

**IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON EARLY
CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: THE CHANGING
DYNAMICS OF THE PRIVATE PRESCHOOLS IN
DELHI**

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

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

JAGJIT KAUR



Zakir Husain Centre For Educational Studies

School of Social Sciences

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-110067

India

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**ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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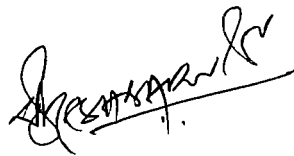
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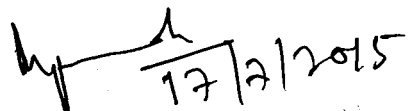
I declare that the dissertation entitled, **'Impact of Globalization on Early Childhood Education: The Changing Dynamics of the Private Preschools in Delhi'** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy from Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.


(Jagjit Kaur)

Certificate

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


(Dr. Suresh Babu G.S.)
Supervisor
Zakir Husain Centre for
Educational Studies
School of Social Science
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067


(Prof. Minati Panda)
Chairperson
Zakir Husain Centre for
Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067
17/7/2015

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Jagjit Kaur

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Chapter-I

The Initiation

Introduction

With almost all the nation states becoming knowledge economies, education and its importance it has acquired at the state level and the consciousness of the people cannot be ignored. From early care and education to school education to higher education, almost all the sections of education are increasingly gaining importance and relevance in the country. The booming education market in India suggest some important shifts that are taking place in the education system of the country (Shivani Shinde, www.businessstandard.com, accessed on August 25, 2014) But increased importance of the early childhood education is a fairly recent phenomenon. A glimpse of the news reports would reveal that the number of preschools are increasing rapidly in the urban India, especially among the middle classes of the country. A recent report on preschool market shows that in the coming years, there will be an increase from 25% enrolment in 2010 to 33% enrolment in 2015 as estimated in urban areas due to factors such as 'high growth, low barriers, rising aspirations for quality education and so on'. However, the estimate increase in population for this research is 38,268 children in 2010 in the age group of 0-4 years to 39,818 in 2015 in urban areas (Anand Rathi research, www.rathi.com/ResearchUpload, accessed on December 12, 2014). It is not only the parents belonging to the upper classes who want to send their children to the private preschools but also parents of children belonging to the 'low-income background' too and can be seen like a 'bourgeois revolution' with the rise of the 'consumer class' and has become a matter of buying the 'preschool experience' for their children. (Stern, 1993) Though there have been existences of preschools in India for a long time, the sudden increase in the preschools to an extent of normalizing the phenomenon have a historical and social background which needs to be looked into. As it is highlighted by Vandebroek, Bradt et al (2010), the child care services in UK became legitimized in the late nineteenth century as it had a historical and social context of rising industrialization, liberal policies of the state and the rise of eugenics as science which made child mortality appear and evolve as a social problem at that time though it did exist earlier as a problem too. Similarly, the

importance of preschool education in the developing countries too has a context which needs considerable academic attention.

Before examining the changes of India's education system, particularly, ever growing importance of early childhood education and subsequent outgrowth of preschools, an attempt has been made to analyze the historical background of India's education system in general and early childhood education in particular. After independence in 1947, the Indian state adopted the welfare state where the state initiated all the spheres of the education which includes setting up educational institutions to prescribing curriculum and so on. But after the adoption of policies of liberalization, globalization and privatization in 1990's the state began to retreat from many welfare schemes including education as part of structural adjustment programme. It was in this period, the private investment on public sector was considered as normal economic behavior. Education, obviously, was found to be economically viable site for the private sector for investment and capital accumulation. It is in this complex background of globalization that the studies like early childhood education in India become relevant. Adoption of new liberal policies will have larger implications on the socio-cultural organization of the Indian society and its education system. One such phenomenon that needs urgent attention is the rise of preschools in the country with a specific kind of curriculum followed. This study attempts to investigate the **impact of globalization on the curriculum of early childhood education by keeping in mind the socio-economic-political changes that trigger the increase and changes in the curriculum of preschool education in metropolitan city like Delhi, the capital city of India.**

Literature Survey

The education system in India has a long history which had tremendous influence on the system exists today. It is true that it has changed in different periods in accordance with the changing socio-economic-political context of the country. It was in the 1990's that the policies favoring globalization were adopted in India which implicated the education system in many ways. In order to understand these changes, it would be important to look at the changes that the education system in India has witnessed throughout a long historical period which was then accentuated by the onset of globalization. During the ancient period, the aims of education incorporated 'the infusion of spirit of piety; character formation, personality development, inculcation of civic and social duties, promotion of social efficiency and preservation of national

culture'. (Altekar 1965 quoted in Gupta 2006) It was not just 'religious instruction' but also subjects based on 'practical utility' that were being taught. (Gupta 2006: 41) Those who learned such practical skills formed one part of the population and those who further pursued education at the higher level pursued the role of teachers in future. During the Colonial period, it was the Britishers who introduced the modern education system by using it as a tool to colonize the minds of the people. The purposes of the education during this period were 'to acculturate Indian children and youth in European attitudes and prepare them to work at the lower and middle level of administration', 'to insist on English as the medium of instruction', 'to have indigenous schools conform to the syllabus and textbooks prescribed by the colonial government' and 'to use centralized examinations as assessment tools to determine eligibility of students for promotions'. (ibid: 46) As the structural organization of the Indian society during this period was of the rulers and ruled, the education system had served the purpose of preparing people from the Indian population who could mediate between the interests of the Britishers. There were many policies and acts which were passed during this period such as the Charles Grant Treatise and so on which shaped the education system in India. Then, after the independence of the country, the Indian state adopted the path of the welfare state and there was a new national plan for the education system of the country. There was an effort to delegitimize the education system based on 'foreign culture'. (ibid) 'Gandhi's basic education policy highlighted vocational learning and the use of Indian languages'. (ibid: 47) There were many efforts outside the initiative of the 'official education system' by people such as Rabindranath Tagore and many others. (Ghosh 2013) There were many commissions set up to propose plans for education system in the country such as Radhakrishna commission and so on but it was realized that there was 'unplanned expansion' of certain sectors such as the secondary education and higher education in 'which the ruling elite groups were interested' or some other 'political reasons'. (ibid) It was not in accordance with the 'educational requirements' of the country keeping in consideration 'the diversity of the Indian society' and its educational scenario. (ibid) It is in the context that there is a need for new education policy enactment which came exist in 1986 and was revised in 1992 to meet the needs of the new economic and political shifts that were going to take place in the country.

The process of Globalization was initiated with the policies of liberalization and privatization in the 1990's. Similarly, it is in the same period that the Indian economy opened its gates to the

foreign investors for investment in India. Economic liberalization relaxes previous government's restriction usually in areas of economic or social policy by 'lowering trade barriers, opening up markets to foreign imports, eliminating restrictions on foreign capital'. (Goldman 2005: 92) This was accompanied with the process of globalization which is a 'trans-territorial' concept and includes an 'all embracing reach' of all the events in the society, 'organized at multiple levels- local, provincial, national, regional, continental and global'. (Mann 1986) Anthony Giddens (1990: 64) has described globalization as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. Giddens (1990: 70-78) explains that there are 'four dimensions of globalization following the four-fold classification of institutions of modernity' which are:-

1. 'World Capitalist Economy'- 'The main centre's of the power in the world are the capitalist states in which capitalist economic enterprise is the chief form of production. They allow lot of scope for business corporations and their institutional organization maintains an insulation of the economic from the political'. (Giddens 1990: 70).And because these firms 'depend on production of profit, it leads to a global extension of markets' and involves 'commodification' of everything including 'labour power which separates workers from their means of production'. (ibid: 71-72)
2. 'The nation-state system'- Though these firms have 'economic power' to influence the 'political policies', it is the nation states which have the political power to take the decisions ultimately. (Giddens 1990: 70) The Nation-states derive their power from 'sovereign capabilities' and 'not just operate as economic machines but as actors jealous of their territorial rights concerned with fostering of national cultures and having strategic geo-political involvements with other states'. The 'Push and pull' as factor of globalization between the nation states 'towards centralization may diminish their individual sovereignty but by combining their power in other ways, it increases their influence within the state system'. (Giddens 1990: 73).
3. 'World military order'- Almost all the nation states rely on military power to maintain their sovereignty. 'Its nature can be specified by analyzing the connections between the industrialization of war, the flow of weaponry and techniques of military organization from some parts of the world to other and the alliances which states build with one another'. (Giddens 1990: 74)

4. 'International division of labour' - This involves international division of labour 'not only at the level of job tasks but on that of regional specialization in terms of type of industry, skills and the production of raw materials'. Also, there is a 'worldwide diffusion of machine technologies not just to production but all the spheres of everyday life'. (Giddens 1990: 76)

Globalization has five facets as which are 'finance, technology, commodity, labour and information'. (Kumar 2011: 4) Apart from its economic dimension, globalization has also cultural, social and political ramification and consequences as well. Though the impact of globalization can be seen in many spheres such as increased competition in the market, migration of people and so on, one of the major impacts has been on the education system in the world.

Changing role of the state in the sphere of education to changing the aims of education itself, can be seen as clear form of changes taking place at every level of education. Smith (1998:371) highlights some of the important changes in the education sector due to the processes of neo-liberalism and globalization which are:

- 'Attempts to delegitimize public education and treating education as a business'.
- 'Tying the financing of education to target projects, such as the technologization of instruction'.
- 'Adopting a human capital resource model for education, whereby curriculum and instruction work should be directed at producing workers for the new globalizing market system'.
- 'Aggressive generating of curriculum and educational policies by the non-education groups to harmonize curricula across nations to enhance the mobility of workers and bring more states into the globalizing web of new economy'.
- 'Separating debate and discussion of pedagogical issues such as how teachers best learn and how teachers can best teach from issues of educational management'.

As these points highlight, it is the 'marketization' of the education where education is looked upon as a commodity which can be purchased in the market that becomes an important and major driving force in the globalized economy. And those who have the economic power to purchase it enjoy the privilege of gaining access to better schools. (Nambissan 2011) Market in

any sphere operates purely on the basis of profit and whenever there is demand (which has increased due to the drive towards the knowledge economy), the supply would increase. This demand supply logic of market led to the expansion of preschools in India.

After looking at the impact of globalization on the education system in general, it is important to understand the impact of globalization on the education system of the third world societies, especially India. The shift in the policies of education after 1990's indicates the impact of globalization on the education system. It has been noted that 'though the economic reforms did not directly impinge upon the resources for primary education in India. However, from 1990's onwards, there was a state sponsored programmes to universalize primary schooling such as District Primary education programme in 1994 and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in 2000 with the external aids/grants to supplement elementary education'. (Nambissan 2011:10-11). 'Higher education too felt the brunt of the economic reforms as budgets were cut and ways to bring in private sources of funding became part of the policy discourse.'(ibid: 11) If one looks at the paper on 'Approach to Twelfth five year plan', one can see that it recognizes 'PPP model to be explored in all the areas of the education system such as teacher training, increase in the number of schools on the grounds of limited achievements of the government model in the past.(Planning Commission, 2011) As has been seen, it is the western capitalist countries which define the policies driven by the process of globalization and gain much out of it and the third world countries have to bear its consequences. In the Indian context, there have been major socio-cultural and economic changes that have happened due to globalization. Though at the economic front, GDP has increased and new jobs have been created. As a result of it, the whole idea of India and its cultural frames have been revisited and new kinds of lifestyles based on consumerism is gaining prominence throughout the country. MacNaughton (2005) highlights that the conferences of early childhood education have become the spaces to market the products, turning the conference exhibitors into sellers and participants into consumers. This example highlights the ways in which market commodifies every space by promoting consumerism. Also, the identity of people is getting re-defined in terms of caste, class, gender, language and so on. For instance, many sociologists have noted that the minority groups in one part of the world have created a majority throughout the world due to possibility of networking. In terms of the class, it is the middle classes defined by their 'income and occupation categorization' who have benefitted due to the globalization, especially 'downsizing of the

government sector and the restructuring of the Indian economy'. (Vincent 2011) It is also noted that not just these middle classes capitalize on the opportunities available for their children by choosing English medium private schools, but also engage them in extra-curricular activities to have an edge among the other children which then leads to 'making up of particular kind of middle class child'. (ibid: 70-73) It has also been noted that though the 'competition' driven initiatives are gaining attention for the school system to become more efficient, it leads to 'discrimination' of the children from weaker sections. (Lall 2014) Once education became a commodity to be purchased in accordance with one's purchasing power, access to good quality education is practically impossible for the vulnerable groups in the society because the poor economic reason. Though the private educational institutes are increasing, there is an increase in skill-based education needed for the job-market than the focus on an integrated education system. It has been noted that though the Indian education system already suffers from poor quality, the issues of quality become more problematic with the growing private sector as 'adequate regulatory frameworks are not in place and they are poorly governed as evident from the prevalence of corrupt practices'. (Carpentier et al. 2011: 149-150) It has also been noted that 'as the hold of markets strengthens everywhere, the result is shrinking of 'liberal spaces where occasional critical enquiry might flourish' which further degrades the quality of education. (Kumar 1998) So, education system in India is undergoing a major transformation due to the globalization which needs to be paid attention to.

No doubt that the education system is the backbone of any country for its progress and development. It is the education system that promotes critical thinking and ensures a better future for the younger generations. Therefore, education should not only be accessible to all the sections of the population but also promote critical thinking to ensure citizenship rights. Though in general, all the levels of education are beneficial to the country in many ways, it is important to look at the relevance of early childhood education to be able to understand its dynamics and the impact of globalization on it.

There are various studies highlight the importance of educating children at their early stages. To begin with, educating children at the age of preschool is useful for both the children and the parents. Hirokazu Yoshikawa et al.(2013) in their study reveal some of the short term and long term educational benefits of preschool education. It is stated that preschool education helps the

children ‘in improvement of language, literacy and mathematical skills’. (Hirokazu Yoshikawa 2013: 4) Apart from the cognitive skills, preschool programs such as ‘Perry preschool program helped in the socio-emotional development as children were seen to reduce externalizing behavior such as aggressive behavior’. (ibid: 4) Research such as the Perry study and the child parent centre study also evidences the fact that those children who attend preschool ‘have low grade retention, go for high school graduation and later on employed’.(Barnett 1995) The recent trend in preschool education shows that parental education has become an important component of the preschool programs.

There are a lot of socio-cultural benefits associated with preschooling. Steven Barnett (1995: 25-50) highlights that, ‘in the UK, entering school prior to age five has been linked with cognitive gains through age 16 and increased employment at age 33’. Research evidence from the Perry study also shows that children who attend preschools are less likely to be engaged in ‘crimes and delinquency’. (Barnett 1995: 25-50)

Though these benefits of early childhood education are now recognized all over the world, these came into light at a particular time in history which needs to be looked into. The increased relevance of early childhood education in the developing countries, for our conception, like India, is a recent phenomenon. But there have been efforts and initiatives, both on the part of the state and the private sector to provide education at the early stages. Due to the change in socio-economic-political context after the 1990’s, there was a change in the role as well. There was a lot of contribution in the early childhood education sector even before the beginning of this era. But before even understanding the shifts in the early childhood education sector in India after 1990’s, it is important to look at the history of early childhood education in U.S.A to understand its relevance in a better manner.

Milton E. Akers (1972) highlights that it was the poverty and the high rate of child mortality that gave birth to growth of early childhood education in U.S.A in 1960’s. ‘To a nation still smarting from the humiliation of having been surpassed in the field of scientific endeavour by the Russian’s successful launching of Sputnik, and consequently judging one’s educational system to be lacking, the obvious solution in mind was that formal education must begin at a much earlier stage’. (Akers 1972: 4) Though the programs such as Head Start were earlier started for low-

income parents, subsequently the middle and upper income groups too realized the importance of such programs as many researchers have shown positive effects of early schooling and so, kindergartens became very popular among the public. It is now important to delve into the history of early childhood education in India in order to understand its context and relevance today.

It was the British missionaries who started early childhood education services in India in the late 18th century. However, Gandhi's basic education scheme in 1937 was the first systematic attempt to provide education to children from all the sections of the society at the primary level. (Verma 1991) Though these initiatives did make a contribution to the field of early childhood education, it was 'Maria Montessori's 1939 visit to India that implanted the foundations of preschool education in India'. (Pattnaik 1996: 12) It was only in the post-independent era that the government, voluntary and private sector gave considerable attention to the field of early childhood education in India. Many committees such as 'the Committee on child care (1963-64) recommended a complete overhaul of preschool educational philosophy to bring programs more into line with the needs of the Indian society'. (Pattnaik 1996: 12) Then, the Integrated Child Development Scheme(ICDS) was started in 1975 'to promote holistic development of the young children' by opening *anganwadi* centre's across India. (Verma 1991) The National Policy of Education 1986 then viewed 'Early Childhood Care and Education(ECCE) as an important input in the strategy of human resource development, as a feeder and support programme for primary education' and so, emphasized its importance and relevance (ibid) There have been a lot of public initiatives which have aimed at providing early childhood education with considerable success in several states such as 'Tamil Nadu' and at the same time failed because of lack of trained people. Inadequate *Anganwadi's* according to the population was another issue. (Lakshman, accessed on August 17, 2006) Along with this, there have been lot of private initiatives that provide preschool education in India with around '10 million children' receiving education from such schools. (Sharma 1998)

Education is an important part of the society and is inevitably linked with the society. So, all the changes that take place in society influence education system. It is through the curriculum that all these changes are transacted and imparted among the children. As early childhood education has existed under different societal influences in varying ways, it is important to look at the changes

that took place in the curriculum of early childhood education during different periods. It was the influence of the western theories and ideology that gave momentum to early childhood education as an institution in India before independence as a part of the agenda of colonization by the Britishers. The curriculum was made more textbook-centred and exam oriented as has been noted by Krishna Kumar in his book, 'The Political Agenda of education' (2005). So, it was the western influence at the level of early childhood education too that dominated the curriculum of the schools in varying ways.

Though it was only after independence that government and private sector took initiatives for expansion of early childhood education in India, there was very little prominence of early childhood education system earlier. Gupta (2006: 50) notes that 'according to the Sixth All India educational survey in 1996, the total coverage of young children in all kinds of pre-primary schools was only 25 percent of the total number of children'. Though there were less preschools, the upper classes and castes did send their children to good preschools. The curriculum of most of the schools in India too focused more 'on the Pre-independence traditional colonial model characterized by a structured approach with a tightly prescribed content based curriculum, a strong focus on reading, writing, and arithmetic dominated by rote-learning, large amount of homework assignments to be completed by the children'. (Gupta 2006: 49) The colonial knowledge system dominated not just the educational sphere but all other systems of society too. In order to debunk this epistemological domination, many scholars attempted to provide a post-colonial perspective to the system of early childhood education in the Indian context.

Viruru(2001) has conducted a Post-colonial approach to study the private preschool in Hyderabad by challenging the Western model/approach of looking the early childhood education as a benchmark for analyzing all the other early childhood education systems in the world. She highlights that the Indian context in which the people live and see things is very different from the Western context and so, one needs to approach Indian education system by locating it in its own context. For instance, in India, 'co-existence is a reality in contrast to terms like behavior or discipline management for handling conflicts which seem very Western'. (Viruru 2001: 47) This gets reflected in the school atmosphere too where children too 'were guided in the direction of co-existence by not fighting with each other, getting along with each other and so on'. (ibid: 50) So, all the other domains of the early childhood curriculum such as making individual choices,

doing academic work as per the prescribed steps and so on need to be contextualized within the Indian context rather than compared with the western model.

Another study done in a private school in Delhi by Gupta (2006), explains that the Indian philosophy which derives its roots from the religious scriptures pervade its influence in all the other spheres of the lives of the Indians, including education. The goals of the education, its content are all influenced by the same overarching philosophy which places importance on non-duality of the world in comparison to the western world's emphasis on this-worldliness. So, if one observes a preschool classroom in India, one would observe that there are three major influences that define its dynamics such as, 'the Indian philosophy as values such as respecting elders, mindful of one's duties towards society and so on are emphasized, 'the influence of the legacies of the British colonialism such as textbook-driven system and examination-centred system', 'the influence of the ideals of American progressive education such as focus on individualized and differentiated instruction, experiential and project based learning, whole language approach and so on'. (Gupta 2006:183-189) The Indian context, therefore, alters the ways in which any early childhood curriculum would be transacted in the school as curriculum itself gets shaped according to the other socio-historical-cultural forces that interact and intervene along with it.

After the 1990's, not only there has been changes in the economic front as a result of globalization but social, cultural, political levels too as has been mentioned earlier. One such change is the rise of the middle classes which are overwhelmingly mediating the changes in the education system. Despite being the driving force of social and economic transformation in the country, they are also bring consumer culture that in one form or other supplement the policies of globalization and liberalization. It is noted that the curriculum of the schools has now incorporated 'extra-curricular activities' too as a part of the 'academic capital' that middle class parents tends to equip their children to compete with global capital. (Vincent 2011: 70)

Globalization has changed the order of the world while transcending the territorial landscape of national boundaries. It has brought about the institutional dynamics, that is, institutions are being structurally organized, functioned and so on. Anand Kumar (2011) highlights that multinational corporations are another mediator of globalization which have started investing worldwide in all kinds of businesses and thereby, produce their consumers globally. In the sphere of education,

one can see that those who manage the institutions are far away from the reality on the ground. As the educational institutions have become a matter of business, it is the big business houses which have started investing in the education system. So, those who are the owners of the educational institutes are not the ones who directly manage and operate the system and those who are in the system on the ground have very little role to play in making education policies that can help the system better. There are people working at many levels between the owners and the staff of the school like managers, principal and so on who have specific functions in the institution. This kind of system is very different from the earlier one when the owner knew every bit about his/her institution and was in direct touch with the people on the ground. Also, the everyday practices in the school too change with the changes in the macro-economic discourse. Apple (1995) points out that the macro-economic-political discourses enter into the everyday lives of the people through the curriculum by changing the way people behave, the kind of things they value, the outcomes of the curriculum and so on which needs to be paid attention to. But these changes do not happen by purely legitimizing the conditions of reproduction but interact in varying ways with people and their histories to produce varying realities. So, it is under the impact of these changes that the study aims to investigate early childhood education and the changes that are happening in the curriculum of early childhood education.

Problem of the study

Education is integral part of society and its social transformation. It is inextricably linked with other systems of society as well. Any major shift in the economic, political, social sphere will make impact on education. Similarly, education too can make effective changes in the other systems of society. Education performs the function of 'socialization' through which certain norms and values are imbibed among the children in accordance with changes in the society (Kamat 1985). Needless to mention, it is the curriculum that makes instrumental changes in the process of education and fulfill its desirable goals purposes.

The curriculum of education is bound to change as and when there is a change in the socio-economic-political spheres of society. For instance, Anita Rampal (1994) highlights that the Hoshangabad Science teaching programme which tried to create awareness and criticality among the students and the teachers through a critical pedagogical approach was critiqued by the BJP regime as 'western' and therefore should be 'discontinued' because it was not in sync with their

‘values of nationalism’ that they uphold. Similarly, the models and policies of education which are more beneficial economically are given more importance even if they lead to severely damaging social impact for the country. Avijit Pathak(2002: 150) too states that ‘the schooling’ as a process ‘creates a mindset: a way of seeing, thinking and relating to the world’ in a specific socio-economic-political context which influences the curriculum in many ways. Michael Apple (1979: 303) underscores that when there was industrialization happening in U.S.A, the curriculum of the kindergartens too was shaped accordingly to produce the citizens who were trained in accordance with the values required in the society such as based on ‘efficiency, economic functionalism and bureaucratic exigencies’. The difference between ‘work’ and ‘play’ that is taught to the kindergarteners where ‘work’ meant tasks that had to be done before play and ‘play’ activities could be pursued once the work had been finished. (Apple 1979) So, the curriculum is an important part of the education which needs to be critically looked at as it aspires to influence the younger generations in many ways which has many consequences.

One such major change that took place in the Indian economy has been the onslaught of globalization. Accompanied by liberalization and privatization, it has brought about major changes in the curriculum of the education system of the country. For instance, there is an increasing ‘marketization of education which involves the introduction of market principles into the education system such as competition, deregulation and stratification’ which further has many consequences. (Nambissan 2011: 6) So, one can see an expansion of the private sector in almost all the levels of education. The early childhood education sector too, therefore, witnessed the expansion of private preschools which start getting shaped in a particular manner. This study, therefore, aims to explore the impact of globalization on the curriculum of early childhood education in Delhi. The areas of the education system which would be explored in the study include the structure of the organization, management of the activities, functioning of the system and an examination of how these structural factors influence the content and form of the curriculum.

- Structure of the organization- At the structural level, the institutions such as private schools are motivated by commercial intentions and are becoming more hierarchal. The preschools are no exception to such a scenario. There are many different layers at which the people work in a preschool system such as managers, teachers and so on. It has been

observed that those who own the institutions such as the Board of directors/ managers are not linked with those working on the ground such as teachers. The policies, then, are made keeping in mind the commercial intentions and not always the perspective of people working on the ground.

- Functioning of the system- It has been observed that the process of globalization influences the way in which the schools function by organizing educational activities. Apple (1995) highlights that the importance of organization and functioning can also be reflected from the effect of educational managerial skills and resultant activities on children who get admitted in formal private schools. The way children are accustomed to make sense of time, the kind of events that are celebrated, the manner in which they are celebrated reflect the global impact on the education system. For instance, the kind of activities to be performed in the annual events and the manner in which these events are celebrated tell a lot about the impact of globalization on the school system.
- Content and form of the curriculum- As the schooling is getting shaped in a new manner due to globalization, the content of the curriculum is being affected in many ways.. Suarez-Orozco (2010) highlights that ‘the skills and sensibilities’ that are necessary and are driven by ‘new computer-based information technologies’ needs to be examined and analyzed. The form of the curriculum too is getting shaped/re-shaped due to globalization as the observation of pedagogical practices in the private schools would suggest.

Research questions

As has been suggested in the review of literature, it is the socio-economic-political context that influences the curriculum of the education. The purpose of this study is to explore how the process of globalization has influenced the curriculum of early childhood education in India. The research questions framed for the empirical study are:-

- What is the impact of globalization on the changing institutional dynamics of the Private preschools, including the functionaries and organizational structure?
- In what ways and means the process of globalization impacts the curriculum, the classroom interactions and outdoor activities in the preschools?
- What are the perception of the teachers and management on the changes in the structure and curriculum of the private preschools?

- How is the process of globalization influencing the usage of teaching-learning aids, language and their textual representation?

Objectives

The objectives of the study are identified as:

- To understand the changes in the institutional structure of the preschools, its ideology, complex roles, functions and organizational processes in the context of globalization.
- To explore the changing dynamics of classroom and co-curricular activities of the preschools due to the impact of the globalization.
- To gauge the perception of the teachers and management on the structure and the curriculum of the preschools as a result of globalization.
- To examine the influence of the process of globalization on the usage of teaching-learning aids, language and their textual representation.

Methodology

The proposed study would examine various aspects of the preschool system such as the structure of the organization, management of the activities, functioning of the system and an examination of how these structural factors shape the content and form of the curriculum by using different methods in the preschool setting. In this study, qualitative and interpretative method would be deployed in the field. Specific research questions and checklist would be prepared to gather the primary information from the management and teachers in the school setting. An Attempt would be made to understand the extent/levels of interaction taking place in the school by specifically focusing on how curriculum has been instrumental in mediating the agencies on the one side and societal needs on the other in its natural setting. The Information gathered through primary investigation would be analyzed and described in the light of sociological theories and supplemented with existing studies and literature in the same field. This study would follow interpretative tradition in social sciences to make sense of the situational properties that largely shape the behavioral pattern of the children in preschool.

The concepts globalization, preschool and curricula which are defined, discussed and elaborated during the course of study are as follows:

- Globalization: Anthony Giddens(1990:64) has described globalization as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’. In the context of this research, all the dimensions of globalization are taken into consideration to see their impact on the curriculum of early childhood education. Also, Globalization would be seen away from ‘the over-generalized macro pictures of globalization and viewed as a set of complex and dynamic processes, networks and flows that are mediated by and interface with nation states as well as institutions, cultures and practices that are historically and contextually rooted’, in this case, the Indian context. (Nambissan 2011: 1)
- Preschools/kindergartens: It refers to the school system which caters to the children belonging to the age group of 2-4 years. Though there are many models of preschools in India such as the ‘*Anganwadi*’s’, ‘NGO sponsored early childhood centre’s’, ‘mobile creche’, for the purposes of this research, ‘the private preschools’ would be more relevant in the urban sector started before and after 1990’s. These preschools either exist ‘independently’ or as a ‘part of the larger private schools’. (Gupta 2006: 50-51)
- Curriculum: The curriculum can be defined as ‘the educational foundations and contents, their sequencing in relation to the amount of time available for the learning experiences, the characteristics of the teaching institutions, the characteristics of the learning experiences, in particular from the point of view of methods to be used, the resources for learning and teaching (e.g. textbooks and new technologies) and evaluation’. (Braslavasky Cecilia, www.ibe.unesco.org, accessed on February 15, 2015) The curriculum of the school incorporates all the practices, activities and content that forms the base of schooling. The private preschool curriculum would comprise of the defined model of the curriculum, the ideology behind it, the school processes in which the learners are engaged including classroom and outdoor activities, the pedagogical processes, the content of the curriculum including the texts used, the activities designed, the games used and so on.

As Apple(1995: 18) states, in order ‘to interrogate schooling, there are three basic elements that need to be interrogated which are: the day to day interactions and regularities of the hidden curriculum that taught important norms and values, the formal corpus of school knowledge, that

is, the overt curriculum that is planned and found in the various materials and texts and filtered through teachers and finally, the fundamental perspectives that educators use to plan, organize and evaluate what happens in schools’.

Observation of the curricular and co-curricular activities in and outside the classroom would allow exploring the realities in a particular spatial setting. This would be helpful in capturing the processes of curricular transaction, the ways in which the institution affects the children and the analysis of implementation of the goals of education. Since this research involves observing the curricular processes, certain criteria will be used based on the objectives of the study. It offers better insights into the processes of the institution as it would give space to the researcher in going beyond the themes the researcher decides to observe. Before the observations are undertaken, we examine the institutional structure of a preschool to understand its functioning better. Agents, groups and their specific roles are functional to the everyday activities in the school followed systematically. The organizational groups and their roles involved in preschool are given below.

- The team/board of directors: The people in this team are usually at the topmost level of the organization and are involved in taking the major decisions of the school such as change in business policy, change in academic syllabus, change in infrastructure and so on.
- Management: These are the people who are closely associated with the board of directors and guide them in taking the decisions related to the school. Their function is to manage the school and its functions and keep a track record of every activity of the school, organize functions, propose changes and ensure smooth functioning of the system.
- The curriculum team: These days most of the schools have curriculum/content developers whose function is to prepare the curriculum for the students so that the knowledge imparted to the students is deliberated upon by the experts before the transaction. Sometimes, the schools also hire such companies for making the curriculum of their school.
- Teaching staff (including teachers and co-teachers): It comprises of teachers of curricular and co-curricular activities and their function is to manage everything inside the classroom including imparting knowledge, maintaining reports, ensuring classroom

participation, proposing curricular related changes and so on. There are also co-teachers in the classes these days whose function is to assist the main teacher in all the classroom activities.

- Administrative and non-teaching staff: It comprises of the people who are involved in activities other than curricular transaction such as accountants, cleaning staff, receptionists, technicians and so on.

Further, the themes for the observation as per the objectives would entail:-

1. Observation of the physical and the social organization of the school setting as that too would be in accordance with the curricular goals and objectives. For instance, child-centred classrooms with loads of materials displayed for the children and specific social arrangement can only be seen in preschool settings influenced by certain ideologies.

2. Observation of the School processes such as the daily prayer, the food children are encouraged to eat, their seating arrangement and the language they are encouraged to speak.

3. The transaction of the designed curriculum and its content through various classroom and co-curricular activities, the emphasis placed on certain aspects of the curriculum and the pedagogical approaches promoted and followed by the teachers and the management. An analysis of the transaction of the curriculum would highlight the manner in which the everyday human interactions and activities are influenced by the globalization and its regimes.

4. The values and the capabilities that are encouraged among the children that defines their social behavior. These can be analyzed by factors such as:

- Competency- This can be seen by the ways in which the setting of the school, the designed curriculum helps in developing certain capabilities among the children.
- Skill development- This can be analyzed by looking at the ways in which various kinds of reasoning such as cognitive skill development, motor development and so on is encouraged among the learners by the school set up and the activities done in the school.
- Human interactions- This can be analyzed by looking at the ways in which groups are formed among children, the relationships with the teacher and so on.

5. The ways in which the assessment of the teacher and students is done and recorded.

6. The concerns that are brought in the parent-teacher interactions and the solutions offered to address them. These can be seen as one of the ways in which the parents evaluate the school and its curriculum on how effectively they respond to the issues related to the overall development of the child.

7. The Patterns of Interaction of the teacher-student relationship and the student-student relationship and so on.

Semi-structured interviews would be conducted among the teachers/ curriculum developers/ management/ other staff. These would aid in understanding the perspective of people in the system about the various dynamics of the changes in curriculum of the preschool due to globalization.

1. The hiring process of the school staff, their training and other specifications related to the same. An inquiry into the admission process, the fee structure and other procedural details of the schools.

2. The processes through which the curriculum is designed, the people who are involved in it and the specific ways in which it is implemented. The change in the processes of the framing of the curriculum and its implementation by knowing about the same from the staff members.

3. The ways in which the assessment of the students, teachers and other staff is done and recorded.

4. The changes that are happening in the preschools and their curriculum after the beginning of globalization in India

5. The ideology behind giving importance to a particular pedagogical approach and content of the curriculum such as Montessori's experimental design and so on.

