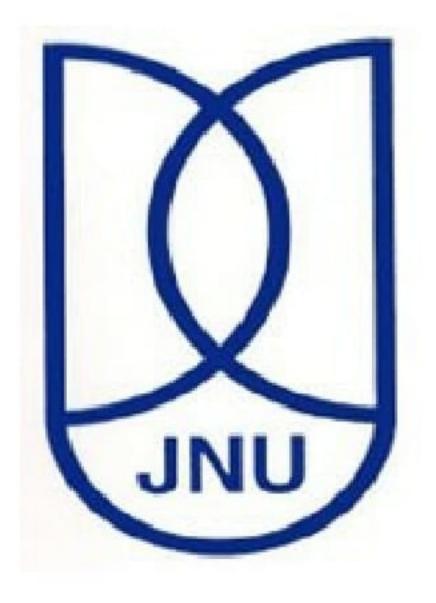# CONTEXTUALIZING SCHOOL ENGAGEMENT: A STUDY OF EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION AND BELONGINGNESS AMONG DELHI GOVERNMENT MIDDLE SCHOOL CHILDREN

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

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Date: 26 July, 2017

DECLARATION

I, Mohna Bhaisora, declare that this dissertation entitled "**Contextualizing School Engagement: A study of experiences of discrimination and belongingness among Delhi Government middle school children**" is submitted by me in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University. I further declare that the dissertation has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and is my original work.

(Mohna Bhaisora)

CERTIFICATE

We recommended that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in this University.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

School engagement is a widely studied term among researchers and has been conceptualized differently by various scholars. Since past years, the term school engagement has been used as having two aspects: individual level engagement and school level engagement. The individual level engagement involves aspects such as students' participation in the learning activities (behavioral engagement), their feelings of belongingness with teachers and classmates (emotional engagement) and their self regulated approach for learning (cognitive engagement). On the other hand, the school level factors involve aspects such as variations in school resources, their classroom structures, task characteristics (for e.g., Raudenbush and Bryk 1986; Lee Bryk 1988, 1989). To a large extent, school engagement of the students can also be attributed to students' experiences of discrimination in schools. These experiences might have an impact on students' school engagement (belongingness). Studies have shown that discrimination relates negatively to academic motivation among students (Wong, Eccles, and Sameroff, 2003). Yet, the relation between students' experiences of discrimination and their school engagement (belongingness) has not been studied much in the literature.

In a country like India, societies are stratified on the basis of a person's class, gender and caste etc. One cannot neglect these aspects in interpreting the Indian society. These factors tend to create certain beliefs, stereotypes, and expectations in the minds of the teachers, which might negatively affect students' academic motivation. For example, it has been seen that parents and school teachers do not expect children from low socioeconomic status to do well. They accept low performance of these children in school as the norm (Martin & Jackson 2002; Harker *et al*. 2004). Children are also discriminated on the basis of their caste in schools. Teachers and peers in school make the children (whom they consider to be of low caste) believe that they are socially inferior, which affects their performance and later, dropping out of school (Nambissan, 2000). Studies have been done which bring out the harsh forms of discrimination faced by SC children (Lal and Nahar 1990).

Apart from caste, there are studies which have shown discrimination in terms of gender. Results have revealed that girls are more denied than boys from access to schooling. Walker (2006), from her work on school culture argues that teachers believe girls do not need much amount of schooling compared to boys. Teachers also tend to cultivate boys and discourage

girls from studying subjects like mathematics and science. Similarly, children are often discriminated based on their ability in the classroom. Often, the children who perform well in class are treated with more respect in the school; whereas those who do not perform well are often discriminated by the teachers and classmates. An explanation for such behavior can be taken from the work of D.M Kagan (1990), where she talks about the labeling theory. The labeling theory argues that the teachers, counselor and specialists in schools assign labels to students who are at risk and to those who are underachievers. These labels create a permanent tag within the classroom or school for the students. Therefore, how one thinks is also interwoven with the environmental context of the person.

Lev Vygotsky from his work, theorized that mind exists outside of the individual, and individuals do not develop in isolation (as cited in Gredler & Shields, 2004). His work pictures a more holistic notion of the individual's mind. He believed that the person's identity is formed by the large social forces and mediated by the individuals operating in the environment. Unfortunately, most of the mainstream researchers have studied children without reference to the social and cultural context in which the development of the child is embedded. For example, the present study focuses on the age of early adolescence. Researchers have considered this phase as a challenging developmental period for the child. They have divided this age into three developmental periods, which entails the early adolescence (typically ages 10–13), middle adolescence (ages 14–17), and late adolescence (18 until the early twenties). Psychologists believe that during this adolescence phase the students get disengaged more as they progress into the middle school. It is seen from the past studies that as children progress from elementary to middle school, 25–40% of them show signs of disengagement (such as being uninvolved in school, unconcerned, not paying attention, and not trying hard in class) (Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbush, 1996; Yazzie-Mintz, 2007). Researchers believed that these signs of children disengagement from school are a normal developmental phase for the child.

These researchers have much of their work derived from the findings inspired from the works such as, Eriksonian theory of life span development, theory of moral reasoning by Kohlberg and cognitive development theory by Piaget in the field of psychology. All these theories in psychology have tried to understand the development of the child as going through particular stages, considering it as universal developmental change. These theories have somewhat underestimated the abilities among children by evaluating them on the basis of few psychological experiments which see any deviation from the "normal" as less capable or less

intelligent. Similarly, other developmental psychologists such as Bronfenbrenner (1998), has increasingly emphasized on the importance of larger contexts in shaping the path of youths, and the role of school level factors on students' outcomes (e.g., Lee and Bryk 1988, 1989; Raudenbush and Bryk 1986). However, this line of research has rarely attended to the relation between students' experiences of discrimination and school engagement (belongingness) in terms of class, caste, gender and ability. One has to study the impact of these factors on the school engagement or disengagement rather than blaming the child.

In the same way, the vast literature on school engagement has defined the term engagement as something abiding by the rules of schools. For example, the Merriam Webster's collegiate dictionary (11th ed.) lists students "commitment" in school as the word for engagement. The New Oxford American dictionary has defined the term engagement as "to attract or involve". There is also a multifaceted nature of the term engagement (Fredrick's et al., 2004) which has defined it as having three components, the behavioral component, emotional component and the cognitive component. The behavioral component focuses on the students' participation in school, such as students' involvement in academics, social, and extracurricular activities. The emotional component of school engagement focuses on the positive and negative reactions of students toward their teachers, classmates, academics, and school. The cognitive engagement focuses on willingness and thoughtfulness among students to put forth the necessary effort needed to master difficult skills and comprehend complex ideas.

Out of these three above mentioned components, it has been seen that the emotional engagement (also known as the child's sense of belongingness) as a necessary condition for learning-related behaviors and academic success. Numerous studies have supported this idea in school settings by showing the contribution of engagement in students' academic outcomes (McClelland, Morrison, & Holmes, 2000; Ladd & Dinella, 2009; Skinner, Wellborn, & Connell, 1990). It is seen that students who feel belonged in school, will achieve high on performance tasks, will be more emotionally stable, and have lower delinquency rates (Bergin & Bergin, 2009; Goodenow, 1993; McNeely, Nonnemaker, & Blum, 2002). Although, feelings of belongingness are seen as an important aspect for students, most of the researches have focused on the behavioral or observable characteristics of the child to study school engagement. Therefore, engagement as belongingness is less studied in the literature (Osterman, 2000). The mainstream researchers have provided findings which have identified individual characteristics of students and their family background, as an explanation for differences in school engagement (Glanville & Wildhagen, 2007; Johnson, Crosnoe, & Elder,

2001). It is important to take into account the school's broader environment in which students pursue their education (Gonzales, Cauce, Friedman, & Mason, 1996). The present work proposes to undertake a critical study of some of the writings on school engagement and identify possible gaps.

This study is an attempt to examine the relation between students' experiences of discrimination (based on one's caste, class, gender, ability) and their school engagement (belongingness). In a country like India, these factors tend to dominate every sphere of child's life and the boundaries are impermeable. Therefore, one cannot neglect these aspects while interpreting the Indian society. Also, as most of the studies on engagement are done on the white middle class samples (as cited in Fredrick's, 2004), the present study takes into account children from both low and middle socioeconomic status. This will help in increasing the diversity of participants in engagement literature. Taking children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds will also prove helpful in widening students' participation, retention of the students from the underrepresented groups. The second chapter will deal critically with the related studies and theories done in the school engagement literature, and the way it has been conceptualized in the recent times.

1.2 Dissertation Overview

The present research has been done to examine the relation between students' experiences of discrimination (based on their class, caste, gender and ability) and school engagement (Belongingness). As research among adolescents, stands as a gap in the engagement literature, the study has focused on 8th grade students between 10-13 years of age. These children fall in the early adolescents' phase of human development. Also, as most of the studies on engagement are done on the white middle class samples (Fredrick's, 2004) the present study focuses on children from both middle and lower socioeconomic backgrounds. This will help in the participation of students from lower socioeconomic status as well.

In the first chapter, an introduction to the concept of school engagement has been given critically. The main gap in the engagement literature has been highlighted. It is seen from the past work on school engagement that researchers have done studies on two levels, individual level and later on to the school level factors. These studies have neglected the role of social structural factors in students' experiences of discrimination (such as caste, class, gender) and its relationship with their school engagement. Another important thing to note here is that most of the earlier work on school engagement has blamed the students for their engagement or disengagement from school. The present work critiques some of the work and theories that have studied engagement as something internal or related to genes of the child.

The second chapter includes a critical study of the literature review on discrimination and school engagement. It takes into account the past theories of school engagement and how the term has been conceptualized from the past to the present. The study critiques the mainstream approach of blaming the students for every cause. This chapter also critically deals with the various methods that have been used by the researchers in measuring school engagement among students. The limitations and the advantages of each method have been highlighted, including the method which is best suited for this study.

The third chapter provides an overview of the study that was conducted. The results obtained from the present study, and the analyses of the data have been discussed in this chapter. Also, the means and the standard deviation of the students based on their social categories (for example, gender, class, caste) and discrimination was calculated. Similarly, the mean and standard deviation of the students based on their social category and school belongingness was calculated. Pearson's product moment correlation was used to assess the relationship between two categories, gender and social class with the school belongingness of the students.

The fourth chapter will provide a critical evaluation of the current study and a detailed discussion on the results. This chapter will try to present how this present research is able to contribute and integrate with the existing literature. It will also focus on the limitations and the questions for future research that have been observed.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

2.1 Background of the study

The concept of school engagement came to solve problems such as dropout rates among students, high levels of student boredom, low levels of academic achievement, and disaffection among children from urban areas. Researchers observed a steep decline in motivation of students across the grade levels (Fredrick's and Eccles, 2002; Eccles, Midgley, & Adler, 1984). Fredrick's et al.,(2004) noted that although in school there are several factors that are related to achievement and school completion, but school engagement among children could be the main difference between students who complete school and those who do not. These observations lead to an increase in interest in the concept of school engagement among researchers. Another reason that it gained more interest was that, the concept of school engagement is considered as "malleable". This means that it can be altered based on an individual's experience and reactions. Thus, unlike factors which are typically out of schools' control, the concept of school engagement is seen as an attractive area for intervention as it is something that educators can change. This led to a shift in research from academic motivation and achievement to school engagement among children.

Despite the concept gained so much interest among researchers, most of the work done on school engagement has neglected the impact of the social factors on the psychological factors. The early theories of school engagement have drawn findings from engagement's deficit-based model such as field of delinquency and school dropout. For example, the earliest influence on school engagement theory comes from the field of delinquency research by Hirishi (1969). He proposed social control theory in which he suggested that individuals commit crimes due to weak social bonds (including bonds to his parents, peers, and schools). For example, the less attached an adolescent is with his/her parents; the more likely he/she is to follow a path of delinquency. Other scholars like Coleman, (1966) from their work reported that the socioeconomic background such as parents' occupation, their education etc. plays a major role in student achievement than the school level factors (Jencks & Brown, 1975). Similarly, theory of involvement for higher education by Alexander Astin's (1985) has served an inspiration for research done at the secondary level. His theory states that the greater the student's involvement in college, the greater will be the amount of student's learning and personal development. These conclusions gave birth to 'schools do not make a difference' interpretation of their work.

