INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLING AND REPRODUCTION OF 'GLOBALLY AWARE' MIDDLE CLASSES IN INDIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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DECLARATION

I, Bianca Daw, declare that this thesis entitled, '*International Schooling and Reproduction of 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes in India: A Sociological Study*', submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

Bianca Daw

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation and award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyper-activity Disorder
AIU	Association of Indian Universities
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
A/AS Level	Advanced/Advanced Secondary Level
ASSET	Assessment of Scholastic Skills through Educational Testing
AV	Audio-Visual
BEd	Bachelor of Education
BMW	Bayerische Motoren Werke
CA	Cambridge Advanced
CAIE	Cambridge Assessment International Education
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
CBSE-i	Central Board of Secondary Education – International
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CIEs	Cambridge International Examinations
CIS	Council of International Schools
CISCE	Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations
CKS	Conservation Knowledge and Service
COBIS	Council of British International Schools
CP	Cambridge Primary
CQ	Culture Quotient
Cr	Crore
CS-I	Cambridge Secondary-I
CS-II	Cambridge Secondary-II
CV	Curriculum Vitae
DAV	Dayanand Anglo Vedic
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DPS	Delhi Private School
DU	Delhi University
Eco Club	Ecology Clubs
EFL	English First Language
ESL	English Second Language

EWS	Economically Weaker Section
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HM	Headmistress
HR	Human Resource
IAS	Indian Administrative Services
IAYP	International Award for Young People
IB	International Baccalaureate
IBDP	International Baccalaureate Diploma Program
IBO	International Baccalaureate Organisation
ICSE	Indian Certificate of Secondary Education
ICT	Information Communications Technology
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IGCSE	International General Certificate of Secondary Education
IHC	India Habitat Centre
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISA	International Schools Association
ISC	International School Consultancy
ISCO-08	International Standard Classification of Occupations
ICSE	Indian School Certificate Examinations
IT	Informational Technology
IQ	Intelligent Quotient
K-Pop	Korean Popular music
Lkh	Lakh
MA	Master of Arts
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MBBS	Bachelors in Medicine and Bachelors in Surgery
MCD	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
MEd	Masters in Education
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MSACESS	Middle States Association Commissions on Elementary and

	Secondary Schools
MUN	Model United Nations
MYP	Middle Years Programme
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCR	National Capital Region
NCT	National Capital Territory
NEET	National Eligibility cum Entrance Test
NEFT	National Electronic Funds Transfer
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NOIDA	New Okhla Industrial Development Authority
NRIs	Non-Resident Indians
OUP	Oxford University Press
OTT	Over-the-top
K-12	Nursery to 12
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PIS	Palmer International School
PS4	Play Station fourth edition
PTM	Parent-Teacher Meeting
PYP	Primary Years Program
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
RTE	Right to Education
RTGS	Real Time Gross Settlement
RFID	Radio Frequency Identification
SAS Nagar	Sahibzada Ajit Singh Nagar
SAT	Scholastic Assessment Test
SOS	Save Our Ship
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPICMACAY	Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music And Culture Amongst Youth
South-Ex	South Extension market
TCK	Third Culture Kid
TERI	The Energy and Resources Institute

UK	United Kingdom
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA/US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
UT	Union Territory
WASC	Western Association of Schools and Colleges
WHO	World Health Organisation
Wi-Fi	Wireless Fidelity
WWF	World Wide Fund

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. Statement of the problem

In the last three decades or so, globalisation has become a catch word – just as the notion of development had become in the decades of the 1970s and the 1980s. The term globalisation was popularised by the economist Theodore Levitt around the 1980s to understand the emergence of global economies and how they affect 'production, distribution, marketing and management' (Levitt, 1983). However, the economic theories have reduced the meaning of globalisation to the functioning of multinational corporations and international trade alone. While there was difference of opinions pertaining to the background of the concept of globalisation, the development of globalisation theories within sociology was discontent with the conventions of the 'World Systems Theory' as proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) in one of his landmark works titled *The Modern World-System* (Turner, 2010). Sociological theories, aimed at understanding globalisation through social and cultural factors that contribute towards the making of the world as a single holistic entity (ibid.).

Within the socio-cultural arena, globalisation has introduced new consumption patterns and lifestyles along with free exchange and mobility of goods, services, people as well as ideas (Stromquist and Monkman, 2014). For instance, Ball, et al. (2007) opine that, "Globalisation is a heterogeneous process. It has economic, cultural and political dimensions, and is made up of erratic flows of capital, goods, services, labour and ideas (including policy ideas)" (2007: x). It has paved the way for a 'network society' (Castells, 2004) wherein educational qualifications have begun to be accepted globally and are also 'transferable between education systems' (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004: 164). Such a consequence of globalisation was responsible for bringing in changes in the education systems across the globe whereby the system of international schooling has gradually begun to attain prominence.

Along with a definitive impact of globalisation on the education system, the rise in international schools in India may also be understood as a consequence of the neoliberal phase of transformation of Indian society around 1990s. According to Harvey (2005),

> 'Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade … Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary' (p.2).

Therefore, the introduction of neo-liberal policies, made it easier for private players to exert their influence in several areas including education. Due to such influence, we began to witness the establishment of private unaided institutions. With regard to schools, dissatisfaction with the quality of education in government and privately owned-government aided schools led to an increase in demand by parents for schools with better infrastructure, facilities and academic performance. As a result, there not only came about private unaided schools promising to fulfil all kinds of demands raised by unsatisfied parents. The private unaided schools thus began to gain prominence supplying parents with diverse options and opportunities available for different socio-economic classes. This kind of a demand and supply process makes the education system heavily market oriented whereby education and its associated qualifications get commodified. Consequently, "People attach new values to education. They see new opportunities and expect or hope that education will enable them to 'sell' themselves better" (Jeffery, 2005: 20).

Although level of fees must not convey ideas pertaining to the quality of school or education yet, commodification has made people presume that, higher the cost of a commodity (here education), superior will be its quality. As a consequence, "market competition forces schools to continuously improve their standards in order to attract parent-consumers of the educational 'product' they are offering" (Angus, 2013). As a result of such commodification, the meanings associated with 'education' and the 'educated' also undergo a transformation (Ball, et al., 2010).

International schools offering international curricula are such private unaided schools which are fully private and do not receive any form of aid from the government. Globalisation and liberalisation together have paved the way for international curriculum providers to offer their services and programmes in one's country of origin with the associated international qualifications being accepted globally. The school fees for such schools are high when compared to public schools yet, the international curriculum providers have been successful in establishing a brand value for themselves as a result of the services they provide. Parents seem to feel that the quality of education in an international school is superior to other public/private school offering national/local curricula. Although our study focuses on an international school offering an international curriculum yet, there are diverse categories of international schools operating in India and their numbers are increasing by the day. Therefore, at the very outset the study aims to understand the types of such schools operating in India along with the extent of their numerical and geographical range across the country.

In India, international schools, that is, schools that have received an international accreditation, have existed for over sixty years now. Initially, these schools (few in number) were established to accommodate only a small section of internationally mobile classes (mostly expatriates) whose nature of work demanded long periods of stay in foreign countries. Presently, we find that, international schools not only cater to such mobile classes but also the aspirational middle classes residing locally. And this is not just limited to India alone but has become a trend in other countries as well. For instance, a study from Qatar has shown the kind of influence international schools can have on local students' identity, career aspirations as well as choice of university based on its location (Kanan and Baker, 2006). Wettewa's (2015) comparative analysis on school choice conducted in four Sri Lankan international schools indicates that, a majority of students in these schools are local residents of Sri Lanka. Moreover, her work also points out that parental choice of international schools is limited to a privileged minority of Sri Lankans.

A study in Malaysia has focused on the experiences of students attaining international schooling in their own country in contrast to expatriate teachers in the same institution (Bailey 2015). Wright and Lee (2019), in their study in Hong Kong, have looked at

the potential of an international curriculum International Baccalaureate Diploma Program (IBDP) along with qualifications from 'world-class' universities in Hong Kong to enable local children to enter the ranks of a Global Middle Class characterised by professionals and managers. Bunnell and Hatch (2021) in their study in Japan have explored the process of admission followed by an elite traditional international school, which is experiencing a shift of its clientele from internationally mobile families to locally residing parents. Ying and Wright's (2021) work has looked into strategies employed by local 'new rich' Chinese families to enrol their children into top ranked overseas universities through international schooling as well as academic consultation.

In the Indian context there is Sancho's (2016) work in Kerala which looks at the branding mechanism of a school into an international one in order to attract local elite classes. Other studies include Gilbertson's (2014) work in Hyderabad, Sriprakash et al.'s (2016) study of an international school 'on the edge of a major cosmopolitan Indian city' (p.4), Atterberry's (2021) and Babu and Mahajan's (2021) work in Bengaluru among others (brief reviews of these Indian studies have been provided later on in this chapter). Despite the fact that studies on international schools which cater to local residents and act as sites of social reproduction are being produced recently in India yet, there is a paucity of research on the social composition of an international school. Since India has a myriad of such schools, any ethnographic work pertaining to such a school needs to look into the kind of clientele that any international school caters to. The fact that some of the earlier works point out the demand for such schooling among middle and upper middle classes other than elites needs careful deliberation. This point acquires significance in the context of the ever expanding population of middle classes with diverse characteristics and identities. Thus the proposed study aims to understand the social composition of the clientele that a particular international school caters to. Additionally, attempts are made to understand whether and how such kind of schooling is instrumental in the reproduction of classness.

II. Operationalizing Concepts: Middle and New middle classes, Global middle classes and 'Globally aware' middle classes

Middle and New middle classes

While Marx and Engels took long to recognise the existence of middle classes which they referred to as *petty bourgeoisie* in their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (2007), simply determining classes on the basis of a principle that weighs heavily on the 'economic', had been long critiqued by Max Weber, the sociologist who made advances on Marx's theory of class to incorporate the category of *status* (social esteem, honour and prestige), together with *party* (political power) in his work *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (1978). With the advent of the Bourdieusian theoretical armoury much later, it became evident that classes or classness can be determined by a host of factors that include possession of economic, social and cultural capital which enable shaping of dispositions (habitus) in multiple fields (of competition) (Bourdieu, 1987). Thereon, these forms of capital can be utilised to attain power and recognition (symbolic capital) and even lead to the reproduction of power (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984). Although, Bourdieu himself did not elaborate much about the middle classes except in his work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) yet, his concepts have been widely used by scholars (for instance, Butler and Savage, 1995; Ball, 2003; Cohen, 2004; Fernandes, 2006; Scrase and Scrase, 2008; Donner, 2011; Gerhards et al., 2017; Rowe, 2017, Gupta, 2020) to analyse the nature of middle classes and classness in India and elsewhere.

In the Indian context, some of the first observations on the middle classes were provided by the Marxist scholars like, A. R. Desai (2000), D. P. Mukerji (1958; 2002) and B. B. Misra (1961). According to Misra (1961), the Indian middle class was a product of the Colonial rule which wanted to create an "a class of imitators" (p.11) by developing the economy and introducing English education. Thus, with the assistance of an educated middle class, the British would be able to administer the country better as the middle class would act as a bridge between the rulers and the ruled.

Post-independent India witnessed the introduction of globalisation followed by liberalisation policies which changed the political-economic arrangement of the country and together with that, the nature of middle classes also experienced a

transformation from what it was during the Colonial rule. With a middle class already in existence since the pre-independence days, in post independent India, attempts were made to understand the middle class first by its size (number of people within the category) which was done on the basis of household income only. As a result, the National Council of Applied Economic Research (read NCAER) published its report in 2004 on the middle class titled *The Great Indian Middle Class*[1]. However, income and size based analysis have always been critiqued by scholars like, Achin Vanaik (2002), Satish Deshpande (2003), Ghanshyam Shah (2004), Andre Beteille (2007; 2013; 2018), Sridharan (2004) among others who have argued that, such analysis of the middle classes is limited and does not cover the category of middle classness in its entirety.

Vanaik (2002) arguing from a Marxist perspective points out that the middle class that came about after globalisation and liberalisation is the new Indian middle class which is "a part of the dominant Indian elite made up of professionals and various kinds of property/capital owners" dominating "the corporate world, the bureaucracy, the media, the domain of the professionals…But what it does not have is a domination of the politico-democratic process" (pp.228-29). Deshpande (2003) also analysed the 'middleness' of middle classes by offering a range of possible explanations to understand the Indian middle class and contends that, "the main function of the middle class was to build hegemony" (p.143) and that this intermediate class "no longer claims merely to represent the people" (p.150). According to him, middle classes are heavily dependent on cultural capital and its reproduction wherein, such capital may comprise of 'caste, community and regional identities' on one hand, on the other, it may include 'competencies like educational credentials, linguistic and other social skills' (p.140). Deshpande (2003) is also conscious of the fact that in order to understand cultural capital there is a need to consider it from the perspective of consumption which 'not only includes commodities and services but also ideologies, beliefs and stereotypes' (p.141).

Similarly, Shah (2004) also identifies the middle class from a Marxist perspective to be a product of capitalist development, which consists of 'petty bourgeoisie' and the

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[1] NCAER, New Delhi was established in 1956 and is an independent non-profit economic research organization which assists government, civil society and the private sector to make policy choices. See, https://www.ncaer.org/

'white collar workers' [similar to Mills' (1956) understanding of new middle class in the United States] wherein, "The former are either self-employed or involved in the distribution of commodities and the latter are non-manual office workers, supervisors and professionals" (p.223). Shah (2004) points out that it was the introduction of formal education which led to the expansion of the middle class and that a significant proportion of the middle class consists of upper and middle caste members.

Beteille (2007; 2013; 2018), on the other hand, uses a Weberian perspective in order to understand the middle classes. Going beyond the income and size based assumptions Beteille (ibid.) specifically focuses on status which, according to him, can be composed of occupation and education. According to him, occupation comprises of manual and non-manual work and the middle class occupations usually comprise of non-manual labour. In his works he also introduces the binary of 'old' and 'new' middle classes which we have elaborated upon in Chapter Four titled, 'Production of 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes: Parental Profiles and Life-Worlds'.

While trying to understand the middle classes at this juncture, one cannot ignore the contribution of Sridharan's (2004) work which provides an extended critique of the income and sized based assessments about the middle class. Using Beteille's approach, he tries to define the middle class by combining 'income with non-manual occupational status' (2004: 410). Sridharan (2004) contends that in order to understand such a class their sectoral and occupational composition must be taken into consideration, meaning whether they are located largely in the public sector, private agricultural sector or the non-agricultural private sector and thus, provides us with the categories of 'elite middle class', 'expanded middle class' and 'broadest middle class' (Sreedharan, 2004). What is interesting to note from the contributions of these scholars (Vanaik, Deshpande, Shah, Beteille and Sridharan) is the recognition of rural and urban caste compositions of the middle classes and its implications on these classes.

In contemporary times, Bourdieusian categories have been heavily employed by various scholars in order to understand middle class belongingness. In this regard the first scholarly contribution that comes to mind is Leela Fernandes's work on *Restructuring the New Middle Class in Liberalizing India* (2000) and *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform* (2006). She argues

that the "newness" of the Indian middle class is based on the practices of commodity consumption, lifestyle, taste and social distinction which have become the markers of globalisation and liberalization. She clearly points out that this 'new' middle class is not any new social group instead it is a "a new cultural image of the Indian middle class" (Fernandes, 2000: 90). Using Bourdieu's theory of 'forms of capital', Fernandes points out that the 'new' middle class employs a wide array of symbolic as well as material practices in order to demarcate itself from those belonging to the lower rungs of the society as well as those above them and thereby maintain social distinctions. According to her, this is a class which is more interested in private jobs, has a global outlook and may be considered as the "new rich" (Fernandes, 2006: 90). Thus, along with the accumulation and use of capital, social identity also is an important concern for the 'new' middle class in order to enhance their status in the local as well as global labour market.

While Fernandes' arguments are focussed on the accumulation and utility of capital in order to maintain social distinctions, Christiane Brosius (2010), on the other hand, argues that new middle classes maintain their social distinctions through aspirational lifestyles. For instance, she looks at the middle class tendency to visit shopping malls and be brand conscious, live in gated communities and feel secure and even conduct grand marriages to showcase their privileged circumstances. The new middle classes aspire to demonstrate such lifestyles through the aspect of taste in order to attain status and social identity (Brosius, 2010). Moreover, according to Brosius, "Imaginaries such as, 'world-class' are ways of managing their identities and their place in the world" (2010: 24) as the Indian new middle classes are heavily reliant on "visibility, visuality and performativity, as well as on a culture of circulation and a competence (e.g., taste, 'being cultured') to manage and decode them" (ibid.).

One will find close resemblances in Nita Mathur's (2018) work with that of Fernandes' (2000; 2006) and Brosius' (2010). She looks at shopping preferences through peer pressure, money, the site for shopping and brand value among other factors in order to determine new middle class belonging among people. However, she argues that, though the new middle class has been conceived as consumerist yet, it is extremely cautious when it comes to seeking value for money. According to Mathur (2018), 'this class monitors its own consumption patterns very closely in order to

maintain the image about the social identity which they project about themselves'
(p.70).

Through the works of scholars like Srivastava (2009; 2012), Saavala (2010), Donner (2011) and Dickey (2012), we can find a slightly different analysis of the middle class life which is associated with morality and precarity. On one hand, their works bring out the social status that the new middle class maintains through novel lifestyles that are distinct from the old middle classes. On the other hand, they also point out the precarious nature of this new middle class. From their work, the idea that comes to the fore is that this class always strives to maintain its distinction from those below and get accepted by those at par or higher up the social ladder, by associating moral values and social identities with everyday practices. Thus, reiterating the Bourdieusian conceptualization of 'taste', Polson (2011) points out that Bourdieu, "identifies cultural distinction as the primary mechanism through which the new middle class (the new petit bourgeoisie) differentiates itself from upper and lower classes" (p.149).

The Indian middle classes therefore, are not homogeneous even though they might appear to be so. There are socio-economic diversities (income, wealth, status and privilege) within the middle classes that need to be recognised (Jodhka and Prakash, 2016). According to Jodhka and Prakash (2016), such diversities along with consumption patterns help to shape middle class identities. The shift in the image of old middle classes to new middle classes has been looked at by the above the mentioned scholars from the vantage point of consumption and lived experiences which have become crucial sources of identity for the new middle classes. Moreover, neo-liberal policies have opened up huge avenues for the new middle classes (especially the urban middle classes) to become 'agents of globalisation' in the country (Awasthi, 2020 in Suter et al., 2020). Thus, the new middle classes began to be identified with not just global mobility as is commonly understood but also with 'global awareness' that may be produced as a result of being in globalised conditions and nature of work. In some respect, such middle classes being recently recognised as global middle classes have triggered the growth of international schools in India and the same will be delineated during the course of this study.

Global middle classes

In the introduction to their volume constitutive of ethnographic works on the global middle classes around the world, Rachel Heiman et al. (2012) have acknowledged that all of the contributors do share the basic understanding of class as a socio-cultural phenomenon - something that emerges as a product of industrial relations of production and the modern state, and at the same time also incorporate notions such as status and habitus respectively. According to them, status and habitus are "the ways in which they are implicated in class relations, even if, as in the case of status, they are social phenomena not specific to capitalist relations of production" (Heiman et al. 2012: 9). By this logic, they attribute that middle classes and middle-class culture are by-products of the "lived experience or manifestation of particular kinds of socio-economic relations that arise within certain historical and spatial circumstances and are articulated in and through culturally specific parameters of gender, nation, race, caste, ethnicity, and empire" (Heiman et al., 2012: 13). They further note that,

> 'new (neoliberal) middle classes have emerged, with their members typically clustered around the new centers of global finance......."global cities", where they are best situated to feed off the "trickle down" largesse of the......neoliberal economic boom' (Heiman et al. 2012: 14).

Nonetheless, much of the theoretical and empirical literature on class advantages accrued by the global middle class comes from the works of Ball (2003; 2009) who points out that the 'global middle class' consists of experts, managers and professionals of transnational and multinational companies who travel around the world along with their families. Nonetheless, this is not the only reference point. According to Ball (2009), 'global middle class' can be understood as a 'global service class' – ones who neither control nor own the global capital[2]. They are simply responsible for providing their service for the perpetuation of global capital. Due to the nature of their work and lifestyle, the 'global middle class' manoeuvres from one 'global city' (a concept popularised by Saskia Sassen, 1991) to the other. Such cities tend to accumulate and disseminate vast socio-economic and cultural resources which become increasingly important in the context of privatisation of education vis-à-vis international schools (Ball, 2009; 2014).

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[2] Such has been pointed out by the well-known British sociologist John H. Goldthorpe (1995). Also refer to the works of Bennett et al., 2009; Savage et al. 2013; 2015 on social class.

Alternatively, the 'global middle class' has been considered by Koo (2016) as "people who possess adequate economic and cultural resources to participate actively in the global market of consumption and education and seek social mobility and identity in the new global environment. More succinctly, we can define *the global middle class as a globally oriented, globally connected, and globally mobile segment of the middle class*" (p.449).

On the other hand, although scholars have not discussed much about the social background of global elites yet, as distinct from the global middle class, the global elite has been understood by scholars mostly from the vantage point of globalisation which constantly alters the balance of power (Robinson, 2000) as well as the flows of power (Zanten et al., 2015) between and among classes. As a result, globalisation has given rise to a number of categories of actors among which global elite is a fairly recent addition. Sklair (2001) has provided us with four categories ('fractions') of global elite which include the 'corporate fraction' comprising of senior managers of transnational corporations; 'state fraction' which includes political and bureaucratic elites exercising international influence; 'technical fraction' consisting of professionals working across borders and finally, 'consumerist fraction' comprising of merchants and media operating globally. These categories, as stated earlier, sound more like upper echelons of the middle classes.

Further, Hoffmann-Lange's (2012) more recent work points out that global elite is a relatively new concept in the vast body of literature on elites. The author claims that the global elite do not just belong to Informational Technology (IT) professions, transnational associations, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and/or any other international organisations. They also comprise of people whose wealth is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for their elitism since they enjoy the elite status in their own country as a result of their multiple global activities.

According to Robinson (2000), the global elite are an agent of the global economy who can also be referred to as the *transnational elite* controlling global power and exercising their monopoly in global decision making. They comprise of 'owners and managers, bureaucrats, cadres and technicians' of transnational organisations, political figures, charismatic personalities of society and media as well as some intellectuals who are known to provide ideas and opinions for the distribution of

power and authority on the global stage (p.90). The global elite might also be understood as those whom Bauman (1991) refers to as *globals.* According to him, the 'globals' lead a 'liquid life' in the era of globalisation wherein the meaning of home for them has become problematic. The 'globals' are no longer restrained by ties of home or nation. Instead, for such people the home or nation is substituted by transnational connections and a growing fluidity in the connections with their native regions and cultures.

Whether it is the global middle class or the global elite, both the categories have developed their own novel means to secure various advantages for their children especially through the educational system. In this regard, school choice (Ball, 2003) has become an extremely important point of consideration for both categories of people and is much dependent on their access to economic and cultural resources. It is no longer unknown that international mobility of students and professionals has increased to a large extent as a consequence of which there has been a proliferation of international schools globally. As pointed out by scholars like MacKenzie et al. (2003) and Hayden (2011), the choice of international schools by the parents is being moulded by the process of globalisation which has transformed the education system into a form of market and as a result education has become commodified.

Bussolo et al. (2011) suggest that, the global middle class comprise of a group of people who can afford, and demand access to the standards of living previously reserved mainly for the residents of developed countries (p.1). According to a baseline or a model that they have developed,

> 'In 2030, 16.6 percent of the world population will belong to what can be called a "global middle class," up from 7.9 percent in 2000. That is, in 2030 more than a billion people in developing countries will buy cars, engage in international tourism, demand world-class products, and require international standards for higher education. Compare that with only 250 million people in developing countries who had access to these kinds of living standards in 2000. This large middle class will create rapidly growing markets for international products and services—and become a new force in domestic politics' (Bussolo et al., 2011: 4).

Bussolo et al. (2011) further state that 'such an increase in income dispersion helps the richest five percent of Indian citizens to enter into the global middle class' (p.18). Further, it is also noted that, such a rise will also affect a demand for services wherein, the correlation between income and access to health or education would enable the growing middle class to demand 'better' and 'more' of the same. Hence, they believe that such increasing demand needs to be addressed by policy-makers as it would put pressure on the budgets of governments (2011: 19). Following Ball (2009) and Bussolo et al. (2011), the researcher has made attempts to profile the parents and students in this study – by reviewing contemporary literature in the Indian context on the middle classes; by getting first-hand information from the school authorities on their clientele and finally by gauging the profiles of this clientele through in-depth interviews.

In doing so, the researcher has learnt that the group of parent in this study does not comprise the 'owners of global capital' (Ball, 2009) but, one that "can afford, and demand access to, the standards of living previously reserved mainly for the residents of developed countries" (Bussolo et al., 2011:1). Also, this clientele did not seem to fit in very well within the category of global middle classes as has been understood by different scholars. Therefore, we aim to introduce a novel classification for the purpose of this study which we would like to denote as 'globally aware' middle classes.

'Globally aware' middle classes

There are scholarly works (for instance, Hanvey, 1982; Anderson, 1982; Burnouf, 2004; Noddings, 2005; Merryfield, 2008; Elliot, et al., 2010; Barrow, 2017) pertaining to what is global awareness and how one can be formally socialized in order to develop such awareness. However, studies based on 'globally aware' middle classes have not yet found its place within academic discussions and studies. Hanvey (1975) proposed five dimensions through which 'global awareness' can be instilled: perspective consciousness, "state of the planet" awareness, cross-cultural awareness, knowledge of global dynamics, awareness of human choices (Hanvey, 1975). Helping students to develop such awareness has become pertinent today in order to prevent young minds from falling prey to the vicious "cycle of fear and hatred based on ignorance and misunderstanding" (Barrow: 2017: 164). A more recent explanation

offered by Merryfield (2008) states that, 'global awareness' can be understood as "habits of the mind that foster knowledge, interest and engagement in global issues, local/global connections, and diverse cultures" (Merryfield, 2008: 363). Borrowing Merryfield's (2008) ideas, this study, on the one hand, aims to understand how the informants (here parents and students) of this study may be referred to as 'globally aware' based on their habits, interests, engagements, connections and how such awareness can be instrumental in international school choice-making. On the other hand, the study will also explore the ways in which an international school reproduces such 'globally aware' middle classness among its student clientele.

III. Theoretical Background

According to Bourdieu (1986) inequality in scholastic achievement of children from diverse social classes must be understood by relating their 'academic success to the distribution of cultural capital between classes and class fractions' rather than simply judging success or failure on the basis of aptitudes comprising of abilities and talents (p.17). He points out that an understanding of scholastic achievement must not only include an understanding of educational strategies but also the strategies of reproduction employed by the family and the school. For Bourdieu, the family's role in transmitting its cultural capital to the children must be given primacy if one wants to understand the relationship between 'academic ability' and 'academic investment' (ibid). Therefore, according to Bourdieu, an educational system has a crucial role to play in the reproduction of the social class structure since; it is through the system of education that 'hereditary transmission of cultural capital' takes place (ibid.).

Bourdieu's views on education have been shaped in the context of French schools wherein he gives central focus to the way schools in France play an important role in the reproduction of social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the other. These inequalities are the result of a friction between two aspects of schooling – one being the 'conservative' aspect of schooling which aims at preserving knowledge and experience from one generation to the other, the second is the 'dynamic' aspect of schooling which caters to the growth of new knowledge (Bourdieu, 2012).

Stressing more on the 'conservative' aspect of schooling, Bourdieu (2012) points out that the schools preserve and generate the culture of the dominant classes, those which

have a control over economic, social and political resources thereby excluding the working classes. There is an attempt by the educational institutions to favour those who have access to cultural capital and thereby perpetuate inequality and contribute to the reproduction of hierarchy among social groups and the reproduction of the 'dominant habitus' (Nash, 2001). The school by practicing exclusion therefore, engages itself not in an act of recognition but rather misrecognition that arises out of perception because in an attempt to give access to those endowed with cultural capital, the school is unable to perceive the violence that it symbolically inflicts upon others who do not get access to a school (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). As a result, such misrecognition of 'capital' which in turn leads to misrecognition of power gives rise to 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1996) which he defines as the "violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 167). Furthermore, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), schools function under certain constraints of a particular habitus - usually the habitus of the family. However, they do not just engage in a passive reproduction of the habitus acquired by the family but also exercise their own power to shape the consciousness of students (ibid.).

According to Nash (2001), Bourdieu has pointed out that schools also engage in a 'statistical mode of reproduction' wherein, schooling has made educational qualifications an important requirement for one's occupational venture in order to acquire symbolic capital (honour, prestige and recognition that we confer to people), which in turn has become more important than financial capital. The statistical model of reproduction ensures a much generalized success for the dominant classes whereby, only the number of such classes keeps increasing (Nash, 2001). A statistical mode of reproduction takes place in society when schools give primacy to the production of credentials and qualifications thereby reproducing title and/or degree holders which in turn leads to the reproduction of 'educational capital' which according to Bourdieu is measured by one's qualifications (Bourdieu, 1977; 1984). And such happens "through the socially uneven allocation of school titles and degrees" (1977: xi). Thus, "the educational institution, which plays a critical role in the reproduction of the distribution of cultural capital and thus in the reproduction of the structure of social space, has become a central stake in the struggle for the monopoly on dominant positions" (Bourdieu, 1996: 5).

However, the theory of reproduction as postulated by Bourdieu has its limitations. Critics claim that while looking at inter group differences it overlooks the intra group differences that might exist in certain situations. Moreover, a situation may arise where a lower class student can achieve very high levels of qualification while an upper class student belonging to an affluent family is unable to achieve good qualifications (Moore, 2004; Goldthorpe, 2007). According to feminists, Bourdieu overlooks the issue of gender inequality and the practice of domination that is perpetuated through gender discrimination. Although he claims that gender and age are the two most important categories that organize the dominant and the dominated (Lardinois and Thapan, 2006) yet, we rarely find him talk about gender inequality with regard to education.

Similarly, in the Indian context too, while Bourdieu's work has been well received and used by scholars and commentators in order to contextualize and conceptualize their studies; it has not been able to attain the clout that it has in the case of France. It has enabled them to move away from the Durkheimian perspective of socialization through education and look at the system of education from the perspectives *reproduction* and *misrecognition*. As an analytical tool, the concept of *cultural capital* carries tremendous significance in order to understand the production and reproduction of privilege. But to use this concept in its entirety in the Indian context seems to be difficult. Bourdieu contends that cultural capital determines the class position of a family which then is imbibed by the child and which ultimately effects the educational attainment of the child (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Attempting to contextualize his contention in the Indian context seems quite a difficult task at hand as caste still plays a very important role in India. Under such circumstances there can arise problems in interpreting his theory. Yet, what one can draw from his work is his methodology and certain concepts that he puts forward (which have also been used in the present study) for instance, *habitus*, *forms of capital*, *field*, *taste, distinction, reproduction, misrecognition,* among others and how these interplay in order to produce and/or reproduce classness in society, especially in the family and in the education sector (Lardinois and Thapan, 2006).