Selection of the Sample School Unit

The study aims to understand the impact of globalization on the curriculum of early childhood education in Delhi for which the sample unit would comprise of two private preschools in Delhi. One would be a recently established preschool (The Sunshine International School) and another be in existence before the 1990's (The Rosemary School). It would be appropriate to do such a

study in Delhi because there has been a proliferation of private preschools in the urban metropolitan cities and Delhi, being the capital city of India appropriate place to understand the changes in the curriculum of such schools. The Sunshine International School is a private school which was set up four years back and has got other preschool franchisees too. The Rosemary School was set up around 25 years back and is a part of the main school. Both the schools exist in the same area which was an important criteria for the selection of the schools to maintain homogeneity in the socio-economic-political processes that govern the institutions in a specific area. In these schools, the study would focus on the setting and its utility (through observation), the rationale of setting and the designed curriculum by taking into account the perspective of the agencies such as teachers, non-teaching staff, management, parents (through interviews) and the curricular processes such as its content, pedagogy (through observation). In order to examine the changes in the curriculum due to globalization, a comparative study of two schools have been proposed to assess the transition in the curriculum in terms of its commonalities and differences or continuities and discontinuity. It is by comparing the data from the two schools that one can better understand the changes in the curriculum after 1990's in Delhi. The data from the Rosemary School would highlight the continuities and the discontinuities after the initiation of globalization in the Indian context and the Sunshine International School would display all characteristics of the globalized era as such schools are set up to serve the purposes of the globalization. The comparison of the curriculum of the two schools would provide glimpses of the ways in which the curriculum of both the schools show a transition of processes such as organization of the school functioning, pedagogy, content, form and so on because of the impact of globalization. Also, in order to glean the perspective of the teachers and other staff members on this impact, interviews of the staff members based on the interview schedule would be taken.

Rationale/relevance of the study

Education is an important process through which not only the young minds are shaped inside the classroom but they too further play their role in shaping the societal processes. It gets influenced by the socio-economic-political processes and in turn influences the society in many ways. Early childhood education too has been useful for the society as early intervention helps in shaping young learners more competent with multiple skills. It's economic motives too need to be considered as has been discussed elaborately in the previous sections.. As the present study aims

to capture the impact of globalization on the micro processes, that is, the curriculum of the preschools, it would strongly connect the micro dimensions of everyday life with the macro processes which are driven by the very globalization. It would also be useful in understanding how the education system is changing due to globalization, especially in the third world countries. This would highlight new relationship between the globalization and education system. Since this initiative would be to gauge a holistic understanding of the school system, its processes and the ways in which other socio-economic-political processes in the society impact them, it would also provide an understanding about the various sociological factors such as class, language, gender and caste intervene at various levels in this process to make up a particular kind of school system and thereby, society. Because it is through the curriculum that all changes happening in the society impact the education system, the research initiative would be an insight into the ways in which curriculum, that is, its content and form is changed due to globalization. As Apple (1995: 11) highlights that no method or pedagogical practices are neutral but affected by certain 'economic and cultural apparatuses of the society.' So, this research would aim to locate the curriculum as it exists in schools today in the realm of specific socio-economic-historical conditions and therefore, critically reflect on it. This study seeks to examine the changes in the curriculum and pedagogical practices before and after the introduction of globalization in India by comparing the curricular processes of two preschools.

The study would also provide a critical reflection to the people to observe how education influences people in such a manner that people are not even aware of its causes and consequences. It would be an insight into the politics of globalization and the way education is used as a tool to colonize the minds of the people. Furthermore, it would be an initiative to highlight the hidden curriculum of the schools and the ways in which macro processes which are not in our control define it for us.

Nature and scope of study

The scope of the study would enable me to:-

- To observe the school processes and understand the impact of globalization on these processes.

- To gauge an understanding about the changes in the school processes due to globalization from the members of the organization.
- To understand the ways in which the content of the school curriculum gets affected due to globalization.

Since the study would be looking at the processes inside the school and the changes in them due to the impact of globalization by analyzing them using various theories and researches, it would be descriptive in nature. It would be providing a perspective on the changes in the curriculum of early childhood education due to globalization by interpreting the processes observed.

Organization of the chapters

The chapters for the research would be:

1. The Initiation - This would be an introductory chapter including the problem of the study, the objectives for the study, the research questions, review of related literature and methodology for the study. It would highlight the problem of the study and its relevance, thereby providing insights about the nature of the study and the methods relevant for the same.
2. Theories on Education and Preschooling- The chapter would provide glimpses into the existing sociological and education theories which are relevant for understanding the methodological domains of the research. As the focus of the study is early childhood education in India, the chapter would also highlight the theoretical literature relevant for the problem of the study such as theories on early childhood education, studies on preschooling in India, understanding of childhood in India and so on.
3. An Ethnographic account of the Preschools in Delhi- This chapter would incorporate the findings from the field by using the proposed methodology and methods. After stating the social, economic and political base of the chosen field, the chapter would further elaborate on the themes relevant for the study such as the market intervention, the organizational groups and agents, the transaction of the curriculum-the teaching of English as a language and so on, the importance placed on the co-curricular activities and the manner in which the relationships between the teachers, the students and the parents get shaped in the context of both the schools.

4. Globalization and Preschooling: Manufacturing Market for Education?- This chapter would incorporate the analysis of the data collected with the help of theories discussed in the earlier chapters. It would highlight several opportunities on which the neo-liberal market capitalizes to create business opportunities in the preschool setting such as the school setting and its display, the food served as a business venture and the teacher-parent meet. Further, the impact of the globalization on the curriculum would be highlighted by elaborating on the importance placed on learning English as a language, the scaling down of academic subjects, the increased emphasis on the co-curricular activities and the technologized instruction. The changing relationships between the teachers, students and the parents too need to be seen in the light of the consequences of globalization. The last section would provide glimpses of the westernization happening in the preschool setting in the name of globalization.

5. Concluding Remarks- The chapter would summarize the findings and conclusions from the study and pose questions for future inquisition into the subject matter of the study. The summary would highlight the impact of globalization on the teachers, the curriculum and the westernization of the preschool settings. By comparing the two chosen settings, the difference in the impact of globalization in the two settings would be highlighted. The chapter would also state the methodological constraints encountered during the course of the research.

Chapter II

Theories on Education and Preschooling

Introduction

This chapter deals with the theories of education and preschool that broadly covers the conceptual framework of the study after discussing the objectives, research questions and the methodology of this study in the last chapter. Kerlinger (1970: 9) defines theory as ‘a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena’. Depending upon a particular theoretical standpoint that a particular research follows, there can be various ways in which a theory can inform a research. Therefore, this chapter would elaborate upon the various sociological and educational theories that exist, some of which inform the purposes of this study. As this is an exploratory study, it is not an advancement of one particular theory but aims to understand the manner in which the implications of the research objectives in the field inform various theoretical premises and vice-versa.

As the locus of this study is early childhood education in India, this chapter would further elaborate upon the theoretical literature on early childhood education, both in the western context and the Indian context. An attempt to understand Childhood, as a sociological category, would be made to understand the nuances of early childhood education in the further sections as the focus of early childhood education is on the childhood. By looking at the manner in which early childhood education models came into existence and operate both in the government and private sector in India, this chapter would reinforce the importance and relevance of looking at the impact of globalization on private preschools in India, in this case, Delhi.

Sociological theories

Education has been an important means through which the younger generation is imparted with the new skills, techniques and values that are necessary for human development and overall progress of society. It is well known fact that its role and location is subjected to change as the

society and its other systems change. But importance of education is accepted and realized in all the societies. Needless to mention, discipline of sociology too draws its analytical core from the field of education to critically examine its function and role in society.

The Classical sociological tradition had been theorized under the structuralist-functionalist framework. A Pioneering Sociologist, Emile Durkheim identified education system as an important part of society. According to Durkheim (1956:71), “Education is the influence exercised by the adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life”. Education is the means through which the knowledge and skills are imparted to the younger generations in order to help them adapt to the society. It’s purpose, then, is to develop physical, intellectual and moral states in a child which are demanded of her/him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which she/he is specifically destined. Durkheim informs that there are some common elements of education which we all members of the society share and there are some particular elements which prepare the members for the specific group. Role of education, in fact, is differently perceived in different societies depending upon the needs arise. For instance, in traditional societies, the role of education was primarily to develop skills in the younger generations because that was the utmost requirement of the individuals. But in modern societies, education has to impart the knowledge of various disciplines beyond skill development to adapt to the occupational specialization needed for more complex skills and knowledge.

Durkheim has laid down certain specific traits which a pedagogue should keep in mind in order to anticipate useful results out of education.

- The pedagogue should know the history of educational practice of at least on their own country to be able to understand how the past system gave shape to the present system.
- The pedagogue should know the history of the pedagogical practices and try relating it with the history of educational practices in terms of why, when the need for pedagogy arose, how did new pedagogies arrive and so on. For instance, there was no need for pedagogical practices in the middle ages as the differences of opinion were rare but after the Renaissance, individual personalities emerge and so, pedagogical reflections were required to meet these differences of opinion.

- If history of education and of pedagogy helps in defining the ends which should be pursued, it is psychology which helps to realize these ends. The pedagogue should be aware of the habits, tendencies and so on and the form they take in the child to be able to mould the conscience for the realization of the ideals defined by pedagogical reflection. This will help in development of methods to be pursued by educational practitioners.

School, according to Durkheim, is a microcosm of the society. If society transcends the individual and binds the people on the basis of the moral force, school too has elements of such influence which bind the students by making them associate with collectivity. Society is composed of individuals but it is not only the sum total of all individuals, it is a moral force that exerts its influence which transcends the individuals. In this context, school, for instance, recognizes the importance of this collective spirit and that slowly develop in children. This can be done only when s/he comes out of already existing association which is family and enters into a new space called school. It is the new space that instills the need for associational life beyond family. Since child's nature is more "malleable and suggestible" (Durkheim 1961: 241) than the adults, the feeling and the pleasure of 'we' can be easily developed in him/her which is the duty of the school.

Talcott Parsons was another very important sociologist who viewed education system as an instrument of keeping the 'social order' in the society. According to Parsons, the schools not just impart knowledge but alter the personality of the individuals by imbibing knowledge. (Blackledge 1985) Parsons highlights that schools perform two major functions- 'socialization' and 'allocation'. (ibid) 'It is an agency through which individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles.' (Parsons 1959: 298) Though all the children are given equal treatment in the school, they are 'differentiated' based on their achievement, thereby fulfilling different hierarchal positions of society. This is the manner in which the school 'socialize' the individuals to occupy varied positions in the society based on their achievement. The Schools exist in industrialized societies to train the individuals for a more competitive world, moving beyond the familial demands. It is in the elementary school that for the first time, the child learns 'values and norms' that are beyond what a child learns in his/her family. (Parsons 1959: 309) The focus in the elementary school is on acquiring basic 'cognitive'

and 'moral' skills and the students are 'differentiated' based on their ability 'to meet the expectations of the teachers' while in the secondary school, the 'differentiation' based on 'cognitive' and 'moral' skills becomes more clearer. (Blackledge 1985: 74) A teacher, according to Parsons, is in 'the position of performing an occupational role unlike the mother and therefore has to insist on universalistic norms and differential reward of achievement'. (Parsons 1959:307-309) Thus, education performs the function of 'social integration' in a society and if there is conflict, there should mechanisms to reduce it as much as possible through various means.

Both Durkheim and Parsons highlight the importance of 'collective consensus' but this consensus can be in favour of the dominant groups in the society. The educational institutions, therefore, would instill values in the children which would be in favour of these groups. The functionalist view, therefore, doesn't highlight the importance of conflict in the society and the ways in which it can be channelized, rather than subsumed in the social system. So, it becomes important to look at the Marxist perspective of education where conflict plays a major role in defining all the functions and structures of the social system.

According to the Marxist approach, the society is composed of two parts- base, that is, the economic structure and the superstructure, that is, the other social institutions such as education, family and so on. The Marxists believe that it is the economy which determines the way other institutions exist in the society and the education system 'helps to reproduce the capitalist economic system'. (Blackledge 1985: 134). In order to understand the Marxist view of education, one needs to first understand the different terms used by Marx in his work. The base which is the economic structure of the society consists of two components-'the forces of production' and 'the relations of production'. The 'Forces of production' refers to the 'tools and machines' and the 'skills and methods' used for production. The 'Relations of production' refers to the 'system of ownership and control of the property involved in the production process'. (ibid: 115) Whenever there is a change in the 'forces of production', the 'mode of production' changes and therefore, the 'relations of production' too change. With the change in the 'forces of production' and the 'relations of production', the superstructure too changes. For instance, the education system will be differently owned and managed in a capitalist society than in a feudal society. The Superstructure in all kinds of societies works towards maintaining the oppressive class relations in favour of the dominant classes. The schools, then socialize the

children in the culture and ideology of the dominant classes, thereby functioning towards maintaining hierarchy in the society. In this context, education seems to maintain the established hierarchy without making the lower classes aware about their subjugation. The Marxist theoretical framework has been interpreted differently by many Neo-Marxists in the contemporary times who present their own understanding of the Marxist theory in varying ways. One of the very important contributions to this field has been by Louis Althusser. Louis Althusser argues that education is a 'State Apparatus' which helps in 'maintaining the exploitative relations of production in the society'. (Blackledge 1985: 159-161) The 'State Apparatus' of the society is divided into two parts- 'Repressive State Apparatus' and the 'Ideological State Apparatus'. The Repressive State Apparatus helps in maintaining the dominant relations of production by 'means of force' and the ideological state Apparatus helps in maintaining the exploitative relations by propagating the ideology of the ruling class. Educational institutions are one of the ideological state apparatuses of the state which are used to maintain the hegemony of the ruling classes. (ibid) The schools, therefore, instill the 'cultural capital' of the dominant classes in the children, showing it as 'superior' and 'fair'. (ibid) It is through the socialization of the children in the class ideology of the upper classes that the dominant classes maintain their dominance among the rest of the classes.

The Marxist interpretation to education was done by another very important school of thought which came to known as the critical theory of the Frankfurt school. Some very important members of this school of thought were Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas. It's aim was to 'develop' a 'critical consciousness' in men 'which enables them actively to seek their emancipation from repression'. (Blackledge 1985: 121) The father of new left Herbert Marcuse, in his most influential book, 'One-Dimensional Man' argued that 'advanced industrialized societies' employ science and technology to serve existing systems of production and consumption but claimed that 'technological rationality' itself required transformation; it could not remain 'value-neutral' if it were to lead to real 'human liberation'. (Marcuse 1964) Marcuse also extended his analysis of the role of science and technology in 'manipulating human needs' through advertising, marketing, and mass media. The 'scientific and technical aspects of a society' are used to increase 'productivity' and dominate humans and nature. The result is a 'carefully managed society' that creates a 'one-dimensional person who

willingly conforms to a society that limits freedom, imposes false needs, stifles creativity, and co-opts all resistance'. (ibid)

Though Marxist theory is very relevant in understanding the way a society operates and changes, it is critiqued for being economically deterministic. The Marxist theory doesn't take into account the importance of superstructure in changing the society which has an important role to play in the society. Though both the functionalists and the Marxists provide a macro view, the micro perspective is given less significance in understanding the society and its system. It is in this context that this chapter would now draw attention towards the micro interpretative approaches in understanding society and human behaviour.

One of the very important contributions in this micro interpretative tradition has been the development of interactionist approach. David Hargreaves in his book 'Interpersonal Relations and education' has contributed immensely to this approach. According to Hargreaves, 'A person's self develops in relation to the reaction of other people to that person and that he tends to react to himself as he perceives other people reacting to him'. (Hargreaves 1975: 5) In the interaction with other people, a person 'perceives' the other person which is dependent on the person's 'goals' or the 'role' of the person. The 'meaning/perception' of the other person is social as any person has learnt these categories from the others. This interpretation of the others takes place while keeping in consideration the 'roles' of the others in the society. 'Interaction is a dynamic process involving continuous interpretation and decision making by all the parties concerned'. (Blackledge 1985: 241) This interpretation can be applicable to the classroom situation too. According to the interactionist approach, 'the relationship between the teachers and the pupils' is in a 'situation of conflict in which the teachers and pupils have different goals which they want to achieve'. (ibid:237) 'Strategies are developed by the parties in an attempt to impose their particular definition of the situation on the other'. (ibid) As it is a well known fact that a teacher has 'more power than the pupils', the former try to 'dominate' the latter but there is always a 'negotiation' that happens between the two. The classroom is, therefore, always seen as a 'negotiated' space where the participants interact and negotiate with each other while forming relationships with each other. (ibid)

Another very important contribution in the micro interpretative tradition has been the development of the phenomenological perspective. According to the phenomenological

perspective, 'it is the actor's knowledge of the situation/other people' which is more important. (Blackledge 1985: 237) When any person tries to know others, 'actors have a set of categories which they use to interpret each other's behaviour'. (ibid) The phenomenologists focus on the 'process' by which the actors give meaning to the others, thereby 'revealing the implicit meanings.' (ibid) For instance, if a teacher 'interprets' a child's behaviour as intelligent, the phenomenologists would identify the 'process' by which the child has been tagged in the category of intelligent, that is, understanding the 'implicit meaning' the actor attributes to the category intelligent. In this manner, 'the actor's definition of the situation can be revealed'. (ibid)

The third perspective in the micro interpretative tradition has been ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodologists aim at 'discovering the procedures which actors use to make the world intelligible'. (Blackledge 1985: 237) Though ethnomethodologists too aim at discovering the way in which the 'actor makes sense of the interaction', they try to do this in a separate manner than the phenomenologists. Ethnomethodologists believe that actors 'impose order' on the 'chaotic' events in the 'world' to 'make sense' of it which needs to be 'revealed'. (ibid: 237) Ethnomethodologists aim to understand the manner in which actors 'link separate events together' to 'form an intelligible whole'. (ibid: 277) One of the methods ethnomethodologists use to uncover the actor's meaning is by analyzing the language used by the actors. George Payne attempts to use the approach by ethnomethodologists to analyze the teacher's command to the children, 'Teacher: E:r...come o:n settle down...no one's sitting down till we're all ready.' Payne highlights that in this statement, 'Membershopping is taking place' where 'the speaker is giving the command and the hearers have to obey it'. The speaker 'has not defined what ready means and since he has to be ready himself before sitting down can begin, the speaker has given himself the opportunity to decide the next action'. Also, 'the choice of the word we is taken to be a cue to future collaborative action'. (ibid: 278-279)

The Micro interpretative tradition provides important insights to focus on the richness of the micro interactions that take place inside the classroom. But these approaches do not take into account the fact that 'any action is constrained by the situation in which it takes place.' (Blackledge 1985: 318) The 'constraints', therefore, allow 'only certain actions' to take place, limiting the other 'actions/goals'. It is in this context that the sociology of Max Weber becomes more relevant which would be elaborated now.

Along with the focus on the ‘actor’s definition of the situation’, Max Weber focuses on the ‘what or who brings about the situation in which action takes place’ and ‘how the actor’s definition are themselves composed’. (Blackledge 1985: 318) Max Weber focuses on the ‘subjective meaning’ of the actor in the social situation ‘which leads to an examination of how groups interact to construct, maintain and change the educational system’. (ibid: 318) Max Weber has himself focused very little on the education though his theory has been extended and implicated in the domain of education by various sociologists. One such sociologist is Randall Collins who highlights that ‘Social life is seen as an arena in which various groups struggle with and try to dominate each other to obtain wealth, status and power from sources such as:

- a) ‘From differences in property ownership or economic position’.
- b) ‘From differences in cultural position such as ethnic group, religion or education’.
- c) ‘From differences in power deriving from positions held in the state or in other organizations and bureaucracies’.

‘Education is used by these groups as one of the means of attaining their ends’. (Blackledge 1985: 323) Collins highlights that ‘different groups seek different types of education according to the principal ends they seek such as’:

- A) ‘Those concerned with economic rewards want education in the form of training in practical skills’.
- B) ‘Those making a claim for higher social status and cultural integration sought a type of education in keeping with that of high ranking groups such as literary and aesthetic’.
- C) ‘Those seeking political power and control in the state want a formal, meritocratic training with advancement of qualifications through success in examinations than the content of the education’.

The Weberian sociology tried to integrate both the micro and macro dimensions of the education system. All these sociological theoretical frameworks have contributed immensely to our understanding of education as a discipline and a system. But education as a discipline had its own trajectory and evolution too by bringing together the insights from various disciplines. It is, now, important to look at the ways in which philosophy of education has added value to this understanding by looking at the works of various educationists.

Theories of Education

Though sociology of education as a field of study has contributed immensely to the understanding of the education, philosophy of education too has contributed to our understanding of education in many ways. Many philosophers have contributed to the discipline of education by highlighting the ways in which education is linked with society. These theorists draw insights, not just from sociology but from all the other disciplines too which needs to be looked at. The foundation of philosophy of education was laid with the ideas of Plato and Aristotle. Plato's ideas of education were derivative of his vision for 'Ideal Republic' and are categorized under the school of idealism. Education was considered to be the responsibility of the state and should aim at 'training the individual in his/her duties and rights as a citizen'. (Singh 2008: 159) He believed in the system of 'social stratification and suggested that since different individuals had to perform different tasks in the society, they should also be educated differently, in order to train each one in his/her own respective sphere'. (ibid: 160)

Aristotle, on the other side, believed that all the individuals should be provided with equal opportunity to develop his/her abilities by ensuring there is no inequality in the education system. 'The Politician, therefore, who composes a body of laws ought to extend his views to everything...more particularly to those things which are of a superior nature and ends in the same manner to the lives of men and their different actions'. (Singh 2008: 114)

With the birth of the school of Naturalism, one of the very important and earliest philosophers' ideas, that is of, Jean Jacques Rousseau came into focus. He described his understanding of the education system in his novel named Emile. According to Rousseau, the aim of education should be 'the attainment of the fullest natural growth of the individual'. (Taneja 2004: 15) He proposed 'negative education' for the children which should aim at 'shielding the heart from vices and mind from errors'. (ibid: 20) He criticized the 'verbalism' as a method which was common when he was writing and included remembering the content of the curriculum. Instead, he proposed practical education which the child should be able to use in daily life. (ibid: 16) He stated four stages of child's development and the appropriate curriculum for these stages:

- 'Infancy'- From birth to five years, the objective should be 'healthy' growth of the 'body'. (Taneja 2004: 18-20) The child should be given freedom to 'follow his/her

natural inclinations and desires' thereby fostering the development of the child. (ibid: 19) The curriculum at this stage should be in the mother tongue of the child and focus on 'development' of his/her 'body'. (ibid: 19-20)

- 'Childhood'- From five to twelve years, the focus should be on the 'development' of the 'child's senses' through 'experience', 'observation' and other methods. (ibid: 20-22) The curriculum should provide freedom to the child to 'experience' the 'environment' for 'development of his/her senses'. (ibid: 20-22)
- 'Adolescence'- From twelve to fifteen years, the aim of education should be development of the adolescent through 'learning by doing'. (ibid: 22-23) At this stage, formal curriculum including subjects such as language, mathematics, woodwork and so on should be introduced for the 'development of the senses'. (ibid: 20-23)
- 'Youth'- From fifteenth to twentieth year, the focus should be on the 'development of emotions' through 'moral and religious education'. (ibid: 23-24) This can be done by including 'teaching of history, politics and religion' in the curriculum. (ibid: 23-24)

Though Rousseau gave primacy to the natural world, with the development of the school of Pragmatism, a new understanding/perspective of looking at the world was highlighted by various philosophers such as John Dewey, Bertrand Russell and so on. Pragmatists believed that all the philosophical questions such as nature of knowledge, language and so on need to be looked at in terms of their practical utility and purpose. According to John Dewey,

'The Fundamental factors in the educative process are an immature, undeveloped being; and certain social aims, meanings, values incarnate in the matured experience of the adult. The educative process is the due interaction of these forces. Such a conception of each in relation to the other as facilitates completest and freest interaction is the essence of the educational theory'. (Dewey 1990: 182)

The aim of education is to guide the experiences of the young child 'so that it would eventually include the body of systematized knowledge which the adult already possessed' and thereby, become a socially efficient human being. (Tanner 1991: 104) For Dewey, education goes beyond the logical set of facts presented to the child which the child is supposed to learn. It is about the specific interaction between the experience of the child and the subject matter he/she is required to learn. For instance, 'It is not the question of how to teach the child geography, but

first of all the question of what geography is for the child'. (ibid: 103) No doubt, all the experiences of the child are located in a social environment. Therefore, 'education must begin with a psychological insight into the child's capabilities, interests and habits ...which must be translated into their social equivalents'. (ibid) The curriculum should, therefore have two aspects-

- 'Psychological'- The curriculum should be according to 'the interests' of the child and his/her 'abilities'. (Dewey 1990: 188)
- 'Social'- The curriculum should foster the understanding of the 'subject matter', through which he/she will be able to bridge the gap between his/her 'present experience and their richer maturity'. (ibid: 189)

The Pedagogy should be based on 'learning by doing' rather than stuffing the child's mind with loads of information. Education should be imparted in a 'democratic environment' where the child should be made to participate in 'guided activity' which can help in his/her development. (ibid)

John Dewey's ideas still hold relevance to analyze the educational scenario in the contemporary times. There were many philosophers who contributed to the educational philosophy after this period such as Jean Piaget who had contributed ideas on constructivism, Jerome Bruner in fact developed the inquiry method being found in educational psychology and John Holt. John Holt was of the view that the children's 'experience' should be valued and they shouldn't be forced to learn things they are not interested in. The purpose of education should be to provide 'freedom' to the children to make them learn in the natural way and 'not in bunches'. (Holt 1964) He placed great emphasis on 'experiential learning' for which 'play' is a very important medium. He also gave importance to 'art' as an essential medium which helps in 'exploring' and 'learning'. Holt challenged the ideas of education based on 'close, deductive, logical reasoning' which were prevalent during the time he was writing and proposed that these should be combined with learning through freedom. (ibid)

The contributions of the western philosophers have been very important in the domain of education. But there were great Indian philosophers too who contributed to the domain of education such as Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Gijubhai Badheka and so on.

Gijubhai Badheka wrote a book, 'Divasvapna' (1932) on his experiments with the education system in India. To him, education should not be restricted to textbooks but include all domains such as moral education, physical education as he emphasized in his experiments too. Moreover, education should train the individuals in different kinds of skills and subject matter based on their own experiences and abilities. He recognized the importance of play as it leads to 'character building' and therefore, provides varied opportunities for the learners to engage in play based activities. (Badheka 1932: 15) After looking at the theoretical perspectives on the philosophy of education, it is now important to look at the theoretical literature on early childhood education.

Theoretical perspectives on Early Childhood Education

The Institutional processes in education are systematically organized from pre-primary to primary, secondary and then to higher education. The Purpose of these stages have varied from time to time with different goals of education visualized in accordance with the needs of the society. Pathak (2002) in his book, 'Social Implications of Schooling: knowledge, pedagogy and consciousness' talks about the importance of existence of schools in the modern complex societies as a means to transmit our social heritage which exists in the form of 'abstract symbolic systems', preparing people for adult roles and so on. Though various philosophers identify different function of these stages, they serve different purposes in the society and for the individuals who receive them. The purposes of these stages in the Indian context can be classified as:

- Pre-Primary education- This consists of children studying in Kindergarten schools from two and a half to five years of age. Though this is a very recent development in India, it was after independence that this was listed in the government policies on education as mentioned in the history of early childhood education in India. The purpose of this stage as per NCF 2005 is to 'lay the foundation for a healthy, productive and satisfying future life by enabling the child to develop his maximum potential'. (Gupta 2009: 10-11).
- Primary and middle education- This consists of children studying from class one to class five who are in the age group of 5-10 years of age. Though primary education existed in India before these policies too, 'the Indian Constitution made a commitment to make primary and middle education free and universal by 1961, with the two national policy statements on education in 1964 and then 1986'. (Cheney Gretchen R. et al 2005:3)

During this stage, the basic knowledge of the formal subjects such as languages, mathematics is introduced. The purpose of this stage is to equip the children with the basic skills in different academic and co-curricular activities.

- Secondary and higher secondary education- This consists of children studying in class 5-12 who are in the age group of 10-18 years of age. The adoption of the British system of education by the Kothari Commission made this division mandatory. The purpose of this stage is to promote an all-round development of the students in higher order skills and content related to the specialized areas of the curriculum. (National Policy on education, 1986)
- Higher education- This consists of children studying in undergraduate and post graduate colleges after completing school education. The purpose of this stage is to ‘provide an opportunity to reflect on the critical, social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity’. ‘It contributes to national development through dissemination of specialized knowledge and skill’. (National Policy on education, 1986)

As the proposed study aims to look at early childhood education in Delhi, it is vital to look at the theoretical perspectives on the importance of early childhood education which will be elaborated in the further part of this section. The importance of play-based approach to the preschool education as opposed to the formal instruction is associated with the ideas of Montessori and Froebel in the western literature which began in the 19th-20th century. ‘While the formal instruction is mechanical, de-contextualized and adult-centred, play-based education is conceived as natural, responsive to context and child-centred’. (Prochner 2002: 436) The western model of play-based education was exported to the rest of the world in the 19th-20th century. ‘In the colonized nations, they had been exclusively for children of local elites and colonial administrators’. (Ibid: 436) ‘And in the post-colonial era, play-based approach was favoured by early childhood education experts and recommended for all children regardless of social class’. (ibid)

Maria Montessori has been an important figure in highlighting the importance of early childhood education, not just in the Western, but Indian context too. According to Montessori (www.montessoritraining.net, accessed on February 15, 2015), it is through ‘self-experience’ that children acquire ‘knowledge’ and so, ‘the child’s environment should be enriched to create

interest and self-exploration'. It is 'through the senses that children learn, 'a teacher should aim at providing the environment which aids in 'utilization of all the senses'. (ibid) She believed in development of the 'whole child', that is, all the senses and sensibilities need to be developed. The teacher doesn't have to push the child to the next level but wait till the child reaches that level. (Gupta 2009: 16-17) She proposed that 'the child has an absorbent mind between birth and six years of age.' (www.montessoritraining.net, accessed on February 15, 2015) The children have enormous ability to explore and incorporate from the world. 'The teacher should take advantage of these highly perceptive stages to stimulate the intellect through introduction of materials and activities'. (ibid)

Another important figure in the domain of early childhood education has been Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel. Being the 'founder of kindergarten,' he not only conceived it as an 'educative institution' but also designed 'the materials' required in a kindergarten. (Gupta 2009: 15-16) The main principle of education should be to 'foster natural development of the child'. (ibid) 'The curriculum of the preschool stage should be based on the nature and interest of the child and the teacher should follow where the child leads'. (ibid) He believed that 'free play' should be an important part of the preschool surroundings along with 'guided play.' He devised various materials which he called 'gifts' and 'occupations' which emphasized a systematic outer world necessary to make the inner world ordered. (ibid)

Though western approaches and interventions had been imported in India, Indian philosophers too had a great influence on the preschool education. Rabindranath Tagore stated that 'children had minds that were free and creative and so, activities should focus on art, music, poetry' that foster 'children's happiness'. (Prochner 2002) According to him, 'the nature was the best teacher and children, under the age of seven, were to learn through natural objects'. (ibid: 440). Similarly, Mahatma Gandhi, stated that the pre-basic education was to be conducted through play (from 2-4 years) and through purposeful activities (from 4-7 years). For him, 'Education had to be free and self-supporting through the learning of craft, where both the mind and the body are involved.' (ibid: 440) These ideas still influence the current educational reforms in the Indian scenario. Prochner (2002: 440) also states that 'though Indian educational reformers were aware of the ideas in the west, the ideas merely reinforced what had been arrived at independently in the Indian context'.

All theoretical perspectives inform that the state of childhood is value laden hence, early childhood education models and theories too can't be neutral. Prochner (2002: 436) states that though there is a move towards standardization of preschool models across the countries, 'local ideas about play in early childhood settings are created out of the tension between culturally and historically situated beliefs and international ideas'. While the western theoretical models emphasize 'autonomy, self-direction, democratic-ideal and production-oriented belief', the Indian adoption of these models emphasize 'interdependence, conformity and mutual care' as opposed to the western models. (ibid) In the Indian context, the games tend to be more teacher-driven as opposed to the Western context. (Roopnarine *et al.*: 1994). In this context, curriculum became pivotal factor to mediate between the teacher and the taught.

It is through the curriculum that all these ideas of education are practically implicated to fulfill different purposes. As education is inextricably linked with society, curriculum too gets reflected from society and vice versa. It translates these educational goals into practical means which can be followed in the school system. Curriculum is defined 'as means and materials with which students interact for the purpose of achieving identified educational outcomes'. (www.education.com, accessed on March 2, 2015) 'The curriculum defines the educational foundations and contents, their sequencing in relation to the amount of time available for the learning experiences, the characteristics of the teaching institutions, the characteristics of the learning experiences, especially from the point of view of methods to be used, the resources for learning and teaching (e.g. textbooks and new technologies), evaluation and teachers' profiles'. (Braslavsky Cecilia, www.ibe.unesco.org, accessed on February 15, 2015)

There are various theories and models which reflect upon what curriculum is meant to be and the manner in which it has to be implemented and evaluated. All such models give primacy to various dimensions of the curricular process. However, depending upon the ideology of the school of thought, it may vary. For instance, Ralph Tyler (1949) proposed a model which was termed as 'the objective model' on curriculum development and evaluation which includes four steps:-

1. 'Objectives'- This includes defining the aims and goals for education.
2. 'Selecting learning experiences'- This includes selecting the appropriate learning experiences based on the objectives of the study.

3. 'Organizing learning experiences'- This means organizing the learning experiences for efficient implementation of the objectives.
4. 'Evaluation of student's performance'- This includes measuring the outcomes against the desired objectives using various tools.