Later, theorists started focusing on the school environment. Eccles et al. (1993) developed a person-environment fit theory of school engagement. This model incorporates both the individual and the environment in which the child is situated. It focuses on the contribution of the educational environment to psychosocial and academic adjustment of children. Another example of such work was by Goodenow (1993). She developed a theoretical framework called "psychological membership" which refers to one's sense of caring, support, and acceptance in the school environment. The results from her work showed that psychological membership of the child with the school environment was strongly related to achievement. In 1996, Catalano & Hawkins developed a theory of antisocial and pro-social behavior which was geared towards the development of children and adolescents. They called it as the 'social development model'. This model posits that all behaviors are influenced by a variety of forces such as the risk and protective factors.

Other models also emerged which have focused on certain components of engagement such as the behavioral component or the emotional component. One such model was identification-participation model of school engagement by Finn (1989). In this model, identification is referred to the emotional component, which includes feelings of belonging and the perceived worth of schooling. Participation refers to the behavioral component of engagement, which includes how often students participate in the classroom and in school activities. Rumberger and Larson (1998) also developed a two pronged model of engagement made up of social and academic components. In this model social engagement is similar to Finn's description of participation and is defined by participation in school related activities, class attendance and rule compliance.

Therefore, a shift was made to the quality of schooling children receives in schools (Rutter and Maughan, 2002). This changed the perspective from the 'schools do not make a difference' understanding to 'differences between schools'. In 2003, Furrer and Skinner introduced the idea of relatedness. They defined relatedness as the affiliation and strength of one's connection to others within a particular context. They found that a sense of connectedness or belongingness towards peers and teachers in school is linked with academic motivation and emotional engagement among students. Most of the researches have also used words such as 'school attachment', 'school bonding', 'school connectedness', 'school membership', 'school belongingness' (Jimerson et al, 2003; O'Farrell & Morrison, 2003) for studying engagement among children. Researches have also seen considerable variation in how this term school engagement has been conceptualized over time (Appleton, Christenson,

& Furlong, 2008; Jimerson, Campos, & Grief, 2003; Fredricks et al., 2004), this emphasizes the need for a careful study of the related concepts of school engagement.

Engagement is seen as a loose concept, replete with diverse definitions and conceptions. Scholars studying engagement among children have used various terms for studying engagement such as school engagement, student's engagement in school, student engagement, engagement in class, academic engagement, and engagement in school work. The term school engagement has been most commonly used in the literature. As mentioned earlier, most of the researches have also used words such as 'school belonging', 'school connectedness', 'school bonding', 'school attachment', or 'school membership' (Jimerson et al, 2003; O'Farrell & Morrison, 2003) for studying engagement.

In addition, there has been variation in the number of subcomponents of engagement including different conceptualizations. Some scholars have proposed a two component model of engagement which includes behavior (e.g., participation, effort, and positive conduct) and emotion of the students (e.g., interest, belonging, value, and positive emotions) (Finn, 1989; Marks, 2000; Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer, 2009b). More recently, others have outlined a three component model of engagement that includes behavior, emotion, and a cognitive dimension (i.e., self-regulation, investment in learning, and strategy use) (e.g., Fredrick's et al., 2004; Jimerson et al., 2003; Wigfield et al., 2008). Finally, Christenson and her colleagues (Appleton, Christenson, Kim, & Reschly, 2006; Reschly & Christenson, 2006) have conceptualized engagement as having four components: behavioral, cognitive, psychological (subsequently referred to as affective) and academic engagement. However, the three component model has been more used by the researchers. Therefore, each component merits a short review.

a. Behavioral engagement

According to Fredericks et al. (2004), the term behavioral engagement involves both academic and nonacademic school behaviors. It can be seen as positive school conduct. For example, it includes behaviors such as doing homework, following the rules in the classroom or showing signs of disruptive behaviors such as fighting, getting in trouble, truancy, and interfering with the peers (Finn, 1993; Finn et al., 1995, Finn & Rock, 1997). Other researchers have defined behavioral engagement as the students' involvement in the academic behaviors such as showing effort, asking questions, persistence and concentrating in classroom (Finn et al., 1995; Skinner & Belmont, 1993).

A major difficulty that has been seen in studying behavioral engagement is that it is difficult to distinguish between the terms such as persistence, participation and conduct. This is seen as problematic because, students who follow all the rules of the school, but do not meet the academic requirements, are different from those students who are disruptive, but persist and complete the work (Fredrick's, Blumenfled, and Paris 2004). Similarly, the term effort is used by the researchers in studying both the behavioral engagement and cognitive engagement and no distinction is made whether it involves a compliance of the rules in school or psychological investment. These indicators of school engagement also overlap with previously studied constructs in the motivation literature. For example, it can be seen that the literature on classroom participation, on task behavior, and student conduct is similar to work on behavioral engagement (Finn, 1989). Most of the researchers have measured the behavioral engagement by asking the teachers to rate the student's level of participation in the classroom (Finn et al., 1995). They have also utilized observational techniques to assess the students' behaviors (Lee & Anderson, 1993; Newmann, 1992). The second indicator is cognitive engagement.

b. Cognitive engagement

Most of studies on cognitive engagement among students have focused on the students psychological investment in the academic tasks (Fredrick's et al., 2004). Researchers have measure the cognitive engagement of the students by self report questionnaires of how children use different strategies in academics, classroom observations, and by their ability to self regulate. In that they have examined students' thoughts about school. Apart from this, there are other researchers which have examined the cognitive engagement among students by measuring students' engagement while they participate in the learning tasks. These studies have focused on 'in-the-moment' cognitive engagement which typically describe the ways in which students think deeply about ideas and concepts, how children make meaning of the material presented to them, how they use self-regulated learning and metacognitive strategies to master academic content and tasks. Newman and Wehlage (1993) have described students with higher levels of cognitive engagement as exhibiting 'authentic achievement'. They suggest that intrinsically motivated and highly engaged students take a particularly disciplined approach towards learning that extends beyond a desire to simply understand class content or receive a better grade.

c. Emotional engagement

The third indicator of school engagement is the emotional engagement or students' feeling of belongingness in school. The present research has measured school engagement as belongingness (also known as emotional engagement). The desire for maintaining social bonds and connections with others has a long history in psychological research. It has been referred to as the need for affection between people (Murray, 1938), affiliation motivation, the need for positive regard from others (Rogers, 1951), belongingness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Goodenow, 1993) and the need for relatedness (Deci et al.,1991). It has also been defined in a number of ways. For example, Deci et al., (1991) suggested that the need for relatedness 'encompasses a person's striving to relate to and care for others, to feel that those others are relating authentically to one's self, and to feel a satisfying and coherent involvement with the social world more generally' (p. 243).

Other researchers have used the term belongingness to describe students' social, emotional, and psychological engagement with school. Goodenow (1993) conceptualized the term belongingness or sense of school membership as the one in which the person feels respected and included in one's environment. Similarly, Baumeister and Leary (1995) explained in their work that the need to feel connected or to belong is a pervasive drive to form and maintain positive and significant interpersonal relationships. Libbey (2004) conducted a Meta analysis, on examining how students feel connected to their school environment. In her study she found terms such as school attachment, connectedness, school bonding and school belonging were used across studies to represent the psychological need to belong to one's school environment. Only minute differences were found in how researchers operationalized the variables, but all displayed the same theoretical assumption that belonging to one's school increases motivation and positive outcomes among students. Recently, Jose, Ryan, and Pryor (2012) used Baumeister and Leary's work to study the construct 'school connectedness'. The results showed that sense of connectedness was same as sense of belonging, as both describe an inherent psychological need in humans.

Researchers have used self report surveys to measure the emotional engagement of the students. Various scales have been developed to measure the emotional engagement of the child such as the social connectedness scale, the social assurance scale and psychological sense of school membership scale (PSSM) etc. The present study uses the Psychological Sense of School Membership scale (PSSM) school engagement as belongingness, by Goodenow (1993). Researchers have pointed out that PSSM should be used for studying

school engagement as belongingness as it is a more reliable and valid measure among children (Joyce & Early, 2014).

Results from a vast number of studies have shown that students, who feel a high sense of membership or belongingness to school will achieve high on performance tasks, will be more on emotional stability, and have lower delinquency rates (Bergin & Bergin, 2009; Goodenow, 1993; McNeely, Nonnemaker, & Blum, 2002). Also, an increase in school engagement is seen as negatively correlated with substance abuse, mental health issues in teenagers (Bond et al. 2007) lower rates of academic problems, delinquency, gang membership, and sexual activity in late adolescence. Noddings (2005) also emphasized on the emotional domain for well-being of the child. Rudasill et al., & Taylor, (2010) from their study on elementary school found that teacher-child relationships, which is characterized by warmth and supportiveness, tends to enhance positive perceptions of the school climate among students and decrease their likelihood of engaging in risky behaviors and manifesting depressive symptoms.

However, all these definitions highlight a mainstream approach in understanding the individuals. For example, the term personality has always reflected from the past 'individuality' which has been generalized to all societies and historical periods. If the child is not engaged in school the teachers and authorities blame the child. The socio cultural context is never taken into consideration. Same view has been followed by the school engagement studies in psychology. There is a need to socially contextualize these definitions of engagement which has represented everything as individual. The concept of school engagement which is considered as the child's 'need to belong' in school, is not solely individual but will depend on the everyday complexities of child's life. Most of the researchers have blamed the child for his disengagement from school. They believe that if the child's belongingness in school is low, it is due to the failure of the child to create positive bonds with others, neglecting the impact of social structural factors.

Modern psychology from its very beginning has tried to avoid a historically situated perspective. One such ahistorical tendency can be seen in the study of individualism, where every action of individual is seen as something internal and related to genes. Holding this thought is erroneous for oneself and for the discipline, as it has failed to understand the social reality embedded in ones culture. It is important to note that the cultural and the social factors have played a major role in shaping the child. An individual is made by the shared understandings of the cultural group. The talents, expectations, limits and prohibitions of the

individual develop from the society to which one belongs. As Gergen (1988), has rightly noted that reading the individual is not the same as reading the text. In order to study an individual one has to understand the cultural context from which the individual is coming.

In India, the social structural factors (such as class, caste, and gender) play a major role in shaping the development of the child. These factors will dominate every sphere of a child's life, like home, school, professional life etc. Past studies have shown that children face discrimination in school on the basis of their caste, class, gender and ability, which create experiences of discrimination among students. Therefore, by holding these aspects in mind one can be better able to understand how the school engagement of the children is not only determined by the individual or the school level factors but also by their experiences in the school.

2.2 Experiences of discrimination

The term discrimination can be defined as harmful actions towards others because of their membership in a particular group (Fishbein, 1996, p.7). The definition seems to be simple, but it is a more complex phenomenon. Discriminatory behaviors can range from exclusion to physical assault. It can be explicit and overt or subtle and ambiguous. It has been observed that subtle forms of discrimination are more difficult to detect than explicit forms, but they are often no less harmful to the victims (as cited in Swim et al., 1998). Institutional discrimination, for example, can be difficult to perceive but is nevertheless injurious. Discrimination experiences could be directed towards either the person (self) or in general (against the group to which one belongs).