While it is suggested that one needs to look at Bourdieu's works more closely and introspectively, it does not simply suggest that these are insufficient. Rather, it seeks

to draw from recent works that have advanced/reformulated Bourdieusian conceptual categories (for instance, Ball, 1996; 2003; 2014, Bennett et al., 2009; Savage et al., 2013; 2015). Such studies can be taken into account in order to address the distinctive characteristics of a 'globally aware' parent-student clientele that constituted the populace at the field site, in order to determine such forms of class advantages and reproduction of class privileges. For instance, Bennett et al. (2009) have suggested that,

> 'a significant minority of educational sociologists have shown how the concept of cultural capital can illuminate how middle-class groups sustain their children's advantages within the educational system. More recent educational sociologists such as Stephen Ball (2003) has shown the increasing importance of parental involvement in neo-liberal, marketised education systems, through their role in choosing schools for their children and supporting and assisting them through their school careers. Many educational sociologists therefore detect an increasing interaction between home and school, with the result that parental cultural capital is actually becoming an increasingly effective and important tool in shaping educational attainment' (Bennett et al., 2009: 17).

In this study, we have attempted to use the concept of 'reproduction' from a similar vantage point as that of Bourdieu. The usage of 'reproduction' aims to point out how 'globally aware' middle classness is reproduced through international schooling. It is argued here that, while 'global awareness' is already inculcated among the children through the habitus of the family, the role of the school is critical in reproducing the kind of 'global awareness' that these families (here parents) aspire for their children. How the school enables the reproduction of such awareness which results in the reproduction of 'globally aware' middle classness among such middle classes in the context of a metropolitan city is what the study sought to understand.

IV. Review of Studies and Rationale for the Study

Gilbertson's (2014) ethnographic work was based in two private English medium secondary schools in Hyderabad, Telangana. At the very onset of her comparative analysis, she identifies one as a 'normal lower middle-class' school and the other as an 'international upper middle-class' school, eliminating schools meant for the 'poor'

and those for the 'very rich'. The lower middle-class school followed the 'state' curriculum offered by the Andhra Pradesh State Board of Education. The upper middle class school offered the national curriculum known as Central Board of Secondary Education (read CBSE) and followed the International Baccalaureate (read IB) pedagogic practices from pre-primary to sixth grades.

Using Bourdieusian categories of 'capital', 'class production' and 'reproduction', she tries to understand class dynamics and educational strategies employed by suburban middle class parents. That school choice is not only contingent upon quality education and cultural capital, but also includes a 'diploma disease' and 'symbolic value of qualifications', have been discussed by Gilbertson. The parents in both schools were Indians comprising of first generation families that were living in a city with majority of the mothers being homemakers. While the parent clientele of the lower middle-class school had not completed secondary education with very few having any kind of degree, the upper middle-class school clientele had majority of parents who were either graduates or post-graduates. Consequently, the fathers of the upper middle-class school students comprised of professionals, business persons as well as government services, while those from the lower middle-class school included drivers, small businessmen and daily wage earners. Emphasizing on the aspect of 'social mobility' and 'exposure' through various pedagogic activities offered and practiced in the international school, Gilbertson points out that the lower middle-class continues to be looked down upon by the dominant class (upper middle-class) which always aims to assert its superiority in multiple ways.

Sancho (2016) in his ethnographic work in a non-metropolitan city of Kochi in Kerala, has shown how a well-known private English medium school offering the CBSE curriculum, established in the 1970s tries to 'rebrand' itself as an 'internationalised' school in order to cater to host country nationals comprising of a range of socio-economic backgrounds: "from the comfortably rich to the struggling and aspirational middle contingents" (2016: 100) who have been primarily distinguished on the basis of their economic and cultural capitals. The school is primarily considered as a Hindu school by many people in the city. Giving preference to 'high status' Christian and Hindu students, it has very few Muslim students enrolled. Using Liechty (2003) and Bourdieu's (1984) works as points of departure,

Sancho (2016) in his ethnography has looked at 'middle class cultural life' in Kochi, Kerala wherein, international education that caters to both local and global aspects acquires an important aspirational form. His informants' (students) fathers belong to a range of occupational backgrounds from semi-skilled labourers to established upper-middle class professionals and entrepreneurs. Sancho (2016) has deeply looked into different activities (in the form of rituals and programmes like annual day and international student exchange programmes) offered by the school and engaged in by the students.

What is evident from this ethnographic work is that international schools in India are constantly trying to promote a superior quality of education as compared to the local/national schools and enhance their class status. Secondly, the privileged middle classes are being steadily attracted by these international schools to fulfil their aspirations of becoming internationally competent and achieve the identity of a global citizen.

A comparative study on India, China and Australia by Sriprakash et al. (2016) has looked at community service and 'international mindedness' programmes as offered by IB schools in these three countries. The study looks at how these two programmes attempt to inculcate ideas of 'equality' among the students of the 'new elite' classes represented primarily by 'global social mobility', 'global technology' and 'business professions'. The school where the study has been conducted is coeducational with day and boarding facilities. It is "large secular private primary and secondary (Prep-12) international school on the edge of a major cosmopolitan Indian city" (Sriprakash et al., 2016: 4). The students and teachers of the school are primarily Indians but, it also consists of international students and teachers. The Indian students belong to Brahmin backgrounds indicating the presence of caste privilege and dominance in an international school. Boasting of placements in elite foreign universities, the school attracts parents through the promise of an 'all-round development' and thereby aims to create a 'whole child'.

Sriprakash et al.'s (2016) study brings forth three dimensions of equality namely, 'equality for profit' wherein the 'new elites' feel that the school's programmes and services help their children to strengthen their curriculum vitae. The second dimension being 'equality as deferred' refers to the idea of considering equality as a

future possibility whereby the elite wish to maintain their class distinction by engaging in philanthropic activities under the garb of equality. The third dimension as discussed by the authors is 'equality as differential inclusion'. This particularly refers to the community service programme offered by the school wherein equality is not maintained in the inclusion of under-privileged children selected in the school. Together, these dimensions give rise to what the authors have identified as 'enterprise equality' wherein the elite emerge victorious leaving the rest behind.

Taking the case of Bengaluru, Atterberry's (2021) work has looked at school choice-making by transnationally mobile return migrant parents from the USA. The parents interviewed in her study belong to middle, upper-middle and upper-class Indians as well as first generation Indian Americans. Majority of the parents interviewed belong to Hindu upper and dominant castes with only one Syrian Christian, Catholic and Jain family respectively. The families considered for this study comprised of at least one parent working in the IT sector or medical sector.

Taking Lareau's (2011) idea of 'concerted cultivation' forward, the author introduces the logic of 'transnational concerted cultivation' used by her informants to raise their children. Although these parents maybe residing in India presently yet, they lead transnationally mobile lives due to their nature of work. As a result, Atterberry claims that children of such return migrant parents are being raised within a 'culture of migration' wherein, the parents want their children to be able to live and work anywhere in the world. Such parents aim to select schools which according to them are the 'best' and will prepare their children for such transnational futures.

Living in affluent localities or comfortable gated communities, their children attend English-medium private schools offering the national curriculum (CBSE), the local Karnataka state curriculum or the IB curriculum. According to Atterberry, the standards upon which the parental decisions of choice making rest are the demographics of the school, its curriculum and reputation. While her study provides a neat descriptive account of parental school choice-making, the study discovers the fact that return migrants do not only prefer international schools for their children. Moreover, the barriers that their children face when applying for college or university admissions in India, have also been looked at. The study tries to make an important contribution by pointing out that, although such privileged professionals are able to

access and afford the 'best schools' for their children yet, they may face certain obstacles when they try to enrol their children to higher education institutions in India.

Babu and Mahajan's (2021) ethnographic study based in Bengaluru, Karnataka explores how an international school offering the Primary Years Program (PYP) of the IB curriculum, brands itself as 'international' and 'Indian' through certain practices followed in the school and thereby, was aiming to achieve the certification for the IB Middle Years Programme (MYP). The school consists of a majority of elite Indian parents who are 'globally hyper-mobile' due the nature of their work but portrays an 'appropriately Indian' self-identity. Alternatively, they have also been referred to as the global middle classes. The primary focus of the study has been to discover how an international school attracts its local clientele by promising to blend together 'Indian values' and 'internationally valued credentials' through its practices and programmes. Relying primarily on the Bourdieusian (1984) concept of 'distinction', the authors have looked at different practices followed in the school that help to conceptualise both Indian and international characteristics of the school thereby making itself as well as its clientele distinct from other international schools. Some of the practices explored in the study include food habits, whole school assembly, preparing students, teachers and parents for an IB inspection, regulations pertaining to the clothes of women students among others. Overall, the study explored different impression management strategies that an international school employs including its built environment in order to attract a potential clientele.

Most of the works discussed here have pointed out that international school is not a homogenous category in itself and comprises of different attributes that add up to the understanding of such schools. International schools established in different locations within the country cater to different sections of privileged and aspirational classes thereby contributing to the reproduction of dominant class power. Borrowing ideas from these scholarly works, the present study aims to understand the internal dynamics of an international school in Delhi. Majority of the studies identify the local clientele of an international school as elites and/or privileged middle classes involved in occupations that make them globally mobile. However, in this study we try to look at a set of parents who reside locally and do not engage in occupations that require frequent global mobility. We take the discussion forward by looking in-depth at the

parental profiles, their lifeworlds, aspirations, expectations and perceptions that are instrumental in international school choice-making for their children. In this process, we aim to look at reproduction of classness thereby introducing the idea of 'globally aware' middle classes in the particular context of this study.

V. The Study and Methodology

Objectives

1. To explore different meanings and typologies of 'international' in the international school system in India.

2. To understand the contexts in which international schools have mushroomed in India post 2000s.

3. To examine the spatial distribution of international schools in India and what are the contributing social factors for such growth.

4. To examine the socio-economic profile of the parents of students entering into an international school.

5. To understand the values, lifestyles, aspirations, school choices, perceptions and expectations of the parents.

6. To study the philosophy, goals, structures and processes of teaching and learning in the international school.

7. To explore how the curricular, co-curricular and pedagogical processes adopted in the international school may help reproduce middle class characteristics among its students.

Specific Research Questions

Some of the research questions that have informed the design of this study, which also include a few that have been re-formulated, especially during the course of fieldwork are laid out as follows:

1. What is the definition and meaning of an international school and what are the types of such schools operating across India?
2. What is the social composition of an international school in India?
3. Why do certain classes of people send their children to an international school?

4. Do the international schools 'orient' Indian students towards attaining consciousness of social class and thereby privilege?

5. Does an international school seek to reproduce middle class aspirations? If so, how and why?

6. Are there any specific characteristics of the middle classes that access such international schooling in India?

7. How are Indian families and individuals asserting their identities of being 'globally aware' middle classes, through their children's international education?

Methodology and Setting for fieldwork

Geertz (1973) has argued that, "ethnography is thick description" (1973: 10) which involves a deep engagement of the researcher with human behaviours, cultures and their contexts in order to understand how actors interpret their own actions and situations. Through ethnography, a researcher aims to familiarise oneself with the unfamiliar by investigating and 'decoding' aspects of everyday lives of people (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007) in order to document, interpret, describe as well as critique their cultures (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). For any ethnographic work, fieldwork and field site are the two most important constituents wherein, fieldwork is not just a research technique but rather part of an experience of a lifetime for a researcher. The field site where one aims to conduct a study cannot simply be considered a space where one can just wander about. It is a space which can deceive the researcher in many ways. Therefore, in order to understand the difficult ways in which a field site is established, to engage in meaningful and in-depth interactions with the participants in the field, a researcher must be present in the field for the longest time possible, observe every minute detail while also keeping a record of those details and wherever possible even become a participant in the field.

According to Gupta and Ferguson (1997), to step inside the field site indicates travelling 'to another place with its distinctive culture, to live there is to enter another world, and to come back from "the field" is to leave that world and arrive in this one - the one in which the academy is located' (p.35). The notion of a field site is not just restricted to its geographical location but rather connotes a site of knowledge, action, and life experience as well as power relations. It is that space from which the ethnographer tries to produce some kind of knowledge and nuanced understanding

about the topic of research. While traditional ethnographic works focussed more upon studying the rural, contemporary ethnographies are being increasingly conducted in the urban settings as well whether it is about an urban academic institution, urban youth, urban poor, urban educated/social classes or the transition of an urban landscape from an industrial to education hub. Even though educational ethnography has largely been understood as research being conducted in/on any educational institution (Atkinson, et al. 2001) mostly indicating an 'ethnography of schooling' (Delamont and Atkinson, 1980) yet, recent arguments point out that "Education in the *widest* sense does not have to be studied in schools and colleges" (Delamont and Atkinson, 2021: xiii).

Nonetheless, this ethnographic work has been carried out in a private urban educational institution which is an international school, in order to understand the institution along with its stakeholders through observations and interactions in order to establish a sociological relevance of the topic (Thapan, 1986; 2006). The selection of the field site for conducting this ethnography was largely dependent on the accessibility (entry) of the field. The institution like every other academic institution functions as a gated enclave with high levels of security, surveillance as a result of which following standard protocols of approaching the authorities were mandatory. Once entry was permitted it was ensured that every visit to the field was meaningful.

This study attempts to examine the departures and convergences between literature, theory and the field of study. Therefore, review of literature being the starting point for this study, the researcher further collated a list of various types and number of international schools across the country, in order to understand the growth and spread of various kinds of international schools that exist. Data, for doing so, was gathered primarily via Research Reports and certain websites where such data were available [for instance International School Consultancy (*ISC) Research* and *Education World*][3]. Preliminary attempts were made to identify specific case-studies related to

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[3] International School Consultancy Research Ltd., popularly known as *ISC Research* is a research organization that functions as a database or think-tank based in the United Kingdom (UK), housing data on international schools throughout the world and trends therein. Much of their data is gathered from primary sources (governments, established international schools and market experts) by a team of researchers that includes a team of field researchers based in key locations of the world where international education is increasingly in demand. For further reference see, http://www.iscresearch.com/about-us/the-market.
Education World is a web portal that publishes news reports and magazines related to education across the country and elsewhere. See, https://www.educationworld.in/

the present theme of study, which aided in designing the fieldwork. In order to make an 'entry' into the field twenty international schools offering one or more international curricula, in the Delhi- National Capital Region (NCR) region were identified randomly after extensively browsing the internet and approached via email. Details pertaining to the researcher's institutional affiliation along with the purpose of study were clearly mentioned in every email in order to persuade the school to volunteer for the study. Conducting fieldwork in a school offering an international curriculum was the primary criterion because, it will provide an opportunity to examine if such affiliations and programmes bring some 'international orientation' to the teaching - learning process and thereby if the school seeks to orient any class aspirations among its students.

Selection of field-site and Gaining entry

It must be pointed out that Delhi-NCR has the second highest number of international schools in the country after Maharashtra and the highest number of international schools in the entire Northern region of the country. However, for this study, the choice of Delhi-NCR was made in order to locate the reasons for transition in the demand from convent schools to international schools. When Delhi was the capital of Colonial India, it did experience the influx of convent schools to a good extent though less in number in comparison to Bengal. Nonetheless, since the demand for convent schools still exists in Bengal, there are only a negligible number of international schools in that state. The same can also be observed in Table 2.2 of Chapter Two titled 'International Schools: Nature, Types and Spatial Distribution'. Thus, our aim in selecting Delhi-NCR was primarily to explicate and analyse the reasons behind the shift in school-choice making having known that Maharashtra started experiencing such demand much before Delhi-NCR. Most importantly, the social class composition of the clientele which is accessing an international school was our primary target of enquiry.

Of all the international schools that were approached only one school responded back positively wherein the Principal agreed to meet the researcher prior to giving her permission for fieldwork. Thus, it must be mentioned that no choice was exercised with regard to selection of the field site. Also since, time for fieldwork was running out, it was decided that this particular school which gave a positive response would be

approached and based on whether the researcher gets access to the field or not, more schools would be contacted.

Reaching the school on the stipulated day of the appointment with the Principal, the researcher noticed that there are three iron gates green in colour at equal intervals across the boundary wall facing the main road. Next to the first gate there is a small window like opening behind which there is a security guard sitting with a visitors' register placed in front of him. After verifying the purpose of the visit and the researcher's identity she was allowed to enter the school premises. Entering through a metal detector gate the researcher is told by another security guard to deposit her shoulder bag with them and only take the mobile phone, wallet and documents related to the appointment inside the school building. Near the gate there were 3 male security guards and one female security guard. On raising some concern about the safety of her belongings the security guard gave an assurance saying that there is a Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) camera just overhead so nothing would happen to her belongings. The guard then escorted her inside the school building to the reception area and was asked to wait there until further notice. The main entry door to the school building is in front of the reception area but the guard took her inside from another smaller entry passage which happened to be closer to the security check post.

Entering the building on a humid sunny day the ethnographer witnessed that the building was centrally air conditioned. Central air conditioning is not uncommon in private schools nowadays, particularly in international schools. However, the Vice Principal had informed the researcher that central air conditioning was one of the requirements for an international school under the Cambridge organisation and so they had to install it. She harped on the fact that even though the classrooms are also centrally air-conditioned, they have the regular ceiling fans in every room and are not solely dependent on artificial cooling mechanisms. On the other hand, the school does not have a central heating system because the international curriculum provider of the school that is, Cambridge Assessment International Education (read CAIE) did not make it compulsory to have one. Moreover, the school management also did not feel the need to install it even though many would agree that Delhi winters are as bad as the summers. The point raised by the Vice Principal appeared to be commonsensical in the beginning but later it made the researcher think that there might be an attempt

by the school authorities to strike a balance between the old and new. Also, it could be an attempt at making the students realise that it is always better to keep a second option open in case if one fails.

In our first meeting the Principal enquired about the purpose and objectives of the research study – especially of its design and more importantly, the duration of field stay. We informed her that we would require at least a year to conduct the field study. The researcher was further apprised that data collection process could be initiated and observation of the everyday life in the school would be permitted, albeit with conditions – ethical assurances were sought and furthermore a completed draft/report was requested for at the end of the research study. Thereafter, the researcher was told to keep in touch with the Vice Principal for further correspondence and assistance regarding the fieldwork. Hence, this ethnographic work was conducted in Palmer International School (read PIS), a international school based in South Delhi and affiliated with CAIE, a UK-based primary-secondary examination board following the Cambridge curriculum and is also recognised by the Association of Indian Universities[4]. The name of the school where fieldwork was conducted has been changed in order to maintain anonymity, as was requested by the Principal. Similarly, the names of all the informants are also fictitious for reasons of anonymity. Further details pertaining to the field site can be found in Chapter Three titled, 'Palmer International School (PIS): Structure and organization'. The school being a non-residential one the researcher could not reside within its premises. However, it was ensured that the researcher would be present in school from the time it commences till it gets over from Monday to Friday. The purpose of being present in the field site for the entire duration of its working hours was to engage in detailed observations of the school activities and develop close rapport with the teachers, pupils and other staff

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[4] Association of Indian Universities (AIU) is an organisation and association of major universities in India. It is based in Delhi. It evaluates the courses, syllabi, standards, and credits of foreign universities and equates them in relation to various courses offered by Indian Universities. It began with the intention of helping students with 'foreign degrees to pursue higher studies in Indian Universities'. As a result of increasing student migration as well as a rise in the number of schools offering international curricula in India, the AIU in order to make it easy for students of international schools to apply for Indian Universities, has widened its scope to consider among others an 'Equivalence of School Level Examinations conducted by recognized foreign Boards in India' and 'Equivalence of School Level Examinations conducted by the Accredited Schools/Boards/Bodies in various countries'. Accessed from
https://www.aiu.ac.in/documents/evaluation/AIU%20Equivalence%20Information%20Brochure.pdf

members in the school. As a result, observation had begun from the very first day we were allowed to enter the field site.

Choosing the Voices: Sample selection, Methods of data collection and Data analysis

Prior to the selection of sample for in-depth interviews, macro data pertaining to the occupational profile of the parents of students from grades five to twelve was collected. In order to collect this data which according to the Principal was sensitive information, we had to thoroughly convince her regarding the significance of such data and explain in detail how the information would be used for the study. Once we were successful in convincing her, she advised the researcher to meet the concerned person who has the responsibility of maintaining these parental records. Upon meeting the concerned staff, he was given details regarding the kind of information we were seeking. The researcher was then requested by him to meet post lunch when he would be ready with the printouts of the information we require. Here, our aim was to create a tabular representation of the occupational profiles of the Senior school parents and attempt to analyse the number and percentage of parents belonging to different occupational categories. This was done in order to get an idea about the vocational composition of the parents who are sending their children to PIS and thereby, primarily to understand what kind of economic backgrounds these parents come from. Also, we wanted to observe how far the general assumption that international schools mostly cater mobile professionals is valid and whether one can make such generalisations across all international schools. Further details pertaining to this discussion can be found in Chapter Four titled 'Parental Profiles and Life-Worlds: Subjective interpretation of 'globally aware' middle classes'.

On one of the initial visits to the field site, the Vice Principal handed over the Almanac (yearbook) and annual magazines as was requested by the researcher. Thus, prior to conducting in-depth interviews, the yearbook, annual magazines and the school's official website were browsed and analysed. Here, the researcher engaged in the process of *content analysis* in order to qualitatively code (Goode and Hatt, 1952) and analyse the contents of the aforementioned texts as well as the school website. Content analysis was also employed to briefly analyse some of the subject textbooks like English, History and Geography. This was done in order to decipher the purpose

served by such texts for the different stakeholders and whether any message related to global awareness gets passed on to the readers through such texts.

An essential element of doing rich and thick ethnography is the establishment of familiarity with the field site along with building rapport with as many insiders as possible. Thus, in order to get to know the school and its premises closely, the researcher requested the Vice Principal to arrange for somebody who could show her around. The Vice Principal soon called in for one of the sports teachers who happened to be associated with the school since its inception. We introduced ourselves to each other and proceeded to take a tour of the school. While engaging in casual conversations about her responsibilities as a sports teacher, the researcher got introduced to some other teachers as well, whom we met while taking the tour and was thereafter invited for lunch in the dining hall. It was during the lunch break that the researcher got an opportunity to introduce herself to more teachers and inform them about the purpose of her visit to the school. Hence, *casual conversations* (Bernard, 2011) wherein, "there is no feeling that somehow the discussion has to stay on track or follow some theme" (2011: 160) marked the beginning of rapport building and establishment of familiarity with the teachers.

Therefore, fieldwork was conducted from September 2018 to February 2020 which also included the academic session breaks in the months of June and December. The first six months (September'18-March'19) were spent observing the institution, its functioning and gathering certain material resources that contained information about the school. In the course of the visits written permission as requested by the Principal was sought to engage in discussions with the students as well as their parents. We were not asked by the Principal to seek written permission to interview the teachers. However, the pace of the interviews were very slow as the parents were taking time to respond to our requests and different curricular and co-curricular activities in the school also kept the students occupied as a result of which we were unable to rush with the interviews and complete the data collection within a year. Therefore, we again sought a written permission from the Principal to extend the fieldwork for another six months from October 2019 to March 2020, which she enthusiastically granted.

So, along with observing the everyday activities as well as special events of the school, 63 in-depth interviews were conducted comprising of 19 academic and administrative staff, 29 students and 15 parents. But, it was difficult to conduct a pilot study due to time constraints. Hence, whatever alterations were required to be made in the interview schedules were done when the researcher interviewed an informant from each cohort (staff, students and parents) for the first time. Besides, before we began the in-depth interviews, the interview schedules had to be presented before the Vice Principal for her to glance through them and see if there were any questions or terms that need to be rephrased. Initially, the researcher considered this kind of an intervention by the Vice Principal as compromising a researcher's freedom. However, the researcher was not asked to make any drastic alteration in the interview schedules that would have affected the objectives of this study. In a way, her glancing through helped us to make certain necessary adjustments in the interview schedules. Needless to mention, the study was multi-sited in nature and was not restricted to the school site alone. For instance, interactions with parents were contingent on their place of preference (residence, coffee shop, shopping mall and workplace) while that of students and staff were conducted inside the school premise as per the Principal's directives. What must be pointed out is that though it may seem that we have not been able to give equal space to the voices of all the informants in this study, yet we have made conscious attempts to incorporate some of their narratives wherever it was deemed necessary.

Selection of students and data collection

The student informants belonged to grades ten, eleven and twelve with an approximate age range of fifteen to eighteen years. From the student population of the Senior school, the selection of senior grade Indian students was done using *purposive sampling* (Bernard, 2011). Such was done due to their longer duration of association with the school (from K-12) which enabled the researcher to gather deeper insights about the experiences, expectations and aspirations of these students from international schooling. With their schooling almost on the verge of completion, they would be in a better position to share their thoughts and concerns about their future. Moreover, interviewing foreign students was not a part of the research objectives as we wanted to focus on Indian students who are local residents of Delhi-NCR and

understand how the school socializes its local students towards global awareness[5]. More details pertaining to the students and staff of PIS can be found in Chapter Three titled 'Palmer International School (PIS): Structure and organization'. Hence, in order to fulfil the research objectives, it was required that the fieldwork be carried out in the Senior building of the school which housed students from grades five to twelve. However, the Junior school building was also visited on one occasion in order to get an idea of that premise and its built environment.

It must be pointed out here that the researcher was unable to carry out a proper sampling procedure since she was not allowed (by the school authorities) to conduct interviews with students of her own accord and had to depend on the teacher representative to assign students for the interviews. As a result, maintaining an equal proportion of students from each grade in terms of number and gender was also not possible. Additionally, the Principal had firmly specified that interviews with the students must be conducted inside the secure environment of the school premise and within the working hours according to their availability. Though these terms were a bit constraining yet, attempts were made to collect as many student interviews as possible given the fact that we also had to conduct interviews with parents and school staff within the time that was available for fieldwork. As a result, other than in-depth interviews we could not resort to any other method for data collection like focussed group discussions since, it was not possible to arrange groups of students at a single moment without disrupting their regular school routine; be it classes or recess time.

In PIS, along with class teachers there is also a teacher representative; one for grades five to ten and another for eleven and twelve, whose primary task is to oversee the smooth functioning of the teaching process. Also, they are the ones who are tasked with the responsibility of monitoring students' conduct inside the school. Thus, any matter pertaining to a student is first brought to the notice of the teacher representatives. By the same token, the researcher was first introduced to the teacher representatives who were then requested by the Vice Principal to assist the researcher. Upon informing the teacher representatives about the nature of the research and how we want to go about it, they suggested that the researcher should visit them every morning before classes began so that they could take a look at the day's timetable and

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[5] At the time of fieldwork, there were 432 Indian students and 28 foreign students in the Senior school.

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accordingly figure out which student would be free for an in-depth interview. The interviews with the student were conducted in the library because it seemed to be the best place given its peaceful and quiet ambience where the interviews could also be recorded without any background noise or disturbance. The longest duration of an in-depth interview with a student was that of one hour and forty minutes while the shortest interview lasted for twenty-six minutes.

Selection of parents and data collection

A rationale similar to the selection of students was maintained while contacting the parent informants as well; they were all locally residing Indian parents of students from the senior (that is, ten, eleven and twelve) grades. These parents have been associated with the school for many years since their children were admitted to the school in primary grades. Furthermore, with their children preparing for undergraduate programmes post schooling, these parents would be in a suitable position to share their views, aspirations and expectations from such a school and also about the future of their children. The parental profiles of the informants have been dealt with greater detail in Chapter Four titled 'Parental Profiles and Life-Worlds: Subjective interpretation of 'globally aware' middle classes'. Access provided by the school authorities in the selection of parent informants was equally restricted and limited. Parents were supposed to be approached only with the consent of the Principal and/or Vice Principal. Thus, in-depth interviews with parents were facilitated with the *snowballing* (Bernard, 2011) method wherein, the researcher was first provided with contact numbers of the parent volunteers (as referred to by the school) of each senior grade by the Vice-Principal. Moreover, we were made aware of the fact that these were privileged social classes of parents who would not bother to respond to our research concerns unless we approached them via some authority from the school. Initially, several attempts were made to convince those parents whose children were being interviewed in school yet, only a few volunteered while others ignored the request. As a result, it was not possible to restrict the sample of parents to only the ones whose children were being interviewed. We had to broaden our approach in order to fulfil our research objectives.

Every grade has a parent volunteer who acts as a liaison between the school's administration and each cohort of parents. So, in order to get access to parents, the

researcher first had to get in touch with a parent volunteer by informing her that it is with the knowledge and consent of the Principal and Vice Principal that she has been contacted. This was followed by providing her with details of the study and rationale behind interviewing parents. Thus, one of the very first meetings with parent informants happened on July 19, 2019 wherein the researcher met two volunteers of which one is the mother of a grade ten student while the other is a mother to fourth and twelfth grade students of PIS respectively.

The venue for this meeting was decided by the mothers which happened to be a coffee shop in a shopping mall close to our field site as well as their places of residence. The researcher began conversing with both the parent volunteers simultaneously by taking turns in asking the questions. However, the grade tenth parent volunteer had to leave our meeting early as she had plans to watch a movie with her son in the theatre. She suggested that she may be contacted later in the coming week in order to fix another meeting where we could complete the interview. Also, in order to initiate contact with the parents of tenth grade students, she added the researcher's phone number to their WhatsApp Messenger group and introduced her to everybody in the group virtually. That is how the researcher came to know that for every grade there is a WhatsApp Messenger group of the parents. Thereon, those parents who were interested to volunteer for interviews wrote back in the WhatsApp group mentioning that they wanted to be contacted personally outside the group so that we could fix the interview dates and time. As a result, we got an opportunity to conduct face to face in-depth interviews with 7 parents of tenth grade students.

As for the grade twelve parent volunteer she wanted the interview to be completed then and there itself as she was not sure whether she would be able to volunteer for another round. The interview session lasted for one hour and forty-four minutes. Before departing, the parent assured that she would speak to the other parents of grade twelve students in their WhatsApp Messenger group and pass on the contact numbers of those who agree to volunteer for in-depth interviews. Overall, we conducted interviews with 5 parents of twelfth grade students.

After establishing contact with the eleventh grade parent volunteer over telephone, she wanted the interview schedule to be mailed to her so that she could take a look at it before giving her consent for an in-depth interview as well as sharing the numbers

of other parents. Once that was done and she agreed to be interviewed, we decided upon a date and time for a telephonic interview as she was unable to spare time for a face to face one. The interview had to be conducted in two sessions as the informant was unable to spare long stretches of time for the interview. Therefore, while the first session was conducted in the month of October, 2019, the second session took place in November, 2019, according to her convenience. Thereafter, she shared the contact numbers of those parents whom she had spoken to and had agreed to volunteer for in-depth interviews. As a result, we could interview a total of 3 parents of eleventh grade students.