This model was influenced by the approaches towards curriculum which looked at 'curriculum as a product'. (www.infed.org, accessed on March 5, 2015) This started with 'the development of management thinking and practice' which is associated with the name of F. W. Taylor. (ibid) He was a proponent of 'greater division of labour with jobs being simplified and an extension of managerial control over all elements of the workplace' which then affected the curriculum too. (ibid) Similarly, there were various other theories which became important during various periods influenced by different ideologies and thinking. But all these theories incorporate certain common elements such as:-

- Aims and objectives: Aim of education would decide the content and pedagogy of the curriculum. It would influence the organization of the curriculum. The aims itself are influenced by the ideology of the management of the school.
- Content: Content of curriculum would be influenced by the aims of the organization. It also gets shaped by the teacher's perception, student's background and their interests and so on.
- Pedagogy: Pedagogy would be decisive factor in the manner the content of curriculum is delivered. It would be shaped by the educational ideology that the organization promotes, the teacher's beliefs and so on. This further would influence the aims too in many ways.
- Evaluation: The ways in which the assessment is done would be influenced by the aims and in turn influences the curriculum in future too.

The curriculum is not a neutral entity as many sociological thinkers would highlight. (Apple 1979) The curriculum of early childhood education in India too was influenced and changed with due course of time. It is important to see the ways in which the curriculum of preschools changed before and after independence, and then in the era of globalization. Before dwelling into that, it is important to look at the history of early childhood education in India and other socio-

economic-political factors which impacted the curriculum in many ways as has been highlighted in the last section.

Childhood in India

The Conceptions of childhood as a category in India has been a little late as the literature suggests. Krishna Kumar (1993:67) too highlights that 'Childhood is a latecomer on the social science scene in India'. Childhood in India is being studied from various perspectives such as psychological, sociological and so on. One of the important characteristics of Indian childhood is the 'adult-child continuity' as has been highlighted by many studies. In fact, Kumar (1993:68) cites one of the important studies done on Indian childhood by Murphy(1953) after independence which suggests that 'there is a continuity between the world of the adult and the child, in the sense of proximity and not the developmental sense'. Another study by Ananthalakshmy and Bajaj(1981) conducted in the weaver's community of Varanasi for understanding the 'socialization of children into specific occupational roles' stated that 'adult-child continuity' does characterize Indian childhood'. In early childhood, this proximity is expressed through close physical contact with the child and in later childhood, it is expressed through accepting children in places where adults are talking or being entertained'. (Viruru 2001: 77) This adult-child continuity 'relates to the agrarian state of economy and its cultural correlates' where children can be seen to be very much a part of the adult world. (Viruru 2001: 78) Kumar also highlights that 'differentiation of the child's world from that of the adult has occurred' due to the changing economic circumstances which has led to large scale migration from the rural areas to the cities. This differentiation can be seen in the 'educated middle class households of the cities', where the child's daily routine is characterized by a 'longer school day(with a diversified curriculum), greater supervision of the child's activities in private schools, and early socialization into daily life of the school with the help of a school like preschool'. Kumar(1993: 70-72) suggests that 'these factors are linked to a sense of insecurity which pervades the Indian middle class and its determination to obtain a secure future for the child and, on the other hand, to its achievement orientation which triggers the imposition of parental aspirations onto the child'. But this differentiation itself can be seen as a 'adult-child continuity norm' which has been 'forced out of the daily life and activities of the family, but which continues to provide a

motive force for the adult behaviour' as none of it 'matches with the classic symptoms of modernization such as respect for child's autonomy and judgement'. (ibid: 70-72)

Several studies such as one done by Sudhir Kakar(1981) highlight that children in the Indian society are 'passive' in relation to the adults in the family and other social situations. Sarangpani(2003) too highlights that 'the mainstream Hindu tradition seems to be dominated by authoritarian-deferential attitudes in adult-child relation and belief in the ignorance of the child'. Urvashi Misri (1986) in her work on Kashmiri Pundits has constructed the childhood among this group in three antithetical axis: 'Axis of Human-divine-child is to be seen as a creation of parents and gift from God; Axis of Collectivity-Individuality relations- the child is both a collective being in the family and unique individual according to Karma; The Alterable-Transformative Axis- the child is born with fixed propensities transformable with rituals'.

The manner in which Indian children are raised is very different from the Western notion of childhood and upbringing as has been highlighted by many studies. Kakar (1981), for instance, highlights that in India, the development of the 'self' takes place in relation to the others. This is opposed to the Western context where the individual self is more important than the others. This gets reflected in every domain including the school practices and socialization. Similarly, Gupta (2006: 6) highlights that the 'concept of focus' is important in both the Indian and the American classrooms but is taught differently. In India, this is 'facilitated' with children 'engaging' in activities' that 'demand a longer attention span, use of fine motor skills, attention to small details' while in the American context, the children are encouraged 'to physically move not sit, and use larger tools and manipulatives than the finer ones'. (ibid)

History of early childhood education in India

As has been highlighted in the introductory chapter, it is the missionary education in India that gave more emphasis on the preschool education. Aruna Thakkar (1980: 33) highlights that 'the Indian preschools have always been the effort of private enterprise often backed by the social welfare agencies'. Before independence, it was the missionaries who started kindergarten schools in '1888 at Saidapeth High School, Madras' and '1901-1902 in Sholapur' for training of the teachers. (ibid) 'In 1924, Gijubhai Badheka started the Dakshnamurti training college at Bhavnagar'. (ibid)

The Arundale Montessori Training course was set up in Adyar, near Madras. (Thakkar 1980) In 1944, 'the first experiment in the preschool education was started at Sevagram, Wardha'. (ibid: 34) When Maria Montessori visited India in 1948, she generated a lot of interest in the field of pre-primary education by conducting a lot of workshops. Many private agencies were attracted to adopt this system. The setting up of the Central Social Welfare Board in August, 1953 'helped in placing the preschool education programme as part of state planning through (a) sponsored programmes of the board and (b) Grant-in-aid to voluntary organizations. The first five year plan proposed to ensure child-care through services in the social welfare, health and educational sectors and so, the *Balwadi's* expanded along with other social services, with the initiative of voluntary organizations. At the end of the second plan, 'there were 3700 *Balwadi's* as a part of the welfare extension project which were aimed to address the multi-purpose needs such as health, nutrition and so on of the preschool child'. (Thakkar 1980: 35) The Teachers were trained for *Balwadi's* who were called *Balsevika's*. 'According to the report of the Education Commission (1964-66), the number of pre-primary schools were only 303 with 86 teachers with an enrollment of about 28000 and the total direct expenditure was about 1.2 million or 0.1 % of the total educational expenditure. This rose to 3500 with 6500 teachers with a total enrolment of about 25,000 in 1964-65, the direct expenditure for which was 11 million or 0.2% of the total expenditure'. (ibid) The Kothari Commission too gave emphasis on the quality of the preschool education by 'conducting of experiments, training of teachers, preparation of teaching aids and so on'. (ibid) 'But the establishment and conduct of pre-primary schools was left mainly to the private enterprise'. (ibid) 'The Commission, though not calling it a curriculum, listed a programme of activities, in accordance with the Committee of child care (1961-62) which consist of:

- Play activities including educational and instructional toys, games, imitation of experience and social environments and so on
- Physical training and dance
- Manual activities such as gardening
- Sensorial education
- Handwork and artistic activities
- Learning activities, language, health and so on'. (Thakkar 1980: 36-37)

In 1972, 'the Ministry of education and the Department of Social welfare set up a study group to prepare a programme for the development of preschools in rural areas'. (Thakkar 1980: 36-37) The target was to cover 'five million children by 1981 to a population rise of 50 million' from 'one million children covered in 1971 to a population of 47.5 million' in the age group of 3-5 years. (ibid) The Fifth plan had aimed at covering thirteen million children in the age group of 0-6 years. In 1974, the integrated child development scheme was launched in 1974 to provide health services and education to the children in the age group of 0-6 years for which *Anganwadi's* were set up in many areas'.(ibid) Then, under the fifth plan, NCERT revised the curriculum for all the classes with emphasis on language, mathematics, physical education and environmental science. Since majority of the children came from 'disadvantaged homes', the preschool curriculum was designed to give 'sufficient experience for concept development' to the children. (ibid) 'By 1978, 3210 *Anganwadi's* were functioning in 32 projects and 1.02 lakh children had participated in non formal preschool education.' (ibid: 37-51) It is important to highlight here that before independence, the Indian state adopted the path of a welfare state where the state had a major role to play in almost all the sectors of the economy though private sector did exist alongside. It was in the 1980's-1990's that the Indian state opened its economy to the foreign investment by adopting the policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization. This led to a boom in the private sector but a reduction in the share of the state in various sectors of the economy. In the education sector, one can visualize an increased share of the private players after the 1990's. The number of preschool programmes owned and run by the private players too has increased along with the few measures that the state has taken for the education system of the country which we will be looked at in the next section.

The state and private initiatives and their reach in the arena of preschool education after the 1990's shows an increase in the private initiatives and their reach out. 'With the advent of comprehensive programme of ECCE following NPE 1986 and POA 1992, the objective has been to ensure all round development of the child. The position paper of National Focus Group on Early Childhood Education (NCF, 2005) has described the objectives of ECCE as follows'(Gupta 2009: 10-11):

- 'Laying the foundation for a healthy, productive and satisfying future life by enabling the child to develop his maximum potential'.

- ‘Preparing the child for entry into and success in Primary school’. (Gupta 2009: 10-11)

For achieving these, ‘the curriculum should be’:

- ‘Developmentally appropriate, activity based and related to child’s needs, interests and abilities, according to age’.
- ‘An integrated set of experiences to foster holistic growth and development in all domains, such as health and well- being, and cognitive, physical, social, emotional and language development through an interlinked approach’.
- ‘Flexible enough to suit the diverse social, cultural, economic and linguistic contexts of our country, as well as adaptable enough to suit individual differences among children’.
- ‘Able to help the child to adjust with the routines of primary school as well as to the demands of further formal teaching’. (Gupta 2009: 10-11)

But due to various factors, the success of ECE centre’s has been dismal as the ‘the Report of early childhood care and education: An Overview (MHRD,2003) shows that only 19.64 percent of the total children in the age-group of 3-6 years were enrolled in ICDS and ECCE schemes in 1996-1997’. (Gupta 2009: 25) So, the Government introduced two more programmes, District Primary Education Programme(DPEP) and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan(SSA) along with the existing ECCE schemes to further strengthen the existing programmes. (ibid)

Though hardly any data is available to show the increase in the private preschools after independence, it can be said that with the increasing emphasis on early childhood education throughout the country, the number of private preschools too would have increased. If one looks at the estimates of the increase in the private preschools by various organizations, one can visualize the extent to which it has not just increased but become a norm in the country. A report, ‘Under penetrated preschool opportunity in India’ (Gyan Research and Analytics 2012, accessed on 29 July, 2014) shows that the preschool industry which is majorly driven by the unorganized sector and comprised 17% of the industry is expected to grow at a rate of 25% by 2015 and the revenues for the same are going to increase from USD 750 million in 2011 to 3.24 billion in 2017, at a CAGR of 27.33% from 2011-2017. The curriculum of the private preschools too can

be seen as following certain models such as Montessori, Waldorf and so on as can be seen on the websites of various preschools. The report highlights focal areas for the expansion of preschoolers. Most of the preschools claim to be standardized to compete with global standard and subsequently formation of curriculum as it implicitly assumes a new market trend.

Anganwadi's and private preschools

The Development and progress of preschool education in India has been at par with the growing attraction towards competitive educational services needed for the complex demand of economy and society today. Similarly, content and forms of curriculum as critical component of educational process are subjected change under such circumstances. There are various studies which show the manner in which the proposed aims got translated in the preschool settings on the field. Though the view behind preschool education provided through *Anganwadi's* was to promote 'Playway' method, it is seen by many studies that due to the 'limited resources, the skills and the training of the *Anganwadi* workers and a difference in viewpoint between those in charge of the curriculum and training who promoted playway, parents and community members who sometimes favored the opposite- a formal school like approach to literacy and numeracy education in the early years', the 'Playway' method was not followed in the *Anganwadi* schools. (Prochner 2002: 443)

It is seen that the private preschools too are 'solely aimed at preparing children for the formal schooling.' Prochner (2002) and Viruru (2001) too highlights that work is separated from the children's play in the Indian preschools as has been highlighted in the 'western play theory'. Most of the private preschools prepare the children for the good formal school by teaching them formal subjects as children are not allowed to talk and there is more emphasis on 'reading and writing'.(Department of human and family studies, 1997) 'The curriculum can include content that is beyond the official curriculum of the early primary grades'. (Prochner 2002: 446) English is used as the language of instruction and seen necessary for successful career.(Di Bona 1998)

Models of early childhood education in India

It is important to look at the various models of early childhood education in India to understand its system in a better manner. Amita Gupta (2006: 50) introduces the various settings of early childhood education prevalent in India which are:

- ‘*Anganwadi*’s run by the centrally sponsored Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and the *Balwadi*’s run by the state government or local bodies. The goal of ICDS is to empower underprivileged children below the age of six years and ensure they are healthy, mentally alert, emotionally secure and socially competent’. Though *Anganwadi*’s began with the focus on the health services and education, the preschool education has now become the focal point of the programme. (Prochner 2002: 443)
- ‘NGO sponsored early childhood center which are found in low socio economic urban settlements’.
- ‘The private nursery school operating independently is a common sight in urban residential centers which is usually started by the middle-class wives or mothers at home. Such schools often offer a curriculum to prepare children to be admitted to larger private schools’.
- ‘The nursery or kindergarten grades within a larger, comprehensive private school in large urban centers and metropolitan cities. Such schools usually hold parent interviews and admissions tests for the children’.
- ‘The mobile creche which is a temporary structure set up at a construction site to care for the children of women workers, is run by the Central Social Welfare Board’.
- ‘The Urban day care centre’s run by the voluntary and government organizations such as Central Social Welfare Board’.
- ‘In small rural villages, one can see a school under the tree with an adult member of the village taking on the teacher’s role and instructing a group of children in the outdoors, equipped with chalkboard, chalks and slates’.

Despite the existence of various models, the two most known and prominent ones are the government *Anganwadi*’s and the private preschools. But for the purposes of this research, the private nursery school operating independently and nursery school as a part of the larger private

school have been focused. It is the private schools working independently which have increased more in the urban cities.

Globalization and early childhood education in India

This study tries to locate consequential effect of globalization upon educational process in India in general and preschool education in particular. No doubt, the process of globalization is fast changing the landscape, especially in the urban and metropolitan cities. From analytical point of view, globalization, as a theoretical construct, varies from modernization and westernization which needs to be encountered differently. According to Yogendra Singh (1986: 61) ‘modernization is a rational attitude towards issues and their evaluation from a universalistic and not particularistic viewpoint’. ‘It has deeper and positive association with levels of diffusion of scientific knowledge, technological skill and technological resources in a particular society.’ (ibid) ‘Modernization is also marked by increasing urbanization which resulted in the spread of literacy’. (Srinivas 1966: 50) Schools, as an institution, for imparting education becomes a norm in a society that is ‘modern’ and has more ‘complex’ networks other than the ‘kinship networks’ and has ‘adopted universalistic values’. (Cohen 1971)

Westernization, on the other hand, refers to the ‘diffusion of western cultural traits’ among the Non- western population. It leads to a change in the ‘use of new technology, dress, food and even cultural structures such as education, law, science and so on.’(Singh 1986: 87) Though modernization and westernization are separate concepts, they are related in many ways too. Sometimes modernization is synonymous with westernization but at times modernization required might not be true. As Srinivas (1966: 53) states that ‘westernization is a many-layered concept. It covers a wide range from western technology at one end to the experimental method of modern science and modern historiography at the other. It’s incredible complexity is seen in the fact that different aspects of westernization sometimes combine to strengthen a particular process, sometimes work at cross-purposes.’ In the sphere of education, this can be seen in the educational policies that have been passed which are based on replication of western models of education in India.

Globalization, in fact, encompasses both modernization and westernization as it involves free migration of ideas, people, things from one place to another. This too leads to changes in the

culture of the Non-western nations in terms of increasing homogenization of products and so on as has been explained in the introductory chapter. In the arena of early childhood education in India, Globalization has brought about many changes which is the focus of this study. Thus, through this research, the changes in the curriculum of early childhood education after the initiation of globalization in the Indian context will be examined.

Larry Prochner (Prochner 2002: 6) highlights that ‘a lot of global factors have drawn attention to improving the quality and increasing the quantity of preschool and primary education’. ‘The Right to Education is part of the Universal Declaration of Human rights (Article 26) as well as Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 28).’(ibid) ‘Preschool education was one of the main pillars of the education for all movement supported by United Nations Development Programme(UNDP), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank. Of late, the emphasis for education for all movement has shifted from the number of children attending school to what they are learning and the quality of experience. Improvements in preschools were viewed as a starting point for more general reforms in curriculum and teaching in primary schools.’ (ibid)

Prochner (2002:3) states that due to globalization, there is ‘an emphasis on the common experience of childhood’ which leads to the ‘single definition’ of early childhood education being taken throughout the world without paying any heed to the ‘diversity.’ Such a trend can be seen in the Indian preschools too where children are asked to not speak any other language but english. Helen Penn (2002) also highlights that the World Bank in its intervention in the early childhood education programmes in the southern countries proposes one view of the childhood based on individualism and subsequently, the education programmes too circulate materials based on west-centred understanding of the childhood which leaves no space for acknowledging diversities prevalent in the southern nations.

Once universal ideas began to interact with the local ideas, it produces a competing site where a manifestation of both the ideas can be seen. This study tries to make sense of an intersecting sites of preschool setting where everything is getting crystallized in management, organization, curriculum, pedagogy and so on. It seeks to dwell upon the emerging new patterns of curriculum and its manifestation in the preschool system in the changing times of globalization.

Chapter III

An Ethnographic Account of the Preschools in Delhi

Introduction

Ethnography is now being widely recognized as a method for doing qualitative research. It aims to explore how realities are tied one another often promises distinct system of meaning in a context that exist. 'The task of the ethnographers is to balance a commitment to catch the diversity, variability, creativity, individuality, uniqueness and spontaneity of social interactions with a commitment to the task of social science to seek regularities, order and patterns within such diversity'. (Cohen 2011: 222) But ethnography is not mere recording of events on the field. Erickson (1984: 51) defines ethnography as 'a deliberate enquiry process guided by a point of view, rather than a reporting process guided by a standard technique or set of techniques, or a totally intuitive process that doesn't involve reflection'. There are certain characteristics of effective ethnography as highlighted by Spindler and Spindler(Cohen 2011: 222):

- To make 'inferences from the observations'.
- To 'elicit socio-cultural knowledge from the participants'.
- To be aware of one's own 'personal, social and interactional position in the field'.
- To develop and test the 'hypothesis' on the field for 'generation of theory'.

Though the field for ethnography can vary according to the research questions, it is the school ethnography that is of great concern for the purposes of this research. Meenakshi Thapan (2014: 2) states that there are a 'host' of 'factors' which 'influence' the 'schooling in India' in 'different contexts' such as 'particular school's history and setting, institutional goals, location, available infrastructure, linguistic medium of instruction,....the social class of students and teachers and so on', these factors need to be considered while doing research in the Indian schools. All these specific institutional factors need to be located in a broader 'social and political contexts' as these 'social, political and cultural forces shape schooling experience in different social contexts'. (ibid: 5) The manner in which the activities are carried out in the school, the peer

relationships, the teacher's role and responsibilities are influenced by these broader factors that influence the process of schooling in many ways. The three factors that form an important part of the schooling process and need to be paid attention during the fieldwork are 'a teacher, a learner and some thing, some object, skill in dealing with which is the focus of their common interest'. (Skyes 1993: 25) It is also equally important to pay attention both on the formal and informal part of the curriculum as 'it is the exciting world of exchanges and interactions, of challenges and defeat, of submission and rebellion, of discipline and freedom' that tells the researcher how schooling shapes the individuals beyond the formal aspects of the schooling'. (Thapan 2014:12) There is need to focus on the participants in the schooling process: the students, the teachers and other participants and, explore how they engage with the given structures in these processes or seek to negotiate, strategize or modify them' in order to understand 'how meaning is produced' within the schools. (ibid: 5) The 'agency' of the actors in the school is critical factor that needs special attention in ethnographic studies as well.

The present study carried out an ethnographic account on two preschools in Delhi by specifically focusing on the lived realities of the school process. Observation and semi-structured interview methods have been deployed in the school to capture the process and the activities taking place. The agencies of school such as the teachers, the students and other participants and their pattern of action and interaction constituted the major unit of study. While taking into account the children in the schools, it was practically untenable to take their perspective into account on various occasions as they were too young to be able to comprehend. Although conducting ethnographic account of school demand adequate time for intensive field work, in a modern setting like school, its cycle of events, particularly pedagogical practices, repeats after a short period can be captured in a short period. One can also understand the overall working of the school by accounting some key events which take place once in a while. In fact ideally ethnography should be able to capture the lived realities in accordance with the purposes of the research and see the patterns in the instances observed within a specific period of time. Therefore, this study presents an ethnographic account of the preschools in Delhi and it captures the nuances of the preschooling system within a stipulated time.

School Education in Delhi

It is important, to begin with, to look into the education system of Delhi because the schools chosen for the fieldwork were located in Delhi, the capital city of India. Though Delhi has been home to good government and private schools both, there has been a proliferation of private schools, for which it is difficult to find the accurate data. Subsequently, the literacy level has increased from 61.54% in 1981 to 75.29% in 1991, 81.67% in 2001 and 86.34% in 2011. (www.delhi.gov.in) The pre-primary schools have increased considerably in comparison to the previous years. In 2010, there were 5043 schools in Delhi which included 2636 preprimary and primary schools, 583 middle schools, 1824 Secondary / Sr. Secondary schools with enrolment of 37.39 lakhs children being taught by 1.10 lakh teachers. Out of total no. of 5043 schools, 2666 were the state funded schools and 2377 private schools. (www.delhi.gov.in) The estimated rate of increase for the private schools in Delhi which has been mentioned in the previous chapter exemplifies the increase of private schools in Delhi.

West Delhi

For the purposes of this research, two schools in the western part of Delhi were chosen- The Sunshine International School and The Rosemary School. The buildings in the area are privately owned with few floors given on rent by some people. The area doesn't have a flat system and is well developed in terms of nearby market, public services such as post office, schools and so on. The population in this area consists majorly of the Punjabi and Sikh community, some of whom are migrants from Pakistan. It was informed by the teachers in these schools that many parents in the vicinity are not well-educated due to which the teachers have to face some issues.

Preschools in West Delhi

Though West Delhi is in itself a very large area, not much preschool were found a decade back. There were only one or two preschools where the children used to go in this locality. But there has been a proliferation of preschools in this area during recent times. The fee structure of the schools is minimal in the study area to cater the need of the low income groups in comparison to preschools in any other part of Delhi despite the fact that the international and new preschools have been charging more fee than the old preschools. Increasing importance of early childhood

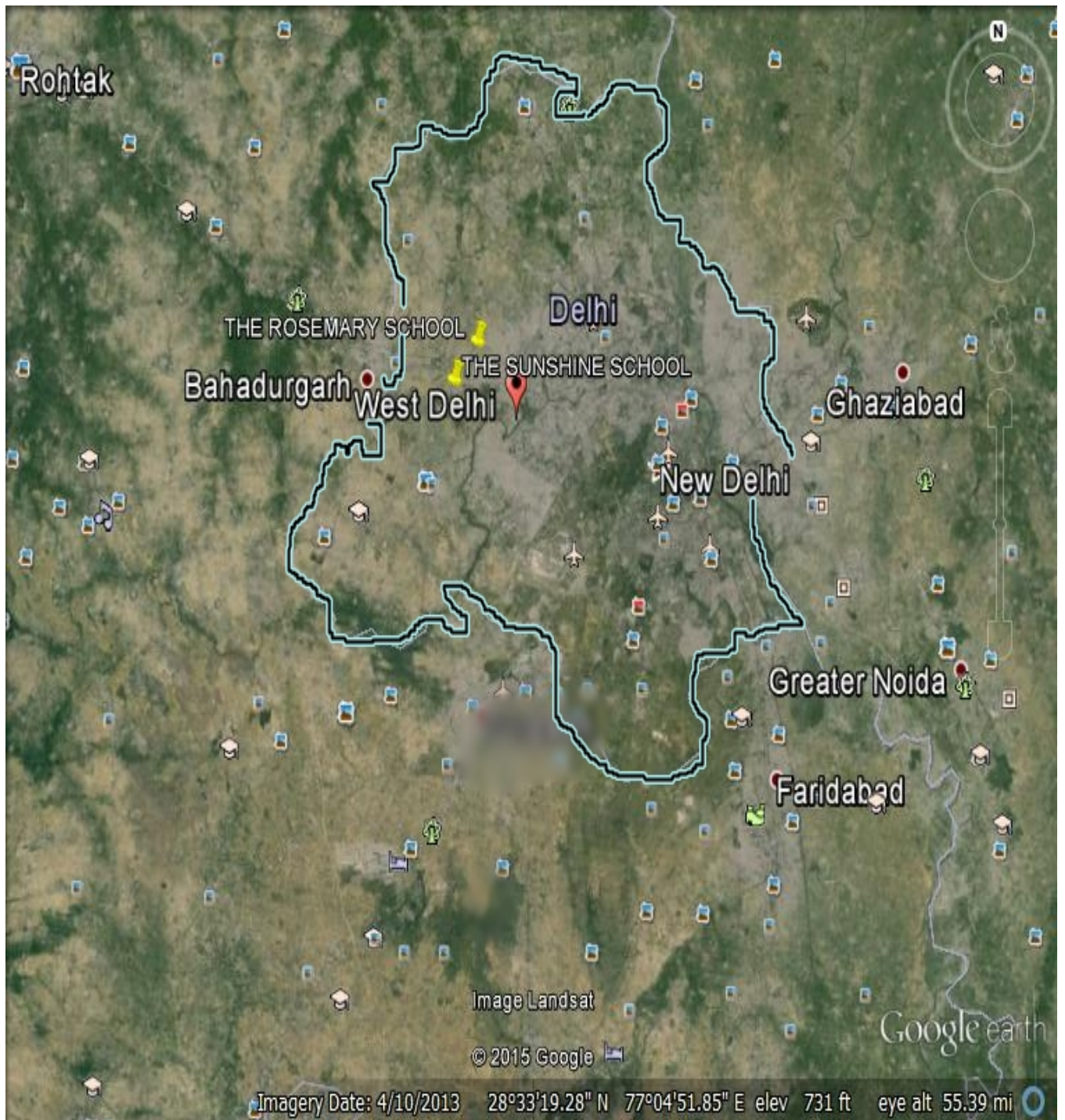
education has widened the market of preschools in Delhi. The ever growing private run preschool is not given adequate attention yet from the point of view of the little young minds enrolled and the pattern of interaction with other school members. The following maps of the preschools would show an estimation of the increase of preschools in this part of Delhi.

Figure 3.1: Locating Delhi and New Delhi in the map of India



Source: The map has been prepared by the researcher using online sources such as google earth.

Figure 3.2: Locating West Delhi and the two schools chosen for the research in the map of Delhi



Source: The map has been prepared by the researcher using online sources-google earth.

Figure 3.3: Estimation of the increase in Preschools in West Delhi after the initiation of globalization in India



Source: The map has been prepared by the researcher by visiting the schools in the vicinity of the field chosen for the research.

The Year in which these schools were established is mentioned in the following table:-

Table 3.1: Name and Year of Establishment of the preschools after the neo-liberal policies in India

Name	Year
Redbeach Preschool	1992
Little Angel Preschool	2003
Saint Soldier Convent Preschool	2007
Jingle Bells Preschool	2008
Happy Morning Preschool	2008
Sunflower Preschool	2009
Tiny Toes Preschool	2010
Kid's Paradise Preschool	2010
MTJ Preschool	2010
Angel's Wonderland Preschool	2011
First Step Preschool	2011
Budding Blossoms Preschool	2012
Brightland Playway school	2013
Little Educamp Preschool	2014
Kid's Nest Preschool	2015

Source: The year of Establishment has been conveyed by the owner of the school or the available person in the school.

Ethnographic account of the preschools

The two schools which were chosen for the research were- The Sunshine International School and The Rosemary School. The Purpose of choosing these two schools was to understand the changes in the early childhood education, especially after the advent of globalization in India. The intention such study was not to compare both the school systems but identify the changing patterns of early childhood education in the country by locating their roots of evolution historically. The comparison was done keeping in mind the intensity and the quality of the

changes happening in both the schools as a result of globalization. The Sunshine International school was set up four years back on a franchisee model. The second school had been existing in the study area for more than thirty years and had a preschool wing in operation since its inception. Though the focus was on the Sunshine international preschool, the observations in The Rosemary School were made to see the ways in which early childhood education has been changing in the present times. Also, how these preschools are acquiring importance with regard to the conventional schools that have been in existence for a long time needs to be seen. As the findings would suggest, the preschools are becoming an important segment where the child must go before going to any formal school, even if they children were repeated to be seated in the preschool classes in the conventional school. Mrs Jeevika told the researcher (pointing at two twins) that they haven't gone to a playschool and they think this is a playschool as they hardly participate in the school activities. This shows how important a preschool has become for a conventional formal school. The Sunshine International school was set up four years back on a franchisee model. The main branch of the Sunshine school was set up around 15-20 years ago in an adjacent area and consists of classes till class XII. The main branch has a separate preschool wing and it runs as a formal school. All the other franchisees of the school are preschools which consists of three sections- the settlers, pre-nursery and nursery sections. Though most of the branches (around 3-4) of the school are owned by the principal of the school where the fieldwork was done, one branch is owned by her brother and one by her father's friend. During the field, it has been informed that the main school was started by the father of the principal for her daughter.

The Rosemary School was established 30 years with the purpose of serving the educational needs of the community. It had four sections of pre-primary wing- two for nursery and two for KG. The school didn't have any branches and is managed and owned by the committee comprising few members from the community. The chairperson of the school was also a member of the committee and was appointed to take major decisions regarding the school. The Principal of the school was earlier a Hindi teacher who worked in the school and had been working in the school since its inception.

The Franchisee model

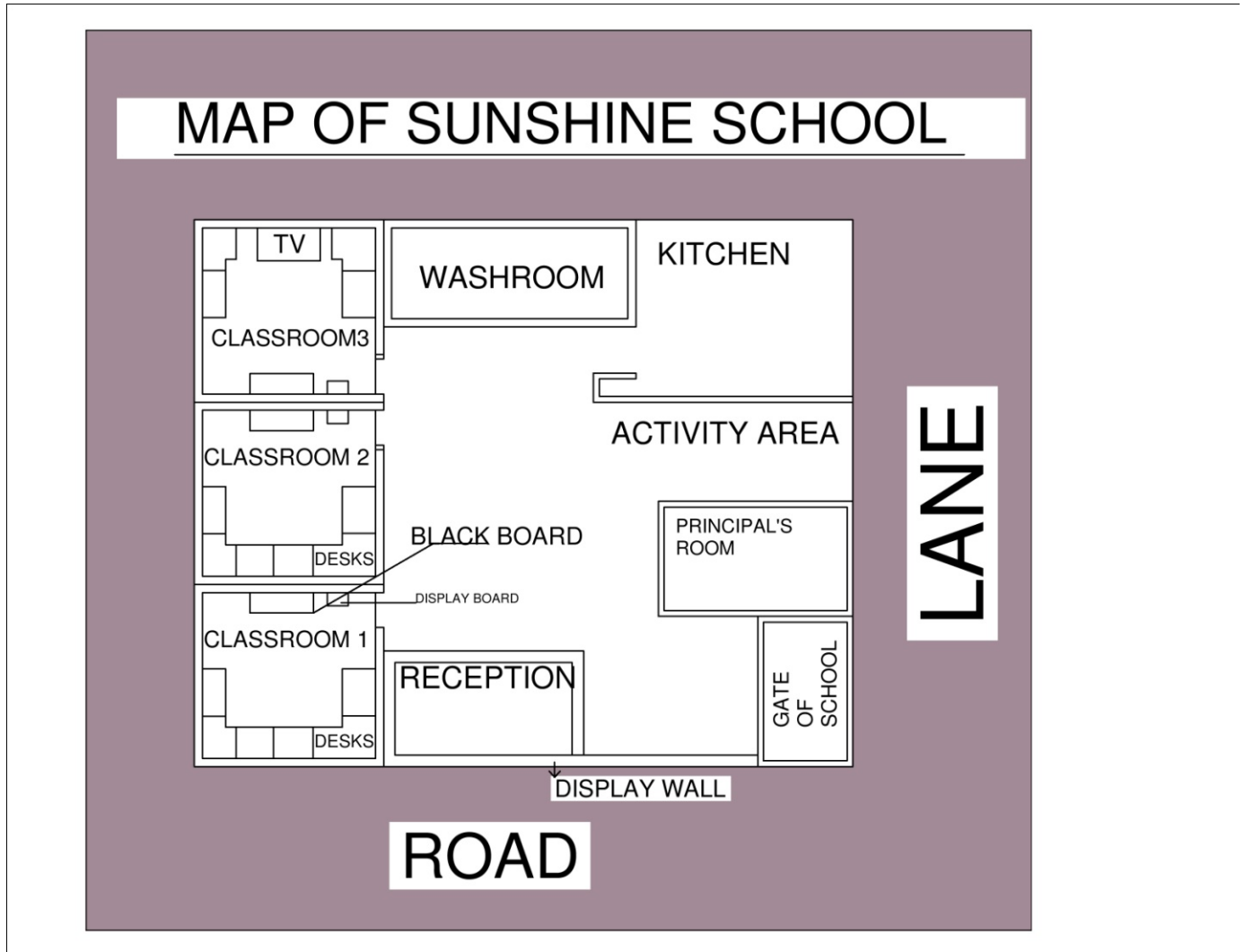
While discussing about the view of franchisee model of preschool system with the principal of the Sunshine school, I came to know that the curriculum was designed in accordance with the context of the school located. However, the teachers informed that the same curriculum is followed in all the schools. Mrs Priti also revealed that the Dwarka branch of the same school was performing better than the rest of the branches as it was owned by the brother of Principal of the Sunshine school. Through observation and interaction with teachers, it has been noticed that it is only this franchise school which has less infrastructure and less space.

