 08/09/2018

mission is as follows: "To motivate, build and promote out of the box thinking, development of innovative ideas. To build an environment that will facilitate the creation of social enterprise, knowledge through research and empower students to apply their entrepreneurship abilities to develop solutions for greater social impact through academia[XXVI]". CIIE supports members of the ISM Dhanbad including staff, students, alumni, faculty and Research & Development (R&D) partners, in creating successful business ventures that can translate from technology and knowledge innovations to the society at large. Being formed in an institution which has always been the abode of innovation, an institution even whose building's architecture resembles a periodic table, CIIE has cited the various aspects that need attention for giving aspiring entrepreneurs a stronger push to come up with their business ideas, nurture them, work towards them and executing them into successful businesses. Education, Research, Catalyzing Innovation and Collaboration are the four aspects for this.

CIIE conducts various programs at IIT (ISM) Dhanbad with the help of other supporting agencies to prepare and support the potential innovators by mentoring them. Starting from design building, simulations, development of the project till testing, CIIE extends complete technical support to its members. Financial support in the form of seed support, Innovation, Refinement & Commercialization Grant is provided. Legal advices are given with the help of intellectual property. Through various labs in IIT (ISM) fabrication assistance is given. Another very important aspect of entrepreneurship is market information. CIIE provides knowledge on product development strategies, business intelligence and business architecture to its members. CIIE maintains network with research laboratories for knowledge diffusion through day to day interactions.

To increase the number of people in the entrepreneurship pipeline and to create an environment where the potential candidates get exposure to the various aspects of entrepreneurship including its benefits and its huge social impact, awareness drives are needed. Entrepreneurship Awareness Drive aka EAD is an initiative by CIIE to identify young entrepreneurs with potential and to motivate them for their start-ups. For this EAC (Entrepreneur Awareness Camp) and interactive workshop is organized. These workshops are designed to inculcate the spirit of entrepreneurship in entrepreneurs from basic level

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[XXVI]https://www.iitism.ac.in/pdfs/ciie/ciie.pdf, accessed on 08/09/2018

till the point they master it. Exploring entrepreneurship spirit, practicing entrepreneurial thinking and finally mastering entrepreneurship are the three stages of these programs.

Fig. 3.8: AjitDoval, National Security Advisor, Govt of India had taken seminar on 'The Art of Decision Making' in event

Fig. 3.9: Anand Mahindra, Chairman of Mahindra Group had taken live question and answer session

Taking all these efforts into consideration, it can rightly be said that IIT(ISM) may be seen creating a space for entrepreneurship development wherein the potential aspirants

are developed into successful entrepreneurs. This centre has also formed collaboration with other groups active in Dhanbad for the promotion of the spirit of entrepreneurship.

Another organization working towards promoting entrepreneurship in Dhanbad is Headstart. Since its inception in 2007, Headstart has expanded to 23 cities and 20 different chapters in India. As quoted on its official social media page, 'Headstart Network is India's largest non-profit, volunteer-driven organization supporting early-stage start-ups and entrepreneurs'.[XXVII] Headstart has various initiatives through which it thrives to create an entrepreneurial ecosystem in India. As mentioned in its official document, it has helped in building a successful channel between potential co-founders, customers, vendors, mentors, investors and employees. Companies that have demoed at Headstart have collectively added over 48,000 Crores to the Indian Economy and created 20 Lakh jobs. It allows various start-ups to demonstrate their work and also get feedback on the same.

Fig. 3.10: Logo and picture of official Facebook page of Headstart Dhanbad[XXVIII]

Headstart also works in collaboration of CIIE to promote entrepreneurs in the city as evident in the below pictures.

[XXVII] https://www.facebook.com/pg/HSDhanbad/about/?ref=page_internal, accessed on 17/11/2018
[XXVIII] https://www.facebook.com/pg/HSDhanbad/posts/, accessed on 17/11/2018

Fig. 3.11: CIIE and Headstart working together to encourage environment for entrepreneurship in the city[XXIX]

Headstart in Dhanbad is also working towards the same agenda, thereby promoting youth to participate in entrepreneurship. One of the most significant initiatives undertaken by Headstart, Dhanbad and CIIE, IIT (ISM) is Start-up Saturdays. Start-up Saturdays are organized on the 2nd Saturday of every month, based on a particular theme. Experts are invited to talk on a particular subject alongwith question and answer series Entrepreneurs, founders are invited to give speeches and share their experiences with the youth. One such event was orgaised in P K Roy Memorial College where three leading entrepreneurs in the state were invited to speak to the students.

Abhinav Shah, Founder of Osam Dairy from, Dhanbad Jharkhand was one of the speakers, whose company caters to fulfil the needs of dairy products in Jharkhand. Osam Dairy was awarded the most promising start-up of the year by ASSOCHAM, The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India[XXX] in 2017.[XXXI]

Ravi Singh Choudhary, second speaker in the seminar, founder of KrishiUtthan in Jharkhand recognized the critical problems Indian farmers are facing today and discussed initiatives required to bridge the gap between farmers and technology. Having studied

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[XXIX]https://www.facebook.com/CIIESRCC/posts/1843714465843377, accessed on 17/11/2018

[XXX]The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (**ASSOCHAM**) is one of the apex trade associations of India. The organizationrepresents the interests of trade and commerce in India, and acts as an interface between issues and initiatives.

[XXXI]http://osamdairy.com/, accessed on 17/11/2018

Mechanical Engineering from BIT Sindri, he said it is magical to see how he is able to use his knowledge of mechanics in all aspects of agriculture.[XXXII]

Fig. 3.12: A snap of Start-up Saturday from official facebook page of HeadstartDhanbad[XXXIII]

[XXXII]   https://www.agricultureinformation.com/ravi-singh-choudhary-founder-krishi-utthaan-jharkhand/, accessed on 12/01/2019
[XXXIII] https://www.facebook.com/pg/HSDhanbad/posts/, accessed on 12/01/2019

Fig. 3.13: Information of several events organized by Headstart Dhanbad, available on their webpage[XXXIV]
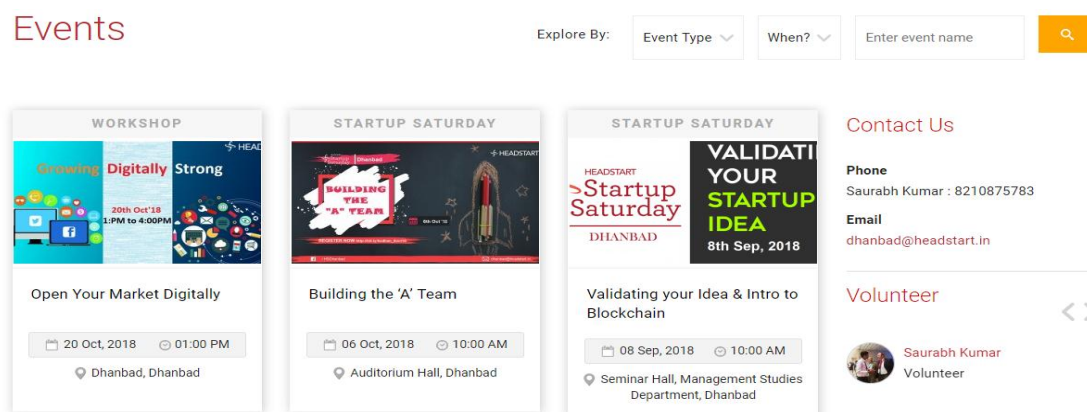
Bringing in the speakers who are also the success stories in the sphere of entrepreneurship from within Jharkhand also accelerates the spirit of enterprise among the aspiring students of Dhanbad. This initiative of CIIE, IIT (ISM) along with Headstart, Dhanbad have added an impetus to the growing interest among the students of colleges like P K Roy also where these Saturday Seminars take place. Hence through these seminars this initiative of CIIE by IIT (ISM) is trying to develop an entrepreneurial rigour among the general population of Dhanbad by extending their skillful training programmes like seminars beyond the boundaries of IIT (ISM) campus too.

Centre for Societal Mission

Centre for Societal Mission is an initiative of IIT (ISM) Dhanbad, in accordance with the 'Unnat Bharat Abhiyan' scheme started by Narendra Modi, the 14th and current Prime Minister of India. It became functional in 2015. CSM aims to create connection between the institutes of higher education and the local areas, to understand and act on the various

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[XXXIV]https://headstart.in/chapter/dhanbad, accessed on 12/01/2019

challenges and issues faced in development of rural India through active participation and use of relevant technologies and education for sustainable growth.

As quoted on their official webpage CSM's vision is 'Sustainable and all-encompassing Growth through Education and Awareness'.[XXXV]CSM has several groups working to fulfil its mission. Karmajyoti is one such not-for-profit group operational in the city since 2015, formed by a group of scholars from IIT (ISM) Dhanbad. This group has identified several dimensions such as education, health care, skill developmentfor resolving the issues of nearby rural communities and raising their lives' standards. It has six operational centres namely Nirmala Leprosy Hospital and School (Govindpur), Hindu Mission Orphanage (Hirapur), Al Islah School (Wasseypur), BalakMadhVidyalaya (ChhaiGadda) and 2 centers within the IIT (ISM) campus at ISL, Dhaiya Gate and Ps Ismag, Staff Colony with a total strength of 245 students from Primary level to Graduation. Focussing on healthcare, it holds Yoga classes and Heartfulness Meditation Sessions at Student Activity Center of IIT (ISM) Dhanbad.

An organization cannot run without active participation of its group members who are dedicated towards fulfilling its mission. In 2017, Karmajyoti organized induction program for the newly joined students to showcase them the potential of Karmajyoti in improving the condition of nearby areas. It also aimed to increase the number of working heads in the group by tapping the new students' intention to work for the society. Sixty-two students had agreed to work for the group and many M. Tech students and research scholars were also added to the group. Members of Karmajyoti and group volunteers were applauded and endorsed to uplift their spirit in working towards this noble cause. Prizes were also awarded to the students of different centres for their remarkable achievements. Prof. M K Singh (Head, CSM) and other CSM members also spoke to the students and shared their insightful views on the topic, thereby encouraging the students to actively participate in the welfare of their surroundings and society.

[XXXV]https://www.iitism.ac.in/pdfs/csm/csm.pdf-3-7-2017, accessed on 12/01/2019

Fig. 3.14: Clippings of induction program   **Fig. 3.15: Prof M K Singh (Head, CSM) giving award to a student**

Source: Official facebook page of Karmajyoti

In accordance with its mission to spread education in rural areas, Karmajyotiorganized open competition in 2018 for underprivileged children to provide free education on weekends at NLHC, IIT (ISM) Dhanbad, in which 70 people participated.[XXXVI] Drawing competition was held between underprivileged students belonging to different centres of Karmajyoti during the closing ceremony of Swachchhata Pakhwada (15 days celebration of cleanliness drive), another initiative of CSM.

Karmajyoti has also very significantly contributed to the aspirations of lower class students for entering into an engineering or medical college. The centres of Karmajyoti conducts classes for such aspiring students and over the years they have given several success stories.

Fig. 3.16: Newspaper cutting for the success of students of Karmajyoti in Jharkhand engineering entrance exam

Source: Official Facebook page of Karmajyoti

[XXXVI] https://www.iitism.ac.in/pdfs/csm/csm.pdf, accessed on 12/01/2019

IV. Rise of Coaching centres in the city

In terms of rise of new educational institutions nothing of the stature of ISM or BIT has been repeated but a new development in the form of coaching centres has arose. These coaching centres if classified on the basis of subjects are divided into three main types, one is for science students, training them for IIT or other engineering and medical entrance examinations. The second is for commerce students mainly preparing them for different level of Chartered Accountant examination. The third type is for subjects like aptitude and mathematical skill along with soft skill development to prepare students for jobs in banks, SSC, railways etc.

These coaching institutes may also be divided into two other categories, those preparing for entrance examination and those which provide job-oriented trainings.

Another major level of differentiation which provides a very cogent view of the changes in the education in the present global era is that of coaching institutes established earlier at the local level and dependent on faculties of Dhanbad only and the emergence of franchise institutes. The development in this area is visible in the emergence of coaching institutes which call themselves private limited companies operating in different areas of India. The major institutes which are of this genre are FIIT JEE, Aakash, Narayana, Career Point and Mahindra. The coming up of these coaching institutes mark the rising up of a coaching industry parallel to the one developing in metro cities.

These coaching institutes have developed in the last decade and one commonality which can be witnessed in the development of these institutes is the geographical area chosen for the establishment of these coaching centres. Before a decade we could see the major tuition hubs in the lanes of Hirapur where teachers from different schools would provide tuition classes at their home to a group of maximum of 10 students. Only few coaching centres for the science students were slowly emerging but provided tuitions in limited subjects' only. Coaching institutes on a much bigger scale have come up now. The proliferation of coaching centres have attracted students in large numbers from outside Dhanbad and has changed the educational landscape.

Gopi, the owner of the oldest coaching centre who started from a single room coaching class in 1994 but now owns a chain of centres narrated how his centre was the only place that provided tuitions in all the major subjects like physics, chemistry and mathematics. He says that, "There was no trend of coaching centres being open on the scale of a large corporate companies operating in Dhanbad to provide tuitions". According to him the privatization in education has been taken to a new level and the marketisation of coaching institutes have started. A strategy adopted by the new private limited coaching companies to lure parents is to offer scholarships and lure them with big brand names.

The FIITJEE group, a well-known coaching institute in the country opened its centre in Dhanbad in 2010. AAKASH was launched in 2015 because the investors saw a great potential.

Institutes for preparation of UPSC have also come up. In Bank More locality, 'IAS Academy' has come up for IAS coaching. In Saraidhela another institute called Safalta Express operates with the aim "of enabling the students preparing for SSC (CGL, LDC & MTS) Bank (PO-Clerk) IBPS specialist officer, Railways (Tech & Non-tech), Bihar Police & all other General Competitions, to surmount those difficulties and be successful in their exams"[XXXVII]. It further says: Boys and Girls who, when they come here, have little or very little knowledge of Maths, Reasoning, English and G.S., find themselves greatly elevated after finishing their five-month course at SKB Safalta Express".

Collaborations between the Government Schools and the Coaching institutes

In government schools the idea of "school kit" has also emerged. In this "school kit" students are given books, uniform and other allowances like conveyance fees. The amount for this kit is directly credited to students' account as for all of them a bank account has been opened by schools to stop the corruption at teacher's level. However, there is a clause that if the amount given for any purpose is not utilized for the same, receipts would be demanded.

Akansha 40 is an initiative of Government of Jharkhand to train the students in government schools for IIT-JEE and NEET entrance exams. It is meant for students from

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[XXXVII] https://skbse.com/, accessed on 12/01/2019

government schools who are meritorious but belong to economically weak social backgrounds and aspire to pursue engineering and medical courses. For the operationalisation of this programme of Jharkhand government the DSE (District Superintendent of Education) department of Dhanbad district has given the responsibility of coaching the selected students under this scheme to the famous coaching institute of Dhanbad, Goal Institute. According to one member of the institute, Dr Madhuri Kumari, who is also the official in charge of this scheme, the education department of Dhanbad has shown tremendous faith in the institute for the successful run of this scheme.

Fig. 3.17: A newspaper cutting showing officials from education department of Dhanbad with the members of GOAL institute.

आकांक्षा-40 के छात्रों को गोल ने दी स्टडी मैटेरियल

झारखंड सरकार एवं जिला प्रशासन द्वारा संचालित आकांक्षा-40 के मेडिकल बैच के 14 छात्र-छात्राओं को पढ़ाने की जिम्मेदारी गोल संस्थान को दी गयी है. बाल दिवस पर गोल संस्थान में डीइओ डॉ. माधुरी कुमारी एवं गोल केंद्र निदेशक संजय आनंद ने छात्रों के बीच स्टडी मैटेरियल का वितरित किया. मौके पर डॉ. माधुरी कुमारी ने कहा कि बिना क्लास छोड़े कंपटेटिव व्यवस्था की भरपूर फायदा उठाएं. संस्थान निदेशक संजय आनंद ने कहा कि आप धैर्य से पढ़ाई करें, कभी भी कोई प्रॉब्लम हो, तो जरूर शेयर करें. मौके पर शिक्षा विभाग से सतीश सिंह, अरुण सिंह, संस्थान के शिक्षकगण मौजूद थे.

प्रभात खबर Wed, 15 November 2017
epaper.prabhatkhabar.com//c/23739434

Summary

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the educational landscape of Dhanbad, its schools and institutions of higher education. The schools now seem to enter newer areas of by using digital means of education like smart boards to prepare them for new areas of higher education as well as laying foundation for their entrance into neo-liberal job market. Another major institutional development in terms of education in Dhanbad is the IIT (ISM). Right from its establishment this institution has acted as a catalyst to improve

the human resource pool of Dhanbad mainly required for development of coal mining industry in Dhanbad. The conversion of ISM into IIT (ISM) also accelerated the development of education in the city. It created a new discourse of higher education among the locals and shaped their aspirations around IIT. As an institution it also helped to establish certain areas of excellence like CIIE for enhancing the entrepreneurial growth among the people of Dhanbad. The impact of the institution is such that within the city certain opportunities were created which were earlier not available to people of Dhanbad. Hence a spirit of translating one's own idea into an economic venture in the form of start-ups has now become a feasible course of action for the people of Dhanbad. Centre of Societal Mission on the other hand works for the betterment of underprivileged areas of Dhanbad. Its aim is to cover the slum areas under its mission of educational development. Its efforts have led to the success of few students from disadvantaged background to enter engineering colleges after getting trained in these centres.

Chapter 4: Middle Class Discourses on Educational Aspirations and Strategies

The chapter aims to discuss the change in the social class character of the city of Dhanbad in the last two decades. The city has been undergoing infrastructural changes on the lines of global cities. One can witness changes at two levels in the city: policy changes at the state level (mainly industrial)[I] as well as market influences at local level (influenced by strategies of liberalisation). When we look into the spatial change context of Dhanbad we get a broad view of infrastructural change. The creation of new spaces of leisure, education, health care etc act as symbols of cultural change.

This chapter emerges from the investigation done through open ended interviews conducted with people mainly belonging to new occupational structure, defined in the light of new economic changes within the city of Dhanbad. The motive was to explore how they perceive and present themselves and their class position in everyday life. This may be further understood through an analysis of the interaction of their class position with the newer spaces of opportunities provided by change in economic system and the spatial change in the city (Lefebvre 1991, Castells 1996). The chapter discusses how different people from varied class position defined by their occupational status and income level manage their lives influenced by aspects of consumerism and various practices of daily life.

I. Re-fashioning the City through Consumerism

As discussed in the introductory chapter the literature tells us that there was a refashioning of older cities due to deindustrialization in the 1970s and 1980s and a change in economy was took place. The older cities transformed their economy by changing the *production of things* like consumer durables, automobiles etc to *production of spectacles* which were mainly leisure and cultural activities (Lin and Mele, 2005). Thus, under capitalism cities started to focus on the production of services and spectacles which are the cultural symbols and themes that are built upon the material conditions of the city.

[I] The new laws of industry in Jharkhand have made areas of investment like hotels, health care etc into the industrial limits. This may be seen as legitimating the private market players in the above mentioned areas of investment.

The establishment of new malls, restaurants, resorts etc. are those avenues which are giving a new meaning to the class characteristics by providing certain opportunities of class display which were earlier not available to the population of Dhanbad. The investors or business groups which have invested in the making of Dhanbad and its spaces of recreation and lifestyle are also tapping the change in social class.

In one of the advertisements by a leading industry group, Shri Ram Group of Dhanbad, we get a glimpse of what is the dominant view of the investors about the city. The advertisement very explicitly talks about their understanding of 'Dhanbad today' i.e. a new age Dhanbad. It uses terms like 'aspiration, ambition and achievement' in its tag line to describe the people of new Dhanbad in new India.

Fig. 4.1: A Picture of Shri Ram Ozoneadvertisement

Source: Official Website of Shri Ram Ozone Galleria[II]

[II]http://www.ozonegalleria.com/dhanbad.html, accessed on 9/7/2019

The advertisement provides the following description of Dhanbad,

> Aspiration, ambition and achievement is the mantra of Dhanbad today. Aspiring young people want to stand on their own feet, earn on their own caliber and spend in their style. They work hard but they can't party harder for which they do not have proper amusement which they deserve. Ozone Galleria has all those temptations to pamper them to the fullest, there they have already started shopping to their fullest and bumping into each other at Fame for even late night shows, clearly reflecting their intentions, abilities and affordabilities.