In the case of parent informants, we were able to conduct face to face in-depth interviews with 12 informants. Telephonic interviews had to be conducted with the remaining 3 informants as they were unable spare time from their busy schedules for a face to face interview. The longest duration of a face to face interview was at an informant's place of residence which went on for two consecutive days wherein the interview lasted for one and a half hours on the first day and three hours and twenty minutes on the second day of the interview. The shortest duration was of thirty-four minutes with an informant at her private clinic (place of work). Similarly, the longest duration of a telephonic interview was two days comprising of two hours and twenty-five minutes. On the other hand, the shortest duration was that of thirty-six minutes in a single day.

Although it was an uphill task trying to convince parents to volunteer and spare time for in-depth interviews yet, every attempt was made to gather as much data and as many insights as possible from the interviews. However, interviews and conversations with administrative and teaching staff were conducted without much constraints.

Selection of teachers, administrative staff and data collection

Purposive sampling was employed in order to conduct in-depth interviews with administrative staff like the Principal, Vice Principal, Headmistress, HR (Human Resource) executive and two librarians. The purpose behind the selection of these informants was to gather detailed insights about the school, the kind of culture that it promotes and what roles do they play in the functioning of the system and in promoting its culture. It was understood that they would be able to provide us with rich data pertaining to the school as a result of their official positions and long term

association with PIS. In-depth interviews with teachers on the other hand were conducted on the basis of their availability and convenience. We approached one teacher at a time and whoever volunteered to spare time was interviewed. However, we made sure to conduct interviews with a wide range of teachers comprising of those teaching in grades five to twelve. They comprised of the school counsellor, eight subject teachers, two physical activity teachers, one dance teacher and one music teacher. This was done in order to get a wide variety of data pertaining to the school, its stakeholders and their individual thoughts and experiences of being associated with PIS.

Data collection beyond in-depth interviews

Data collection was not limited to just in-depth interviews. We also engaged in *informal interviewing* (Bernard, 2011) throughout the period of fieldwork with various other teachers as well as non-teaching and administrative staff in order to "uncover new topics of interest that might have been overlooked" (2011: 156). Such interviews facilitated us with valuable data about the school and the clientele that it caters to. *In-depth interviews, casual conversations* and *informal interviews,* all were optimal for collecting rich data on informants' personal histories, perspectives and experiences. Casual conversations played an important role in establishing rapport with the informants. Rapport and conversations with such individuals brought out certain nitty gritties associated with the field site as well as their experiences of working in such a school. In our process of data collection, the in-depth interviews conducted with the help of *semi-structured interview schedules* helped us in exploring the aspirations, expectations and experiences of the parents and students. Similarly, the in-depth interviews with the academic and administrative staff gave us insights on the ethos, philosophy and vision of the school as well as their experiences of being associated with the school.

While interviews and conversations had their roles to play, the other key to engage in thick description was *observation.* Although, it has often "been argued that in a sense all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being part of it" (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994: 249) yet, it is important to understand that there are variations in the act of field observation. Commonly, there are four types of roles that an ethnographer can choose from

depending on the viability of the type of observation. These are: complete observation, observation as participant, participant observation and complete participation. But, adopting any of these methods depends upon a range of factors related to the field site (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). In our study, we employed the method of *complete observation* because the researcher did not directly participate in any school activity or event due to restrictions imposed by the authorities. She was merely a silent observer, taking notes on whichever activity or programme was allowed to observe and later enquiring about the detail of every activity through narratives and in-depth interviews from students, parents, teachers and other staff members. Also, while conducting the ethnography, the researcher was known to be a researcher by everyone associated with the field including the informants. However, we acknowledge that the method of complete observation has not gone in vain. It has enabled the collection of data on naturally occurring behaviours in their usual contexts. Observation helped us largely in our data collection as we could observe the school built-environment, the students' conduct, norms, rituals, activities, the school's curricular frameworks (formal and informal) and the like. For instance, it was observed that students of tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades were allowed to carry mobile phones in the school but, they had to be deposited in the Vice Principal's office before classes began and could be collected only after the school day was over. Likewise, it was observation that enabled us to notice some of the students wearing smart watches, internationally branded school shoes and carrying branded school bags as well (some of the brand names were not even heard of prior to being observed).

Along with these aforementioned methods the researcher also clicked pictures of the built environment of the school. Pictures of various events and occasions including rituals like school assembly were also clicked. Immersing oneself in the field is the primary objective of every ethnographer and the same attempt was made here too. Thus, all these methods employed in the collection of data enabled the researcher to gather very rich insights about the field as well as its stakeholders.

Data analysis

As already mentioned, data analysis for this study began with content analysis, wherein we analysed school magazines and the yearbook collected from the field site which was followed by content analysis of the school website. We also engaged in a

brief content analysis of some school textbooks (primarily the content pages of the books) in order to decipher whether and to what extent the content of these textbooks play a role in inculcating 'global awareness' among the students. Data gathered from field observations, conversations and interviews were collected in the form of field notes, photographs and voice recordings respectively. The in-depth interviews were conducted both in Hindi and English depending upon the convenience of the informants. Thus, while the recordings in Hindi were translated and transcribed, the ones in English were only transcribed. This being a purely ethnographic study, we employed a theme based method of data analysis. Focussed and repeated reading of the field notes and transcriptions with reference to our research questions and semi-structured interview schedules enabled us to identify important themes for the study. These themes were then elaborated upon with the help of narrative analysis, field notes and relevant literature.

VI. Field Experiences and Ethics

Our first entry into the field site was accompanied with a lot of inhibitions pertaining to the ability to conduct the study due to the gated and secured environment of the premise. This is a space which is not just heavily guarded and gated but is also under twenty-four hours of surveillance. There are individuals who earn their bread and butter by working inside such a space and are always answerable to the higher authority and sometimes even to parents for their actions. Most importantly, there are children and adolescents who study here, for whose well-being and safety the entire workforce of the school is responsible. Being able to get access to such spaces as a researcher, more so, as an outsider without any prior recommendation from any relevant source, is difficult. Therefore, when a positive response was received from the Principal's office to meet the researcher and she was allowed to conduct her study in PIS, there was a sense of relief and achievement at the same time. Additionally, it was a joyous moment when the Principal (who seemed a bit intimidating at the beginning but gradually changed her stance) appreciated the research topic and wanted to know more about its objectives.

Once entry was permitted, we were made to understand that one has to abide by the instructions and directives of the school authority in order to smoothly conduct our study. Any activity by the researcher that takes place without the consent of either

Principal or Vice Principal would be considered unethical thereby, creating a hindrance to take the study forward. And so, complete transparency was maintained with the authorities and consent was sought for observing every activity in the field site as well as before speaking to any informant. We ensured that none of our research activities, during fieldwork as well as in the process of writing it up, puts the school and its stakeholders at risk. As part of the research ethics, the informants were assured that their responses would be completely anonymous, confidential and used only for the purposes of the particular study. That no one else apart from the researcher would be listening to and using their recorded responses had to be constantly harped upon in order to make the informants comfortable enough to give their responses generously. Moreover, we would keep reminding the informants that they were free to refrain from answering any question that they did not want to. Permission was sought from each informant before recording their interviews. With such ethical assurances we also sought permission from the teachers and parents to be contacted later on during or after fieldwork in case we required seeking any clarifications pertaining to our interviews.

We did not require taking parental consent before interviewing the students since permission was sought from the school authorities and according to their advice; the interviews were conducted within the school premise. However, it may be pointed out that because the interviews had to be conducted inside the school wherein everybody's actions are under strict surveillance all the time especially that of students by cameras as well as teachers, some student informants were a little hesitant to respond at will. Nonetheless, we made attempts to conduct most of the interviews in a room inside the library wherein the sound of our conversation would not travel outside and thus make the students comfortable enough to respond.

Although we were allowed to speak to students and teachers and gather any data pertaining to our study, be it about in and out of classroom experiences yet, directly observing classroom proceedings were not allowed on the pretext of causing distraction for the teachers and students particularly. Even if there were various kinds of hindrances and constraints in the form of rules and protocols to be followed yet, the researcher was made to feel at ease by the teachers as well as other staff members of the school. Once she became a regular visitor to the field site and was able to make

her presence felt, she would be greeted everyday by teachers and at times even by some students and non-teaching staff which enabled the researcher to shed her stiffness and proceed with her research freely.

On the other hand, convincing informants (especially parents and some teachers) to spare time and share valuable details through their narratives was quite challenging. Though there might be a general perception that female ethnographers are usually considered as unthreatening yet, in this case there were moments when teachers felt threatened and were hesitant to respond to certain sensitive questions about the school and its clientele expressing that their jobs might be at stake. They often asked whether their responses would be revealed to the internal management committee. With parents, there were mixed experiences. While some readily agreed to volunteer for interviews and shared their responses very generously, there were others who in spite of agreeing to volunteer never really turned up for the interviews. There were some who volunteered but expressed their reluctance by giving extremely brief responses in spite of being probed further. Some parents while expressing their dissatisfaction with certain matters pertaining to the school, ended up requesting the researcher if she could forward their concerns to the Principal. However, they had to be reminded of the role of the researcher and the fact that she was not at liberty to act as a liaison between them and the management.

Having experienced schooling herself, the researcher was constantly reminded of the similarities and differences between her schooling and what was being observed in the field site while conducting the study. Objectivity in research demands detachment from the field of study as well as the individuals being studied (Lareau and Shultz, 1996) so that personal biases may not hinder the process of research and writing. Thus, it would be wrong to say that complete objectivity was maintained while conducting this study because, "In educational ethnographic research, researchers are further implicated in their field, since they have usually themselves experienced schooling as a participant" (Gordon et al., 2001: 188). Though the time and context were very different yet, it must be pointed out that certain comparisons between the field site and researcher's own schooling experience has been helpful in ways more than one. She was able to make certain very particular observations which could have been overlooked otherwise. For instance, a statue of Mother Mary placed at the

reception area was one such connotation. Moreover, she could also come up with different kinds of questions beyond the ones that were already pre decided. For example, reasons for choosing a morning prayer that is particularly associated with convent schools. Sometimes, even sharing information about the researcher's academic background including her affiliation to a prestigious public university has positively influenced the process of data collection. This ethnographic journey has enabled the researcher to understand the field much deeply and rule out certain general assumptions associated with such schools. It has often helped her reflect upon her own family and academic backgrounds wherein, she could at times find similarities as well as very stark differences at other times between parental aspirations related to schooling.

VII. Chapterization of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters which include the introduction and the conclusion. To give a broad overview to the same, **Chapter One** begins with stating the problem for the study and moves on to look at broad theoretical frameworks, theories and paradigms on middle class in general and global middle class in particular thereby trying to place the discussion on 'globally aware' middle classes. The discussion then proceeds to deliberate upon the methodology of the study. In doing so the research methods that have been employed by the researcher to conduct the study have been discussed via a self-reflexive approach which would also include reflections on some limitations faced during fieldwork as well as thoughts on the question of ethics.

Chapter Two is titled **International Schools: Nature, Types and Spatial Distribution** begins with deciphering the meaning the nature of international schools in general along with a discussion on the kinds of students and teachers that can be found in international schools. The chapter then looks at types of international schools existing in India and exponential patterns of growth, spread, demand and the market for international schools in the Indian context following the advent of neoliberal policies which led to the expansion of the existing urban spaces (for instance, Delhi-NCR).

Chapter Three, titled **Palmer International School (PIS): Structure and Organization**, begins with a discussion on the establishment of the school (PIS), it provides a detailed descriptive analysis of PIS based on the researcher's observations on its built environment (classroom, library, cafeteria, auditorium) together with its day to day routine and programmes (pedagogic exercises, assembly, counselling sessions, annual events). It also discusses the management system of the school along with the roles and responsibilities of the Principal, Vice Principal and Headmistress. Finally, we deliberate upon the school's admission process and analyse its fee structure.

In **Chapter Four,** titled **Parental Profiles and Life-Worlds: Subjective Interpretation of 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes**, we begin with a quantitative analysis of the social class characteristics of the parents of students in the Senior school (from grade five to twelve) based on their vocations. We then move on to discuss the educational and occupational backgrounds of our sample of parent informants. Thereon, the discussion shifts focus to provide a qualitative analyse of the social class characteristics of the parent informants through subjective interpretations of some parent profiles as well as the perceptions of school management and teachers about their clientele. The ethnographic snippets from the field which include profiles and socio-economic backgrounds of parents are provided in order to analyse the 'globally aware' middle classness of the sample and thereby try to gauge the kind of clientele which sends their children to PIS.

Chapter Five titled as **School Choice-making among 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes** mostly looks at all the various reasons and factors (from proximity between home, school and workplace to global exposure) that revolve around school choice-making (here PIS) for these 'globally aware' middle classes of parents. Here we also discuss the case of higher education institutions in India and how they play a role in such choice-making. We end the chapter by trying to discuss how such classes of people are deeply rooted in their local/national sensibilities which also have an important role to play in their school choice-making as well as in reproducing their classness.

Chapter Six, titled **Aims, Ethos and Everyday School Life**, discusses some of the everyday practices like morning assembly and school routine that PIS engages in to

foster a spirit and quality of internationalism among the students in order to make them a part of the 'globally aware' middle classes through its everyday activities that have been observed during the fieldwork.

In **Chapter Seven**, titled **Transmission of International Orientation Through Curricular and Co-Curricular Interventions**, the aspect of international orientation as a primary and distinctive ethos of such schooling (which also includes incorporation of local/national sensibilities) is critically discussed and further analysed. The chapter looks at curricular, co-curricular activities offered by the school as well as how the pedagogy adopted by the school enables in the reproduction of 'globally aware' middle classes.

Lastly, **Chapter Eight** provides a **summary** of the study and draws a few **conclusions** to this study. It brings out reflections on reproduction of classness especially 'globally aware' middle classness which is aided by the medium of international schooling.

CHAPTER TWO

International Schools: Nature, Types and Spatial Distribution

This chapter will establish a holistic understanding of what is meant by an international school along with its growth and significance. In order to do so, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will discuss the meaning and nature of international schools as has been understood by different scholars. The second section will focus on the different categories of students and teachers that can be found in international schools worldwide. In the third section we proceed to discuss about international schools in the Indian context wherein we talk about the emergence and growth of such schools in India. Further, we also discuss how the demand for international schools was generated among the Indian parents along with the dynamics of the international school market.

I. Meaning and Nature of International Schools

According to Basaran and Olsson (2017), the term 'international' is a characteristic that denotes a kind of 'distinction' whereby one aims to achieve 'upward social mobility'. One may also understand 'international' to a kind of adjective and/or a state of being wherein one aims for recognition. Using the Bourdieusian framework of analysis, Basaran and Olsson (2017) have attempted to analyse the concept 'international' as 'symbolic capital' which along with access to other forms of capital (economic, cultural and social), enables social mobility and reproduction of classness which ultimately give rise to 'symbolic power'. Therefore, "An international education, whether at home or abroad, equally denotes something globally valid and hence distinct and better than the normal pathway of education (Basaran and Olsson, 2017: 3). It is through such a system of international education that the parents want their children to acquire the symbolic 'international' capital which will not only enable the children to secure symbolic power but also the parents. As a result, such classes of people availing international education will then be able to distinguish themselves from others and make their way up the ladder of social class segregation through the status and recognition that they acquire by becoming 'international'.

Consequently, Bunnell (2021) points out that, the practical intention behind introducing the international system of education was to cater to a class of globally mobile international individuals comprising of diplomats and expatriates. This was the intention so that it would be easier for the children of these parents to continue within the same education system, in spite of shifting geographical locations. The latent function that such a system of education served was, to create a rift between already existing class hierarchies whereby, only a small privileged section would be able to reap the benefits of an 'exclusive schooling experience' (Bunnell, 2021: 2). Hence, in the context of international schools, the term 'international' may be considered from a similar sociological lens wherein, it denotes a distinct from of symbolic capital that enables the acquisition of symbolic power which is not meant for all.

However, for the world at large, the socio-political justification provided by the Council of International Schools (read CIS) which is responsible for the emergence of such a system of education was to facilitate global peace and sustainability (Bunnell and Hatch, 2021). This Council consisted of members from across the globe working together in order to bring different schools 'with a common (international) cause' under a single umbrella of international schools (Hayden, et al. 2002: 22). Thus, as a consequence of reasons both latent and manifest, international schools came into being within the education systems of nations across the globe.

While there are various connotations associated with the term 'international school', there is a need to understand the distinction between 'international education' and 'international schools'. According to Hayden (2006), 'International Education' can encompass national and international schools along with international curriculum. 'International Education' can be acquired in a national school which provides certain facilities that are considered to be of international standards by the particular school or by certain international organisations. Consequently, 'international education' has been discussed in the context of comparative education. A different meaning of the term has also developed over the years in the context of a theory and practice of education for fostering 'international-mindedness' in 'international schools' and other institutions. An understanding of 'international schools', on the other hand, could depend upon the diverse nature of its student population, the curriculum it offers, its

marketing and advertising strategies along with competition with other national and/or 'international schools' and the philosophy that it propagates (Hayden, 2006: 10).

Further, Crossley and Watson (2003), identify the role of international schools in the preparation of students for 'employment anywhere in the world'; the development of 'an understanding of different countries, as well as good relations with people of different nationalities and languages' (p.14). However, there is no direct correspondence between international education and the curriculum and assessment arrangements offered by international schools because it has been argued that an international school may offer an education that makes no claims to be international, while an international education may be experienced by a student who has not attended a school that describes itself as international (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004).

According to ISC Research, a UK based research organisation established in 1994, which collects, analyses and delivers data on international schools, a school is considered to be 'international' if it offers an English-medium curriculum partly or wholly in a non-English speaking country[6]. If this criterion is applied, then the number may go up manifold as those schools which claim to provide English education are numerous across the world in general and in India in particular, though the quality and process of imparting English varies across each school and across each country/ national context. However, what is significant to add here is that ISC Research also considers a school to be 'international' if it is located in a country where English is considered to be one of the official languages, if a school offers an English-medium curriculum along with the national curriculum of the country and, most significantly, it also considers 'international' if the school has an *international orientation* (emphasis added). However, what constitutes *international orientation* has not been elaborated upon by the organisation.

What is thus clear is that there is no internationally recognised definition of the word 'international' nor is there any standard official design plan for the construction of an international school. However, there are some attempts made by Hayden and Thompson (2008) to identify measures for assessing the quality of an international school. These are as follows:

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[6] For further reference see http://www.iscresearch.com/about-us/the-market.

(a) Accreditation

This signifies that a school will follow the rules and regulations of the exam board/s that it offer/s along with maintaining the quality parameters set by the particular board. Apart from exam boards there are also organisations which provide accreditation services in order to give international recognition to a school for instance, the British Council which gives international recognition to a school through its International School Award. The CIS formed in 1949 followed by the International Schools Association (read ISA) in 1951 are the oldest service providers in this regard. Some of the other service providers which have existed since 1970s and 1980s include the Middle States Association Commissions on Elementary and Secondary Schools, the Council of British International Schools (COBIS), the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC), the International Baccalaureate Organisation (read IBO) and the Cambridge Assessment International Education (read CAIE). The accreditation process begins with a 'preliminary visit' to the school by the service provider to make some initial assessments about the school; a 'self-study' of and by the school which involves every staff member of the school and can last for a year or two; and a seven days' visit by a team of administrative members of other international schools. These members then recommend a school for international accreditation to the CIS which takes the final decision to grant accreditation. Lastly, one year after the preliminary visit by the administrative team, there is a 'follow-up' made by the same team again to assess the school's response to their recommendations. The entire process of accreditation needs to recur on a decadal basis if a particular school wishes to continue with its accreditation.

(b) Authorization

In order to provide an international curriculum and conduct board exams in an international school, the curriculum provider needs to formally authorize the school to do so. Without a formal authorization neither the curriculum nor the exam will be valid. For instance, to become a Cambridge school there are four steps that need to be fulfilled. First, the school must express its reasons for wanting to join the Cambridge school community. An application form needs to be completed and submitted to CAIE. Thereafter there is an 'approval visit' made by a CAIE representative in order to make sure that the school will be able to meet the demands and standards set by the

organization and help the school with the registration process. A school application fee has to be paid which is partially refunded if the school does not fulfil the requirements. Revisits are made by the authorities to ensure that the school, after its registration, continues to abide by the international standards set by the CAIE. Once approval is granted, a letter of contract is sent to the school[7].

(c) International Institutional Audit

Auditing of an academic institution, for example, a school, a college or a university, refers to a process of evaluating the performance of the institution. The British Standards Institute defines audit as "a systematic and independent examination to determine whether quality activities and related results comply with the planned arrangements, and whether these arrangements are implemented effectively and are suitable to achieve objectives" (Moreland and Horsburgh, 1992: 33). For the international institutional audit, an international school invites an experienced official who has been associated with the Cambridge or Baccalaureate organisation, for example, in some capacity. Sometimes a school might also invite a group of officials. The outline for auditing is prepared by the school as a part of which auditors are invited to visit the school and examine the quality of education that is being offered, through various means. The auditing team then sends a report to the international organisation to examine the same and provide its final comments (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). These measures enable an international school to gain some credibility within the education system of a country as well as convince its clientele of the quality of education that it imparts.

Within the academic discourses, international school as a concept received a mention for the first time in the *The Yearbook of Education 1964: Education and International Life*, edited by Bereday and Lauwerys (1964). They concluded that there were around 50 international schools worldwide and that the specific aim of such schools was to provide 'international education'. Moreover, such schools were known to provide education as distinct from that of the national systems. Thus, according to the *Yearbook,* international schools arose to cater to the requirements of the "globally mobile politicians, diplomats, missionaries and volunteers with social welfare organisations" (Hayden, 2011: 214).

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[7] See, www.cie.org.uk

One of the first attempts to categorise international schools was made by Leach (1969) which consisted of schools which cater to students from different countries, schools which set up overseas branches in different nations and mostly cater to the expatriates, schools which are established jointly by two or more national governments and, lastly, schools which are a part of the ISA or could become a part of the ISA (Leach, 1969). Alternatively, Terwilliger (1972) provided four preconditions on the basis of which a school could be classified as 'international'. These preconditions are (Terwilliger, 1972): 1. the majority of students in the school must not be citizens of the country in which the school is located; 2. the proportion of foreign and national students in the school must be close to that of the managing committee of the school which if possible should also consist of foreigners and natives; 3. a policy framework in the school which allows for the appointment of teachers with the experience of adjusting in different cultural settings so that they are able to help the foreign students to acclimatise themselves in the new school; 4. an extensive curriculum which will help students to adjust themselves in their national education system as well as in any international school. However, clearly, the growth of international schools in the past one decade in India does not fit into this kind of description.

Keeping in mind the diverse nature of the international schools across the globe, Matthews (1989) provides a perspective of the market and ideology. According to him, 'market driven' international schools are those which have been established by certain expatriate groups, individuals, communities, transnational companies or even some government agencies to aid their own interests. 'Ideology driven' international schools are those that are set up to nurture and extend 'international understanding and cooperation' (Hayden, 2006:16). However, such a simplistic understanding of international schools does not really seem to fit into the international scenario anymore whether it is in India or outside. The range of such schools is becoming increasingly vast and the international schools that are coming up today can be seen to promote ideology and also cater to the demands of the international school market at the same time.

A more exhaustive explanation has been provided by Hill (2006) which includes a categorisation of national and international schools which may seek to promote

international education. According to Hill, schools can be categorised on the basis of the following typology: A national school of one country establishing a branch school in another country and providing the national curriculum of its country of origin; a national school in its home country which provides an international curriculum; an international school providing an international curriculum and lastly, an international school providing the curriculum of its host country along with curricula of some other countries (Hill, 2006). Hill (2000) also postulates that an international curriculum will be such that its contents provide 'international perspective', an awareness about the world being 'interdependent', 'bring students into contact with people of other cultures' through different activities and promote 'world peace' (Hill, 2000: 3).

In this regard, Thompson (1998), proposed a categorisation of curricula which could be applied to international schools. The first is referred to as 'exportation' wherein any national curricula and its associated examination is promoted outside the country of its origin, for instance, CAIE and IB[8]. The next is 'adaptation' which refers to the attempt made by a national curriculum to adapt itself to international standards, for instance, Central Board of Secondary Education – International (read CBSE-i)[9]. The third means of curriculum formation could be 'integration' wherein the best attributes from various curricula that have produced significant results across the world are collated to develop a new one. Lastly, there could be the 'creation' of an entirely new curriculum with its own characteristics and nuances and need not have any similarity with any other curricula, for instance, the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (read CISCE)[10].

Schools may be considered as 'international' based on a number of attributes ranging from student population (Hayden and Thompson, 1997) to its vision and mission (Hayden, 2006). However, it is also argued that "for the most part, the body of international schools is a conglomeration of individual institutions which may or may not share an underlying educational philosophy" (Hayden, 2006: 10). Most of these schools are privately funded and their marketing strategies require sufficient

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[8] IB refers to International Baccalaureate, a Geneva based non-profit organization founded in 1968 and CAIE is Cambridge Assessment International Examinations based in Cambridge operating since 1858.
[9] CBSE-i refers to the international curriculum of the CBSE board which was introduced in around 50 schools across India during 2010-11. However, according to a news report, CBSE-i was discontinued from the new academic session of 2017-18 (*Hindustan Times*, 2017: 2nd February).
[10] CISCE is a non-governmental board of school education according to the Indian Constitution. For further reference see, https://www.cisce.org

consideration for determining the extent to which one could consider them as international schools (Pearce, 2013). International schools in the 'private ownership' category may be controlled or owned by one individual or a group of individuals who are the shareholders. Some international schools may also be privately owned by a governing body of directors comprising of parents of the students in these schools. Also, some schools may be managed by a trusteeship or a charitable institution in which case they may belong to the 'community ownership' category (James and Sheppard, 2014). In this context, Hayden and Thompson (2008) have provided a group wise categorization of such schools. Some of these include:

1. *National groupings of schools-* These are the kind of schools which are meant for nationals of one country while they are away from their homeland but yet wish to educate their children in their mother tongue while they are in a foreign land (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). For instance Chinese, Japanese, German and French schools. However, within this category we can also consider the Canadian, American and British schools set up in other countries, which provide the curriculum of their country and cater to nationals of their country alone.

2. *Commercial groupings of schools-* These are schools which cater to the expatriate community in a country and if the law of a country permits only then they open their doors to nationals of the country where the school is situated. Also, the curriculum they offer does not belong to the host country (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). For instance, schools which fall within the purview of Maple Bear Global Schools Limited offer a complete Canadian system of education. Nonetheless, schools which are under the jurisdiction of some of these groups may not be owned by such groups but might only be the service providers (*ISC Research*, 2017).

3. A third category of groups comprise of *Franchise* schools wherein an esteemed and reputed public/private school of a country establishes a branch school in another country. Such schools mostly offer their services to nationals of the host country and provide the national curriculum of the country of its origin (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). For instance, the Delhi Public School Society which established a branch school in Dubai in 2003 offering the Indian CBSE curriculum[11]. This makes it easier

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[11] The school is no longer associated with the DPS Society and has been renamed as Delhi Private School, Dubai since May 2018 (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Delhi_Private_School,_Dubai).

for the nationals to stay connected to their country as well as its education system so that if and when they return to their homeland it is easier for their children to fit into the national education system.

Broadly, Hayden and Thompson have categorised international schools into three types wherein, 'Type A' are those schools which exclusively accommodate children for whom national or state level education system is not suitable (cited from Pearce, 2013: 5-8). Such children are considered to be 'globally mobile' and hailing from expatriate families and such schools which cater to them has been recognised as 'traditional international schools' (cited from Pearce, 2013: 5-8). For example, American Embassy School in New Delhi. 'Type B', schools referred to as 'ideological international schools', are the ones which have been established to promote 'global peace and understanding'. These schools cater to students from across the globe like the Canadian International School, Bengaluru. Schools falling in the 'Type C' category are those which are meant for 'host country nationals' comprising mostly of the socially and economically privileged sections of the country, who want their children to be educated in a system that is different from and may also be superior to the national education system of their country (cited from Pearce, 2013: 5-8) for instance, Unison World School, Dehradun, India.

Unfortunately, this discussion on international schools provide us with a somewhat one dimensional explanation of the population that these schools cater to. From the discussion, it seems that all the three types accommodate students only from the elite or privileged sections of the population while the rest do not receive a mention. Nonetheless, it may be noted that all these three types of schools are found in the Indian context as already pointed out with the help of examples.

More recent explanations include those of scholars like Gerard Renaud (1991) who describes an international school as "an institution offering several national streams in a kind of educational department store" (p.6). Further, "the result was the coexistence of different communities, these being juxtaposed more than integrated" (Renaud, 1991: 6). International schools usually offer more than one curriculum and are affiliated to more than one organisation. These schools aim to cater to students from diverse nationalities as well as 'linguistic backgrounds' to help them appear for university level examinations across the globe. In essence, it could be argued that

these schools have laid down the foundations for recognising education as a 'global commodity' (Hayden, 2011). Nevertheless, Renaud's description paints a picture through which one is made to understand that while education becomes a commodity at the global level, it might actually contribute towards increased gaps among socio-economic groups, in their access to education and thereby, exacerbate inequalities in the society.

Sylvester (1998) proposes two sets of international schools on the basis of their objectives, namely, 'encapsulated' and 'inclusive'. An 'encapsulated' international school is characterised by very little heterogeneity among the student backgrounds as well as the pedagogy. The curriculum of such schools is not very broad and encompassing and their school ethics are borrowed from some foreign school. The 'inclusive' international school, on the other hand, is quite opposite to that of encapsulated international schools wherein, students from various cultural backgrounds are encouraged to explore diverse issues, the curriculum is broad and the teachers are broad minded expressing heterogeneous views (Sylvester, 1998).

Lallo and Resnik (2008) have argued that international schools can be categorised into four groups. One group serves students from different national backgrounds, for example, those of migrant workers. These schools could be sponsored by the State or by the private providers. Another category of schools caters to students of a particular national identity and are located in a foreign country. Such a school may have a homogeneous or mixed kind of student population which depends upon the selection criteria that the school works on. A third group consists of those schools which have been established by groups of people belonging to different nationalities. These schools encourage each student to develop their own language and cultural identity, teach them foreign languages as well as foster a 'transnational cultural identity' that would be common to all students in the school. The fourth group of international schools consider the term 'international' in their schools to be a kind of philosophy for the education that they impart. The kind of education that they seek to impart is guided by notions of tolerance, appreciation of diversity and 'multiculturalism'. These schools do not encourage the conventions of any particular nation, culture or religion. Their curricula also are not similar to the formal curriculum of any particular country (Lallo and Resnik, 2008).