The School Setting

The Sunshine International School stands in a residential area with other houses around and a road in front of the school. On one side of the school is a small lane going towards a residential colony and on the other side is big building. This small lane is blocked by the school van and was earlier used for playing by the children such as riding cars and so on.

The school was on the ground floor of a building that was taken on rent basis. The entry of the school is from the gate in the small lane, passing which one reaches the reception area where the centre head sits. Then, on the right side, there are three consecutive rooms, first room for nursery class, second for settlers (which is also termed as pre-nursery class) and third for pre-nursery class. On the extreme right was the activity area where all the co-curricular activities take place. On the left hand side of the activity area is the kitchen and the washrooms and on the right hand side is a room meant for the principal but is usually used for keeping dresses, books and so on. The display boards are located in all the classes and in the reception. The nursery class has a projector which was not in the working condition and there is a television in the pre-nursery class. Every class has a whiteboard and an almirah for the teacher. The outside glass wall of the reception (facing the road) is also decorated according to the themes which can be seen by the passersby. The teacher-student ratio was around 1-30 for all the sections.

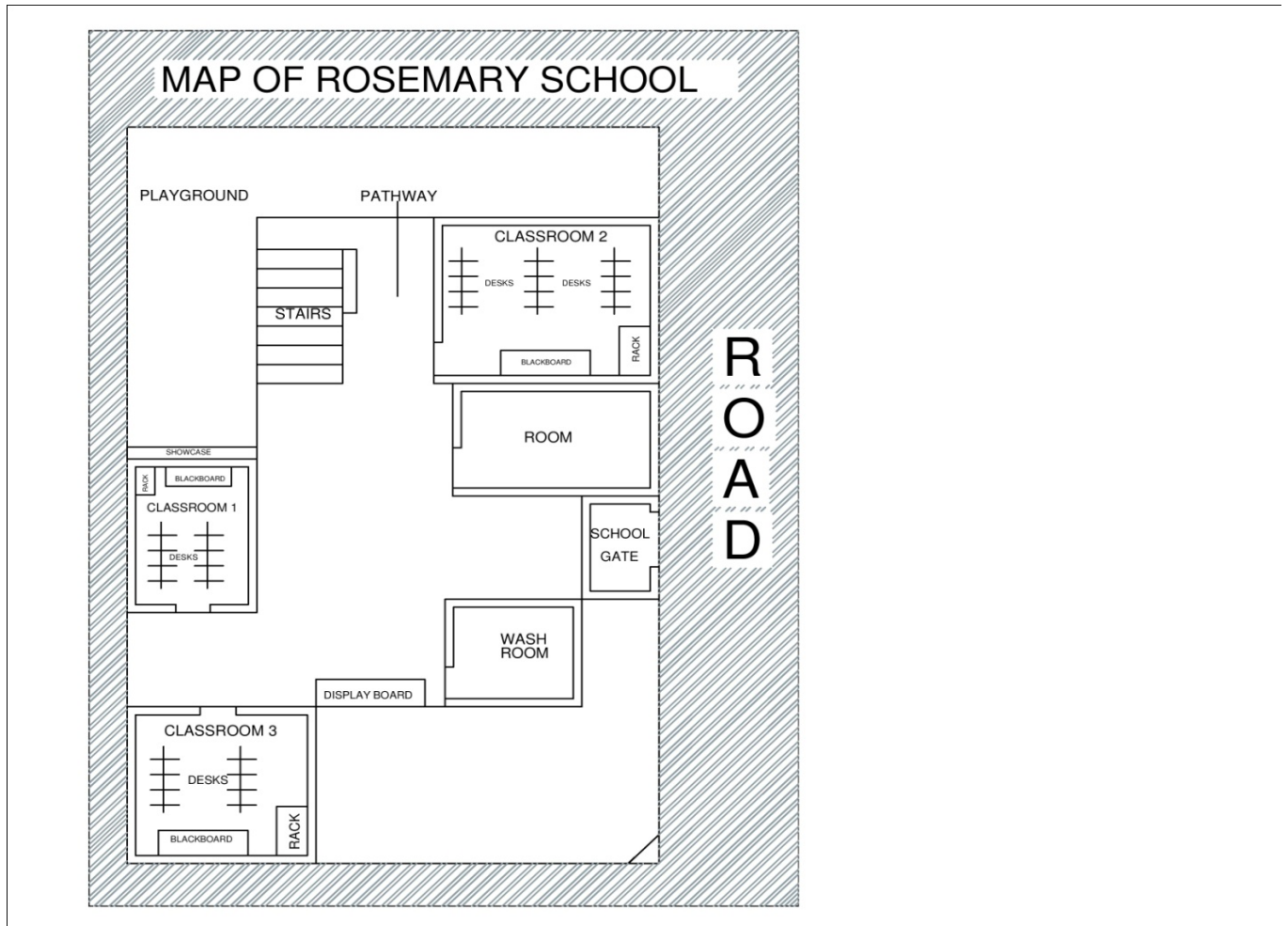
Figure 3.4: Map of the School Setting of the Sunshine School



Going straight on the same lane towards the road end, one will find The Rosemary School. The school has classes from Nursery to class tenth. The school has three gates- one for Nursery/KG wing, other two for all the other classes. While entering from the Nursery wing, there is a washroom in the beginning and then two classes of Nursery and KG on opposite sides. On the right hand side of the washroom, there is another section of Nursery. The two other sections of the nursery are on the first floor of the school building. The school has a common playground for all the classes. The office, reception area, principal's room and the chairperson's room are near the other gate of the school.

The Teacher-student ratio for nursery is approximately 1-30 and for KG is 1-26. The classrooms were designed in a child-friendly manner with tables of shape + spread at various places and children sitting on chairs around it. There is a showcase on the left hand side of the children where all the toys, teaching-learning aids such as puppets, educational games were kept. On the front side, there was a device called I-can set up along with white-board to write. On the left hand side of I-can, there was a rack where all the books and notebooks of the children were kept. The table and chair for the teacher were kept in the front centre facing the children. The pre-primary section had all the rooms fitted with air conditioners.

Figure 3.5: Map of the School Setting of the Rosemary School



The Social, economic and political base of the schools

It was informed on various occasions that the Sunshine school was located in an area where the population was not much educated. Since the parents have not educated, the children couldn't perform better as they hardly paid attention to the studies of the children. On the day children had to come dressed up as a particular mode of transport such as aeroplane, car and so on, not many children came in the fancy dresses. Mrs Priti (the teacher in the school) too sensed the area being backward and people were less educated. Hence, there was very little response and support from the parents side for children's education. She added by saying that there is very good response in the other branches of the school for such competitions. A lot of children were found to be first generation learners though they belonged to moderately well-off families. The Sunshine school charged around Rs 2500/month from every child. Mrs Priti also said that the rent per day for such dresses was too much, that was also the reason behind children not dressing up as one of the transport. Another day, Yeshna's Grandfather came to pay the fee and also saw her in the class. After he left, Ms Jasmine said that though they are '*Anguthaachaap*' (uneducated) but they have a lot of money. At the end of the day, Ms Jasmine called every teacher to sign up for the Bhartiya Janta Party (ruling party at the centre) membership as the school owners belonged to the same party.

The Rosemary School too was located in the same area but it targeted the population which belonged to lower economic background. During winter, a child by wearing a jut sweater had stepped into the school at which Mrs Jeevika asked his father to buy him the school coat. A lot of times the children didn't have pencils and sharpeners too. Another day, a lady came and showed EWS(Economically weaker sections) form to Mrs Jeevika if that is what would be required for admission in EWS quota in the first class. Mrs Jeevika told her that she will have to get it renewed and then there would be a lottery system through which children belonging to reserved categories will be selected, though she can still go and enquire about the same in office. The fee of the children for KG was 900/month along with the annual charges which they had to pay once in the beginning of the year. During the same time, some children were provided financial support by a NGO but they stop the scheme later on because they could not pay the fee which the parents assumed too would be paid by the same NGO. On many occasions, the teachers

complained that the parents were uneducated and so, they didn't get support from them for the education of their children.

Procedures: Admissions, fee structure, selection and salary structure

The school admission takes place normally during the months of January to March, but it keeps continuing throughout the year. A couple of new admissions were done when the researcher was doing her fieldwork too. A new child, Jaspal who was also the relative of Ms Jasmine was admitted in the school during this period. On another day, Ms Jasmine came with a couple inside who wanted to enquire about their child's admission to show the school and the activities. When they came inside, Mrs Navi started reciting poems such as aeroplane, 'abc' etc and the children followed her while the parents take a round of the school to display the effectiveness of the activities done in the school.

For the admissions, the parents had to pay around Rs7000-8000/- as the admission fee as well as Rs 2500/- per month as the tuition fee for the academic year. Along with this, the other charges include the payment for the dresses, the book set, competitions and so on.

As the children in the preschool are expected to get admission into the formal schools in the later stage, preschool has already tie-up with some formal schools and so that the school members suggest the parents to get their children admitted there. Also, if the school members know about the bad environment of some schools through various means, they do inform the parents about the same as was told to the researcher by Mrs Priti.

The screening process at the time of recruiting teachers involves several rounds of interviews and demonstration sessions. Mrs Priti said in her interview that though the principal never had meetings with them, while she was selected for the school, she had to face five round screening process as if the school was doing some really great stuff curriculum wise and still she was told that she was a fresher. The amount of teacher's salary was offered around Rs. 5000-10000 per month. The basic qualifications for the teachers were Nursery Teacher Training Course, a B.Ed or a Diploma in Education. Mrs Priti in her interview said that 'this was the only preschool which was paying them around Rs. 10,000 salary, otherwise all the other preschools don't pay more than Rs. 5000 per month as salary.' As another teacher Ms Riti had been doing studies along with her teaching she had to leave at 12pm every alternate day for which her salary was

deducted accordingly. Though Ms Riti said that no other school would have given her the permission to work like this, Mrs Priti said that this was beneficial for the school only as she left only after the children have gone, so the school was getting a teacher whom they could pay less and yet made her do full work. Though Mrs Navi was working for more than 11 years in this school, she too was getting Rs. 11,000 per month as salary. Ms Riti also said that the increment of the salary depends on the centre head. Though Ms Riti had asked Ms Jasmine to increase her salary, she was told to show good work and results after which the salary would be increased. Ms Riti told the researcher that her class is the best in the school and in the other branches, the centre head maintains good rapport with the principal and so, the increment happens quickly. All the teachers along with the centre head were required to stay back till 3 pm every day. The information for any event was communicated to the parents through messages, notes in the diary and on the parents' portal on the school's website.

The admissions in the Rosemary School took place during the month of January every year because a lot of people come to the school during that time and it was considered auspicious too. But the admissions remained open throughout the year for the Nursery/KG wing. The admission fee for the school was around Rs. 6000 and the tuition fee for every month which was around Rs. 900. The other charges included the dresses and the books sets.

The process of recruiting teachers involves a round of interview and demonstration session. Ms Kuljeet told the researcher that she gave the interview in both the schools (in this school and the school her child is studying) for the job but she got selected here and so, took this job. She was interviewed by asking the basic questions about the course she had done and her personal traits. Then, she was given class II for trial for three days after which she was given appointment. Also, she taught class II for two months as a trial as the session was getting over after which she was given Nursery class. Usually, the parents were informed by word of mouth or note in the diary but one of the days, the teachers couldn't inform the parents as the decision for the holidays was not yet taken. When the school re-opened after four holidays about which the parents were not informed by any note in the diary or through phone, though the information was written on the school gate, the parents got angry and asked the teachers to call them for any information.

Entry of the Market

There were several ways in which the market entered and interacted in the preschool setting. The teachers of the Sunshine school informed the researcher that the annual function of the school was held at Siri Fort auditorium and every child had to pay Rs. 1500 for it. Before Parent teacher meeting, Ms Jasmine informed all the teachers that they have to tell the parents to take the CD's of the annual function from the reception and tell them that it is compulsory to buy it. Ms Jasmine also showed pictures of children to the parents on the occasion of parent-teacher meet and took the order for the pictures the parents liked and wanted to buy. There were storybooks, picture books displayed on a rack meant for selling them during the parent teacher meeting. Though every school has a dress-code which the children have to follow, the school dress for the preschool children was a new phenomenon. One day, Ms Jasmine then told Parth's mother that he had to come to school in winter dress. Ms Jasmine showed the track suit to her and told her that it is of very fine quality and it can be used later too when the child leaves the school. Parth's mother told her that she will send the money the next day and buy it. Even if the children wanted to participate in some championships outside the school such as Taekwondo championship, their parents had to pay Rs. 1500 as fee. As this preschool was a private enterprise, it can be seen as a setting up a market of its own.

In The Rosemary School, as the parents were dropping their children at the gate, a child came who was wearing a white cap seeing which Mrs Jeevika instructed his parent that he should either wear red or grey cap according to the school-dress code and not any other colored cap. A contract was signed with a wholesaler for the school dress and he sold it by expensive price. Since the dress codes changed after KG, the parents were of the view that it was wastage of money to buy the coat for small kids. Mrs Jeevika said that they will talk to the chairperson to replace the coat with a jacket as the dress which the children can wear and use elsewhere too. In the interview, Mrs Jeevika emphasized then that, parents had been comparing schools on the basis of what new the school was doing and have paid more attention to the studies of their children. The market and its competition became important in these circumstances. Also, it was observed that there were loads of books given to the school as samples in the beginning of the year by various publishers out of which the teachers has chosen few for their school. Even the

setting up of I-Can device was done by an educational organization which targets schools as its customers for various technology based services.

The Organizational groups and agents

The Sunshine School had been keeping a chain of people working at various levels in the organization. The owner, Mrs Pradipta who was also the Principal of the school was the topmost person who runs the school. She had obtained a doctorate in child psychology and participated in many early childhood conferences. She sometimes went for a round to the other branches of the school although she sat in the main branch of the school often. Her husband, Mr. Mukul, usually referred to as Sir by the teachers too was seen at the same level of hierarchy chain.

Another lady, Mrs Asha who sat in the main and the oldest branch of the school (her designation was not very clear) and handled major issues/enquiries related school such as dresses, parent queries and so on. The researcher too had to ask Mrs Asha for the permission for doing fieldwork in the school.

For each branch of the school, a centre head was appointed who handled the specific branch related issues. The centre head for the each branch was entrusted to make reporting either Mrs Asha or the principal for any queries/issues they might have. The centre head of the school where the fieldwork was conducted was a young girl, Ms Jasmine who earlier joined as a teacher and was promoted to the level of centre head after three years. Though she was working as centre head, she was not qualified for the post due to the lack of experience of the post. The ways in which she exhibited control over the teachers had many manifestations. In the morning, she took mobile phones of all the teachers and kept them with her at the reception till the time children dispersed. There were various occasions when she yelled at the teachers, displaying her authority over them. On one of the days, the children were making a lot of noise while Mrs Navi was teaching them, Ms Jasmine came and told Mrs Navi , ‘Do something, control them, they are making so much of noise.’ Sometimes even when it wasn’t the fault of the teachers, it was observed that she yelled at the teachers taking out her personal frustration on them. For instance, on the day, dramatization of different means of transport was happening, Mrs Navi was making the children come on the stage and speak, Ms Jasmine shouted at Mrs Navi from the reception area, ‘ *thoda aaram se karo, har cheez me jaldi hoti hai aapko.*’ (*Do the activity slowly, you keep*

doing everything fast) All the teachers wanted to ask her if they had to click the photographs for the show but she was busy talking on the phone and so, Ms Riti said, *'Ab to phone pe lagi hui hai. Mere phone me to space nahi hai. Jab baat khatam hogi madam ki tabhi honghi photos click.'* (*Now she is busy on the phone. There is no space in my phone. When the madam stops talking, we will click the photos*) It was the centre head who decided which activity had to be done when and how specifically as the researcher was informed by Mrs Priti. There were many occasions when the teachers asked Ms Jasmine which particular activity had to be done and how. When winter season theme was going on and tokens of snowman had to be given to the children as per the daily planner, Mrs Navi went out to ask Ms Jasmine if she should give the clay to the children as they would spoil it by the time they reach home. Ms Jasmine says no and so, she keeps the clay in her cupboard.

The teachers came in the next ladder of hierarchy in a school, and they were asked to report all their queries to the centre head. The teachers duties were to teach in the children in classroom, handle queries of parents along with the Centre head and correct the homework of the children. The role of the teachers was focused around the classroom activities and co-curricular activities of the children. There were three teachers in the school, Ms Riti, Mrs Priti and Mrs Navi. The teachers of all the schools had to make a monthly curriculum along with daily planners for every year in the beginning of the year (two teachers were making curriculum for one month) which was then get final approval from the principal. The teachers hardly meet the principal as she never came to the school or held any meetings with them. So, they were not able to report the issues they faced to the principal. Though they informed the queries to the Centre Head, but she never reported them to the principal and so, no solution was made for the issues the teachers faced. Though the centre head guided them in the ways in which the activity had to be done, the teachers felt that she did not understand their point of view but gave orders to them. While the researcher was interviewing Ms Riti, she said, *'Inko (children) koi bhi concept karaana ho to time lagta hai. Das baar chillaane se bhi nhi aega. But Ms Jasmine to kehti hai 50 baar chillao nhi aata to jo ki possible nahi hai.'* (*It takes time to teach any concept to the children. They wouldn't understand even if we shout ten times. But Ms Jasmine says that shout 50 times if the children don't understand which is not possible*)

There were two maids appointed in the school, Nirmi aunty and Kamla Aunty who handled the lunch of the children, their toileting. One of them accompanied with children in the school van. They used to stay for the entire day to take care of the children and returned back home in the evening. They had frequent issues with the van driver and the guard sitting at the gate. Kamla aunty often told Ms Jasmine to explain the guard to mind his own business as he said one thing or the other to her such as bring tea for him when she entered the school in the morning. On yet another day, a child vomited in the van and the van driver asked Nirmi aunty to clean the van. Nirmi aunty told Ms Jasmine that she had cleaned it majorly and now the van driver can put water on it to clean it properly as that was not her duty. The van driver said that it was her duty and she should do it. Ms Jasmine told the driver that as Nirmi aunty had done it, he could do the remaining part himself too. I could not interact much with the guard and the van driver of the school as they remained always outside the school. In the hierarchical structures of school, they are placed along with maids of the school.

The Rosemary School too had maintained hierarchy which informed the position and the interaction of the participants. On the top was the chairperson who took major decisions regarding the school such as finance, school events celebration and so on. He informed the principal regarding anything related to the school which was then informed to the teachers. He sometimes had meetings with the entire staff for various issues of the school.

The next came the principal who took decisions regarding the curriculum, books, fee, and admission and so on. It has been observed that the principal sat with the supervisor and other senior teachers while choosing the books for the school curriculum. Also, any individual child related decisions were taken by the principal was in consultation with the supervisor. The parents of a child who was in Nursery failed to pay the fee for two months, the principal talked to the parents and the supervisor for nursery wing regarding the same.

The Supervisor for the pre-primary wing Mrs Jeevika came next in the authority had been held with responsibility of the activities of daily schedule. The teachers asked her for any issues that they might face in the classroom or with the parents. Mrs Jeevika came in between the class activity and asked Ms Kuljeet if the children were facing any problem in understanding small alphabet 'I' which was to be done that day. The supervisor was also the class teacher of KG and had been working in the school for more than seven years. One day, the teacher has gone to ask

the principal if the teachers should combine the classes because very less children had come to the school but the principal didn't agree to it.

Teachers are the next group in the order of hierarchy who did all the classroom and co-curricular activities in the school. They virtually had dealt with everything related to the classroom activities, parents enquiries related to the children performance and discipline, the assessment of the children and so on. There were five teachers for the pre-primary wing- Mrs Jeevika, Ms Kuljeet , Mrs Neetu , Mrs Tejinder and Mrs Rasneet .

Usually, the maids and the gate keeper came last in this chain. The maids for the pre-primary wing had to help the children in toileting, eating, keep the dresses of children in order and so on. On one day, a child vomited in KG class and the maids started fighting for who will clean the room which was ultimately cleaned by two of them then. The gate keeper, despite opening and closing the gate, performs other tasks in the school such as bringing some things from outside and so on throughout the day.

The School processes

Morning routines

The day of the children began at morning 8:30 at the Sunshine School on a daily basis followed by, assembly at 9.00am with the warm up exercises shared by the one of the teachers as well as by children. Then children recited the Hindi as well as English prayer. The English prayer was a small rhyme in English and the Hindi prayer was the *Gayatri mantra* in the Hindu religion. The children were then made to sit for meditation by closing their eyes and folding the fingers of their hands in the yoga mudra. Thereafter, the teachers recited poems with the children based on the theme for the month. For instance, Mrs Navi sang the *jingle bells rhyme* and asked the children to follow her when the theme of Christmas was going on. The national anthem was sung in the end and the children were asked to disperse to their classes by march pass.

After entering into the classes, the teachers asked a question, 'Which day is today?' While writing the day and date on the Blackboard, similarly, they asked another question, 'Which date is today? third December' (repeated two three-times). Then, they began with the work assigned as per the time table.

In The Rosemary School too, the children did English followed by Punjabi prayer in their classroom. The English prayer was a rhyme in English and the Punjabi prayer was *mool mantra* done by Sikhs. After that, Ms Kuljeet started with the roll call in her class. Ms Kuljeet then wrote day and date on the board along with heading of small alphabets from a-i. She daily asked children, ‘which day and date it was?’ and asked them to write it in their notebooks.

Food

It was observed that many children carry their breakfast while they come from home in the morning and either the teachers or the maids made them eat. One day, Manvir’s (A child) parents gave boiled egg to the teacher to make her eat in the school. Ms Riti tried to break the egg and it fell down. Ms Riti informed Ms Jasmine that she couldn’t give the egg to the child because it fell down and the parents could at least peel and give it. Ms Riti didn’t like the idea of touching an egg in the morning once has become fresh and pure after taking bath in the morning. It was informed that the contract for lunch was given to a woman who brought food for all but the order for the quantity of food was to be taken on a daily basis with the permission of centre head which was usually less for the children. Mrs Priti also told the researcher that some children are asked to bring the lunch from home as their parents say that they don’t eat particular items which we make them eat in the school. She said that most of the children didn’t like eating bread but ‘*paranthas*’ (*Chapattis*). The quantity of lunch pack was usually less in comparison to the number of the children. Another day as the nursery kids had lunch before the pre-nursery kids, very small amount of food was left out for the latter. Ms Riti then went to Ms Jasmine and told her to order more ‘*paranthas*’ (*Chapattis*) according to the strength of the class. The children were then given the *chapattis* ordered for the day-care kids who came in the afternoon.

The children in the Rosemary School were allowed to take food during the lunch time. The children did perform the lunch prayer everyday and then started eating their lunch. One day, one of the students informed the teacher, ‘*shreya Maggie layi hai.*’ (*Shreya has got Maggie*) The teacher called the girl and said, ‘*maine bola hai na junk food ni khana.*’ (*I have told you not to eat junk food*) Some children opened packets of chips and the teachers tell the researcher and the children that they don’t have to get any junk food to the school. She also told the researcher that some children didn’t get lunch earlier but after complaining many times, they have now started getting lunch. A child, Prem singh started crying as he didn’t want to have his lunch. Ms Kuljeet

told the researcher that they are Kabuli and eat non-vegetarian food most of the time and so, the child is crying because he doesn't want to eat this. Sanchi shows a packet of biscuits to Ms Kuljeet and told her, '*aapne kha tha na biscuit laane hai to me layi hun.*' (You told me to get the biscuits, so I have got it) Ms Kuljeet replied by saying that she had asked to not have junk food but only have lays. Ms Kuljeet told the researcher that she tells them a lot of times to not get such things, but children first go to the shop daily nearby the school gate to buy such things to eat and then come to school. Another day, Harjot opens the lunch and then closes it because he doesn't like the lunch packet. Ms Kuljeet asks him to open and eat little bit of it. She told the researcher that 'they get hungry as they haven't eaten anything since morning, but don't eat what they did not like. The next day, at the gate, Ms Kuljeet told a parent to pack those food items the child likes to take and but not Kabuli *roti*(*Chapaati*) and *paneer* (*Chesse*) which normally he doesn't like. That day in KG class, Mrs Jeevika asked the children not to get any liquid food item or rice to the school.

Organization and Planning of the Curriculum

The Curriculum of the Sunshine School was designed by the teachers during summer holidays, but new themes are being added every month. The curriculum includes monthly and daily planners for the teachers based on the prescribed books. Records of the planning, lessons and execution of the previous year's activities clearly indicate the fact that the teachers used to keep adding new things in the curriculum in the light of their own experiences. Ms Riti informed that though the planner was given to them, they wrote on the side of the planner that what exactly happened for the activities given so that it can be shown to the principal as and when the later was in need of.

The syllabus includes a set of books by different publishers and few notebooks. Some of the books were from publishers outside the school and some were developed specifically for the school. All the sections 6-8 books, one for English, one for mathematics, one activity book, one coloring book, two rhymes books-Hindi and English, two practice books for English and mathematics for Nursery and a set of notebooks for nursery. The daily planners were made around these books and the prescribed themes. The monthly planners focused on the topics such as numerical development, environmental skills development, socio emotional development,

language skills, smart and strong physique and creative and performing skills. Corresponding to these, the daily planners were divided into time based activities.¹

In The Rosemary School too, the curriculum was organized and planned by the teachers with the help received from the supervisor and the principal of the school. The curriculum was made based on the academic subjects that had to be taught and the sub-topics that had to be covered under those subjects.² Though there is no daily schedule/timetable that the teachers had to follow, they decide what should have been covered in a month by discussing with each other and the same was to be reported in the teacher's diary. Earlier the teachers used to teach only through books and orally. But once the device I-Can was set up by a company-Mexus contained with educational material such as videos, rhymes, quizzes according to the syllabus appropriate for each class from 1st to 10th, the curriculum was changed around one and a half years back accordingly. The same company brought toys and other educational material in the school. They have also introduced all the materials in a week's time to the teachers through teacher's training. The supervisor of the nursery and KG staff (Mrs Jeevika) informed that the curriculum of the school changes every year according to the new trends and our staff experiences. So, when 'I-can' was introduced in the school, the teachers selected the books according to the educational material of I-can. The teachers changed the curriculum by adding more activities such as matching alphabets with pictures, filling the vowels in the blanks by looking at the pictures of the words. Mrs Jeevika said, '*Bacche pictures se easily catch karte hain, bohot interest bhi lete hain kaam me*' (*The children easily grasp by use of pictures, they take a lot of interest in work too*).

The syllabus constitutes a set of 7-8 books which includes rhyme books for English and Hindi, three art books for coloring, pasting and two writing practice books for English and mathematics. The writing practice for Hindi was introduced in KG as it required more clarity and practice. Also, if the teachers tried to teach them through play-way method, the parents get worried that no written work has happened. So, teachers did ensure that the children should do some written work on a daily basis. Selection of the books for such exercises were based on the patterns and formations which the teachers covered in the school in accordance with the I-can material and

¹ A Sample of the curriculum of the Sunshine School is attached in Annexure 1.

² A Sample of the Curriculum of the Rosemary School is attached in Annexure 2.

books covering more activities, words for one alphabet and so on. The price of the books was seen and decided by the office staff. In interaction with Ms Kuljeet, she told the researcher that her son studies in Nursery in another international school but she didn't find much difference in both the schools. The international school had play-way method and smart classes earlier too and all the children were asked to speak English all the time. Though they emphasized the children to speak in English but they couldn't as they did not get any support from their home for English learning. She said that 'those children whose parents did not pay any attention lag in the studies'. As the curriculum has been oriented toward more activities and toys that helped the children in grasping things quickly. The teachers also kept changing the toys in between the classes to provide more exposure to the children. The work was assigned according to the attendance of the children in the class. One day, the teachers notice that very less children have come to the school due to the holidays and so, Mrs Jeevika told all the teachers that they shouldn't do any new work because very less children have come to the school. The teachers of KG and nursery then discussed what had to be done on that day, looked into the previous year register in order to decide a topic.

Content of the curriculum

As has been already mentioned, the theme based curriculum was being followed in the Sunshine school. The content of it were included a set of curricular and co-curricular activities designed around the daily sub themes as has been explained earlier. The subjects taught as a part of the curriculum included English, Mathematics and the co-curricular activities included dance, taekwondo, physical activities executed on a daily basis. Every month, the school celebrated a particular day such as sharing day and so on. During the fieldwork, the school had informed the parents about the sharing day being celebrated on the December second and they were asked to send home made food for the children which all the children should be sharing with each other in the school.

The curriculum of The Rosemary School included subjects like mathematics, English and oral Hindi. The focus of the curriculum was to cover topics in these subjects along with the I-Can material which was shown to the children sometimes. The events celebrated in the school and the competitions held were considered a part of the co-curricular activities.

Academic Subjects: English and other languages

The teachers of the Sunshine school have been emphasizing children to speak in English most of the times. When the children had to say that they have done the work, they should have said, '*ho gya.*' (*It is done*) But Mrs Navi reminded them that, '*Aise nahi bolte, say I have done my work.*' (*It is not spoken like this, say I have done my work*) Whenever Sir (Principal's Husband) came to the school, he insists the teachers that the children should be speaking more in English than any other subjects being part of the curriculum. Another day, Parth (a child) told Mrs Navi, '*pankha chala do.*' (*Switch on the fan*) She replied, '*Pankha bolte hain, Bolo fan.*' (*Is it called 'pankha', say fan instead*) English was undoubtedly used and put forth as a superior language. There were children who didn't even know how to speak Hindi and so, the teachers emphasized on learning Hindi first and then English. Once Nethan, (a child) came and asked Mrs Navi for going to the washroom in Hindi. Mrs Navi got surprised that he was speaking Hindi as he never spoke in Hindi, but he often spoke in Kabuli language which was his native tongue incomprehensible for her. Ms Riti had been learning French language and she often compared it with Hindi and English said that the French resembled more with Hindi than English. On one day during the assembly, Ms Riti corrected Mrs Priti while she was singing a rhyme and said, '*Tonight hota hai, na ki tonight (ch- sound in the end). French me har sound ka conjugation alag hota hai, har word ko alag pronounce karte hain even if uski position change ho jae sentence me. Jaise english me bohot log madam ko madame(e- sound in the end) bolte hain par usme 'a' ko 'aa' bolte hain na ki hindi ki 'e' sound bolte hain*' (*It's tonight, not toni-ch. There is a different conjugation for every sound in the French language, every word is pronounced differently even if it's position in the sentence changes. Like in English, many people pronounce madam as madame(e-sound in the end) but it's pronounced as 'a', not 'e' of hindi language*). The foreign languages, in fact, have acquired more privileged than Hindi or other local languages being spoken in India. The processes of teaching rhymes in English, greeting the teachers in English too were part of learning the language.

The teaching of English started with recognition of alphabets and objects starting with those alphabets in the book and the environment. The children had to do several activities based on the learnt alphabets such as coloring sheets, encircling the correct alphabets and so on. At times, the teachers drew the pictures of objects on the board and asked the children to tell the alphabets. It

was only in nursery class that children began writing alphabets. They had joined the dots first and wrote the alphabets and then moved to independent writing of the alphabets.

In The Rosemary School, the class teacher of nursery sun, Ms Kuljeet took the attendance of the children. On taking the name of one of the children, some students said, '*vo nahi aayi.*' (*She has not come*) to which the teacher said, '*aise nahi, bolo, she is absent.*' (*Not like this, say she is absent*). Since the parents have not been well educated sometimes they ask the teachers to write the note in Hindi which was not agreeable for the teachers. Instead, the parents were informed to get the English note read by the tuition teachers. After finishing writings of cursive letters, the children called teacher and said, '*ho gya.*' (*It's done*) to which teacher replied, '*ho gya nahi bolna, say I have done my work.*' (*Don't say ho gya in hindi but I have done my work*). The speaking in English was encouraged by denying speaking in any other language. Some children came and showed her their notebook and asked, '*aise.*' (*Like this*) to which she responded, '*ye nahi bolna aise but please come here and see.*' (*Don't say aise in hindi but say please come here and see*) but the children didn't understand the teacher's command and so, she translated it in Hindi and said, '*Idhar aao ko bolna hai*', '*please come here and see.*' (*'Idhar aao' is to be spoken as please come here and see*). Another day, the teacher gave assignment of writing work to the children and then they started writing. While (she) took the attendance, took Kirat's name, Harjas said, 'absent' to which she responded by saying, 'Very good.' While revising alphabets by using I-Can, Ms Kuljeet asked the children, 'what are utensils?' and they explained that, '*Bartan jisme roti khaate hain. Ghar jaake mumma ko bolna hai ye utensils hain, bartan nahi. okay.*' (*The utensils in which you eat food. Tell your mother that they are called utensils and not 'bartan'. Okay*).

Mathematics

The teachers of the Sunshine School had taught numbers with the help of using pictures drawn on the board. The children used to count till 10 repeatedly after the teacher counts almost daily. Mrs Navi pointed at the pictures on the board and asked the children to count and repeat the numbers. The coloring book too had pictures with numbers written on each page which the children had to color. The physical activity period too was related to the concepts being taught. One of the days, Ms Riti drew a circle and a triangle on the floor of the activity area and asked the children jump from a circle in the triangle and back. She had kept on asking them about the

names of the shapes while they jumped from one shape to the other. When the children return back to the class room, the teachers guided them in writing practice of these numbers. The writing practice of the numbers began with the writing of standing, sleeping and curved lines first followed by the writing of these numbers. It was observed that there was very little writing work being done in the school for both English and mathematics.