What is interesting is that the Shri Ram Group is portraying itself as taking up the task of making Dhanbad a city at par with metropolitan cities. It also mentions how people of Dhanbad deserve a global lifestyle but they were devoid of it because of lack of places of recreation and consumption within the city.

The use of certain words to define the characteristics of new age people of Dhanbad is interesting. It introduced people of Dhanbad as an aspiring lot that works hard, earns well and wants to spend. Use of phrases like 'work hard and party harder'again reflects the deepening of global work regimes in a small city of Dhanbad and seeping of consumerism within the psyche of people. Similarly, the mention of "late night shows" also signals a change in the lifestyle and night life of the city. Lastly it links shopping and late night revelry to their "intention, ability and affordability" meaning again that they deserve to spend and are willing or can afford to spend.

It also on behalf of the retailers claims that Dhanbad has grown to be the attractive site for investment and invites everyone to join in this project of remaking the city as the "new metro junction". So, Shri Ram Group have now concentrated in making this place as shoppers paradise. And everyone is invited to join them in this grand venture of making Dhanbad the new metro junction.

Fig. 4.2: List of brands in Ozone galleria mall

Source: Official Website of Shriram Group Ozone Galleria[III]

The success of this level of investment by this particular company and welcoming of other brands to come and devote their time and money in this new emerging market suggests a change in the economic character of the city. However, this economic character is very different from what it was earlier, a place popular for its coal industry.

The effects of changes in the economy of Dhanbad can be prominently seen after the 1990s economic reforms. A definite newness in the economy of Dhanbad has developed with new sectors becoming prominent areas of investment. The rise of new group of real estate developers is one such example and real estate has become the most promising business after coal industry and ancillaries of coal industry. Apart from these we can see a significant rise in the sectors like medicine/ pharmaceutical industry; private banking; both print and electronic media, technical solution companies, engineering companies, etc. There has also been a significant rise in the number of schools and coaching institutes. These centres of educational avenues are mainly developed under private company

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[III]http://www.ozonegalleria.com/excitement.html,accessed on 9/7/2019

banners. There are other companies which provide a very wide range of job opportunities to experts in office management, engineers, technicians, accounts executives like Chartered Accountants. What is interesting is that the Chartered Accountancy offices that are proliferating in Dhanbad act as nodal centres for some companies stationed outside the city of Dhanbad. These offices act as outsourcing centres for various companies in Kolkata and other business centres of nearby region.

II. Changing Middle Class Discourses: Occupation and Lifestyle

Abhishek Singh, a B.Tech and also an MBA degree holder from IIT Dhanbad very enthusiastically shared the journey of his career in MNCs of Mumbai and Ahmedabad and what led him to come back to his home and this small city of Dhanbad.

> After my graduation degree in BTech I was able to get a job in one of the multinational companies in Delhi. I was always very attracted to the high rise life of metro cities but soon after spending several years of my life there I developed a strong longing for my life in a small city. However, I decided to go for higher studies and while doing my MBA in Dhanbad from IIT(ISM) the bond grew stronger and so did my determination towards settling down in Dhanbad. But after completing my MBA I needed to get experience, so I went outside. But soon after I realised my call to come back and start my own business.

He talked about his new business venture and the newly developed market of Dhanbad around education economy.

> Dhanbad is a very promising market. I have chosen Dhanbad as this is a niche and untapped market especially in the field of coaching of M.B.A. and I.A.S. I observed that most of the students were either migrating to Delhi or other big cities for coaching so there is a big gap and opportunity that can be cashed in. I have started coaching centre for preparation of CAT and other premier M.B.A colleges. Dhanbad is blessed to have a big institute like IIT (ISM) havingthousands of engineers who think of

In another interview, a similar view point was presented by Sumit Singh, a B.tech. He explained how he was running a coaching institute in Dhanbad. He added that with this new venture he was not only in the position to have economic gains but this enterprise also made it possible for him to look after his ailing parents in their much needed old age. Sumit Singh's point echoed among many small city professionals and enterpreneurs who had to struggle work life in metro cities and their responsibilities of their parents and families back in the home town

The growth of coaching institutes has also driven the growth of ancillary services. Piyush Pandey, who after completing his 12th standard in Dhanbad, tried his luck in real estate business in both Delhi and Mumbai with the help of his relatives but had to face failure. However, in the present day he said,

> I am trying my hands at the new tiffin business. I could sense the demand from the field of new migrant students coming to Dhanbad, who needed cheap and homely food. My business is a very small venture as my family (mother and wife) only cooks the meals and I deliver those meals at various nooks and corner of the city.

Piyush's case shows how the individuals were trying to tap into the new economy around education by providing ancillary services.

From several other interviews, the researcher was also able to gain insight into the occupational opportunities which were now available to individuals who were not from any professional educational background. They were mostly college graduates who had tried their luck in metro cities at several low paying jobs. One such example is of Keshav, political science graduate from P K Roy college of Dhanbad. Keshav's career took a turn after he returned from his not-so-successful stint in Delhi and found a better paying job in a pharmaceutical company, Cipla, in Dhanbad.

> I was getting a meagre salary of sixteen thousand in Delhi from a small company but when I came back to Dhanbad after quitting my job I could not believe that with my qualification, Dhanbad will offer such a lucrative salary of 35000 and

> make me the branch head. Most of the weekends are occupied but I am happy that I get to stay in three stars hotels like Sonotel. I along with my colleagues have to work really hard but the company gives us perks and opportunities to express ourselves like those 'corporate' who once dominated me in Delhi. The best part is that Dhanbad has changed so much that we also feel and behave like some 'corporates' by attending conferences, meetings in newly created 'high profile' spaces of the city.

A similar case of getting a successful job in a pharmaceutical company is of Abhay, a commerce graduate, who had to struggle in Delhi for a decent job and life but he failed. However, now after returning to his home town he works as a medical representative and proudly talks about his achievement of booking a flat in a gated colony in Saraidhela area of Dhanbad.

Vidyarthi, a veteran medical representative who came to Dhanbad from the neighbouring city of Gaya in search of jobs said:

> I have seen the transformation which the city has undergone in this one decade and so has the field of pharmaceutics. Earlier we had no competitions in this job as seekers were very less but now many young bloods are choosing to stay back in the city. My life has also changed as the company has awarded me a hike and promotion. Now I have been able to buy a car and can travel to various places for family vacation.

Most of the respondents talked about corporate meetings, weekend getaways especially sponsored by their offices in the newly emerging resorts of Dhanbad.

Another field which is becoming very popular especially among the commerce graduates is that of Chartered accountancy (CA, hereafter). Sonam Berman, a CA working in a firm in Dhanbad, shared that she was comfortable and contented with her job of providing services as a CA to companies based in Delhi and Kolkata. She says,

> I feel immense pleasure in working for these big companies while living with my parents. I just can't express how happy I am, and I don't need to struggle for the work life balance in a metro

> city and the same level of satisfaction I am
> getting while living with my family in Dhanbad
> and working across India.

In a similar interview with another CA Gunjan Goyal, we see how a life of great job satisfaction and a metro life style was being lived within a small city of Dhanbad. She states,

> I have a great life here. I am working in a firm.
> My daily routine involves the access of Gold
> Chain gym, which is one of the best in India. I
> am a fitness freak and wanted the best for my
> fitness regime. And a few years back, I lacked
> this motivation because my city could not
> provide me that provision of good gym. But now
> (laughingly), I have an Instagram [IV] account
> filled with posts of my keto diet and my gold
> gym Zumba videos. I am very thankful to this
> change in our city as it helps me connect with
> global friends on social networking sites with the
> same type of life style accessed in metropolitan
> cities.

The city provides them with good job opportunities as well as a life style that resembles that of middle classes in metropolitan cities of India.

In another interview, Anamika Ghosh, working at MS Kasg. Co., talks about her active social media life where she is able to post pictures about her travel to quick and easy destinations like Kolkata in West Bengal and Puri in Odisha. Earlier, according to her, taking a trip beyond the city limits was painstaking and needed careful consideration.

> Now as I earn, the restriction in my type of
> middle-class family has loosened. I have been
> able to make quick trips to nearby beach in Puri.
> I love posting pictures in my FB account about
> my travel and vacations.

Another similar case is of Sharmishtha Dey, a nurse by profession who travels to hospital every day by scooty. She loves Bengali cuisines, but she has developed a new taste for

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[IV] Instagram is a social networking app made for sharing photos and videos from a smartphone. Similar to Facebook or Twitter, everyone who creates an Instagram account has a profile and a news feed. When you post a photo or video on Instagram, it will be displayed on your profile. Other users who follow you will see your posts in their own feed. Likewise, you'll see posts from other users whom you choose to follow., https://www.lifewire.com/what-is-instagram-3486316

Mughlai food available at a number of restaurants around IIT (ISM, earlier). She loves to eat *Shawarma* and *Kathirolls* (Popular food items) which were earlier not known to the people of Dhanbad. The need of making one's social media profile more attractive emerges from the idea that one's representation on such sites also provides them a virtual identity (Castells, 2002).

Vicky who is a junior engineer in the Municipal Corporation of Dhanbad, was able to rent a big house and own a two-wheeler. With a diploma in civil engineering he was able to secure this contractual job in the government of Jharkhand and give his family a life somewhat similar to his relatives who were, in comparison to him, more successful. What is evident from the above narratives of respondents is that the emerging opportunities in Dhanbad, be in Pharmaceutical companies or in the coaching industry is also enabling the respondents to practice a certain lifestyle that helps them to position themselves as middle class. This includes diet, gym memberships, activity on social media, family holidays etc. Dickey (2013) in her work argues that the main aspect of middle-class identity is performance. She writes: "Listening to middle-class people talk about their lives quicklycreates an awareness of the extent to which these people seethemselves as performing an identity" (Dickey 2012, pp 563). In the case of Dhanbad too, we see that the self-proclaimed middle classes perform certain activities to position themselves as middle classes as if they have an audience before them. Performativity is also visible in the network of social connections.

The lifestyle which is becominga dominant criterion for defining the social class in present day Dhanbad is evident from the trending internet styles. The hash-tag lifestyle is one of the key features of the new virtual identity creation process. Dhanbad as a city and its people are also being represented differently in the virtual space.

One of the respondents, Aarti who works as a Chartered Accountant in a firm in Dhanbad mentions the significance of changed spaces of Dhanbad; "Dhanbad has now become more instagrammable".[v]Current social network platforms prove to be useful in expanding

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[v] It is a term very frequently used by the avid internet users of today who are mostly addicted to the social networking site Instagram where a person who is on that app adds picture of what one does on a regular day or on special days. The major trend along with posting pictures is of attaching captions which are not mere sentences but hashtag sentences like any special feeling or place with a hashtag acting as an adjective giving primacy to that word and marking it as a definitional word for that particular picture.

one's business and social contacts by making connections with individuals[VI]. Social network helps people connect with their friends and family. The value obtained through connection with the important people in one's network is very high. Networking has always been a very crucial aspect in career and business growth and social network sites like LinkedIn are platforms where one gets to connect with people coming from all spheres of business (Castells, 2002).

Social capital is the network of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society, enabling that society to function effectively. It can be seen in bonds among family members, friends and people residing in the neighbourhood, social gatherings as church, in civic associations, and even in internet based virtual associations such as Facebook and WhatsApp groups.

It has been observed by many urban sociologists that the physical spaces are now not solely responsible for the sociability of human beings in cities especially. The social relationships are not on the basis of spatial connections but on the basis of who they feel connected to. Hence the networks have now substituted for places as basis of social bonding in cities (Fischer 2001 cited in Castells 2002, pp 117).

Internet has enabled, mainly the youth, to form connections beyond one's neighbourhood and city. A small city in a developing country like India is also not away from this development and internet as a platform for 'role playing and identity building' (Castells, 2002, pp 118) is becoming prominent here as well (Fernandes, 2006).

Interaction through City Spaces

The restaurants and malls of Dhanbad are the new spaces of consumption that are trying to engage the city's middle classes, inviting them to participate in the global taste and lifestyle. Chains like Café coffee Day (CCD, hereafter) and Dominos have introduced the people of Dhanbad to the culture of coffee, sandwiches, wraps and pizza. CCD is one of the sought after places for small meetings of employees and also friends who tend to meet after a long time. Another very important and latest development in the taste of people is the liking for biryani. Briyani and kathirolls, which were not known to the people of Dhanbad till a few years back, have become a very sought after delicacy. In picture no.

[VI]https://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/social-networking, accessed on 06/02/2019

4.3 we can see a restaurant called "Idiot Cafe' is advertising newly introduced kacchi biryani and proclaiming itself to be the new destination for the biryani lovers of Dhanbad.

Fig. 4.3: Advertisement picture of Idiots Café of Biryani

Source: Official Instagram page of Idiot Cafe

The most interesting part of these restaurants is that their advertisements are also tapping into the needs and cravings of consumers which are posted on social networking sites.

What is interesting is that this café, proclaiming itself to be one of a kind in Dhanbad, reaches out to its potential customers through Instagram. In this particular advertisement the cafe asks for a selfie inside the restaurant and in return for posting that selfie on Instagram, they will offer a discount in the next visit to the restaurant. It is important to note the hashtags that have been used like #IIT, #coalcapital, #startupindia, #humansofdhanbad. These are the hashtags which are representing the essence of identity

which Dhanbad possesses. By using these hashtags it is particularly targeting a section of population of Dhanbad.

Fig. 4.4: An advertsiment from Idiot café for discount

In picture 4.4 we can see a restaurant offering food and drinks to beat the weekday boredom.

**Fig. 4.5: A picture from the website of Cocoon**

The concept of weekday boredom is often heard in the conversations of the working professionals in cities like Delhi and Mumbai. The idea that weekdays because of its

constraining and tiring work regime keeps people bored and tired has also started to appear in the everyday conversations of the new middle class of Dhanbad. And hence, these types of advertisement contents are developed in the websites.

Good food and ambience are the two essential requirements of any restaurant for attracting customers towards it. In Dhanbad, restaurant 'Hong Kong' by Sanjeev Kapoor is catering to fulfil this need of its customers with its food quality, peaceful ambience and appreciable service. It has become a centre of attraction in the city. The most interesting part of this restaurant[VII] is how it projects itself as a place that gives new meanings to dining and taste. With taglines like 'Romantic evening- Food is the ingredient that binds us together', it creates a romantic and attractive space for the couples in the city. In a small city like Dhanbad, to get a decent space and privacy for a peaceful romantic evening with your beloved is a challenge in itself and is a shared grievance of the new middle class. This restaurant has understood this problem/demand and is trying to address it. Various reviews on its website quote how amazing this restaurant is in terms of its food quality, hygiene, ambience and staff. These points are very important for any restaurant to attract the elite customers usually professionals, IIT (ISM) students and businesspersons towards itself. 'Monday Motivation – Encouraging you to be better you' is another tagline to grab everybody's attention.

Fig. 4.6: A Facebook post picture from a restaurant in Dhanbad highlighting the Monday Blue trend.
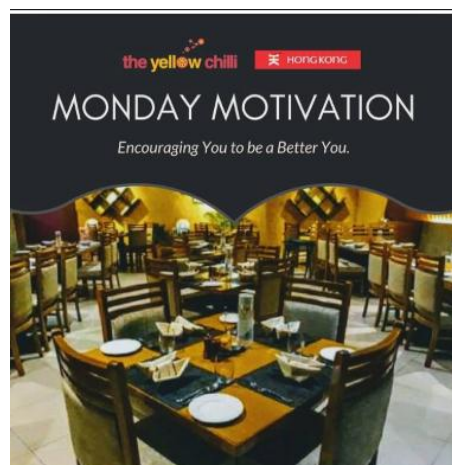
[VII] https://www.facebook.com/pg/hongkongdhanbadofficial/reviews/?ref=page_internal, accessed on 12/01/2019

Coming back to workspace after spending weekend at home requires some motivation. This restaurant taps this need of its customers and provides them a reason to work happily by having delicious food. Understanding its customer base is very important for any business to expand and grow. Restaurant business is no different in this context. IIT and other college students, students from coaching institutes, businesspersons, working professionals and families are few of the examples of the wide range of customers in the city. This restaurant also organizes corporate parties for birthdays and other office celebrations.

Fig. 4.7:A facebook post of a restaurant in Dhanbad claiming to host corporate parties

The aim of 'Corporate Parties' is to enhance the relationship among employees within a company of any size. The growing number of businesses and corporate life requires a place for partying and meetings. This restaurant organizes corporate parties for these offices. With its good service and ambience, this restaurant becomes an easily available choice for these corporates. All these points indicate how these restaurants are working towards changing the culture of the city and supporting and enhancing the growing corporate culture.

With the city providing the new spaces, earlier unavailable to the people of Dhanbad, we see a growing desire for a particular urban middle class lifestyle. According to Gilberston

(2010) the rising 'new' middle class can be seen as the drivers as well as beneficiaries of the country's economic growth. This can be further highlighted by the categorization which NCAER has given to the middle class i.e. 'seekers' and 'strivers'. However, the term which has caught the imagination of the scholars today is of 'aspirers'. Leela Fernandes talks about the 'temporal interpretation' (2006, pp xx) where people aspire to and anticipate future consumption based benefits by investing in individualized strategies of upward mobility rather than critique the present day adverse effects of economic liberation.

III. Imagining IIT as the Ultimate Life Goal

The stature and idealization of IIT has mainly emerged from the success stories which theIIT alumni brings before the Indian population within the country and across the world. The IITians becoming successful and acquiring jobs in foreign countries is one of the most common inspirational stories in every middle class household (Kapur, 2000).

Take for example this statement: "The Indian Institute of Technology isbreeding American business leaders from Silicon Valley to Wall Street" (Kripalani, Engardio, and Spiro 1998 cited in Kelkar, 2013). Hence, the American narratives are also filled with ideas that the expertise behind the making of American Economy was mainly from India and particularly those trained in IIT.

It then affirms that IIT graduates are the most sought after by the multinational companies. However, in the recent trend, we may also see that IITians have proved to be the most successful entrepreneurs in the country. (Murali, 2003). Several examples of successful entrepreneurs can be quoted from the present day. One of the most famous and celebrated success stories is of Sundar Pichai, CEO, Google, an alumni of IIT Kharagpur. His one of the most important contribution has been the development of popular applications like Google maps. Another famous example of success is Bhavish Aggarwal, founder of Ola cabs who was a computer science B.tech from IIT Bombay. This entrepreneurial venture has transformed the way Indians commute and it has also impacted travelling experiences in small cities like Dhanbad. There are many other examples like Sachin Bansal, founder of Flipkart, a graduate from IIT Delhi. This particular idea and business venture has introduced as well as revolutionised internet

marketing and consumerism in India. Kunal Bahl, co-founder and CEO of Snapdeal is another such example of an IIT Delhi Graduate and a pioneer of E-commerce business in India. This has created a definite impact on the discourse around IITians and their highly successful life. These graduates are an inspiration to many in India especially among the younger generation and entering any IIT in the country is like a dream. Kelkar (2013) in a working paper argues that it is the toughness of IIT which creates this attraction especially among the middle class families of India. He writes that it is the "fairness" and "toughness" of the IIT-JEE entrance exam which has created mythic status, adding values to the exam. This strong urge among the middle class to get admission in IIT can also be seen in the city of Dhanbad. The city which boasts of institutions like IIT (ISM) has a definite "social imaginary". This idea of social imaginary means that a sense of reality is created through everyday sharing of stories and images and practices which is validated by people in the same premises (Taylor 2003, pp 23 cited in Kelkar 2013).

In this context, we can see how IIT (ISM) is creating and influencing discourses around education among the middle classes of Dhanbad. The number of students going to IIT (ISM) due to its conversion in IIT in 2016 has increased in the subsequent years. The number of students in IIT (ISM) in 2016-17 has gone up to 7903 as compared to 3362 in the year 2010-11 (Annual Report, IIT (ISM) 2016-17, pp vii). Due to this some of the public spaces of Dhanbad especially around the campus also seem to be getting influenced by the newer lifestyles which these students from IIT follow. This is evident from Pintu's narrative who owns a shop, Pintu Motor Works, just besides the main IIT entrance gate. He mentioned how he has been influenced by the successful students of IIT over the years. He fondly refers to his favourite students as his *chela* (student).