It has been observed that children can experience discrimination as young as when they are in their preschool. Studies have shown that most children in their preschool years can feel that excluding someone is unfair from an activity because of one's gender or race (Theimer, Killen, & Stangor, 2001). Children develop an awareness of discrimination during the elementary school years. It is during this period that they report having additional types of discrimination. For example, studies have shown that by the age of 10, most children (about 92%) are familiar with the meaning of discrimination, with name calling the most frequently cited example, followed by an unequal sharing of goods, and social exclusion (Verkuyten, Kinket, & Van Der Weilen, 1997). Research by Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, (2003) has also indicated that the perception of discrimination among adolescents occur relatively frequently and within multiple contexts. It was seen that more than half of the Latino adolescents and African American adolescents perceived themselves to have been discriminated against in

public settings (such as, they reported being hassled by store clerks and receiving poor service at restaurants because of their race (Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton, 2000). They have also perceived themselves to be discriminated in the educational settings. For example, Fisher et al., (2000), from his study observed that Caucasian students (13%), African American (32%) and Latino (38%) have reported that they had been discouraged from joining advanced level classes, graded unfairly because of their race or disciplined wrongly by teachers.

Researchers have also explored children's explanations for discriminatory behavior. McKown and Weinstein (2003) in a recent paper, examined whether children understand that the endorsement of social stereotypes is linked to engagement in discriminatory behavior. Results from his study showed that knowledge of children about discriminatory behavior increase with age. They found that about 90% of 10-year-olds, 60% of 8-year-olds, and 30% of 7-year-olds, inferred that an individual's stereotypic beliefs would lead him or her to engage in discrimination. Further, these children also reported that by age of 10, children can recognize discriminatory actions that are both covert (such as being suspected of wrong doing) and overt (such as name calling). Children understand that these actions may be caused by others' social stereotypes, and they use contextual information to make decisions about whether discrimination is likely to have occurred. The underpinnings of this understanding appear to emerge as early as age 5 or 6. Ogbu (1987) in his article describes that the feelings of revulsion, aversion and disgust comes from the culture of dominant group and children learn them naturally as they learn other aspects of their culture. Similarly, it can be said that the educational institutions perpetuate such feelings among children through their curriculum and segregate the subordinated students in class by discriminating them by behaviors such as tracking, verbal abuse or neglect.

The likelihood of experiencing discrimination appears to increase over time. Studies have shown that this may be because as adolescents become adults, they are perceived as increasingly threatening by adults from the majority culture, and therefore their chances of experiencing discrimination is more from adults (Tatum, 1997, p.214-222). This idea is also supported by Greene, Way and Pahl (2006). These researchers conducted a 3-year longitudinal study in which they found that students of color (Asian American and Latino students) reported increased levels of discrimination by adults over time. The study also found that discrimination was significantly associated with decreased self-esteem and increased depressive symptoms. Studies have been done where racial discrimination among students has been highlighted by the researchers.

Spencer & Dornbusch, (1990) observed that the students of color, across all levels of SES, are frequent targets of discrimination. Tatum, (1997) in her book "*Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?"* said that "Prejudice is one of the inescapable consequences of living in a racist society" (p.6). Although one can find studies on children experiences of racial discrimination in schools (Dotterer et al., 2009; Dotterer et al., 2014; Smalls et al., 2007), where discrimination has shown a negative relation with the school engagement of the students. Unfortunately, not much has been done in understanding the relation between children's experiences of discrimination in school and their school engagement (belongingness).

In a country like India, it is often seen that children are discriminated in school on different aspects. The society is stratified on the basis of one's class, caste, gender which tends to impact the lives of the people and boundaries are impermeable. These factors are considered as natural inequalities among children by the schools which cannot be changed. This stratification also has a major impact on the educational environment of the child, where the schools are seen as discriminating among children. As said by Bourdieu (1994), that it is the educational system that is the central institution which controls how status and privilege will be allocated in the contemporary societies. To restrict the scope of this paper, the focus will be on relation between children's experiences of discrimination (based on ones gender, caste, class, ability) with the school engagement (belongingness). In the following paragraphs each of the variables (Class, caste, gender, and ability discrimination) has been explained in detail and research questions have been proposed. It is seen that the division in the form of ability, caste, class and gender has resulted in conflict and social tension in the classrooms. Class inequality has been a major social problem in many parts of the world. It is the inequality of incomes between individuals, families, or between different groups, areas, or countries.

2.2.1 Experiences of class discrimination

The income of the parents and wealth is seen as the means to explain student's success and failure in class. Traditionally, the education system looked at social class as an access to opportunity or resources. In addition to this, social class is also the beliefs, values, norms and the processes that work in and out of the school that produce school experiences. This social class is also dynamically shaped by the other systems of marginalization such as gender, ethnicity, race etc. Therefore, it can be said that the social class is a system that organizes and shapes the social life by providing some groups with more advantage than the other and this happens through the experience of schooling.

Class is although considered as a misleading group, still it strongly influences the way in which we socialize, view and experience our cultural and material world. A great deal of experience students have in school depends upon the social class of the child. The educational institutions are seen as socially conducive to middle and upper class values. It has been seen that children who are from middle and upper classes often experience school as supportive and in line with their cultural norms in terms of the language, relationships and expectations. On the other hand, the lower class students often experience conflict and invalidation of their socio cultural aspects which leads to a lack of engagement among them. These students are isolated from their socio cultural aspects and social class positioning even after they graduate from high school. Moreover, these students often experience cycles of isolation and disengagement that reinforce social class stratifications even after high school. For students who have experienced academic failure, the cycle may include being dropping out, being labeled as an outcast, unemployment, low-wage employment, lack of other options etc. On the other hand, students who have experienced academic success, the cycle may include completion of graduation, college, higher wages, leadership positions, and other positive options. Thus, the outcome has a direct influence upon the acquisition of social class aspects such as income, family, education etc. and the whole school experience of the student reinforces these cycles. Therefore, the school practices have a profound influence on student school engagement.

The schools often blame the students for their failure, but this failure is a collective result made up in large part of unjust practices, social class stratifications, deficit thinking, and alienating curriculum. Various researchers and scholars (Anyon, 2005; Anyon, 1980; Berliner, D. C., 2013) have repeatedly reported that the presence of classism in schools is an indication of and a reproductive instrument of oppression. D. C. Berliner (2013) reported on the continued downturn in education related to the social class of the child. His work revealed that social class is not only influencing student achievement, but the outcome of social-class influence on engagement is reinforcing and reproducing a stratified society. Aleman Jr. (2007) acknowledged that the inequities in access to education have continued to marginalize, labeled certain groups of students in school. It is seen that mere indicators or symbols that may call attention to a particular social class were enough to relegate a student to a separate track (Anyon, 2005).

Further, researchers have shown that a student's socioeconomic background likely plays a part in how teachers base their expectations. It is seen that these factors may sometimes

consciously or unconsciously mold teacher's understanding of how well a student will do, consequently affecting a student's learning. For example, if a teacher calls on poor or minority students less often in class than students from higher socioeconomic levels, this may send a message to students that the teacher believes higher status children responses to be more correct and insightful. Such biases held against minority and adolescents from low socioeconomic backgrounds may make it difficult for students from these groups to attain a level of academic accomplishment that will allow them to move up in socioeconomic status. Furthermore, this type of treatment by teachers, having low expectations for low socioeconomic status children can contribute to students from different ethnicities and background to develop hostile feelings against each other (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Apart from this, schools are also seen as placing students into low ability groups because of their class background. The school's rationale behind this is that, they believe children from low socioeconomic status feel social discomfort around students who are from the higher status background (Deyoung, 1989, pp.55-77). Therefore, in schools the dominant groups (such as children from middle or upper class, upper caste) naturalize themselves against which the "otherness" gets defined. In the light of the above discussions, the present study is an attempt to understand '*How class of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* Another form of discrimination in school is the age old caste system in our country. The caste prejudices still plague our society and has continued to dominate till today.

2.2.2 Experiences of caste discrimination

The schedule castes (SCs) were previously referred to as the 'Untouchables 'as they were widely considered to be 'impure'. They were exposed to social stigma and possess the lowest social status in the caste hierarchy. Although caste-based discrimination (or casteism) is illegal in India, the social stigmatization of the SC remains still pervasive within society both in the subcontinent and in the Indian Diasporas. The term 'Dalit' is the political term employed to refer to the SC, which has facilitated a more positive self-construal among group members. The Central Government of India has referred to an intermediate category of Other Backward Castes (OBCs), which are described as 'socially and educationally backward classes' (Government of India, 2009). These caste groups are considered to be less socially and educationally advantaged than the High caste Groups (HCG's), but are more advantaged than the schedule caste (SCs).

Dovidio, Major and Crocker (2000) explain that stigma is intricately linked to the value attributed to these social identities. Stigma is seen as the difference which is based upon a negative distinguishing characteristic of one's social identity, resulting in the devaluation and dehumanization of the individual group members (Dovidio et al., 2000). The socio psychological process of categorization is an important prerequisite for the segmental division of caste groups. The maintenance of the caste hierarchy through the process of categorization is likely to enhance the meaning of one's identity, since one is able to perceive social significance in one's caste group, particularly if the ascribed social position of one's group is positive. Moreover, it places the caste in-group in relation to out-groups, which in turn elucidates the social significance of out-groups. Although, the consequences of expressing one's own caste group membership may be positive for identity among high status caste groups, essentialisation of caste identity may impede processes of social mobility among the SCs (Mahalingam, 2007).

Despite attempts to improve the social status of the SCs, there is some evidence that social representations of stigma associated with the SCs have been internalized by members themselves, possibly due to the socio structural constraints upon social mobility (Breakwell, 1993). According to Srinivas (2002, p. 75), "a caste group may be regarded as 'dominant' when it 'wields economic and political power', constitutes a demographic majority, and when it enjoys a 'high' position within the social hierarchy". The social representation of SCs' as inferior to High Class Group (HCG) is attributed to their historical involvement in demeaning and 'impure' occupations, particularly by the High Class Group (HCG) members (Moscovici, 1988). These groups have maintained their identity processes thorough segregation. While on one hand, the Indian government attempts to blur boundaries between the caste groups through collective education, the HCGs seek to maintain and enhance group distinctiveness, first, by categorizing state schools as 'dalit' schools and thereby constructing them as inferior and second, by appropriating private schools as their own. Despite the various attempts by the Indian government's to dismantle caste-based stigma and segregation through the co-education of the HCGs and the SCs in state schools, segregation is maintained through the tendency of the HCG members to send their children to private schools, while categorizing state schools as 'Dalit' and 'Harijan'schools, thereby constructing this as SCs' space.

The data from NSSO, Census and NCAER shows that the children from scheduled caste have been disadvantaged socially, educationally and economically. These children tend to have lower school participation in terms of the enrollment and their completion of school

compared to the general population. The data from Ministry of Human Resource Development Bureau of Planning, Monitoring & Statistics New Delhi (2014) shows that the school enrollment rate of SC's and ST's in the middle school (6th-8th) is 12.24% and 5.61% respectively. This percentage has continued to decrease as they move to higher grades, which is 6.61and 2.53 for SC's and ST's respectively in grade 9th-10th. It is seen that children who belong to the disadvantaged castes are also discriminated within the school environment. Geeta Nambissan (2000) highlight from her work that the 'hidden curriculum' underlies the school processes. She talks about how the teachers and the peers convey the messages of social inferiority in the classroom to such children. Her work on children in rural India brings out the blatant forms of discrimination that are faced by SC children. Her work shows that children from low caste in schools are made to sit in one corner of the classroom and was also spared of physical punishment for fear of pollution. They were refused to drink water and were made to dine separately. There are studies which have shown the exclusion of SC students from singing songs and worshipping Gods (Lal and Nahar, 1990; Nambissan, 1996). Some studies have also highlighted the ill treatment received by SC children at the hands of teachers. Cases of teachers verbally abusing and beating low caste children, refusing to touch them and subjecting them to harsh forms of punishment have also been reported. Sarcastic comments on their caste/occupations are also often made (Nambissan, 1996).