The teachers of The Rosemary School had taught written numbers to the children from 1-100 in the beginning and then after other three digit numbers. One day, Ms Kuljeet wrote counting 1-30 on the board and gave the notebooks to the children. The next day, the teacher instructed them to write counting in their mathematics copies from 1-40 which she explained on the board too. After that day, Ms Kuljeet then wrote counting 51-60 as heading on the board and asked the children to write that in their note books. On the next day, the teacher asked them to draw square in their copies and two objects related to it, then counting from 81-90. The teachers emphasized writing of number names by the children too. The shapes and their names was another concept being taught to the children. The teachers also began with addition of two digit numbers by the end of the session.

Pedagogy

In the Sunshine school, one of the pedagogical techniques was explanation of the concepts using pictures or models as tools. While explaining the air transport under the theme of different means of transport, Mrs Navi drew an aeroplane and a helicopter on the whiteboard and explained them by saying, '*Ye aeroplane hai or ye helicopter.*' (*This is an aeroplane and that is a helicopter*). She then gave them the activity book to shape color in the image of an aeroplane and a helicopter. Another day, a traffic light model had come from the main school as a part of the theme of the month which was related to transport. Mrs Navi plugged in the model and started the poem, '*Red light, Red light.*' and made the children repeat after her. She explained the meaning along with it by saying, '*Jab Red light hoti hai to stop karna hota hai*' (*When the traffic light is red, we have to stop*) and so on. Repetition of the concepts explained was another pedagogical technique used by the teachers. Mrs Navi draws alphabets with pictures on the whiteboard and makes the children repeat the alphabets after her such as '*A for Apple, B for Ball*' and so on. She told the researcher that she used phonics to make the children remember the alphabets and prepared them for the formal school. During the interview, the centre head also

told the researcher that they used Playway method proposed by Maria Montessori. While guiding the children to do coloring work related to winter season, she went to the desk of each child to help make them coloring and then circle the objects related to winter season. She didn't give the books to the children who were roaming in the class and had not yet settled in the classroom environment, among whom Yeshna told her, '*mujhe bhi book padni hai*' (*I too want to read a book*), whom she guided in coloring the page. She guided the children in coloring/any other task and didn't do it on their behalf. All the teachers discouraged the parents to do the homework of the children too. Because repetition was used most of the times, sometimes the children used it where they were supposed to understand and respond. For instance, every morning, Mrs Navi said, '*good morning class*' and the children repeated the same, '*good morning class.*' She corrected them by saying, '*aapko good morning bolna hai, goodmorning class nahi, okay.*' (*You have to say good morning and not good morning class, okay*) The concepts were explained in Hindi and translation was used to explain the sentences in English. While teaching in winter season, she asked the children, '*Which season is going on?, Winter season.*' (the children repeated after her)' Mrs Navi referred to the chart at the back of the class and asked, '*What do we wear in winter season? Cap, gloves, sweater, muffler, socks.*' (the children repeated one by one after her).' '*Winter me thand lagti hai na*' (*We feel cold in winter*). To what do we wear in winter season? (she repeated again followed by children).' She then made snowman with the clay as a token to be given to the children. She gave clay to some children and told them, '*What is this? A snowman. Ye kiska banta hai? Ice ka banta hai snowman.*' (...*What is a snowman made of? A snowman id made of ice*) At times, the teachers also used several examples from the context to explain a particular concept. While explaining the alphabet W, Ms Riti drew a watch on the blackboard and conversed with the children, '*Ye kya hai? W for watch.*' (*What is this?...*). The children repeated after her, '*W for Watch.*' Jaskirat said (pointing to his wrist), '*ise haath me pehnte hain.*' (*We wear it on our hand*) Mann said, '*ye to red, blue, pink colour ki bhi hoti hai.*' (*This is also of red, blue, pink colour*)The teacher says, '*W se water, water melon, watch hota hai.*' (*W for water, water melon, watch*) The teachers referred to children who grasped the concepts easily and pointed them as role models to be followed by other children. On the dramatization day, a child, Devina who knew the full song was called in front and all the children were asked to repeat after her. The teachers guided her to speak one line at a time so that other children were able to follow her. Demonstration and questioning as pedagogical tools too was

followed by the teachers on various occasions. While explaining the theme of Christmas and new year, Mrs Navi asked children, 'Children, Which festival is coming? Christmas and Happy New year.' All the children repeated after her. Mrs Navi took out coloring books from the bags of the children and showed Christmas tree and Santa Claus to the children. She drew Christmas tree and Santa Claus on the white board and demonstrated how they had to colour the both with different colours. She then told them, '*Hum Christmas isliye manaate hain because us din God Jesus ka birthday hota hai. Us din Santa Claus good bachhon ko gift deta hai, jo apni mummy ki baat sunte hain, shor nahi karte, food eat karte hain, cry nahi karte. Ab hum kisme color karenge? Christmas tree and Santa Claus me.*' (*We celebrate Christmas because it Jesus Christ's birthday on that day. Santa Claus gives gifts to the good children on that day, those who listen to their mother, do not make noise, eat food, do not cry. Now what we fill color in? In Christmas tree and Santa Claus*) Mrs Navi then went to every desk and made the children color Christmas tree with different colors in her presence. She also explained the difference between light and dark green to the children while she gave them the color crayons. After every child had colored it, she used the sparkle gel to decorate the tree and kept them for drying in the classroom. Recalling and revising too were often used by the teachers as pedagogical techniques. Mrs Navi then made the children recall 'What do we eat in winter season- soup, coffee' and the children followed her. She asked the children, 'Do we eat ice-cream in winter season?' Some of them said yes by nodding their head and some of them said no. She continued, '*no, hum ice-cream nahi khaate. Ice-cream thandi hoti hai na?*' (*No, we do not eat ice-cream. Ice- cream is cold, right?*)

In the Rosemary School, relating pictures with the objects was the common pedagogical technique used by the teachers. One day, Ms Kuljeet drew Igloo and inkpot on the white board and asked the children, 'What is this? *Ye kya hai?*' One child, Sanchi replied, '*ye dawaai hai.*' (*It is a medicine*). Ms Kuljeet corrected it by saying that, 'this is small I for igloo, small I for inkpot.' She then gave notebooks to the children and explained them the formation of small I on the whiteboard which they had to make in their copies. She asked the children to speak and write the alphabet so that they knew what they were writing. The children wrote the alphabet twice in the school so that they remember it. Similarly, they were asked to write down notes in maths notebook from 1-40 which she explained on the board too. Explaining the concept using examples and repeating the same was another technique being used in the school. The next day she started revision of small I with her class. When she asked children, 'small I for?', the

children said 'ice-cream.' She corrected them and said, 'not ice-cream but inkpot.' Then, she wrote small 'j' for jug on the whiteboard and asked the children to speak and write it in their copies. After the children completed their work, Ms Kuljeet asked them to open their picture books of alphabets and started repeating object names of each alphabet by pointing at the pictures. While pointing at the X-Mas tree, she picked up a X-Mas tree model and said that this is decorated on X-Mas. Another day when very less children had come to the school, Ms Kuljeet asked the children to take out their activity books and explained them to color the Santa with different colors. Some children were not able to color properly because they couldn't figure out the drawing properly. Ms Kuljeet told the researcher that the children were not able to understand which color to be used because of finding problems with the drawing. All the activities were done according to the cognitive level of the children. Ms Kuljeet gave the notebooks to those who hadn't got the coloring book to revise the previous work and told them to color the Santa when they go home. A child, Prem colored the Santa green, so Ms Kuljeet asked him if Santa is of green color. She also reminded him of the rhyme on I-can so that he can recall the color of Santa's dress but the child didn't understand. The next day, Ms Kuljeet went to the board and wrote small alphabet 'm' and told the children, 'Yesterday we write small l for leaf, now we do small m for mat.' After that, Ms Kuljeet wrote the counting 1-70 as heading on the board and asked the children to write it in their notebooks as she would not write the counting on the board. She asked them to take out their copies and write cursive o and p in their notebooks. She told the researcher that because there have been so many holidays, she will be doing more work today. She taught the children how to write alphabets 'o' and 'p' by asking them to follow the dots as she is doing on the board. By this time, Mrs Jeevika told the children of KG class, '*Kal humne one/many kiye the. Today we will do color's name. You know colors, I will tell you their spellings' (Yesterday we had done one/many....)* Mrs Jeevika picked up the color kit and asked its color from the children. She asked colors of various fruits and vegetables and asked them to draw the things of various colors on one side, its name on the other side in their copies. She then asked children to answers things/objects of green color and reminded them that when they went out in the playground, she had asked them to see carefully as she can ask any question based on their observations. She reminded them that there were trees of green color and asks them to complete their work in three lined English notebook. Another day, Mrs Jeevika made Anmol, a child who had got first prize in some competitions speak a poem in front of the

class. The teacher told the children that they had to learn poems like him as he gets so many prizes and they just keep sitting. Presenting role-models who had acquired efficiency in some of the tasks done in the school was another pedagogical technique followed by the teachers. Mrs Jeevika wrote names of objects and colors name on the blackboard and asked the children to copy the same as the revision exercise. The children drew and colored the objects first and wrote the names of the objects later on. On yet another day, Mrs Jeevika explained the meaning of this/that in Hindi, '*Jo cheez paas hoti hai, uske liye this bolte hian or jo door hoti hai uske liye that.*' (*If a thing is close to us, we use this to refer to it, if it is far from us, we use that to refer to it*). She provided examples from the objects in the class and then wrote sentences of this/that on the blackboard along with the pictures of objects which children had to copy. All the children wrote the same in their notebooks. She instructed the children to do book reading of this/that and followed her as she spoke. It was observed that the children were more excited about the rhymes played on I-Can device than any other academic work.

Habits/ values taught

The children in the Sunshine school were encouraged to become obedient towards their parents and teachers both. Whenever the parent teacher meeting take place, many parents reported that their children don't listen to them and Mrs Navi explained them, '*Mummy ki baat sunni hai or homework karna hai. Acche bacche mummy papa ki baat maante hain na. Ma'am aapko toffee bhi degi agar aap mummy papa ka kehna maanoge.*' (*You have to listen to your mother and do your homework too. Good Children obey what their mother says, right. I will give you toffee too if you obey your mother and father*) The teachers also asked the children to say sorry whenever they did something wrong. One day Krish slaps Maan as he was not giving him the seat to sit. After some time, Krish came to Mrs Navi and said, '*mene Maan ko sorry bol dia. Mene maara tha use.*' (*I have said sorry to Mann. I had beaten him*). Mrs Navi replied, '*Very good. Bohot accha baccha hai tu.*' (*...You are a very good child*) The children were expected to greet the teachers in the morning. The teachers expected the children to be quick in their work and discouraged them from talking, playing with each other.

The children in the Rosemary School too were encouraged to follow the instructions of the teacher and be obedient. A child once threw foil wrapper on the ground and so, Mrs Jeevika asked him, '*Where do you throw waste material?*', he replied, '*In the dustbin.*' (pointing to the

dustbin) Another day, A girl named Kirat came and complained that some children were writing with their pencil on the desks. The teacher scolded the children and said that it was a bad habit and they didn't have to do it. The teacher saw that a child had got compass and she had thought of calling his parents and informing it. The teacher revealed that the children used to bring such things regularly to the school. 'If children are not explained at this level that they don't have to cheat, they cheat in higher classes which becomes problematic to handle', the teacher said. The children were expected to be clean and efficient in their work. Talking with the peers was continually discouraged in the school.

Classroom Management

In the Sunshine school, the children were instructed to sit on their seats by the teachers. The teachers infused fear of punishment among the children if they disobeyed the teacher. Mrs Navi called name of the child one by one while distributing the books. Sometimes she walked towards the seats close where the children sat to distribute the books. Ms Riti made sure that all the naughty children and the slow learners will be seated nearby her in the class room. Sometimes, the poems were played on the television as a classroom management strategy to keep the children engaged in some visual activity after they had done their work, as they became very noisy otherwise. .

In The Rosemary School, the teacher checked the progress of the childrens' work by visiting to their desk respectively. Ms Kuljeet told all the naughty children were made to sit in front of her. As they had completed the assigned work, the teacher then asked them to open the picture book and revised alphabets and objects with it. The subsequent assignment was given because those who had done the work will not talk each other. Another day when children had to use colours in their copies, Mrs Jeevika told them to share the colors with their partners and others who didn't take the color from her when they come for checking. While teaching the children the concept of near and far, Mrs Jeevika used various objects/toys in the class after which she told the researcher that if she gave objects to the children in groups, it became very messy but if she explained the concepts using objects with toys, they were able to catch it very quickly. Mrs Jeevika goes to every desk to check their notebooks and asked the children to not come to her desk for the same.

Reward and Punishment

It was observed that punishments and rewards were used as tools frequently to make the children do the assigned work in the Sunshine school. One day, Ms Riti slapped the children who were not paying attention during the assembly and Mrs Priti told her that not beat the children as the school authorities might watch the records captured in the camera fixed in the class room any day and it might invite problem to the teachers. Ms Riti replied by saying that there should be some fear among the children, otherwise they will not listen to them. While doing the class activity, Mrs Navi gave instruction to the children that she will cut the page of those who draw the colour outside the prescribed lines. One day when children were asked to color the book, Mrs Navi gave a star on Rashween's (a child) hand as an encouragement for sitting quietly. Subsequently, other children too started asking Mrs Navi to give a star to them. On yet another day, a child, Aryan(a child) was crying because he wanted to go home which he said daily and so Mrs Navi took him to the toilet to lock him. Ms Riti often scolded the children who did not pay attention to the task given and said, ' *Paap Chadega mujhe, me tumhe itna daraati hun.*' (*God will punish me. I infuse so much fear in you all*) Rewards were used as an encouragement and punishments as discouragement for various curricular and co-curricular activities administrated by the teachers.

Rewards and punishment were frequently used in the Rosemary School too on various occasions. While checking the work of the children, Ms Kuljeet made the children clap for those who had done the work well and changed the seats of those who were talking each other in the class. Mrs Jeevika also scolded the children who were talking by saying that she will take them to the principal. Sometimes, Mrs Jeevika called those children who used to talk in front to read alphabets like ABC. When they fumbled in between, Ms Kuljeet asked them to start again. The teacher then asked them to write English alphabets in their copies if they wanted to go to play outside. Another day, Ms Kuljeet slapped a child who has not brought pencil and has sat idle, without doing any work. One day, two children, Sakhi and Mannat (two children) were talking, as a result, they were asked to come and sit in front of the class. While the teacher gave assignment to the rest of children on writing hindi alphabets, she turned to Sakhi, and said '*bohot achha lag rha hai na. or karo baatein.*' (*It looks very good, right? Keep talking more*) She then instructed Sakhi to sit back on her seat and not talk again.

Print rich environment

The print rich environment of the school is consisted of the display boards and games that are exclusively kept for the children. The pictures and content of all the display boards according to the theme have been changed every month. When my fieldwork began, the display boards were filled with pictures of land, air and water transport as the theme transport was being discussed in the school. Next month, the theme of the display boards changed into our helpers where the pictures of people who help us were filled on the board. Similarly, in the subsequent month, the boards were decorated with the winter season clothes, food and pictures related to Christmas and New Year as winter season and festivals was the theme being followed in the school. It is the teachers who make these charts and pictures after the children left for home back. Mrs Navi referred to the pictures on the board while teaching the children about various topics related to the theme.

There were several games such as bead games, engraved letters, rotator and so on kept in the activity areas which were given to the children during drill period in their daily planner or when they show less interest in sitting the class. Yamini(a child), who had been admitted in the school for about two-three month only sat in the activity area with these games usually.

In the Rosemary School too, the display board in the corridor was filled with charts informing the forthcoming festivities. During Christmas, Kuljeet (a teacher) prepared the chart paper on Christmas for the bulletin board of the pre-primary section and then displayed the same on the board. Similarly, when Lohri season was about to come, Mrs Neetu prepared chart paper for Lohri (a festival celebrated in North India) to be displayed on the board. But these chart papers were hardly used for any activity related purposes. Mrs Neetu had a collection of readymade charts in her class which were displayed according to the forthcoming festivities.

There was a collection of games/toys in every class which was used while teaching several concepts to the children. It has been observed that Mrs Jeevika has been giving toys to the children every Wednesday, but the same has not found among rest of the teachers.

Co-curricular activities

Taekwondo/Sports

The Sunshine school has kept a range of co-curricular activities as a part of their curriculum. Every Monday, the children had Taekwondo class by Mr. Sunil (the appointed taekwondo teacher). He took the classes for all the branches of the schools each day of the week. At the time of my field observation in the school, he was preparing children for Taekwondo championship to be held in Delhi. Few children were prepared for the championship, the criteria for which was based on the performance of the children, those who parents could pay Rs1500 for the championship and were interested in the championship as was informed by the teachers to the researchers. The taekwondo teacher also gave information to the teachers regarding the championship when they asked how did preschool children perform and were assessed after the championship. He said, *'Inka position or kick ka angle theek hona chahiye. Pichle saal ek school ke bacchon ko ye bhi nahi karne aa rha tha. Authorities ne unke taekwondo teacher ko bohot daanta ki usne bacchon ko ye basics bhi ni sikhaye.'* (Their position and angle of the kick should be fine. Last year, children of a school couldn't even do this. The authorities scolded their taekwondo teacher that he had not even taught him the basics)

It is being observed that the children in the Rosemary School were prepared for various sports events such as sports day. The children were chosen for different types of race competitions by looking at their capability and those who could afford to buy dress for the same.

Dance

The dance teacher in the Sunshine school took children of one class in the activity area for dance class on every Wednesdays. She instructed the children to follow her steps. The children enjoyed dancing on the Punjabi and bollywood songs. The dance which they had prepared for the annual function was practiced gain and the children recalled the steps while doing it. In the end, the dance teacher invited all the teachers to dance on her steps and the teachers happily followed it.

In The Rosemary School, the teachers prepared children to perform dance for sports day but there was no specific teacher/day for the same.

Competitions/ dramatization shows

In the Sunshine school, the pictures of land, air and water transport had been drawn under the heading 'Stage show dramatization' on the white board in the activity area. Mrs Priti went to her class and helped the children who had prepared for the show and were more active revise the lines they were given to speak by making them repeat after her. Priyaasha (a child) came dressed up as a scooter rider with a handmade scooter dummy made of a chart paper worn by her by a ribbon around her neck. Mrs Priti became very happy and said that 'this showed the efforts of the parents.' When the show started, Mrs Navi quickly called the children on the stage to speak the lines. Mrs Jeevika told Mrs Navi, '*thoda aaram se karo, har cheez me jaldi hoti hai aapko*'. (*Do it slowly, you do everything in a hurry*) She then scolded the children for not keeping silent and sitting in the classes. She started talking on phone after that. All the teachers wanted to ask her if they needed to click the photographs for the show but she was busy on phone and so, Ms Riti said, '*Ab to phone pe lagi hui hai. Mere phone me to space nahi hai. Jab baat khatam hogi madam ki tabhi honghi photos click*'. (*She is talking on the phone. There is no space in my phone. Whenever the madam's conversation ends, then only we will click the photographs*) The teachers then called the children on stage one by one and made them speak the lines while they make video of the children alongside. The teachers also graded the children as per their performance. Not all the children were called on the stage but only those who are dressed up or active or show their willingness to speak. The teachers then revealed that these children never used to speak earlier, but have improved with time. After that, Ms Riti invited all children of her class to come forward and speak the rhyme so that their stage fear diminishes.

In The Rosemary School, all the children had to go out in the playground for sports day practice, however those who were selected for the wild animals race were guided to practice. Ms Kuljeet informed the researcher that not all the parents could afford to rent/buy the fancy dress for the competition and so, children were selected both on the basis of their running speed and affordability of the parents. So, the dress of the children who were in dance was kept very simple, a skeepy and jeans which all the parents could arrange. The boys from KG were dancing on a patriotic song which they had performed on 15th august and was appreciated by the school staff. Now the same had to be performed in front of the parents on the sports day. The girls of KG class were prepared to perform on another song.

Physical activity and free play

In the Sunshine school, after the assembly, the children of Mrs Navi and Ms Riti's class removed their shoes and played with various games in the activity area such as moving beads, engraved letters and so on as a part of the free play. Ms Riti wrote the assessment of the children when the activity was done. Another day, Ms Riti got a basketball net and explained the children that they have to throw the ball in the net from appropriate distance. Though some children tried to put the ball by standing very close by, she ask them go back and throw it. Then, she gives the engraved letters to the children and asked them which letter do they have. The letters were distributed according to the level of the children, that is, those who knew all the letters were given the letters which come last and vice-versa. The children are then made to move their fingers and tell which letter did they hold. The next day Ms Riti made a zig-zag line on the floor and asked the children to walk on that. A child, Rashween(a child) from another class came out in the activity area and observes the children walking on the line. On another day, Ms Riti made all the children play 'fire in the mountain' game in the activity area where they had to run and standing groups according to the number spoken by her at the end of every round. The next day Ms Riti picked up a rotator and asked the children to stand on it and rotate it with their feet in a circular motion. As not all the children were able to do it, Ms Riti assisted them to do the same. Ms Riti drew one straight line and asked the children to walk on that line by their toes. Some children are able to follow that, some others walked normally. These free plays were a part of the planned curriculum as physical activity but were done only on few days towards the end of my fieldwork because there was a feeling of competition among the teachers.

In The Rosemary School, all the nursery and KG sections went out to play as had been asked by the principal. All the class teachers played with the children of their respective classes. Ms Kuljeet started with asking action words from the children and enacting the same, followed by catch-catch played with a ball, then Ring-a-Ring-a-Roses and some hindi rhymes, then dance performed by the children and warm-up exercises. Ms Kuljeet asked them to run, hit and catch the ball in the end and tells the researcher that by doing this, they will get warmed-up. All the children come back to their classes at 12.15pm. Another day, the children went out to play in the playground along with their teacher and other sections of the nursery class when they played on their own.

Birthday/other celebrations and visits

In the Sunshine school, it was a child's birthday in Ms Riti's class and her parents had sent a cake and gift for all the children of her class. Ms Riti placed a cake on a table in the activity area and played songs for all the children to dance. By that time, Ms Riti checks books of all the children of her class. The teachers also informed the researcher that the children went to visits to various places such as church on Christmas, house visits and so on once in two-three months as a part of their curriculum.

In the Rosemary School, on being asked by the researcher whether they celebrated Christmas, Mrs Jeevika said that they just tell the children about the Christmas. On the Christmas day, the children came to school in white dress (because they had to wear white dress on Wednesdays) carrying Christmas tree, chart papers decorated with Christmas drawings and wearing Santa Claus caps. On the day of *Lohri*, all the teachers took the children out for Lohri celebration in front of a fire camp and children were explained why Lohri is celebrated. Then they were given pop-corns and peanuts to eat along with dance. Another day, Mrs Jeevika told the researcher that today they will celebrate Guru Gobind Singh Ji's (Tenth Guru of the Sikhs) Birthday and invited her for the same. She also told the children in her class that they will celebrate Guru Gobind Singh Ji's birthday. Those children who had to speak something went to the music room to prepare for the same. Another day, it was Sanchi's birthday in the Nursery class. Some children reminded Ms Kuljeet that they hadn't celebrated Sanchi's birthday. The children wish Sanchi Happy birthday in chorus and she distributes toffees to all the teachers and students.

Television and projector

The Sunshine school had a projector but it was not in working condition and was not repaired even after making many complaints. The television was used for showing rhymes, stories to the children usually whenever the teachers were done with their daily work, had some other work or on some special occasion such as birthday celebration. Mostly at the end of the day, the rhymes were played which the children knew or were learning and the children repeated them with actions. It was seen that the children enjoyed rhymes more than the stories as they couldn't comprehend the English stories and there was no music being played at the background. Mrs

Navi translated the English story in Hindi as the children couldn't comprehend it but some of them insisted on playing rhymes as they enjoyed them more. She played the rhymes again.

In The Rosemary School, after Ms Kuljeet finished with the class work, she switched on the I-can device and played Christmas song. The children too sang Jingle Bells along with that. Then, they had listened to A,B,C song on I-can and sang along with that. Another day, she switched on the I-can device and told the children that 'today we will revise phonic sounds, otherwise you will forget it.' In the beginning, she played a,b,c song followed by phonic sounds revision. She also asked questions like, 'Which Alphabet or object is this?, Which colour is this?' and so on. The children knew what the cartoon on the screen will be saying and so, they repeated that with it. She also revised objects with different alphabets with them by using I-Can as a teaching aid. While she came at l, she asked the children, 'small l for?' and a child said, 'Lion.' She told the child, '*Vo to capital L se lion hota hai, small l se leaf. Kal kia ni tha.*' (*It is Capital L for lion and small l for leaf. We had done it yesterday*) The children asked Ms Kuljeet to play rhymes but she told them that it's not their turn today still she had started I-Can, and now she will play the rhymes after the lunch. Another day, the nursery teachers combine the nursery sections and showed them various e-material on the I-Can device. Ms Kuljeet played phonic sounds, rhymes, alphabet song, shapes for both the sections of the nursery class

Assessment

Though there was no formal assessment done in the Sunshine school, they prepared a report in the end for each child and wrote how has the child performed in various functions but it was usually positive. Sometimes the assessment was being done when the activity was going on. Most of the times, the teachers relied on informal assessment for reporting to the parents or centre head. Mrs Manpreet(the daycare teacher) pointed at Kulpreet (a child) and said, '*ye itna maarte the bacchon ko jab aaye the to but ab daant ke thoda sudhar gye hain.*' (*When they had joined the school, they used to beat the children a lot. But now they have improved*) She continued, '*Annual function me bhi inko peeche khada kia tha but ye apne aap aage aa gye. Bohot baar bola tha aage nahi aana but ye sunte hi nahi hain.(laughs)*' (*We made them stand at the back row for the annual function performance but they came infront on their own. We told them a lot of times not to come infront but they just don't listen*). Mrs Manpreet informed the

researcher how some kids used to cry a lot and not eat anything but now they have settled in the school.

The assessment of the children In the Rosemary School was done through terminal exams and the parent-teacher meetings were usually held before or after the exams to explain the parents how the preparation had to be done, where does their child lack or show the record. The teachers too did informal assessment based on the academic level of the children. One day a child, Tejpreet had done the homework without the dots and so, the teacher asked him, '*ye kaise kar liya. Mummy ne kia hai kaam*'. (*How did you do this? Has your mother done the work?*) She also told the children many times that they should be able to read and understand the heading in their examinations so that they write the answers correctly. The children were promoted in the next class on the basis of the formal and informal assessment. Mrs Jeevika points to a child telling the researcher that the child had gone to the playway but didn't know anything, so she will make him repeat KG. She told the researcher that sometimes the parents get worried that the child will feel bad about the fact that he was sitting in the same class. So, they changed the classroom and the class teacher which made him/her feel that he was not sitting in the same class. Another day, Mrs Jeevika asked them to take out their Hindi notebooks and wrote numbers from 1-10 on a page to get ready for the dictation of three letter words. She gave cues to the children as she gave them words to write. She asked the children to improve their handwriting, else she will not allow them to go to the next class.

Special education

While the teachers were receiving the children at the gate in The Rosemary School, a child came who was having some difficulty in walking as he was marching towards his class. The researcher asked Mrs Jeevika if the child had some problem. Mrs Jeevika said that the child had polio and that too was discovered after the teachers informed the parents that they think the child faced problem in walking. She said that the parents are not very educated and so, they thought the child would be fine with time but after the assertion of the teachers, they got the tests done. The child had taken holidays for about a month but the teachers too have no idea if the treatment is being continued or not. Mrs Jeevika also informed the researcher that there was one special child earlier too whom they admitted in nursery but the child was told to quit after KG because of lack of facilities for special education.

The Hidden curriculum

Gender divide

As such there was no gender divide at the pre-nursery level but the researcher observed differences in play of nursery class. The girls of nursery class played with each other games such as getting ready for the party like their mother did, applying makeup and so on. The boys of the nursery class usually fought with each other while they played with each other.

Some children in The Rosemary School cheated the words from each other during the dictation and Mrs Jeevika told them that she gives car to the boys and doll to the girls to play if they don't cheat. As she corrected the copies of the children one day, she told the researcher that there were less girls in nursery/KG in comparison to the boys, the reason for which she didn't know.

The 'Informal' spaces

Settlers

Children who hadn't yet settled were not forced but given the freedom and time to catch up on their own in the Sunshine school. The new admissions who were referred to as settlers roamed in the class and were given the time to sit on their benches. The settling was basically a measure of time and habit which the child developed as he/she began to come to the school first time. It was observed that when children continued to attend the school for about 4-6 months and still refused to sit, the teachers forced them to sit or threatened them to lock in the toilet. A child, Aryan started crying on one of the days as he wanted to go to home and murmured to the teacher, '*rikshaw ko bulao, mujhe ghar jana hai.*' (*Call the Rikshaw, I want to go home*) As he didn't stop crying, Mrs Navi locked him in the toilet for some time. Then, she pulled him out and asked him to sit quietly in the class. He didn't stop crying but due to the fear, he sat in the classroom.

During the field visit, a new child was admitted in the school and his parents were sitting at the reception area to make him comfortable. The child was the relative of the centre head and so, she got the child in the classroom and the parents were asked to go. Mrs Navi too tried to call him and make him sit in her class, but he cried and so, she gave him a drum to beat so that he may become quite. At the end of the day, Ms Jasmine got the new child in the classroom and made

him distribute the chocolates his parents had got for all the children while introducing him in the class. For several days, he sat at the reception with the centre head with occasional peeping in the classroom

In The Rosemary School, a child, Harjot was given a assignment of writing capital alphabets in his note book while all the other children wrote small letters as he had joined in the mid-session and so, couldn't cover the syllabus. Harjot had also spoilt his copy by scribbling on it. The teacher told the researcher that this is already his second copy and the parents didn't even see what were the children doing with their copy. One day, Ms Kuljeet started with prayer in her class and Harjot didn't stand up. She told him, '*Na to aapne padhna hai, na prayer karni hai. Aise no-no karne se kya hoga*'(Neither do you want to study, nor do you want to do the prayer. What will you achieve by doing no-no?) Harjot didn't even bring her proper lunch daily as her mother had to take care of his younger brother. The teacher told the researcher that she had informed his mother so many times but her careless attitude didn't change as Harjot too was getting spoilt because of lack of attention. She asked Ravleen, a child to make Harjot eat the cake he had got because he was not able to eat it himself.

Teacher-student interaction

The interaction between the teachers and students in the Sunshine school was governed by the operations of power, authority and fear. The teachers asked the children to do various tasks with authority and the children were expected to follow it obediently. The teachers have been caring towards the children as they hugged them, kissed them on various happy moments. When they turned out to be disobedient to the teachers, they were awarded punishment in the form of slapping, scolding or threatening. Whenever children tried to cross the limit of the rules set by the school authority such as clash, throwing things, they were given instructions in various ways to remind that it is a school and they need to follow the rules collectively. It has been intimated that some children were very naughty when they came to the school but now due to repeated reminder and the fear, they don't hurt others. The teachers viewed the children as innocent and helpless beings in their conversation with the researcher and each other. The teachers told the researcher that it is the fault of the parents that the children learn bad habits such speaking bad words, not taking bath before coming to the school and so on. Though there were occasions

when the children tried to challenge the authority of the teachers by not obeying them, they were reminded by punishment.

In The Rosemary School, a child, Kirat cried at the gate as she didn't want to come to school. Her mother told Mrs Jeevika that she was crying because she hadn't got anything related to Christmas and she wanted her to talk to the teacher regarding the same. Mrs Jeevika said that it was fine if she hadn't got anything as they had told the children to get anything because they asked them if they could get things and it was not a compulsion to get anything. Another day, Mrs Jeevika told all the other teachers (in humour) that all the naughty kids come to the school even when the overall attendance is very low. The next day the teachers prepare the holiday homework sheet, attach it in the diary of the children and ask them not to misplace it as they won't get any extra sheets from the office during the path. The relationship between the teachers and the students was organized around a state of fear, authority which is often exercised to make the children learn the right things. At the gate, a child of KG class, Ranjeet came and Mrs Tejinder asked him, '*Aaya kyu nahi tha itne din?*' (*Why didn't you come for so many days?*) Ranjeet answered, '*Me Shaadi pe gya tha apni maasi ki.*' (*I had gone for my maasi's wedding*) Mrs Tejinder again asked him, '*Mujhe to ni leke gya? Aur kya pehna tha.*' (*You didn't take me along? And what did you wear?*) Ranjeet smiled and said, '*Mene coat-pant pehna tha. Agli baar le jaunga aapko.*' (*I had worn coat-pants. I will take you along next time*) The teachers showed their love to the children too on many occasions.

Teacher- teacher relationship

The relationship between the teachers in the Sunshine school was characterized by competition between each other. On one occasion during the assembly, Ms Riti told Mrs Navi, '*Aise nahi karte poem.*' (She corrected some words in the poem). Mrs Navi got angry and replied by telling her to do the poem. Ms Riti continued with the poems. The teachers displayed the accomplishments of the children of their class to each other, showing the effect of their hard work to each other. Mrs Priti came and showed the drawing of Priyaasha(a child) to Mrs Navi . The teachers were cordial with each other on most of the occasions, they do viewed the relationship as a professional one and therefore, impersonal. Though they didn't speak ill about each other, they didn't interfere in each other's matters too. There were occasions when personal issues cropped up between the teachers which were handled in different ways all the time. Once,

Ms Riti told Mrs Priti that Mrs Navi didn't tell her that she had made tokens for the children and she had made them for her so many times. Mrs Priti consoled her by saying not to bother. The researcher observed that though the teachers were relaxed in the beginning of the field visit about the fact that they can't cover all the activities written in the planner. After few days when the teachers had a discussion about the researcher's role in the field whether she was there to teach or observe, a spirit of competition cropped up between the teachers and they started doing maximum activities from the planner. The researcher observed that the relationship was characterized by accountability regarding the progress of the child and the child's responsibility. Another day Ms Riti said stupid to Mrs Navi in the assembly when Mrs Navi tried to pull her down and there was a huge fight between the two.