> I have seen a number of batches passing out from here. One of my favourite students who has passed out from here is an IAS officer. I will send my two daughters to best schools. I have, from the core of my heart, always felt guilty about not studying properly in my childhood. I could have entered this mighty gate that stands next to my tiny shop. But I surely want my daughters to enter this gate as legit students and bag the highest package from this institution of such greatness.

Few other men who used to always sit near his shop also mentioned how year after year they have seen successful batches coming out and creating history both in Dhanbad and outside.

Hence, we can see how the space around IITs seems to be buzzing with aspirations and ideas about getting into the institution. Another major source of influence are the newspapers which constantly give ideas about the placement and procedures of IIT. Fig.4.8, shows a group of students, sitting and preparing for PSUs like ISRO.

Fig. 4.8: A news report from The Telegraph talking about the placement activity of IIT (ISM) Dhanbad

This Fig. 4.8 reflectsthe sentiments and dreams of getting thebest jobs in India, after completing IIT. However, students in the picture have reached there only after rigorous planning in the family and bytreading a difficult path of several years of education in school and coaching. This has become the most common path which is now followed by many aspiring families, mainly from the middle class. It is in this context some of the middle class families were interviewed in Dhanbad to understand their aspirations and strategies to enter IIT and institutions of similar repute.

IV. Middle Class Aspirations and Strategies for Education

To understand the aspiration of middle class parents in Dhanbad interviews were done among the parents and students, mainly aspiring for engineering and medical entrance examinations. The questions asked in relation to the issues about the higher education of their children most of the parents were not very vocal. It was difficult to get a hold of what they wanted their children to pursue for their future career. A very common and

modest answer in most of the interviews was that they don't have any aspirationsor a specific choice of career for their children as such. Most of the parents mentioned that it would completely depend on their children to choose a career for themselves. However, this statement is contradictedduring interviews with middle class parents the moment they mention their choice of schools and the reason behind choosing a particular school for their children. It reveals where they would want their child to be in the future. The common reasons for choice of any school were the reputation of schools in terms of education, the results it produced in the boards and the number of students from that school entering IITs.

The parents from the middle class background can be seen accessing the newly developed coaching institutes very widely. The growing reliance on the brand names and discontent for regular schools can also be seen as a rising trend. From the interviews it was found that the most common strategy to enter into IIT was to cross two major institutional destinations. The first is school, and the second which has newly emerged and is dominant in India in general, and Dhanbad in particular, within the middle class imagination, is the shadow education industry.

This practice of entering a coaching centre and adding to one's skills has become a regular choice across the city and social classes. This is validated by the growing number of coaching centres in all corners of Dhanbad. This growing number is being filled by the students who either come from different parts of the city or are travelling from adjacent rural or semi-urban areas of city. The reliance on coaching centres for substantiating school education as well as university education may be seen as a growing phenomenon. This changing educational scenario of the city makes us curious to understand the recipients' point of view on accessing this kind of market and services around education.

One thus needs to look into how the middle classes are responding to these new avenues which these different types of coaching classes are bringing in here. For understanding this, the researcher has tried to bring forth the journey of these parents from middle classes. The different stages have been discussed in the light of decisions which parents from above mentioned classes have taken to define their class position and their take on education. In the course of this discussion we will see an element of "middleclassness"

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emerging especially among those sections who may not be traditionally called middle class.

Nita Kumar (1988) states that the choice of schools among middle classes is mainly private schools, which are called public schools in India. The family values and aspirations, Kumar mentions, are sought to be reproduced through a particular type of education. There is also an aspiration to go above their present status. For this, Kumar (1988: 32) argues that middle class families plan their finances keeping educational expenses as a priority. Nambissan (2010) argues that after the 1970s the choice of private schools has increased in India. The aspiring middle classes are taking the path of education to enter into the middle class strata. Another empirical work by Drury (1993) based on middle class families of Kanpur presents a very interesting picture of middle class parents. The choice of schools and strategies which these parents employ reflect the picture of a middle class family in a small town aspiring to achieve a relatively better status through their children's education. To achieve this, Drury argues, they regulate their income too.

Apart from investing in expensive private schooling, parents increasingly consume entrance coaching specially geared towards preparing young people to take entrance examinations for the most competitive professional degree courses, mainly in engineering or medicine. The major idea behind the choice of a certain course was visible in the students and parents understanding of the demand in the global job market. The majority of parents saw entrance coaching as an important supplementary to their children's school education, providing the necessary skills to succeed in the sort of questions asked in competitive entrance examinations. But for some parents entrance coaching was vastly superior to school education. They supported equated better education with 'better coaching' and considered it necessary to do well in board and entrance examinations and attributed the growth of the shadow education industry to thelack of support provided by schools to effectively prepare youth for the sort of questions formulated in competitive entrance examinations, like the IIT-JEE.

Rajesh Kumar Tiwari who runs a business in Kotaldih village in Topchanchi block of Dhanbad district said that he finds Dhanbad as the best place for education of his children. He has 2 kids of his own and 2 of his brothers'. He along with his family lives in

the J C Mallick Road mohalla of Hirapur region. All the children in his family are going to different schools and are accessing different coaching centres. He clearly stated that,

> We came to Dhanbad only for education. The reason to choose Dhanbad was that it was the nearest place from our village where I still run my family business and engage in small scale farming. Moreover, in our village there was no *'mahaul'* (environment) to study for higher education. We are here only for education as I have to travel to my place for my business. My wife lives here and looks after the kids throughout the week. I join her only in the weekend. Our aim is to get Aman (the eldest son) in IIT.

This statement by Tiwari shows how parents from the fringes of Dhanbad find the city as a place of opportunity in terms of education. The different options available for school education as well as supplementary education enables one to take such bold decisions to migrate to a whole new place just for the sake of enriching one's educational credentials. Apart from such families there is large number of students who have come to the city solely to pursue their dreams of higher education. There are various girls hostels spread across the city where girls from the fringes of Dhanbad and nearby cities of Bihar come and stay in search of better opportunities of education.

Another parent Neeraj Kumar mentioned that his choice for DAV Public School for his son and daughter both is driven by the fact that the principal of the school is a disciplined person, all the teachers are highly educated and the result of the school is very good. He further called it the best school in the present time because, in his words, "it is this school in the whole town from where most of the students qualify for IITs and other similar type of reputed higher education institutions." So one of the aspects that influences middle class parents' school related decisions is the way a school shapes the prospects of higher education.

The parents of the new generation middle classes opt for schools like Delhi Public School and DAV Public School. Dhanbad Public School has also gained prominence. However, for most of the middle class parents of Dhanbad even today convent education in De Nobili and Carmel still remains the first choice. The major reason for this is that English

medium education provided in these schools. Several parents also mentioned that they had no choice but to choose private schools as the standard of the government schools has degraded to such an extent that no childfrom a middle class family can be sent to study there.

It is very interesting to note that while talking to the middle class parents most of the interviews started or ended with discussions on the importance of education to maintain and reproduce their social class position. They were all looking for mobility by getting a highly paid job after engineering or by opening a clinic after doing MBBS. Every respondent (parents) while talking about their present position regarded education as the most important factor in their success. On a similar note they attachedgreat importance to the education of their children.

Akash Kumar Srivastava, a parent, talked about his son who was studying in 11th standard during the period of fieldwork. He was studying in the school named DAV Public School, Koyla Nagar, and was also a student in Narayana coaching centre. He said,

> I am a clerk in the state library of Dhanbad and have very little idea about the preparation of IIT. However, my awareness for IIT grew in the last few years for my daughter and I took her out from Kids Garden School though it was an English medium school and near my home. But DAV, at that time was producing many IITians. I made up my mind for my daughter to study in DAV, Koyla Nagar. But soon I realised that my daughter lagged somewhere, and I was told in my Kayastha samaj meeting that Mr Rohit Ranjan, who also happened to be from our caste is handling Narayana centre. He will give my daughter a better training with some personal time.

In this narrative, we clearly see how a parent is using all his resources, evena caste network, a social capital, for a training to get a seat in IIT. He the further adds that,

> This was crucial as entrance into IIT will only ensure a job to my child better than what I am doing now as there are handsome packages during placements in IIT.

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Hence to gain a a life most sought after in this global race for changing lifestyle middle class parents tends to take certain decision for their children's education which will ensure their child a life chance for gaining the proper means to enter the global race of job and consumerism.

Students join the coaching very early in their student career when they in their 9th or 10th standard in schools. Ideally, in order to make the foundation of the building strong the preparation for IIT should begin from Class 1 onwards. By making oneself strong in NCERT textbooks from class 1 the preparation for IIT is made easy and guaranteed. According to one respondent, this becomes important for him because it is the only way to reproduce the class status acquired from birth as his own father is a distinguished professor in IIT (ISM).

Another case is of a family where both the parents were working, one in a school and the other in a private company. Sarita, a school teacher in small private school, shared how they have taught their eldest daughter and how she went to IIT Kharagpur.

> It was a very difficult time but few people helped us and we were able to give coaching to our daughter five years back. But at that time it was easy due to some generous teachers. My daughter cracked the prestigious exam and joined IIT Kharagpur. She has recently been placed in Larsen and Toubro, which has been a source of immense pleasure and upliftment for the family. However, just one year ago, we were struggling with the coaching facility for our younger son who is in class 11th now. Our financial position constrained us from sending him to any good coaching centre. But with God's grace, he is now studying in FIIT-JEE and has bagged a scholarship only because my eldest daughter, asked her teacher in IIT Kharagpur to talk to some known person in FIIT-JEE to waive off his fees.

In both the above mentioned narratives from parents of aspiring students, we can see how they are using networks (Ball, 1996) as a strategic tool to enter coaching centres of repute in Dhanbad to attain the goal of making it to IIT.

A similar case of rigour and passion for IIT was seen in a family from Hirapur region of Dhanbad. It is a very interesting story of a girl who happened to be a daughter of small shop owner in Hatiya. Pragati, a student of class 12th, was preparing for IIT and she shared her story of working and studying at the same time. She mentioned how she had to leave her school after 10th standard, which she completed from DAV school Koyla Nagar.

> My father was incurring a huge loss in business as my mother wanted to build a house. So, he had to sell out the basic capital of his shop to settle the dream of my mother's home. I want to become an aeronautical engineer and really want to study hard. But I had to leave school as the fee of DAV school was very high and to support my coaching was becoming difficult for my father.

She further shared how she has joined non-attending school or a dummy school, which she refuses to name since it is an illegal institution, but she was left without any option. But the difficulty arose when her father told her that he won't be able to pay an amount of INR 50,000 for admission in a non-attending school or, in other words, a dummy school. She shared,

> I had to take up tuitions and drawing classes for small children in my colony and beyond. I had to pay an advance amount of INR 10000 for which I took a loan from one of the parents whose children come to me for drawing lessons. Now I will have to work for them for another 10 months to cover the loan I have taken.

In this story, we can see the zeal and the rigour to enter a college of repute for which she had to give up regular schooling and take up a job. Her desire to become an engineer, that she cannot fulfil without coaching has led her to take severe steps which have stopped her from engaging in recreational activities or having a circle of friends. She has to work hard to help herself and her family to realize the dream of reaching IIT.

In their quest for providing best education to their children, the lower middle class parents also rely on either coaching institutes or private tutors. An emerging trend was that the working class parents were also becoming dependent on supplementary education and justified its need by saying that they themselves cannot guide their children due to their

low educational background. Moreover, most of the schooling is in English which is beyond their understanding.

An anganwadi worker said that it was very difficult for her to raise her son who is studying in Class 9 in an English medium School, Kids Garden.

> My salary is 4000 rupees and the monthly school fee is around 1000 per month and there are other added expenses too. He also has to be sent to a coaching centre as I want him to be successful by cracking IIT.

One of the respondents, Rajesh Rai, a skilled labourer working for a real estate agent said that he has seen his boss Mr Singh talking to his children about classroom teaching and tuitions and how his boss frequently says that he wants to earn more and more for his children schooling and career. On a similar line Rajesh Rai talks about his enterprising nature to work even on Sundays to gain extra money to be able to send his son to a private school. For this he also spends on transport as it is little far away from where he stays. Another parent from the same locality, a domestic worker and cook in the house of an industrialist, said that her employers encouraged her to send her three daughters to school. Though due to financial constraints it is difficult for her to send her eldest daughter to school every day, her younger ones are going to a Gurukul. She wants her daughters to become an engineer like her employers daughter.

Similarly interviews of the working class population in the Hirapur area also suggest an inclination towards private school. Most of the interviews were conducted among the different type of food stall owners living in Binod Nagar and Bhisti Para area of Hirapur. Their preference for schooling of their children was only private schools. One interesting argument which emerged from the interviews was that many of the working class parents talked about the ***prestige*** attached to sending their children to private schools as they also wanted to be good parents like the middle class (Ball, 1996).

Certain kind of consumption makes a person 'count' in society by making that person 'visible' to a spectatorial public. The reverse situation, to lack, and therefore to be unable to deploy certain consumer goods in public, makes a person simultaneously pitiable and socially invisible. (Srinivas ,2003)

The urge to remain in the competition and gain mobility and status through higher education has made coaching institutes a centre of attraction among the residents of Dhanbad. It has been a decade and a half since the trend for coaching institutes started becoming visible. Before this there were forms of supplementary education in the form of personal coaching centres provided by single teachers dedicated to one students or a few more unlikely the present system of batches being taught at one time. However, the trend today is that private limited companies have emerged in the form of coaching centres creating a new education economy. The marketisation of these coaching centres have increased in recent years.

V.   'Competition' as a Strategic Tool for Shaping Children's Future

In the neoliberal economy the free market has led to the growth of various organizations that compete for sustenance in the market. However, this growth of competitiveness can not only be seen among the firms but can also be seen as the 'spirit' which is driving the individuals' choices and attitude in the neo-liberal economic market. This concurrence between economy, society and individual which is glued by the essence of competition needs an intense analysis to understand any 'trending feature[VIII]' within the present economic system. Hence competition has become an inevitable feature of economic system of the present day world.

Aspiration among the students and parents of Dhanbad shapes their choices and also their strategies to realize these choices in the real world. The basic essence of today's world is the idea of competition. In the city of Dhanbad the population was also participating in this competitiveness. In Dhanbad, the idea of 'competition' is related to the engineering and medical exams. These exams are seen as a gateway to the global job market and hence leading to a lifestyle which can place one on the world map.

This may be corroborated by one incident the researcher encountered. The researcher was once investigating some queries regarding the growing demand for certain kinds of books in a small book shop owned by a person named Abhijeet. Abhijeet has a makeshift shop

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[VIII] In the present study the trending feature refers to the growing coaching industry in education market all across the globe.

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for second hand books, selling them at half of their original rate, is extremely popular among the students who prefer reading a used book rather than buying a new one at its original (high) price. The conversation started when the researcher demanded a book for preparing for UGC-NET in Sociology.

> Abhijeet- What are you doing these days?
>
> Researcher- I am doing PhD from JNU.
>
> Abhijeet- Okay you never sat for any competition?
>
> Researcher (in a confused tone) - For JNU admissions too one has to go for competition?
>
> Abhijeet- Oh No! I meant that you never sat for competition even after studying science in 12th class and now you are doing Arts only.

This was a small conversation which presented a new "common sense" emerging in Dhanbad. The competitiveness is relevant only for those who study for entering in IIT or related colleges. This shows that the whole idea of competition is very prominent in the psyche of the present day population of Dhanbad. If we do a survey as stated by a private coaching institute owner in Dhanbad "95% of the parents do not know what journalism is. They have made a square of subjects and opportunities which comprises of Engineering, medical, job oriented courses like railway, SSC and the last one is commerce for becoming Chartered Accountant only."

A common sight in every coaching institute is of parents discussing with the tutors about their children's future in IIT or NIT engineering colleges. The markets also resonate with the discussion about which book will be most appropriate for physics. The big hoardings all around the city talk about the big coaching institutes giving the best training for entrances in colleges and also training for job entrances.

Big posters with names and pictures of highly successful students passed in its last academic session are also put up. Thus, these advertisements by coaching institutes try to justify their quality in training with statistical evidences of success. A local level coaching institute while advertising their institute and showing their successful results raised a slogan, "*Shikhar par pahunchne wale vidyarthi…. Aage ki gintiyan jaari hai…..kya aapki taiyyari hai*" which means "*The students who wish to reach the top……Counting is*

on…..are you prepared?" This slogan or advertising punch line is making a call to students for a successful future through the preparation for 'competition'.

The coaching institutes perform a test before getting students admitted in their institutes. This ritual of having a competition for entering into the preparation for competition can also be seen as preparing one just for the idea of competition. Many coaching institute owners when asked about what is the driving force for the students to enter in such a rigorous circle of training responded that only competitiveness can help students to attain the best in life. The head of one of the coaching institutes, which is of national repute, said that they have separate motivational classes where they make students watch the success stories of various IIT and NIT alumni. Another coaching institute which has just started in Dhanbad but has a big name and fame in Patna is KIA (Kalyani IIT Academy). Theirentrance test examines knowledge of traditional subjects along General Studies. On being asked about the addition of GS one of the teachers said that they want to prepare the student in a holistic way. The teacher further added that the essence of competition lies in holistic development of personality because they want to prepare the students as someone who not only gets through IIT or NIT but also gets prepared for the best possible jobs or entrepreneurship. Thus, KIA claims to prepare students for a level of competition which is beyond the entrance exam. This shows that the idea of competition is so ingrained in functioning of all the coaching centres. The display of success stories from Dhanbad displayed across the city gives impetus to the young students to aspire for something better in life and become global.

VI. Notions of 'Success' and 'Failure' among the Middle Classes

The middle class is entering into the phase where there is anxiety and fear around their stillness in the stratum. In the several interviews conducted with educationists it was visible that the race to become a part of the neo liberal economic system has become aggressive even in a place like Dhanbad. The whole dilemma of becoming 'somebody' has is deeply etched in the thought process of aspiring parents of Dhanbad both from the middle class as well as working class.

The competitive examinations are seen as a gateway to a better future in global job. In Dhanbad, it was well observed that parents mostly from middle class background try to secure their class position by inculcating the 'right type of education' and the 'course in fashion'. The most sought after subject in the present day Dhanbad is science for fulfilling different ambitions. It may be noted that in spite of spending most of their income, time and efforts on their children many parents remained vague about its outcomes. The anxiety about failing also prevailed due to the presence tough competition. One parent said, "It is like a gamble, after all we have done for our children we do not know whether our dreams will be fulfilled or not".

This corroborates what Sara Dickey (2013) says about the middle classness that they are always in a precarious state filled with anxiety and fear. Since they make plenty of sacrifices to fulfil dreams like getting into IIT or any other institution of repute, the fear of failure is also strong.

Summary

The new economy of Dhanbad which was mainly based on networks can be seen creating new job opportunities for the people of Dhanbad. The proliferation of the use of internet and information technology was enabling people to create new networks beyond their immediate circles and neighbourhood and virtual identities. The new spaces of shopping and recreation were also trying to give new meanings to lifestyles. IIT (ISM) too has acted a definite source of inspiration for middle classes across India to gain success in life and for upward mobility. Therefore, to realize their dreams of getting into IIT the middle class of Dhanbad are actively strategizing in terms of choice for school and coaching institutes.

The next chapter discusses the emergence of private schooling which is an off-shoot of the middle class anxiety and aspiration to receive good education, so that their children are able to compete and succeed. The moorings of new education economy in Dhanbad may be seen in this growth of private schools and later in the growth of the shadow education institutes, both of which are part of the new education economy.

Chapter 5: Demand for Private Schooling: First Step in the Making of a New Education Market

Dhanbad presents a glimpse of economic processes that cover both old and new industries around coal. However, this process of old and new economy of coal in Dhanbad is connected through digital networks. The digital platform has become an integral part of the economic system of Dhanbad. The most traditional industry of coal is now operated through agencies[I] which act as nodes of control for various stages of distribution and selling of coal to the buyers. This aspect of change in the larger economic system of the Dhanbad city is crucial to locate the emerging new education economy in the city. Talking in market terms the various circuits of production of education economy are the schools that further the cause of accumulation of wealth and capital of the owners of such educational initiatives.