These caste differences tend to exacerbate the social distance between the teacher and the students. The failure of teachers to empathize with such children is looked upon as the most important factor for their dropping out of school (Lasavi and Mehendale, 2003). Also, negative stereotypes against SC children on the part of teachers are common phenomena in schools. Promoting and favoring upper caste children reflects the biases of the teachers and is brought out in research studies (Ramachandran, 2003). For a long period against SC's, there has been a hesitation and collective diffidence towards the education among children. The adverse school environment has led to lower aspirations among students and have also affected their overall confidence *(Jha and Jhingran, 2002; Nambissan, 2000)*. Studies have shown that the lower caste children also face unfriendly behavior from the children who belong to the upper caste. It is seen that the upper caste children bully the lower caste children in school and do not treat them as equals *(Jha and Jhingran, 2002; Nambissan, 2000; Probe Report 1999; Kaul 2001). Rekha Kaul's study revealed that although inside the classroom the peer group appeared to be friendly with each other, outside the school, no such interaction was observed between the upper castes and the schedule castes* (Kaul 2001). On the basis of the

above findings, the study focuses on '*How caste of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* Apart from caste there are many studies which have brought into light the discrimination faced by children in school based on their gender. Research based on gender discrimination is important because there are various stereotypes about gender which influence people's behavior and creates discrimination.

2.2.3 Experiences of Gender discrimination

The mainstream psychology have "explained" and justified the structural oppression of women. Carol Tavris (1993), points out that women are compared with men as less self confident, low in self esteem, difficulty in developing a separate sense of self, the one who undervalue their own efforts. Sex differences are seen as a deficit in women. Taking example, from the field of psychology, the world classic theories such as Erikson's theory of lifespan development or Piaget cognitive development theory, all have derived their findings from the male samples and the results are generalized to humankind, considering women as inferior to men. James M. Catell, G.Stanley, Edward Thorndike, E.B. Titchener, Sigmund Freud who are considered as the founding fathers in psychology believed that women are less evolved than men and possess primitive mental ability, therefore, they should be excluded from high academic rank and professional organizations (as cited in Fox, Prilleltensky, & Austin, 2009). Men are always considered as more competitive and dominant. Therefore, if we see clearly, the field of psychology is deeply rooted into the patriarchal control of women, to which the answers are not seen in the society and the culture to which one belongs. The mainstream researchers have made women to internalize oppression and have neglected their voices.

Feminists have challenged the mainstream psychologists for mismeasuring women. Hyde &Plant (1995) points out that women compared to men are not different in self confidence. The differences between men and women is due to the fact that men are more likely to overestimate their performance and women try to underestimate it when comparing their performance with men. Besides these socio cultural constraints, it is also important to note that gender inequalities are also reinforced in the classroom, in many subtle ways. Studies have shown that the girls conform to the sex role stereotypes in the classroom such as showing 'feminine behavior'. These behaviors include being quiet, shy, being non participative in class. Such behaviors are expected of them by their own teachers in school. This leads to a restriction in their classroom performance and their academic achievement.

Gender stereotype in schools is also made visible by organizing seating arrangement separate for both girls and boys. In rural settings it is seen that there is an allocation of separate tasks for boys and girls both. For example, the job of lifting heavy articles is given to boys whereas girls are more into cleaning activities. The job of cleaning up is given to girls and that of lifting heavy articles to boys. As stated by Geeta Nambissan that all these behaviors tend to be a part of the 'Hidden Curriculum' in the school and these behaviors tend to reinforce gender identities among students in the classroom (Nambissan, 1996). Mickelson, Nkomo and Smith (2001) in their study compared gender inequality in Israel and South Africa in which the results showed that in Israel, girls are considered to be inferior and discriminated in education.

In some places sexual harassment is also a part of the school climate. For example, it is seen that in Uganda, the boys are empowered to be masculine and are favored over girls. This has made sexual harassment as covertly legitimate (Mirembe and Davis, 2001). Walker (2006) writes that male and female teachers tend to cultivate the minds of male students more than those of girls (in Tanzania). Kutnick (2000) also found sexual stereotypes in the classroom in which he observed that in classroom, boys are called upon less than girls. At the same time, the low attaining girls did not put themselves forward in classroom to answer questions. Nonetheless, if a boy is low attaining he is stereotyped as a behavioral troublemaker.

There are also studies which have also shown that girls' better academic performance in schools than boys is seen as a strong link with their family background. For example, the kind of schools they attended from a young age, with whom they lived, and their parents' occupation. Therefore, gender discrimination among school children needs closer investigation. Therefore, in the light of the above findings, it is important to understand '*How gender of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?*' Performance in the class is yet another criterion used to discriminate children where ability is strictly defined in terms of academic merit.

2.2.4 Experiences of Ability discrimination

To understand the performance of students in school the social factors at large and the school culture in particular both should be taken into consideration. A child coming from low socioeconomic status and the one coming from a high income group will definitely show a huge difference in the intelligence tests with which the high income groups are more familiar. But the mainstream researchers have neglected the factors with which they are not familiar such as the difference between the cultural disposition and the intellectual ability of the child.

Student's lack of motivation in schools is interpreted by the mainstream educational psychologists as an 'inability or lack of intelligence'. Not only, poor performance of students from low socioeconomic status is labeled as Inferior (Deyoung, 1989), by the teachers but also children are often categorized on the basis of their attitudes towards school, manners etc. One has to reject such medical model approach that view ability/disability as genetically defined. The need is to democratize this word 'Intelligence'. Holding a more democratic idea in mind will let the educators to see the difference not as a deficit and will let the educators to learn alternative models of cognitive development from students who were earlier considered as incapable. Such democratized view can be made visible by understanding that the nature of research is inscribed in one's culture. The attributes of intelligence that are unknown to psychology are ignored by psychologists.

Dewey (1933,p.13) conceptualized the term social intelligence, in which he emphasized on the broad social meaning that will help facilitate the contextual understanding and will lead to transformative actions. Therefore, for him cognition is seen as more democratic than the mainstream researchers have thought of it as a central processing mechanism in the human brain that can be reflected mathematically. Similarly, the term mastery is also created by the culture and the society in which one lives. Walkerdine et al., (1989) argued that female teachers evaluate girls as less clever than boys, as they feel that girls lack the spontaneity and flair that boys have, which the teachers consider as the true ability. Therefore, the mini scientist, like in the Piaget's theory of cognitive development, is the boy who is seen as more discovering, active and problem solver. These views, from Walkerdine et al. (1989) study, were maintained even when the girls outperformed boys in his tests.

Studies have shown that there are schools which tend to group students on the basis of the child's academic ability, which is called as tracking. One of the classic works on tracking was done by Oakes (1992). In his study, the students are grouped on the basis of their academic ability into more homogeneous groups. The teacher expects more from the groups which are considered to be better and stronger. The students in the higher track are usually the ones who belong to the privileged group and those in the lower track were the minority students who were from the underprivileged groups. A wide literature has explored how teachers' expectations of student's performance might influence achievement and classroom behavior (Braun, 1987). One of the classic works on this has come from Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) study which showed that students whose teachers were made to believe about the performance of the students lead to an 'academic growth spurt' in students. These students

performed better at the end of the year, despite the fact that these students were randomly assigned as high performers or low performers.

Edmonds (1986) found from his study that teachers tend to treat children differentially in school on the basis of one's caste, class, ability. These views are projected through their verbal and nonverbal behavior and by grouping students with respect to their ability. Rumberger & Palardy (2005) observed from his work that children are more eager to go to school during the early phase of their schooling, but due to ability grouping and tracking in schools children tend to lose interest from studies, become sullen and feel more isolated from their own peer group.

It is believed that the peer group in school helps in the development of child's metacognition. When children work together to solve problems they develop critical thinking. Thus, the cognitive activity which seems to be residing inside the individual is also in part socially defined. However, studies have shown that the low ability and high ability groups rarely make any social interaction with each other in the classroom (Putalaz &Gottman, 1981; Rist 1970). Based on above studies, it is important to know, '*How ability of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'*

2.3 Summary of the review

The above survey of the existing literature shows discrimination based on one's caste, class, gender and ability in school. Therefore, the objective of the present study is to examine the relation between students' experiences of discrimination and their school engagement (belongingness) of the students. Based on this objective the following research questions were made: 1. '*How class of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* Since previous studies have shown that student's socioeconomic background likely plays a part in how teachers and students base their expectations (Anyon, 2005), it was hypothesized that student's experiences of class discrimination in school will be related negatively with their school engagement (belongingness). 2. '*How caste of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* This question is in response to the work done by various researchers such as Lal and Nahar (1990); Jha and Jhingran (2002), where caste discrimination has been highlighted among students in schools by the teachers and classmates. Therefore, based on these findings it was hypothesized that student's experiences of caste discrimination in school will be related negatively with their school engagement (belongingness). 3. '*How gender of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* It is seen from the past studies that schools

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discriminate in terms of student's gender which forms part of the school like "Hidden Curriculum"of the students and reinforce gender identities among students (Nambissan 1995). On the basis of these past findings it was hypothesized that student's experiences of gender discrimination in school will be related negatively with their school engagement (belongingness). 4. '*How ability of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* Various studies have shown that ability based discrimination by the teachers and the classmates. For example, Walkerdine et al., (1989) argued that female teachers evaluate girls as less clever than boys, as they feel that girls lack the spontaneity and flair that boys have, which the teachers consider as the true ability. Similarly, it was seen that children from low ability and high ability groups rarely make any social interaction with each other in the classroom (Putalaz & Gottman, 1981; Rist, 1970).

Researchers have used different methods to study school engagement. Therefore, in order to come to one best method for the present research, it is important to review the past methods. This will give an idea about how researchers have measured the concept of school engagement, what were the limitations and the advantages of the methods that were used by researchers to study school engagement.

2.4 Methodological concerns in studying school engagement

Researchers have used both quantitative and qualitative methods to study school engagement. For qualitative research, observational methods and ethnography etc. have been used for collecting data. Others have conducted fieldwork where subtle measures have been obtained through direct observation of participants. One of the limitations of fieldwork is that it is considered to be demanding and the findings are difficult to generalize. Researchers have also used "experience sampling" or diary method. This method is useful as it provides considerable knowledge into the everyday process of engagement in students. It enables one to explore the specific types of situational and individual influences that can lead to feelings of belonging versus alienation for students in school. One of the limitations of this method is that although such diaries are a means of gathering rich data from students, these measures place heavy demands on the participants and may be unreliable.

Researchers have also used interview techniques in order to assess the engagement in school (as cited in Fredrick's & McColskey, 2012). Researchers have used interviews, both structured and semi structured with pre designated questions where participants are asked to tell their stories in more open-ended and unstructured ways. The present study has also used semi structured interviews to know how children view discrimination. What all types of

discrimination are present in school? Are they aware of them? The aim was to get a holistic picture of students' schooling, which involves their teachers, peers, classmates and school environment. To understand teachers' view about discrimination, the study also interviewed teachers. This helped in knowing what facilities are available for students in school, about other teachers' behavior with the students, background of the students, if students discriminate with each other in school etc. Also, what changes can students bring in themselves so that school can lead to an overall development? One of the benefits of the interview method is that, it provides reasons for variability in the levels of engagement. This helps in understanding the reason behind why some students are more engaged in school whereas why others tend to withdraw from the school. This method gives a detailed account of how students construct meanings out of their school experiences, how these experiences relate to engagement and which of the contextual factors are more salient. Despite these advantages, interviews are not without problems. It has been observed that the biases, skills, knowledge of the researcher can all impact the depth, quality and the type of responses. Questions for its reliability and validity have also been raise in the interview findings (as cited in Fredricks & Mc Colskey, 2012). Social desirability is another concern in the interview techniques.