To elaborate further, Stobart (1989) has provided a somewhat similar yet different model of 'concentric circles'. His model consists of four circles wherein, Circle 1 comprises of those, who as a result of their schooling as well as exposure to the media become aware of other places outside their place of origin. Circle 2 encompasses those who travel across the world either on vacations or business trips and thereby visit different geographical locations. Circle 3 consists of people who stay in other countries for a fixed duration but do not detach themselves from their place of domicile. Examples in this category could be students and employees who reside in a foreign country for a couple of months or years and return to their homelands. These three circles might resonate with the idea of 'globally aware' middle classes that we are trying to bring forth through this study. Circle 4, according to Stobart (1989), encompasses those who shift base from their home country to another country permanently or for long periods of time. These kinds of 'international people' might have dual or multiple citizenships, can speak various languages, establish their home in a foreign land as well as develop networks and contacts with local people of the foreign neighbourhood where they reside (Stobart, 1989).

According to Stobart (1989), in this model, international schooling is essential for those 'international people' who fall within Circles 3 and 4 because for them the exposure to international schools is an important attribute for the process of internationalisation and of being international. 'Internationalisation' in schooling can be attributed to factors like spatial location of the school (Resnik, 2012), language (Aguiar and Nogueira, 2012), formal and informal curriculum (Leask, 2009), population of the school (Aguiar and Nogueira, 2012) and the like. However, in a study of Brazilian private schools, three strategies of internationalisation in schooling has been listed, which are, "(1) Emphasis on foreign language learning; (2) Bilingualism as an educational project; and (3) The promotion of international travel" (Aguiar and Nogueira, 2012: 355).

What is interesting to note from the above discussion is the emergence of the notion of 'international people'. Who are these international people? What constitutes the category of 'international people'? What is their socio-economic background? These are some of the questions that need to be addressed for a comprehensive understanding of the problem at hand. In the context of international schools,

'international people' have been understood differently by different groups of scholars. While some scholars (Ball, 2009; Kharas and Gertz, 2010; Heiman, et al., 2012; Koo, 2016) consider them as the 'global middle class', others (Robinson, 2000; Sklair, 2001; Hoffmann-Lange, 2012) refer to them as the 'global elite'. A detailed discussion on the category of such people in the context of our study will be dealt with in the fourth chapter on 'Production of 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes: Parental Profiles and Life-Worlds'.

From the foregoing explanations about international schools, some characteristics which may be broadly applicable to such schools can be delineated: The first being its 'curriculum' which is any other than the curriculum of the host country where the school is situated. Secondly, the number of 'foreign students' in such a school is usually more compared to the host country students, however, presently there has been a shift in this pattern and the number of privileged local students who can afford such a system of education are also increasing (Gilbertson, 2014; Sancho, 2016; Babu and Mahajan, 2021). While in many international schools the teaching and/or administrative staff may comprise of foreign nationals but that scenario is also gradually changing. It is quite noticeable that there are more number of local staff now who might be trained in different ways to deliver the international curriculum and pedagogy. The final attribute consists of the 'management, leadership and governance' of the school whose local prominence along with the management and functioning of the entire school contributes towards its international nature.

II. International School Students and Teachers

Together with parents scholars have also discussed the type of students and teachers who are associated with international schools. The students can be broadly categorised as 'third culture kids' (Useem and Downie, 1976), 'transcultural kids' (Pascoe, 1993), 'global nomads' (McCaig, 1992), 'returnees' and 'host country nationals' (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). The teachers on the other hand, could be 'host country nationals' and 'expatriates' (Garton, 2000) who have been locally hired and/or are from the overseas.

The Students

One of the first attempts to understand students was made by the sociologists Ruth Hill Useem and John Useem during the 1950s when they were researching upon expatriate families and their children staying in India. During the course of their research they gathered that these children did not have anything in common with either the local Indian children or the ones in the foreign country where their parent/s work or reside. Instead, they shared similarities or commonalities with children from other expatriate families in terms of culture and experiences. Thus, such a child was categorised as a 'Third Culture Kid' (read 'TCK') (Useem and Downie, 1976).

According to Useem and Ussem's study,

> 'Although they have grown up in foreign countries, they are not integral parts of those countries. When they come to their country of citizenship (some for the first time), they do not feel at home because they do not know the lingo or expectations of others - especially those of their own age. Where they feel most like themselves is in that interstitial culture, the third culture, which is created, shared and carried by persons who are relating societies, or sections thereof, to each other' (cited from Langford, 1998: 29).

However, this third culture was understood as "a generic term to describe the lifestyle created, shared and learned by those who are from one place and are in the process of relating to another one" (Hayden, 2006: 45). On the other hand, Pollock and Van Reken (2009) understand 'TCK' as a child who spends a major part of her/his childhood and adolescence adapting to different cultural practices while the culture of the parents takes a back seat and the child ends up not grasping any of them to the fullest. More improvised definitions of the same have been provided by Pascoe (1993) and Tokuhama-Espinosa (2003). While Pascoe (1993) understood such a kid as a 'trans-cultural kid' who does not have parents belonging to different cultures but has spent a good number of years in one country or different countries which are not similar to the country of residence as mentioned in her/his passport. Tokuhama-Espinosa (2003), on the other hand, have defined these kids as those who have parents belonging to two different cultures and the entire family lives in a foreign land comprising of a 'third' culture. Alternatively, according to them, the term 'TCK' may also be applicable for a child whose parents share a common cultural background but

they live in a foreign country instead of the country of their birth and the school that such a child attends in that foreign land is known to be 'a school in a third culture' (Tokuhama-Espinosa, 2003).

According to Schaetti (1993), the terminology 'global nomad' was coined by Norma McCaig (to be found in her work titled *Birth of a Notion*, 1992), and described them as "individuals of any age or nationality who have spent a significant part of their developmental years living in one or more countries outside their passport country because of a parent's occupation" (Schaetti, 1993:4). According to both McCaig (1992) and Schaetti (1993), these are people (students and/or adults) who without having a complete possession of any culture whether it is the culture of their place of birth or that of their current place of residence, develop a distinct culture of their own which they share with others who have had similar experiences of shuffling from one country to the other. As a consequence of their history of mobility and all the experiences associated with it such globally mobile students have come to be recognised as 'global nomads' (Hayden and Thompson, 2008).

These terminologies were introduced at a time when global mobility for purposes of work was rare and such people could be easily distinguished from the rest because their numbers were not very high as compared to today's times. Recently however, with more people travelling across the globe at a greater frequency for purposes of work, such terms have begun to be used alternatively as their characteristics seem to be quite similar to each other. Nonetheless, with a closer look at the two ideas one can say that while a 'global nomad' is known to be shifting base from one country to the other, a 'TCK' or 'trans-cultural kid' could refer to a child who shifts base not just across countries but could also do the same within one country. This can be true especially for a country as diverse as India wherein each state has a distinct culture of its own with people from different class, caste and religious backgrounds, speaking different languages and following different state curricula in the schools along with national curricula as part of the Indian education system. The only advantage being that within India no matter which state the child shifts to, parents have the option of choosing either any national curricula and are not just restricted to the international ones. But none the less, the point of a third culture still remains if the parents belonging to different cultures have to shift base to an Indian state whose culture does

not match theirs and their child is admitted to a public school there providing a national curriculum. Even in such a scenario the child can experience a culture that is different from that of her/his parents and thus becomes a 'TCK'.

While the above mentioned concepts give a sense of displacement wherein the child/student is uprooted from her/his place of birth and spends most of their childhood in foreign lands, the other category of students are those who having spent part of their childhood in other countries come back to the country of one's birth, in other words, their 'home country' and attend an international school there. Such students have been identified as 'Returnees' simply because they return to their homelands. The most obvious reason for enrolling them in international schools in their home country could be that they were already studying in international schools in the foreign countries where they have stayed previously. 'Returnees' attending international schools in the foreign countries could be because they were staying in non-English speaking countries and, therefore, an English medium international school provides them with a wide and comfortable platform to get educated. On the other hand, the choice of an international school in their home country can also be attributed to the fact that being away from the native land and its education system for a sufficient span of time, the child after returning might find it difficult to cope with the national system of education which is believed to be starkly different compared to the international one (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). Since the national education system of each country is different from the other, be it a native English speaking country or not, international schools provide curricula that are recognised globally and the content of each curriculum is the same across different international schools although the pedagogy may differ. Thus, it becomes much easier for a child whether she/he is a 'global nomad', 'TCK' or 'returnee', to integrate into the system of international schooling much easily than one's national system.

The final category of students as pointed out by the authors are the 'host country nationals' referring to those children who have not moved out of their country of birth as a result of their parents' occupation or any other factor and therefore, not studied in any school outside of their home country but, are studying in an international school in their native land. This is applicable only for those countries where the local children are allowed to attend international schools (Hayden and Thompson, 2008).

For instance, according to a news report published in *The Japan Times,* dated Dec 24, 2017, Japanese students from the first to the ninth grade were not permitted by law to attend an international school except those with multiple citizenships or those who would not continue with a Japanese nationality in the future. However, as of today, these rules have become flexible and now there are more local Japanese students in their international schools than before. With time there has been a growing trend among host country students to study in an international school in their home country and their numbers are steadily increasing across the globe. There is awareness among the locally residing privileged classes of people, about the benefits that international schooling can reap for them. For instance, in Palmer International School (read PIS), the school where the present study has been conducted, it was found that there are 845 Indian students while the number of foreign students add up to 54 only. Therefore, the kind of clientele that PIS caters to is majorly Indian in spite of it being an international school offering an international curriculum. This is a clientele that we are trying to conceptualise as 'globally aware' middle classes as a result of their rootedness to the native land yet possessing the attribute of global awareness in spite of being stationed locally. Herein, one is reminded of Stobart's (1989) model of 'concentric circles' wherein Circles 1, 2 and 3 can be associated with such 'globally aware' middle class characteristics as discussed above. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the variety of international schools that are available today, with each school operating differently, it is pretty difficult to sharply categorise their students into the different groups mentioned above. None the less, what requires deeper thinking are the reasons behind greater presence of local students in these schools today as compared to foreigners, expats or NRIs.

The Teachers

Teachers in international schools have been broadly classified into local teachers and foreigners. The local teachers are those who are natives of the country where the international school is located while the foreigners are mostly expatriates (Bailey, 2015). Like there is no blueprint for setting up an international school, similarly there are no stated rules for recruiting teachers in such schools. Mostly, it is the discretion of the school and/or its management team to come up with their eligibility criteria. For instance, Cambridge (2002) points out that the category of an international school

teacher is not only dependent on her/his nationality and/or geographical location but also on the employment contract.

Therefore, the most obvious categorization in this regard is of part time and full time teachers based on the duration of their duties in the school. The other very common grouping (at least in India) is that of permanent and contractual teachers which is pretty much in sync with the part time and full time teaching categories. In majority of cases it is found that it is the part time teachers who are hired on a contractual basis while those working full time in the school are given permanent positions. All of this has a bearing on their salaries as well as employment rights. The hiring of local and foreign teachers also has a bearing on the salaries and benefits they are offered as the locals are often paid less compared to the foreigners, especially in the developing countries, the reasons for which could be multiple. While in India the categorization of teachers on the basis of time and contract is not exclusive to international schools alone, the local and foreign categories maybe so.

Scholarly attempts have been made to classify them into various categories (Garton, 2000; Hardman, 2001, Cambridge, 2002). For Garton (2000), for instance, the teaching staff in an international school can be categorised into three groups, namely, host-country nationals, 'local hire' expatriates and 'overseas hire' expatriates. According to Hayden and Thompson (2008), host-country teachers may find it more lucrative to teach in an international school and the reasons for which could be multiple (conditions of service, employment benefits, better salary, and the like) especially in comparison to a public school in a developing country.

The second category of teachers known as the 'local hire' expatriates as pointed out by Garton (2000), mostly consist of those who have spouses or partners working for 'embassies, aid agencies or multinational companies in that particular country' (Garton, 2000: 88) where the international school is situated or a teacher who as a result of marriage to a national citizen of a country also becomes a 'host country' national of that particular country (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). This category is also referred to as the 'trailing spouse' because she/he is on the move along with the partner (Bates, 2011). However, the 'local hire' expatriates as well as the 'host country' nationals get 'recruited at considerably less cost, as it is perceived that they

do not require housing, flights or most of the other fringe benefits regarded as overseas-hire recruits' (Garton, 2000: 88).

According to Gorton (2000), the third category of 'overseas hire' expatriates, are those who have specifically applied for or been offered a teaching position in a particular international school in a country other than their own. Such teachers usually enjoy maximum advantages mostly in the form of higher salaries and in some cases certain other benefits as well when compared to the other two categories. Often such teachers might have previous teaching experience of an international school which can be an added advantage to start their teaching career in the new country. International schools in most countries being English-medium, prefer their expatriate teachers to be coming from countries like the USA or UK where English is the native language (Bates, 2011). Only in some cases one might find an expatriate teacher belonging to a non-English speaking country who has been hired to teach her/his native language as it might be one of the many foreign languages offered by that particular international school.

Reasons to work in an international school might be multiple and employment in the same might seem to be attractive initially for all the benefits that one gets to enjoy. However, in the long term it might become a little problematic since these schools mostly being private enterprises do not offer any kind of retirement benefits to its staff as a result of which even if one wishes to switch over to the national system (especially for 'host country' teachers) in a government school simply for the sake of retirement pension, it is still not very appealing; 'the teacher then has 'nowhere to go' career-wise' (Hayden, 2006: 74).

While Garton (2000) provides us with a wider range of categorisation of international school teachers, Hardman (2001) on the other hand provides a further breakup of the 'overseas' category of teachers. According to Hardman, 'overseas' teachers can be categorised on the basis of certain motivating factors as well as their contribution to the school. The three groups include childless career professionals, 'mavericks' ('free and independent spirits') and career professionals with families. He also provides a grouping of the more senior teachers in such schools who do not have any dependent children: senior career professionals, senior 'mavericks', senior 'Penelopes' ('faithful

to the country they had adopted': referring to Ulysses' wife in Homer's Odyssey) (Bates, 2011: 85).

III. International Schools in the Indian Context

According to ISC Research, the number of English-medium international schools in the world has increased from 2,584 in the year 2000 to 10,937 as on 1st July, 2019. This means that in a span of 19 years there has been an increase of 8353 schools (323%) across the globe while the student enrolment has increased from less than a million to 5.65 million (483%) (*ISC Research*, 2019). Moreover, within a period of just one year ranging from July 2019 to July 2020, 697 international schools have been established across the world taking the total count to 11,634 with a total enrolment of 6.5 million students[12].

Sociologically speaking, the socio-hierarchical structure of the Indian society entails that the lower and lower middle classes out-number all other social classes. However, the elites and the upper middle classes dictate and set the new models of education and schooling for the rest of the society, which then makes the other social classes such as lower and lower middle class segments to aspire for such education[13]. Hence, international schools, back in the early 1900s, including the ones mentioned earlier were usually known to cater to a small minority of wealthy and privileged sections of the society who were internationally mobile. The fees structure in these schools testifies to this point amply: "The fees at international schools in India range widely, but capacity utilisation is high regardless of fees [ISC Research has investigated all international schools in India with fees over United States Dollar (USD) $4,000 per year]. The schools with annual fees between USD $4,000 and $10,000 are, on average, 79% full. Schools with fees over $10,000 are currently in excess of 81% full" (*ISC Research*, June 6, 2017).

In India, international schools encompass a variety of categories. Some schools are 'international' just by name, for example, *Dayanand Anglo Vedic (DAV) International School*, Jharkhand; *St. Xavier International School*, Odisha which offer only CBSE

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[12] See, www.portal.iscresearch.com
[13] It may be noted that the term elite is loosely associated with the upper middle classes as well. Mills (1956) identifies different kinds of elites, out of which some like administrative, managerial, military and commercial elites are primarily of upper middle class character.

curriculum. Another category of schools includes those which are 'international' by name, provide only the national curriculum, but have received the British Council International School Award for example, *KC International School*, Jammu. A third category of international schools are those which do not provide the IB curriculum. Nor do they offer Cambridge curriculum, but have only CBSE along with CBSE-i, for example, *Sai International School*, Bhubaneswar[14]. The fourth category of schools are those which offer the international curricula like IB and/or Cambridge curriculum along with a national curriculum like Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE) or CBSE, for example, *Oakridge International School*, Hyderabad, which offers IB, International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) and CBSE; *Unison World School*, Dehradun which offers CISCE and IGCSE. A fifth category of schools consists of those which offer only international curricula such as the IB and/or IGCSE, for example, *Ecole Mondiale World School*, Mumbai. Besides these five different categories, there may be many other who call themselves 'international', but have no significant component that may allow them to call themselves as 'international'.

One fact that is evident is that there are a significant number of schools calling themselves 'international' in the country today than was the case ten to fifteen years ago. We may recall that, in India, the origin of international schools dates back to the 1900s. Some of the oldest international schools are *Woodstock School*, Mussoorie (established in 1854), which became Asia's first school to gain US accreditation in the year 1959 through the Middle State Association of Colleges and Schools[15]. *Hebron School*, Ooty (established in 1899), was given the recognition of a European School in 1913 by the Code of Regulations for European Schools in India and is accredited by the Associated Examining Board to conduct the Cambridge International Examinations. *Kodaikanal International School* (established in 1901) became the first international school in India and third in Asia to provide the International Baccalaureate Diploma programme in 1976. Besides, there were/are many which have had 'international orientation, in terms of transmitting international values, having

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[14] IGCSE refers to International General Certificate of Secondary Education which, is an international certification for the 10th grade provided to educational institutions.

[15] Middle States Association Commissions on Elementary and Secondary Schools (MSACESS) is a non-profit association with its headquarters in the US. The MSACESS gives educational accreditation to a variety of educational institutions comprising of primary and higher education. See, https://www.msa-cess.org/

international teaching community, and even the student body on their roles. The new situation of post-liberalisation has attracted the label of 'international' as a market strategy to attract privileged social classes in almost all metropolitan cities of the country.

Growth, spread, demand and the international school market

After the 1990s, private sector access to the Indian economy was granted as India introduced economic liberalization policies from 1991 onwards. The main objective behind economic liberalization for India was to reduce financial debts which it had incurred post-independence due to loans taken from external sources like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Venkatanarayanan, 2015). As a result, social sector expenditures on gross domestic product (GDP) including education were curtailed. This was followed by a reduction in government funded education (which included government and privately owned-government-aided institutions) and a simultaneous increase of unaided private sector involvement in education (Rani, 2008; Venkatanarayanan, 2015). As pointed out by Harvey,

> 'State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory [of neoliberalism], the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit' (Harvey, 2005: 2).

Thus, reduction in the allocation of government funds (indicating reduced intervention by the state) invariably led to a compromise in human (teachers, pupil-teacher ratio, curriculum design, pedagogy) and material (school infrastructure, textbooks and other facilities) resources affecting the quality of education, which also affected the academic performance of the students (Kingdon, 1996; 2007) thereby, affecting the reputation of government and government-aided schools. Such a situation gave the private sector a good opportunity to promote private unaided schools in order to fulfil the demands of unsatisfied parents (Rani 2008; Vankatanarayanan, 2015).

However, today, with the increasing aspirations of local residents for their children's global mobility, international exposure, and English medium education (equivalent to the West), there is a growing dissatisfaction with the national education system as it is

believed to be falling short of fulfilling such parental aspirations (Hayden and Thompson, 2008; Hayden, 2011; Prasad, 2013). As a consequence, the international school sector has been capitalising on this opportunity in the post-liberalisation era by promising to fulfil the rising aspirations of local parents and, thereby, attracting potential middle and elite social classes who are able to afford such schooling for their children (Gilbertson, 2014; Sancho, 2016). It is no longer unknown that international mobility of students and professionals has increased to a large extent as a consequence of which there has been a proliferation of international schools in India.

The growth in international schools in India can be linked to a desire in people to become global not just by travelling across the globe but also by enabling their children to avail a system of education that is globally recognised. The knowledge, education and other activities that a student is exposed to in an international school is believed to help them develop global perspectives through "outstanding transferable skills, including critical thinking, research and collaboration" (Cambridge Assessment International Education, 2020) and thereby shape them into globally aware citizens. Although there isn't much data available on the international school market in India yet, the idea that seems to be dominating the school education sector in India today is that in order to be globally/internationally viable or compatible a global/international education can serve as pathways and this could be an important reason for the growth of international schools in India post 2000.

Data from ISC Research has shown that the number of international schools across the world has risen from 12,193 to 12,234 between January 2020 and May 2021 (Worth, 2021; *India: International Schools Market Intelligence Report, 2020-21*, *ISC Research,* 2021)[16]. Currently, the number of such schools has gone up to 12,853 as of January, 2022[17]. In India too, the international school sector has witnessed a massive expansion, particularly of Kindergarten-12 schools. ISC Research, in one of its earlier reports, noted that "*...* within the last five years, the number of international schools in India has grown by over 45%, while student enrolment has increased by over 70%. The increase in the number of schools points to the fact that India's international schools' market is expected to grow along with an increase in the demand for such

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[16] See, https://www.tes.com/news/china-india-international-school-growth-teaching-job-overseas?amp (accessed 3 June 2021)
[17] https://iscresearch.com/data/ (accessed 22 June 2022)

schools and thereby an increase in the supply as well. In 2017, there were 469 international schools located throughout the country attended by 268,500 students aged between 3 and 18" (*ISC Research*, 2017)[18]. While the number of international schools in India added up to 544 as of September, 2018 (*ISC Research*, 2018)[19], in 2019 the number of such schools rose to 708 with 3.73 lakhs students being enrolled (Chhapia, 2019). The total number of English-medium international schools in the country as of May 2021, stands at 769 with a student population of 4.42 lakhs which is 53.5% of Southern Asia's total and 7.3% of global total[20]. Furthermore, "Over 11 million students have migrated from the country's state schools to private and international schools since 2010" (Keeling, 2018). The probable reasons for such migration will be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

There are three popular international organisations which provide international curricula in India, set examinations and correct papers - the IB, CAIE and London based Pearson Edexcel Examinations. Among these three, it is the IB and CAIE which are offered in most Indian international schools. A report published in *The Times of India* mentions that, "With a year-on-year growth of 10 per cent between 2014 and 2016, and another 6.1 per cent in 2017, the UK based Cambridge International Examinations (CIE's) strength in India is now at about 67,000, barely 7,000 students short of the numbers for the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE), that conducts Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE) and ISC exams. Meanwhile, Switzerland's IB programme has also increased its presence from 92 schools in 2013 to 146 schools now" (Gohain, 2018)[21].

As per data obtained from the official website of IB and CAIE curriculum providers, there are 199 IB 'World' (as referred to by the International Baccalaureate Organisation) schools and 538 schools offering Cambridge curriculum in India respectively which takes the total number of these two types of schools to 737[22]. As of

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[18] See, *India: Country Market Report for Education Suppliers* (*ISC Research*, 2017)

[19] Cook N (2018) Overview of the world's international schools market. *ISC Research Ltd.*

[20] See, *India: International Schools Market Intelligence Report, 2020-21* (*ISC Research,* 2021).

[21] CIE refers to Cambridge International Examinations, ICSE refers to Indian Certificate of Secondary Education meant for grade ten board exams and ISC refers to Indian School Certificate Examination for grade twelve board exams.

[22] Please note that the number of schools indicate only those international schools which have permitted the IB and CAIE to display their details publicly on their websites. See, https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/the-ib-by-country/i/india/ and https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/why-choose-us/find-a-cambridge-school/?Location=India

May 2021, the most predominant international curriculum offered by Indian international schools is the Cambridge curriculum which can be found in 64.8% of the schools[23]. However, there are international schools which provide both IB and Cambridge curricula together in one school, while there are others which offer only IB or Cambridge curriculum independently as well. Thus, the numbers 199 and 538 previously mentioned include schools which provide both curricula together as well as those which offer either one of the programmes in their school. The following table gives a brief overview of the two programmes as offered in India.

Table 2.1: Overview of IB and CAIE

Type of Certifying Agency	Year of Establishment	Location of Headquarter	Programmes Offered	Age Group
IB (International Baccalaureate)	1968	Geneva	Primary Years Program (PYP)	3-12
			Middle Years Program (MYP)	11-16
			IB Diploma Program (IBDP)	16-19
CAIE (Cambridge Assessment International Education)	1858	Cambridge	Cambridge Primary (CP)	5- 11
			Cambridge Secondary-I (CS-I)	11- 14
			Cambridge Secondary-II (CS-II) *	14- 16
			Cambridge Advanced (CA)**	16- 19
*(IGCSE, O-Level), **(Advanced, Advanced Secondary, Pre- University Levels)				

Sources: (1) http://www.ibo.org/ (accessed 27 January 2017)

(2) http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/about-us/who-we-are/our-history/ (accessed 27 January 2017)

Around the 1990s, international schools mostly offering boarding facilities were established in certain specific exclusive locations such as hill stations or the country side, away from the commotion of the city. The idea behind sending children to such schools "was associated with luxury, pride and status symbol for upper class" (Prasad, 2011: 193) since these were mostly attended by children of elite sections of the Indian population as well as foreigners who could afford the fees and the travel expenses of their children as most of them were out station students. For example, Woodstock

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[23] See, *India: International Schools Market Intelligence Report, 2020-21* (*ISC Research,* 2021).

School located in Mussoorie, Uttarakhand and Kodaikanal International School in Kodaikanal, Tamil Nadu are some examples of this kind.

Nonetheless, there was a shift in the spatial location of international schools from the hilly regions to the well-developed urban areas consisting of a population of million plus and/or even more (known as metropolitan and/or mega cities). These schools were especially established in those pockets where multinational and transnational companies are located in order to attract their attention and to cater to the demands of schooling for their children. However, the schools that came up in these areas were also being projected as exclusive since they were built over large acres of plush green land surrounded by trees and big playing fields giving the impression of a pollution free environment. The international schools in and around these big cities were mostly set up with the mind-set of catering to not just the elite in the city which is colloquially believed to be very small in number, but also to the NRIs, expatriates and rich local professional sections of the population, working for multinational companies thereby opening up opportunities for a wider wealthy section. *Amity Global School* in Gurugram, National Capital Region (NCR), Haryana or *Oakridge International School* in Hi-tech city, Hyderabad, Telangana or *Orchids: The International School* in Rajarhat (New Town) area of Kolkata, West Bengal are examples of this kind of international schools that are located in metropolitan cities.

These cities often denoted as 'global cities', have been conceptualized and elaborated upon by various scholars (Hudson, 2010; Dupont, 2011; Chatterji, 2013; Kamat, 2011). As per Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical schema, these spaces have become centres and 'fields' of interchange or conversion of various forms of capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic), further structuring the 'habitus' of individuals. This has also led to the escalation of international schools in these cities enabling the city dwellers to create an exclusive identity/habitus for themselves not only by virtue of their professions but even by the school and/or education system that they select for their children. This way they are able to either preserve and/or enhance their social class positions since it is no longer limited to income alone but also shaped by "consumption choices, tastes, preferences, lifestyle patterns and behaviours" (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Also, "these schools are distinguished from more 'normal' modest schools by their extensive campuses, higher fees and, particularly, focus on

forms of cultural capital increasingly important for middle-class employment like 'communication skills' (English language fluency and confident self-expression), 'open-mindedness' (an openness to new ways of doing things in contrast to conservatism) and 'exposure' (experience of a wide range of activities, people and places)" (Gilbertson, 2014: 211).

However, in recent times there has been a shift in the geographical location of international schools in the country. These schools are no longer restricting themselves to the global cities but are also spreading to the 'peri-urban' [United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 2012] areas, otherwise referred to as medium-sized cities (Shaw, 2012), class I and statutory towns (Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, 2016) respectively. In this regard Gilbertson (2014) mentioned that, the popularity of international schools has enabled the 'rural upper middle-class families to convert their economic capital (in the form of school fees) into legitimate urban cultural capital for their children' (2014: 211). The following Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1 below will give an idea about this trend[24].

Table 2.2: Distribution of International Schools Across Cities and Towns Classified By Population

States/ UTs	Mega City (> 1 Crore(Cr))	Metro City (40Lkh-1Cr)	Million Plus (10Lkh-40Lkh)	Med-sized (5Lkh-10Lkh)	Class I Towns (1Lkh-5Lkh)	Statutory Towns (>5000 - < 1Lkh)	Total Schools
Delhi (NCT)	Delhi-71**	0	0	0	0	0	**71**
Gujarat	0	Ahmedabad-14 Surat-5	Rajkot-2 Vadodara-2	Bhavnagar-1	Mehsana-1 Valsad-4 Anand-2 Gandhinagar-2	0	**33**
Haryana	0	0	Faridabad-5	Gurugram-18	Sonipat-4 Panipat-3 Ambala-2 Panchkula-2 Rohtak-2 Hisar-2 Sirsa-1 Jind-1 Rewari-1	Mahendragarh-1 Jhajjar-1	**43**

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[24] Please note that this table represents only those states where the number of international schools are 20 and above wherein, the names of states have been mentioned in alphabetical order. The broad table can be found in Annexure 1 of this thesis. The number of schools in the table indicate only those international schools which have permitted the below mentioned sources to display their details publicly. Also, the schools comprise of those that offer one or more international curricula as well as those which do not offer but have the word 'international' in their name. Therefore, the total number of such schools in the table does not tally with the current strength of schools offering international curricula in India.

Karnataka	0	Bengaluru-42	0	Mysore-2	Mandya-1 Bagalkot-1 Udupi-2	Chikkaballapura-1 Sulya-1 Vijayapura-1 Kanakapura-1 Huliyar-1 Hassan-1	54
Maharashtra	Mumbai-40	0	Pune-16 Thane-7 Navi Mumbai-3 Nagpur-3 Nashik-3	Kolhapur-1 Amravati-1	Raigarh-1 Satara-2	0	77
Madhya Pradesh	0	0	Indore-9 Bhopal-3 Jabalpur-1	Ujjain-1	Ratlam-1 Mandsaur-1 Khargone-2 Katni-1 Morena-1	0	20
Punjab	0	0	Amritsar-3 Ludhiana-4	Jalandhar-2	Hoshiarpur-3 Moga-1 Mohali (S.A.S. Nagar)-3 Bhatinda-2 Patiala-3 Pathankot-1	Sangrur-2 SirhindFatehgarh Sahib-1 Gurdaspur-2 Tarn Taran Sahib-1	28
Rajasthan	0	0	Jaipur-8 Kota-2 Jodhpur-2	Ajmer-1	Ganganagar-1 Udaipur-2 Sikar-2 Bharatpur-1 Jhunjhunun-1 Alwar-3	Sirohi-1	24
Tamil Nadu	0	Chennai-18	Coimbatore-7 Madurai-1	Tiruchirappalli-1	Kancheepuram-3 Erode-1 Thanjavur-1 Cuddalore-3	Ooty (Udhagamandalam)-3 Thiruvallur-2 Kodaikanal-1 Namakkal-2 Krishnagiri-1 Viluppuram-1 Gingee-1 Tindivanam-1 Thiruvarur-1 Kanniyakumari-1	49
Telangana	0	Hyderabad-33	0	Warangal-1	0	0	34
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	Ghaziabad-5 Lucknow-3 Meerut-5 Kanpur-5	Jhansi-1 Saharanpur-1 Aligarh 1	Faizabad-1 Muzaffarnagar-1 Mathura-1 Rae Bareli-1 Greater Noida-10	Kushinagar-1	36
West Bengal	0	Kolkata-8	0	Siliguri-8	Nabadwip-1 Barddhaman-1 Dabgram-1	Bairatisal-1	20
Total Schools	**111**	**120**	**99**	**40**	**88**	**31**	**489**

Table compiled by researcher in 2019.