As stated earlier, the aspirations of middle classes of Dhanbad drive the survival and maintenance of the private sector in education. It all began with the setting up of several private schools and then moved on to make the city a hub of new education economy of both private schools and the coaching industry for educational purposes. This chapter focuses on the emergence of private schooling as a consequence of middle class aspirations. It basically describes the nature of the private schooling in the city and how it had fulfilled a desire for realising the social class ambitions.

It is in this context; the chapter describes the moorings of private schooling in the city of Dhanbad. As discussed in the previous chapter, the middle class imaginations of social life, their aspirations for good education and the keenness to adopt strategies that would facilitate better educational facilities drive them to accept and adapt the neoliberal market logic that the public schooling is inefficient and the private schooling is efficient (Ball and Nambissan, 2010) and of good quality made private schools to emerge in the city.

[I] Metal Junction and NTSE (non-government) are the two major agencies through which BCCL operates the e-auction of coal to the prospective buyers in all over the country.

This has created a market for private schooling. Thus, this chapter touches upon one aspect of the new education economy as it grew in the city of Dhanbad.

I.   Origins of Public-Private Partnerships in School Education

The nationalization of coal mines, indeed had accelerated the influx of population into Dhanbad which was primarily of middle class, serving in various government agencies of coal industry as officers or clerks. This increase in population demanded schools for their children. It is in this context that the *project schools* were established in Dhanbad. These project schools were not governed by the government directly, but various societies took up the project of schools for meeting the educational demand of burgeoning population of the city. The most prominent example of setting up of 'project' schools is Delhi Public School in Karmik Nagar and DAV Koylanagar in Saraidhela parts of the city of Dhanbad. Though DAV Koylanagar is only two decades old project that came up in the year 2000, the Delhi Public School was established in 1988 under different Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) signed between BCCL (Bharat Coking Coal Limited) and the respective societies such as Delhi Public School Society and the DAV Society.

The project schools cater as schools for the government bodies and in case of Dhanbad, the schools mainly took up responsibility of education of children of employees of BCCL and CIMFR (Central Institute of Mining and Fuel Research) (earlier CMRI). The education capital involved in setting up of these schools was mainly shared between the government bodies in terms of money, land and infrastructure and the private bodies run the schools in their premise and providence. These two schools are still prominent as two major schools for the wards of BCCL employees in Dhanbad city.

BCCL website describes the intent and objective of BCCL in establishing such project schools under the rubric of Welfare measures:

> With a view to increase educational standard and imparting quality education, several institutions were requested to establish their school, in different areas of the Company under Agreement with BCCL. These schools have their own qualified teachers and affiliation with CBSE and

are of two categories: a) Project Schools, b) Semi-Project Schools[II]

Further, the website of BCCL reveals that it provides funding to 8 project schools and 3 semi project schools. A total amount of Rs 20,36,420.00/[III]- is granted annually to the project school of which DAV Koylanagar and Saraswati Vidya Mandir, both in Bhuli receives Rs 10,57,826.00[IV] annually. These are the few major schools in the urban limits of Dhanbad. While among the semi-project schools the most important school in the city of Dhanbad is Delhi Public School which receives an amount of 2,40,000[V] annually from BCCL.

By assigning grants to these societies BCCL makes an effort for uninterrupted education of its employees. These schools, which function under the purview of project school category of BCCL, are advised not to charge full fees from BCCL employees' wards. They charge only 50% of the tuition fees from the employees of BCCL. However, De Nobili CMRI[VI], CIMFR (Central Institute of Mining and Fuel Research) while receiving grant from CIMFR do not take any fees from the wards of CIMFR's employees. Thus, with financial discounts which these societies provide it becomes easier for wards of BCCL employees to attain private schooling and supposedly quality education too. Besides children of the employees of the sponsoring corporates, the admission into these schools is open for other children whose parents are not employees of the corporates.

Thus, both the schools, DPS[VII] and DAV[VIII], which are CBSE affiliated schools, are now the most sought after schools for the middle class population of Dhanbad (as evident in the preceding chapter). With these schools we may define an aspect of public-private

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[II] Official website of BCCL, http://www.bcclweb.in/?page_id=785, accessed on 30/06/2019

[III] Official website of BCCL http://www.bcclweb.in/?page_id=25823 , accessed on 30/06/2019

[IV] Official website of BCCL http://www.bcclweb.in/?page_id=25823 , accessed on 30/06/2019

[V] Official website of BCCL http://www.bcclweb.in/?page_id=25823 , accessed on 30/06/2019

[VI] CMRI, Central Mining Research Institute was the earlier name of the institution presently called CIMFR Central Institute of Mining and Fuel Research. However, the school De Nobili which was started near its premise and to cater the needs of its employees has not changed its name from and has retained iyts name as Denobili CMRI.

[VII] The DPS Society is a non-profit, non-proprietary, private, educational organization. This Global Network of over 200 English medium, co-educational, secular schools provides education from Pre-Nursery/Nursery to Class XII.

[VIII] DAVCMC runs and manages over 900 educational institutions comprising of public schools, grants-in-aid schools, colleges, institutes of professional education and research institutions. Trusted by both, Public as well as Private sectors, DAVCMC manages over hundred Project and Semi-project Schools for blue-chip corporate houses, such as ACC, Tata, Reliance, Adani and Public Sector Corporations such as BHEL, GAIL, SECL etc.

partnership dominating the school system of Dhanbad city in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. This is the era when the private schools began to emerge on the urban scene of Dhanbad.

What is significant to note is that this demand for private education has emerged from the middle class employees of the mining town of Dhanbad. Even before the DPS and DAV came on the scene, there were a few private initiativs, but they did not gain as much popularity as these two schools among the middle class public of the town. In the 1980s, for instance, several private schools came into picture under different societies run solely by those societies under the affiliation laws of CBSE. Thus, the phase of privatization of schools in Dhanbad is a phenomenon of the 1980s. This trend may be understood by taking into account the nature of these societies - philanthropic or for-profit.

II.   Neoliberal Surge and the Emergence of Private School - 'Philanthropy' or For – Profit?

Krishna Kumar points out that in the 1970s in India private schools were limited to certain few privileged only and the "discourse of education also did not permit that kind of education to become a public issue" (Krishna Kumar in an interview with Chaise La Dousa in 2004 cited in LaDousa, 2007, pp 139). However, the nature and character of privatization that has been witnessed in the last two decades (from 1990s to late 2000s) in the post-liberalisation era is qualitatively different from that of the 1970s or 1980s. Though it is true that certain private schools remain only within the reach of elites, the meaning of private has been diversified much more than before. There are many types of private schools which reach the lower and lower middle classes. The definition of private school in common understanding is made to sound like an escape from so called inefficient state run schools and to have experience of quality education. For this, even the lowest of the social classes, not just the middle classes, are ready to make sacrifices and join a private school.

Krishna Kumar also raises a relevant question: Do we disdain privatization of education or do we start to look it as a resource (quoted in LaDousa, 2007, pp 140). This is the question that emerges within a trend in which the participation of non-government organizations is increasing in the education sector in the 1980s. The conversion of private organizations into non-governmental organization to fit into the norms of setting up an

educational institution was also increasingly found in the 1980s and 1990s. Hence it becomes very difficult to distinguish between private philanthropic endeavours in education and the non-governmental organization initiatives.

According to CBSE Affiliation By-Laws, 2018, only non-proprietary organizations can open schools. However, in light of aforesaid question by Krishna Kumar, the validity of non-proprietorship becomes questionable in case of Dhanbad too. In an interview, with one of the RTE Activist, Manoj Mishra, member of Bhartiya Yuva Morcha, Dhanbad, pointed out a nexus among industrialists of various genres in Dhanbad who are getting involved in educational ventures.

> Education is not a business and no school can run on ownership but today indirectly it has become a business and is running on ownership. Some Trusts are very big like DPS Society, DAV CMC, Vidya Bharati (Rajkamal), Siksha Vikas Trust is also very big which runs Dhanbad Public School and Kamal Katesaria Montessori School. Sikhsha Vikas Trust is the biggest and is run by a number of business mainly from a particular background which is Marwari ethnicity. It is according to Manoj Mishra one of the most corrupt trusts where several business donate money only to convert their black money to white.

He explains the practices of private schools which result in generating profit for the managements by giving an example of buying school bus which is in market available for 45000 rupees but the school will show an expenditure of 70000 rupees per bus and hence in auditing their donation which is actually an investment in social service gets inflated which in turn helps them curtail taxation. Thus, the coming of businessmen into the education sector has made the functioning of schools a business activity. According to Manoj Mishra, it is mostly dominated by these trustees whose mind is basically business oriented.

However, after an analysis of the norms laid down by Affiliation By-Laws, 2018 of CBSE we come across the fact that schools should not run on ownership basis. In both

CBSE and ICSE schools, the first basis on which they get NOC[IX] (No Objection Certificate) from state government is that it claims to follow the rules laid down by Right to Education Act of India. A school has to start through a society and the society should declare that it is of a non- proprietary category. But in an interview, Mr Manoj Mishra, an RTE activist in Dhanbad, mentioned that in 2008 after the implementation of 6th Pay Commission the private schools in Jharkhand have raised their fees as a result of which they were brought under radar. In this case, it was found that on a very large basis there was fund diversion and money was transferred to share market.

Another case of how the school industry of Dhanbad make a business out of book selling and stationary which has become a very big income generation activity in the city. The whole business process was again visible. According to Manoj Mishra, an RTE activist,

> It is said that approximately, the book and stationary agents gain a 40% commission/profit from this business. One school gives a business of rupees 1.5 to 2 crores in one session. People who are involved in this are mainly from the district administration. In one of the case (as stated in one of the interviews) wife of an administrator (Karmik Sachiv, Mukhya Soochna Ayukt) took agency of 5 schools of Guru Govind Singh Public School in Dhanbad from where the business was of 6 crores and she made a business of 2.4 crores and to make a profit of that much in one month. The administrators play a major role in this by using their official privilege. If they do not get agency, then they might threaten school authorities with Income Tax Raid etc. Hence their relatives mainly gain in this huge business of acting agents to supply books and stationary to private schools.

In this case again we may witness that a certain part of school related activity is converted into a high profit making venture. This particular case depicts a nexus between administrative employees, school management and book shop owners. The combination of these authorities stems up new branch of business process involved with the system of private schools.

[IX] Under the 2.3.5 section of Affiliation By Laws 2018, page no 5. It is clearly stated that schools mentioned under the clause 2.1.5, 2.16, 2.1.7 and 2.18 should acquire a No-Objection Certificate from the state prior to applying to C.B.S.E.

Further, according to RTE Act 2009, no school can be started without the permission of the state government. However, those schools which already existed before 1.04.2010 i.e. the date of implementation of RTE Act 2009 in Jharkhand also came under scrutiny and were asked to give applications for recognition within a period of three months. In this regard, the state government was required to either give NOC (No Objection Certificate) to the schools which fulfilled all the norms under the RTE Act 2009 or give them notice for improvement by pointing out the gaps.

However, the schools which were given such notice were required to fulfil the gaps and any school failing to do so within three years of notice was subjected to closure. In this regard, a query was placed before the Dhanbad District Authority particularly DSE (District Superintendent of Education) office of Dhanbad in 2015 about the number of schools which were following the RTE guidelines. It was found out that the list provided by the district authority showed a total of 270 schools within the district of Dhanbad not following the rules and lacking in terms of various aspects like untrained teachers, lack of proper infrastructure, etc. In that list one could also locate those schools which were mostly low fee private schools operating within the limits of the city of Dhanbad. The names of schools which appeared were mainly low fee private schools like Rukmini Devi School, Koylanchal Public School, Guinea Devi School, Samleshwari Devi School, etc. Thus, we can see how proliferation of low fee private schools has taken place without any regulation and recognition from State government authorities.

All these are thus symptoms of a market for education which is not regulated, and this has been a trend in just Dhanbad, but across India in the post liberalisation era. The poor and the lower middle class families are lured into these low fee schools and are withdrawn from the government schools which then makes the functioning of the government schools redundant. This also indicates that the city has been witnessing a trend that makes the private school an alternative for families irrespective of their social class situation.

It may be added that, according to the education activists in Dhanbad, the government also do not interfere in the running of these schools as there is no answer for such a huge demand with the authorities. It is said the government of Jharkhand cannot provide infrastructure by itself for a huge population of Dhanbad city school going children. However, their means to regulate these schools also fail as the officials themselves are

said to be involved in the running of schools. In any industry, transparency and taxation processes make them go through a lot of scrutiny from government, but in education which is supposed to be run through a trust do not seem to have go through the same levels of scrutiny other businesses are put through.

This may be corroborated with the statement made by head of education department in Dhanbad Mr. Binit Kumar. According to him,

> RTE Act norms are actually a blessing as under this pressure the private schools under scanner will improve themselves and work hand in hand with the government. In today's era we (government and private) needs to work together for the betterment of the people of Dhanbad.

This statement by Mr Binit Kumar should not be seen as an isolated, individual thought. He as a representative of a government agency was only reiterating which the Government of Jharkhand has stated in a report prepared by Centre for Civil Society, State of Jharkhand Citizen Handbook, 2007, analyzed the educational context in Jharkhand both at the policy level like its schemes of Department of Human Resources, Government of Jharkhand, 2005-2006 and also documented the working of civil society groups. The document then shares a success story of civil society groups such as Usha Martin. It states that,

> "Civil society groups such as Usha Martin have contributed in the field of education in Jharkhand by emphasising on public-private partnerships. The Usha Martin group has introduced the Krishi Gram Vikas Kendra, under which they have tried to empower villagers by introducing schemes and initiatives in fields such as education, agriculture and health".[X]

The recommendations which this organisation made within the report hinted towards a need to collaborate with civil society groups or private players in the education business. In one of the statements listed below it talks about the educational entrepreneurs and the need to promote them in Jharkhand to improve its educational status. The statement of recommendation reads as follows:

[X] State of Jharkhand Citizen Handbook , Report prepared by – Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi https://ccs.in/sites/all/books/com_books/jch-2007.pdf, accessed on 05/05/2018

> "Development with greater participation from the civil society, it is our endeavour to suggest some reforms that give more scope for participation and increased quality of service to the intended beneficiaries, i.e., students and their parents. Encourage edu-preneurs to participate in providing education".[XI]

This idea is explained as a testimony of the fact that the demand for private education has increased in the city of Dhanbad. Hence, according to this document, the people of Jharkhand should also be allowed to make choices between enrolling in a government or local body school or a private school. The report by Centre for Civil Society, 2007 further justifies this act by bringing in the argument that, with the easing of regulations, not only more number of private actors will enter this sector, but this would also encourage competition among them, thereby resulting in enhanced quality and lowering of fees, which would permit students from all backgrounds to benefit.

However, in the present day Jharkhand, this idea is again getting reflected in the Jharkhand Vision and Action Plan 2021. The Action Plan 2021 for Higher Education listed in this document states that Jharkhand Government would invite private sector participation for opening new colleges. The vision and action plan document further mentions establishment of Centre of Excellence in the IT field especially through industry collaboration for 'industry relevant' and 'demand driven technical education' (Jharkhand Vision and Action Plan 2021, pp 76-77)[XII].

While talking about a similar case in Andhra Pradesh, Purendra Prasad (2017) brings into discussion a phenomena of 'entrepreneurship in education' due to the rise in IT industry. He explains this occurrence as a consequence of growing IT industry job market, which raised hopes and aspirations for jobs (Fernandes 2006). This was persuaded by the demand for a certain kind of educational prospects, which in words of Prasad help the aspirants decode the competitive exams (2017: 399). In the state of Andhra Pradesh, Prasad elaborates about the changes brought about in cities recognized for reformation

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[XI] State of Jharkhand Citizen Handbook , Report prepared by – Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi https://ccs.in/sites/all/books/com_books/jch-2007.pdf, accessed on 05/05/2018
[XII] Jharkhand Vision and Action Plan, 2021, Vol. I , Department of Planning cum Finance, Government of Jharkhand, pp 76-77,https://www.jharkhand.gov.in/Documents/Home/Vol I & II.pdf, accessed on 2/07/2019

under JNNURM[XIII] at the policy level. Under this policy, the agenda was to 'privatise/ commercialise' government bodies like school under PPP model (Prasad 2017, pp 402). The government schools which were already run by contract teachers 'vidya volunteers' further saw a blow when private entrepreneurs were invited to participate in school development and hence the city land was made open to private enterprises in the name of educational development.

Another major genre of schooling which is emerging as a proprietary based or on complete business model of providing education are the play schools. Play schools become a very important site of investigation as these play schools operate purely on market principle.

III. Play School Market and the Middle Class Compulsion

There has also been a proliferation of kindergarten schools like Happy Child Nursery, Jingle Bell Fun School, Bachpan Play School in the premises of BCCL Township. CBSE has many criteria which need to be fulfilled for getting affiliation. According to point 2.9 under topic Composite Affiliation [XIV] the schools may get affiliation for different composite class levels like from Class 1st to 8th (2.9.1, pp 9),from Class 1st to 10th (2.9.2, pp 9), from Class 1st to 12th (2.9.3, pp 9) from class 6th to 8th (2.9.4, pp 9) from Class 6th to 10th (2.9.5, pp 9) and from Class 6th to 12th (2.9.6) for all schools and other genres for innovative schools.. However the point to be noticed here is that most of the schools prominent in Dhanbad which are officially affiliated to CBSE start from Nursery, L.Kg (Lower Kindergarten), U.Kg (Upper Kindergarten) [XV], etc classes which are called collectively pre-primary. As we may notice according to CBSE Affiliation By-Laws, 2018 CBSE do not include pre-primary in its class list and do not provide any legal recognition to these classes. However, all the mainstream schools do have a section in their school premise referring as pre- school.

Jharkhand Government tried to regularize these schools and passed an. ordinance in regard to these schools.

[XIII] Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was a massive city-modernisation scheme launched by the Government of India under Ministry of Urban Development.
[XIV]CBSE Affiliation by Laws 2018, page no 9
[XV] L.Kg is referred to as Lower Kindergarten and U. Kg. as Upper Kindergarten in common parlance.

"In exercise of power conferred by Section 36(1) of the Commission for Protection of Child Rights Act, 2005, the State Government of Jharkhand hereby makes the following rules, namely: Jharkhand State Play Schools (Recognition and Control) Rules, 2017"[XVI]

While analyzing some of the excerpts of this law one gets to know that the law requires the management intending to open play school to make an application to the State Government for recognition to run such institution or to establish such institution. (Chapter II, Jharkhand State Play Schools (Recognition and Control) Rules, 2017) However, interviews with various managements of play schools which were based primarily in Dhanbad suggested that they did not possess any kind of recognition.

The structure of these schools shows that they operate out of a small room in which some toys and books were kept and also provision for kids to take a nap for a while in the day. They were mostly opened in one's own home only. The teachers recruited are mostly 12th pass girls particularly who would apart from being a teacher act as a caretaker too. The conversation between the owners of a play school called Good Morning Play School in Karmik Nagar and the researcher who posed as a parent enquiring for her kid's admission to their school presents a very interesting picture: Researcher- I want admission of my child in your school?

School Owner- What is the age of your child?

Researcher- My child is 3 years old and I new to this place as we just shifted for our job in BCCL. I was looking at the list of pre- primary schools on Google list and I found your website.

School Owner- Okay!

Researcher –May I know from where your school is affiliate?

[XVI]Pre- School Act - Notification No.-05/M.B./Play School-03/2015-3026 dated the 12th July, 2017.

School Owner- Madam, you are looking for a pre-primary school only I guess, these schools are not like other schools. In our case I just opened it for my wife as a 'time pass business'. My wife is little educated and she had an urge to work. As a solution to her career orientation I happened to open a school in home only. Our source of income is based on some other main business. This is just a side business.

In the abovementioned conversation we can very constantly view a term called 'business' being repeated. On being asked about the affiliation and recognition of the school the owner says that none of the play schools are recognized and they don't need it also. He explained this play school as a small business venture which he created for his wife who wanted to work and have a job. He very proudly said that this is just a 'time pass business' which he has set up for his wife for her to engage within the premises of their house. This conversation thus clearly puts forth the motive of the play school owners as it being a business which does not need any regulation.