Most of the studies conducted in the field of school engagement have utilized survey method where self report questionnaires have been used by the researchers. Various scales have been developed to measure school engagement among children. For example, School engagement measure (SEM) by Fredrick's et al., (2011) in the upper elementary grades among urban minority youth for assessing the relationship between classroom context and engagement. In addition school engagement questionnaire (SEQ) was developed to assess the ways in which parents, peers and communities assess the school engagement (as cited in Fredricks et al., 2011). Two other instruments were developed for the prevention of dropout among children such as student engagement instrument (SEI) and identification with school questionnaire (ISQ). Mixed methods for research are also applied for collecting data in which both qualitative as well as quantitative data is used for studying school engagement among children. A few researchers have also measured belongingness or emotional engagement of students by studying the relationships of the students with the teacher and the peers in school or with the help of teachers rating scale.

Another rating scale for measuring school engagement among students is the teacher's ratings of individual students' engagement in school. These scores are then averaged across students

in their classrooms, which gives an idea about the children's school engagement. Some of the teacher rating scales includes items which assess both the emotional and the behavioral engagement (Skinner & Belmont, 1993), and others reflect a multidimensional model of engagement (like the behavioral, emotional and the cognitive) (Wigfield et al., 2008). Teachers' ratings of students' participation into activities in school have also been seen as an indicator of the behavioral engagement (Finn, Folger, &Cox, 1991; Finn et al., 1995), and others reflect a multidimensional model of engagement (i.e., behavioral, emotional, and cognitive) (Wigfield et al., 2008). Researchers have also developed teacher ratings of student participation as indicative of behavioral engagement (Finn, Folger, & Cox, 1991; Finn et al., 1995), and teacher ratings of adjustment to school, as indicative of engagement (Birch & Ladd, 1997). This methodology can be particularly useful for studies with younger children who have more difficulty completing self report instruments due to the reading demands and limited literacy skills. Some studies have included both teacher ratings and students' self reports of engagement in order to examine the correspondence between the two measurement techniques (Skinner, Marchand, Furrer, & Kindermann, 2008; Skinner et al., 2009b). These studies show a stronger correlation between teacher and student reports of behavioral engagement than teacher and student reports of emotional engagement. This finding is not surprising as behavioral indicators are directly observable.

Appleton et al. (2006) argues that to assess the school engagement as belongingness among students, self-report methods should only be used because collecting data on this subtype through other methods, such as observations and teacher rating scales, is highly inferential. Another advantage of using self-report measure is that, questionnaires are often the most practical and an easy way to administer in classroom settings. They can be given to large and diverse samples of children at a relatively low cost, making it possible to gather data over several waves and compare results across schools. The present study aims at measuring the belongingness or the emotional engagement of the child; therefore, self report measure was used as it is a more reliable tool in gathering data. To measure belongingness, the psychological sense of school membership scale by Goodenow (1993) was used to measure the belongingness among students. A few researchers have also pointed out in their study that PSSM should be used to measure school engagement (belongingness), as it is a more reliable and valid measure of school belongingness among students (Joyce & Early, 2014). It consists of 18 items that aims to measure one's beliefs of being accepted and respected in school. This is an 18-item scale that has 3 subscales: caring relationships (CARING), acceptance

(ACCEPT), and rejection (REJECT). It is a self report close ended questionnaire for assessing the belongingness (emotional engagement) among middle school year children.

For measuring discrimination based on class, caste, gender and ability among students, a close ended questionnaire was used in which answers were framed in 'yes' and 'no' form. The questions were developed from the extensive review of literature on discrimination children face in school. It was found that students are often discriminated in terms of their class, caste, gender and ability in school. They are either targeted at a personal level (self) or at a more general level (group) in school by the teachers and the classmates. The questionnaire consisted of items in which children have to report their everyday experiences based on their caste, class, gender and ability, that have impacted them negatively.

Chapter 3

STUDY

3.1 Overview of the present study

School engagement is a term which most of the earlier researchers have thought as related to one's genes or individual. These researchers have done their study on individual level, blaming the child for engagement or disengagement. Some of them have also studied the school level factors that have an impact on school engagement The role of broad social structural factors have been neglected from the engagement literature. These social structural factors tend to create experiences of discrimination among students that might have a major impact on their engagement or disengagement from school. The present study focuses on four factors that tend to create discrimination experiences among students such as discrimination based on one's class, caste, gender and ability. These factors create differential experiences among students in school. Studies have been done where students report discrimination based on their caste (Lal and Nahar (1990); Jha and Jhingran, 2002) in school by the teachers and classmates. Student's experiences of class discrimination in school have also been highlighted by the researchers, where socioeconomic background has played a major role in how teachers and students base their expectations (Anyon, 2005). Besides these two factors gender and ability discrimination have also been reported by the students. Gender identities are also reinforced in schools everyday among children (Nambissan 1995; Chanana 1990; Ramachandran, 2002). Also, studies have shown that female teachers evaluate girls as less clever than boys in various aspects.

In the present study descriptive statistics was used to calculate the mean and the standard deviation of discrimination (class, class, gender, ability) and school engagement (Belongingness). Pearson's product moment correlation was used to study if there is a relationship between discrimination and school engagement (belongingness) among students. As there are only a few studies which have examined the relation between discrimination and school engagement, the present study adds to the literature on school engagement in this area.

<center>**3.2 Method**</center>

3.2.1 Location of the study

The data for the present study was collected from two Government schools in Delhi, Kendriya Vidyalaya and Sarvodaya School school. Both the schools are located in South West Delhi and are up to 12th standard. The first school chosen for data collection was Kendriya Vidyalaya (from 6th to 12th). There are 8 sections in each class from classes 1st to 12th with science, commerce and humanity streams. The medium of instruction is English. The school consists of students mostly from middle socioeconomic background. The other school was Sarvodaya School, which is from primary till 12th standard. This school includes students mainly from lower socio economic background. The medium of instruction in Sarvodayay (co-ed) Ss, school) is Hindi. The school consists of total 626 students and 17 teachers. The campus of Kendriya Vidyalaya School was much well organized, well maintained and much friendlier than Sarvodaya School. This provided more room for interaction and co-operation among students.

3.2.2 Sample

As the research gap shows that not much has been done in understanding the relation between adolescent's school engagement (belongingness) and discrimination (Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009). The study was done to examine the relation between children experiences of discrimination in terms of their class, caste, gender and ability on student's school engagement (belongingness). Also, most of the studies on engagement are done on the white middle class samples (Fredrick's, 2004). Thus in order to expand the diversity of participants, students from both lower to upper middle socioeconomic background was included.

The inclusion criteria for the present study were as follows:

1. Students who fall in the range of lower to middle class socio economic background

2. Schedule castes (SC's), other backward class (OBC's) and General category.

3. Participants included middle school children.

4. Students from government schools, Kendriya Vidyalaya (KV), JNU and Sarvodaya School (co-ed) Ss school.

5. Students from class 8th class.

6. Sample consisted of 75 participants (35 students from Kendriya Vidyalaya and 40 students from Sarvodaya School (co-ed) Ss school).

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7. Age group between 10 to 13

The exclusion criteria for the study were:

1. Differently able students were excluded from the study due to time constraint.

2. Schedule tribes (ST's) were excluded from the present study due to their low availability in the classroom.

3.2.3 Procedure of data collection

The data for the present study was collected from two Government schools in Delhi. Data collection from both the schools was difficult and also challenging. A number of schools were contacted for data collection, but most of the schools denied access to collecting data. The principles of most schools were hesitant in giving permission for data collection, even when they were ensured about the confidentiality of the findings. This took data collection a little longer. A total of 115 students were taken for data collection, but due to inspection in one of the school, the researcher was not allowed to collect data, and data collection of 25 students was done by their own school teacher. This resulted in biased answers from the students due to which, the data of 25 students from this particular school was not included in the present study. A total of 75 students were analyzed for the present study.

During the first day it was observed that both the principle and the school teachers were very suspicious to know about the study. A few of them even asked for a copy of the questionnaire to keep with them. The first three days were used to collect information about what all types of discrimination are prevalent in schools. A semi structure interview was conducted with the teachers and the students to get a general picture of discrimination and belongingness among children. After knowing about the most prominent types of discrimination in school among children, a questionnaire was prepared with four major types of discrimination observed in schools. As the questions were sensitive in nature, it was ensured that the teachers were not allowed to sit inside the class, in order to avoid any misleading information from the students. After taking permission from the principle and the class teacher, a rapport was formed with the students, in order to make them feel more comfortable. Students were persuaded to give true response for the questions asked in the questionnaire. It was ensured repeatedly to the students that their responses will be kept confidential. This made the students more at ease and confident. After taking informed consent from the students, the participants were handed over the questionnaire. Each question was spoken out loud to the students and it was made

sure that each and every question is attended by the students. At the end, students were debriefed about the study.

3.2.4 Measures

The questionnaire for the present study was developed in Hindi and English both, as the students were from both Hindi and English medium schools. The following tools were used for the present study:

A demographic detail form was made to know the socioeconomic status of the students. The form consisted of students name, age, class, caste, gender, education of head of the family, occupation of head of the family, income and percentage of marks obtained by the students in class.

School Belongingness: The Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM) scale was used in this study to measure school belongingness. The scale was originally developed by Goodenow (1993). PSSM aims to measure one's beliefs of being accepted and respected in school. This is an 18-item scale that has 3 subscales: caring relationships (CARING), acceptance (ACCEPT), and rejection (REJECT). Response options to each item were measure on a 5- point likert scale which ranged from 1 (*not at all true*) to 5 (*completely true*). The CARING subscale is measured by four items (e.g., *Most teachers at this school are interested in me*), the ACCEPT subscale is measured by five items (e.g., *I can really be myself at school*), and the REJECT subscale included three items (e.g., *sometimes I don't feel as if I belong in school*). Higher scores will indicate stronger beliefs for each subscale. The reliability of the scale ranges from medium to high, with Cronbach alpha scores ranging from .78 to .95 (Shochet, Smith, Furlong, & Homel, 2011). The PSSM has also been argued to be a reliable scale to use with school age students ranging from elementary to high school, and with students from diverse economic and cultural backgrounds (Schochet et al., 2011). Goodenow (1993) has used 3.00 as a benchmark score for overall average of the PSSM to identify students who have a low sense of membership in a particular school setting.

*The Discrimination Scale***:** Discrimination among students was assessed with the help of a close ended Questionnaire. The questions were developed from the extensive review of the literature done on discrimination in schools. The questionnaire consists of items in which children have to report their everyday experiences based on their caste, class, gender and ability, that have impacted them negatively. The questions were framed in "yes" or "no" form. The questionnaire consisted of items such as "Do your teacher's do not encourage

students from low socioeconomic background (class)? Do your teachers encourage only those students who are good in studies (ability)? A score of 1 was given to yes and 0 to no. Experiences of discrimination were derived by adding the responses to the respective question in all the four sets (gender, class, caste and ability). The total score in each set was then put into SPSS for analysis. It was seen from the review that discrimination experiences could be directed either towards the person (self) or in general (against the group to which one belongs). Therefore, the questions were designed in the same manner, involving both self and general questions.

Apart from this a semi structured questionnaire was also made to know about what all types of discrimination are most prevalent in schools and also how much students' feel belonged with the school. This questionnaire was used during the first three days of data collection in schools, based on which four prominent experiences of discrimination among children in terms of caste, class, gender and ability was taken in the present study. The interviews from the teachers and students were taken as support in the discussion of the results.