In The Rosemary School, the relationship among the teachers was characterized by discussion and dialogue on what had to be done and how. The teachers talked about issues with the parents and the children with each other with ease. One day, the teachers discussed among themselves on how their sons and daughters had gone dressed up in Punjabi attire to the school for Lohri Celebration. The teachers usually helped each other with planning of notebooks or checking work.

Status, role and responsibility of the teachers

The teachers in the Sunshine school have taken responsibility of taking care of classroom and curriculum related issues and concerns. They had to receive the children in the morning and ensure that they are safe till the time they are with them. One day, when the children were dispersing, two children were fighting in the activity area in the absence of the teachers and one of them got hurt. Ms Jasmine got very upset and scolded the teachers for not being with them. She told the researcher that safety of the children is bit sensitive and they have to take immense care of the children's safety. There were various occasions on which Ms Jasmine came and told the teachers to make the children engaged in the activities and not let them roam here and there. The major role of the teacher was to guide the learning of the children and help them accomplish various milestones. Ms Jasmine came to the class on various occasions and saw the work done by the children, thereby praising the child and the teacher if the work was good and vice-versa. The teachers had to ensure that the child is regular in the school and does her homework; otherwise it will be reported to Ms Jasmine. Also, if the teachers had enclosed certain documents

with the child's diary or bag, it was the teacher's duty makes sure it has been communicated to the parents. On one day, Mrs Priti told Mrs Jeevika that she had kept CD of annual day in Ms Jasmine's bag but the parents hadn't got it as they informed her in the morning. Mrs Priti asked Ms Riti, 'What should I do? Should I pay the money now?' Ms Riti responded by saying that she might have to give the money now. Mrs Navi said, 'No, you won't have to pay it'. Mrs Priti then said, 'After I have put the CD in the bag, it no longer remains my responsibility. I can pay the money but it's not my fault. *Camera on karke dekh lo*'. (...Switch on the camera and see it). In this instance, the teacher's realize their responsibility but are not able to justify the extent of it because they realize that they would be questioned for non-delivery by the authorities. The teacher's identified their position in comparison to the other people in the organization and thereby, their duty towards the organization. On various occasions, the teacher talked about reporting to the principal about the tasks done and assessment recorded. One day, Mrs Navi made the snowman tokens from clay as had been written in the planner. As Ms Jasmine disagreed on giving clay to the children, she keeps the snowman toys in her cupboard saying, '*Agar kabhi principal aayi to me dikha dunga. Mene to banaa liye hain*'. (If Principal ma'am comes, then I will show her. I have made them) Another day, Nirmi aunty brought tea for all the teachers in the activity area. Mrs Priti started drinking tea at her position facing the children. Mrs Navi tells Mrs Priti, '*thoda frame ke udhar bethke chai peelo, yahaan par camera me sab nazar aata hai, kisi din on kar dia camera to problem ho jaegi*'. (Sit behind the frame of the camera, all of it gets captured in the camera here, someday if they switch on the camera, it will be a problem for you). Mrs Priti goes to a place which doesn't come in the frame of the camera. It was visible that the teachers feared the authority of people higher in the authority whom they were accountable to and aware of the rules set for them. After the children had gone back home, the teachers were required to mark the attendance on the website of the school and send messages to the parents regarding any information. Also, they corrected the notebooks and books of the children, prepared the required teaching-learning aid for the next day.

In The Rosemary School, the teacher had to handle all the classroom issues and transact the curriculum in the classroom. They also prepared the notebooks of the children for the next day's work each day. One day, Ms Kuljeet informed the researcher that she couldn't do the planning of preparing the notebooks the earlier day because of the holidays and so, it was taking a lot of time in the school to do the same. Ms Kuljeet then took a round of the class to inspect how the

children had done the work given as the teachers had to ensure that the children had learnt in the school. Then, she asked all the children regarding what did they do in the holidays. A child, Harjas said, *'hum naani house gaye the'*. (We had gone to our nani's place) Ms Kuljeet responded by saying, *'Ma'am ko pta hai, ya to naani house gaye ya t.v. dekhi hogi. Aur books to uthai bhi ni hongi.'* (I knew it, either you would have gone to the nani's house or you would have seen television. And you wouldn't have picked up the books). Ms Kuljeet told the researcher that her own son does the same things. Though homework was not their responsibility, the teachers asked the children about it to make them feel accountable and fulfill their duty too. Ms Kuljeet went to Harjas's (a child) desk to find out the reason of sitting idle and came to know that he has not brought pencil. She scolded him and told him to ask for the pencil if he didn't have it and bring one pencil daily. She checked his homework which he hadn't done and so, asked him the reason for the same. The child said that he had gone to Ambala and so, hadn't been able to do the work. By this time, she wrote a note in their diaries to get the colors and pencils daily, complete their homework daily. The teachers gave the work to the children according to their level and ensured that they understood the concepts covered. The teachers also handled queries of the parents and called them if they had any.

Teacher-parent relationship

It is being reported by the teachers in the Sunshine school is that they have been getting less support from the parents. While examining at the previous homework of some children, the teachers complained that the parents didn't even take efforts to get the homework done for their children and they kept putting blame on the teachers for children not being studied. On the event of dramatization activity, all children had to dress up as a means of transport, a child came with his mother at the reception area. His mother told Ms Riti that he hadn't dressed up for the show because it was Wednesday yesterday and all the shops in the area were closed. Ms Riti told her that the circular for the show was sent on Friday for the same reason and it was not compulsory to get dressed up only by purchasing dress but she could have given the child a toy transport or be creative in some ways by making a transport out of thermocol. She insisted that the teachers would appreciate if the parents themselves make something creative as that would indicate their hard work and support to the teachers rather than buying the readymade dress. After the mother left the school, Ms Riti told Mrs Navi that some parents are careless, they don't even see the

diaries of the parents. The teachers judged the parents and their efforts on all the occasions they were required to do something for their children. On the sharing day when children had to bring food for other children to the school, Mrs Priti informed to Mrs Navi, that *'Meri class me to sab sabji aur roti laye hain'*.(In my class, all the children have got sabji and roti). Mrs Navi responded, *'Ye dekho meri class me Kartik ki mummy ne salad, roti, shakargandi(beetroot) bheji hai. Kuch parents acche se bhejte hain. Very good, Kartik(looking at Kartik, a child).'* (See this, in my class, Kartik's mother has sent salad, chapatti and beetroot. Some parents send the food abundantly....) Another child's lunch came late and was given to Ms Riti. She opened the Tiffin box and saw bread and said, *'Itna late bheja vo bhi bread, kuch or hi bhej dete.'* (The tiffin has been sent too late with bread in it, send something else only) The teachers also were fearful of the parents as they were accountable for the learning of the children too. The parents of one child watched their child sitting in the classroom from the reception area while assembly was happening in the activity area. Mrs Navi told Ms Riti slowly, *'Saniya ko bahar bulao, uski mummy dekh rahi hain.'*(Call saniya out, her mother is watching) Ms Riti called Saniya, *'Bahar ni aana, assembly ho rhi hai.'* (You don't want to come out, assembly is happening) The child comes out and stands with the other children.

The researcher also observed parent-teacher meeting of the school which highlighted the relationship between the teachers and parents. The teachers in the classroom had kept folders of every child ready which had worksheets of all, feedback cards, annual day certificate and attendance sheet on the table. Mrs Navi showed worksheets of Rashween to his parents. His mother asked Mrs Navi, *'Ye isne khud kiye hain?'* (Has he done these on his own?)Mrs Navi replied, *'Haan, sheets to ye kar leta hai.'*(Yes, sheets is something he can do) His mother then said, *'Ye coloring to ghar pe bhi kar leta hai but kuch rhymes ni bolta. Isme thoda confidence kam hai or stage fear bhi hai.'* (He does coloring at home too but doesn't speak any rhymes. he has less confidence and stage fear too). Mrs Navi replied, *'haan ise aap rhymes ki videos download kar ke sunaaya karo. Fir jab ye bole to record karke khud sunaaya karo baar baar. Jo galti hai vo thik ho jaegi . Aap mujhe pendrive de dena, me aapko rhymes daal ke de dunggi. School me to bolta hai waise'*. (Yes, you make him listen to the downloaded videos of rhymes. Then, when he speaks, record it and make him listen to that again and again. The mistakes he do will be corrected. You give me a pendrive, I will put rhymes in that and give you. He speaks in school otherwise). Though the learning of the child was the major issue the parents talked about,

the behavior and personality traits of the children was another factor that bothered them. Then, parents of a child named Parth came to meet Mrs Navi. Mrs Navi showed them the folder and said that he is fine in colouring and rhymes but he is very naughty. The parents informed Mrs Navi that they would have appreciated had the teachers made him participate in the annual function. They could have paid the money later as they were in some financial crunch then. Mrs Navi told him that she informed his mother many times that they can come and talk about it if there is some problem. But the parents kept saying the teachers can pay the money for the child which was not understandable without sharing anything about the problem. Mrs Navi apologized for it as the father was not ready to accept that he was wrong and told her to talk to him about any issues related to their child, not his wife. Then, Karan's and Kulpreet's (twin brothers) parents came to meet Mrs Navi. Their father greeted the teacher and went outside. Mrs Navi informed their mother that they are very naughty and don't do any work in the school and homework too because they are very pampered. Due to this, they may lack in their studies and will face problems in the formal school. Because they haven't done the worksheets, this may create problem for the teacher if the sheets go to principal for checking. Their mother told Mrs Navi that they go to tuition too but don't listen to anything at home. Mrs Navi told her that even if they go to tuition, she has to make them study at home because the time and support a mother can give to her child is much more valuable than what a tuition teacher gives. Mrs Navi also said that the school sends them the curriculum for the month in advance, so the parents can make the child practice the same things at home. The mother assures her that she will pay attention to it. After that, mother of Siddharth(a child) came to meet Mrs Navi. She told Mrs Navi that he doesn't speak any rhymes and when will he start writing. Mrs Navi told her that the school curriculum doesn't have writing at the pre-nursery level and he speaks rhymes in school. The teacher asked Siddharth to speak Aeroplane rhyme in front of her mother. Mrs Navi speaks the rhyme to encourage the child but the child doesn't recite it. Siddharth's mother tells Mrs Navi that he has told his mother that she beats him. Mrs Navi replied by saying that she doesn't beat the children but she scolds them if they don't do the work. She tells his mother that things to be done are written in the diary, the curriculum is given to them in advance, the details are there on the facebook page and they even send them an SMS reminder on what has to be done and so, she should pay attention to it and do the things accordingly. She also informed that he didn't dress up fancy dress day and she should have done to build confidence. Siddharth's mother also asked

Mrs Navi if he eats the food properly because at home, he asks for medicines for food. Mrs Navi said that he does eat properly and she can send whatever he doesn't eat at home to school and she will make the child develop a habit of eating it. Mrs Navi said that teachers can't give individual attention because they have to handle all the children but the parents can give that and without the support of the parents, the teachers won't be able to do anything. Mrs Navi explained Siddharth, '*Jo mumma kehti hain vo karna hai, okay? Roz Homework karke aana hai.*' (*Whatever your mother says, you have to do it, okay? Come after doing your homework daily*) After that, Aryan's (a child) father came and said that his wife had come in the morning to meet Mrs Navi but he wanted to come personally and ask her to enquire about his child. He said that he was very happy with the progress in his child in six months and he wanted to say thanks to the teacher for that. Also, he wanted to take her name on the annual function day for the teacher whom they like but he didn't remember his name and so he took the branch name. The decision of the school to make him a bird was right as he doesn't stick to one place and he practiced so hard but he couldn't do that well as the children got confused regarding their formation and position. Mrs Navi told her that it's okay and Aryan did the best on the annual day. Then, Yeshna's (a child) parents came to meet Mrs Navi. Mrs Navi told her that she doesn't color or does any work. If she is not able to do that now, her handwriting will not be improved. For example, '*ye sheet pe quilt paste karni thi but nahi ki aapne.*' (*Quilt had to be pasted on this sheet but you have not done it*). Her mother told Mrs Navi, '*Thi nahi humare paas quilt.*' (*We did not have quilt*) Mrs Navi then told her that it's not necessary that she should paste the quilt, she can color it too but make the child do it. She said that Yeshna isn't dumb but she has to make Yeshna listen a lot so that she can speak. She should also get a small blackboard and marker so that she can practice on it. Yeshna's mother said that Yeshna's generation is very smart as they don't know how to use smartphones but Yeshna does.

In The Rosemary School, Mrs Jeevika informed the researcher that the books of the children were never sent home as the parents and the children both didn't keep them nicely and then they would ask for more books. The teacher told the researcher that there were so many children who know the alphabets but don't do the homework because the parents don't pay any attention to it. At the gate, Mrs Neetu informed the mother of a child that he had to get new English copy. The Mother asked her, '*pink copy laani hai?*', (*Pink copy has to be brought?*) in response to which Mrs Neetu said 'yes.' The teachers then converse with each other that the parents do not

understand which copy had to be brought because they were uneducated. The teacher picked up the diary of all the children to write note for the holidays. Ms Kuljeet told the researcher that the major problem with the school was that the parents were not educated and so, they didn't get the support on teaching children from the parents. While in the school in which Ms Kuljeet's child studies, most of the parents were educated and so, they had activities and days such as vegetable day being celebrated where the parents too supported the school. The mother of a child told Mrs Jeevika to inform them through phone if there was a holiday as she came from very far and so, it became difficult for them to come here, see the notice board and then go back. Mrs Jeevika replied back by saying that though they informed the parents in advance, it wasn't decided till the last moment due to which they told the parents to come and see the gate next day. Mrs Jeevika also took the number of the parents so that she can tell the class teacher of her child to inform her personally from. The relationship was characterized by lack of support by the parents and so, lack of faith on the parents by the teachers. Another parent came and informed Mrs Tejinder that his child would be taken after school by his grandfather as she and her husband were going to drop his uncle/aunt, seeing whom the child would cry. After the parent goes, Mrs Tejinder told Ms Kuljeet that they would tell everything to the teachers. Mrs Tejinder while pointing to a child discusses with Ms Kuljeet that he had been pampered so much and due to that children don't study, they blame the teachers and not themselves. Ms Kuljeet also said that they are dependent on the tuitions totally for their studies, the parents didn't even check their diaries. Another day, the mother of a child came and asked Mrs Tejinder to keep her child till 2 pm in the school as she had to go somewhere and couldn't come to pick him up. She told Mrs Tejinder that at 2pm, the elder sister of the child who studied in the same school would take him with her. Mrs Tejinder asked her if nobody else could come to pick the child up and then agreed to make him stay back. The teachers were supportive at many occasions wherever they could. At the gate, Ms Kuljeet while pointing to a child told Mrs Jeevika that whenever she complained to his father about his incomplete homework, he laughed it out and his mother didn't take any responsibility too. Another day, A child vomited in the class and is sent home with his father. His father also informs the teacher that he will not come for three-four days and if there is any holiday homework, they can give it to him. The teacher tells him they will give it to his cousin if there is some work to be given. There were many instances where the parents were very responsible too. The mother of a child asked Mrs Tejinder that her child had to buy a book which was instructed

in his diary which she may buy for him, the payment for which she will give in the afternoon when she comes to pick up the child. Mrs Tejinder asked him about which book he had to buy and she told the color of the book. Mrs Tejinder scolded the parent that she didn't even check his bag and wanted the teachers to do everything. At the gate, Mrs Jeevika pointed to a child and told the researcher that once this child had a mark of nail on his face and thankfully someone told his parents, otherwise they would have blamed the school for it. Because most of the parents were uneducated, the teachers talked to them authoritatively and looked at them with disgrace. The parents feared asking about several things from the teachers and viewed the teachers as superior to them.

Peer group interaction and children's play

The Children in the Sunshine school were unable to talk each other fluently because of their infancy stage. However they tend to interact by showing things that they have brought from their home. Once a child, Kulpreet got a new watch to the school which he kept showing to the teachers and his peers. They also interacted with each other when they wanted to ask for something or say something to his/her peer regarding his/her recent trip, the food he eat and so on. Mostly whenever the children were free, they played with each other. When Mrs Navi had gone out of the class to ask something from Ms Riti, one child of Mrs Navi's class started banging the desk and saying, '*ohhh page*' and all the other children followed him. Another day, children of the Nursery class started playing when their teacher hadn't come. In the play, while the girls applied make up like their mothers, the boys played the role of their fathers and plea girls to get ready quickly for the party. The boys have shown to be acting like driving the car and taking girls along for the party.

The children of The Rosemary School made a train by standing one after the other and played in the class during the lunch period. Some other children rolled their handkerchiefs, made gun with it and shooted each other in the make-believe play. Sanchi(a child) finished her work and told her partner that the teacher has written in her book that she was a good girl because the teacher said good to her while checking her book but she had interpreted that the teacher had written good in her book though the teacher had only praised her and signed her book with her name.. A group of girls prepared roti's imitating their mothers. Some boys and girls enacted like an elephant, a fish. After completing their work, the children started playing doctor- doctor, police-

chor, shaadi-shaadi and so on. When asked by the researcher where did they see all this, the children said on television. Another day, the children who had completed their work started playing by making train with their handkerchiefs, beating each other with pencil box and so on. When asked by Ms Kuljeet to make Harjot eat his lunch as he couldn't eat it himself, Ravleen told *Harjot*, ' *Bada Bachha hai na, chalo jaldi khao.*' (*You are a grown up child, so eat quickly then*) The children often showed each other's work or new things they had brought to the school. Sometimes they didn't agree on certain terms of the play and so, formed separate groups for playing with each other.

Chapter IV

Globalization and Preschooling: Manufacturing market for education?

Globalization and the Preschool market in Delhi

Education is one of the critical components of modern society as it reshapes other social, economic, political and cultural systems. Similarly, any change in the political, cultural, economic or social systems may implicate the education system in diverse ways. Though education itself has the empowering capacity to challenge the existing systems, for the purposes of this research, it is vital to look at the manner in which the preschools and its curriculum, has been influenced by the globalization in the Indian context.

As was highlighted in the previous chapters, there has been a phenomenal growth of preschools in Delhi, especially after the 1980's as the map in the last chapter would indicate. The Preschools are now seen to be a good business opportunity for the private investors. Despite the number of schools that went up after the era of globalization, its characteristics have also been changed. This chapter highlights the impact of globalization on the preschools in Delhi, with special reference to two schools chosen for preliminary investigation.

The Neo-liberal market in the preschool setting

Globalization has many 'dimensions' but it is important to understand its characteristics such as neo-liberal tendencies in the economy, particularly, the market economy. As has been said, the preschools are looked upon as a business opportunity by many investors, it is important to understand the ways in which the neo-liberal market implicates the arena of preschool education. Though market has always existed in the education sector in the post-independence period too, the neo-liberal market intervention in the education sector after the beginning of the Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization (LPG) began to show specific characteristics that was

highlighted in the previous chapters. It is true that post-independence period market existed along with the state intervention in spheres such as education, however, in the neo-liberal era, the market encapsulates every sphere and the role of the state changes from that of a 'provider' to a 'regulator.' (Nambissan 2011: 4) The Market principle of increased profits regulates the education system as well which is supported by the state economy. The Private Preschools in Delhi too are not regulated or recognized by any state body. There is no monitoring of the state in terms of its regulation, operation and management. The decisions regarding the salary of the teachers, fee of the students, the management of various roles and activities, the organization and planning of the curriculum including the selection of text books and so on are taken by the private body/owner of the school in accordance with the trends/principles of the preschool market. Moreover, these schools charge fee as per their own will, arbitrarily decide what is to be taught, how to be taught according to the market principles which leaves no space for the language of 'inclusion.' (Gupta 2014: 19) The Sunshine School, one of the sample unit of the study, targeted the children belonging to moderately wealthy families, that is, the middle class population as only those who could pay Rs 2500/month admitted their children in this school.³ Gupta (2014: 21) highlights that 'the role of the state is extremely crucial...it is the only institution that may transcend particular class or community interests in favour of the interests of the entire citizenry.' But in the private preschools, all the powers to take crucial decisions regarding the fee, salary, management were held with private owners of the school. These Preschools have vested interests to serve a part of population and not the entire 'citizenry'.

Influence of the market could be seen in everyday practices of the school which formed a part of the discourse of the school. The Preschools, in fact, are run as business enterprises with the aim of accumulating profit. In this chapter, effort is being made to examine the intervention of the Neo-Liberal market in the preschool setting and newer practices in detail:-

³ Further Research can be done to understand the inter-linkages between sociological variables such as class, gender and the impact of globalization in the context of Private preschools.

Manufacturing the School setting

The School setting of the Sunshine School is furnished by colorful fancy desks, projector, television and display of games/toys. Whenever any parents wanted to see the school for new admission, the Centre Head of the school went for a round of the school with the parents to show them the facilities available in the school. Moreover, the centre head described every detail of the school setting and its function. Once, the centre head took a round of the school with a set of parents and described about the use of television in the class room for showing rhymes, stories as the children enjoy that a lot. It was, therefore, important that the display of the school should be attractive and appealing to the parents for getting their child admitted in the school. The display was kept appealing to the extent that it created discomfort of the children in the school. There was requirement of a desk in Ms Riti's class as there was less space for the children to sit for which she had been complaining for a long time. One day, the desk was sent from the main branch but it was uncomfortable for the children to sit on it as it was bigger than their size. Ms Riti told the researcher that, 'the school authorities want the display to be perfect, that is why they have sent this bigger colorful desk but the question of whether it is comfortable for the children or not, it doesn't arise at all.'

Another important aspect of the display was the print rich environment. Though it had a pedagogical value too, it served the purpose of appealing the parents as well. The main glass wall of the school was displayed with colorful charts every month as if it was to attract more customers. The print rich environment was used by the teachers rarely for the pedagogical purposes but it was changed every month by the teachers for the school space to look more dynamic. In business language, these are 'marketing strategies' which are used to add value to the brand name of the school. Divya Choudhary (www.teacherplus.org, accessed on April 5, 2015) highlights that due to 'increase in competition', the 'branding of the schools' has become very important. She further highlights that, 'with increasing competition,' the schools need to adopt the marketing strategies to 'establish the institutional brand, attract quality students, and stay ahead of the competition at all times.' While highlighting research based data, she states that 'the Research by the Australia-based Centre for Marketing Schools shows that marketing spends are on the rise in response to the increased competition for students, staff, and resources.. This

“commercialization of education”, where schools advertise themselves in a manner that appeals to the students and parents, often reduces students to mere consumers of a product.’ (ibid)

Serving Food in the school as ‘business’ as usual

In the government run Anganwadi’s, the mid day meal is provided by the state authorities on a compulsory basis in order to ensure increasing school enrolment rate, improving academic performance and so on. But the private preschools began up with the facility of providing meals in the school do not satisfy any such logic as the middle class parents do not face the problem of feeding their children with proper food. It is, undoubtedly, a business venture started by the school owners to earn more profit. Though the parents paid for food for their children, the quantity of food that was being prepared was not equivalent to the number of children in the school. So, every now and then, children remained empty stomach. Some parents used to send tiffin box for their children as their children didn’t eat the food being provided in the school. The teachers and the maids were well aware about the food items that the children didn’t like such as tomato soup, bread and so on but there was no action taken to change it for the benefit of the children. This shows the manner in which the food too is ‘commodified’ and sold as a part of the business for profit making. Ravi Kumar (2014: 2-3) states that the ‘the Neo-Liberal world.....commodifies and quantifies everything’ by underlining the Nestle Chairman Peter Brabeck’s statement, “Personally I believe it’s better to give a foodstuff a value so that we’re all aware it has a price.” (Politix 2013 quoted in Kumar 2014: 3) When commodities like food and water too are commodified, one can estimate the level of ‘alienation’ it will bring for the poorer sections of the society. (ibid)

The Teacher-parent meet as business opportunity

Since the preschools are looked upon as a business opportunity, not just the school set up, organization and management, every interaction with the client, in this case parents, is seen as a potential business opportunity according to the logic of neo-liberalism. The selling of annual function CD’s, storybooks, even dresses in the Sunshine School on the day of teacher-parent meet shows the manner in which the logic of the market gets shaped in the educational system. The Centre Head was told to market these educational aids as much as possible for which she even refused to give a choice to the parents. This ‘normalizing’ of the market logic in the minds

of the parents and for that matter, school administration can be seen as the ways in which the sphere of education gets 'commodified' for profit-earning purposes. (Kumar 2014) The parents were shown various photographs of their children clicked on several occasions in the school and they could place an order with the school if they wish to buy those photos. This is another opportunity which the schools cash on as almost all the parents keep photographs of their children as it adds personal value to them. Though the neo-liberal logic defines everything as professional and relationships as impersonal as would be explained in the further sections, it does impinge upon the private domain to cash the business opportunity. It shows that business is professional and impersonal but it is the private domain which is increasingly 'commodified' and impersonalized.

Skill development/participation in competitions

Focusing on skill development as a part of education is another problematic which will be discussed here. It is important to note that for all such skill development which requires participating in competitions, the parents were deemed to pay additional fee. In other words, the children whose parents are able to pay will be selected for participation and thus, the real capabilities of the children will be undermined. The neo-liberal logic of 'free choice' implies perfectly in this situation as 'it gives impression that it caters to everyone' but it does not. (Kumar 2014: 9) Only those who can afford will develop their skills.

The market logic was in operation in the Rosemary school too as the teachers revealed the fact that changes in the school are in accordance with it. For instance, introduction of 'I-Can' device and selection of books are in tune with increasing tendency of using technology driven educational materials. The market logic was not as fierce as one could observe in the various events held in the school. The school didn't cash on every opportunity as a business opportunity. The teacher-parent meet was held before the exams for academic purposes. Hence, the attention was on academic matters and less focus on display boards. Teachers were of the view that the parents choices to select school for their children's' education was obviously based on the criteria of good academic record of the school rather than whatever displayed/provided in the school. The items sold by the school included the book set in the beginning of the year and the notebooks with the school logo whenever required. Though the neo-liberal market had entered this school too, its hold was not as strong as was in the Sunshine School.

The Organizational Groups and Agents

Globalization, no doubt, perpetuates by spreading the ‘neo-liberal capitalism’ to every domain of social existence. ‘Capitalism’ thrives on the ‘possibility of accumulation’ and ‘minimizing the acts of resistance.’ (Kumar 2014: 8) This is then done by producing a ‘labour force’ that works for the accumulation of the ‘capital’ for the capitalists and also, ‘produce lifelong consumers.’ (Kumar 2014: 8 and Giroux and Giroux 2006: 21) ‘Education’ is seen as one of the means through which this ‘labour force’ is produced to ‘facilitate the rule of the capital.’ (Kumar 2014: 8) The position and status of the agencies working in the preschool system too reflects the same dynamics of Neo-liberalism and Globalization.

The chain of hierarchy described in the last chapter where the principal/owner stands at the top and the maids, the gatekeeper at the bottom highlights the visible hierarchal arrangements, status and thus, well defined roles of various agents working in the school. It is important to look at the changing position and role of the owner, the centre head/supervisor, the teacher and the maid servants/gatekeepers vis-à-vis each other with the changing organizational structure of the schools in the times of globalization.

One of the important observations that was highlighted by the teachers of the Sunshine School during the fieldwork was that the principal never paid visit the school nor discussed the issues of the children. Reporting of issues to the Centre Head had never gone to the Principal as the former sought out issues according to her priorities than actual reporting to the latter in Toto. The decisions regarding the school were directly taken up by the owners without consultation with the teachers in the school. There was hardly any discussion on the improvement of pedagogy or curricular related issues in the school. Smith (1998: 371) in fact, highlights that one of the major impact of the Globalization and Neo-liberalism on the education has been the ‘Separating debate and discussion of pedagogical issues such as how teachers learn and how teachers can best teach from issues of educational management.’ This would eventually lead to severe consequences for the teachers, the students and the education system in general.

The issues of school/educational management get more priority than pedagogical issues and it is obvious that the commercial intentions will defeat the real purpose of education. The students then become recipients of the education system which doesn’t aim to empower but teaches them

the logic of globalized world. As children were trained in certain skills in a fragmented manner according to the immediate gratification, would not help them in pursuit of holistic understanding.

The teachers too become a mere 'labour force' for the schools whose job is to manage all the curricular related issues under the supervision of the Centre Head (in the Sunshine school). Such a clear division of labour in the hierarchical structures of the school was created between the owners and the teachers. People working on the ground had the purpose of prioritizing commercial intentions over all education related issues. Ravi Kumar(2014: 13) informs that 'the teaching labour force becomes a part of the trends in the labour market' where their 'contractualization and informalization is quite common.' Kumar (2014: 11) also highlights that teachers even at the University level 'do not have any say on what to teach and how to teach.' which is very frustrating. Though the teachers are given responsibility for everything, they do not receive any rewards for the efforts they have taken up for maintain the standard of the school. In front of the parents, it is the teachers who are shown accountable for the learning and development of their children but they are hardly rewarded when it comes to the question of putting additional efforts. This can be linked to the teacher's desire to join renowned schools which would associate them with the better status symbol. Pathak (2002: 162) states that globalization would lead to 'trivialisation of knowledge and the intellectual capacity.'

In the Rosemary school, the teachers reported that if supervisor couldn't resolve issues of the school, the same will be reported to the principal or the chairperson as they were easily accessible. Regular meetings were held with the teachers regarding the issues of choosing books for the academic year, curriculum, management and so on. The teachers prepared the yearly syllabus and curriculum as it was their major task but was equally important the issues of educational management which were not prioritized or separated from pedagogical issues. There were two-three teachers who have been teaching in the school in the pre-primary wing for more than five years and were satisfied with the school. For instance, though they too didn't get economic rewards but got appreciation for their efforts for the progress of school. The teachers were not reduced to mere 'labour force' but an important part of the school and were given respect for the same.

Instrumentalization of Habits/values for a global society

If the teachers are reduced to mere 'labour force', the students in the preschools too will be moulded for the need of a global society. Neo-liberalism, as one dimension of globalization, is 'a political rationality' and 'involves a specific and consequential organization of the social, the subject and the state.' (Brown 2006: 693) Therefore, the manner in which the course of education system changes and accordingly changes in the curriculum is a political project meant for attaining the ends of the globalization and neo-liberalism.

Before looking into the values taught in the preschool that are required for the sustenance of global order, it is important to investigate the values cherished in the Indian culture. One of the very important values that is not just cherished in the Indian culture but is also a trait of the Indian childhood as many scholars would highlight is the importance given to obedience. In the classrooms of both the schools, it was observed that the teachers asked the children to obey them and their parents and promised rewards if they do so. 'Respect for elders' is an important value cherished in India and it can take many forms such as exhibiting good manners, being polite and volunteering. (Gupta 2006). Similarly, obedience is one of the ways in which 'respect for elders' is practiced too. The children of both the sample schools of the study were rewarded for obedience, but it was more emphasized in the Rosemary school.

In a global society, development of multi-skills/multi-talents among the children has been highly appreciated. Children, therefore, are trained to be proficient in many skills such as to be outspoken, well-versed in dance, music and so on. Though the Sunshine school itself provided opportunities for providing multi-skills to those children who were trained in such skills at home too were persuaded by the teachers at the school. When Divyani recited a poem with confidence on stage on the day when dramatization performance had to be done by the children, all the teachers appreciated her and told the other children that, 'they too should perform like her.' The summer camp which was held in the school too focused on development of such skills. The children in the Rosemary school, however, had very less opportunities for developing multi-skills as the teachers and the parents focused more on the academic work.

'Competition' was another domain of market principle entered into the education system in the aftermath of globalization. (Nambissan 2011: 6) There were various occasions when the children

of the Sunshine School had to participate in the competitions inside and outside the school, which added/reduced the value of the school according to the performance of the children. Though there were competitions held in the Rosemary school too but were less in number as compared to the Sunshine School. If Rosemary school had organized four to five competitions in a year, the Sunshine School had one-two competitions every month.

Self-interest as 'political rationality' is given priority in the process of globalization (Kumar 2014: 5) 'Neo-Liberalism bases itself in the entrepreneurial values such as self-interest....and celebrates individual empowerment.' (ibid: 5) The manner in which the teachers gave individual attention to each child can be seen as one side of how individual interest as an ideology gets propagated in the preschools. The teachers in the Sunshine school often told the children to not give the things they had got from home to each other as the parents have made complains about children snatching things, safety reasons such as allergies and so on. Though it was the 'self-interest' which was at the centre of all the everyday practices, the school celebrated days such as 'sharing day' and so on which hardly held any relevance in the school environment, nor was any meaning explained to the children in this context. In the Rosemary school too, the teachers asked the children not to share things due to somewhat similar reasons, however, children shared lunch and stationary with each other after taking the permission from the teacher.

'Consumerism' is yet another characteristic of the globalized society that has been entering the education system. It has become a part of the 'identity' of the individuals in the globalized society. It was observed that a child, Jasween wore new dresses to the school everyday which the teachers of the Sunshine School liked and pointed out. One day, Ms Riti asked her, '*Ye dresses kahaan se late ho?*' (*From where do you get these?*) to which she replied that, '*Mai mummy-papa ke saath mall gayi thi, wahaan se layi thi.*' (*I had gone to the mall with my father-mother, have got it from there*) Similarly, Parth's new shoes were pointed out by Ms Priti, '*Pta nahi kitne shoes hain iske pass.*' (*Don't know how many shoes he has*) There is a display of things one possesses in the school on many occasions. The children told the teachers and their peers about the things they had bought or possessed whenever they had free time. When special days were celebrated or visits were planned, these displays showed the gravity of consumerist culture. The children were encouraged to wear beautiful dresses on their birthdays or other celebrations that happened in the school. Though in the Rosemary school, the children at times brought Christmas

Tree models before Christmas and some personal things which they showed to the teachers and their peers, the school or the teachers didn't put any such compulsion on the children.