** Numbers indicate the number of international schools in each area.

Sources: (1) http://www.studyguideindia.com/Schools/international-schools-india.html

(2) https://www.educationworld.in/

Table 2.2, represents the distribution of international schools across states and urban classifications. In Table 2.2 it can be seen that as far as the Indian states are concerned, Maharashtra has the highest number of schools (77 that is, 15.75%) followed by Delhi NCR with 71 that is, 14.52% schools. The lowest numbers of international schools are in Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal with 20 that is 4.09% schools.

However, the North-Eastern states of India such as Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura have not been discussed or mentioned in any reliable source that has documented the presence of any type of international school in these states.

The state wise data on the spread of international schools based on areas under urban classifications it has been revealed that highest percentage of schools are present in the Metro Cities that is 24.54%. However, the urban fringes are also not far behind in this regard. Data provided for the Medium-sized Cities, Class-I Towns and Statutory Towns in Table 2.2, highlight that within the category of Medium-sized Cities it is Gurugram in the state Haryana which has the highest number of international schools that is, 18. Within the Class-I Towns' category, Greater New Okhla Industrial Development Authority (NOIDA) in Uttar Pradesh (UP) has the highest number of such schools that is, 10. Finally, in the Statutory Town category, Ooty in Tamil Nadu has the highest number of international schools which is 3. Alternatively, taking these three categories of urban classifications into consideration, it can be seen that the highest number of international schools are in Class-I Towns, which is 88 (18%) followed by 40 (8.18%) in Medium-sized Cities and 31 (6.34%) in Statutory Towns. Figure 2.1 represents the aforementioned statistics diagrammatically.
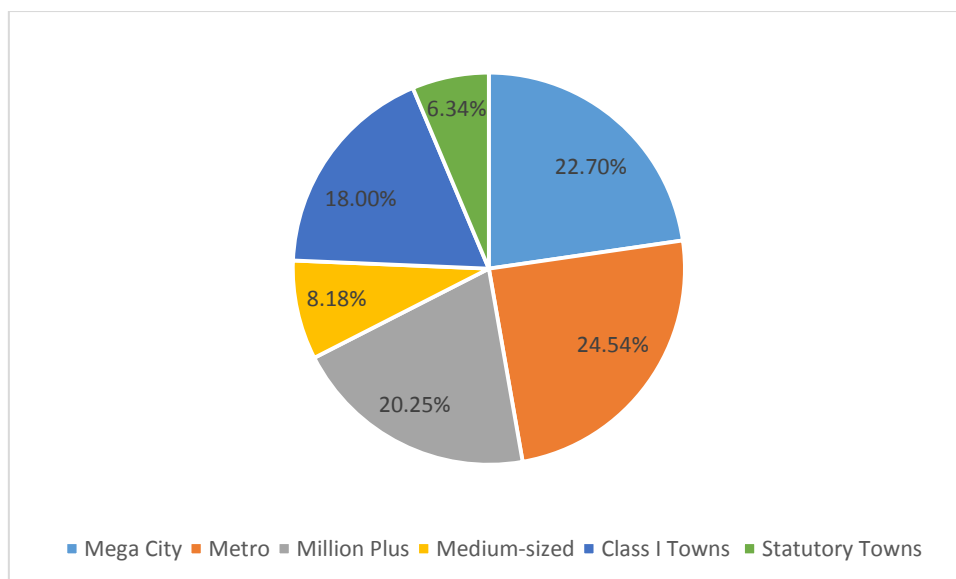
Figure 2.1: Percentage of schools under urban classifications

If the total number of international schools as obtained from Table 2.2 is 489 wherein the number of schools in the three categories of urban classification (Medium-sized-40 + Class I Towns-88 + Statutory Towns-31) is 159, this indicates that the percentage of international schools in these areas is 32.5%. With such a percentage of schools being present in these areas it is an indication of how the international schools market in India is not just growing in terms of the number of schools but also spreading in terms of the geographical locations and providing greater choices to people who can afford such schools. Therefore, the international school market is gradually spreading to the peripheries enabling the wealthy to become more and more exclusive by willingly excluding themselves from the public education system (Whitty, 2001). For instance, Sancho's (2016: 477) work points out that such schools are no longer limited to the mega cities or metropolitan areas but have begun to spread in the 'second tier cities' as well[25].

As pointed out by Komljenovic and Robertson (2017), there are certain 'Education Market Devices' which education institutions employ in order to establish themselves in the education market and draw the attention of potential clientele. These devices which include "(i) standards and standardisation, (ii) technology and infrastructure, and (iii) data and metrics" (Komljenovic and Robertson, 2017: 291), which operate in conjunction with each other and are not independent since, each is dependent on the

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[25] According to the RBI (Reserve Bank of India) classification of centres based on population, Tier-2 centres as per 2011 Census, are those which have a population ranging from 50,000 to 99,999.

other. In case of an international school like PIS (the field site), in order to maintain its standard in the international education market, it has to maintain a certain infrastructure which must be facilitated with technology. Also, the data that the school generates regarding its student placements overseas which in turn generates data regarding the ranking of the school can be an indicator of standard. These are certain essential criteria that operate even in the case of international school choice-making for aspiring parents. Thus, according to the parents international schooling is enabling their children to get educated through the means of a globally acknowledged curriculum, obtain internationally recognised qualifications and thereby become ready for careers in the international job market not just India alone. These parents are of the belief that the Indian education system is dated and the curriculum is not updated well from time to time which according to them is the biggest drawback of the system. Therefore,

> 'Lack of confidence in the national system is undoubtedly also one factor behind the growing number of aspirational middle-class families in those developing countries which do permit international school attendance by their own citizens, who choose to send their child to an international school for an English-medium education leading to a qualification. Such parents see the international school experience as providing a competitive edge which sets their children apart from, and at an advantage to, their peers in the national system' (Hayden and Thompson, 2008: 47).

For instance, when one of the fathers, who is a professor of Indian origin in the Chinese department of a reputed university in Delhi and married to a lady of Chinese origin having German citizenship, was asked to provide reasons for choosing the international education system over the national one, he replied saying,

> We were decisive enough. We thought that you know, because of our background, we are sort of an international family so we thought that it would be better if we put them there (referring to PIS) and it would be good for kids also you know to get some kind of exposure.

These are parents who want their children to be up to date with current affairs of not just their country of origin but, that of the world. Such parents harp on the aspect of exposure that they believe is lacking in the local/national system of schooling and can be provided through international schooling. Gewirtz et al. (1994), have identified

such families as the 'privileged' wherein the 'consumerist parents' possess the 'inclination' and 'confidence' to draw the maximum benefits possible for their children from the education market because they have the 'capacity' (in terms of capitals) to do so (Gewirtz et al., 1994: 9). However, in the present study, looking at the kind of clientele that PIS caters to, we are attempting to conceptualise such parents and their children as the 'globally aware' middle classes who are most definitely 'privileged' in terms of capital possession, 'consumerist' not only with regard to material objects but facilities as well, 'inclined' to maximize profit even if it is from the education sector and very 'confident' about achieving their aspirations with regard to their children.

This gives a sense to the international organisations that the profit margin in this sector is very high as more and more parents (whether globally mobile or host country nationals) who can afford this system are enrolling their children into these schools. The global income generated from the school fees is proof enough for the profit earned by the international school market. It must also be pointed out that, the profit earned is not only directed to the international schools in general but also to the curriculum providers. Such is the case because in order to appear for the grade tenth and twelfth board examinations, an international school has to pay a certain examination fee (paid by the parents before any board examination) to the service provider. As a result, in a span of ten years from the year 2000 to February 2020, the overall income from international school tuition fee across the globe has gone up to $51.8 billion from $4.9 billion (*ISC Research*, 2021) while the year (2020) had just begun. According to recent data gathered from India by ISC Research, the total annual income from tuition fee was $1,123.8 million as of May 2021, which is 51.9% of Southern Asia's total and 2.1% of global total[26]. Thus, one can understand why there is a proliferation of international schools worldwide as well as in India and the numbers have not declined till date. Hence, Hayden and Thompson (2008), have rightly pointed out that,

> 'one of the consequences of a substantial increase on the number of international schools is likely to come from the competition that such increased choice for parents will generate….competition (especially within highly populated urban environments) could drive the need for each

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[26] See, *India: International Schools Market Intelligence Report, 2020-21* (*ISC Research,* 2021).

individual school to establish and publicize widely its own 'credentials' in order to capture a viable share of the local market for international education' (Hayden and Thompson, 2008: 80).

The demand for a foreign degree be it a school or university is another reason that has fuelled the growth of international schools in the country. For instance, a study published by the Higher Education Policy Institute and Universities UK International (2021), has reported that, international undergraduate students in the UK contribute £28.8 billion to the country's economy annually (Stacey, 2021)[27]. If this is the income generated in the UK, then why wouldn't the Cambridge curriculum providers and/or the other international curricula providers, expand their international school market overseas? By doing so, they are able to generate a handsome income from the offshore international schools as well as from the undergraduate international students. Hence, "Due to the huge profit margins, international schools are considered a good investment option and many venture capitalists and investment firms consider this to be a fail-safe option" (Prasad, 2103: 197).

Aside from the demand by parents for easy access to foreign universities through international schooling, private higher education sector in India must also be taken into consideration if one has to analyse the international school market in its totality. The increasing acceptance of international schooling degrees by some of the private universities in the country is another source of encouragement for the international school market to expand further. Moreover, the Ministry of Education in India is also planning to invite international education service providers to establish higher education institutions that would operate in the form of franchises (Prasad, 2013) which will enable aspiring students to get world-class education along with foreign degrees without having to travel outside the country. Since, individuals are increasingly aiming to create a global identity and a place for themselves in the world (Brosius, 2010), such a policy might seem to be very fruitful for the international school market in India. However, some aspirants might feel that by not travelling overseas, the element of early exposure and global awareness might not be achieved in full capacity since, one does not get to reside in the overseas location and experience the culture of its people.

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[27] See, https://thepienews.com/news/internationals-contribute-28-8bn-to-uk-economy-yearly/ (accessed 9 September 2021)

Conversely, international schools being private, unaided schools, coming up with a promise of 'English medium, western education' especially in the age of globalisation, might further increase the differences between private and government education systems (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). Such might be the case because, in the international school market, "unlike most other markets, who the client is matters, quality and reputation are related in good part to the clientele themselves, not solely to the service. What is being produced as a result is a stratified system made up of schools which can afford to turn away certain clients and other schools that must take any they can get" (Ball, 1993: 8). Although these schools have 25% of their seats reserved for the Economically Weaker Section (read EWS) children under Right to Education (read RTE) Act of 2009 yet, it is only up to the 8th standard that the school takes care of their education expenses (Nambissan, 2021). Thereafter, many are unable to continue due to the inability to pay the high fees that such schools charge and eventually they drop out. As a result, the poor continue to remain poor while the aspiring middle and upper middle classes continue to climb up the ladder of social class and status. "Indeed, Thapliyal (2016) argues that the language of rights has been co-opted into agendas of privatisation and segregation in Indian education, which reaffirms elite closures" (Sriprakash et al., 2016: 1027). Thus, the more such schools are established the more they strengthen the social class stratification in the Indian society which is already so markedly stratified.

Summary

This chapter presented a detailed account of the nature of international schools that exist across the globe along with the growth of such schools in the country. The first section began with discussions on the characteristics of international schools. This is followed by an attempt to trace the genealogy of the concept 'international school' within the academic discourse. There are some ideal typical categories on the basis of which schools can be identified as international, for example, curriculum, the strength and nationality of students and staff and finally the kind of management and governance that runs the institution. Moreover, it is also inferred that there is no standard definition and framework to classify a school as international (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). Scholars have offered some broad categorizations of these students and teachers depending mostly on their place of origin, their current geographical location at the time of being hired as well as the nature of their job indicating whether

it's part-time or full-time. Nonetheless, by providing some examples from the field site, it was found that while the teachers are all *host-country nationals*, the student composition was such that majority are *host-country nationals* and only very few can be identified as 'TCK', *global nomad* and/or *Returnee*.

The chapter points out that there is not only an increase in the numerical strength of these schools in India but there is also a shift in their geographical location from metropolitan cities to medium-sized cities and towns, from urban areas to the hinterlands (Sancho, 2016). It provides an understanding of the international education market in India and reasons behind the increasing demand for such schools among today's aspiring 'globally aware' middle classes of parents. In this section we try to point out that such schools in India are not just flourishing because of the access that they provide to an international curriculum but other attributes as well that contribute towards their popularity (Prasad, 2013; Gilbertson, 2014). In a country where there is already a stark contrast between the private and public systems of schooling, the proliferation of international schools as a sub category of private schools further widens the gap between different education systems as well as social classes by giving access to a few and leaving the rest behind. Therefore, such kind of schooling is meant for those who already are privileged and who continue to aspire for further upward social mobility, social recognition (Ball, 1993; Gewirtz et al., 1994; Sriprakash et al., 2016) and engage in reproduction of class privilege through schooling (Howard and Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2010; Khan, 2011).

CHAPTER THREE

Palmer International School (PIS): Structure And Organization

The chapter aims to give a clear picture and profile of the institution where fieldwork was conducted. It has six sections wherein the first section will look into the historical background of the school which will include details about its establishment, its pioneer as well as the rationale provided to the researcher for setting up this educational institution. The school is under the tutelage of an external management committee known as 'PIS Society'. The Society runs a chain of schools within as well as outside the country.

The second section which is divided into further sub-sections will begin with a discussion about the geographic location of the school whereby an attempt is made to capture the significance of its spatial location. The discussion will then shift to the school organisation and stakeholders associated with the school wherein a discussion about the duration of every academic term, the school timings and assessment schedules and the numerical strength and social background of the students and staff (academic and non-academic) are provided.

Section three will provide a detailed and descriptive account of the physical structure of the school. It begins with a description of the reception area, playground followed by a block-wise discussion about the building. In this section, we discuss spaces such as the library, the spaces allotted for some of the extra-curricular activities and finally about the cafeteria and dining hall. These areas have been selected for an in-depth discussion because they caught the attention of the researcher not only due to their significance as part of an academic institution but also due to the graphical/pictorial representations and how or whether these can be considered to instil global as well as local sensibilities among its students.

Section four outlines details about the management which comprises of two committees; one being the broader ' PIS Society' that governs not just this particular school where the researcher carried out her fieldwork but other schools too (as mentioned above) and another committee at the school level which is responsible for

its internal management. Giving a brief outline of the management of the 'PIS Society', the discussion shifts to the school committee where a detailed account of the roles and responsibilities of the Principal, Vice Principal and Headmistress is laid down. The fifth section discusses the admission process, namely the procedures that the institution follows for the enrolment of students from grade Nursery right up to the 11th grade. This is followed by the last section where we put forward the fee structure of the school. This section briefly discusses the Principal's assertion about the school to be catering to children of the 'middle classes' only, instead of the "*richie rich*"[28].

I. Birth of an 'International School'

PIS is a private co-educational, international day school. It is governed by a 'Society', comprising of Indian nationals, which runs a chain of private schools within and outside India and its *motto* (philosophy) is '*service before self*'. The society currently has 216 schools in the country and 11 schools abroad under its aegis. PIS is among the 11 core schools and the first international school offering an international curriculum to be established in India by this Society. The Headmistress informed the researcher that, in principle, the school started functioning as a "feeder school" in July 2002 in another school building of the Society by providing afternoon classes for Nursery, Pre-Primary and grade one kids on an experimental basis. The building of PIS (now known as senior school) came up in 2003. So, officially on paper, the school started in April 2003. Initially, grades Nursery to 12 (also referred to as K-12) were housed within a single school campus. Couple of years later when the student strength started increasing, the management decided to divide the school into junior and senior school buildings which are located at a distance of about 12 kms from each other. The junior school building consists of Nursery to grade four while the senior school building comprises of grades five to twelve. In India predominantly, grades nursery to four are considered as Junior school; grades five to eight as Middle school and grades nine to twelve as Senior school. However, since the school is divided into two buildings thus, to avoid any confusion they refer to them as junior and senior school buildings respectively.

As pointed out by the Headmistress (read HM, as referred to in the school), there were only two international schools within the city of Delhi in the year 2002; the American

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[28] Excerpt from Interview with Principal

Embassy School and The British School. Both the schools would admit only foreign passport holders and/or the Indians who were allowed to take admission would be the "cream" of Indians (the elite) who could afford their fees. Although, elite (residential and non-residential) schools offering national and international curricula did exist at that point in time (year 2000 onwards) yet, there was a "vacuum" of international schools/education for the middle and upper middle class Indian students within Delhi city as most of these schools were situated in Gurgaon (presently, Gurugram) and NOIDA (which fall within the National Capital Region (NCR) of Delhi) far from the main city of Delhi. That was the context based on which the Society came up with the idea of opening an international school in the city of Delhi. According to the HM,

> 'We are not opening a school for the cream of society to come. They wanted to make it affordable to a middle class family. Why not? Our Indian students always went abroad from CBSE schools. So, if we could offer them a curriculum which was more suitable to their (those middle and upper middle class students availing Indian curricula and aspiring to go abroad for higher education) applications abroad then why not? So, that was the reason why the Society brought this on' (HM, interview, September 27, 2018).

The school was conceptualised by a lady who is a Padma Shri, Padma Bhushan recipient, an educationist, past Principal of a CBSE board school run by the Society and also the Founder President of a non-profit organisation. Due to her prolonged association with the Society and her contribution as a Principal to one of Society's schools, she was able to put forward her ideas of setting up an international school to the management committee of the Society. According to the HM, the founder of the school along with the Society thought that "why should our Indian children be deprived of a curriculum if their parents can pay for it?" That was the main idea behind establishing PIS. As already mentioned, this is one of their core schools because none of the franchise schools were willing to take a risk at that time (year 2003)[29]. Currently, there is a franchise school that has come up in Gurugram but sixteen years ago when there were no international schools within the city of Delhi, PIS was the first of its kind.

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[29]A franchise school is one where the franchiser grants the right and permission to use its brand name in order to set up a franchise school based on the prerequisites approved by the franchiser.

II. Location and Internal Members of the School

II(a). It's Location

PIS is located on a busy road. At a walkable distance from the school there is a District Court residential housing to its right followed by the District Court itself. Followed by the court there is a commercial colony which houses four shopping malls out of which one is the most popular one in South Delhi offering people with upscale services for over a decade. Next to that mall there is one 5-star hotel and two 4-star hotels and several office buildings owned by big corporate firms. To the left of the school boundary wall there is a very popular *Kuchipudi* dance academy existing there for the past 44 years which is followed by a school having the word 'international' in its name but not providing an international curriculum. There are a couple of more schools along the same road but none provide an international curriculum. Just across the main road facing the school is a big playing field which is a State government property while behind the school there are mostly private houses and apartments. The school is well connected by road as well as the underground metro rail system.

The location of the school has been a big advantage for the parents (as they pointed out in their interviews) as it is one among very few international schools providing an international curriculum to be situated within the Delhi region since most of the distinguished international schools are primarily based in the NCR (Gurugram and NOIDA). While the school's location in a popular as well as upmarket locality contributes immensely to its visibility and reach, its placement in South Delhi adds a feather in its cap for it is well known that this part of Delhi is considered to be grander in terms of infrastructure with high value for real estate property. The residents in this part of the city are perceived to be more affluent than those in other parts of Delhi with regard to the possession of social and cultural capitals and not just economic capital alone. In this context, the school counsellor, Richa Kukreja whose children have studied in a popular and "expensive" CBSE school in the North Delhi pointed out,

> 'The geographical location of the school makes a lot of difference. There is a huge divide. For South Delhi people, the North Delhi doesn't exist. It's not part of Delhi because they have nothing to do with that part of Delhi. Everything that they need and things which are popular and interesting is in

this part of Delhi. So if it is in the North Delhi it will be either something equal or below but not better. They don't feel the need to go to that part of Delhi. To a great extent it's correct also because I live in that part of Delhi and I know the crowd over there. So, there will be South Delhi type of crowd over there but the numbers will be very less. Over the years because of this perception, things have become like this now. The perceptions have become a reality probably somehow' (Richa Kukreja, interview, February 7, 2020).

Here, the counsellor pointed out an interesting dimension regarding the geographical demarcations of the city and how that breeds the notion of social segregation (Dupont, 2004) thereby impacting the minds and attitudes of people towards each other. Due to the vast expanse of the city of Delhi, its North, South, East and West territories are very far (distance wise) from each other. As a result, people living in each of these localities are also very distant from one another unless one has to go for some official work or for any other purposes (very rarely though). Thus, physical communication among and between people of these four territories is very limited. Nonetheless, in Delhi, the North and South divide is very starkly visible and is much more pronounced than its East and West territories and this antagonism has existed since the days of British rule. The connotation of North Delhi as the 'Old City' and the South as 'New Delhi' has been concretized from the time when the British rulers began to settle down in the Southern part of the city after their Colonial capital shifted from Calcutta (presently, Kolkata) to Delhi (Dupont, 2004).

The image of South (New) Delhi that was created by the British, continued even after Independence with South Delhi being recognised as the modernized part of the city with upscale commercial centres, luxurious hotels and housing, superior quality of education/educational institutions (Nambissan, 2021) and other facilities in comparison to the North. Therefore, as pointed out by Richa, "for South Delhi people, the North Delhi doesn't exist". There is a tendency among South Delhi residents to stigmatize and/or avoid North Delhi and its people on the basis of the former's notion of social class superiority as well as that of the Southern territory. Here, one is also reminded of Ghertner's "visual markers of order and disorder" (Ghertner, 2015: 7) wherein he uses Bernard Cohn's (1996: 7) concept of "observational modality" which implies a kind of understanding that one gathers by the way one looks at a particular space through various symbolic representations and assigns positive and/or negative

attributes to it which seldom change. For instance, as pointed out by Richa, "So, if it is in the North Delhi it will be either something equal or below but not better … over the years because of this perception, things have become like this now. The perceptions have become a reality probably somehow".

Richa further stated that,

> 'When I used to move around in school over there during PTMs or otherwise also, I knew a lot of children because of my kids. When they spoke to each other, they spoke in a normal Hindi dialect the way we speak at home. But, here since parents are from a different class here children majorly speak only in English to each other. Plus, half of the students do not know how to speak in Hindi. So, everybody is forced to speak in English. So the entire culture becomes different. So a divide is there' (Richa Kukreja, interview, February 7, 2020).

This kind of association of classness with a particular territory is not an uncommon phenomenon. As has already been pointed out, the connotation of North Delhi with old, traditional middle classes and that of the South with new, modern middle and elite classes is here to remain. As opined by Fernandes (2000), one needs to understand this newness of the middle classes through the image of them that has been created by means of their consumption patterns, attitudes and lifestyles (Dupont, 2011) and even mode/language of communication, rather than considering them as an entirely new social group (Fernandes, 2000). Thus, when Richa mentioned that "since the parents are from a different class, children majorly speak only in English to each other", one clearly understands the deep social segregation that is associated with belonging to a particular spatial region. As, pointed out by Nambissan (2021) "Spatial location, intersecting with social class, has influenced access to school education for Delhi's children from the early decades post-independence" (2021: 15). As a result, we find a greater concentration of international schools in the South (New) Delhi region (for instance, American Embassy School and The British School in Chanakyapuri and PIS to name a few) apart from Gurugram (in the South-west of New Delhi) and NOIDA (in the South-east of New Delhi).

II(b). Students and Staff of PIS

The new academic term for PIS begins in the month of April every year. The first term of the school stretches from April to September and the second term is from October to March (next year). The regular school timing for the junior branch is 8 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. and the senior branch is 7:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. During winter when the temperature drops to single digits in a month or so, the senior school begins at 8 a.m. instead of 7:30 a.m. while the closing time remains 2:30 p.m. The junior school also begins at 8:30 a.m. instead of 8 a.m. and the closing time remains unchanged. The class timings are adjusted accordingly to fit the school routine. Apart from the board examinations and finals for each grade, two internal examinations ('Summative Assessment') are conducted in one academic year. The first one is in September and the second is in March. There is also a 'Weekly Assessment' that is conducted once a week on every Monday.

The total number of students comprising of both the branches added up to 899 (during the fieldwork phase ranging between 2018-2019) which is not a very high number in comparison to the population in some of the international schools in the city and very low in comparison to the number of students in any CBSE or ICSE school in the country. The senior school branch (grade five to twelve) consists of a total of 460 students out of which 432 are Indian students of whom 165 are female students and 267 male students while the junior school has 413 Indian students of whom 201 are female and 212 male students. Additionally, there are foreign students in the school representing fifteen countries. These include the USA, Bangladesh, Germany, the UK, Canada, South Korea, Pakistan, France, The Gambia, Georgia, Italy, Maldives, Latvia, Norway and Iceland. The total number of foreign students in the senior school is 28 of which there are 12 female students and 16 male students. The junior branch (nursery to grade four) has 26 foreign students where 10 female and 16 male students are present. Data pertaining to the caste and religion of every student could not be obtained since; the school management was unwilling to share such information. Still, among the student informants, 26 are Hindu, 2 are Muslim and 1 Sikh informant respectively.

The school also has 25 percent of its total number of seats reserved for children from the Economically Weaker Section (read, EWS) category. During the year 2018-2019

there were a total of 159 EWS category students in the two branches combined. All the seats reserved for the disadvantaged students were not filled that year as they did not appear for admissions and thus, those vacant seats were offered to the non EWS students in order to fill the gaps.

The school does not have any student with disabilities/who is differently-abled; however, there were 6 students (4 boys and 2 girls) who have some kind of learning disabilities and an Attention Deficit Hyper-activity Disorder (ADHD). From the observations, interviews and casual conversations the researcher could gauge that, except the EWS students, the remaining Indian students primarily belong to urban upper middle class families with diverse religious backgrounds, whose parents' occupational credentials range from Embassy officials, Multinational Corporation (read MNC) employees, business families to IT and academic professionals. However, it has been observed from the macro data of the parent population that majority of the upper middle class Indian students in the school belong to business class families. The same will be elaborated upon in the following chapter.

There are a total of 95 teachers in the school combining the junior and senior branches. The senior branch of the school consists of 50 full time teachers, of whom 41 are female and 9 are male teachers. There are 10 part-time teachers of whom 8 are male and 2 female. Out of the two female teachers one is an English language specialist while the other teaches gymnastics. The male teachers provide coaching for different sports activities as well as robotics taking the total count of teachers in the senior school to be 60. The academic staffs of the school is Indian with respect to origin of nationality and come from different regional, religious and urban class backgrounds. According to the Principal the existing teachers are, "largely middle class people, some professionals or wives of professionals". The school management denied having any record pertaining to the religious and caste background of the teachers. However, among the informants belonging to teaching and administrative staff, there are 17 Hindu informants, 2 Christian and 1 Muslim informant respectively.

In India, most of the international schools barring a few consist of management staffs that are locals and have a Bachelor of Education (Bed) or Masters in Education (MEd) degree (since in majority of the Indian schools these qualifications are mandatory in order to get a teaching job) along with degrees and specialisations in the subject/s that

they wish to teach. In some cases, if the applicant holds a higher degree in a particular subject that she/he wishes to teach in the school, like a Master of Arts (MA) or a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) then at times the management overlooks the degrees in education. In case of PIS, the researcher spoke to some teachers who held PhD degrees with no B. Ed. or M. Ed. qualifications and yet, were given the job. It was found that while some had prior experience of teaching in an international school most of them did not. None of the teachers had any prior training or qualification related to international education or international curriculum before they joined the school. For the new comers their training happened on the job while the others utilised their prior teaching experience. The school does not send any teacher abroad for any kind of training. All their training takes place locally within the country. As was told to the researcher by the Cambridge coordinator of the school that "Ten to twelve teachers go on training every year...it could happen in Delhi or it could happen in India (meaning anywhere in India). We don't go outside." The Vice Principal further ascertained this by saying that,

> 'We are an Indian school. We don't have that kind of money. We send them in and around in India only. The teachers are not foreign teachers or Western teachers; they are Indian teachers because our teachers are the best. I mean you can't deny that Indian teachers are brilliant and just because it's a Cambridge curriculum. I mean once you have studied your subject the curriculum only tells you what to teach, it doesn't teach you how to teach and the fact that you all are highly qualified individuals you know your subject' (Vice-Principal, interview, February 4, 2020).

The HM also pointed out that,

> 'We can't afford to pay for teachers who come from abroad because obviously their salaries are very high. When they hired the teachers they went into intense training. The school invested a lot. Now as a rule if you look at the profile of our teachers all of them have been trained by Cambridge (organisation)…. Most of the teachers have got at least one or two trainings…. Some of them were sent abroad to maybe a closer (location) rather than just UK' (HM, interview, February 18, 2020).

The reasons to join PIS or even to apply for a teaching job there were quite similar for most teachers. Of the 19 teachers that the researcher spoke to, 9 of them said that they

joined PIS because of its limited number of students per class and section as a result of which their work pressure is not very high as compared to private/ elite public schools following national curricula where the number of students per section is much higher; the curriculum is very flexible and is upgraded every two to three years; the school has a lot of brand value and it also grants a 20% cut in the fees of the children whose parents are teachers in the school. As a result, many teachers are motivated to apply for a post in this school not only because of the quality of work but also due to the fact that their children are getting the opportunity to study in a well-known international school by paying an affordable fee. As was pointed out by one of the Librarians whose son is studying in the 4th standard of the school,

> 'If I would not have been working here, then I would not have taught my son here. This is an opportunity that I have got and maybe Veenu (referring to the other Librarian) also has got. I would not have been able to think (of enrolling him in PIS) if I was in some CBSE school, even then my first preference (would have been a CBSE school), I came here, only after that my (mind) changed. I am middle class only' (Librarian, interview, February 20, 2020).

As far as the internal management committee of the school is concerned, for both the branches combined, there is one Principal and Vice-Principal and a Headmistress for the junior and senior branches separately. All of them are females and of Indian origin belonging to upper middle class backgrounds. The administrative staff comprising of both the branches include 30 people of which 12 are females and 18 males. The senior branch where the ethnography was conducted has a total of 18 administrative staff members which includes 1 lady receptionist, 2 female librarians, 5 laboratory assistants and the rest are back office workers. Of the total 13 security personnel, only one among them happens to be is a female while the rest are all male. The school also has a separate team of personnel who take care of the transport for the students from grade IV onwards who avail the bus service provided by the school. This team consists of 25 male members. There are a total of 10 school buses of which 7 have been outsourced to a vendor while 3 belong to the school. All the buses are centrally air-conditioned with a seating capacity of 20 students approximately. Teachers are assigned the bus duties both in the morning and the afternoon at regular intervals where they have to accompany the students in the buses and monitor their pick up and

drop as well. This is done as part of the school's surveillance system in order to ensure maximum safety and security of the students.