3.3 Results and Analysis

The main objective of the present study is to examine the relation between students' experiences of discrimination and school engagement (Belongingness) of the students. Four research questions were studied under this objective: 'How class of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?' 'How caste of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?' 'How gender of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?' 'How ability of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?' In order to answer these four research questions, the study participants were selected by utilizing a purposive non probability sampling technique. Purposive sampling is used in an attempt to knowingly select candidates based on their ability to provide the information being sought in the study (Padgett, 2008). All the survey responses were added directly into statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS). After entering the responses for both the school, the researcher checked the accuracy of the data entry. There were no responses that were left missing. Descriptive statistics was used to measure School engagement and discrimination. Mean, standard deviation and Pearson's product moment correlation was used in the present study which has been showed in table1. The means, standard deviation was calculated for both discrimination and belongingness. The results from the analysis are discussed below:

The mean score of students in class discrimination category was 1.80 for middle class students, the standard deviation was 2.93, and the mean score of students in class discrimination category for lower class students was 2.0 and standard deviation was 2.88.

The mean score of students in caste discrimination among general category (GEN) students was 2.71, standard deviation was 2.25, the mean score in caste discrimination among Other Backward Classes (OBC's) category was 3.0, and standard deviation was 2.89. Similarly, the mean score in caste discrimination for Schedule Castes (SC's) category 2.27, standard deviation was 2.02.

The mean score of students in gender discrimination category among males came out to be 4.38; standard deviation was 1.67 similarly, the mean score among females in gender discrimination was 3.12, standard deviation was 1.68.

Another category was ability discrimination. The mean score for above average students was 5.13, standard deviation was 2.25. Similarly, the mean score for average students was 4.80

and standard deviation was 3.74. For below average students the mean score came out to be 3.64 and the standard deviation was 3.17.

Similarly, the means and standard deviation was calculated for school belongingness.

The mean score of students in belongingness was 3.49 for middle class students, the standard deviation was .46, and the mean score for lower class students was 3.96 and standard deviation was .45.

The mean score of students in belongingness among general category (GEN) students was 3.74, standard deviation was .49, the mean score among Other Backward Classes (OBC's) category was 3.69, and standard deviation was .613. Similarly, the mean score for Schedule Castes (SC's) category 3.88, standard deviation was .44.

The mean score of students in belongingness among males came out to be 3.66; standard deviation was .50. For females, the mean score was 3.92, standard deviation was .48.

The mean score in belongingness for above average students was 3.59, standard deviation was .53. Similarly, the mean score for average students was 3.61 and standard deviation was .51. The mean score for students who were below average students was found to be 3.92 and the standard deviation was .46.

Apart from calculating the means and the standard deviation for discrimination and belongingness among different categories, a Pearson's product moment correlation was used to find the relationship between children experiences of discrimination (class, caste, gender and ability) and school belongingness.

Pearson's product moment correlation was used in the study. The results have been shown in table2.The correlation between class discrimination and school belongingness came out to be -.273*.The correlation between caste discrimination and school belongingness came out to be -.408**.The correlation between gender discrimination and school belongingness came out to be -.326**.The correlation between ability discrimination and school belongingness came out to be -.471**

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviation for Discrimination and Belongingness among different categories

Categories	Subcategories	Experiences of Discrimination		School Belongingness		
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	N
Gender	Males	4.38	1.67	3.66	.50	44
	Females	3.12	1.68	3.92	.48	31
Caste	GEN	2.71	2.25	3.74	.49	35
	OBC	3	2.89	3.69	.61	18
	SC	2.27	2.02	3.88	.44	22
Class	Middle	3.49	2.93	1.80	.46	31
	Lower	3.96	2.88	2	.45	44
Ability	Above average	5.13	2.25	3.59	.53	15
	Average	4.80	3.74	3.61	.51	21
	Below Average	3.64	3.17	3.92	.46	39

Table2

Correlations between Discrimination and Belongingness among students in schools

		School Belongingness	Class Discrimination	Caste Discrimination	Gender Discrimination	Ability Discrimination
School **Belongingness**	**Pearson correlation** **Sig.(2 tailed)** **N**	**1** **75**	**-.273*** **.018** **75**	**-.408**** **.000** **75**	**-.326**** **.004** **75**	**-.471**** **.000** **75**
Class **Discrimination**	**Pearson correlation** **Sig.(2 tailed)** **N**	**-.273*** **.018** **75**	**1** **75**			
Caste **Discrimination**	**Pearson correlation** **Sig.(2 tailed)** **N**	**-.408**** **.000** **75**		**1** **75**		
Gender **Discrimination** **RX**	**Pearson correlation** **Sig.(2 tailed)** **N**	**-.326**** **.004** **75**			**1** **75**	
Ability **Discrimination**	**Pearson correlation** **Sig.(2 tailed)** **N**	**-.471**** **.000** **75**				**1** **75**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2tailed).

Chapter 4: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the relation between students' experiences of discrimination and their school engagement (Belongingness) in terms of their caste, class, gender and ability among adolescents. Most of the earlier work on school engagement has been done in understanding the racial and ethnic discrimination among children. It has been observed that the students of color, across all levels of SES, are seen to be common targets of discrimination (Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990). Researches have also started growing in the area of how discrimination is related to adolescents' academic motivation and school achievement. Study by Wong, Eccles and Sameroff, (2003) have shown that discrimination relates negatively to academic motivation (including beliefs about the importance of school, the utility value of school, and academic competence).

However, there are only a handful of studies which have tried to study the relation between students' experiences of discrimination and school engagement (Belongingness) among adolescents. Dotterer et al., (2009) in their study have tried to examine the relation between school engagement and racial discrimination. One of the limitations that they pointed out from their work was that their study did not take into account the institutional discrimination (such as ability, gender discrimination etc.). Thus, the present study was an attempt to contribute to this existing literature by studying children's experiences of discrimination and school engagement (belongingness) in terms of class, caste, gender and ability.

As the present study was done in India, the social structural factors (class, caste, gender) play a major role in impacting individuals' development. These social structural factors cannot be neglected when studying individuals as it dominates the life of people since their birth till death. A major impact of these factors can be seen in schools, where teachers and the classmates tend to discriminate among students in terms of (caste, class, gender and ability) which in turn impact their engagement (belongingness) to come to school. The present study has proposed four research questions.

4.1 Experience of discrimination in terms of class

The first research question states, *'How class of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* The mean scores showed that students in the lower class category feel more discriminated in school compared to the students from middle class. However, the lower class has shown more belongingness than the middle class students. More belongingness means that the child is able to maintain positive and significant

interpersonal relationships in school. These results are different from the past findings where more discrimination leads to less belongingness. A justification to these results comes from the past studies where the role of social support has been a major influencing factor impacting the school engagement of the students. For example, it has been observed that peer relationships are particularly salient during adolescence, and that positive peer influence can motivate adolescents' academic achievement (Wentzel, 1999). In particular, peers seem to affect the academic engagement aspect of school engagement (Shin, Daly & Vera, 2007). Therefore, this could be one reason why students who feel discriminated still feel belonged in the school. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory has emphasized on the individual child and the layers of relationship by which he/she is surrounded in his environment (in this case the school environment). He believed that the proximal processes, (which he defined as the interactions of the people with their environment), are the primary mechanisms influencing the human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). He believed that in school the proximal processes that can affect the child although are seen to be many, but the relationship of the child with his/her school environment such as teachers, peers etc have a substantial impact in his/her belongingness.

Another support of this finding comes from the interviews that were gathered from the teachers. One of the teacher from Government school reported that '*Children love coming to school because school is like a recreational place for them. They get clean toilets, bathroom, mid day meal and scholarship, which motivate them to come to school. As the children in our school come from lower socioeconomic status, one cannot expect such kind of environment at home. Teachers in our school help low SES students given they are willing to do hard work to improve their academic performance.*' Therefore, based on these points it can be said that though the students from low socioeconomic status reported more discrimination compared to middle status group, they still feel more belonged to the school.

4.2 Experiences of discrimination in terms of caste

The second research question was, *'How caste of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* On comparing the General category (GEN) with the Other Backward Class (OBC's) category, it was seen that the discrimination score in General category was less compared to the Other Backward Classes (OBC's) category. Belongingness was more for General category compared to the OBC's. Studies have shown that the minority castes face more discrimination in school compared to the General category. The labeling theory by D.M Kagan (1990), which has been highlighted earlier in this study,

talks about the role of context where the teachers, counselor and specialists in schools assign labels to students who are at risk and to those who are underachievers. These labels create a permanent tag within the classroom or school for the students (Rohrkemper & Brophy, 1983). As discrimination has shown a negative relation with the school engagement (Dotterer et al., 2009; Dotterer et al., 2014), it can be said that as General group (GEN) feel less discrimination in classroom compared to the minority group (OBC's). Their belongingness can also be seen as higher to the minority group (OBC's).

Comparing the General category (GEN) with the Schedule Castes (SC's) category, it was seen that the Schedule Caste students have reported less discrimination and more belongingness to the school environment compared to the General category (GEN) students. One important factor here could be 'no social mobility' in caste. There has been evidence that the social representations of stigma associated with the SCs have been internalized by members themselves, possibly due to the socio structural constraints upon social mobility (Breakwell, 1993). Students from reserved categories also reported in interview that '*they consider discrimination- like bullying, name calling- as part of schooling'*. This might lead to students' acceptance of their low status in society and thus reporting low discrimination in school. As belongingness to school is more among students, another reason could also be a strong support by the peers or teachers in school. Social network theory by Coleman (1988), suggests that psychosocial and academic resources are provided by the peers which leads to enhancement in the academic outcomes (Coleman 1988; Dika and Singh 2002). Empirical studies have shown that peer relationships and social network connections have a positive relationship for academic adjustment (Furrer and skinner 2003; Wentzel et al. 2010), achievement (Pribesh and Downey, 1999), and positive perceptions of the school climate among students. This could also be one of the reasons for more belongingness among students.

These results can be further supported by the Social Identity Theory (SIT) in psychology. It is seen that when the group boundaries are perceived as permeable (where individual is not 'locked in' to a given group membership), the low-status groups try to escape their group and move into one that has higher status by pursuing a strategy of social mobility or 'exit'. Although, when the boundaries of the group are seen as impermeable or the escape is not possible, different strategies are opted. One such strategy is social creativity. In this the person who is in the low-status group position tries to redefine the meaning of one's existing low-status. He does this in three ways (a) either he compares the in-group with those other

groups which are even more disadvantaged. (b) Or he evaluates by using more flattering dimensions of comparison ('although we do not belong to a high class, but we are more happy than them'), or (c) the person tries to redefine the meaning of the in group membership ('God is more close to those who are poor'). This theory can prove to be beneficial in explaining most of the unanswered questions to school engagement.

4.3 Discrimination in terms of Gender

The third research question of the study was, *'How gender of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* The mean scores on discrimination were found to be more among males than females. Belongingness was seen more among females compared to males. Although, the past studies have shown that gender discrimination have been reported more among girls than boys. The recent studies on gender have shown mixed results. For example, Furrer & Skinner, (2003) have reported from their work that girls are found to be more engaged than boys during the middle childhood and adolescence years. These studies have added a new line of research in this area where teachers should look at the ways they interact with the boys in the classroom. Johnson, Crosnoe and elder (2001) from their study reported that females report more belongingness or emotional engagement during the middle school years, but as the grade level increase to high school, girls start reporting less attachment with their schools compared to the boys. Another explanation comes from Oyersman, Harrison, & Bybee (2001). These researchers reported that the girls are more socialized than boys to make more connections and relationships in school. This could also be one of the reasons that their belongingness with the school was seen as more compared to boys. In the interviews teachers reported that *girls are more interested in participating into extracurricular activities in schools. They also said that girls are more sincere in schools compared to boys.* On the other hand interviews from boys showed that *teachers are biased since they give severe punishment to boys compared to girls. Boys believe girls are more supported and encouraged for studies by the teachers.*

Another way to look at it is through 'personal acceptance of social stereotypes' among girls which reduce their perceptions of discrimination. For instance, in case of girls', acceptance of the stereotypic views that boys are better than them, will make them less likely to attribute any of their teachers' or peer's comments to gender discrimination. On the other hand if they did not support this view, they will be more likely to attribute this to a form of gender discrimination. These explanations are in line with the above reported results.