Impact on the Curriculum

Remnants of the colonial education system in the post-colonial times

It has been highlighted in the previous chapters that colonial education system formed one of the most important part of the history of the education system in India. It had a major impact on the process of learning in schools and colleges. Krishna Kumar(1991) argues that there were three major changes introduced during the colonial education system that can still be seen as remnants in the Indian education system. The first one was the introduction of 'rote memorization' of the texts/concepts. It is observed from the preschools in Delhi that the rote-memorization was emphasized on many occasions by the teachers while teaching certain concepts in class room. For instance, Mrs Navi repeated the alphabets almost everyday and asked the children to repeat after her so that they remember it. Rote- memorization was very much prevalent in the Rosemary school where the teachers frequently asked the learners to practice and remember the numbers, alphabets and number names done in the classroom. Though sometimes the teachers related alphabets with the pictures or phonic sounds, the emphasis was more on rote-memorization along with pictures. These can be seen as remnants of the colonial system which continued in the post-colonial period and prevail as remnants till date.

The Second major impact of the colonial education system was the 'examination-centred curriculum'. Though the assessment in the Sunshine school was conducted informally by the teachers where the teachers kept on asking questions from the learners/made them practice so that they remember the concepts taught, one of the important purpose was to prepare them for the examination which they would be required to give for entrance in the formal school as was mentioned by the teachers. The Rosemary school had formal exams three times every year for the preschoolers and the same will be reported in the final report card. There were occasions when Mrs Jeevika told the learners to read the heading and write the answers accordingly as they will have to figure out the meaning of the heading on their own in the examinations and she will not explain the same during the examinations. The children were prepared so that they can perform well in the examinations and are promoted to the next class. Though learning the

concepts was important, performing well in the examinations was more important as it determines whether the children would be promoted or not.

The Content and the Form of the Curriculum

One of the important objectives of the research was to analyze the impact of globalization on the content and form of the curriculum by application of observations and the interviews as methodological tools. The analysis of the curriculum was done at the level of the framing of the curriculum and at the level of its implementation. The teachers(of the Sunshine School) in the interview highlighted that the curriculum was framed by the teachers of all the branches of the school(one theme for two teachers) during the summer holidays. After the teachers prepared the curriculum, the principal and some other members from the management supervised and finalized the curriculum. The teachers highlighted that the management didn't have a debate or discussion regarding the final curriculum with the teachers but handed down the final curriculum to be implemented. Thus, education is reduced to 'skills' which the children must be taught and doesn't require any discussion with the teachers who are actually involved in the process of teaching. Neo-liberalism thrives on 'rule of the capital' and it is those who own it(in this case, the management) take the decisions in their interest, which is for earning profit in most of the cases. The content of the curriculum of the Sunshine School was divided into various themes (one theme per month) which was further segregated into various subject areas such as 'Environmental development, socio-emotional development, language skills, numerical development, creative and performing art, strong and smart physique' (focusing on theme of the month), which were then elaborated in the daily curriculum focusing on key areas such as 'Physical, Readiness to writing, listening and speaking, discovery, picture reading, listening and responding'.⁴ It could be seen that there was 'homogeneity' of the curriculum followed in all the branches of the Sunshine school, irrespective of the context in which it had to be implemented. The 'homogeneity' not only destroys the unique culture of the institution by crumbling the space for diversified voices and practices, it hampers the development of 'critical thinking', thereby restraining the development of the students. The content of the curriculum was more intense with every hourly activity stated in the curriculum which the teachers too said was

⁴ See Annexure 1 for the curriculum of the Sunshine School.

beyond the capacity of the children to imbibe in a day. A separate column for technological devices/aids emphasized its importance in the curriculum. The form of the curriculum too was diverse and complex, based on the content of different disciplines to be covered (on X-axis) during specific hourly activities (on Y-axis), the basis of which the teachers too were not aware of. The form of the curriculum too evolved around the 'activity based learning' which is a westernized approach to preschool education and can be researched further.

The curriculum of the Rosemary School was prepared on a yearly basis in reference to the chosen books and 'I-Can' syllabus. The yearly curriculum was further segregated into months on the basis of the topics/concepts allocated for every month.⁵ Though the daily curriculum was not stated in the syllabus, the teachers discussed the main topic to be done amongst each other everyday. The content of the curriculum majorly included the academic subjects such as English, Mathematics and so on. Though the content in the syllabus was in accordance with the content of the 'I-Can' device, it was a part of the process of curriculum framing but wasn't separately listed as technological device/aid. There was less emphasis on activities but the content of the disciplines which the children needed to learn. The form of the curriculum was simple listing of topics to be done every month.

The Implementation of the curriculum in both the Sunshine School and the Rosemary School and its consequences will be discussed in the further section.

English: The language of power

Though the significance of English as a language of power as a part of the school curriculum has been continuing since the colonial period, it has been highly demanded in the period of globalization. As English has become the common language of communication throughout the world, acquiring fluency in the language has become a very important part of the school curriculum. Learning 'English language' that the 'dominant social order', that is of the 'Urban elites', 'reproduces' itself which in turn places Hindi at a lower position than English. (Dewey 2006: 217) It was observed that the teachers in the Sunshine School always guided the children to speak in English to the extent of translating Hindi words/phrases into English. For instance,

⁵ See Annexure 2 for the curriculum of the Rosemary School.

Mrs Navi discarded the word '*Pankha*' and asked Parth to say 'Fan' instead. There were many instances when the teachers discarded the usage of Hindi and encouraged them to speak English. Not just Hindi, the local vernacular languages too were positioned at a lower level than English. Nethan, who used to speak his local language (Kabuli language) was encouraged when he started speaking Hindi and finally English. Because such emphasis is laid on learning English, the languages spoken in the local context are at a risk of getting extinct with time. It is highlighted by Fernandes (2006) that Fluency in 'English' language is required for the 'success in the global economy' and a result of it there is a 'decline' in the 'local vernacular municipal schools.' The teachers quoting the Principal's husband paying more emphasis on learning English than any other part of the curriculum too shows the global recognition of English not just as a language of power but 'social mobility' too. (Dewey 2006: 222) It is not just the 'middle class parents' who aspire that their children learn English, it is the global recognition of English as a medium of communication that puts pressure on the parents and the schools to credit more on English language.

Similarly, in the Rosemary school too, the teachers asked the children to speak in English at the expense of speaking in other languages. There were various instances when the teachers asked the children to say 'Ma'am I have done my work', 'He/she is absent' instead of '*ho gya*', '*Vo nahi aaya/aayi*' respectively and so on. The teachers named the objects in English and asked the children to tell the English names to their parents such as 'Utensils' and so on. It is important to highlight here that English has been the language of the colonization and now continues as the global language of power in the Indian context due to which there is so much emphasis laid on English language.

Scaling down of the academic subjects

'As the world is becoming more competitive, the syllabus which was earlier recommended for class one students has become a part of pre-primary section. 'Can you imagine we teach addition problems to KG students?', Mrs Jeevika of the Rosemary school asked the researcher. In the Sunshine School too, Ms Priti said, 'We have to make the children practice the written work, otherwise they cannot perform in the next class.' The preschools focus on preparing the children for the main schools by making them learn the concepts at an early stage what they are required to grasp in the later classes and so their curriculum is the cut-short version of the curriculum of

high classes. For instance, if the children are required to learn to count till 50 in class one, the preschool will prepare them to count till 20 atleast, sometimes even trying to make them count till 50. No doubt children develop skills in the preschool which would prove to be helpful to them in the higher classes in the main school but preschools should be a space where children can explore more of their environment and their selves as well. Preschools should be an opportunity for the children to play, to interact, to explore, to try, to do what they want to do and so, children should be given more freedom during this time as the scholars in the domain of preschool education would highlight.

Another important observation which needs to be paid attention is academic culture prevalent in the Indian schools. In the Rosemary school, there was more focus on academics in comparison to the Sunshine school because the parents insisted focus on the academics. In this context, Viruru (2001: 89-90) states that 'Indian schooling is geared towards academic subjects' where emphasis is on 'mental thought for that is one of the avenues through *moksha* can be realized.' (Kakar 1978 cited in Viruru 2001)

Co-curricular activities and skill development

The Centre head of the Sunshine School shared a view that 'now in the preschools, there are so many activities to develop the skills and the confidence of the children.' 'The Global and the international schools have high expectations from the children and it is the demand of society to make children competent and confident at every level', she added. All these activities such as fruit party, visits to places, taekwondo add to the child's personality and confidence. One of the teachers, Ms Priti of the Sunshine School too stated that now the education in preschools is not just based on academics but is more practical and includes more activities and skill development. The observations of the preschool too showed that one hour was dedicated everyday one or the other co-curricular activity to be able to make the children competent in the rat-race they are going to become a part of. Though many theorists on preschool education emphasize importance of getting exposure of different kinds of activities at this stage to 'create interest' which aids in 'utilization of all the senses', it is important to focus on the development of the 'whole child' and not just fragmented skill development. (www.montessoritraining.net, accessed on February 15, 2015) These activities are nowhere combined with the academics to foster holistic development of the children but are viewed as skills through which the child will become competent.

Vincent(2011: 71-72) highlights that the middle class parents are constantly on the 'look-out' for such co-curricular activities which can make their children more proficient than others. Though skill development is emphasized at all schools, it meaning changes with the context which needs to be looked at. As it was stated in the previous chapter, there was not much focus on the skill development in the Rosemary school while comparing with the Sunshine School. The teachers encouraged the outspoken children and those who had such skills and participated in the competitions and told others to become like them.

Technologies of Instruction

The Sunshine School has been using projector and television as digitalized teaching-learning aid. The teacher and the Centre head expressed that with pictures, seeing and listening to the poems and stories on television, the children developed to learn lesson quickly. Kumar (2014: 12) states that there has been a 'predominance of technology institutes' throughout the country which is changing the importance of what is being taught. David Geoffrey Smith (1998) argues that one of the most important impact of neo-liberalism on the education has been the 'the tying of financing of education to target projects such as the technologization of instruction.' Similarly, Pathak (2002: 161) too states that 'all these information technologies' which are becoming more and more important in the times of globalization, 'do severe damage to the concept of creative/critical education, because the very rationale of these technologies leads to diminution of space or milieu as a factor in learning.'

The introduction of the 'I-Can' device in the Rosemary school was to make the teaching-learning process more interactive and at the same time upgrade the classrooms in accordance with the standards of other schools. The 'online education' is a worldwide phenomenon where attempts are being made to transform all the processes of the education system in online. It is the computer technologies that have reached almost all the sections of the society and though they provide the message of 'liberation', they rather produce slaves who can't work without being dependent on the technology. In fact, Marcuse (1964) argues that the 'technical aspects of the society' 'enslave' the humans as it 'imposes false needs, co-opts all resistance' and therefore, leads to a 'one-dimensional person.' The manner and time-period for which the technological devices were used in the Rosemary school showed that it was used not for learning necessity but for either the distraction of the children, for revision or showing the pictures to the children. But

one can estimate the influence of the online education market in the coming times. Even if the institutions face resource crunch, circumstances push to go for installing technology in the institutional settings of the schools.

The Globalized ‘informal spaces’

The project of globalization along with its neo-liberal logic encapsulates ‘all aspects of life-political, economic, social and cultural.’ It re-organizes these ‘aspects’ to perpetuate an ‘ideology’ which ‘becomes’ the ‘way’ to ‘interpret, live in, and understand the world.’ (Harvey 2007) For the education system, this ideology changes the manner in which the owners, teachers and other members of the school council/staff get positioned and interact with each other.

Teacher-Teacher relationship

In a globalized society, everything gets reduced to individual choices and competition, the relationship between the teachers too influenced. For instance, Ms Riti of the Sunshine School said, that ‘The Centre Head says that we will be promoted if we work well. The Children of my class, as you yourself have seen, are the most disciplined and know all the concepts, but my salary hasn’t increased yet. The promotion happens on the basis of who is able to form a good rapport with the Centre head or other higher authorities.’ The barriers created between the teachers and the owners where the teachers believe they can report to the Centre Head and not the Owners shows that the hierarchy created between the people working on the ground. The management of the school serves the purpose of binding the labour force more and more and not gives the space to interact and voice the opinion of teachers in front of them. Therefore, teachers were controlled and suppressed in many ways. This position of teachers needs to be seen in relation to the competition that is created between the teachers regarding who will perform/work best in the school. As the observations in the Sunshine School reveal, the teachers showed the best work for educating the children, correcting each other while doing an activity together, trying for good work and so on to be able to stand at a good position in the eyes of the Centre head. It is important to note here that healthy competition exists in every organization but this kind of competition between the teachers is manufactured for the benefit of the owners of the school as it doesn’t yield any economic or other rewards to the teachers. This competition leads to feuds and fights between the teachers, thereby making their relationship more impersonal. It is

in this context that the logic of 'self-interest' needs to be seen which is a manufactured ideology in the times of globalization. Though Globalization and Neo-liberalism as one dimension to place an impression that there is 'hope' for everyone but in actual sense, there is no 'hope' of reward for the deserved ones as the system enmeshes the labour force in it. (Kumar 2014)

The relationship between the teachers in the Rosemary School was found to be more cordial. It was not characterized by competition between each other, rather they discussed with each other and helped each other during their work. There was no competition because they were dedicated to the school and its work and the promotion was not based on one's labour but based on work experience in the school. Though the relationship was a professional one, there was a sense of belongingness to the school and therefore, a personal purpose/motivating factor to work for the school.

The Teacher- Parent relationship

The teacher-parent relationship in the Sunshine School was informed by accountability on both the ends, where teachers were questioned by the parents on the matters of learning and development of their children and parents were questioned by the teachers regarding the practice work their children were required to do. It is important to note here that though teachers were seen as a mere 'labour force', they continue to be responsible for the child's learning. On the other side, the teachers felt that the parents didn't take adequate efforts for their children as most of them remained uneducated. There was a lack of faith and dialogue between the teachers and the parents regarding the child's learning and development. For the parents, because they are paying for the education of their child, it was felt that, the school should make sure that the child should learn the concepts taught. On the other hand, for the teachers, it was realized that it is not their role to take extra efforts for each child due to paucity of time, so the parents should take extra efforts for their child. Though it was the responsibility of both the parents and the teachers, a kind of blame-game continued between the both. This happens because the dynamics of their relationship characterized by globalization confined teachers not to take extra efforts because their responsibility is a 'professional' one. The parents, on the other spectrum, want quality education in lieu of the money spend for it, hence, there is no point to waste their time for educating the children by themselves.

It is important to highlight here that this happens because the relationship defined by globalization is of a seller-buyer one where the school sells the education and the parents buy it for their children. The seller keeps the buyer happy in many ways such as display, showing their efforts for the children, celebrating days/visits and so on but does not take the responsibility for the child's learning. The buyer demands the value (in terms of child's learning) for money given but is told that according to the market principles, the seller could deliver limited amount (in terms of efforts of the teachers). So, this principle automatically implies that if one pays more, would be deemed to get better education for their children.

In the Rosemary School, the teachers showed authority over the parents and had disrespect for them because they were not educated. Interactions between them were defined by commands by the teachers and the parents were very scared to ask any questions if they wanted to ask something. Because the parents couldn't support their children in their academic work, there was a lack of faith between the teachers and the parents. Sometimes the parents lied in front of the teachers regarding the work of their children because they had to face disrespect from the teachers for not paying attention to their children. The teachers felt responsible for the learning of the children but they blamed the parents for not being supportive. Though the parents sent their children to the tuitions, their efforts failed because the tuition teachers didn't know much about the instruction given by the teachers in the school. The Teacher-parent relationship was not characterized by the seller-buyer alone, but some parents did ask and enquire about the home work to be done by the child and update of class room notes.

Teacher-Taught relationship

The relationship between the teacher and the students in the Sunshine School was led by power, authority and thereby organized fear. It is typically manner in which the adult-child relationships exist in Indian society. The teachers in the Sunshine School expected the children to sit quietly and follow their commands. Gupta (2006: 123) states that 'in an Indian classroom, the teacher is viewed as more experienced and more mature than the young child' which displays the 'adult-child' continuity, a characteristic of the adult-child relationships in the Indian society.

The relationship between the teacher and the children in the Rosemary School too was characterized by the authority and fear. Most of the children were more obedient and silent than

the children in the Sunshine school. According to the supervisor, ‘children need to be taught discipline by infusing some amount of fear, otherwise, it becomes difficult to handle them.’ Though in the Sunshine School, the teachers treated children as small kids to whom more attention needs to be paid, in the Rosemary school, they were treated like school children who were trained to do some things on their own like taking out notebooks and so on. This can be due to the impact of the higher formal school in the Rosemary school.

Globalization and Westernization

As a mentioned in the previous chapters, globalization is a distinct process and entails much more complex dynamics than the concept of Westernization. But this is not to deny the fact that under the rubric of globalization, there is a process of westernization observed in the Indian preschools system. When the teachers of the sample study schools were asked about the theories which lay the base of the implementation of the activities in the classroom, all the three teachers in the Sunshine School informed that ‘the theories of Maria Montessori and Friedrich Froebel as had been taught to them during their Nursery Teacher Training courses.’ All the teachers have repeatedly referred the word ‘Playway’ and have spoken about the benefits of this method of teaching as ‘it involves teaching through activities which the child will be able to grasp quickly. But the method couldn’t succeed because of the poor infrastructure set in the schools. It is also revealed the fact that impact of Western models on the Indian preschool education as pedagogical system was focused on ‘theme based learning’, ‘Children’s interests’ which the teachers talked about, ‘ focus on the whole child’ and ‘activity based learning’. (Gupta 2006: 189-190) Amita Gupta (2006: 189-190) argues that there has been an impact of ‘American Progressive education’ on the Indian Preschool education system ‘in the form of constructing techniques such as circle time, multiple learning centers, small class-sizes, individualized and differentiated instruction, whole language approach, thematic units based on children’s interests, experiential and project-based learning, authentic assessment, block building, strong social studies focus on neighborhood and community and so on.’ Though the teachers of the Rosemary School also highlighted that, ‘they want to use the playway methods but because the parents insist on written work, they could not follow it’ Some aspects of the influence of Western models of ‘Progressive education’ on the Indian education system is elaborated below:

‘Activity based learning’

The Centre Head of the Sunshine School states that, ‘in comparison to the earlier times, now there are so many activities that children can learn in a better way.’ The curriculum itself was divided into several activities which the children had to do everyday such as physical, social and so on. During the fieldwork, it was observed that the teachers incorporated concepts in one theme in different activities that had to be done throughout the day. One day, when the concept of shapes was being taught in mathematics, the physical activity in the morning was to make the children jump from triangle to circle and vice-versa.

The Use of toys/games for physical activity

The children were given toys/games/tool kits such as engraved letters, bead games on many occasions as a part of the physical activity being included in the daily curriculum. Ms Riti gave the engraved letters to the children and asked the children to move their fingers on the letters and identify the letters. The bead games were given to the children when they didn’t sit in the class or to keep them engaged when they scream for returning home back. The idea behind using such toys/kits has come from Western Progressive education and the notion of physical activity prevalent there. Gupta (2006: 6) states that the manner in which concepts such as ‘focus’ are developed among the children in the Indian context and the American context is very different where it is developed by ‘engaging the children in activities that demand a longer attention, the use of fine motor skills, attention to small detail’ whereas among the American children, it is developed by ‘encouraging the children to physically move not sit, use larger manipulatives not the finer ones.’ Though in the classroom, the children were asked to sit quietly and listen which can be seen as the influence of Indian pedagogy, the use of such games/toys came from with the influence of Western pedagogy.

There were a lot of such toys and kits in the Rosemary school which were displayed in the classroom, but they were hardly used by the teachers while teaching certain concepts. Rather Mrs Jeevika said that ‘she had kept Wednesdays for the children to play with these kits and toys, so that they can learn and enjoy.’ ‘If toys were given to the children on any other day of teaching, it will become a chaos and the children will not focus on their studies.’ Though in the western

context, these toys and kits are used to enhance learning, in the Rosemary school, they were used as side-tools to be used at a time when teaching was not taking place.

Individualized Focus

The teachers of the Sunshine school were of the view that, ‘one of the changes that is happening in the education system is to paying attention to every detail and every need of the child.’ It was observed that the teachers paid attention on the performance of children in every activity and recorded it for the assessment of the children. In the parent-teacher meet too, the teachers gave the individualized details of all the children such as their strong points, the areas where they need to improve and so on. Gupta (2006: 192) states that one of the impacts of the Western education system in the Indian context is the ‘Individualized teaching’ where ‘Individual attention’ is paid to the activities of the children. Though the teachers in the Rosemary school too kept the progress of individual children in notice, they didn’t go to the extent of recording the performance of children on every activity.

Conclusion

The theoretical reflection on the observations of the preschools reveals the insidious manner in which Globalization is impacting the education system of the Preschools which can have serious consequences. As has been discussed, it is the market principle which dictates every domain of the preschool setting as a result of Globalization. This changes the manner in which the curriculum is transacted in the school, the relationship among the teachers, the students and the school managing committee and the school setting itself. English acquires the status of language of power, thereby impinging on the space of other languages and sidelining them. The Technology becomes the major driving factor for all the curriculum related changes and is given utmost importance in the curricular-related matters. The relationship between the teacher and the parents becomes synonymous with that of the seller-buyer where every transaction is looked upon as a business opportunity. Under the grab of Globalization, there is Westernization too happening in the Indian preschools. The focus on ‘Activity based learning’, ‘Use of manipulatives’ and ‘Individualized focus’ on the children are derived from Western models of Preschool education replicated in the Indian context which has its own consequences. As the hold of Globalization increases on the Indian preschool education system, there will be more

reduction in the spaces where education can be imparted for means other than business-driven motives such as awareness, questioning and so on. Therefore, it is important to critically look at the ways in which education can be prevented from turning into a full-fledged business model and serve the other means in the society, as has been discussed in the previous chapters.

Chapter V

Concluding Remarks

Introduction

The Impact of globalization has been found almost in all domains of development of human society such as education, business, skills, technology. The Studies on globalization indicate that it has both pros and cons. However, largely social scientists are more worried about its impact on the socio-economic, political and cultural system as it may lead to devastating consequences in the future progress. Though there is no escaping from the consequences of globalization with the changing world order, it is important to be 'aware' of its consequences. Education appears to be an appropriate mechanism to deal with such scenario both in terms of better understanding the consequences and possibilities. It is this awareness which can create a space for 'critical pedagogy' to challenge the negative consequences of globalization.

This study examined the impact of the globalization on the preschool education in Delhi, the capital city of India. No doubt, education system is situated in a particular context and is shaped by the historical forces in which it has grown. Similarly, the Indian education system too has been influenced by the colonial forces during colonial and post-colonial period and hence, its system of learning and norms set led to a specific position in the world order today. The impact of the colonial system of education on the Indian education system and its continuing remnants was one of the important factors that every one encounters in the process of any intellectual enquiry as historical fact. As has been said earlier, the purpose of this research was to highlight the impact of globalization on the early childhood education sector in India, especially the private preschools. The study specifically investigated the organizing principles of the preschool, the curricular and the co-curricular activities it carries out and the groups and agencies who work in the preschools. The perspective of the teachers and other members working in the school organization was taken into consideration to gauge a better understanding of the prevailing situation and its relation with global process. Besides the impact of globalization on the preschool system in India, it has been seen that there was process of westernization happening in the Indian context. This chapter delineates three sequential processes that have shaped and

organized the preschool education system in the Indian context- the colonial impact and its remnants, the impact of globalization and the westernization.

The Colonial Impact

One of the major remnants of the colonial system that continues to prevail in Indian education system, especially the preschool education in this context, is the 'rote-memorization' of the texts/concepts. Kumar (1991: 25-73) was argues that colonizers introduced the system of 'rote-memorization' in the Indian education system to meet the political ends of creating a class of Indians who could serve them. In the preschools too, there was immense focus on memorizing the concepts being taught without even knowing its meaning or relevance. Though at a theoretical level too, it is difficult to explain the meaning of the concepts at this age of children, one need to provide concrete examples so that the child can relate concepts are being taught as the constructivist Jean Piaget has suggested. If such a system still continues, it can have a severely damaging impact on the minds of the younger generations as they would not be trained to understand the concept, but memorize it.

Another major remnant of the colonial impact in the schools today has been the examination-centred curriculum. The curriculum is sought to solely revolve around the examinations and the children are made to learn with the purpose of preparing for the examinations. The preschools have been a ground for preparing children for admission test in the formal schools. When examinations become the locus behind the learning, the purpose of learning for the sake of development of the younger generations as has been emphasized by John Dewey would be refuted and learning becomes a routine exercise.

The pedagogy in the Indian preschools would certainly need a fresh perspective so that both these factors can be challenged more rigorously. This would lead to spaces for new pedagogical approaches which need to be contextual and mutually dependent. There can be various ways in which this can be done such as removal of examinations at such a younger age, training of the teachers in the new pedagogical approaches and so on. Of late, apart from the colonial memories of education, globalization too has affected the system of education. This study, in fact, focuses on the implications of globalization on the preschool system in the metropolitan city like Delhi, the capital city of India.

The Impact of Globalization

The advent of the globalization has brought about structural change in the Indian education system. One of the major sectors that has expanded after the initiation of globalization in India has been the preschool education sector. There has been intense impact of globalization on the preschool education sector which would be discussed further.

Neo-liberalism and the market in the preschools

The market and its principles of perversion could be seen in almost all the arenas of the preschool. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, every opportunity was looked upon as a business opportunity with profit motive. Here, preschool education in fact is not exceptional. The advertisements displayed to attract the customers, the food served in the school as a business venture, the teacher-parent meet as a business opportunity and the participation in the competitions based on affordability are the instances which show the intensity of Neo-liberal market enters in the arena of the preschools. When the preschool operates in the business logic, it generates new 'ways of thinking' that favor the Neo-liberal market in the minds of the teachers, the parents and the students and therefore, evades 'the concerns of social justice that were part of the social imaginary of the welfare state.' (Nambissan 2011: 2) With the increasing hold of the market in the preschools, it is those who can afford the education are the ones move ahead, leaving the rest of the population at the mercy of the government.

The entry of the market is the first step in creating neo-liberal logic in the preschools. There are various forces that work along with it to create an entire system that encapsulates every dimension of the preschools which needs to be seen.

Impact on the Teachers

Another major negative consequence of the globalization on the education system in India has been on the position and status of the teachers. They are reduced to mere 'labour force' who hardly have any say in the matters of the school. (Kumar 2014: 8) Their work is restricted to the making, organization and implementation of the school curriculum as the observations in the previous chapters highlight. Ravi Kumar states that the teachers have to face 'Intellectual violence' in a globalized education system as they don't have 'any say in what to teach and how

to teach.’ (Kumar 2014: 10-11) The teachers are not only restricted to the matters of the curriculum, they don’t even get to meet the managing committee of the school. This has serious consequences as it shows that more than the knowledge, experience and expertise of the teachers, issues related to the management which become more important. Thus, it is the ‘capital’ which rules every ‘domain’ of the school system and ‘represses’ every other thing under it. (Kumar 2014: 1-15) This affects the ease and manner in which the teachers are replaced in the school system whenever they ask for their rights such as salary hike and so on. This leads to the crisis of the whole schooling system as the teachers who are the ones responsible for better education of the children are not valued. This needs to be viewed in contrast to the ‘progressive education’ ideology where the purpose of education is to empower the individual and so, the teacher is more valued than any other individual in the school.

Impact of the academic curriculum and co-curricular activities

Primacy of English as the global language of power is one of the major impact on the curriculum of the preschools. The usage of English is fostered in the schools at the expense of other local languages. As such there is no problem in using English as the global language of communication but this becomes problematic when it downsizes other languages at its expense. This not only poses threat for the diminution of the local languages but the diminution of the entire culture related with the language. In a recent interview of H.S. Shivaprakash states that ‘In India, we have created a space where English is eating up the space for all the other languages...English has become the agent of hegemonic powers of globalization.’ And this may lead to ‘losing our ways of thinking, feeling’ because ‘language shapes the content too.’ (Roy, April 19, 2015, <http://scroll.in/> retrieved on April 26, 2015) It was seen that the teachers looked down upon the other languages and facilitated the use of English in place of the other language that the children might use.

Another very important impact of the globalization on the curriculum has been the increasing importance of the co-curricular activities such as taekwondo, dance and so on in the preschools. The emphasis on development of such skills among the children in the preschools can be seen as an important strategy by the third world countries, such as India, to make their mark in the global economy as the recent National plans and policies on education too would highlight. This skill development is necessary to prepare the required ‘labour force’ for the new globalized economy.

(Kumar 2014:12) Also, for the middle classes, participation in these ‘extra-curricular activities’ is one of the ‘strategies’ adopted by them to equip their children with better skills and therefore, keep them ahead of their peers. (Vincent 2014: 56-74) The Middle class Parents choose schools that were of a ‘new attitude’, ‘with an equal stress on the mathematics and the music’ as has been highlighted by Waldrop. (Waldrop 2004)

Westernization of the Indian preschools

Despite the impact of globalization, westernization too has made implications in the Indian preschool education system. In other words, under the garb of Globalization, there is a process of westernization happening in the Indian context. Though the meaning of Westernization has been explained in the previous chapters, in this context, it refers to the replication of western models of early childhood education in the Indian Context. Globalization is different from westernization as it involves an over-arching movement of ideas, goods and so on without prioritizing any one nation or the other. Gupta (2006), in fact, informs the influence of western ‘progressive education’ on the Indian preschool education system. There were various ways in which the Western methods influenced the arena of preschool education such as Activity based learning, use of games/toys for physical activity and individualized focus/attention. The use of physical activities such as jumping on the triangle for teaching the concept of shapes, the recording of assessment of every activity of the child, the division of curriculum into several activities such as physical, social and so on are the pedagogical techniques which have been adopted from the western models of ‘progressive education’ become quite popular in these days. These methods are widely adopted in the upcoming preschools in order to claim to be international in its standard being fundamentally tagged as ‘playway method.’ Though these models are very relevant in the western context in which they emerge, their replication in the Indian setting tends to produce unintended consequences which could be an interesting study to be done in future.

Changes in the Preschool Education

As has been already stated, the purpose of the study was to look at the impact of the Globalization on the two schools set up during different periods of time in history (before and after the initiation of globalization in India), located in the same area. It is by comparing the

specific consequential changes due to globalization in both the schools that the transition in the various processes such as organization of the school functioning, curriculum and so on can be traced historically. Therefore, the perspective of the teachers and the parents on the changing early childhood education in the Indian preschools had to be taken into account. It is the teachers and the parents who have been observant of the changes in the preschool education over the period of time and the meaning of such changes holds relevance to understand the manner in which Globalization as a macro process influences the micro realities of the people.⁶

In the interviews⁷ conducted with the teachers and Centre Head of the Sunshine School, it was highlighted that earlier, the children were admitted in the school at the age of four but now they are admitted at the age of two as psychological studies prove that children learn more effectively when they are younger. The curriculum too had changed in accordance with the demands of the society as Global, International schools want the children to be proficient in every skill. The changes in the curriculum include the change in teaching techniques such as use of 'Playway' method, giving individual attention to each child, use of smart boards/technological devices which help the children in grasping the concepts quickly as it is attractive, focus on more co-curricular activities and use of 'phonetics' instead of rote memorization as was stated by the teachers of both the schools. These changes are consequential to globalization and its impact on Early Childhood Education in the Indian context. The teachers had to adhere to the changing parental expectations too which had moved from focus on only academic concepts to more co-curricular activities, excelling in academics to emphasis on participation in inter-school competitions too, stress on learning English language and so on. Mrs Riti said, '*Expectations preschool ki nahi, formal school ki badal gyi hain. Parents ko lagta hai humaara bachaa lack na kre kisi bhi cheez me, isliye vo chaahte hain ki preschool me vo basic concepts kar le, for example colors, alphabets.*' (The expectations regarding the formal school have changed and not preschool. The parents want their children should not lack in anything, that is why, they want their children to learn the basic concepts in the preschool such as colors, alphabets.) The teacher's role too has become more demanding in the classroom and they have to be more

⁶ The observations in Chapter three too cover the opinion of the teachers, the parents and the school agencies regarding the changes in the preschool education after the initiation of the era of globalization.

⁷ The Interview Schedule for the teachers, the parents and the school agencies has been attached in Annexure 3.

friendly with the children. Mrs Priti also highlighted, '*Pehle hum to apni teachers se bohot darte the. Jo teacher ne keh dia, wahi sach hota tha. Ab Bacche bhi zaada confident ho gye hain, apni baatein btaate hain.*' (We were really scared of our teachers. Whatever the teacher said, it was truth for us. Now the children have become more confident, they share their thoughts and feelings) The teachers of the Rosemary school stated that the school had more number of students around seven to eight years back which has declined now and the class background has also varied with more lower class children taking admission in the school in the coming years.

The interviews of the parents suggested some important shifts taking place in the preschool education system of the country. The parents of the children studying in both the schools felt that due to changing times and increasing competition, the children have to acquire a lot of skills at an early age these days. Mrs Rita (mother of Yeshna studying in the Sunshine School) said, '*Ab to holidays me bhi bachche summer camp jaate hain taaki zaada or achha seekhein.*'(Now children go for summer camps even during their holidays so that they can learn more and better). The parents (of the children studying in the Sunshine School) also suggested that the teachers too expect the children to be 'extra-smart' and 'vocal' and make such children participate in the school activities. Also, the parents were required to devote extra time to the children and their studies. Most of the parents attended the preschool before entering into the formal school but there was less burden and less focus on activities in comparison to the present times. The schools and their curriculum too has changed with the applicability of more methods such as 'Montessori's method', the technology based games and so on as was articulated by the parents. Mrs Nina(mother of Sanchi studying in the Rosemary school) said, '*Hum to Koi Preschool nahi gaye the par fir bhi padaai me peeche to nahi rhe the. Humaare time pe to itni games bhi nahi thi. Is umar me itna farak nahi padta. Ajkal inta competition hai ki hume apno bacchon ko preschool me daalna padta hai taaki vo padaai me peeche na reh jayein. Fir admission lene ke liye bhi test hote hain. To Pehle thoda seekh jae baccha to accha rehta hai.*' (We didn't go to any preschool but still we didn't lack in studies. There were hardly any games during our times. It doesn't matter much during this age. These days, there is so much of competition that we have to put our children in preschools so that they don't lack in studies. And there are tests for admissions too. So, it's better for the child to learn in the beginning only).