III. Physical Description of PIS

Figure 3.1: Main entrance of the school

At first glance, the ethnographer noticed that the school building did not carry a grand and glossy appearance (which is a common-sense idea associated with any international school). Similarly, the researcher also had this preconceived notion about the appearance of the building but unlike some international schools that she had visited previously whose architecture appeared to be like some corporate office with tall buildings having glass walls, the structural design of this school seemed to be quite old fashioned and simple.

With walls painted in white and the edges in dark green, the building appeared to be somewhat like an old Convent school similar to those found in the hilly regions of the country, with sloping roofs and walls that seemed to require a white wash. In fact, both the junior and senior school buildings do not appear to be very majestic in terms of their architecture. While she tries to look further ahead in the distance she notices that next to the second iron gate of the premise, diagonally opposite the main door of the building there is a life-size statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose below which on a black marble slab it is engraved that the statue was raised to commemorate the visit of Late Sheila Dixit (former Chief Minister of Delhi) on the first anniversary of the

school in 2004. It also mentions the name of the previous Principal of the school under whose initiative it was erected.

Figure 3.2: Statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

To the right side of the school building there is a big playing field with well-trimmed grass cover. The field is divided into a football ground, a basketball ground, a lawn tennis court and another smaller football field for five-a-side fixtures. In her discussions with one of the sports teachers later she gets to know that the grounds for every sport that the school offers have been divided and constructed on the basis of measurements and standards followed by international sports organisations. The campus is spread across 3.9 acres of which 2.5 acres have been allotted exclusively for sports.

Figure 3.3: A side view of the building of PIS from the football field

The main entry/exit door of the school building which is made of glass and opens into the reception area has a biometric machine fixed to the right hand side wall on the inside. The teaching as well as administrative staffs, all are required to punch their finger prints on the machine while they enter and exit the school. Apart from the machine there is also an attendance register where the staff is expected to make manual entries of the same so that if the machine fails by any chance there will be a hard copy record with the authorities. The use of a biometric machine which was commonly found in the private and corporate office buildings couple of years back has now come to be used in almost every institutional setup. The most obvious reason for this was that through the machine and just by the touch of a finger, it has become very easy to maintain attendance records of employees as well as their movements in and out of the premise since in this school any employee leaving the premise at any point of time has to check-out by pressing on to the machine. Even an educational institution functions like a commercial space by employing such a mode of surveillance.

The reception area looks big and spacious enough to accommodate at least 20 to 30 people standing at a time. There are seating arrangements made with leather cushioned sofas on either side of the entrance door facing the reception desk. At the side of the sofas on one side towards the corner wall there is a medium sized statue of Mother Mary placed on a stool. The size and placement of the sculpture is not as prominent as that of Bose's and taking the length and breadth of the reception area into consideration, it would not come to one's notice unless s/he takes a good look

around. Also, there are no details mentioned regarding this one and the current school authority also could not provide much detail about the same apart from the fact that it has been there since the inception of the school. She gathered the impression that this might have been an initiative of the former Principal primarily because she was a Christian and must have placed it on account of her religious affinity.

Figure 3.4: Reception Area

The reception desk is a semi-circular wooden table on which there is a computer placed in one corner. Of all the days that the researcher visited the school she noticed that on most of the days the centre of the reception table would be occupied with one or more artefacts (trophies and certificates) of appreciation and/or achievements recently received by the school. Apart from the reception desk, the walls in the corridors of the reception area are also filled with framed certificates which the school has received over the years. On one of the walls near the sitting area there is a wooden frame titled 'Hall of Fame' with names of students under two columns; one being 'global achievers' and the other is 'national achievers' referring to those who have achieved national and international ranks in their board exams. Next to that one can find the daily newspaper placed on a wooden platform mounted on the wall. Behind the reception desk there is a glass wall with two glass doors which open into a cemented open-air playground where the students were usually found playing badminton, do skating and at times practice for the school assembly. In front of the glass wall on either side of the reception desk there are two soft boards on which

various kinds of artistic creations by the students on different topics and/or popular icons are displayed from time to time.

Figure 3.5: Reception Area

The design and organisation of the reception area in the manner as has been described above can be understood as a means to display of its achievements and thereby promote itself in a smart and compact manner so that anybody entering the school for the first time especially the parents, will at a glance be able to get a basic impression about the quality of schooling that they offer and the standards they seek to achieve. The researcher feels that this sort of an impression management technique could be particularly meant for two kinds of target groups who matter the most for the school; one being the parents seeking admission for their children and the other could be the international auditing team that visits the school whenever they deem it necessary.

The school building is divided into three blocks, namely, A, B and C which are inter-connected with each other through passageways. Blocks A and B consist of ground plus three floors while the third block has ground plus two floors. All the blocks also have basements with rooms for different purposes. There is one terrace each in block A and C. There are a total of 32 air conditioned classrooms but not every one of them is a smart classroom (with projectors and smart boards). There are separate rooms known as an Audio-Visual (AV) Room which have been dedicated for the purpose of audio-visual teaching. The classrooms are spread across A and C blocks. The entire school being Wireless Fidelity (Wi-Fi) enabled also has separate rooms allotted for

music, dance, yoga and exercise as well as some indoor sports activities. There is an auditorium in B block comprising of two floors which can house up to 500 people at a time. There are 8 staffrooms in the entire school in different floors across blocks A and C and 1 medical room in block A. The 10 laboratories spread across blocks A, B and C not only cater to the natural sciences but also environmental science, social sciences, languages and mathematics as well. The pedagogy in the school lays a lot of emphasis on experiential learning therefore, the laboratories provide students with the space to not just conduct scientific experiments but also work on different research topics across disciplines and design projects for the same. This makes learning more interesting for the students whereby they are not dependent on texts alone. Learning takes place through an amalgamation of theory and practice wherein the students are able to enhance their research skills.

III(a). The Library

The school's library located in the basement of C block is an area that one must look out for as its interior designing along with its voluminous collection are worth describing. As one climbs down the stairs leading to the basement and enters the library, there is a room to the right before entering the main hall. It is known as the Resource Section. In there are books on all foreign languages offered by the school.

Figure 3.6: Resource Section

Apart from books on foreign languages, there are also various books on subjects like Sociology, Psychology, Physiology, Philosophy, a small rack with magazines, journals and variety of reference books specifically meant for teachers. The section also has a corner that is assigned for keeping assessment papers of past two years arranged subject wise in separate folders. This section primarily remains locked and is

given access to students only on special permission from the librarians. The reason behind it is because of the assessment papers being kept there as well as the expensive resource materials which need to be safe and secure. However, the teachers can enter that space whenever necessary.
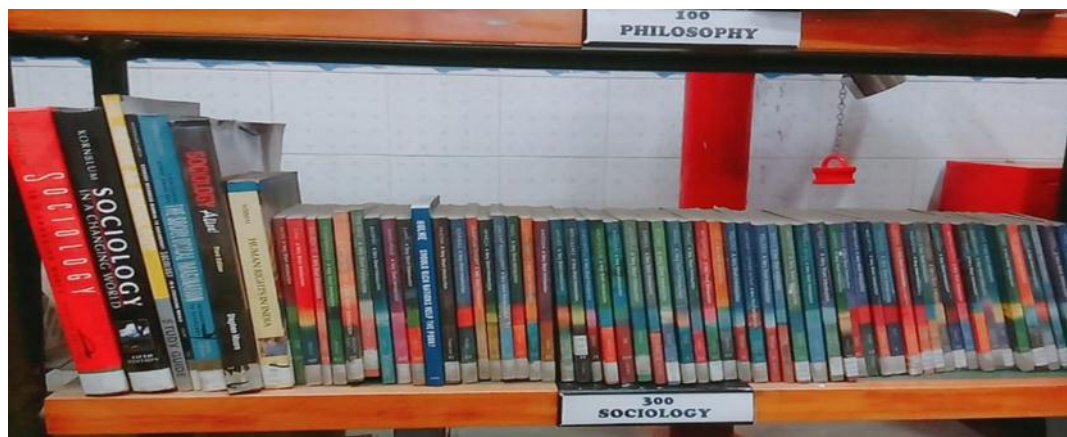
Figure 3.7: Subject-wise Bookshelf

Needless to mention that, the library also has CCTVs fixed near the ceiling on either ends of the space as well as one inside the Resource Section. Opposite this section along a corridor there is a room known as Tutorial Room where teachers often conduct extra classes as well as assessments and examinations. Beside this room is an AV room used for conducting classes and workshops with the help of projectors. Coming out of the Resource Section towards the right is the main library space which is a large rectangular shaped room wherein the seating arrangement is in the form of two columns of tables with six chairs at each table along the length of the library. There are bookshelves which are arranged in a wall to wall manner occupying all the four walls of the library. On the shelves which are low in height there are various trophies on display which the school has won on different occasions. The furniture spread in the library wholly comprises of wooden finishing be it the librarians' desk, the study tables and chairs, bookshelves as well as the newspaper stand. The table tops as well as surfaces of each shelf had dark green coloured plywood coating in order to match it with one of the theme colours of the school.

Figure 3.8: The Library

The researcher is informed by the librarians that there are 50,000 books and volumes comprising of subjects that are offered by the school as well as those that are not for instance, Sociology and Philosophy. There is a huge collection of books on fiction and novels along with journals and magazines of 30 different types covering topics like education, business, sports, fashion, lifestyle, technology, media, etc. Though majority of their collection is in English but there are also volumes in Hindi, French, German and Spanish which the school offers. The school also has subscription of close to ten newspapers, majority of which are in English and a few in Hindi which are placed in the library and can be accessed by teachers as well as students. The teachers can issue books for ten days while the students are allowed to issue books for a week and they are not allowed to bring any personal books or belongings inside the library.

There is a bottom up approach in the selection of books that are to be purchased for the library. First a committee of teachers conduct meetings in order to discuss the books that need to be bought. Then they prepare a list of these books in consultation with the Vice Principal and Headmistress. Finally, the Principal takes a look at the list before she gives her consent for the purchase. The librarian informs that most of the times the Principal approves the list without any major alterations. While the teachers can visit the library whenever they deem it is necessary, the students can only be in the library during their recess time or a free period. Interestingly, if any student has to

wait longer than usual for her/his pick up after school is over for the day, and then they are asked to sit in the library instead of loitering around the campus. This way the school is not just able to keep a check on the student and ensure that some discipline is being maintained but also gives the student an opportunity to utilize that time in a meaningful way by reading and/or browsing through the different volumes that are on display in the library.

Taking a look around, the researcher noticed that there are two interesting posters on the library walls above the shelves. The very first one that she noticed is a poster with a map of the world on top of which is written *"With Cambridge qualifications, the world is within your reach"*. The researcher found this statement to be noteworthy wherein the curriculum provider is not just making an attempt to promote its program but at the same time is also instilling a sense of aspiration and confidence within the students to become successful at the international arena. The poster has been placed above a shelf which is tagged as University Catalogue. The shelf consists of magazines and journals about universities and colleges from across the world meant for the students especially. Although they cannot issue them and take home but they are allowed to sit and read them in the library.

Figure 3.9: Shelf for University Catalogues

However, what is striking for the eyes is that there are hardly any catalogues of Indian universities or colleges on display. Few that are there did not seem to be kept in a manner that would draw one's attention. The display of the poster along with the catalogues gives the researcher a hint about one of the many ways through which the school promotes enrolment to international educational institutions as well as help the students to aspire for the same. However, the above mentioned arrangement was altered after 2nd October 2018 and replaced with books on Mahatma Gandhi on the shelf along with a framed portrait of Gandhi and a wooden replica of the Charkha placed above the shelf. This was done in order to commemorate Gandhi's 150th birth anniversary which was celebrated in 2019.
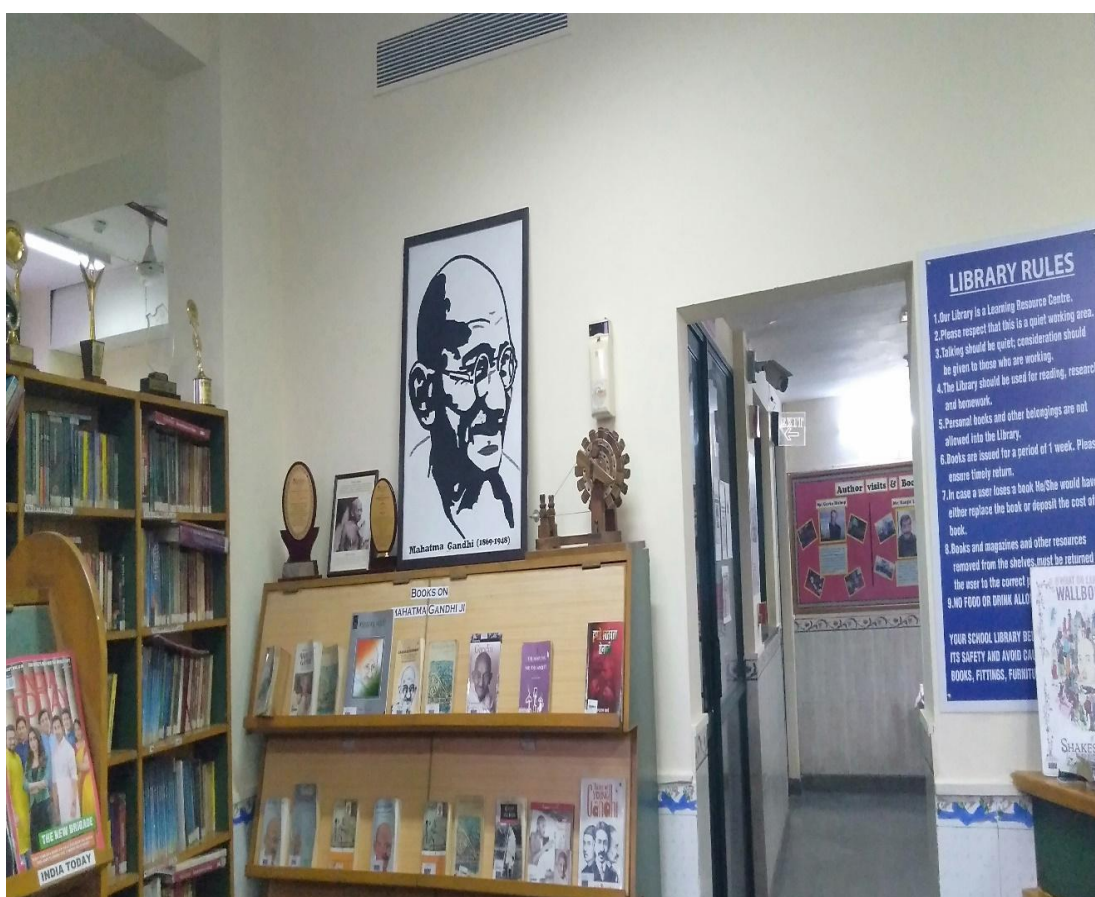
Figure 3.10: Portrait of Mahatma Gandhi

Another wall poster placed above another bookshelf towards the other end of the library has the word 'Library' written in bold letters on its right end and a quote by Margaret Fuller on its left corner which said *"Today a reader, Tomorrow a leader"*. In the centre of the poster is a flowchart beginning with the school emblem and followed by lots of encouraging and positive terms like 'discover', 'develop', 'fulfil',

'empower', 'dream', 'surprise', 'grow', 'explore', 'inspire' and the like. This poster drew the attention of the researcher due to the quote as well as the verbs printed on it. According to her, both (quote and verbs) are quite inspiring especially for the young minds of the students. Also the message being conveyed by the poster is that a library is meant for reading and with reading comes the confidence to perform the different actions mentioned there in which will ultimately mould one's leadership qualities for a better future.

Figure 3.11: Poster with Flowchart

Some of the other visual displays that attracted the researcher's attention include a framed portrait of Rabindranath Tagore on one of the walls in the Resource Section.

Figure 3.12: Portrait of Rabindranath Tagore

The glass door of the Resource Section has four paper cut outs stuck onto it which consist of newspaper cuttings wherein either an article about the school has featured in the newspaper and/or the Principal's interview has been published in the same. The other noticeable thing is the paper cut-outs of flags of different countries attached to strings hanging from the ceiling. On wondering why such a symbolic display of artefacts inside the library, the researcher is reminded of what the Principal and Vice Principal had told her in her initial meetings with them. Both of them had pointed out that theirs is an international school but at the same time it is very much an Indian school as well.

Figure 3.13: Paper cut-outs of flags

Therefore, every attempt is made to constantly remind the students that along with developing their consciousness about the world, it is equally important that they know about their own country its some of its eminent personalities. The trophies and newspaper cut outs indicate the achievements and fame that the school keeps receiving so that it is a constant source of motivation for the students and teachers. Most importantly, after the classroom, it is the library where a student spends majority of her/his time in the school since they are not allowed to move around the building or playground in their free periods or even otherwise. Therefore, every attempt has been made to make the library appear attractive, well-equipped and motivating.

III(b). Music, Dance, Yoga, Indoor Games and Refreshment Areas

The library in the basement of Block C is detached from the basements of Block A and B, which are interconnected through a long corridor with rooms on either side. The music, dance, yoga, indoor games' rooms as well as the cafeteria and dining hall are all located along this corridor. There are two music teachers (male and female), two dance teachers (one primary male teacher has been in the school since its inception and another female assistant teacher), one female yoga teacher who also happens to be one of the sports teachers of the school and even she has been in the school since its inception. There are some part time sports trainers as well about who have been mentioned above. As one climbs down to the basement of C block there are office rooms on either side of the corridor to begin with. Next to those there is a room on the right where photocopies are done opposite which is the music room. The room has a good collection of instruments starting from electronic keyboards, harmonium, drum sets, tablas, congas and sitars. The students are made to sit on rugs placed on the floor during a music class.

Figure 3.14: Musical Instruments
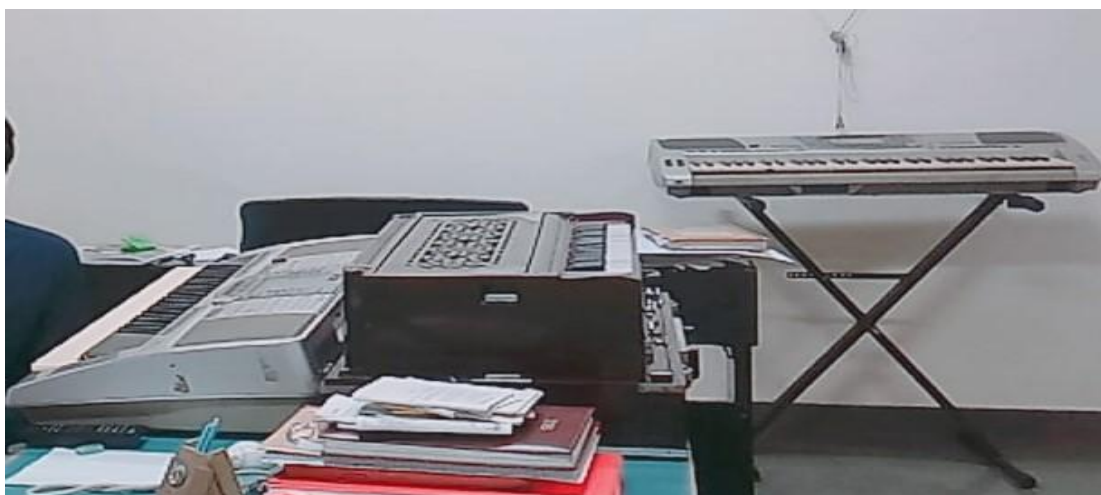
Figure 3.15: Musical Instruments

Opposite the music room is the dance room which has life-size mirrors fitted on two opposite walls. The lighting in the room looks brighter than that of the music room. On asking the teacher about the utility of the mirrors he tells the researcher that dancing in front of a mirror helps the students to see their own and as well as others' movements and adjust oneself accordingly. Also, one can keep checking one's hand and leg coordination along with facial expressions. It helps one to perform better. The music room and dance rooms did not appear to be putting up much of a display on its walls. However, the walls outside next to the two rooms did have some soft boards which displayed pictures of various dance forms, some traditional musical instruments and dance props (movable objects used on stage during a performance) from across the world. While these pictures were pasted along the edges, in the centre there were two paper cut outs with the images of *Saraswati* and *Nataraja* - the former being the Hindu goddess of music, knowledge, learning and the latter being the Lord of Dance and a depiction of the Hindu god *Shiva*. The images of the deities made the researcher think that even though the school does not preach any one particular religious ideology yet there is a subtle attempt to make the students aware of the existence of the dominant Hindu religion/culture which tends to associate almost everything (material/immaterial) with some deity as well as arouse a sense of gratitude towards them.

Figure 3.16: Wall Posters on Dance and Music

Moving ahead through the corridor after the music and dance rooms there are again two office rooms coming out of which there is a glass door which kind of divides the long corridor into two compartments. Stepping in through the door there is a cafeteria/canteen, as it is referred to by the inmates of the school, to the left and a dining hall on the right. It looks quite similar to that of a bakery shop where there are no seating arrangements. There are two tables fixed to the wall where one can place the food, stand and eat. On the wall next to the tables there is a food menu chart that is put up with the price of each item printed on it and it goes without saying that the prices are much lower compared to commercial eateries outside of school. The edible items are displayed inside curved glass showcases which include puffs, bread pakoras, samosas, sandwiches, burgers, brownies, pizzas, bhel puri, maggi noodles, packed juices, and milkshakes and distilled water bottles. The spread is entirely vegetarian.

Figure 3.17: Food Menu

The dining hall is a rectangular shaped area with long sets of tables placed along the length of the walls with a seating capacity of 10 each on either side of the tables. The wall facing the entrance to the dining hall has a soft board titled *'Health is Wealth'* on it which looks bright and picturesque. The board is filled with paper cut outs of various edible items as well as diet charts with motivating captions on each of them. On another wall there is again a soft board smaller in size than the previous one which has a chart paper cut out with a thanksgiving prayer in English written on it. Such prayers are a usually said before taking any meal where one thanks the Lord for providing her/him with food that ensures one's survival. Thus, in the dining hall before the students start having their meal they are expected to say the prayer.

Figure 3.18: Dining Hall
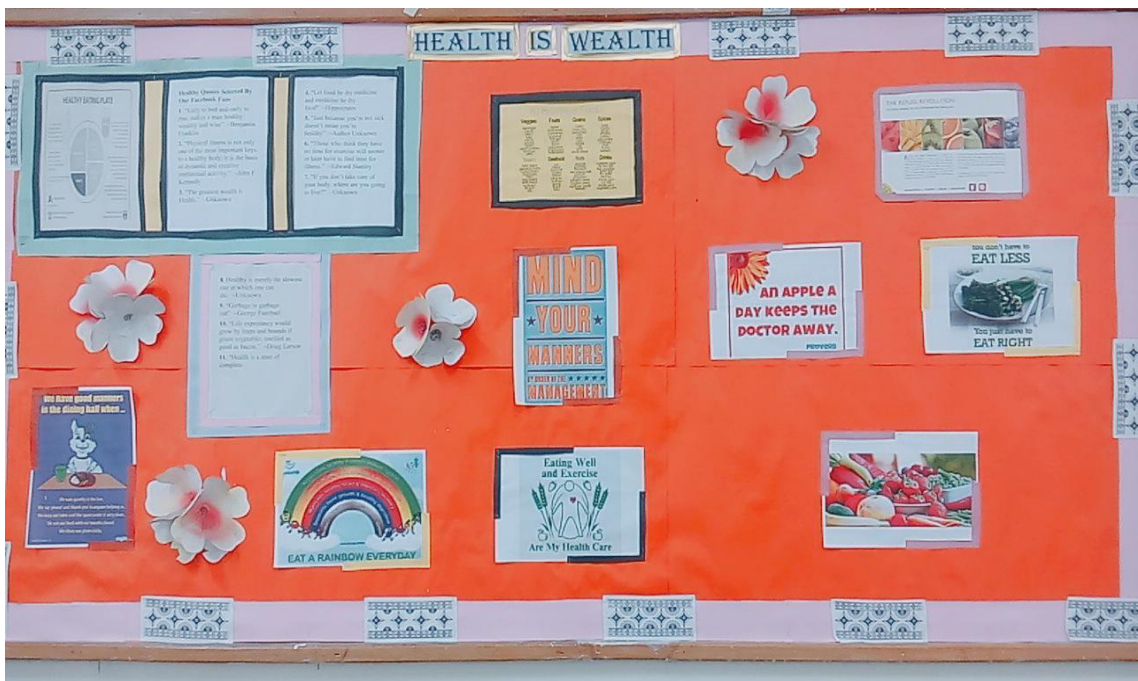
Figure 3.19: Wall Posters on Health

The meals are served in a buffet style where teachers help themselves while the students are served food by two female assistants who work in the cafeteria. The mid-day meal as they call it is also purely vegetarian. Since there are many who are strictly vegetarian hence, the authorities have kept it a vegetarian multi-cuisine spread to avoid any kind of controversy. There is a food chart that is followed which offers a particular cuisine on specific days of the week like North and South Indian, Chinese and Continental. The school does not have a kitchen of its own. The refreshments along with the mid-day meal that is available are provided by a vendor who works on a contract basis with the school. It is mostly the teachers and the students who avail the mid-day meal. The teachers can pay for the meal on the spot or maintain an account whereby they can pay the sum total towards the end of every month. For the students who wish to avail the meal, their parents have to fill up a consent form and can pay either on a monthly or quarterly basis for eleven months or from the date on which they start availing the facility within the academic year. In case if they wish to alter their plan of availing the meal then they have to provide a notice of one month in advance.

There is a senior teacher in-charge of the meal as well as the students who avail it. She also happens to be the senior music teacher of the school. She has to keep a track of the students who are availing the meal and in order to do so she maintains an attendance register and marks it on a regular basis during the meal time. It is mostly the students from the fifth to the eighth standard who avail the meals. The senior grade students usually either get food from home or they buy from the canteen. Those that avail the meal are the ones who do not get food from home because the school is providing them with a nutritious meal every day and also because they are too young to handle money so most of their parents do want them to buy food on their own. Another reason that came up in a discussion with the teacher is that it is mostly the children of working parents who avail the meal because they are unable to pack food for their kids so early in the morning as they also have to leave for work along with their children. In an interview session with the researcher, the teacher confessed that, because she is in-charge of the canteen and the mid-day meal she has personally taken up the responsibility to inculcate certain values, etiquettes and table manners within the students. For instance, saying a thanksgiving prayer before they begin to eat, while eating they must not talk and their elbows should not touch the table and the like. The

school authorities never instructed her to introduce these mannerisms to the students and there is no rule book that she follows. It all comes to her from the schooling and socialization that she has received. Thus, the values that she has received from her schooling she attempts to inculcate those in her students as well.

Right adjacent to the dining hall is the yoga room which is also the yoga cum sports' teacher's work station. This is also a rectangular shaped room and much bigger in size than any of the rooms in the basement. In one corner of the room there is a table and a couple of chairs which indicates the seating arrangement for the teacher. The rest of the room has thick cushioned mattresses placed all through the length of the room. The researcher comes to know from the teacher that the mattresses are meant for the students to practice yoga and other exercises which are to be done on flat surfaces. This room like the other ones looks attractive as it has paper cut outs of the Olympic emblem stuck on one wall, while the other walls have posters related to different kinds of sports activities as well as some enlarged photographs of school students performing yoga and aerobics. There is also a display of sports equipment in the room which include badminton, cricket, table tennis and skipping ropes. Opposite to this room is the space for indoor games, which has a table tennis board in the centre and on one corner there is an arrangement made to sit and play chess. With this one comes to the other end of the corridor in the basement and there is a flight of stairs leading outside towards the playground.

Figure 3.20: Yoga Room

IV. Those that Govern the System: Management of the School

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there are two committees (one at the level of the Society and the other at the school level) which comprise of the management system of PIS. The highest position in the Management of the Society as well as that of PIS is occupied by the Chairman of the Society. The person occupying that position (during the time of fieldwork that is, between September 2018 and February 2020) is a Padma Bhushan recipient which is the third highest civilian award in India. His position is followed by that of a Vice Chairman of the Society who has been a Rear Admiral in the Indian Navy. This is followed by a Chairperson and a Vice Chairperson of the school who happen to be very distinguished women in their respective careers. The members of the overall Managing Committee of the school consisted of 19 members of whom the most prominent are the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, the school Principal, one female academic staff representative who is also a senior teacher in the school, one male and one female parent representative. However, the key functionaries within the school premises are the Principal, Vice Principal and the Headmistress.

The Principal

The Principal has been in her position in this particular school for thirteen years prior to which she was the Principal of a CBSE school run by the Society. There she worked for eight years after which the Management decided to transfer her to PIS as its new Principal. Being the daughter of Diplomat, she has had schooling experiences across the country as well as outside India. She did a Bachelor's in English from a very prominent college in Delhi and then did her Master's in the same discipline. She did enrol herself for a doctoral programme but unfortunately could not complete it due to family constraints and also because she had started working as a teacher in a school as well. Her teaching career started in 1990. Since then she has been associated with schools. According to her, the responsibilities that she has been vested with broadly fall under three categories; academic supervision, administrative supervision and managing the finances. She mentioned a fourth category which is that of maintaining "liaisons" with any external body which maybe the Government, media, social media, and the like.

PIS being an international school, the Principal's academic responsibilities involve "grooming in internationalism, training the staff to have practices different from what they have grown up with". She pointed out that grooming the staff is a very tedious and slow process not because the staffs are unwilling to learn but because it takes time to change the way they have studied and the way they are teaching because they are two different things. One needs to understand the demands of the board properly and then be able to deliver them accordingly. The other stakeholders are the parents and students for whom this system is new and they do not understand much about it in the beginning. One of her primary tasks therefore is to bring about this change in the minds of the stakeholders and set up a new "eco-system" by constantly "upgrading" the school. On requesting her to elaborate further about her academic responsibilities, she mentioned that,

> 'First of all, understanding the Cambridge board then ensuring that it is implemented. That means the correct books are chosen, correct teacher training is given, the correct time table is given, the correct kind of lesson plans, the kind of teaching methodology to be adopted in the school. To ensure that there is a seamless connection between the senior classes and the Middle school, the Middle school and the junior school so that there is one aligned vision and the entire school is aligned to that vision. You can only build these skills in children if you begin early. So you look at class 12 outcomes as your goal and that becomes your guiding light for the primary. And so we've had the luxury of structuring the school accordingly…It starts from the goal. What are the learning outcomes that Cambridge defines? What is a Cambridge student? What is a Cambridge teacher? They are very very clear. They have five very clear goals and they are very scientific that's why we have taken this board… There are a whole lot of departmental meetings so that everybody is on the same page…It's got to be a very dynamic environment if you really have to keep up with global trends and approaches to education. You really have to make all the works available which is what we do' (Principal, interview, November 28, 2019).