Another set of play schools which are actually the franchises of several reputed and well known institutions in that segment which have engulfed the education market all over India like Bachpan Play School, Kidzee, etc. In case of Dhanbad too, these pre- primary schools work as a corporate firms. These corporate houses run franchise of the reputed brands in the city. Their working and operation are mainly on the guidelines of their parent organization or brand. They define and take themselves as 'corporate ventures' to cater to the needs of those parents who have jobs and hence cannot look after their children at home during the working days.

They run as schools but at core they act as care giving centres to children with modern facilities. For example, in Bachpan Play School, one may very clearly see that in the name of giving hi tech facilities, the school actually follows the corporate nature of neo-liberal firm which constantly works on its services to attract customers and compete in the neo-liberal market of similar service providers. Bachpan Play School, a flagship brand of S. K. Educations Pvt. Ltd runs 1100+ nursery schools operating across more than four hundred cities in the country. It has 4 centres running in Dhanbad at Katras Road, Kusum Vihar, Rani Bazar and Dhaiya.

As stated in the official webpage of Bachpan Play School, Dhanbad 'Bachpan pre-school in Dhanbad, Jharkhand, aims to inculcate a research-driven curriculum to the daily learning schedule of the little ones using technical aids. The official web page of Bachpan Play School states, "We provide core preschool education while fostering life skills at a young age to nurture the roots of the toddlers with value-based learning".[XVII] It has various programmes for children of different age groups. Play group programme contains story time sessions and sand play for children between ages of 18 months to 2 years. For children of more than 3 years, nursery classes are available with programs as concept room and gym time.

The interesting point that often emerged from the fieldwork is the question that is contemplated by the educationists and parents: Is this structure of education creating any difference in the quality of education being provided to children when compared to other schools. One of the factors that leads these schools to flourish in small cities like Dhanbad is the pre-occupation of parents with their jobs and the need for care givers for the infants and young children in their absence during the day. Where both parents have to leave house for jobs, they thus need a crèche or a school where they can drop their children during working hours. This is a situation most of the middle class families confront not just in Metro cities, but in small cities like Dhanbad too.

However, there is another aspect to the flourishing of private play school and primary school market. At another level, it is found that there is societal pressure and the urge to show off the family's reputation by sending the child to such institutions. This pressure adds to the middle class tilt towards the private corporate schools later. Thus, trends such as these construct the structure of new education economy in the city. The pressure to send children to these institutions is so high that parents inspite of their financial constraints do wish to send their children to these play schools and private schools. Talking to a few parents, we got to know that the high fees of such pre-schools often creates a sense of discontentment and insecurity among middle class parents who are not able to afford sending their children to these schools.

Similar kind of trend is followed by play schools of local origin too in Dhanbad. Though they do not act like firms or big corporates, their digital visibility depicts them as one

[XVII]https://www.bachpanglobal.com/, accessed on 21/07/2019

company which in the name of education actually provides a service. A very interesting projection is in the language of an online advertisement portal that can be seen in the following figure:

Fig. 5.1: The description of Happy Child Nursery in Dhanbad on Just Dial.com

Reading through the language of this advertisement one may find that the above mentioned play school is calling or 'selling' itself as, '*a one stop destination for serving customers both local and from other parts of Dhanbad*'. It further describes itself as a '*business which has established a firm foothold in the in its industry and its belief that customer satisfaction is as important as products and services, have helped this establishment to garner a vast base of customers which continues to grow day by day*'

This description as a business and no mention of itself as an institution of holding educational ethos definitely raises question around as what this growing trend is about. This is true for many other play schools which are operating in Dhanbad. They essentially act as sites of serving customers and gain profits. The promotion of education entrepreneurs by the state government itself thus draws our attention to the growing corporatization of schools within Dhanbad. Politicians and those involved in coal industry have now entered into the education scene. Their interest in education industry is due to the fact that it is the easiest business to handle, according to some of the owners of such background.

This is contrary to the belief that education is supposed to be the right of all, as per the Right to Education Act and also it is prescribed to be free and compulsory till the age of 14 for children from all strata of life. In the present day discourse, in common parlance, students and their parents are seen as customers and the education institutes are seen as service providers with their educational avenues as products. This relational development was under flux since the inception of liberal economic system of the post 1990s.

Summary

The chapter thus depicts the way the new education market in school education has emerged in the city of Dhanbad, its contexts and how it is penetrating the psyche of the middle-class segment of the population. This new market for education in the city as the chapter has highlighted is both regulated and formal and unregulated and informal. It is important to note that this trend has had its impact in raising the aspirations of middle classes of the city for making it good in the world of education by sending their children to coaching institutions at a later stage of their educational career in school. Thus, the coaching institutes are another aspect to the growing trends of new education economy in the city, dynamics of which are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Dynamics of Shadow Education as Avenue for New Education Economy

The education system in Dhanbad has taken a wide turn since the last two decades. The educational market has expanded, and the middle class of the city has contributed to this expansion. The aspiration to gain access to competitive higher education institutions has widened, with more people each year opting for supplementary education and coaching centres in Dhanbad. According to a study by Global Industry Analysts, the growth in private mentoring industry in India has grown about 35% between 2011 and 2016[i]. According to a report by Asia Development Bank, the private tutoring industry in India is growing at over 15% per annum. The report estimates that 83% of high school students in India attend coaching classes (Asian Development Bank, 2012[ii]). The idea of getting supplementary education through coaching centres has now gained acceptancein the minds of most of the people, not just in Dhanbad, but all over India (Zinnov, 2016). These shadow educationcentres run alongside regular school classes with somewhat overlapping curriculum.

The widening of population pool trying to access higher education has also accelerated the demand for private tutoring in India. This exposes the systemic deficiencies in school education, the gap between school education and higher education and reflectsthe changing shadow education choices of different classes in Indian education system (Majumdar, 2015). There are studies which show how parents, mainly from middle class backgrounds, invest in private tutoring and coaching classes (Sujatha, 2014). Apart from school fees and other school related costs, private tutoring fee has emerged as one of the biggest education related expenditure among households (Tilak, 2002).

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[i] http://www.businessworld.in/article/Business-Of-Private-Tutorials-In-India-Now-A-Multi-Billion-Dollar-Industry/28-07-2016-100972/, accessed on 16-07-2019

[ii] Asian Development Bank, (2012), Shadow education: Private supplementary tutoring and its implications for policy makers in Asia, retrieved from https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/29777/shadow-education.pdf, accessed on 16/07/2019

According to Pratichi's report on *Education of India 2009* there is now an increased dependence on private tutoring. The proportion of children relying on private tuition has gone up significantly. The reason for the rise has less to do with affordability and more to do with the perception that private tutoring is 'unavoidable'. Industry giants affirm that the changing perception of private tutoring has helped the industry boom. While once private tuitions were a coping mechanism to help weaker students do better in exams, now private tuitions are "a necessity for anyone and everyone who needs that extra training to make the grade"[iii].

A mushrooming of coaching institutes and growing popular reliance on it can be understood as *new education economy* which goesbeyond the traditional education industry/economy of India. This new education economy builds upon the idea of a new economy in a network society as framed by Manuel Castells (1996). This new education economy can be seen as a circuit of production of education, which is run through investment of capital, marketisation and is connected to many networks of enterprises running to ensure the success of that business at various levels or in several places. This new education economy then influences the society and people's take towards education.

The aspect of 'new' in the education industry of Dhanbad comes parallel to the explanation about the proliferating economic systemsby the Castells (1996) as built in his idea of network economy. The education industry is certainly fuelled by parallel expansion of the private sector employment in Dhanbad, since liberalisation of economy in India in 1990s. As Connell (1982) explained the market in education as a new cultural arbitrary and a new relational concept between the education system and social classes a new mode of articulation (Connell *et al.,* 1982 in Ball, 1993). This brings us to the explanation of the 'new-ness' in the education economic sector, which is governed by the rules of network economy.

With a short review of the changes Dhanbad has undergone in the post- liberalisation era we may proceed to explain the pervasiveness of this economic and educational change in the city.

[iii] https://zeenews.india.com/news/education/coaching-classes-serve-as-a-parallel-education-system_1555624.html accessed on 16-07-2019 at 18:02hrs.

The following chapter which aims to explain the newness in the education economy of Dhanbad combines the concept of market (Ball, 1993) and network economy (Castells, 1996)

I. Dynamics of Shadow Education Industry

The whole world is leading to the stage where the primary importance is given to educational certificates for screening one's ability to get into job market. Dore (1980) talks about this increase in significance of the degrees as 'diploma disease'. He argues that, these degrees are taken as determining factor and markers of general aptitude of a candidate (Dore, 1980).

There is naturally a growing demand for higher education. This has led to the rise of shadow education industry that boasts of improving a child's chances at securing a seat in higher education. The widening aspiration for higher education institutions which provide valuable degrees that can eventually guarantee a job among masses has created a demand for coaching institutes, even in Dhanbad. However subsequently these coaching centres have started acting not only as a mode of assistance but also a 'shadow' (Bray, 1999) to the formal education system particularly schools.

This shadow education industry as explained by Bray (1999) is nothing but a service provider agency which gives educational services. This may be explained through growing trend of private tutoring being gradually turned into large scale industry. It has expanded in the form multibillion dollar business industry. The core reason of proliferation of these centres of coaching in the shadow industry is the competitive nature of the exams through which one enters these higher education institutions. Moreover, this competition accelerates because of the limited number of seats in these institutions and the widening of the pool of people competing for these. The competition is fierce for the few popular options in professional education courses, which assure of a job at the end of the course. The combination of these conditions has led to the rise for demand in private tutoring centres that boast of competitive success rates at placing a higher number of students in these institutions of higher education. Hence, as already highlighted, the rise of shadow education industry was introduced to suffice the need of extra input for entering the limited seats in the higher education sector.

a) Coaching Centres as Business ventures

The coaching institutes are generally registered as companies under the Shops and Establishments Rules Jharkhand 2001 with the inspectorate of that area. The most interesting aspect isthat the shadow educational institutions are registered as a company. Each major coaching centre interviewed in this study called themselves as private limited company and listed their teachers as their managing directors.

The syallbus at these centres mainly revolves around topics that are not being taught at formal schools. Bray (1999) looks at such institutions as a service which is provided by a host of people like individual graduates, from a formal business setup or centres which work through branches and hence they have taken the form of large scale business. At its initial stage it can be observed that these tutors are projecting a niche market parallel to formal schooling, giving that specialised extra assistance which the regular schools are not able to provide (Aurini and Davies, 2004, pp 422).

However, in case of Dhanbad we may see the private tutoring going beyond single tutor centre and becoming a more systematic chain of institutes which operate in a more organised manner both at teaching and management. The mushrooming of such centres of coaching mimicking corporate management style are a curious development that must be studied carefully. One such example is Goal Institutes which flaunts its identity as a business through the Fig. 6.1.

Fig. 6.1: Founder of Goal Institute being awarded by Government of Bihar[iv]

Receiving the 'Rising Entrepreneur of Bihar - 2014' Award from C.M. of Bihar Sri Jitan Ram Manjhi

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[iv]http://goalinstitute.org/gallerydetails.php#group=nogroup&photo=3, accessed on 05/05/2018

In the Fig. 6.1 we may see the Goal institute which has its heado ffice in Patna and has become a popular coaching centre with two big offices in Dhanbad. The Managing Director of Goal Institute, Mr Bipin Kumar, has been awarded the 'Rising Entrepreneur of Bihar-2014' Award and later he received many awards like Achievers Award of Bihar[v], award for best Coaching Institute in Bihar[vi]. However, it is important to note that the awards honour the institute's business potential not their credibility or contribution to education. This type of recognition of educational enterprise as an entrepreneurial venture may be understood in light of explanation parallel to K-12[vii] educational businesses (Tyack and Cuban, 1995 cited in Aurini and Davies, 2004, pp 423). Even Baker (2015, pp 3) explains the basic definition of shadow education market as the one where shadow education is provided in exchange of fees which means that the educational assistance which is given against chargeable amount. The education business in this category is believed to be working as enterprises geared at 'unleash(ing) entrepreneurial spirit' among the educators. It is this spirit which motivates these education businesses to compete in the market where there are many competitors. Hence to ensure success of one's enterprise, educators are constantly pressured to be different from others in the market through devising or innovating new means of teaching (Davies and Botkin, 1994 cited in Aurini and Davies, 2004, pp 422).

Another example of being recognised and awarded for being an entrepreneur in the field of education was by IIT (ISM) alumni group of the founder of FOCUS coaching institute in Dhanbad, who also happens to be the alumni of same institution. In an interview taken on 19th January 2015 by Team ISM diaries he is commemorated in the following manner,

> Ajay Veer Singh, ISM Alumnus, Batch 2010, Managing Director – Focus IIT JEE Coaching Institution, Dhanbad. He is the quintessential example of IIT-JEE brand success. He is the man behind the foundation of focus & captain of the ship. He is heading focus as an inspiring leader, who has heart of teacher &thought of a trailblazer. He has been a best example of being

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[v] http://goalinstitute.org/gallerydetails.php#group=nogroup&photo=4, accessed on 14/7/2019
[vi] http://goalinstitute.org/gallerydetails.php#group=nogroup&photo=1, accessed on 14/7/2019
[vii] K12 Inc. is a for-profit education company that sells online schooling and curricula. K12 is an education management organization (EMO) that provides online education designed as alternatives alternative to traditional "bricks and mortar" education for public school students from kindergarten to 12th grade (hence the company's name).

a self made person and inspiration for ISM students.[viii]

The whole interview focuses on his business acumen much more than his role as a teacher. These examples among others highlight how coaching institutes are not being recognised as educationally relevant but for their ability to make revenue as a business. The focus is not on the educational viability or contribution of these coaching institutes but on their business models.

Fig. 6.2: An extract from an interview taken by IIT (ISM) alumni group with Mr Ajay Veer Singh.[ix]

Creating logos and symbols that consolidate a distinct identity for the coaching classes is yet another curious feature of many coaching institutes in Dhanbad. These logos aid in marking distinction, makeadvertisingconvenient, aid retention and popularisation and therefore overall marketability. Fig. 6.3 shows thepicture of the logo is depicted in the form of symbol of orbital mechanics a part of quantum physics. Such logos attract through invoking random popular icons associated with science as a way of arguing their distinction among other coaching institutes in the market.

[viii] Interview on ISM Diaries website with Mr Ajay Veer Singh http://www.ismdiaries.com/ism-alumnus-ajay-veer-singh/, accessed on 14/7/2019
[ix] http://www.ismdiaries.com/ism-alumnus-ajay-veer-singh/, accessed on 16/02/2019

Fig. 6.3: Logo of Srivastava Classes

Source: Official Website of Srivastava Classes[x]

Symbols of various higher education institutions of repute have over time also acquired a brand value. These symbols become coveted and students and alumna proudly exhibit these symbols as markers of their association. The strategy of adopting a symbol by coaching centres and popularising it as a proud symbol to be associated with may be an attempt to associate it with success through the logic of association. These symbols are meant to be sold and marketised as products of consumption. Merchandise marked by these symbols is distributed among affiliate students as a way of marking bodies moving through space that act as advertisements. Another form of expanding coaching institutes as a business in the shadow education market is the creation of a franchise coaching centre in untapped areas of education market.

b) Franchise coaching centres

It emerged from interviews with the owner of franchise coaching centre that he wanted to obtain a franchise from an already popular chain of coaching institutes called 'Resonance', based in the city of Kota, Rajasthan, to attract more number of students. He was willing to shell out20- 30 lacs of security money, for this purpose too. However, his attempt to connect through e-mail with 'Resonance' did not yield any result. He then tried to reach out to other popular coaching centre chains from Kota, Rajasthan like 'Vibrant' and 'Bansal', with existing brand value in the market, but couldn't gain any success. His

[x] https://www.thesrivastava.com/, accessed on 14/7/2019

desperation to get a franchise from these established names in private coaching industry is guided by the feeling that an already established name would require less effort at advertising and gaining credibility in the already competitive market. He believes that franchise with leading service provider in private coaching industry will give his business a profit of 2 crores (annually), as each student will pay a minimum of 2 lacs as fees in the name of these Kota and Delhi banners. Also, his existing pool of enrolled students would expand atleast by another 300 students through being associated with one of these big names in the private coaching industry. He further added that he aspires to open a franchise or extension of his existing coaching centre in Giridih and Hazaribagh towns near Dhanbad, even then the profit would get tripled.

Thus, through the analysis of dynamics of establishment of a franchise coaching centre in a small city we get to understand that how a big business is created out of an educational institution. For the local collaborator and owner, this kind of collaboration or franchise would attract the best faculty in Dhanbad without necessitating him to pay a remuneration at par with the national average pay paid by the coaching institute. "We do a lot of hard work but then also no student will be ready to pay us an amount of Rs 2 lacs as the fees", Gopal Prasad, the coaching institute owner remarks.

These phenomena can also be corroborated by the famous coaching institute brands advertising a call for franchise. The language used in this advertisement in Fig. 6.4 to attract entrepreneurs to take up a franchise in their corner of the country. The parent institute promises to provide these franchise partners, the facility of marketing and operations along with an affiliation with the brand power of these parent private coaching institutes. Three major reasons which they cite to take up this franchise is that, one, this business has huge market potential; second, it is growing market within their particular brand sphere; and thirdly, this business is not affected by business cycles.

Fig. 6.4: Advertisement from Race Narayana Academy.[xi]

Another example of such an advertisement can be seen on the official website of Aakash Institute, the famous brand for giving number of results for medical entrance exams mainly. The advertisement writes as follows,

> "We believe, today, 'Aakash' brand is associated with quality test preparatory services and a proven student selection track record. We have been able to strengthen our brand recognition and improve our brand recall through a variety of means such as our strong student performance, pan India network, qualified faculty, comprehensive study material, modern infrastructure, and integrated systems and processes. It is our aim to strengthen our position as an organized and diversified pan- India test preparatory service provider and strengthen our brand recognition with the help of our business partners".[xii]

Under this advertisement the Aakash academy enforces its brand name and success story once again to attract the franchisee in newer parts of the country. It reasons out that

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[xi]https://racenarayana.com/franchise.aspx, accessed on 14/7/2019
[xii]https://www.aakash.ac.in/franchise-information, accessed on 15/7/2019

through a long due process of building strong student performance, modern infrastructure, study material and also network all across the country, Aakash institute has built itself credibility in the market. Hence, it becomes essential such a brand in education to come up as service provider covering the largest geographical limit with the help of 'business partners' only to create a stronghold of its brand name.

Another famous brand may be seen advertising for franchise taking is Career Launcher. This institute in Fig. 6.5 very explicitly talks about expansion of the brand through franchise business partners.

Fig. 6.5: Advertisment for Franchise by Career Launcher.

Source: Official Website of Career Launcher[xiii]

However, the most interesting part of the advertisement is how it argues the viability and profitability of private coaching franchise in Indian context. It does so by highlighting the cultural value assigned to education in Indian society. This becomes a primary motivation behind greater expenditure on education among households. Further it highlights that there are fewer seats in higher education institutions and this coupled with a growing demand for these few seats makes a franchise profitable. Last reason quoted above is financial and an understanding of the market of education business gets reflected here as

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xiii https://www.careerlauncher.com/dhanbad/?gclid=CjwKCAjw98rpBRAuEiwALmo-ymPnS0Pr49jWwoDLHT59sp-9tzwzTRmDgYxaXYCuuCtKIdkbOjTEyhoCEfAQAvD_BwE, accessed on 14/7/2019

it very clearly says that it is the most viable business for earning if the operation of the working of institute is done properly.

This franchise business may be understood within the framework of network economy (Castells, 1996) explanation of the prevalent economic system in education sector. The concept of starting a business on the business model of a corporate chain and using its already established credibility through its brand explains the relevance of franchise coaching industry in the network economy. However, there are still significant differences between corporate chain and a franchise centres. Unlike a salaried manager, franchisees incurs all financial risks at the local level, gives his best for its performance (Aurini and Davies, 2004, pp 422).