Two schools

As has been already mentioned, the purpose of choosing the two schools was to understand the impact of globalization on the preschool education in India by tracing their roots in short period of history. The intention of selecting two schools were not for a comparative understanding, instead to look at the transition of its curriculum and other school processes in terms of continuities, discontinuities and commonalities or differences. A qualitative and detailed comparison between the two schools has been made in the last chapter on the criteria chosen for the assessment of the impact of the globalization on the preschools in Delhi. The field observation suggests that though globalization is affecting both the schools, there is a difference which can be seen in terms of its intensity and quality. As the examples show, there have been numerous changes that have been happening in the Rosemary school such as the introduction of the I-Can device, the introduction of toys/games, the use of English as a global language of power after the advent of the globalization which show that the forces of globalization seem to affect every segment of the schools in the society. But there were many issues that cropped up with this impact as the parents and the teachers were not used to either using English as a language all the time or the I-Can device along with the prescribed curriculum. The intensity and the occasions on which these toys, technologized instruction was used in the Sunshine School was more than in the Rosemary school. Also, the 'informal spaces' which defined the relationships between the teachers, students and other members of the school were quite different in both the schools. The teachers in the Rosemary school had admitted that timely meetings with the principal on all the matters related to the preschool wing were held. The Teachers were given freedom to decide how will they implement the curriculum and were given autonomy to changes them as required which was hardly present in the Sunshine School. Therefore, it can be said that though the process of globalization has impact on both the schools, there is a qualitative variation in it due to the factors such as the time of the establishment of the school, ideology, history, and its purpose.

In this context, it is vital to mention the pressure of the structural constraints, in this case, the process of globalization on the schools which do not fully confirm to the norms of globalization. As was seen during the fieldwork, there were changes introduced in the Rosemary School two years back such as the introduction of I-Can device to meet the challenges of the Global market.

The school, therefore, was under the strain without which its survival had become questionable. There is no escape from the pressure imposed by the Globalization for the schools and for the parents, the teachers and the students to become a part of such a system. The Alternative Schools too are another such phenomena which challenge the processes of globalization but they too face the pressure in the times of globalization. Avijit Pathak (2002) states that after studying in schools such as Mirambika, the children feel clueless about their career after class 10th as it becomes difficult to adjust in the mainstream education system after so many years of alternative education. This leads to a negative impression about alternative education system and so, the system faces a crisis due to the constraints imposed by the macro forces such as globalization. Therefore, Globalization encapsulates all the education systems under its influence, demanding them to adhere to its processes and systems. Also, though it is difficult to challenge the compelling influence of globalization, the hope for education institutions to challenge it and survive with varying ideological means cannot be underestimated.

Self-Reflections from the Field: The Researcher and the Research

Being a researcher, I had framed methodological tools and methods to be used for a systematic enquiry before stepping into the field work. However, during the course of field work, I had to encounter many problems. As these reflections hold importance and might be fruitful for the further course of researches, these need to be mentioned here.

In the Sunshine School, though I had explained the teachers that I was there for the research observations and not as a trainee, the teachers were confused about my position and clarified the same with me. This issue came up after few days of observations when one of the teachers asked me whether I will be receiving marksheet from the school at the end of my observations. When I explained them that I was there for observations and interviews and not teaching, one of the teachers who wanted me to teach didn't like it and showed avert behavior for few days. Despite, I made request for observing in her classroom teaching many times, she denied my presence. Of late, though she allowed me to observe her classes, she felt insecure by the fact that she wanted to transfer some of her work to me and so, she started doing extra work than the other teachers. I tried to be cordial with her, still offered help and continued with my observations but she maintained distance on a professional front with me till the end.

In the Rosemary school, the teachers treated me as a guest and offered as much help as they could. Because of my familiarity with some of the members of the school authorities, the teachers took a lot of time in opening up to me. In the beginning, they didn't reveal any such information which an outsider should not know. But with the passage of time, as they came to know about my intentions, they began to talk me more openly.

Erving Goffman's concept of the 'performance' seems relevant in this context which suggests that when any individual enters in a 'setting', he/she 'performs' in a particular manner by picking up various cues from the 'setting' and this 'performance' is then interpreted by the others in a specific manner which shapes the 'communication.' (Goffman 1959) Therefore, it is important to identify the position one takes while performing in a particular 'setting'.

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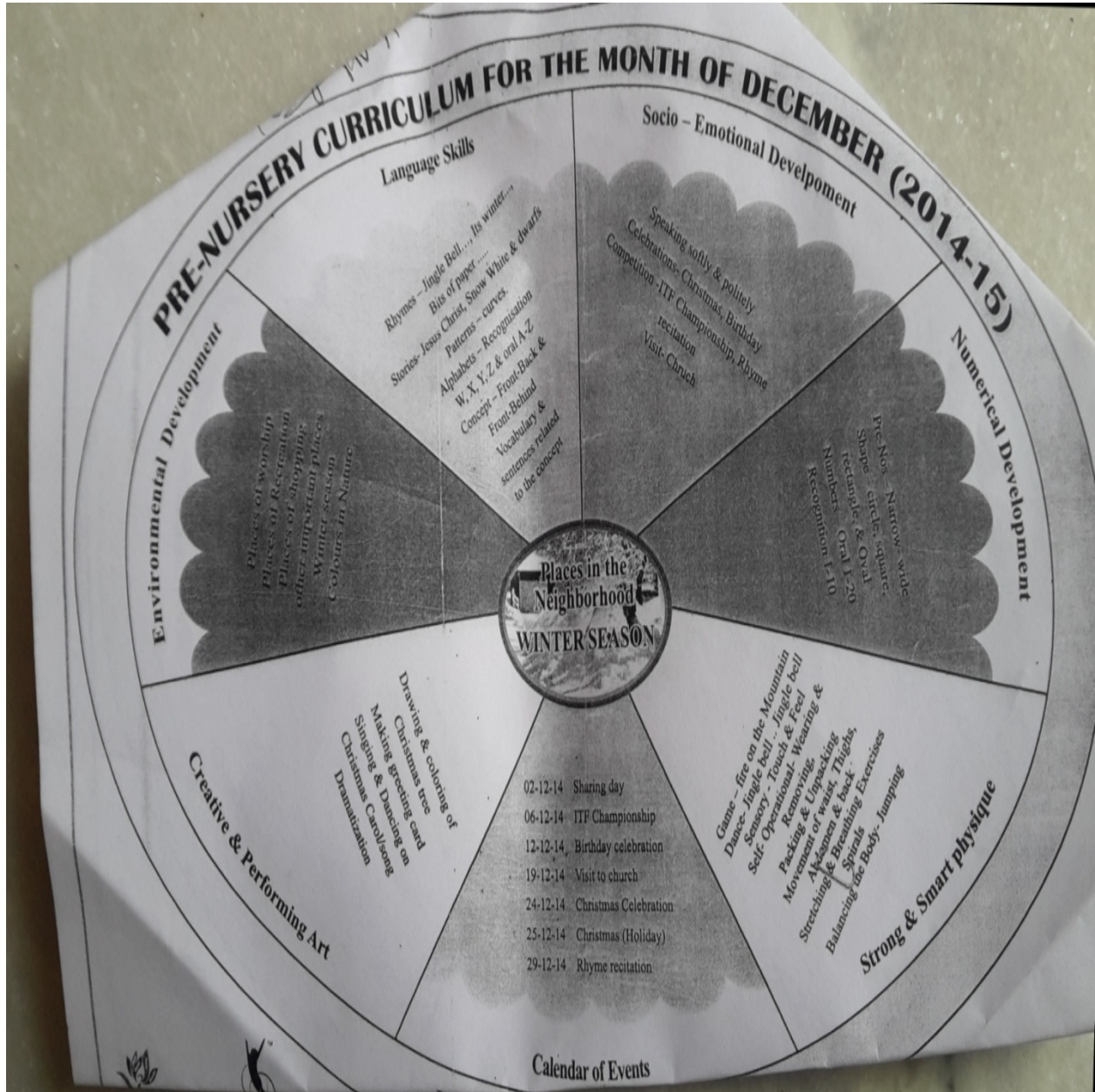
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ANNEXURE I

The Curriculum of the Sunshine School

Monthly curriculum of the Sunshine School for the month of December.



Daily curriculum of the Sunshine School for the month of December.

Pre Nursery 1 st December (Monday)				
Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Hello, how are you? I love you baby		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Prayer, Meditation, yoga, N.A	Warm-up, God's love is so wonderful, kapal bhati, Anulom-Vilom, National Anthem		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Basketball	Under the guidance of Teacher, kids will try to thrw ball in a net.	Basket ball, Net	✓
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Finger Movement on Engraved Numbers	Kids will move their finger on engraved number under the guidance of teacher.		✓
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Parantha+ Shahi Paneer+ Salad	LunchPrayer, Chew the food Properly		✓
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Alphabet & number Rhyme	Teacher will recite rhymes & will show them PPT & Kids will repeat after her with actions	PPT	✓
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Self Operation (Packing/ Unpacking)	Teacher will give demo to the kids & then will call one by one each kid & they will try to under guidance.		✓
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	SHV	Teacher will tell the kids that we should speak softly & Politely		✓
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Number(oral 1-20)	Teacher will speak numbers & Kids will repeat after her. She can also show them flash cards ,PPT	Flash Cards, PPT	✓
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Always Greet Everyone with Smile	Time never waits for anyone		✓

Pre Nursery 2 nd December (Tuesday) Sharing Day				
Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning, Welcome to School. Mumma Loves you so much		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warmup, Prayer, Peace, Discussion	Stretching of arms & Fingers, Gayatri-Mantra, God's love, Meditation, Discussion on Day, Date, Weather, SHV		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Walking on ZIG-ZAG path	Teacher will arrange path in the activity area & Kids will walk on that path with the help of teacher.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Recognition of W (SWS)	Kids will recognize the alphabet on the White Board & with the Help of flash Board & later on Perform on the given sheet under the guidance of Teacher.	Whiteboard, Flash Board	✓
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Kadi Rice + Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Songs of Winter(Christmas & B'day)	Teacher will show them PPT on Winter, Christmas & B'day Songs & kids will repeat.	PPT	✓
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Sharing Day	Kids will share their favorite thing with their friends		✓
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Pick & tell activity	Teacher will call one by one each kid. They will pick a card & will recognize the picture pasted.		✓
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	SHV	Teacher will tell the Kids that we should share each & everything with our friends		✓
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Token-W(Watch)	Share Things with others. Bye-Bye . Good Afternoon. See you tomorrow.		✓

Pre Nursery 3 rd December (Wednesday)				
Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning, Welcome to School. Mumma Loves you so much		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warmup, Prayer, Peace, Discussion	Stretching of arms & Fingers, Gayatri-Mantra, God's love, Meditation, Discussion on Day, Date, Weather, SHV		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Game- Fire on the Mountain	Kids will make a Circle joining their wards & Teachers will sing rhyme on deum beats & Kids will play under guidance.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Clay- Modeling (Snow Man)	Teacher will give demo that how to make snow man from clay & Kids will try to do under guidance.	Clay	
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Assorted Pakoras+ Kheer			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Alphabets (A-Z)	Teacher will speak alphabets & kids will repeat & She can Show them PPT & flash Cards also.		PPT
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Concept- Front Back	She will explain the concept by showing them the front & back of the kid		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Vocabulary	Through pictures, Cutouts & flash Cards & make them aware of the new words & their meanings.		Cutouts, Flash Cards, Pictures PPT
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes & Stories	Teacher will show them PPT. Kids will try to speak with actions.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm	Token- Snowman(Clay)	Good Afternoon, Bye-Bye. Take care.		
Home work				

Pre Nursery 4 th December (Thursday)				
Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Hi, baby good morning , Welcome , you will play with your friends, so many friends , love you		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm up, Prayer, Peace, Discussion	Prayer, Exercise		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Hopscotch	Teacher will make arrangement in activity area & kids will play hopscotch with the help of teacher.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Art & Craft Pg-8 (Colour The Rangoli)	Kids Will recognize the Shapes & will colour the rangoli.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Potato Parantha+ Butter			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	SHV	Teacher will tell them we should always say sorry when we do something wrong.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Enacting posters of praying & worshipping	Teacher will discuss/ Explain places of worship, then she will explain the postures of praying in temples/ Mosques/ Churches etc.		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Pg-52 Places near me	Teacher will show them the places near their house & kids will repeat.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes & Stories	Teacher will recite rhymes & Kids will repeat after her.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm	Take bath Daily	Bye-Bye , Good Afternoon... See you Tomorrow		
Home work				

Pre Nursery 5th December (Friday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Hello, Good Morning. How are you? Grand Ma ... Grand Pa Loves you...		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm up Prayer, Peace, Discussion	March Past, Warm up, Stretching of arms & fingers, Gayatri mantra, Meditation, Discussion on day, Date, Weather, SHV		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Bowling	Teacher will make arrangement in activity area. Kids will play with the help of teacher.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Pg-61(EVS) Color the snowman	Teacher will tell the kids about snowman then kids will color the snowman.		Alphabet
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Sandwich+ Custard			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Places near by us	Teacher will tell them that which places are around us(hospital, Temple, mall, Parks, School) Kids will repeat		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Oval Shape	Teacher will show them Oval Shape & related objects.	Egg	
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Things used in winter	Teacher will tell the kids about the winter season & Will show things that we used to wear / We used.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes	Teacher will recite rhymes & Kids will repeat with actions.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Thank people for helping	Bye-Bye, Good afternoon, See you on Monday		

Pre Nursery 8th December (Monday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Hello, Good Morning. How are you? Grand Ma ... Grand Pa Loves you...		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm up Prayer, Peace, Discussion	March Past, Warm up, Stretching of arms & fingers, Gayatri mantra, Meditation, Discussion on day, Date, Weather, SHV		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Free Play	Teacher will arrange apparatus & Slides in the activity area & will keep an eye on them.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Art & Craft Pg-8 (Color the rangoli)	Kids will recognize the shapes & will colour the rangoli		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Parantha+ Cauliflower+ Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	SHV	Teacher will tell the kids that we should always wish everyone politely & with Smile.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Places of Recreation	Teacher will explain kids about places of recreation with the help of ppt.		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Language (Vocabulary)	Through Pictures (flash cards), cutouts, teacher will make them aware of new words & their meanings.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Christmas Songs	Teacher will recite & kids will repeat after her.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Take bath Daily	Bye-Bye Good afternoon. See you tomorrow.		

Pre Nursery 9th December (Tuesday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Welcome, How are you? Teacher loves you. You are a good boy/girl		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm-up, Prayer, Peace, Discussion, N.A	Warm-up Exercise, Prayer, N.A, Rhymes, General talk, SHV		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Dance	In activity area, Kids will try to do the steps given by teacher.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Pg-73(EVS) Decorate the Christmas tree	Kids will decorate the Christmas tree with decorative material with the help of teacher.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Rajma Rice+ Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Numbers oral(1 to 20)	Teacher will speak numbers & kids will repeat after her. She can also show them flash cards & PPT.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Matching things with shapes	Keeping cutout of different shapes & teacher will call one by one & ask to pick an object of a particular shape.		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Phonics (A-Z)	Teacher will show PPT & Flash Cards of the alphabets & related object & Teacher will speak their phonic sounds & kids will repeat after her.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes & Stories	Teacher will demonstrate Story front of kids after that she will ask questions related to story,		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Always keep smiling	Bye-Bye . Good afternoon, See you Tomorrow.		

Rawled

walking on toes & (H) Decorate tree was not there

Pre Nursery 10th December (Wednesday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting/ Friends	Welcome ... Good Morning, Greet all your friends. Your friends are very good & you are the best.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm-up, Prayers, Peace, Discussion	Stretching of neck Shoulders. God's Love. Gayatri Mantra, Meditation, Rhymes.		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Walking on toes & Heels	Kids will walk on their heels & Toes under Teacher's Guidance.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Pattern Curves	Teacher will first make them recognize the curves & then she will give them sheet & Kids will do under the guidance.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Bread butter+ Soup			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Places of Shopping	Teacher will explain kids about places of Shopping through PPT's		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Front -Behind	Teacher will give demo		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Colors in nature	Teacher will show them PPT, Flash Cards.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes & Stories	Teacher will recite rhymes & Kids will repeat after her with actions.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Token-Sun	Bye-Bye, Good Afternoon.... See you tomorrow.		

Pre Nursery 11th December (Thursday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning, talk about child. Looking good, Good baby. Sweet Child.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Wrist, Hand finger	Kids will come in a proper queue, wrist hands, Finger, prayer, general talks, N.A		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Tactile Path	Teacher will arrange tactile path in activity area & kids will balance their body with the help of teacher.	Tactile path	
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Pg-60 EVS I Can match Season	Kids will match the seasons with the help of teacher.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Spinach parantha+ Butter			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Alphabet A-Z (Oral)	Teacher will recite alphabet rhymes & kids will repeat the same with actions.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Closing & opening	Teacher will give demo to the kids & then she will call one by one each Kid & They will try to do themselves.		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	SHV Respecting Everyone	Teacher will tell the kids that we should respect everyone.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Numbers(Oral) 1-20	Teacher will speak numbers & Kids will repeat after her. She can also show Flash Cards & PPT.		Flash Cards No- 1 to 20
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work		Message- Keep yourself warm & Cozy. Bye-bye, Good Afternoon.		

Pre Nursery 12th December (Friday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning, Welcome to the school, How is your mumma & papa, You know they love you so much.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm up Prayer, Surya- namaskar, Morning routine.	Kids will come in a proper line, Focus on a warm up exercise, Rhymes & General talks.		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Free play	Teacher will arrange the activity area with slides 7 apparatus & will observe them.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Recognition of Y	Teacher will help the kids to recognize the alphabets & then kids will make paper folding view & then they will paste the same in a scene.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Cake+ Sandwich			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Counting 1-20	Teacher will speak numbers & kids will repeat after her. She can also show them flash cards.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Narrow & Wide	Teacher will explain the concept by giving them real demo Like, Book.		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	SHV	Teacher will tell the kids that we should speak softly & Politely with everyone.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes	Teacher will show them PPT & Kids will repeat after her with actions.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Token- yacht	Bye- Bye, Good Afternoon. See you tomorrow.		

Pre Nursery 15th December (Monday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/ C/AV ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting (Family)	Good Morning. How are you? Papa & Mumma Loves you so much.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Neck & Eye Prayer, N.A	Stretching of Neck & eyes. Gayatri mantra, God's Love. Meditation, discussion on day, date, Weather, SHV.		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Game- Fire on the Mountain	Kids will make a circle. Holding their hands & teacher will sing rhyme on drum beats & Kids will play under guidance.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	<u>Pg-46</u> Art & Craft	Kids will color the Christmas tree.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Parantha+ Mix veg+ Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	SHV	Teacher will tell the kids that we should always respect our elders.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Find Things Beginning with 'Y'	Teacher will arrange the activity area & will keep the objects related to the alphabet 'Y' & Kids will search & Relax with the sound.		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Pick & Tell activity	Kids will pick any card & will try to recognize the object. Teacher will call one by one each kid.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Christmas Cards	Kids will play rhymes on LCD, Kids will repeat after her with actions		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work		Bye-Bye.. Good Afternoon. See you Tomorrow.		

Pre Nursery 16th December (Tuesday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning. How are you? Love you baby.	
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Ankle, Knee & toes & General Talk	God's Love, Kalpana hum kare, Boat asan. Focus on ankle , Knees	
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Tippy-Tippy Tap	Through game teacher will help kids to clear their colour concept	
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	<u>Pattern- Curves</u>	Teacher will explain curves on W.B. Then sheets will be given to them, then kids will do under the guidance.	
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Channa + Rice +Salad		
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Talk about winter season	Teacher will discuss with kids that what we use to wear in winter season. What kind of food we should have.	
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Hide & Seek Searching Black & White objects	Teacher will hide different colors objects in activity area & Kids will search for white & Black Objects	
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Places Near us	Teacher will show them PPT related to the places near us.	
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhymes- Bits of Paper	Teacher will recite rhymes & kids will repeat after her.	
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Token- Temple	Bye- Bye, Good Afternoon ... See you Tomorrow. Respect your elders.	

Pre Nursery 17th December (Wednesday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning.. Welcome to School.. Looking So Pretty. I Love you.	
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm -Up, Prayer, exercise, Peace, Discussion	Stretching of body, Neck, Shoulder, prayer, N.A, Rhymes.	
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Basketball & Free play	Teacher will make arrangement in activity area. Kids will play under Teacher's Observation.	
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	<u>Pg-47</u> Art & Craft	Color the Santa clause <i>Crud cotton for that</i> -	
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Bread pakora+ Fruit		
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Language (A-Z)	Teacher will speak all alphabets with their phonic sounds & Kids will repeat after her.	
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Finding Pictures Related to alphabets	Teacher will show different pictures & Kids will have to relate the picture with the first letter of the word.	
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm	Language (Vocabulary)	Teacher will show them flash cards related to the vocabulary	
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Story	Teacher will Dramatize story in front of kids.	

Pre Nursery 18th December (Thursday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning.. Welcome to School, Muma Loves you so much.	
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Prayer, Meditation, Yoga, N.A	God's Love, Kapal Bhati.. Anulom-vilom, Getting up early.	
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Dance	Kids will Dance on Bollywood songs. Teacher will Observe them.	
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Art & Craft Pg- <u>19</u>	Kids will colour the scenery with light & dark shades of different colours with the help of teachers.	
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Paneer Parantha+ Butter		
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	SHV	Teacher will tell kids that we should always say thanks to everyone.	
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION	Teacher will arrange caps, cake, gifts in activity area. Cake eating will be done. Gifts will be distributed & after that kids will dance	
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm			
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Rhyme- Jingle Bell	Teacher will Play rhyme on PPT & Kids will repeat with actions.	

Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Token – Cake	Bye- Bye.. Good Afternoon.. See you Tomorrow.		
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Pre Nursery 19th December (Friday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning.. Talk about Child.. Looking Good .. Sweet baby.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm-up, Prayer, Peace , Discussion, N.A	Kids will Come in a Proper queue, Stretching will be done, Prayer, N.A. Discussion on day, Date & weather		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Ringa – Ringa Roses	Kids will make circle & Recite the rhyme with teachers & will enjoy the same		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Recognition of Z	Teacher will explain the alphabet on W.B, then kids will paste black strips on the body of zebra with the help of teacher.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Pav bhaji+ Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Colour & Shape rhyme	Teacher will play color & Shape rhyme & Kids will repeat		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Zippy & Unzipping	Kids will try to zip & Unzip the frame under guidance		
Picture reading	Object	Kids will try to recognize the objects like gifts, Christmas tree, Santa from the		

12:10-12:25 pm	reading(Christ mas Scene)	given Christmas Scene.		
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm	Numbers (1 to 20)	Teacher will speak numbers & kids will repeat. She can also show them Flash Cards.		
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work	Token Z- Zebra	Bye- Bye... Good Afternoon Take care		

Pre Nursery 22nd December (Monday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Welcome, Good Morning.. greet all your friends. Your friends are very god & You are the best.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warmup, Prayer, Peace, Discussion, NA	Warm-up, Exercise, Prayer, N.A, rhymes, General talk, SHV		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am	Game- fire on the Mountains	Kids will make a circle joining their hands & teacher will sing rhymes on drum beats & Kids will play under guidance.		
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Finger movement on engraved Alphabets	Teacher will Speak all alphabets & Kids will repeat & They will move their fingers on engraved alphabets.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Parantha+ Peas Potato+ Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am				
Discovery				

12:05-12:10 pm	<h1>VISIT TO CHURCH</h1>		
Picture reading 12:10-12:25 pm			
Listening and Responding 12:25-12:40 pm			
Good Bye/token/HW 12:40-1:00 pm Home work			

Pre Nursery 23rd December (Tuesday)

Time / Topic	Content	Description	Equipment s/Tools	VCS/TR C/AVR/ ACS
Welcome 8:45-9:00 am	Greeting	Good Morning.. Welcome to School, Mumma Loves you So Much.		
Assembly 9:00-9:30 am	Warm-up, Exercise, Prayer, rhymes, N.A	God's love, Gayatri Mantra, KapalBhati.. Anulom-Vilom, Getting Up Early.		
Physical 9:30-10:10 am				
Readiness to writing 10:45-11:13 am	Art & Craft Pg-54	Kids Will Colour the Scenery.		
Lunch 10:45-11:15 am	Dal + Rice+Salad			
Listening and speaking 11:15-11:35 am	Alphabets with their phonics	Teacher will recite alphabets with their phonic sounds & Kids will repeat.		
Discovery 11:35-12:10 pm	Threading Beads	Teacher will first Show them Pattern & Kids will do after that by their own. Teacher will observe every kid.		

ANNEXURE 2

Curriculum the Rosemary School

YEARLY : SYLLABUS
SESSION : 2014-15
CLASS : NURSERY
SUBJECT : ENGLISH ORAL

Book : Rhymes Gallery

April : 1. Early to bed
2. Ring a ring O roses
3. Apple

July : 1. Jingle Bell
2. Butterfly

August : 1. Yankee doodle
2. Doctor Bell

September: 1. Ship
2. My Head

October : 1. Teapot
2. Toys

November : 1. Counting
2. Row, Row, Row Your Boat

December : 1. Make New Friends
2. Clean Earth

January : 1. Cooks Crow
2. Diwali Night

February : 1. Two little hands
2. Baa, Baa Black Sheep

4. **MIC MAC cursive writing.**

- April :**
1. Introduction of standing & sleeping line in notebooks and books.
 2. Reading writing and recognition of capital alphabets A, B, C, D in note books and capital letters work book.
- July :** Reading, writing and recognition of capital alphabets A-H in note book & capital letters work book.
- August :**
1. Reading, writing and recognition of capital letters I-L in note book & capital letter work book.
 2. Introduction of book & Match (A-L)
- September:**
1. Reading, Writing and recognition of capital letter (M-T) in note book and capital letters work book.
 2. Look & Write (A to T)
 3. Dictation (A to T)
 4. Encircle the correct Alphabets :
e.g. A C
- October :**
1. Reading, writing and recognition of capital letters (A-Z) in note book & completion of book.
 2. Look & Write (A to Z)
 3. Dictation (A to Z)
 4. Missing letters (A to Z)
 5. Look & Match (A to Z)
- November :**
1. Reading of Capital Letters A-Z in note book
 2. Reading, Writing & Recognition of small cursive alphabets a-h in note book & work book
 3. Convert small cursive into capital alphabets and capital alphabets into small cursive Aa - Hh.
- December :**
1. Reading, writing and recognition of small cursive & i-p in note book & in work book.
 2. Dictation of small cursive (a-p)
 3. Look & write a-p
 4. convert a-p

YEARLY : SYLLABUS
SESSION : 2014-15
CLASS : NURSERY
SUBJECT : HINDI ORAL

Books : 1. हस्ते गाते (भाग-1)
2. ऑल फॉर किड्ज (अक्षर किरण)

April : 1. प्रार्थना
2. भारत की शान

July : 1. छाता
2. सात समुद्र

August : 1. गुड़िया रानी
2. आलू-कचालू

September : 1. एक
2. आज सोमवार है
3. नानी माँ का तोता

October : 1. प्यासा कौआ
2. मोर
3. लाल-पीली मोटर

November : 1. लाला जी
2. हाथी राजा
3. गुलाब का फूल

December : 1. चन्दा मामा
2. बिल्ली मौसी
3. गोल गोल पानी

January : 1. सारी दुनिया गोल-मटोल
2. रंग-बिरंगी होली
3. पतंग

February : 1. रंग-बिरंगे गुब्बारे
2. स्वर्ण परी
3. शेर

Revision of All Rhymes.

SESSION : 2014-15
CLASS : NURSERY
SUBJECT : Maths

- Book :** 1. Numbers Garden (1-100)
- April :** 1. Introduction of standing line in note book & work book
2. Introduction of 1, 4, 7 in note book
3. Oral counting upto 10
4. Number Garden page no. 2, 5, 8
5. Matching the numbers.
- July :** 1. Introduction of 6, 9, 8, 10 in note book
2. Oral counting upto 20
3. Number Garden 7, 9, 10, 11
4. Encircle the correct no.
- August :** 1. Introduction of 2, 3, 5 in note book
2. Oral counting upto 30
3. Number Garden page no. 3, 4, 6, 12
4. Introduction of count & write
- September :** 1. Introduction of 11-20 in note books
2. Oral counting upto 40
3. Introduction of dictation
4. Read & Draw
5. Introduction of missing No's
6. Number Garden Page No. 13-23.
- October :** 1. Introduction of counting 21-30 in note books
2. Oral counting upto 50
3. Revision of count & write Read & draw, Dict. Encircle the correct number.
4. Introduction of Count of Match
5. Number Garden Page No. 24-28.
- November :** 1. Introduction of counting 31-50 in note

- books
- 2. Dictation upto 40
- 3. Introduction of ○ & its 2 objects
eg. ☺ ☀ ☺ ☹
- 4. Introduction of after upto 10
- 5. Oral counting upto 70
- 6. Number Garden page No. 29-30

December :

- 1. Introduction of counting (51-70) in note book.
- 2. Introduction of △ & its 2 objects
eg. ▲ △ ▽
- 3. Revision of after, read & Draw
- 4. Oral counting upto 80
- 5. Number Garden page No. 40-49

January :

- 1. Introduction of counting (71-90) in note book.
- 2. Introduction of □ & its 2 objects
eg. ◻ ◻ ◻
- 3. Revision of Dic, Count & Write
- 4. Oral counting upto 100
- 5. Number Garden page No. 50-59

February :

- 1. Introduction of counting (91-100) in note book.
- 2. Number Garden page No. 60-64
- 3. Revision of entire syllabus.

YEARLY : SYLLABUS
SESSION : 2014-15
CLASS : NURSERY
SUBJECT : E.V.S

Book :
1. My First Picture Book (Smart Class)
2. Me & My Activity (A)

April :
1. My Family
2. My Body Parts
3. Vegetables
4. Fruits
Me & My Activity Page No. : 4, 5, 9, 7, 21, 39-42.

July :
1. Colours
2. Pet Animals
3. Wild Animals
4. School
Me & My Activity Page No. : 10-12, 17, 22, 28, 48.

August :
1. Birds
2. Insects
3. Days
4. Birthday
Me & My Activity Page No. : 6, 26, 31, 49, 57, 59.

September :
1. Sweet Shop
2. Dress & Accessories
3. Bed Room
4. Living Room
Me & My Activity Page No. : 38, 51, 52, 47.

October :
1. Festivals
2. Shapes
3. Occupations
4. Kitchen
Me & My Activity Page No. : 8, 18, 19, 20, 23-25, 55, 56, 60.

November :

1. Transport
2. Bathroom
3. Joys

Me & My Activity Page No. : 15, 16, 14, 53, 54, 63.

December :

1. Town
2. Play Ground

Me & My Activity Page No. : 13, 33, 30, 29, 58, 61, 62, 64.

January :

1. Page No. : 34-37, 44-46.
Completion of Book

February :

Revision of All.

ANNEXURE 3

Interview schedule

For Teachers

1. In what ways these international preschools with a specific curriculum impact the child's growth?
2. What is the role of the teacher in this new system and is it changing in some ways? How is it different from the role of the centre head and the governing body of the school?
3. Do you have any meetings with the governing body to discuss the curriculum before or after you make it?
4. What are the changes in the education system that you visualize in these new preschools in the last 5-10 years? Why do you think they are happening and how important/unimportant do you think they are for the society?
5. What are the expectations of the parents from the teachers and the school? How do you think they have/have not changed in the present times?
6. What are the major issues you face in such a system and how is that addressed?
7. Are there any changes in the children and their behavior too that can be seen due to the change in the society and the education system?
8. Why do you think preschool education is so important for the children?
9. On what criteria is the curriculum prepared and assessed?

For Parents

1. What is your perception of education and its role in the society? Why do you think preschool education has become so important these days and is therefore important for your child?
2. How do you utilize the time when children have gone to the school?
3. What do the school and the teachers expect from you with regard to your child's education? What do you think is your role in your child's education and the school system?
4. What are the issues/ problems you face with regard to the school/education and how is that addressed by the school?
5. Do you see any change in the new ways of preschooling and why do you think is that happening?

For Centre head/Supervisor

1. What is your role in the system? How is that related/unrelated with the teachers and the governing body?
2. What are the expectations of the parents from the new kind of preschools?
3. Are there any changes in the role and the organization of the new preschools?
4. How are the people in the system assessed and promoted? Who all are involved in that process?
5. How is the curriculum assessed? How is the child's progress assessed?
6. How often do you meet the governing body? What is the subject matter of the meetings?

For Principal

1. What is your perception of education and preschool education? How is it changing in the present times?
2. On what criteria is the curriculum prepared and assessed?
3. What are the expectations of the staff and the parents from the school?
4. How do you see your role in relation to the role of the other staff members?
5. What are the important things required in the education system and a preschool for the child's growth and the school's success?

Annexure-I

Jawaharlal Nehru University

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School of Social Sciences
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New Delhi - 110067

Annexure-III

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CHAIRPERSON
Zakir Husain Centre for
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School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
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