Moving on to the administrative supervision, she pointed out that campus security is the first and most important concern for her which also includes the aspect of safety. This not just involves the recruitment of security personnel but it also includes the screening of employees through police verification, making sure that the employees

get a secure working environment, most importantly; the students must feel safe within the campus. Then, there are the regular administrative concerns which include maintenance of infrastructure of the building, repair work and renewing the accreditation for the school.

The third dimension of the Principal's responsibility is finance which she believes must be well managed in order to reduce the burden on parents in terms of the fees that school charges. She tries to keep a check on any kind of unnecessary purchase made on behalf of the school and in order to do so she lays a lot of stress on recycling of waste materials into usable ones. She makes sure that there is good coordination between the junior and senior branches so that they are able to share and exchange various items and products which reduce the need to again purchase new items for either of the two branches. In order to carry out her responsibilities successfully she has to make sure that the staffs are not just conscious of her ideas but they must also be in sync with her in the way she wishes to implement them. Thus another important aspect of her role as the Principal is to make sure that there is good coordination between her and the school staff both teaching or non-teaching. She ensures that the teachers are teaching the students how to conserve energy which is a part of their education and at the same time ensures efficient utility of financial resources. She did lay stress on the fact that for an institution to function properly good "teamwork" is the most essential element. She agreed that the school operates under the guidance of the PIS Society which lays down the basic principles and modus operandi in accordance to which the institution has to operate. The compliance to the Society is the most crucial aspect of its functioning.

The task of liaising involves coordinating with the Government and its various bodies in order to keep the institution running. The Government has its requirements in relation to running a school which need to be met and the school being an international one also has its own requirements so there needs to be a very good coordination between them for the school to run smoothly. Similarly, they also have to work in tandem with the MCD (Municipal Corporation of Delhi) and the DDA (Delhi Development Authority) for land allocation, along with other routine paper work. There is a lot of pursuing that has to be done in order to get all kinds of

clearances from the Government authorities and being the Principal she has to monitor all these activities in order to fulfil her responsibilities.

Apart from these set of responsibilities the Principal also plays a key role in the selection of teachers and to some extent the students. Whenever there is a vacancy they advertise the post in the school website and sometimes even in newspapers. There is a regular selection committee which comprises of the Chairperson of the school or somebody from the Management of the Society, an external subject expert and the Principal. The subject expert caters to the knowledge base of the interviewee; the interviewer from the Society's Management committee may have a range of queries, last but not the least the Principal makes sure that the terms of employment and work are conveyed to the applicant. During the interview she also tries to figure out by asking various questions, whether the candidate matches the requirements of being a teacher in an international school, whether she/he has an approach towards international education.

Of all the responsibilities of the Principal that have been mentioned so far it appears that the Society is at the helm of decision making and the institution has to abide it. This in a way implies that due to the presence of a hierarchy in the power structure of the entire system of schooling, the Principal in spite of being the head of the institution of PIS is unable to exercise her authority independently especially in matters pertaining to administrative and financial concerns. While inside the school she is the visible head, outside of it the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson along with the higher Management hold on to the reins of the institution.

With regard to the admission of students there is a process that is followed in which case, the Principal does not have any direct role to play, however, she does take a look at the admission test papers, the answer scripts as well as the student and parents' portfolios and various other documents that are required to admit a child into the school. At times she also has to interact with parents before admitting their child/ren especially in the Pre-Primary grade but that is only under certain special circumstances and is not a protocol that is followed in every case.

The Vice Principal

As a result of her father being in the Government service, the Vice Principal had to change schools across the country. She completed her Bachelor's and Master's in English from reputed institutions in Delhi and started teaching subsequently. She has been associated with the Society since 1994 when she joined one of their CBSE schools as an English teacher. Thereafter, she was appointed as the Vice Principal of PIS since 2008. Her responsibilities involved making of the time-table for the classes, supervising the academic activities of the institution, she heads the English department hence, managing the department also falls under her purview. Whenever there is an Annual Day celebration or any other event in the school she has to supervise them. She is also involved in counselling of parents, teachers and students whenever the need arises. Every time the Principal is out of station or not present in the school for some reason she has to take over her duties. She also has to work together with the Principal for organising various school programmes as well as to run the institution. With regards to the admission of students she does not have any direct role to play because as already mentioned there is no interviewing of students. As far as the selection of teachers is concerned she is not in the selection committee. However, for her own subject which is English, she shortlists the candidates, takes demo classes to test them, sometimes also teach with them and then finally writes a report with her remarks which is given to the selection committee for its final approval.

The Headmistress

The HM has been associated with PIS since its inception in the year 2002. Prior to joining PIS she was teaching in the American Embassy School in Delhi. Her joining in PIS happened as a Nursery grade teacher after which she was appointed as the Nursery Coordinator followed by the Primary School Coordinator and then finally she became the HM and has been in this position for the past thirteen years. Her journey as a HM began with the junior school but when it shifted to the other location she was appointed as a HM for the Middle school and continues to be so. The HM was born and brought up in Delhi from where has completed her schooling. She has two Bachelor's degrees and a Master's degree, all in the discipline of English. She also has fifteen diplomas in different academic professions from across the world (for

example, Singapore and England). With a short duration of school teaching experience in England she returned to the country and to the city of Delhi pointing out that "my roots are very much here and the whole idea was to come back" (Interview, September 27, 2018). Her administrative responsibilities are broadly of two kinds: she is the HM of the Middle school and the Head of admissions. She takes care of the admission process from grade nursery to 12th. Along with these responsibilities, whenever there is any other requirement from the administration or the Principal she steps in which also includes doing administrative work during any school event or programme. Additionally, she also teaches History to grades V and VI and is looking forward to teach the students of grade VII sooner than later.

As far as the admission process is concerned her involvement begins with meeting parents if they are looking to meet someone from the school authority in order to enquire in depth about the school. She examines the application forms that the parents fill online on the school website, she manages the school website when the admissions open and processes the forms. Once the student applicants get the required minimum percentage in the admission test then she fixes an appointment with the Principal and completes the remaining formalities before passing on the approval letters and application forms to the fee department of the school which then takes care of the admission. Before the student files are taken to the record room she takes a final look at them to be sure that all the paperwork is complete.

V. The Admission Process in PIS

For admission to nursery grade the school follows the procedures laid down by the Directorate of Education, Delhi. The system involves drawing of lots; there is no screening of children or parents done at this stage. Once that process is over and there are still vacancies available, then the school authorities go for a system of giving points to the applicants on the basis of their preference list. In the point system they give first preference and highest points to siblings and to embassy officials. The second who come in their preference list are MNC parents. MNCs are preferred because they usually have Indian parents employed who might be shifting places every four years and also get posted abroad. So they would want a curriculum which they can take forward with their children. In case the children are studying in an international curriculum and they get posted abroad then the children will have

continuity. But, they also give points to business class families, professionals and the like; however, they are a little lower in the preference list.

Although, the school administration gives lowest preference to children from business class backgrounds yet, ironically the parental population data from the school as well as the sample set (here, parents and students) for this study seem to suggest otherwise. As mentioned earlier, majority of the Indian students in PIS belong to business class families who have been studying in the school since kindergarten. Out of 15 parent informants, 12 of them run their own businesses. Similarly, out of 30 student informants, 23 of them belong to business class families. Thus, while the school maybe exercising their preference in case of vacancies post nursery admission yet the lottery system of admission for the nursery grade (where PIS is unable to exercise any agency) seems to be bringing in children mostly from the business classes. This may be an indication that it is mostly the business class families who are enrolling their children in PIS.

The school also admits children from the EWS category from grade nursery onwards and the school takes care of their educational expenses up to grade eight. This is followed as per the regulations set by the Directorate of Education, Delhi which stipulates that private schools must reserve 25 percent of their seats for children from the EWS category whereby, from the nursery level till grade eight, such children will be provided with free education. After the eighth grade if the school finds it feasible it may continue to sponsor the students else their parents have to make arrangements to pay the fees. Although, PIS wishes to sponsor the education of EWS children beyond the eighth grade yet, they cannot do so because as pointed out by the Principal, schooling in the international curriculum is expensive when compared to the national curriculum. As a result, it is difficult for the institution to sponsor the education of all the EWS children for the international curriculum in the higher grades. Also, the Principal felt that the EWS children will not be able to cope with the "kind of English" (the kind of English syllabus which is prescribed by the Cambridge board) that is taught in the senior grades. However, they do have a policy of sponsoring the

education of two EWS children from among the rest who score the highest in their eighth grade[30].

For admission to pre-primary grade, the HM and/or Principal meet the parents to find out whether they are well aware of the school and curriculum before deciding to enrol their child/ren here. For other grades admission depends on the availability of seats and in case there are seats available they conduct a very basic English and Mathematics assessment (which is the admission test) just to see at what level the children are coming because the curriculum is different and they get children from all types of boards and curricula, just not CBSE alone. As already mentioned they get students from the Middle East, America, Europe and elsewhere. In the test, the student applicants need a 60% which is C grade as per the Cambridge international curriculum standards. According to the HM, they conduct the assessments to not just measure the IQ (Intelligent Quotient) of a child but also to "give them the right position in the right class so that they can benefit from it rather than feel the challenge of the curriculum".

The highest grade to which children are admitted to the school is eleventh. In case of admission to the eleventh grade, if a student has already taken the IGCSE tenth grade exam then they verify and consider the IGCSE certificate and accordingly admit the student. They do not admit children in the tenth and twelfth grades because the Cambridge curriculum is a two-year programme. Unless the child has studied the ninth or eleventh grade in the same board then s/he will not be able to appear for the final board examinations. So, the ninth and tenth grades are considered as a single unit similarly, eleventh and twelfth grades are also considered to be the same. They enrol students in the ninth and/or eleventh grades but the duration of admission is restricted between April to June every academic year. They do not stretch the admission period of these higher grades beyond June since half the year is already gone and these are pre-board grades. This way, the students joining the ninth and eleventh grades are

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[30] There is no screening procedure for the EWS children separately since, the nursery admission is based on the lottery system. The EWS children attend classes together with other students and according to the Vice Principal, "it is pretty difficult to identify who is and who is not a EWS student among the others" inside PIS as they all wear the same school uniform and there are no separate seating arrangements inside the classrooms for the EWS students. Also, the parent-teacher meetings for the EWS students take place along with other students whereby the school tries to create and promote an environment for equality. However, PIS, in an attempt to give some attention to these EWS students, offers extra English language and literature classes beyond their routine class hours since their English is not as strong as other students in the school.

given the time to get accustomed to the school and curriculum before the board examinations.

However, for grades pre-primary to the eighth, admissions are open from April to November in order to cater to "moving (mobile) parents" as pointed out by the HM, who come from across the globe because in the international sector the academic year finishes in May-June and they start their new academic year in September. So they will move into PIS only after May-June. Sometimes it so happens that a child might have to overlap a year if she/he is seeking admission in the eighth grade towards the end of the academic year. Because the child will get only a few months of exposure to the eighth grade so the authorities encourage the parents to enrol the child in the seventh grade instead of eighth. That way the child gets to know the curriculum, way of teaching and is ready to start afresh from the beginning of the academic year in the eighth grade. In this regard, the HM pointed out that they enrol students till November so that they can cater to a larger pool of applicants since most schools in India stall admissions after April.

VI. The School 'Fees'

According to the Principal, PIS has earned the credibility of having the lowest fee paying structure within the international schools' sector in Delhi NCR. The school caters to only the "children of the middle class" and they are not very interested in catering to the "richie rich" (referring to the fictional character named *Richie Rich* in the Harvey Comics, who happens to be the only child of extremely wealthy parents and the world's richest child).

The school comes out with a 'fee statement' (as they call it) for every academic year. It is a four tiered structure with Nursery and Pre-Primary as the first tier, grade one to five is the second tier; six to ten is the third and eleven to twelve is fourth tier. The fee statement broadly has two slots, the first is known as 'One Time Fee' and the second one is 'Recurring Fee'. There is a third slot as well which is known as 'Optional Fees' and this includes the mid-day meal and transport fees. The 'One Time Fee' which remains constant from Nursery to grade twelve consists of 'Admission Fee, Facility Expansion Fund- II (Non-refundable), Security Deposit (Refundable)' adding up to a sub total of Rs. 1,35,000 (135,000). The 'Recurring Fee' increases with every tier and

comprises of 'Annual Charges (9 months), Radio Frequency Identification (RFID) Charges, Tuition Fee (3 months) and online education programme (3 months)'[31]. For the first tier the recurring fee is Rs. 2, 34, 789 (234,789), the second tier is Rs. 2,41,614 (241,614), third tier is Rs. 2,46, 171 (246,171) and fourth and final tier is Rs. 2,50, 725 (250,725). Under the 'Optional Fees' category, charges for the mid-day meal are Rs. 1495 per month and the transport fee per month is divided in terms of distances between the school and home. The shortest distance being 5 kilometres for which one has to pay Rs. 2750 while the longest is above 25 kilometres and the charges for that are Rs. 6600[32]. The methods of payment of fees include the online mode (through *PayUmoney* or *Paytm*); mobile application called PIS Connect created by the school; Real Time Gross Settlement/ National Electronic Funds Transfer (RTGS/NEFT) and lastly, through pay-cheques. The inability to pay the fees within the due date includes a 'late payment charge' of Rs. 50 and the 'non-realisation of cheques' will involve a penalty of Rs. 500.

The fee structure of the school is indicative of the fact that, not everybody will be able to gain access to PIS. Even though the Principal proudly claimed that theirs is the 'lowest' fee charging school compared to other international schools in the city yet, it is quite evident that her claim of catering to only the middle classes alone does not stand much ground. Keeping in mind the occupational profiles of the parents as well as their lifestyles (which will be explained in the following chapters) and the school fees, one may point out that the school specifically caters to upper middle classes instead of the entire gamut of 'middle classes' (as indicated by the Principal) which exist in India. It is a fact that PIS charges the lowest fees compared to other international schools in Delhi-NCR, as was observed by the researcher when she attempted to find out about the fee structure of some of the international schools from their websites. Yet, that does not obscure the reality that there is a certain amount barricading that is practiced through the fee structure of PIS wherein the question of affordability and thereby access definitely cannot be ignored.

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[31] RFID tags or cards contain a small electronic chip inside them with the help of which any object or person can be tracked. The school provides RFID cards to every student for purposes of security and thus, the charges for the manufacture and maintenance of these cards are also included in the school fee system. See Ahson and Ilyas (2008) for further reading.
[32] The fees mentioned are for the academic year 2019-2020.

Summary

In this chapter an attempt has been made to present a detailed and descriptive account of the field setting, that is, PIS. The chapter began with a discussion of details like establishment of the institution and then moved on to discuss the significance of its spatial location together with its students and staff. The detailed physical description of PIS was provided to present a visual representation of the field together with the symbolic manisfestations in its entirety. Though PIS is an international school which aims to teach and promote cosmopolitan and secular values to its students yet, its ritual practice of vegetarianism and the invocation of Hindu deities speak differently about its ethos. A country where only a small section of its population are vegetarians (Natrajan and Jacob, 2018) such practices of food and religion especially in an international school, provokes us to think how certain dominant 'upper caste', 'Brahmanical' practices (Gundimeda, 2009; Natrajan and Jacob, 2018) have very subtly managed to make their way into such a cosmopolitan environment by associating these practices with Indianness (Babu and Mahajan, 2021). The discussion then shifted its focus to the governance of the school, providing detailed accounts of the duties performed by its internal managing committee, which is of utmost importance for smooth functioning of the institution. This was followed by an analysis of the admission process and fee structure of PIS which revealed the kind (social class composition) of clientele that the school caters to and thereby the latent process of segregation that comes into play through such a process and fees. Thus, the aim of this chapter was not only to lay out a descriptive account of the school together with its stakeholders but primarily to take the discussion on international schooling and the production of classness forward.

CHAPTER FOUR

Parental Profiles and Life-Worlds: Subjective Interpretation of 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes

I have stayed in Switzerland for three years. There, whenever I used to think of home, I used to miss my country; I used to miss my butter chicken, my dal makhani; I used to miss my culture of going out – having chaat, having Diwali parties or going for Holi parties. I used to miss all that.

(Excerpt from the interview with Farah Lokhandwala, a parent).

Farah Lokhandwala has all three of her children studying at PIS since their kindergarten days. The above excerpt was a part of a long conversation that the researcher was able to engage in with her. There she stated that, although she herself has resided in Switzerland for three years (as a part of her higher education programme); and is aware of the forms of life and lifestyles desired abroad, she portrayed a sense of nostalgia for her native living and lifestyles. Although she did admit to have had a rewarding stay abroad, she was honest to admit about yearning for getting 'back to her roots'. Further, she was dismissive of such people who viewed that the 'grass is greener on the other side' – who according to her have just gone for a vacation abroad, maybe just for a week or so and exclaim "*arrey baahar toh yeh hai, baahar toh woh hai*" (a popular notion which indicates that living conditions are better outside of India). She felt that the same set of people should go and stay abroad for at least a year before making such judgements about one's native country. Personally, she did not want her children to get educated abroad, just to come back and then crib or complain about the 'filth' and 'pollution' that, according to her, characterize the local conditions here. She attested that, when one has grown up in a particular context, one should be appreciative of as well as loyal to the same, irrespective of its conditions. In a nutshell, she believed that, things are same everywhere and "irrespective of whether you are studying or working in India, Canada, or the United States of America, you have to slog" (Farah Lokhandwala, interview, October 16, 2019).

The above discussion is used as a point of departure as it gives us a very brief sense of the attitudes and the life-worlds of a parent (whose children receive an 'international schooling'). Parents who avail international schooling for their children may be viewed as the harbingers of new classness, new patterns of lifestyles and desires or aspirations in the Indian context as well as representing to be members of 'globally aware' middle classes. It may also be ascertained that it is these sets of people who constitute the classes that have not only revolutionized international schooling in the Indian context, but have also desired for an education abroad for their children further on. In doing so, while there is a sense of aspiration of being integrally linked to global networks, mobilities, services and lifestyles; somewhere, a deep sense of nostalgia and connect for their 'homeland' also works in a number of such cases. Hence, while global mobilities do ascertain a 'quality' life that for such parents which they are able to achieve on account of their privileged backgrounds; likewise they harbour a sense of parochialism as well as are overtly assertive of their primordial social identities that include caste, religion, language or even region.

At the onset, this chapter presents quantitative data and analyses regarding the occupational backgrounds of the parents of students belonging to the senior branch of the school (that is, from grade five to twelve). This is followed by a tabular representation and analysis of the occupational and educational backgrounds of the parent informants for this study whereby an attempt is made to understand their social class characteristics. The second section begins by looking at the school authorities' perceptions about their clientele (here, parents) in relation to the economic/social/ occupational/ backgrounds that they think their clientele belong to or come from. The following sub-section will try to extract some sketches from the life-worlds of parents in order to delve deeper into the question of classness. Reiterating Heiman et al. (2012), it also hopes to understand class and classness via the 'lived experiences' of the informants of the study, and the 'social processes' they have been engaging themselves in, not only over a period of time but space as well. Further, the chapter discusses how or whether global mobility can be used as the single yardstick to ascertain such classness by delving into the social, economic and occupational profile of the parents (of students entering into an international school, in this case PIS) that have been mapped out through field observations and interactions with those parents. One of the aims of this chapter is to discuss what is 'global' about the 'globally aware' middle classes and attempts are made to do so in the third subsection which

explores the identities, values, tastes, lifestyle patterns of such classes of people in order to get cues regarding their everyday practices.

I. Social Class Characteristics of the Parents: Data and its Interpretation

Class has been one of the most significant categories to be employed, conceptualized, and theorized upon by thinkers, academicians, commentators and scholars over time in order to comprehend social hierarchies, societal inequalities and patterns of stratification in societies apart from describing aspirations, desires, materiality, socialities, or even sociabilities related to such classness. What was and still is common to all the landmark studies and theories of class is the fact that they talk about existing differences between classes in the society. Such differences are products of economic achievement over a period of time, life-chances, social advantages, possession of various kinds of capital and/or even social identities for that matter. Primary reflections from fieldwork and interviews with key informants (here, parents) of the study do resonate with Bourdieu's (1986) categorizations on possession of capital – that the parents possess sufficient class advantages and comparably better life-chances. Therefore, the larger the volume of such possessions of capital (economic, social and cultural), greater is the symbolic capital (recognition) attained. Thus, for Bourdieu, class is not signified by class interest but rather by recognition and perception (Bourdieu, 1984). His works have addressed that, different forms of capital are specific forms of power active in the 'field', and that reproduction of such power is instituted by strategies and practices which are founded within one's habitus. Most importantly, such strategies are internalized and not mere products of 'rational calculation' or even 'strategic intent'. However, the following discussion will begin to understand classness first through the most generic factors like education and occupation which will be followed by various other elements of classness.

The following Table 4.1 has been compiled by drawing insights from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) as put down by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2012). ILO defines the concept of occupation as, "a set of jobs whose main tasks and duties are characterized by a high degree of similarity"' (ILO, 2012: 11). Keeping in mind this definition and the diverse occupational categories that were derived from the macro level data of the parent population, these above mentioned (in Table 4.1) occupational categories were grouped in order to make better sense of the data.

ILO (2012) has categorized occupations into four kinds of 'skill levels' depending on the tasks performed and the different skills required for each level which also include the level of education required for a particular skill level. Following a similar trajectory, we have identified seven kinds of occupational categories which may also be indicators of their socio-economic backgrounds. In this study, Higher Administrative Classes in either public or private sectors consist of those occupying some of the highest positions like senior managers, executives, diplomats, defence attaché, judges, et cetera. Higher Professional Classes comprise of chartered accountants, engineers, academicians, doctors, lawyers, advocates, journalists, editors, researchers, content writers etcetera. Higher Commercial Classes include entrepreneurs, business persons/tycoons and industrialists. Creative Classes include fashion/interior designers, curator artists, story tellers, wellness expert, painters, photographers, et cetera. Those identified as Lower Administrative, Professional and Commercial Classes respectively, comprise of parents occupying certain lower occupational positions like those of clerks, peons, tailors, electricians, drivers, small shopkeepers/owners, small businessmen, street vendors, et cetera; primarily belonging to the lower socio-economic strata.

Table 4.1: **Parental Occupation Data of Students from Grades V-XII for 2018-2019**

Occupational Categories	No. of Mothers	%	No. of Fathers	%	Total Nos.	Total (%)
Homemakers	243	54%	00	0	243	**26%**
Higher Administrative Classes	11	2%	33	7%	44	**5%**
Higher Professional Classes	75	17%	119	25%	194	**21%**
Higher Commercial Classes	71	16%	255	54%	326	**35%**
Creative Classes	21	5%	11	2%	32	**4%**
Lower Administrative Classes	02	0%	04	1%	06	**1%**
Lower Professional Classes	00	0%	09	2%	09	**1%**
Lower Commercial Classes	01	0%	09	2%	10	**1%**
Data not available	25	6%	31	7%	56	**6%**
Total	**449**		**471**		**920**	

Source: Compiled by the researcher from data provided by the School authorities

Therefore, from the Table 4.1, we may then infer that the highest number and percentage of parents whose children are studying in PIS belong to the higher commercial classes which primarily comprises of entrepreneurs and/or self-employed business persons (with regard to this study). The same has also been inferred from the micro level data gathered from the parent informants of this study. The following table presents the micro level data pertaining to education levels and occupational backgrounds of the parents interviewed for this study.

Table 4.2: Education and Occupational Backgrounds of Sampled Parents

Informant Name	Education	Occupation	Education of Spouse	Occupation of Spouse
Vinita Chhabra	Bachelor of Commerce; Diploma in Fashion Designing	Garment Designer	Bachelor of Science in Engineering	Business
Ashoke Kumar	Post-Doctoral in Chinese Language	Teaching and Research	Master of Business Administration	Corporate Professional
Surabhi Sharma	Master of Arts in History	Interior Designer	Bachelor in Architecture	Private Consultant
Nilima Kishori	Master of Business Administration in Human Resource Management	Business	Master of Business Administration in Mechanical Engineering	Business
Simi Bhatia	Engineering	Business	Engineering	Business
Mitasha Khanna	Graduate; Diploma in Design	Husband's Family Business	Graduate	Business
Sonal Sehgal	Master of Arts in English	Owns a Public Relations Agency	Diploma in Sales	Senior Manager in a Private Company
Divya Sapru	Doctor of Medicine	Nutrition and Health Consultant	Bachelor of Commerce	Business

Anju Kutty	Doctor of Philosophy in Chinese Language	Teaching and Research	Masters of Arts in Chinese Language	Interpreter for the Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India
Mihir Shaw	Masters of Arts in Chinese Language	Interpreter for the Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India	PhD in Chinese Language	Teaching and Research
Tanya Maliwal	Master of Law in Criminology	Husband's Family Business	Bachelor of Commerce	Business
Farah Lokhandwala	Graduate in Hotel and Tourism Management	Hotelier	Master of Business Administration	Industrialist
Kiran Agarwal	Master of Arts in Hindustani Classical Music	Homemaker	High School	Entrepreneur
Suraj Agarwal	High School	Entrepreneur	Master of Arts in Hindustani Classical Music	Homemaker
Sonali Khatri	Bachelor of Arts	Homemaker	Bachelor of Commerce	Business

Source: Compiled by the researcher from data provided by the informants. Names of all the parents have been changed in order to maintain anonymity.

Table 4.2 provides a description of education and occupational backgrounds of the sample. From the educational backgrounds of the parents, we infer that among them, the highest educational qualification attained is that of a post-doctoral degree by one male parent while for another male parent the academic credentials go only up to high school. The remaining parents have pursued graduation and post-graduation courses respectively. From the in-depth interviews the researcher gathered that only 3 out of 15 parents have pursued higher education from outside India and the schooling of all the parents have been from public and/or private schools offering Indian curricula. The subjects opted by these parents for higher education seem to be quite diverse which include Commerce, Fashion Designing, Chinese and English Language,

History, Human Resource, Engineering, Medicine, Law, Hotel and Tourism and Hindustani Classical Music. Although, all the parents have pursued schooling from schools offering national curricula and majority of them have pursued higher education in India yet, they all confessed about their dissatisfaction with the Indian schools and the overall education system in general. Moreover, with the exception of just one parent, all the other parents were very keen and determined to send their children outside the country for higher education and occupation as well.

The occupational backgrounds have revealed that from among 15 (12 females and 3 males) parents, 2 mothers are homemakers, one is an assistant professor in a reputed public university in Delhi and the remaining 9 are self-employed. Among the 3 fathers, one is a self-employed wedding photographer, the other works as an interpreter for the Indian Government and the third is a professor in a reputed public university in Delhi. In the discussion on Table 4.1, it was noted that in spite of the school giving first preference for admission to the professional classes yet, a majority of the parents belong to the higher commercial classes. Table 4.2 also reveals that out of the total number of parents interviewed, a majority belong to higher commercial classes. Although, we were unable to obtain data pertaining to caste and religion of the entire population of parents in the Senior school yet, it must be mentioned that from the last names of each parent informant we could gauge that, all of them belong to upper castes wherein, there is a Muslim, a Sikh and 13 Hindu informants respectively. Unlike the studies of Rudolph and Rudolph (2011) and Jeffery et al. (2011) which pointed out the role of caste in the context of education, for the informants of this study, caste was not found to be a part of their everyday imaginaries especially not in the context of international schooling.

Though self-employed, one cannot dissociate them (the cohort of parents for this study) from the middle classes whose meaning and definition has broadened with time to not only include independent professionals but also small businesses and must always be understood in terms of its relations with other social classes (Beteille, 2013). Although class analysis solely on the basis of education and occupation are no longer sufficient yet, they are necessary variables which cannot be denied when talking about class. Borrowing Beteille's (2013) understanding of social classes and the middle classes in particular it is found that the social class composition of the

parents for this study resonates with his notion of the 'New Middle Class' which is associated with new occupations and formal education when compared to the 'Old Middle Class' which in his opinion comprised mostly of self-employed craftsmen, servicemen, traders and/or peasants (Beteille, 2013). One cannot deny the fact that all the informants for this study belong to upper castes and the newness of their middle class characteristics may be associated with their diverse educational qualifications together with a variety of business ventures that they pursue. On the other hand, the study also found that 5 out of 15 parents carried forward their family businesses. At this point, one may also agree with Beteille (2013) in saying that this (here, parents) section of the middle classes does have "an undeniable continuity with the Old Middle Class" (Beteille, 2013: 83) wherein they have managed to take their family businesses forward in spite of all odds while other informants have successfully managed to flourish in their entrepreneurial ventures given the tough competition they face from the professional classes. The researcher found that along with the parents who were interviewed, majority of the parents of the student interviewees also belong to higher commercial classes. Of the 29 students who were interviewed, 22 of them belong to business families while only 7 of them have parents belonging to the professional classes.

While this section discussed the class characteristics of the parents from the vantage point of education and occupation and how their social class positions resonate with the new middle classes as understood by Beteille, the following section presents various other components of being in the middle. It aims to go beyond the categories of education and occupation in trying to understand the class characteristics of the parents and how they resonate with middle classes as understood not only by Beteille (2013) but also by scholars like Liechty (2003), Fernandes (2006), Saavala (2010) and Brosius (2012). Moreover, it attempts to understand the newness of these middle classes through a detailed analysis of the subjective interpretations involving diverse indicators of middle classness which enables the researcher to take the discussion forward in order to establish how such classes of people may be recognised as 'globally aware' middle classes.

II. Multiple Subjective Interpretations of Parental Social Class

(A) Management and Teacher Perceptions of School Clientele and their Class Backgrounds

Heiman et al. (2012) have made an attempt to understand global middle classness by theorizing ethnographic accounts from across the globe in their work. In the introduction to the volume, they argue that,

> 'There has long been an either-or debate about whether class is a material phenomenon (arising from a more or less Marxist understanding of socio-economic relations of production) or simply a kind of associational category of people aligned around common socio-political goals. One argument holds that the very use of the word "class" – as opposed to, for example, "status group" or "habitus" – implies a materialist perspective: class is an idea associated with group experiences of socio-economic difference' (Heiman et al. 2012: 8).

Therefore, on a similar note, this study seeks to understand what sets of classes or status groups are able to access international schooling at PIS. An attempt was made to know the views of both the school management and the actual data collected from the parents during the interviews. From one of the many conversations that the researcher was able to engage in with the Principal of PIS, she ascertained that, 'the families are largely from the middle class and not from the "*richie-rich*"'. Such children, she feels, do not possess the desired enthusiasm or 'fire in the belly'. She attested that the school is neither interested in money nor in social class but in the attitudes of the parents. While she does come across young married couples/parents, upcoming professionals, working couples or non-working couples; as long as the desired enthusiasm is present within them, she is happy as the school needs to build "a partnership for fourteen long years" (the time required for a child's cumulative schooling in PIS).