4.4 Discrimination in terms of ability

The fourth research question was, *'How ability of students affects their feelings of discrimination and belongingness in school?'* It has been seen from the results that feelings of discrimination in terms of ability is more for those students who are good in studies than students who are average or below average in studies. The students who fall in the below average or average group have shown a high belongingness compared to the students who are above average. Studies by Midgley et al.,(1989) has shown that the contexts of most middle schools focus less on intrinsic involvement with the tasks, and more on the grades and comparisons, than elementary schools. This has been confirmed by previous researches where elementary school teachers reported using instructional practices that emphasized mastery goals more than did middle school teachers (Midgley et al., 1995; Anderman & Anderman, 1999). Supporting Midgley's work we can say that with an increase in class the focus of teacher shifts from making children learn new skills or improve their competence to more grade based comparisons in class. Teachers put more effort into studies as they want to improve their results in the subjects that they teach. Therefore, any extracurricular activity is seen as a distraction by the teachers for the students.

In interviews high performing students stated that *schooling is good for their future and they can learn new things here. Getting good marks in exams is more important than other activities.* This is an indication that these students did not experience other aspect of schooling like bonding with other students, participating in sports and other extracurricular activities which will have a major impact on their overall healthy development. Teachers always asked students to focus on grades. Students who are good in school also complained about being bullied in school. High performer students also mentioned that *students in class who are low performers in academics and interested only in sports (calling them sports wale bache), bully them. These low performing students don't want to study and create indiscipline in class. They fight with other students and due to this the whole class gets affected as most of the teachers' effort goes in managing these kids.* On the other interviews from the students who are low in academic performance complained about constantly being tagged by teachers and high performers. Interviews from them revealed that *Monitors are biased as they sometimes write the names of these students on the board (to further report them to teacher in charge) without any indiscipline caused by them.*

Although the students who are from low socio economic background are often tagged in school, they love coming to school as they have good friends in school. They can enhance

themselves in sports and other extracurricular activities like drawing, music etc. They also told us that their families are supportive for studies and other extracurricular activities. Also, their classmates are of helping nature, in general.

The study also showed a negative relationship between discrimination and school engagement (belongingness) in all the four categories (class, caste, gender and ability). This shows that students' experiences of discrimination in school relates negatively with their school engagement (belongingness). A very low negative correlation was found between class discrimination and school engagement (belongingness). Similarly for caste, the correlation was found to be negative. However, a moderate relationship was found between caste discrimination and belongingness. A negative and moderate relationship was found between gender discrimination and belongingness; same relationship was seen between ability discrimination and belongingness. It was seen that among all the four discrimination in schools, the ability discrimination was seen as high in comparison to other discrimination categories. After ability, the caste discrimination was seen as higher, which was followed by gender. The discrimination in terms of class was seen to be the least among all the other categories. As the past studies have also shown that experiences of discrimination in schools relates negatively with the school engagement of the students. (Dotterer et al., 2009; Dotterer et al., 2014; Smalls et al., 2007), the same findings have been observed where students' experiences of discrimination (in terms of class, caste, gender and ability) in school have shown a negative relationship with school engagement (Belongingness) in the present study.

4.5 Limitations and questions for future research

There are also limitations of the present study which are underlined. The first limitation of this research is that although the questions were framed in the form of personal and general discrimination, I did not analyze them separately. This would have helped in understanding how teachers discriminate in school, whether personal discrimination is more or group based discrimination is more in school. This could be taken up by the future researches as it will help in understanding how discrimination occurs in school and its relation to student's school engagement.

Another limitation of the study was that it did not take into account the role of other variables such as role of peers or significant others such as parents. Role of social support from the peers, family or significant others, have been seen as a moderator or mediator variable between discrimination and school engagement by many researchers. It has been seen from the studies that having friends in school is seen as an important factor influencing

adolescent's everyday behaviors, such as exerting effort in class and doing homework (Kurdek, Fine,& Sinclair,1995; Midgley & Urdan,1995). Similarly, when parents and family members work for the development of the child, it increases their academic and behavioral performance in school and thus, increasing student engagement (Henderson & Mapp, 2002). There are researches which have shown role of parents and teacher support on the school engagement, but there are only a few studies that have examined the role of peers (Fredericks et al, 2004). More studies are needed in this line, as it has been found that positive peer influence can help in motivating adolescents' academic achievement (Wentzel, 1999).

The third limitation of the study was that experiences of discrimination were analyzed based on caste, class, gender and ability for all four categories. Whether discrimination and belongingness is high or low in various categories was examined in the present research. The research would have been better if the intersection between different categories would also have been examined.

A forth limitation of the study was that the responses from the teachers and the students were different. Responses from the teachers appeared more biased and in favor of the school reputation. This could be due to a lack of rapport formation with the teachers, as the study was for a short period of time.

4.6 Conclusion

The concept of School engagement is important for students as it has been linked with positive school outcomes such as an increase in school success, a decrease in adolescent troubles, and a decrease in dropout risk (Skinner et al., 2008; Fredrick's, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004; O'Farrell & Morrison, 2003). However, most of the work in the literature has neglected the relation between children's experiences of discrimination and school engagement (belongingness). Therefore, seeing the gaps in the engagement literature, this study has tried to examine the relation between children's experiences of discrimination (in terms of their caste, class, gender, ability) and school engagement (belongingness).

Researchers have observed from their work that children who are disadvantaged need instruction and guidance beyond the realm of academics to succeed in school. Therefore, one has to emphasize on the role of emotional engagement or belongingness in children. Johnson, (2001) has reported from his work that the affective domain or the feelings of belongingness with one's school leads to an increase in the overall student motivation. Unfortunately, most schools see developing children's' social-emotional skills as a low priority (Pickard & Toevs,

2006; Peleg, 2011). The present research measures school engagement as students' belongingness with the school. Whether a child feels connected to his/her school or not is important for future researches in the field of education. Also, most of the researches that have been done are on the white middle class samples. The present study includes students from the lower class and middle class both. This will help in studying engagement in school among children from both lower and middle socio economic background. It will prove helpful in widening students' participation, their retention especially among those who are from underrepresented groups. The present study also critically analyzes the concept of school engagement, its definitions and past theories. As researchers have seen engagement as something within the individual, the present study takes into account the role of broader social structural factors (class, caste, gender) in the engagement literature. Such work needs to be explored further by the researchers. Therefore, researches will come which will work on the same lines.

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Appendix 1: Consent form

Thank you for your participation in this study.

Purpose of the study: the study examines the relation between students' experiences of discrimination in school (in terms of their class, caste, gender and ability) and school engagement (belongingness).

Procedure of the study: you will be asked to fill in a questionnaire. The questionnaire includes questions regarding your basic demographic details, your experiences of discrimination based on your caste, class, gender or ability, and your feelings about your belongingness in school.

Confidentiality: I assure you that the information provided by you will be kept confidential. The information that you have provided will only be used for the purpose of this study. Your participation will be highly appreciated. You may choose to take part in the study or may choose not to. Please do not skip any question and ask if you don't understand any question.

If you are willing to participate in the study please specify your name and your consent.

Name:

School:

Age:

Grade:

Date:

Appendix 2: Semi Structured Interviews

Semi structured interview with students.

About School

1. Tell me about your school.

2. What do you like about your school?

3. Do you feel like coming to school?

4. Anything you would like to change about your school?

5. Over all how would you rate your school: Excellent, good, average, bad, very bad?

About teachers

1. Tell me about your teachers.

2. Is there any teacher who helps you when you are in problem?

3. Anything about your teachers you wish to share?

4. Is there any teacher you wish to change for good?

5. Do your teachers discriminate you or others in the class?

About classmates

1. Tell me about your classmates.

2. Are your classmates supportive to you?

3. Are there any fellow classmates you don't like?

4. Are you being discriminated by your classmates?

5. In what way would you like your classmates to change to make your classroom better?

Semi structured interview with teachers.

About School

1. Tell me about the school.

2. What do you like about your school?

3. What kind of facilities are there in school for students?

4. Anything you would like to change about the school?

5. How is the overall coordination in school among Principal, teachers, non-teaching staff and students?

About teachers

1. Tell me about other teachers in school.

2. Do teachers help students in problem or with special needs?

3. Any problems you noticed about teachers you wish to share?

4. Is there any teacher you wish to change for good?

5. Do teachers discriminate students in their classes?

About students

1. Tell me about students you teach.

2. Are the students of your class supportive to each other?

3. Are there any problems students face in general?

4. Do students discriminate other students in the classroom?

5. In what way would you like your students to change to make the school a better place for students' overall development?

Appendix 3: Demographic details form

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Class :

School:

Caste:

% of marks:

Education of head of the family:

Occupation of head of the family:

Income of head of the family (per month):

Appendix 4: Questions on Students Discrimination

Gender

1. Do your teachers feel that boys should sit with boys and girls should sit with the girls?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

2. Do your classmates feel that they should not sit with the opposite gender student?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

3. Do your teachers are more supportive towards the girls than boys?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

4. Do your classmates think that teachers in your class are more supportive towards the girls than boys?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

5. Do your classmates do not support opposite gender students?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

6. Do your teachers feel that boys are more suited for sports and girls for arts and craft?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

7. Do your classmates think that boys are more suited for sports and girls for arts and craft?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

8. Do your teachers use more physical and verbal abuse for boys than girls?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

9. Do your teachers discriminate in the day to day activities such as girls should clean the classroom while boys are more suited for outside work such as bringing the register from office?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

10. Do your classmates think that in day to day activities girls are more suited for cleaning up the classroom and boys for outside work such as bringing the register from the office?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

लिंग

1. क्या आपके अध्यापक को ऐसा लगता है की लड़के को लड़के के साथ और लड़की को लड़की के साथ ही क्लास में बैठना चाहिए?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

2. क्या आपके सहपाठियों को ऐसा लगता है की उन्हें क्लास में दुसरे जेंडर के साथ नहीं बैठना चाहिए?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

3. क्या आपके अध्यापक लड़कों के मुकाबले लड़कियों का ज्यादा साथ देते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

4. क्या आपके सहपाठियों को ऐसा लगता है की आपके अध्यापक लड़कों के मुकाबले लड़कियों का ज्यादा साथ देते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

5. क्या आपके सहपाठियों दुसरे लिंग के छात्रों का ज्यादा साथ नहीं देते?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

6. क्या आपके अध्यापक को ऐसा लगता है की लड़कों को स्पोर्ट्स में होना चाहिए और लड़कियों को कला या शिल्प में होना चाहिए?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

7. क्या आपके सहपाठियों को ऐसा लगता है की लड़कों को स्पोर्ट्स में होना चाहिए और लड़कियों को कला या शिल्प में होना चाहिए?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

8. क्या आपके अध्यापक लड़कियों के मुकाबले लड़कों को ज्यादा मारते और डांटते हैं?

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हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

9. क्या आपके अध्यापक दिन-प्रतिदिन के कामों में भेदभाव करते हैं जैसे की लड़कियों को class की साफ-सफाई करनी चाहिए और लड़कों को बहार के काम जैसे की ऑफिस से रजिस्टर लाना?

 हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

10. क्या आपके सहपाठियों को ऐसा लगता है की दिन-प्रतिदिन के कामों में लड़कियों को class की साफ-सफाई करनी चाहिए और लड़कों को बहार के काम जैसे की ऑफिस से रजिस्टर लाना?

 हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

Caste

1. Do your teachers call names to students because of their caste (jati)?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

2. Do your teachers have called you names because of your caste (jati)?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

3. Do your classmates tease each other in the name of caste (jati)?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

4. Have you ever been teased by the classmates in terms of caste (jati)?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

5. Do your teachers physically or verbally abuse other students because of their caste?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

6. Do your teachers physically or verbally abuse you because of your caste?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

7. Do your classmates physically or verbally abuse other students because of their caste?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

8. Have you ever faced physical or verbal abuse because of your caste by your classmates?

      Yes (   )   No (   )

9. Do your classmates do not want to be friends with students from low caste?

Yes ( )   No ( )

10. Do your classmates do not want to be your friend because of your caste?

Yes ( )   No ( )

11. Do your classmates who are from low caste are not supported by the teachers?

Yes ( )   No ( )

12. Are you not supported by the teachers because of your caste?

Yes ( )   No ( )

13. Do some of your classmates do not support others because of their caste?

Yes ( )   No ( )

14. Are you not supported by your classmates because of your caste ?

Yes ( )   No ( )

जाति

1. क्या आपके अध्यापक छात्रों के लिये जाति सूचक या जाति सम्बंधित शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

2. क्या आपके अध्यापक ने आपका नाम निकाला है आपकी जाति की वजह से?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

3. क्या आपके सहपाठी एकदूसरे को जाति के नाम पर चिढाते हैं?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

4. क्या आपके सहपाठीयों ने जाति के नाम पर आपको चिढाया है?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

5. क्या आपके अध्यापक छात्रों की जाति की वजह से उन्हें मारते और डांटते हैं?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

6. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपकी जाति की वजह से आपको मारते और डांटते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

7. क्या आपके सहपाठी छात्रों की जाति की वजह से उन्हें मारते और डांटते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

8. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपकी जाति की वजह से आपको मारते और डांटते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

9. क्या आपके सहपाठी निचली जाति के छात्रों के साथ दोस्ती नहीं करते?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

10. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपसे दोस्ती नहीं करते क्यूंकि आप निचली जाति से हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

11. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपके उन सहपाठियों का साथ नहीं देते जो निचली जाति से हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

12. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपका साथ नहीं देते क्यूंकि आप निचली जाति से हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

13. क्या आपके सहपाठी दुसरे छात्रों का साथ नहीं देते जो निचली जाति से हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

14. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपका साथ नहीं देते क्यूंकि आप निचली जाति से हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

Class

1. Do your teachers do not encourage students from low socioeconomic background ?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

2. Do your teachers do not encourage you because of your low socioeconomic background ?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

3. Do some of your classmates do not encourage others because of their low socioeconomic background ?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

4. Do your classmates do not encourage you because of your low socioeconomic background?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

5. Do your teachers feel that students from low socioeconomic background cannot perform well in studies ?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

6. Do your teachers say that you cannot perform well because of your low socioeconomic background?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

7. Do your classmates feel that students from low socioeconomic background cannot perform well in studies?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

8. Do your classmates feel that you cannot perform well in studies because of your low socioeconomic background ?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

9. Do some of your classmates do not want to make friendship with those from low socioeconomic background?

     Yes ( )   No ( )

10. Do your classmates do not want to be your friend because of your low socioeconomic background?

Yes (　) 　　No (　)

11. Do your teachers physically or verbally abuse students from low socioeconomic background?

Yes (　) 　　No (　)

12. Do your teachers physically or verbally abuse you because of your low socioeconomic background?

Yes (　) 　　No (　)

13. Do your classmates physically or verbally abuse students from low socioeconomic background ?

Yes (　) 　　No (　)

14. Do your classmates physically or verbally abuse you because of your low socioeconomic background ?

Yes (　) 　　No (　)

क्लास

1. क्या आपके अध्यापक उन छात्रों को बढ़ावा नहीं देते जिनकी सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति कम है?

हाँ (　) 　　नहीं (　)

2. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपको बढ़ावा नहीं देते क्यूंकि आपकी सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति कम है?

हाँ (　) 　　नहीं (　)

3. क्या आपके सहपाठी दुसरे सहपाठियों को बढ़ावा नहीं देते जिनकी सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति कम है?

हाँ (　) 　　नहीं (　)

4. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपको बढ़ावा नहीं देते क्यूंकि आपकी सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति कम है?

हाँ (　) 　　नहीं (　)

5. क्या आपके अध्यापकों को ऐसा लगता है की कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति वाले छात्र पढाई में अच्छा प्रदर्शन नहीं कर सकते?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

6. क्या आपके अध्यापक ऐसा बोलते हैं की तुम पढाई में अच्छा प्रदर्शन नहीं कर सकते अपनी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

7. क्या आपके सहपाठियों को ऐसा लगता है की कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति वाले छात्र पढाई में अच्छा प्रदर्शन नहीं कर सकते?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

8. क्या आपके सहपाठियों को ऐसा लगता है की तुम पढाई में अच्छा प्रदर्शन नहीं कर सकते अपनी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

9. क्या आपके कुछ सहपाठी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के छात्रों के साथ दोस्ती नहीं करते?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

10. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपके साथ दोस्ती नहीं करते क्यूंकि आपकी सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति कम है?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

11. क्या आपके अध्यापक दुसरे छात्रों को मारते और डांटते हैं उनकी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण?

हाँ ( )   नहीं ( )

12. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपको मारते और डांटते हैं आपकी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

13. क्या आपके सहपाठी दूसरे छात्रों को मारते और डांटते हैं उनकी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

14. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपको मारते और डांटते हैं आपकी कम सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

Ability

1. Do your teachers encourage only those students who are good in studies?

 Yes (   ) No (   )

2. Do your teachers do not encourage you because you are not good in studies ?

 Yes (   ) No (   )

3. Do your classmates support only those students who are good in studies?

 Yes (   ) No (   )

4. Do your classmates do not support you because you are not good in studies?

 Yes (   ) No (   )

5.Do your teachers always prioritize studies over other important activities like sports, music, arts etc.?

 Yes (   ) No (   )

6. Do your classmates always prioritize studies over other important activities like sports, music, arts etc.?

 Yes (   ) No (   )

7. Do your teachers punish (physically/verbally abuse) students who are not good in studies?

      Yes (　)   No (　)

8. Does your teacher punish (physically/verbally abuse) you because you are not good in studies?

      Yes (　)   No (　)

9. Do you think that the students of your class prefer students good in studies for friendship?

      Yes (　)   No (　)

10. Do you think that the students of your class do not want to be your friend because you are not in studies ?

      Yes (　)   No (　)

11.Do your classmates bully/trouble those students who are not good in studies?

12. Do your classmates bully/trouble you because you are not good in studies?

योग्यता

1. क्या आपके अध्यापक उन्हीं छात्रों को बढ़ावा देते हैं जो पढाई में अच्छे हैं?

हाँ (　)   नहीं (　)

2. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपको बढ़ावा नहीं देते क्यूंकि आप पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं?

हाँ (　)   नहीं (　)

3. क्या आपके सहपाठी उन्हीं छात्रों का साथ देते हैं जो पढाई में अच्छे हैं?

हाँ (　)   नहीं (　)

4. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपका साथ नहीं देते क्यूंकि आप पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं??

हाँ (　)   नहीं (　)

5. क्या आपके अध्यापक दुसरे जरुरी कार्य जैसे की खेल, संगीत, कला आदि के मुकाबले पढाई को ज्यादा महत्व देते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

6. क्या आपके सहपाठी दुसरे जरुरी कार्य जैसे की खेल, संगीत, कला आदि के मुकाबले पढाई को ज्यादा महत्व देते हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

7. क्या आपके अध्यापक दुसरे छात्रों को मारते और डांटते हैं जो पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

8. क्या आपके अध्यापक आपको मारते और डांटते हैं क्यूंकि आप पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

9. क्या आपको ऐसा लगता है की आपकी कक्षा के छात्र उन छात्रों से ही दोस्ती करते हैं जो पढाई में अच्छे हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

10. क्या आपको ऐसा लगता है की आपकी कक्षा के छात्र आपसे दोस्ती नहीं करना चाहते क्यूंकि आप पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

11. क्या आपके सहपाठी उन छात्रों को परेशान करते हैं जो पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

12. क्या आपके सहपाठी आपको परेशान करते हैं क्यूंकि आप पढाई में अच्छे नहीं हैं?

हाँ (   )   नहीं (   )

Appendix 5: Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM) Scale

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 5-point scale below. There is no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. **To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written**, and circle your numerical response below each question using the key below.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all true	Not true	Neither true or not false	true	Completely true

1. I feel like a real part of school.

1	2	3	4	5

2. People here notice when I am good at something.

1	2	3	4	5

3. It is hard for people like me to be accepted here.

1	2	3	4	5

4. Other students in this school take my opinions seriously.

1	2	3	4	5

5. Most teachers at this school are interested in me.

1	2	3	4	5

6. Sometimes I feel as if I don't belong here.

1	2	3	4	5

7. There's at least one teacher or other adult in this school I can talk to if I have a problem.

1	2	3	4	5

8. People at this school are friendly to me.

1	2	3	4	5

9. Teachers here are not interested in people like me.

1	2	3	4	5

10. I am included in lots of activities at this school.

1	2	3	4	5

11. I am treated with as much respect as other students.

1	2	3	4	5

12. I feel very different from most other students here.

1	2	3	4	5

13. I can really be myself at this school.

1	2	3	4	5

14. The teachers here respect me.

1	2	3	4	5

15. People here know I can do good work.

1	2	3	4	5

16. I wish I were in a different school.

1	2	3	4	5

17. I feel proud of belonging to this school.

1	2	3	4	5

18. Other students here like me the way I am.

1	2	3	4	5

1. मैं अपने आपको स्कूल का हिस्सा समझता हूँ

बिलकुल गलत ( ) गलत ( ) पता नहीं ( ) सही ( ) बिलकुल सही ( )

2. लोग यहाँ ध्यान देते हैं जब मैं किसी चीज़ में अच्छा होता हूँ

बिलकुल गलत ( ) गलत ( ) पता नहीं ( ) सही ( ) बिलकुल सही ( )

3. मेरे जैसे लोगों के लिए मुश्किल है यहाँ अपनाया जाना

बिलकुल गलत ( ) गलत ( ) पता नहीं ( ) सही ( ) बिलकुल सही ( )

4. दुसरे छात्र इस स्कूल मैं मेरी राय गंभीरता से लेते हैं

बिलकुल गलत ( ) गलत ( ) पता नहीं ( ) सही ( ) बिलकुल सही ( )

5. ज्यादातर अध्यापक इस स्कूल के मुझमें रूचि लेते हैं

बिलकुल गलत ( ) गलत ( ) पता नहीं ( ) सही ( ) बिलकुल सही ( )

6. कभी-कभार मुझे ऐसा लगता है की यह स्कूल मेरा अपना नहीं है

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

7. यहाँ इस स्कूल में कम से कम एक अध्यापक है जिससे मैं मुसीबत में बात कर सकता हूँ

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

8. इस स्कूल में लोगों का मेरे प्रति दोस्ताना रवैया है

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

9. अध्यापक यहाँ मेरे जैसे लोगों में दिलचस्पी नहीं लेते

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

10. मुझे इस स्कूल में काफी कार्यों में मिलाया/ भाग लेने को प्रोत्साहित किया जाता है

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

11. मुझे दुसरे बच्चों की तरह बराबर का आदर मिलता है

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

12. मैं अपने आपको ज्यादातर दुसरे बच्चों से बहुत अलग पाता हूँ

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

13. मैं इस स्कूल में जैसा हूँ वैसा बनकर रहता हूँ

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

14. यहाँ के अध्यापक मेरा आदर करते हैं

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

15. लोग यहाँ जानते हैं मैं अच्छा काम कर सकता हूँ

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

16. मैं सोचता हूँ काश मैं दुसरे स्कूल में होता

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

17. मुझे इस स्कूल का हिस्सा होने पर फक्र है

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )

18. दुसरे छात्र मैं जैसा हूँ ऐसे ही मुझे पसंद करते हैं

बिलकुल गलत ( )   गलत ( )   पता नहीं ( )   सही ( )   बिलकुल सही ( )