However, these coaching centres apart from working as a corporate firm also have to produce results that argue their credibility. A similar kind of understanding can be seen in the few coaching institutes of Dhanbad in terms of their course designing and definition of each of their courses and batches in relation to gain of life chances (Weber, 1978) to further acquire a life worth living.

c) Courses and Batch Designing

One of the most interesting features of the coaching institutes running in Dhanbad is the way they design their courses and categorise their batches. Through interviews and Website content analysis, several unique features, of course designing and batch formation were found. The most common feature among most, if not all, coaching institutesis that each coaching institute conducts a screening examination for children from class eighth onwards and in some cases from class sixth onwards, to select prospective students for the various batches, grades and levels based on merit. This may be illustrated using an example of Onrise Academy, a well known private coachingcentre of Dhanbad divided its batches among the students of class IXth, Xth, XIth, XIIth and pass out batches according to few peculiar names. (See Fig. 6.6)

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Fig. 6.6: Batch Describing Pamphlet of Onrise Academy, Dhanbad.

Source: Official facebook page of Onrise Academy, Dhanbad[xiv]

For class IX, they use the word '*Tender*' batch. This batch is seen by the coaching institutes as the one depicting innocence which needs to be cared very delicately like a bud and guide with proper care to set them with pace required in the next level or preparation. The class Xth batch is called '*Floral'*. At this stage, a bud may be seen competent if it is able to flower, given the appropriate developmental signal. Thus, this is a stage where competency is inculcated among the students and hence the name '*floral*'.

The batch of Class XIth comes with thename '*Foster'*. It was explained that this batch is the one where child as a flower needs extensive personal care and that is done in the way as they may be able to develop ideas and feelings of competency for this particular exam. The next batch is called '*Pioneer*' for Class XII. This indicates the stage of vegetation which shows early succession of plant. This is again biological explanation of how a plant reaches a stage where they start showing certain change either in response to environmental change or intrinsic properties of their own. Thus, in case of students in Class XII, this stage of vegetation stands as the best analogy as this is the penultimate

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[xiv]https://www.facebook.com/OnriseAcademy, accessed on 14/7/2019

stage of growth under the training or influence of coaching institute which acts as an environment bringing in change in that particular plant before reaching the climax of successful vegetation.

The batch after this is defined as the '*Shiner*' batch which designed for Class XIIth pass outs. They are called Target batches but here in Onrise they call it Shiner. The explanation to this terminology is that, the one who have reachedthis stage, under the guidance of the tutors will definitely shine in future with positive results in the admission of examination such as IIT-JEE.

Another very interesting case is that of the **Srivastava Classes**, which is also one very big institute in Dhanbad. They also have a very unique set of introductory references and meanings to batches.

Fig. 6.7:Collage of different pamphlets describing courses of Srivastava Classes, Dhanbad

Source: Official Website of the Srivastava Classes, Dhanbad[xv]

The Srivastava Classes have borrowed words from Hindi literature as key terms to name their batches. One may see in Fig. 6.7 that there are several captions with a hint towards what Srivastava Classes derive from these words. For instance, the first batch, as one may see for Class 8th, 9th and 10th is called as '*Neev'* of which the literal meaning is foundation. An elaboration of the concept behind formation of this batch is in the caption which says '*Taiyari Bhavishya ki*' meaning '**preparation for future'**. At this level, this coaching institute talks about preparing students for future by laying foundation of

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[xv]https://www.thesrivastava.com/, accessed on 14/7/2019

concepts and ideas among students. The key feature of course is thus the preparation for exams like Olympiad/ NTSE/ KVYP and, most importantly, for the Board examinations.

The second level is that of Class 11th and Class 12th combined. In this batch, focus is mainly on IIT JEE - Advanced preparation. The title in here read as '***Pratham'*** which means '**the first**' literally and the caption adding to this title is '***To reach your goals***'. Here the focus is on JEE Mains and JEE Advanced and also Boards.One needs to get training in both aspects to be the first to compete and achieve.

The third level is called '***Shikhar'*** which means the top and the caption describing that is '***to reach at the top'***. This is the batch for Class 12th and Class 12th pass- outs. The meaning attached to this batch is again around developing competency to such a height that one reaches the highest level of success. This is also the batch where focus is both on IIT- JEE Boards hence the description becomes apt. The fourth level is named '***Samarthya***' which means capability and for which the caption added reads out like '***Shaping your dreams'.*** This batch is aimed for short term courses regarding preparation for Board exams andentrance exam (Engineering as well asMedical). This course is designed for those students who want to prepare for any exam mentioned above in a short duration. However, the Srivastava Classes through the short term courses aim to build up capability and shape the dreams among the aspirers even in short durations.

The fifth batch is the most interesting one which calls itself '***Jeevan'***meaning life and this title is added by the caption '***Naye kal ki shuruat'*** which means if one joins this course, it leads to their definite way towards tomorrow. This course focuses on intensive teaching and training around entrance exams for both engineering and medical. The appropriate education actually ensures the credentials required for reaching up the ladder of society (Rao and Singh, 2017). Through the meanings attached to various batches one may infer that success and meaning of what has to be attained in life is brought above by the shadow education institutions in Dhanbad.

In an interview, the head of another coaching institute popular in Dhanbad namely, Narayana institute, Mr Rohit Ranjan, mentioned that there is gradation among batchesi.e. creation of batches according to capability of entering IIT is the hallmarkof the coaching centre industry. This capability is decided according to several tests which is taken at monthly intervals. The most exclusive batch is called '***spark'*** batch where students from

the cream layer sit and they are given the best of the faculties and best of their time too. He explains the Spark batch students study with no time limits. They get academic support of 24×7, in order to bring out the best in them. These students, sifted on the basis of their merit are put through most rigorous training, they are encouraged to be self-motivated. They are given unparallel support, motivation and guidance from the highest level. "We just polish the diamond in you without disturbing your originality. We achieve the impossible just by rekindling the deep desire in you to excel and not by forcing things on you. If you have the will to reach the top, we have the means to achieve it", claims the Head of Narayana in Dhanbad. Thus, categorisation of batches according to capability of students is seen as the demand of the time. There are batches like A1, A2, A3, etc in which students are categorised according to their performance. This is, further explained by Mr Rajeev Ranjan, from FIIT JEE Dhanbad Centre, by bringing an analogy with hospitals that there are different wards for different patients and there is an Intensive Care Unit (ICU) for some patients, likewise there are gradations of batches for students of different capabilities. It is through reshuffling tests the students' performance is counted upon and these tests are given twice a year in institutes like FIIT JEE and then reshuffling of batches takes place.

In one of the interviews with a local coaching centre owner Mr Prashant who through his observation of the working of the big banner coaching institute puts forth the following discussion. He notes that,

> If I do not do this running of coaching centre somebody else will do, it is a business". These coaching institutes send their counsellor to schools and conduct tests. These tests then assess that the students are capable to study in these coaching institutes or not. Hence the situation is such that they inspite of taking money create an aura that their reach is so high that it can be reached only by those who has the 'capability'. Moreover, they choose almost every student by giving minor discounts in the name of scholarship to these students. In many cases it happens that the student once joins the coaching institute later on the student feels that it is becoming too heavy for the family. In that case, no parent can go back and ask for money paid

In this particular note by Mr Prashant a hint towards the unruly working of big banner coaching institute is presented. The business ideals of coaching institutes of the coaching centres of national fame which run completely on the ethos of business companies goes to the extent of creating the discontent and inferiority complex among students. This was evident in some interviews with students[xvi] who took admission in national fame coaching institutes of FIIT JEE but due to discontent, they left the centre and joined FOCUS a Dhanbad grown coaching institute. The shift was mainly due to the impersonal attitude of teachers in FIIT JEE which the IIT aspirant could very easily get in FOCUS by its mentor who is fondly called AVS sir.

This brings us to the understanding of coaching centres and shadow education industry in a small city of Dhanbad. Here the importance of personal relationship with teacher becomes extremely important and the essence of ethical aspect of teaching in the framework of a corporate office becomes the key feature of the shadow education industry in Dhanbad. Hence an understanding of the coaching institutes and its characteristics which forms the main element of its success both educationally and economically is nature of the teacher or mentor as they call them are portrayed.

d) Recruitment of Teachers as Coaches, Guides: Through Success Stories

The researcher was able to establish connections with many coaching institutes in Dhanbad giving preparatory courses for engineering and medical entrance exams as a guardian of a potential candidate. In this process of investigation as a parent/guardian either through phone or personally every time a coaching institute representative mainly involved in talking to clients started their argument of establishing their institute as the best one by talking about the faculty they hired or the mentor or owner who started that institute. However, this projection was categorised in the way the coaching institutes were categorised in Dhanbad. The type of coaching institutes preparing for IIT JEE and NEET exams were mainly the one which were a franchise of a national fame coaching institute like FIIT JEE, Narayana etc. The other type was that of locally grown coaching institute

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[xvi]Case studies of families have been elaborated in previous chapter where their aspiration and strategies of education is dealt with. In one of these case studies

but only run by the IIT (ISM) alumni like FOCUS and Gurukul. However, there were other institutes where local famous school teachers were recruited but this type was also mainly dominated by the coaching institutes which recruited IIT (ISM) and BIT Sindri graduates.

In the first case of national level coaching institutes the recruitment to teaching and non-teaching staff was done from their head office. In one of the interviews with FIIT JEE teacher Mr Ranjan the whole process was revealed where he mentioned that the representatives from the main centre of the institute in Delhi carry on the whole process of recruitment. In a statement explaining the process he states that,

> They will pick up CVs from among various submitted ones. There are categories of applicants for teachers but it is compulsory that one should have a graduation degree from engineering colleges like NIT, IITs and Masters from any other institute. Batches are then given according to further grading of the teacher, posed on the feedback mechanism. After every phase, the syllabus is divided in phases and every teacher is graded according to the student feedback.

In this explanation we get a clear picture of a corporate process of recruitment in the race of creating a brand by using the brand value of IITs and NITs. Mr Ranjan further elaborated that it was quite necessary for these national fame coaching institute to bring quality teachers so that they maintain their success stories and also the results from each centres to maintain the profit. This was because consideration of a good teacher in these type institutes was derived from their level of credentials, they had gained from higher education institutions of national repute. This credential was seen as a guarantee to classroom teaching which they were supposed to deliver in a manner, so it creates successful results out of their coaching institutes.

In an interview with KIA Institute teachers Mr Ashutosh Kumar they say that they do create class structures along the line as the students get an overall makeover before they enter IIT. The soft skills are also dealt with which marks an institute different from others. Moreover, they try to present before the success of their teachers and owners to make a point. For instance, Mr Ashutosh, who himself was an IIT JEE entrant is projected

in order to reflect onhow he has been successful in producing results which are beyond comparison.

Fig. 6.8: Banner of KIA institute

Ashutosh kr. sinha(Managing director)

Another famous story is of Ajay Veer Singh, the founder, teacher and owner of coaching institute, called 'Focus' is an alumni of IIT ISM and runs a very successful coaching centre for IIT entrance exam in the heart of the city of Dhanbad which is Hirapur. In terms of admissions, Mr Ajay Veer Singh mentions that the number of students from within the city of Dhanbad is very less. Affordability is there but keenness to pay is less. He observes that,

> Most of the time I am doing social service". In terms of results, the highest number of success stories in Dhanbad is from FOCUS. Almost 25% of students qualify for JEE Advanced level. This creates a huge demand for his coaching institute among the parents. The brochure of 'Focus' that mentions the Founder does not consider Focus as a coaching institute: 'It is like a family to him'. He further writes, "Truly speaking, these students are like my own kids. When they perform well it feels very nice but when they give wrong answer it feels really bad. In these kids I see my own childhood. I always try that I can make students feel the concepts so that they remember it for life long and later implement them practically.

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Through these lines he tries to imbibe a personal touch to the functioning of the coaching institutes. Being the sole owner of the institute, he acts like a guardian/patron to the students.

In a small city like Dhanbad, the idea of personification of father in a teacher is very well received as child or student is always likely to be under patronship of either father in the house or tuition teacher in the coaching institute. Thus, using this line of treating students as own kids, the coaching institutes adopt one very clever line of marketing. Its title moreover reads as 'FOCUS: Laying Foundation for IIT-JEE'. The coaching institute FOCUS has a collaboration with Resonance Kota and this gives much impetus to its advertising as its website claims that a student's destiny for IITs, NITs, IISERs and prominent engineering science institutions begin here collaboration with any coaching institute from Kota will be seen as guarantee of success.

In the following Fig. 6.9 Mr Ajay Veer Singh has been conferred by Dainik Bhaskar as a very successful teacher.

Fig. 6.9: Guru Siksha Award being given to mentor of FOCUS institute.

Source: Facebook page of FOCUS[xvii]

[xvii]https://www.facebook.com/groups/1422023434699174/, accessed on 14/7/2019

Fig. 6.10: Ajay Veer Singh standing with the famous teacher and writer of physics books HC Verma. [xviii]



In the Fig. 6.10 we may the famous teacher of Dhanbad Mr Ajay Veer Singh standing beside the most famous physics teacher in India Prof. H C Verma[xix] whose book Concepts of Physics[xx] is considered to be the bible of every IIT- JEE preparing student. This particular source where this picture was uploaded called this moment of meeting of Mr Ajay Veer Singh and Prof HC Verma as very special as according to this source when a teacher of this might met and listened to the story of Mr Singh he was also amazed at the career graph and the success he owned as a teacher and hence got a much needed validation from such an authority in the field of IIT-JEE preparation.

[xviii]www.quora.com/What-do-ISMites-think-of-Ajay-Veer-Singh-Director-of-Focus, accessed on 14/7/2019

[xix] Prof. Harish Chandra Verma was a Professor in the Department of Physics at Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur. Prior to joining IIT Kanpur, he served Science College, Patna University (1979-1994) as Lecturer and Reader. His research interests are in Nano fabrication using focused ion beam, Magnetism in Graphite on irradiation by ion beam, Nanosize (4 nm-20 nm) magnetic materials, Fe-based alloys, Earth Science etc. He has published 139 research papers in reputed journals. He has also written several books in Physics for School and College level. His most popular work is Concepts of Physics, a two volume book.

[xx] Concepts of Physics is a calculus-based physics textbook by H. C. Verma. The book was first published in 1992. It is published as a two-volume set roughly covering the physics syllabus of class XI and class XII. The book is popular among students preparing for competitive exams, especially the Joint Entrance Examination

Fig. 6.11: A capture of statement of FOCUS, Dhanbad.
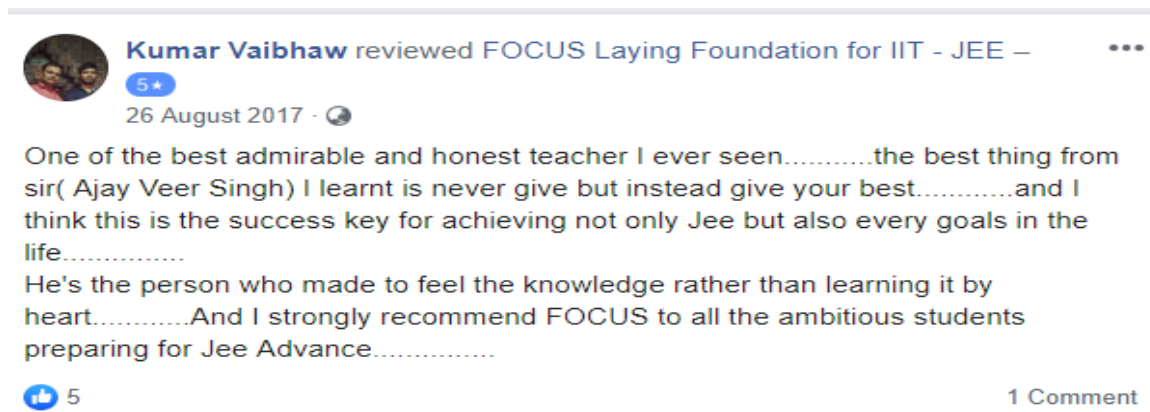
In the above Fig. 6.11 the student reviewed the coaching centre by solely focussing on the essence of the teacher there. Similarly, the Facebook page of Focus and many more coaching institutes of Dhanbad were reviewed primarily on the basis of their teacher's acumen. This is further strengthened from the testimonial seen in Fig. 6.12 for Srivastava Classes, Dhanbad. In this image too the focus of the review was the mentorship of founder of the institute Mr R K Srivastava who is termed as dynamic.

Fig. 6.12: A capture of review statement of Srivastava Classes, Dhanbad.

Another case is also very interesting in which a YouTube video was analysed from the channel of GOAL institute Dhanbad. In this particular video[xxiii] of 2016 an annual felicitation ceremony is being celebrated by the students of GOAL, Dhanbad. This

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[xxi] www.facebook.com/pg/focus.dhanbad/reviews/?ref=page_internal, accessed on 14/7/2019

[xxii] https://www.facebook.com/pg/srivastavaiitjee/reviews/?ref=page_internal, accessed on 14/7/2019

[xxiii] Official YouTube Channel of GOAL, Dhanbad named as Sanjay Kumar with a logo of Goal Institute Dhanbad as display picture. This particular video was published on 26th Oct 2016 Source url-www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Ml0f-qWRdQ

was headed by Mr Sanjay Kumar, head of Dhanbad branch of GOAL which is famous coaching institute chain for medical entrance exam preparation based originally in Patna.

In this particular video the most eye-catching part was the time when a student Shikha Jha draped in an apron similar to a professional doctor was invited to give her victory speech and inspire the aspiring students. The whole speech was centred on her training in GOAL institute and how she was helped by her mentor Mr Sanjay Kumar.

The mentorship of the teachers and their academic acumen is the primary subject of any feedback on the coaching institutes. These testimonials then become promotional material for attracting fresh population of students.

e) Additional support provided by Coaching institutes

The earliest example of intervention in the school system by the coaching institutes have been provided by Prasad (2017, 405) where he discusses the case of Vijayawada and the growth of coaching industry strategically. In the name of techno-schools, concept schools etc the essence of technical and innovative way of teaching was promoted among schools. The combination of these schools and the coaching institutes was them promoted as the only way to enter the IITs through which one can fulfil the dream of entering IT world and go abroad. This was seen as backward integrative strategy by including schools in their regime and on the other hand they also hired NRI consultants as forward integrative strategy to train students for foreign universities (Prasad, 2017, 405).

Dore (1980) talks about a backwash effect of the whole system aiming for a certain exam. This is called as 'backwash' effect in which some successful students are prepared for selection exam success. During the process the terminal education function which is seen as incapable of preparing the successful minority for future goals starts diminishing and in Dore's word the preparation system on proceeding dominates the terminal education function.

The coaching institutes in Dhanbad claim to facilitate students with pick up and drop off, air-conditioned classrooms, mock tests, scholarships, online material, faculty with PhDs, faculty which is IIT alumna, result orientedness and hostels etc. The institutes claim that their hostels provide a dedicated study environment and help in facilitating success among students. Aakash Institute in Dhanbad has unique features to add to the industry of

coaching centres. It provides special psychometric tests for students of class VII to X. Through this test, they deal with stress assessment, depression assessment, mental health assessment, emotional intelligence, career counseling and measuring and enhancing one's talent.

Another case of coaching institute in Dhanbad we can see it going one step further. In a telephonic conversation with a representative from Srivastava Classes, where the researcher posed as parent of an aspiring student, the researcher enquired about the facilities available for an outstation student. The representative first was sceptical about a student from Patna moving to Dhanbad for preparation. However, once convinced he reassured that the coaching institute provides options for residential, conveyance and above all schooling related issues like getting enrolled in school but not attending one, hence not hampering the coaching class timings. In the Fig. 6.13 the Srivastava Classes claim to give 'residential school programme' and 'parental guidance' which will include regular health check-up and extracurricular activity along with hostels, conveyance, and meals to cover everything which a home and school would provide. Hence, justifying their facility of Residential School Programme in their brochure.

Fig. 6.13: Srivatava Classes Pamphlet flagging all its features.

Source: Official Website of Srivastava Classes

It emerged from the conversation that the coaching institutes in Dhanbad are also promising the option of enrolling in a non-attending school. These coaching institutes have a tie up with schools that do not mandate a regular attendance from their students.

This rise of non-attending schools is now a full grown business proposition. This became clear from a study of websites[xxiv]schools in Dhanbad famous for non-attending admission. All CBSE schools had to declare the number of seats in the beginning of session which is at the pre-primary school level. The problem arises when these school which declare that at class 1 they have certain number of students that suddenly surges suspiciously in class ninth. The case of St. Thomas High School in Dhanbad exhibits this trend of exponential rise in the admissions in class ninth. The number of sections suddenly increases from three against a total student population of 150 in class eighth to 19 against a total student population of 780 in class ninth. The rise in the number of students in Class ninth is only to justify the continuing number in Class 10th to fill the forms for Boards examination conducted by CBSE.

According to a report by Times Of India, "Central Board of Education, CBSE detected the infringement of class strength rule when data stored in CBSE's Online affiliated School Information System, OASIS showed that, the total number of seats in each school is equal to the number of students registered in classes IX and XI. The move by CBSE shall also root out renting of seats by schools where students get registered in schools and join a private coaching."[xxv]

According to sources, the violation was detected through the board's Online Affiliated School Information System (OASIS)[xxvi]. Under new norms by CBSE, schools cannot register over 40 students per section and if they do, they will be penalised.

Another attempt of getting a step closer to become school or an institution of such a stature we may see coaching institutes in Dhanbad celebrating occasions like farewell parties for outgoing batches, mimicking the student culture in formal school system and institutes of higher education. In the following Fig 6.14 we may see a coaching institute Onrise Academy celebrating farewell ceremony. Similar trend was followed by many other coaching institutes like Srivastava Classes.

[xxiv]http://www.stthomastopchanchi.in/student-strength.php, accessed on 09/07/2018
[xxv] A report titled 'CBSE wiil penalize 17000 schools with over 40 kids/section' by Manash Pratham Gohain updated at 11th October 2018 at 7.55 IST timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/education/cbse-will-penalise-1700-schools-with-over-40-kids/section/articleshow/66156019.cms, accessed on 14/7/2019
[xxvi]OASIS was introduced by CBSE in 2016 with an aim to bring the entire school information on a digital platform.

Fig. 6.14: Farewell Celebration in Onrise Academy, Dhanbad.

Source: Official Facebook page of Onrise Academy, Dhanbad

In a very interesting instance from the facebook page of GOAL institute Dhanbad in the Fig. 6.15 we may see the head Mr Sanjay Kumar leading a rally of protest along with his students from the coaching institute against the Pulwama attack. It may be read as an attempt by coaching institutes to establish themselves as being similar to more formal educational institutions and not just shadow education industry geared at putting candidates through entrance examinations. This appears like an attempt to argue about the social, moral and educational quality of instruction at these coaching institutes which goes beyond merely teaching students to crack the code of entrance examinations.

Fig. 6.15: Students and Teachers of Goal raising slogans Against Pulwama attack.

Source: Official Facebook page of GOAL institute, Dhanbad

II. Advertising Strategies of Coaching Institutes

Marketisation of education and educational institutions give an impression of an association between schooling and consumption (Hartley, 1997). The educational institutions in Dhanbad are mostly engaged in self proclamation through advertisements of various means which have been presented in this part of the chapter. The advertisements through pamphlets and brochures bring forth a very beautiful diagram of self explanation and self appraisal. These self projections in daily newspapers, pamphlets and big hoardings near busy roads or spaces which has maximum visibility in the city helps coaching institutes establish their marketing abilities within the city.

Advertisements of these coaching centres in Dhanbad in the form of bill boards and hoardings and day to day distribution of pamphlets reveal interesting features. The language used in the advertising materials is meant to attract parents and students in the most obvious way of ensuring the success in their respective desired fields of aspiration.

Fig. 6.16: Banner of Gurukul, Saraidhela, Dhanbad

In the Fig. 6.16 a board representing the coaching institute Gurukul can be seen which was clicked by the researcher during the field work in Dhanbad from the premise of Gurukul in Saraidhela. In this picture the caption very explicitly mentions that it is an initiative by the ISM alumni. A definite attraction in the name of ISM students as faculties is visible in the city among the parents of the city. According to one of the sources these students of ISM mostly in the 2nd and 3rd year of B Tech approach the

parents at the board exams centres for class 10th where they happen to present their identity as ISM graduates which is a matter of prestige in the colonies of aspiring IITians and parents.

Fig. 6.17: A picture of teacher and students from FIIT JEE Dhanbad[xxvii]

This Fig. 6.17 proudly boasts of FIIT JEE's long career in the field of coaching in IIT and AIEEE in Dhanbad. With a board at the back listing the successful students from FIIT JEE in preceding years it very subtly brings its success stories backing this picture call for new students. However, the Fig. 6.17 showing the present students being thoroughly happy with its service andby donning their uniform code of similar T-shirts provided by the institute only helps to present the institute more disciplined and definite place of stress free zone of preparing the most competitive exams. Since its inception it has attracted a whole bunch of students not only from within the Dhanbad city but also those from outside Dhanbad. There have been a large number of students flocking towards Dhanbad in search of coaching institutes every year. The brand names of Narayana or FIIT- JEE claim to serve the purpose of realizing their aspirations.

A local coaching institute covering the school as well as well as competitive exams for employment has an interesting advertisement component. This is one of the examples among the large number of other coaching centres opened by the local entrepreneurs at every corner of Dhanbad. The language used in its advertisement, it promises quality. Its slogan '**Quality people, Quality education**' signifies the growing concern where there is a need for quality trainers for quality education. This also shows a growing unrest among

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[xxvii]https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Ffiitjeedhanbad.com, accessed on 15/7/2019

the tutors due to growing competition with the Private. Limited coaching institutes like Narayana affecting the local business. Thus, they try to build a better scope for their growth by adopting new strategies and a unique language of advertisement.

Portrayal of miraculous achievements in the advertisements shows how the coaching institutes the demand of a place and the aspiring candidates. The words like 'starting of a golden era in the world of competition' is the catch line as who wouldn't like to be a part of a 'golden era' with help of a miracle promised in the name of teachers who had already shown huge success rates in the metro cities and if they are operating in a small city like Dhanbad it becomes a huge opportunity for students who are constrained to go out of the city due to their cultural or financial reasons. . Dhanbad city also becomes a centre of attraction for students in the adjacent towns of Dhanbad who also cannot afford to go to big metro cities like Delhi, but can commute to Dhanbad and can afford a living also there.

Moreover, another very unique style of advertisement which has developed in the last half a decade is through internet. It is the dominance of internet in deciding what one may consume in this global consumerist era is visible.Middle classes of the city as elsewhere mostly have taken up to internet as an integral part of their lifestyle. City and middle class lifestyle is so inter-twined with the internet, it consumes a large portion of their time which is spent on updating oneself on various digital technologies and internet. The shadow education industry in Dhanbad does use this as a means to communicate with prospective students and their parents. One of the instances from the field may explain this phenomenon. On one of the days of data collection, the researcher was standing outside a coaching centre talking to a bunch of students about the popular coaching centres in Dhanbad. In that very conversation, the researcher was advised by the young tech savvy students that one may get all the information online. Papiya one of the students notes,

> Nowadays any information about Dhanbad and the services provided here is available on popular sites like Justdial[xxviii], or Sulekha[xxix] and

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[xxviii] Justdial is an Indian-based company founded by Mr. Venkatachalam Sthanu Subramani Mani. It provides search services and is made available on Website and Mobile. The company's headquarters is in Mumbai, Maharashtra, India.
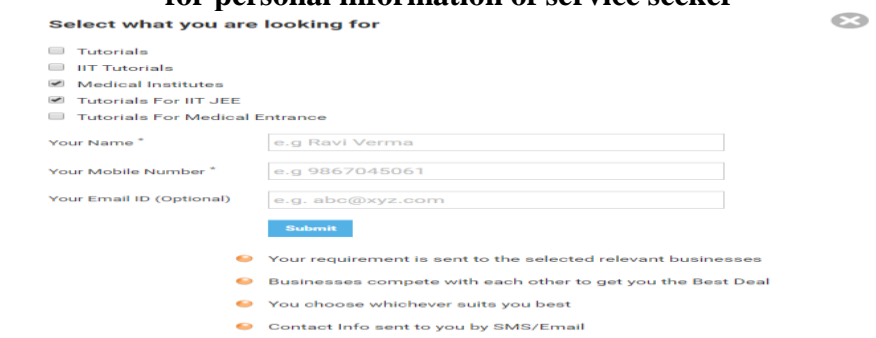[xxix] Sulekha is a digital business in India. Sulekha has 14 offices and 1,300 employees across India.

many other sites, you just have to place your query there. In the same way any information about coaching centres you may get on internet.

Through this information the researcher investigated into this aspect of marketing strategy of shadow education centres in Dhanbad. This idea actually was very fruitful in gaining vast information about the coaching centres in Dhanbad. The search engines as they call them provide people who are searching for any service a form to fill according to their query on Google. The questions are already formed by the site according to one's query earlier done. This platform then gains information from the person searching, like their phone number and email address. The interesting part in this course of action is that the moment this information is fed in the search engine, particulars of an individual are passed on to the service provider and they begin to contact that individual who had searched for coaching centres. The due course of action is such that the coaching institute owners and their hired people for attracting potential customers call on regular basis the person who had put query on such platforms. There are also several messages sent through phone to the person concerned regarding the time to time development in the type and category of coaching institute being established in the city. The researcher was able to gain a wide range of calls and messages only to be convinced to send her potential candidate to their particular coaching institute. In the phone conversation the major aim from the service provider was present the best of their coaching as the prime factor of one's reason to join them. They even offered time flexibility in batches and extra support with time and personal guidance in case the aspiring student comes late.

Hence through this mean of advertising on digital platform the coaching institute found it very easy to reach the potential clients and customize their service according to their demands over a phone call only.

Fig. 6.18: A capture showing the application form which search engine provides for personal information of service seeker

Source: Official site of Justdial.com

In this course of understanding the dynamics of education economy in Dhanbad pertaining the two major aspects of it which are changing nature of schools and the proliferation of coaching institutes we come towards several new features adding to education economy of Dhanbad. However, the newness expands from the sphere of these two aspects and leads to a reshaping of the city and its economy being expanded in relation to education economy. This may be understood in the features of various ancillary industry emerging out of education economy.

III. Ancillary industries around the new education economy

The presence of educational institutions like IIT (ISM) and students coming from nearby places mainly like Giridih, Mahuda, Gumla, Chaibasa etc and some also from districts from other states like Patna, Munger, Chittaranjan etc. the city for coaching institutes have added definitely to the city of Dhanbad economically. This addition is not only their partake in educational institution but also in the other aspects of city's economy. Dhanbad city may be seen as city with new spaces of recreation rising out of demand from the newly inculcated population of students enrolled either in IIT or coaching institutes coming from a different city. Dhanbad acts as a remodelled place in which these IIT students live, work and seek to be entertained.

Rao (2017) highlights how the burgeoning shadow education industry has changed in the city of Kota. The city as he observes was once regarded as 'core' or 'old' or 'quintessential' or 'traditional' is now being regarded as 'happening' or 'modern' (2017, pp 429). Guided by a mushrooming of private coaching industry and the overwhelming influx of aspiring students, Rao (2017) reads the transformation of Kota as emergence of an "educational city". He argues that the change in the character of the city is primarily due to education capital taking control over the city growth. The market forces as in case of Kota lies in the hand of coaching institute owners who are business men at large are now a major deciding force about the structural and cultural development of the city too.

Similar trend can be observed in the city of Dhanbad where realtors have quickly woken up to the prospects that private coaching industry opens for retail and real estate development. Fig. 6.19. In this picture we can see a building structure created by the famous realtor of Dhanbad the Shri Ram Group and has leased/sold most of the part of building to coaching institutes.

Fig. 6.19: Shri Ram City with many coaching institutes for engineering and medical examination preparation

Source- Official website of Shri Ram Group[xxx]

Students interviewed from Kusum Vihar area (a part of Saraidhela) identified their permanent residential places like Mahuda, Katras, Maithan, the nearby fringes of the city and place like Bokaro, Munger and Patna the other districts from within the state as well as beyond the state boundaries. These students admitted that they rely on hostel facilities and affordable mess while in Dhanbad.

For these students, like others, coming from outside the city, the biggest concern is to find a living space in an unknown city. In the interviews with migrant students in Kusum Vihar area of the city, one gets to know that the students are here because of the ease city's educational infrastructure provide for them and their families. The existence of the schools and coaching institutes in various parts of the city makes it easy for students coming from outside the city to choose a school and coaching centre in their vicinity of stay. Many of the residential areas near the schools are also emerging as exclusive streets for providing accommodation to these type of students. The Kusum Vihar area, for example has a series of hostels within personal homes opened for both girls and boys. In an interview with one of the girls' hostel owner, Mr B K Sahay an ex-bank employee of UCO bank, it is found that the city has changed and Dhanbad is emerging as new hub for education and mainly of coaching industry. According to him,

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[xxx]http://www.shriramozone.com/, accessed on 15/7/2019

The idea for this hostel came up because of the recurring question which we were being asked almost daily 10 years ago that do you have a place to rent and the demand was mostly by the parents of little girls who used to come for schooling or coaching centres in Dhanbad. We then thought of this as business and constructed a space for girls to accommodate and also added features like in-house dining and facilities like provisions of Aquaguard, fridge, etc. We have approximately of 16- 17 girls every year coming for intermediate in DAV, alongside coaching for engineering and medical. Some are here only for coaching also.

There were many hostels like Ara Girls Hostel, Sonika Girls hostel, Bunty Boys hostel, etc from where it emerged that Saraidhela and its adjacent areas are coming up as first choice for students doing their intermediate and also preparing for engineering and medical entrance exams. This area has expanded in the last decade as private residential buildings were built only for the newly migrating student population. This is in contrast to the old Dhanbad residential pattern which is known for government colonies like Koyla Nagar where government quarters of BCCL employees were built. Thus, Dhanbad has been witnessing a new real estate market as a result of the demand for residential requirement triggered by expansion of shadow education industry in and around various parts of Saraidhela.

Mada Colony in Hirapur region offers space for young students both boys and girls, to live in the government quarters. Most of the rooms are given according to beds which is commonly called 'chowki (wooden bed) system' These quarters seem to be cheap for students from middle class and also working class background. It is mainly because of the free electricity and the subsidised rents, the rents are less. In fact, the quarters are actually given to some government employee and that employee sub-lets it for tenancy gains. One may infer from this scenario that this part of the city provides cheap accommodation to those who come from rural background or small towns.

An important aspect of this new structure and economy is the potential employment and income effects generated out of it. Urban economy has been highly contributed by the development of bars, pubs, multiplexes, malls, cafes and restaurants, where people of

lower middle class and lower families can get jobs (Hall, 1996: Scott, 1997). This also creates a change as it causes people from two different sections to interact and thus stresses again towards the cosmopolitan nature of the city.

Series of eating joints and clubs have opened to cater to the nightlife and after-parties demand of the students from IIT, mainly. Small eating joints have flocked up on the street adjacent to IIT (ISM) main gate. In the Fig. 6.20 we can see student dining at the roadside joints which are pocket friendly, as well as, offering a change from the routine mess meals. Hence, these eating joints become a regular popular spot for students both from university and from coaching institutes.

Fig. 6.20: A view of the eating joints along the street beside main gate of IIT (ISM), Dhanbad

'Work hard, Party hard' is a common proverb among today's youth who along with studies and work need leisure time for refreshment. The infrastructure plays a very important role in this context, since a city equipped with all modern facilities as play area and pubs/clubs provides the people a refuge from their work lives. In the city of Dhanbad, pubs, bars and eating joints are becoming now available for entertainment of students and professionals. High pressure of completing vast engineering syllabus and doing hard work day and night usually causes IIT students in Dhanbad seek for these places. This contributes to the economic development of the city, which gets benefitted from these

places. Besides standing as source of entertainment, these places pose as source of income to the other sections of the society. This can be seen as a socioeconomic restructuring within the city (Harvey, 1989: Jessop, 1997).

This new form of urbanization can be seen as efforts of the local business men who are able to foresee the benefits arriving out of contributing to the development of these night spaces. As a change in the culture of a small city as Dhanbad can be seen through rise of these nightlife spaces, a drift towards corporate capitalism is also witnessed where the property developers and investors are seen as beneficiaries and these professional workers and students are seen as consumers (Savage, 1995) These claims seem a bit unfounded. Please check and review what can go.

Summary

In our investigation around the 'newness' in the education economy of Dhanbad we focus only on production of education economy, the coaching institutes. This entails from the fact that Dhanbad being a small city is still not able to produce certain spaces of production involving higher education primarily the professional education. However, with one IIT (ISM) level institute which is even though not able to absorb the aspiring students within the city itself. Moreover, it is very important to notice that this institution is inculcating the aspiration and the impetus to reach IIT type institutions within the general population of Dhanbad. Thus, demand for new educational prospects remains concentrated within the networks of school and coaching institute which becomes the relevant circuit of production of education economy within a city for analyzing the newness presented by it.

There is a trend presented in this chapter where educational institutions are becoming prey to corporate business models and strategies. Schools seem to lose their non- business characteristics with increasingly becoming a centre of profit making bodies. Rise of coaching centres also raises certain concerns of change in education system of Dhanbad. They create a discourse through advertisements and testimonies that that they are the only platform who can give training of coping in competition to reach closer to Credentials: the only way to enter job marketand get validated in society with certain social class.

The various aspects which have been presented in the chapter regarding the nature of shadow education industry in Dhanbad present a very unique development. This new development in the education economy of Dhanbad has emerged from the concern of establishing these coaching institutes at par with the schools there. A very serious concern which was raised while addressing the issues defining the proliferation of coaching institutes like are, they trying to come up as an alternative to the formal school system? In this one would see the coming of non- attending schools as a welcome change among the seekers and aspirers of competitive exams as a major change to the whole educational scenario in a city like Dhanbad.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusions

In the last two decades, in particular, the urban population in India has witnessed tremendous growth. For instance, the proportion of India's urban population in 2011 was 31.2% and in 2001 it was 27.78 % while in 1991 it was 25.72%. We also see a rise in the number of towns and urban agglomerations from 2590 in 1971 to 4368 in 2001(Shivaramakrishnan et. Al, 2005: Nijman, 2012). With this rise in level of urbanisation, the scope for development ofsmall cities has also increased to a great extent.

Studies have revealed as to how these urban centres have became more viable areas of spatial growth as the metropolitan cities are now showing stagnation (Singh, 2015). It is also discussed widely that how these tier II or tier III cities have been neglected in terms of development in the policy making (Bannerjee-Guha, 2013). Some studies also present alternative theories as to how these small cities can become better sites of global investment as these will retain the regional identity and will not get into the trap of globalisation (Banerjee-Guha, 2013: Shaw, 1996). The need to develop these small cities also emerges from the idea that small and secondary cities also help in development of rural areas adjacent to them (Brondelli, 1983).

Of late, the study of tier II and tier III cities have been catching the imagination of sociologists, urban geographers and economists as they are witnessing demographic transitions as well as spatial, cultural and economic transitions. Social scientists are now interested in knowing how these cities grew as a result of the global influences as well as local pressures. At the centre of their growth though is the economic transition, it does have ramifications/implications for the social class character of the growing cities, aspirational landscape of middle classes in particular and also the resultant culture of the city spaces. It is for this reason that the researcher selected the small city, not a metropolitan city or a small town, as the site for exploring linkages between the urban scenarios its impact on the aspirations of middle classes in particular and the and the rise of certain kind of education economy and market.

The growth of this neweconomy has a peculiar characteristic, namely, it has grown in the new society which is network society influenced by information technology. The business organisations in this society are based on the idea of network enterprise where business organisations operate through network of financial transactions, market and information flowing in different spaces of production of that new economy (Castells, 1996). It has both formal as well as informal economic system operating alongside which trigger both city growth as well as lead to further accelerating middle class spread. It may be noted that, unlike large cities and metropolises, the small city growth is not through IT industries (Shaw, 2015).

Therefore the 'new' economy which is operational in the small cities may be of different nature but based on the idea of network of enterprises. This may be seen in these small and medium cities through a visible change in the way the income generationhas been occurring and how it distinctly is changing the living style in these cities. The NCAER Annual Report 2005-2006 suggest that 10. 7 million people with an annual income of $23000 in the year 2006 were living in smaller cities like Vadodara, Vijayawada, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, etc.

As mentioned earlier, change in the class structure is also visible in these tier II and tier III cities. A number of studies show that there is a definite change in lifestylesin these cities (Robinson, 2013). As Lin and Mele (2005) argue, through the production of certain spaces of spectacles these spaces may be seen as depicting culture of a certain kind (Zukin, 2005) which may be exclusive in nature and accessible to certain class only (Harvey, 2003). This may be in terms of education as middle classes try to reproduce their class by having access to certain spaces of education (Bourdieu, 1973), whereas aspiring classes mainly working class might try to redefine their class position by having access to that space (Lipman, 2010).

Interestingly, most of the new institutions of industry and education are located in small cities rather than the usual practice of locating them in the big and metropolitan cities. For instance, 8 of the 9 new IITs have been set up in tier II or tier III cities and 9 new NITs have came up in tier3 cities, giving a major boost to education infrastructure in these small cities. Also 3 out of every 10 colleges in India are in tier II cities, with Coimbatore

and Jaipur being the leaders (Zinnov, 2015). These in turn seem to trigger the economy of the real estate in these cities which make the urban sprawl far and wide in these cities.

Along with the change in economy and class structure we can also see that there is a growing demand for private education in small cities. According to NSSO 71st Round (January- June 2014), Survey of Education in India, the number of students taking coaching classes or tuitions is estimated to be 7.1 million, almost 26 % of the total number of students in the country. This shows a definite growth in the parallel education system which may be or may not be formal or regulated by government bodies. This is commonly known as 'shadow' education system (Bray, 2015). Along with it we can also witness the rise of private non-aided schools and low budget schools which are another major factor defining the education economy of small cities across the country. It is this rise of private schools, play schools and the coaching institutions for admission into lucrative higher education avenues triggers the emergence of new education economy.

The development of tier II or tier III cities in the present wave of rapid urbanization thus raises many questions in regard to the nature of economy, educational growth, changing local class compositions, which shape and reshape the city, its space and life. In this course of change one major development which has come up in case of Dhanbad is the coming of big play schools such as KidZee, Bachpan, etc and coaching institutes like Aakash, FIIT-JEE, Narayana, etc in Dhanbad. Though Dhanbad had witnessed coming of private schools, colleges and institutes at various junctures of history which along with the government institutes made up its educational landscape, the education economy of the city in present day augurs a unique development. The private schools play schools and coaching institutes have come up as nodes of education centre which run as private business centres with new marketing techniques and information flowing through different spaces of the city. This has certainly added a new aspect to the structuring of the city itself.

The study therefore aimed to look into four major objectives concerning this new phenomenon of the small cities. The first is to study the city and its growth spatially and change in its economic structure. The second is to understand how increasingly middle class structure is triggering educational developments across the city. This brings us to the third major objective i.e., understanding the educational aspirations, strategies and

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dispositions of the middle classes of the city. The last and the main area of investigation in this study are to understand the dynamics of atleast one of the aspects of the new education economy of Dhanbad, namely the coaching industry for educational purposes.

The study clearly establishes that Dhanbad has grown tremendously during the last two decadesof post liberalisation era and this growth is seen in terms of urban sprawl, demography and its material progress. This escalation marks a departure from colonial and post-colonial urban development of the city and is largely driven by the global influences on the planning of cities in India. This also indicates the phenomenon of transforming smaller cities into spaces of global importance with material advancement in the line of present day liberal economic system. Donner and De Neve (2006) note that along with the metropolitan cities, the cities of tier II and tier IIIcategory are equally an important site of studying the impact of globalisation.

The city witnessed urban change mainly after the introduction of economic liberalisation in India. This was the time when the whole of India was undergoing change in its economic as well as social context and both at the metropolitan as well as local spaces. Even Dhanbad was seen undergoing these alterations. Evidences of this can be seen in the infrastructural change and the physical appearance of the city has gone through and also the cultural change which has been popularised as 'global lifestyle'.

A number of new business avenues which may be called ancillaries to coal industry or beyond are seen proliferating in Dhanbad. The economy of Dhanbad is observed taking a turn because of the new business avenues proliferating. Real estate industry, for instance, has grown in the last two decades in such a manner that it has altered the spaces of Dhanbad to a very large extent. This change which has been brought forth mainly by private investors and industrialists has given a spurt of entrepreneurial turn to the occupational landscapes of middle classes primarily. There are number of large scale as well as small scale entrepreneurialventures appearing in the city of Dhanbad.

The Government of Jharkhand through its policy recommendation in 2016 has documented a set of new rules according to which lands will be allocated officially through a newly developed system called 'Land Bank'. It is a process wherein available Government land has been listed and clusters of various industries are planned around thrust areas of industrial development in Jharkhand. These lands are then put for bidding

among the potential investors and industrialists who are willing to invest and work in that thrust area of industrial development in particular land clusters of industry. In this course of development, Dhanbad has too witnessed a 'growth' in Kandra Industrial area. Several clusters of industries like footwear industry, food processing industry, health care industry and resorts have been promoted by the Jharkhand Government in Dhanbad. Education too figures in such a growth story.

However, change in economy of Dhanbad which is making a significant development in the procedural working of traditional as well as the new industries, its dependency on industrial system based on network. The information technology has paved its way very prominently as a mean to run as well marketise the economic regime of Dhanbad. This may be seen in the recent digitalization and creation of nodal centres of working within the government institution of BCCL as well. It has started to sell its products not through their company directly but have hired corporate agents like Metal Junction to run their business. Hence creating networks within the industrial framework of a traditional order may be seen creating a company within a corporate makeover.

The network economy (Castells, 1996) can now be viewed to make its place in the industrial arena of a small city of Dhanbad.The corporate nature of industries which is governed by the working of various nodal centres of production and distribution has now found its place in Dhanbad as well.However, in comparison to initial years of 21st century, the city of Dhanbad has got a definite makeover in its spatial and urban spaces with spaces of recreation and consumerism being created and promoted on a large scale marking difference to the earlier practices of daily life.

Few other companies like Shri Ram Group, Chandra Courtyard Group, Sadbhav Ltd., may be seen growing beyond the coal industry character and giving new shapes to economic growth. The real estate then finds a very wide space in shaping the spatial as well as class characteristics of Dhanbad. The spaces of recreation have been now drawn by these real estate companies to bring it to somewhere near to global type like malls, cinema multiplexes, cafes, etc. These spaces have proliferated in the form which has now become markers of huge spatial change as well as spaces redefining the middle classness within the city of Dhanbad.

Educationally speaking, Dhanbad has been a place for great importance in terms of mining industry and hence the biggest and first of its kind institute for mining training was established in Dhanbad in the year 1926 which is today known as IIT (ISM). The study had shown how important ISM was to the overall shaping of the urban growth as well as bringing in a middle class character of the city. And its subsequent transition into a hub of education and middle class aspirations.

During the early years of Dhanbad emerging as urban space it was dominated by those who were employed in courts, and for them few of the convent schools which are still in function were developed as far back as the year 1910. With the growing years when the city of Dhanbad looked forward towards introduction of coal related government agencies there was an influx of population which was in search of white collar jobs, hence emergence of educated middle class. After this there was introduction of research institutes related to mining of coal and gain a set of people with 'intellectual baggage' (Chaudhary,1964) and hence again the demand for good educational environment was raised by these people. It has been seen that how over the years the institutes of educational relevance have developed in Dhanbad. Hence with the coming up of people for jobs and settling down in Dhanbad made it the city of nurturing dreams parents especially those from middle class background to maintain their class position (Bourdieu, 1976) among their children by inculcating the right type of education to shape their career (Ball, 1996).

This required growth of school education as well as higher education in the city. However, with the wave of liberalization sweeping all over, there have been lot many changes on the economic system front which further changed the job market scenario in India. With the spurt of IT professionalism in many parts of India the demand for human resource in that increased and hence the imagination of parents in regard to their children's career also changed accordingly (Upadhyay, 2012). But in a place a like Dhanbad how this effect meant a change has to be understood in the light of a broader idea of growing demand for education and not jobs as Dhanbad as a small city was not able to gain a space of its own in IT job culture.

Dhanbad in the long run could be seen as giving results which would add up to the human resource either nurtured in ISM which is now IIT (ISM) and if not, here the students

would move to other parts of India to add to workforce in the global economic system. The city of Dhanbad in such a case could be seen as partaking the role in the global economic system by not acting as a hub for IT companies but remaining the traditional mining city in its economic nature while giving space to other sectors like real estate (in its corporate form), medical industry, food industry and finally the 'new' education industry to grow.

The study highlights this change which can be seen in chapters which discuses growth of education in Dhanbad and how the magnificent ISM, when it becomes an IIT (ISM), becomes a source of motivation for various strata of people in general, and middle classes in particular. Due to advancement in education at various genres of education system in Dhanbad there was much awareness created among parents and children towards various courses in higher education and also an inclination towards coaching centres to reach up to these courses. The awareness towards the significance of certain kind of professional courses in higher education and their certainty to provide job in the liberal economic system made the parents of Dhanbad also to partake in the global race for education and seek reliance in coaching centres to enhance their children's skill in to help entering in higher education system.

Further, the middle classness of the city makes us understand the rising awareness of social status and ideas of success and failure through education. The status which middle classes possess is always under the scrutiny of social onlookers and is subjected to judgment according to their judgment or choices and also conduct for various social action like leading daily life like choice of clothes, choice of eating joints or broadly the idea of leisure and most important the strategies to gain a position in the growing competition in education field. The pressure to perform (Dickey, 2013) is on both the parents and students as the choice has to be correct and the strategies which include the choice for school and coaching institutes should also be the best to achieve the position in desired higher education strata and occupation. This stage of entering into competition is now prevalent for middle classes and also the lower middle classes who are aspiring to gain some achievement in education. As mentioned in earlier chapters middle class set their goal and aspire for a position in engineering colleges they also go for coaching classes and go for competitive entrance examinations. The fear to lose a dream automatically inculcates in them the middle classness of the stage which thinking about

success and failure. Meanwhile the traditional middle classes due to their inevitable class position enter into a space of competition for all the aspects of their life and most importantly education. The middle class performs accordingly so that the society judges them as successful.

Thus, the middle classes while entering these stages of competition and then waiting for success and failure they tend to attract to the new avenues of educational opportunity which will ensure their entrance in higher education sector mainly professional.

Further, the change in infrastructure of the city triggers race for global lifestyle through a job among the liberal and global workforce. This is because the city is now witnessing a makeover of its market and residential spaces giving way to aspirations and filling in for demands for the amenities which were once exclusive for a metropolitan city. Same way in the field of education too, the city has witnessed advancement and investment. This can be seen in very closely knitted relation between urban growth, giving space to structures which were new in character which with them have not only brought a kind of physical space but also a sense behaviour and conduct which the people accessing those spaces might possess and act accordingly. In this light we can see set of people from both middle classes reacting in the changing sphere of urban space. This reaction is seen in their take to lifestyle like accessing newly emerged market spaces. But when we see the most affected sphere which is seeing this concurrence of change in urban sphere and classness one may see education especially parallel education system which coaching centres forming the core of change.

This may be understood as it is through these new avenues of education one aims to enter the global job market and hence can afford a lifestyle which is again about reaching global standards. These educational institutions which act as the source of change by providing opportunities among the people of Dhanbad and beyond are mainly the English medium schools both at high level and low fee private school and the other genre is coaching institutes which prepares students for all levels of entrance examination either for gaining a seat in higher education or in government job market. Added to this is also a new development in the field of education through the growth of play school industry with amenities like smart room teaching and various other facilities. The aim is to inculcate the aspect information technology as core element of education from the very

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start of school to make them prepare for global race of jobs ahead based in economy triggered by networks of information technology.

Thus, we can see the exercise of choice for a career in gaining or maintaining a certain class position in the liberal economic system coaching centres may be as nodes from where the middle classness is defined and also ensured. This is because if in this changing scenario of economic system which is largely privatized at all sector level (Kothari, 1995) one does not have the skills to fight the inherent competition in the liberal economic system. In this course of growing discontentment for school education among the middle classes we may see that people of Dhanbad taking refuge in coaching institutes for preparation regarding the entrance examination of engineering and medical college.

The shadow education industry has marked its presence in the city of Dhanbad with the coming of various genres of coaching institutes preparing for engineering and medical examination. Among these are the coaching institutes, which are of national fame like FIIT-JEE, Narayana etc. The other type which is a very unique beginning in the coaching industry of Dhanbad was creation of coaching centres by IIT (ISM) Dhanbad graduates, mainly alumni. Moreover, another group which may be seen rising in the city of Dhanbad are the locally grown coaching centres. These different types of coaching centres act in a peculiar way adding varied characteristics to the working of each of the coaching institutes. The national fame coaching institutes which are mainly franchise of other coaching institutes, work within the framework mainly propagated by its parent centre in terms of recruitment of teachers and course designing.

Moreover, main aspects which define the running of any coaching institute is the type of teachers they are run by and also how they design the required course so as to attract students to their particular institute. In this regard Dhanbad showed some very unique characteristics of course designing through its pamphlets. The courses though remain the same in all the institutes are presented very differently using certain languages which add meaning to the mere course curriculum. These meanings range from natures stages of evolution from a seed to a full-grown flower. Like in case of Onrise Academy the batches were named after stages of flowering bringing it parallel to the evolution which a child also needs for a successful career ahead and hence bloom like a much-loved flower in the social sphere.

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On a similar line another coaching institute used terminologies from Hindi literature words like *neev* meaning foundation to describe the foundation course available in their institute. In another instance using the word *jeevan* to define the target group batches showed a very severe attempt to attach the idea of purpose of life to that particular course. Hence to bring above the idea of gaining life chance (Weber, 1978) to the course through which they want to ensure success to aspiring students and families for entrance in IITs. However, there are other institutes where the courses are clearly defined according to the capability of the students. There is a practice of reshuffling exams in institutes like Narayana and FIIT-JEE where students fight for entering the best batch in the institute.

There are unique market practices that these coaching institutes follow. These institutes give special privileges for the students who gain the first batches and remain the recipient of best of training from the so called best of their teachers. They describe as most necessary because these type coaching institutes rely and work on the belief that the students have different capacities, and all cannot attain what the creamy layer may in the entrance exam. According to the head of Narayana coaching institute in Dhanbad this action becomes very necessary as the running of the coaching institutes rely very much on the results which they produce in coming year. They very clearly state that to become a profit making centre one has to first become a result producing centre. Hence the gradation of batches happen which to some extent make the environment more competitive and restraining for students.

This type of classroom conduct within the shadow education industry hints towards a changing scenario in the education sector. This change in the education sector, within Dhanbad is taking the already prevalent idea of competition among the middle classes to another level. The growing the consumerism which earlier accelerated the demands among middle classes and hence planning their life through competitive means of planning also drives them to enter the shadow education industry to get training in an environment which is again competitive in nature.

The idea of coaching centre as an entrepreneurial venture (Aurini and Davies, 2004) was also visible as the most sought after lucrative business by many. The corporate nature becomes more prominent as they themselves create a discourse around their presentation. To call the teacher as a managing director and their educational courses as products and

services they provide and getting enrolled on business sites like India mart on their websites clearly indicates their own understanding of coaching institutes as a business venture. Moreover, their using of marketing strategies to promote their products enhances their business type character.

To place one's product in relevance to the potential customer and their demand forms the basis of one successful business setup. This idea forms the basis of setting up of coaching institute in shadow education industry. Another way of acting as a profit running company is the different advertisement strategies which these coaching institutes employ. The most sorts after advertisement strategy within this corporate framework is to create and use the networks over digital platform (Castells, 2002). The various social media networks like Facebook and digital search engine like Google, act as one of the nodes within the network economy in which these coaching institutes operate. They expand their visibility for the potential customers through these digital platforms which have become a very common site of consumerism for the middle classes. Hence, through all these strategies of establishing and advertising oneself as a company we may see a corporate culture crawling in the education industry of Dhanbad adding newness to the education economy.

Therefore, in conclusion, we may argue that the urban growth in Dhanbad has seen a parallel development in the class composition mainly change in middle classness. The middle classes seem to undergo stages undergoing the competition to achieve the aspired position and finally after going through the competition thinking about success and failure. Hence, the last stage in which these aspiring individuals anticipate success and dream about change in their class position they dream by getting a more lucrative job in the liberal economic system. Moreover, the change in infrastructure of the city triggers this race for global lifestyle through a job among the liberal and global workforce. This is because in case of Dhanbad too is now witnessing a makeover of its market and residential spaces giving way to aspirations and filling in for demands for the amenities which were once exclusive for a metropolitan city.

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Annexure

Interview schedule

New Generation Middle class

1. Name
2. Type of Family
3. Father's occupation
4. Type of schooling (rural/urban)
1. What are the opportunities you witness in the job sector in Dhanbad?
2. What according to you is the definition of middle class?
3. Do you consider yourself middle class, if yes how, if no how?
4. Why do prefer residing in this part of Dhanbad?
5. Which market do you prefer going for your daily buying?
6. Which brands do you prefer buying for your basic stuff and why?
7. Do you consider that brands make you presentable and acceptable in your class?
8. Which place in Dhanbad do you prefer going for recreation?
9. What do you consider are the basic needs to maintain the class you belong to?

For Middle class parents

1. What is the state of education system in Dhanbad today?
2. How do you plan your children's education?
3. What aspirations do you have for your children's future?
4. What do you perceive of IIT (ISM) and its stature as an educational institution?
5. Do you wish to send your child to IIT like institutions?
6. What are the plans you make in regard of aspiration for your education of your child?
7. Which school do you send your child too?
8. What is the reason behind choosing this particular school?
9. Do you send your child to coaching centres, if yes which coaching centre and why?
10. What are your expectations from coaching institutes for your childs future?
11. What is the financial strategy you employ to suffice the burden of expenses around schooling and coaching institute?

For Coaching institute Owners/ Tecahers

1. Name
2. Age
3. Address
4. Profession
5. Why you chose this profession of opening a coaching institute?
6. What did you see in the market of Dhanbad to choose coaching industry as entrepreneurship?
7. What is the idea that is driving the need for coaching industry in Dhanbad? (the whole idea of competition)
8. What are the courses taught in your coaching industry?
9. How many batches does this coaching institute teaches?
10. How many students in each batch and is there any categorisation among the batches?
11. Who are these students in terms of geographic location enrolled in the institute?
12. How many teachers are employed in your coaching institute?
13. What is the minimum as well as maximum qualification required to employ a teacher in your institute?
14. What is your idea about Dhanbad as a coaching industry hub or an education industry hub?
15. What are the factors which are responsible for making Dhanbad a coaching hub?
16. What are the ancillary industries or market which has emerged in the particular locale due to your institute?
17. What is the marketing strategy which your coaching institute employ to attract students?
18. What is the ratio of girls and boys in the batches?
19. What is the general financial background of students in each batch of different categories?
20. What is the success rate of your institute?

For Educational Institutions Owners

1. Name
2. Age
3. Profession
4. Previous Profession
5. Why you choose to open this type of institute in this geographic location of Dhanbad?
6. What did you see in the market of Dhanbad to choose education institute industry entrepreneurship?
7. How many students enrol each year in your institute?
8. How many and what category of course are taught here?
9. How many batches does this institute teaches?
10. How many students in each batch and is there any categorisation among the batches?
11. Who are these students in terms of geographic location enrolled in the institute?
12. How many teachers are employed in your coaching institute?
13. What is the minimum as well as maximum qualification required to employ a teacher in your institute?
14. What is the source of affiliation for this institute?
15. What is the general financial background of students who come to join this institute?
16. What is the marketing strategy of the institute employed to attract students?
17. What is the success rate which this institute has seen in the past few years?
18. Are there any success stories associated with institute, please specify some?
19. How is Dhanbad emerging as an education industry hub?

For Educationists / Activists

1. What is the level of privatisation in education in Dhanbad?

2. Which are the major trusts in Dhanbad for major schools in Dhanbad?

3. Please elaborate the recent trend of low fee private schools in Dhanbad? a) It's Mechanisation (funding)., b) It's proliferation

4. What are the new characterisation in the private schools of Dhanbad like the: a) Added features (Hostels)

   b) Collaboration with coaching industry

   c) Facilities

5. What is the level of coaching proliferation of coaching industry of Dhanbad?

6. Who are the major investors in education industry in Dhanbad and what are their primary business in Dhanbad or outside?

7. What is your view and perspective on the growing coaching industry in Dhanbad