The Principal of PIS uses the category 'middle class', to refer to the 'working professionals with an average income'. Though she was not very clear about what she meant by 'average income' yet she tried to indicate the fact that the school fees is such that any working professional earning just enough to afford the fees of PIS may

be considered within the average income bracket[33]. She did admit that their fee-structure is a little higher than a regular CBSE school (as per her analogy). Yet, she was also quick to assert that many CBSE schools have a much higher fee structure than PIS. Hence, it is essential that a parent should have an income to be able to "happily afford this (international) education". Moving further, she pointed out that PIS gets students from the "very rich" classes also, ones that can signify the elites and are usually the people who come back from abroad, or are people working with MNCs and that for such people, it is not the money that is an important determinant but the curriculum/Board (here, Cambridge).

By the Principal's rough estimate, 20-30 percent of the children belong to big business houses or professional classes. She mentioned that most of those belonging to business backgrounds were admitted long back and it is not as if she harboured any biases for or against the same. She did appreciate the fact that many from this class have been globe-hoppers, so that becomes an added distinction then. However, she was also quick to admit that a couple of students from "*semi-sarkari*" (semi-government) occupational families were helpless and had to leave (despite having 'fire in the belly') as the Principal expressed scepticism in relation to their fee-paying abilities.

From the Principal's account of the nature of class compositions of the clientele that enter PIS, one element is certain; that classness or class background are gauged via the globally popular and generally advocated/accepted indicator of income. Although there have been several studies that have critiqued such a criterion for determining social class, income brackets are used to classify class or to be more particular, classness. Nevertheless, the Principal asserted that one's academic aptitudes are changing at PIS, not one's social class. According to her, their students are venturing in numbers into (local) public or private universities in India itself such as Delhi University, not abroad; some of them are pursuing medicine and engineering here itself. Hence, she discounts the fact that middle classness can be determined on the basis of one's possession of economic capital alone; one's academic aptitudes (cultural capital) are being enriched and that is what matters to her. In her opinion,

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[33] The average annual fee structure of the school amounts to Three and a half Lakh Rupees, an amount that approximately converts to five thousand United States Dollars in comparative standards.

'We are looking at producing children who have got 21st century skills; the more such students go out into the community, they are enriching their classrooms. Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi loves to have our students because they say their (PIS' students) level of discussion is much higher. So we are contributing towards enriching the human capital. We are not changing the social capital; we are enriching the human capital. And if they stay in the country they can only enrich the environment here' (Principal, interview, November 28, 2019).

The Headmistress (read HM) of the school told the researcher that there is no such fixed group of parents. As per her experience, students belong to various kinds of occupational backgrounds. For instance, she argued that, while there could be a "wholesaler" or "retailer" parent who can afford to pay the fees, which does not necessitate or qualify the credential that the school would admit their child. While the HM admitted that despite receiving over a thousand applications for admission to PIS every year; they end up taking only a hundred of/from them following a "good scrutiny". A 'good scrutiny' according to her involves a thorough background check of the parents' socio-occupational backgrounds, conducting interviews (if they happen to be seeking admission for a senior grade) with them as well as their children and conducting admission tests on English and Mathematics for the applicants of senior grades (the admission procedure of the School has been elaborated upon in Chapter Five). She also informed the researcher that being somewhat aware of parental incomes on account of having access to their official documents, "MNC parents might be earning something between 20-25 lakhs per annum"[34].

The HM reiterated the Principal's view that such parents need to be earning well in order to afford the school fee structure, something that ranges between 3-3.5 lakhs a year, which does not include a sum of 2.5 lakhs to be paid at the time of admission. On the other hand, the headmistress did acknowledge that it is very difficult to gauge the income of business families as the school "does not ask for such details". However, they ensure that relevant questions are asked as well as answered, which

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[34] The researcher believes that the salary of an MNC executive mentioned by the HM may be an understatement. However, we are quoting verbatim here.

make available valid justifications that provide the rationale behind enrolling their child/ren into the school (Headmistress, interview, September 20, 2018)[35].

On the contrary, one of the foreign language teachers in the school (Preeti Thapar) did admit to the researcher that although the professional service class is seen to be present in their parental profiles; majorly, it is the affluent business families who predominantly frequent the space. According to her estimate, 30% constitute the "well-qualified" professional class, whereas the rest belong to "the business households/families", but do not possess "very qualified" educational credentials. In her words, "the major portion of the students ... in my batch are ... all like big industrialists or maybe big houses, big brands" (Preeti Thapar, interview, February 6, 2020).

Reiterating Preeti Thapar's views, the Senior school student coordinator, Isha Krishnan understands that international schools in the Indian scenario generally attract the business class (as much as 80% of the total number) as they possess enormous levels of wealth and it does not "hurt" to spend two-three crores of rupees for their children over a period of time. According to her, the same children pursue degrees from abroad and "add worth to their respective businesses" whereas, the middle class "takes a lot of time to grapple with and understand" whether it is worth spending that kind of a fee in an international school which would be followed by a heavy expenditure for further (higher) education. She claims that, the absorption (of international schooling) among the mainstream in India is pretty poor right now, irrespective of whether it is under the IB curriculum or its counterpart IGCSE, popularly known as the Cambridge curriculum (Isha Krishnan, interview, February 11, 2020).

It is evident thus, that there are no parities in perceptions, in relation to parental profiles. Moreover, much of their assessments are based on the determinant criteria of income. So that would necessitate a need to critique such observations that are based on determining class using income alone, as income per se does not lend a holistic lens to gauge who belongs to global middle classes or merely the 'globally aware'

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[35] The headmistress also additionally mentioned that high income or fee-affordability is not the key determinant for admissions or the parental profiles thereby; people from 'humble backgrounds' and not 'very well to do' could also be able to support their child's education and are welcomed at PIS.

middle classes or who can access the portals of an international school. While it may be a necessary variable that cannot be discounted in order to attain insights on classness, it does not sum up to be a sufficient one. Hence, the following sections would seek to draw instances and points of references from the life-worlds of parents who are educating their children at PIS, and the discussion would capture qualitative determinants, that go beyond the quantitatively measurable determinants such as income, which include social profiles, identities, lifestyles and patterns of global travel, tastes or even perceptions of school choices. The discussion rather leads us to believe that the clientele for PIS are not necessarily the global middle classes but they form what we may designate as 'globally aware' middle classes. The subsequent discussion provides ample evidence to this effect.

(B) Parental Profiles and the Elements of 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes

What do the 'globally aware' middle classes do to make themselves globally viable and a part of the larger common global network? With discussions (also that would continue the thread from the previous section) on the informants, this section seeks to provide some cues to understand globality among the emergent 'globally aware' middle classes. Therefore, attempt is made to ascertain if certain patterns can be drawn by looking at a few parental (whose children are students of PIS) profiles which are presented as brief biographic sketches – not to measure the class per se but to further reflect and make sense of the category of 'globally aware' middle classes or the issue of 'globally aware' middle classness.

(a) Case studies of parents

(i) *Farah Lokhandwala*

Farah Lokhandwala is a resident of the Nizammudin region in Delhi. She has three children, all three study at PIS. Interviews were conducted with her by the researcher via two telephonic conversations as the informant could not devote time for a meeting owing to her busy schedule. She has pursued a graduate degree in international hotel and tourism management from Switzerland and her husband is an Masters of Business Administration (MBA) in finance from City College in London. She identifies herself as a hotelier by profession and happens to be one of the directors/owner of a premium hotel located in the upscale Connaught Place area of Delhi. She told the researcher that both she and her husband happen to be industrialists. Additionally, they also have

factories that manufacture ancillary items such as wires and cables for the Indian Railways and the Department of Telecommunications of the Government of India.

She mentioned that the hotel she owns is an inherited property as it was a part of the family business; something that was established by her grandfather way back in the late 1930s. While the couple belong to business families, she was quick to talk about her 'humble' upbringing and says, "My husband and me...were brought up in a very middle class way", was denied "luxuries" and was asked to earn them. Even though she got married at an early age of twenty-one, she used to go to her workplace every day and such has been her daily routine for the last fourteen years. She took the responsibility of taking the children to school when they were younger as well as pick them back, following which they would all go to her work-place. Only after completing a hectic schedule at work were they able to get back to their home in Nizamuddin in the evening. She admitted to being a part of a traditional "kind of a set up" with respect to the family. On the contrary, she also mentioned that the "very progressive Muslim family" that she belongs to, has enabled her to study abroad. As a consequence, and also because her husband has had exposure to higher education abroad, they have given their children "a lot of opportunities and exposure". However, at the same time, both of them feel that the children must be connected to their roots and to their culture.

Commenting on the progressive and 'secular' nature of their family, she acknowledged about celebrating festivals such as *Holi* and *Diwali*; or having a decorated Christmas tree during *Christmas* together with offering gifts/presents, with the same vigour as compared to celebrating Eid. She notes that her children follow the ritual form of fasting during *Ramzan* from an early age as well as accompany their father for their prayers. Hence, attending Diwali parties are prescribed together with fasting for a Ramzan; or even birthday parties are given consent as long as the children "know where to draw the line" (Farah Lokhandwala, interview, October 16, 2019).

(ii) *Kiran Agarwal and Suraj Agarwal*

Kiran Agarwal is married to Suraj Agarwal and is a homemaker at present while her husband is a celebrated wedding photographer (whose clientele even include popular personalities from the Hindi film industry, colloquially referred to as the *Bollywood*)

in the Northern region of India and a resident of an affluent residential colony (Panchsheel Enclave) in South Delhi. As a wedding photographer, he does travel frequently within and outside the country. Sometimes they travel as a family while on other occasions he travels only with his professional team. They have two children (an elder son in the tenth grade and younger daughter in the sixth grade when the interview was conducted on September 21, 2019 and November 23, 2019) and both of them are students of PIS. Kiran's maiden family is based out of Punjab although she has been born and brought up in Delhi due to her father's business venture. She has a Masters degree in Hindustani Classical Music and has worked as a school counsellor prior to her marriage. Presently, Kiran's parents reside in the US with her elder sister and younger brother's families which provides them with another reason to travel to that part of the globe once a year.

Suraj, on the other hand, had been a resident of Jaipur and has shifted to Delhi two years prior to their marriage. His father is a retired photojournalist and has been very instrumental in influencing Suraj to become a photojournalist when he began (in 1995) his career in photography. He was quick to admit that he was not very fortunate to pursue higher education (beyond the twelfth standard in school) and was a college dropout. Just as he had thought of pursuing his graduation from a prominent University-affiliated college in Delhi, was offered a job by a leading media group and joined them instead of completing his higher studies. After working for eight years as a photo journalist and gaining valuable experience in the profession, he decided to set up his business of wedding photography. Both Kiran and Suraj's mothers are homemakers.

Their residence is located opposite to an upscale recreational club. It is an independent building with three floors. While the couple resides on the first floor with their children, Suraj's parents live on the second floor. Reaching the house, the security guard was instructed by the parent (Kiran) to allow the researcher inside and also accompanied her till the entrance of the apartment through the elevator. The ground floor of the building was the garage space where two cars were parked. One, a premium five-seater BMW sedan and another hatchback, the brand of which was not visible since it was parked at a distance from where the researcher had to enter the elevator. Standing in front of the door it came to notice that there is an electronic

number lock system with a small digital screen on the door. The researcher rang the door-bell and the informant opened up wearing a pair of jeans and a t-shirt. She offered a seat along with a cup of green tea. It was a three room apartment where the son and daughter had separate rooms for themselves while the drawing and dining space was common. There was a white blank wall facing the sofa where the researcher was seated which she later came to know was kept blank to serve as a screen for watching movies from the projector which was attached to the ceiling. In fact, the informant notified that that they did not have a fixed television, as they are fond of watching television content through the projector. Below the screen space was a long, narrow speaker attached to the wall which was part of a home-theatre set. On closer observation, it was noticed that there was a close circuit camera attached to the corner of the ceiling facing the main door and kitchen. That gave a sense of how conscious one might be of one's security in the personal space or residence – that along with having camera fitted at the entrance of the building, there is another inside the house, be it for the purpose of surveillance of the domestic workers, any other outsider or for any other purpose.

On the other hand, the researcher met Suraj in his office which is at a walking distance from their residence. The office is located in the second floor of a building which houses a private bank in the ground floor. The office space was divided into two sections wherein one was the informant's work station while the other belonged to his brother. He runs the business jointly with his brother. The researcher was greeted by the informant on the second floor at the entrance of his office wearing a pair of knee-length pants and t-shirt. After entering his office, the researcher noticed that it was a cubicle which had a seating arrangement with a leather finish sofa capable of accommodating at least three people in a row. Being offered a seat, the researcher was introduced to a young man who happened to be his music assistant and was at that time helping him to get an exposure into western instrumental music and some popular western guitarists.

All the conversations between Kiran and the researcher were in Hindi, as she admitted to having deficiencies in spoken English; although she did admit on one occasion that her father used to promote subscribing to and reading of an English newspaper in her maiden home. On the contrary, the conversations with Suraj took place in English

with infrequent use of Hindi in between. Hailing from Punjab, Kiran calls herself "*Punjabi* at heart" but due to her father's insistence, had to marry within her caste group or community (*Baniyas*) and insisted upon was the aspect of food-habit (here, vegetarianism) of the conjugal family. It was preferred to such an extent that she acknowledged,

> 'My father has mentioned at the end of my bio-data that, if you are not a vegetarian please do not contact us'[36] (Kiran Agarwal, interview, November 23, 2019).

Further, she did attest to the researcher that, as Suraj's mother was ailing, the primary intent behind their wedding was that they needed someone to help them with their household chores and care for the elderly. Stating that on being a *Marwari* family, they do not allow their domestic workers to do much work, one of which includes "chopping" vegetables. And being a "typical girl", with a 'government run school' educational background, she had to go through the drill. Alternatively, Suraj admitted to having a,

> 'Very very basic middle class life living in a rented house for all our lives and going to the school coming back, mom doing all the household chores and when we came back doing our regular homework and then just wanting to get out of the house as soon as we could. Outdoors meant just playing gully cricket or gully games or just going to somebody else's school, just being out of the house' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September 21, 2019).

However, he also acknowledged the fact that, "

> 'It's very unfair to compare" his childhood with that of his children "because they were completely different environments. Now they are distracted with so many things around them. And unfortunately, it's us who have provided them with IPad, internet, WiFi at home, mobile phones and so many other distractions. But, we really, so there was one black and white television at our home so definitely there wasn't much entertainment as far as watching a screen was concerned. So we had to go out. We had to meet friends and I think it was safer then also. So that was also there. So we used to just go out

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[36] The bio-data here refers to Kiran's marriage portfolio/resume which her father had created for matrimonial websites in order to look for a suitable groom and arrange her marriage.

cycle around do anything comes back in three to four hours. In Delhi, I really can't think of that for my child' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September, 2019).

(iii) *Tanya Maliwal*

The interview with Tanya Maliwal was conducted over telephone by the researcher as she was unwilling to meet personally stating that she remains extremely occupied in assisting her husband in his business venture. Though the researcher spoke to her for three consecutive days, yet the conversations over telephone were very limited as she was unwilling to elaborate much on her responses. Yet every attempt was made to elicit as much information as possible.

Tanya, a qualified international lawyer by profession, has done her Masters in criminology and humanitarian law. She admitted to have "always been a topper in the school" and has been a state-level swimmer as well. Her mother is an Indian Administrative Services (IAS) officer while father was a criminal lawyer. "Yes, we used to discuss lots of politics at home. That's how I got into all this," Tanya mentioned at the beginning of our interaction. She pursued her Political Science Honours from Indraprastha College, a prominent women's college affiliated to Delhi University and then pursued her law degree from the Faculty of Law at Delhi University. Further, she did her master's in International Law. Although, she had aspired to continue her higher education via a doctorate, she "couldn't complete it, as it happens with all women", by which she meant to indicate the much generalised and common sense notion that marriage and kids make it difficult for women to pursue higher education.

A resident of South Delhi, and a mother of two children (both attend school at PIS), she had been residing in a joint family set up ever since her children were born, until they shifted out a couple of years back. Her husband is a graduate in commerce who went on to pursue a special course on precious jewellery such as diamonds. Since then he has been self-employed, running jewellery business. Presently, Tanya too has been helping her husband in the family business and the primary reason she chose business over Law was to give "enough time" to her children because she accepted that becoming a lawyer would not have allowed her to spend sufficient time with them.

Their elder son is in the eleventh grade at PIS, having joined since his third grade (prior to which he was in another private school – K.R.M. School)[37]. According to her, the son is a bright student and has been participating in "lots of extra-curricular activities". The daughter is in the eighth grade and has always been a student of PIS and is an equally bright student according to Tanya. Labelling themselves as "security-guards" and "watchdogs", when asked by the researcher regarding their involvement with their children's academics, she did admit to being equally involved, although her husband was referred to as being active 'from a distance'. The metaphorical references indicated that both parents are like guardians for their children performing the role of a supervisor, wherein Tanya's involvement with their children is more (in terms of helping them with their studies and thereby, spending more time with them) when compared to her husband who cannot get very deeply involved due to the nature of his work. On requesting her to elaborate further, she mentioned,

> 'I personally feel that I have given them enough calibre to decide for themselves. So I never interfere at all. So there is never an argument. I just make a suggestion. If I do not have complete faith in them, I will not be able to give them that kind of freedom they're looking for. Even from subject selection to everything I just give my suggestion rest is their call so, there is never an argument or any negotiation' (Tanya Maliwal, interview, November 25, 2019).

(iv) *Sonali Khatri*

The researcher met Sonali Khatri at her residence in Vasant Kunj, a prominent upscale neighbourhood in South Delhi. Vasant Kunj also happens to be one of the expensive middle class neighbourhoods in South Delhi wherein there are mostly individual houses and bungalows ranging from a single storey to even four storied houses. The locality is like a gated enclave because when one is about to enter the colony there is a guard who enquires about the house number from the visitor and even helps to locate it if one is unable to do so. The researcher was in fact able to locate the house with the help of the guard. On reaching she rang the bell and a young female domestic help opened the gates to an eye catching white bungalow with tall trees behind, providing much required shade on the roof and a very well-manicured

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[37] The acronym has been used for the purpose of anonymity.

lawn in front of it. On one end of the lawn there was a miniature goal post while on the other end seating arrangements were made with tea tables and chairs.

The researcher was made to sit inside what happened to be the office space of her husband (who was out of station at that moment) which was adjacent to their bungalow inside the premise. The researcher was asked to wait there till Sonali arrived in a pair of blue jeans and shirt, with some facial makeup as well. The office was well arranged with leather cushioned sofas near the entrance, beside that was a small cubicle where a male assistant was seated and working on a computer. The office space had two close circuit cameras fitted on opposite corners of the ceiling. After she arrived and before the conversation began she offered coffee to the researcher which was brought in by a middle aged male domestic help, neatly arranged on a serving tray along with some cookies.

Sonali has two children – an elder daughter who is a former student of PIS and was pursuing Bachelors in Medicine and Bachelors in Surgery (MBBS) when the researcher was conducting the interview with Sonali (August 16, 2019) while the younger son was in twelfth grade in the same school. They reside in a joint household setup along with her husband's parents. Both Sonali and her husband have been born and brought up in Delhi. She is a homemaker and her husband is a real-estate businessman. Emphasizing upon the conservative nature of her maiden family, Sonali mentioned that her schooling was from a convent "girls' school" offering the CBSE curriculum and then she pursued Bachelor of Arts from Jesus and Mary College "again girls' college" while her husband has also studied in a CBSE school which belongs to the same administration that governs PIS. Post schooling, he pursued Bachelor of Commerce. She also admitted that both of them belong to a "typical traditional family" and referring to her husband and herself, she stated,

> 'There was no way that he could see a girl for himself or I could find a boy
> for myself. We come from completely conservative, traditional, orthodox
> backgrounds and business families. His family was also a business family,
> just as mine. My father being in business, got us married – me and my sister
> at the age of 19 and 20. So completely orthodox family I come from
> (sarcastically giggles), very conservative! *Unn dino mein* (in those days) they
> were not very used to this thing that children should be highly qualified'
> (Sonali Khatri, interview, August 16, 2019).

The rationale behind Sonali's parents' lack of encouragement for higher education was the apprehension that they would not find a suitable match for her and her sister once they grew old trying to pursue higher studies. However, she expressed that presently, "times are changing" and she sincerely wants her children to get into "some career" and make a mark for themselves. Sonali and her husband primarily chose PIS because of its brand value; secondly, due to the close proximity between the School and home; thirdly, the teacher-student ratio being 1:20 unlike other public/private schools gave them an assurance that their children would get "personalised attention" from the teachers. Talking about her children's plans of going abroad for further studies, she claimed that her daughter never wanted to go abroad, whereas the son has even prepared and appeared for the qualifier, Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) examination as he wants to go to the United States of America[38]. However, they are not interested to send the son so quickly (for graduation) and would like to send him later (post-graduation) as they believe he's still young and moreover; had a "decent" score of 1400 only, not a perfect/desired score of 1550 in the *SAT* examination.

(v) *Anju Kutty*

The researcher met Anju Kutty in her office to conduct the interview. She is an academic by profession in a prominent public university in Delhi. Her office is located in the third floor of her department building. It was a small and compact room with books all around. While she hails from Kerala, her husband is from Bihar. Her husband has done his Master's in Chinese language whereas she has completed her PhD in the same language. He was her senior and is now employed in the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. As her father was an army person, they have been travellers across the country. Some of her temporary residencies include Darjeeling and Ranikhet, two prominent hill stations herein. Another three to four places and finally were they able to come to Delhi. For her schooling, she was always a student of convent schools. In Delhi though, she went to the Army Public School. Her mother is "just" a 10th pass whereas her father is a graduate. Her father worked along the "*Chinese line*" in the Army and used to expose her to these "Chinese characters". Also, she "liked" and was interested in political science, and had thoughts on pursuing a career in the Indian Administrative Services.

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[38] SAT is an entrance examination meant for students who wish to apply for undergraduate studies in the United States of America.

She was glad to note that her parents did not pressurise her to "take up science", for instance. "They just left it to me" she says. Although they sent her to a girls' school, her mother wanted her to be "able to interact with boys as well and not be a shy girl". Anju along with her husband and daughter have stayed in the US and China for quite some time due the nature of her husband's work. Anju's daughter wants to be a writer. On that note, she recalled that on one occasion her mother had told her that, "you can't just be a writer". Explaining the nature of such anxieties to her daughter in today's times, she said,

> 'Your grandma had said so because according to her; during her life and society, writing did not give lot of money. So how will you eat? *Pet kaise paaloge?* (How will you earn your livelihood?) (Anju Kutty, interview, October 16, 2019).

However, Anju admitted that now it is not like that. She would be absolutely comfortable with whatever career decisions or choices her daughter makes. She adds that, "settling down is her choice". While one could claim that her choice of school for her daughter in India has been influenced to a certain extent by her experiences in America and China. She adds that, one of the primary reasons for not sending her daughter to a school in Delhi offering a national curriculum is her conviction that either "there is a general environment of looking at studies with a very negative perspective" in such schools; "*ek bojh ki tarah dekha jata hai*" (looked upon as a burden) or the brilliant students are envied, looked down upon and mocked by the average/poorly performing students saying, "Oh! You are always studying". According to her, this sort an environment even if it might exist in PIS, it is not very starkly visible. (Various other determinants for school choice-making by the parents will be elaborated upon in the following sections).

(b) Parental lifeworlds

The idea behind presenting brief sketches of parents' life-worlds was to primarily address their everyday life-worlds. Everyday life-worlds as propounded by sociologists, are constituted by lived human experiences, actions as well as thoughts across space and time which are constructed through socio-cultural, material as well as environmental conditions respectively (Dürrschmidt, 2001; Kalekin-Fishman, 2013). Thus, in the context of this study, an understanding of the everyday lived

experiences, thoughts and actions of the informants (here, parents) through descriptive analysis has been obtained. The motive behind such analyses was to understand their life-worlds from childhood (primarily involving their educational journey) to that of becoming parents, their daily routines, their social networks and relationships with near and dear ones across geographical boundaries. Also, an attempt is made to highlight the multifarious nature of attitudes, values, backgrounds, concerns and profiles of people who are said to have common group belongingness in contemporary times, if not past histories. Hence, whether they think and feel alike or akin to each other is further explored through the biographical accounts of their everyday city lives to gauge whether there are greater commonalities despite minor differences or vice-versa among this diversely rooted classes of people and whether we can consider them to be the 'globally aware' middle classes.

Continuing the thread from the previous discussions on the parental case studies and their life-worlds, according to the parent Farah, one of the minimum ways to be globally viable would be to emphasize on English language speaking as well as reading. However, she also cast her apprehensions on doing too much in this regard as her native language, Urdu, "is diminishing over the years". Hence, she looks into maintaining the balance at home in this regard. On a similar question, Kiran observed that, usually they converse in Hindi at home although her husband does talk to her in English when there is an argument between the couple. While her son talks in Hindi with her totally, the daughter replies back to her in English, despite her talking in Hindi. Her husband and the son converse in English itself[39].

On being asked by the researcher regarding their travelling patterns, Farah mentioned that they travel well both within India as well as abroad, especially during the vacations. While Farah and her family may not be avid travellers, Suraj, as already mentioned, travels a lot. They travel extensively and have visited almost twenty-five countries approximately, some of which include the United Kingdom, Australia, Italy, United States of America, Thailand, Turkey and even Dubai (United Arab Emirates). While he was honest in admitting that many a times he/they travel and make such trips at the "producer's cost", he was quick to note that he would be travelling to London at the end of that month (when the interview was conducted on September 21,

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[39] The importance of English or for that matter, foreign languages for international schooling and thereby for global compatibility is further elaborated upon in Chapter Seven of the thesis.

2019). He also honestly admitted that he does not spend more than an hour's time with his children during his working days; hence they look forward to vacations, although he personally is not much in favour of something that he labels as "tourism vacation". Instead, he looks up for activity-based vacations that include sitting on a hammock or even playing football.

He informed that, as his son loves to play football, they 'stop-over' at France en route to the USA in order to visit and experience the football stadiums. But he deemed it unfortunate that he is unable to see their children 'involved in much outdoor activity in Delhi' and notes that, 'outdoor culture *hi chala gaya hai Delhi se toh'* (Delhi has lost its outdoor culture). More importantly, he feels that it is not very safe to venture out in Delhi. In this regard, his wife Kiran had the following to say:

> 'On a couple of occasions (the child) has taken an Ola cab. As he used to go for tuitions, I used to tell him not to wait outside upon completion. So, he used to tell me that I am treating him like a child. All the children use Ola-Uber these days. I used to explain it from the financial angle – that when I am already paying a salary to the driver of our cars, why do you need to spend extra money? A lot of things they do out of emulating friends and peer pressures. However, times are uncertain these days and that is my worry. It is so unsafe these days' (Kiran Agarwal, interview, November 24, 2019).

Discussing their social networks outside of India, Kiran noted that she has an aunt residing in the USA; her sister is there too although she used to be in Canada earlier. Otherwise, they have travelled to Australia, London, USA, and Hong Kong (to particularly visit the *Disneyland* there, something that her husband may have forgotten to mention). While mentioning about travel patterns, she also highlighted that they have visited Mukteshwar and that her husband is particularly fond of visiting the hills of Uttarakhand (in India). This tendency to travel within and outside the country as well as to appreciate both local as well as global destinations and their cultures equally was noticed among all the parents who were interviewed for this study and such will also be demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

Anju Kutty used to live in China earlier. Before going to China, they used to visit Kerala very often as it is her native state. They have made visits to Dehradun and Mussoorie recently. Similarly, Sonali Khatri and family prefer to travel to hill stations

in India; although they do travel abroad at times. In her words, it was always one holiday in India and one abroad in a year. So, if they went to Singapore for a vacation, the other trip would be to Shimla or Manali. She felt the need to appreciate India also as well, together with the need to appreciate the world outside. "India is also beautiful", she claimed. Trying to portray a secular attitude towards other religions, she described herself as a very "spiritual person"; hence, she insists that their family travel itineraries do include visiting the local temples in Indian settings or lighting a candle in a church abroad. She encourages such practices as she felt that,

> 'It is only because of God's blessings you know that we perform and we are able to do well and we get recognition in life. Otherwise *toh nahin hoga, mehnat toh sab karte hain*! [Else, it will not happen, everyone does hard work!]' (Sonali Khatri, interview, August 16, 2019).

Tanya Maliwal brought out another important dimension to global-ness, apart from the aspects of being well-versed in a global language or having networks/travelling abroad that are discussed above so far. She told the researcher that from an early age, they were very clear that they wanted their children to be global children. So what did she imply by the term 'global children'? In her words,

> 'To be a global child and global individual you have to study global. You have to have a global view......We just studied India, India, India. That does not help you as a person. You have to have an overall perspective. You have to study world geography, you have to be a part of international politics and so on and so forth' (Tanya Maliwal, interview, November 25, 2019).

This section brings out some of the modalities and particularities regarding the aspect what is global about the 'globally aware' middle classes via brief snippets from the fieldwork. It is observed that as far as the question of language and travelling abroad are concerned, people are aware of the need to inculcate a sense on the significance of the language as well as travel vigorously or at least to some extent globally respectively. However, what also needs to be noted is that they do not want to forget their native language or their local spaces. Such attitudes resonate with ideas of 'cosmopolitanism' (Beck, 2002), which indicates a way of life wherein one gives due recognition to not just one's own local cultures but also that of the global and may even try to experience it and live by it. Beck (2002) understands such ways of life in the global era as 'internal globalization', that is – a situation in which matters on the

global agenda become an important part of the nation's agenda and the agenda of its individuals. Simply put, cosmopolitanism may be understood as 'world citizenship' whereby people want to experience diverse 'ethical and cultural lives in both the local as well as the global spheres' (Lallo and Resnik, 2008: 172-73). Tomlinson (1999) expands on this notion and claims that cosmopolitanism is a cultural conception not limited to the local, but rather one which recognizes belonging to a global world, in terms of involvement in it or responsibility for it and which seeks to incorporate elements of the global existence into its day-to-day existence. Therefore, when parents like Tanya aspire for their children to become 'global children', they want them to be educated through the medium of an international curriculum which according them provides a 'global exposure' unlike any national curricula and thereby prepares their children to become 'world citizens'. On this note, it would be useful to conclude this section with Cohen's (2004) argument who suggests that, "class analysis represents a viable and productive method of theorizing the social dimension of our contemporary era of globalization" (Cohen, 2004: 2).

(C) Identities, Values, Tastes, and Lifestyle Patterns of the 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes

Bourdieu (1984) has argued that, "Lifestyles are thus the systemic products of habitus, which perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of the habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified (as 'distinguished', 'vulgar', etc.)" (Bourdieu, 1984: 172) and *taste* then becomes "the generative formula of lifestyle" (Bourdieu, 1984: 173). Further, using cues from Bourdieu's aforementioned positions, Polson (2011) suggests that attachments to global culture are expressed via cosmopolitan practices of consumption or tastes, together with connection to international social networks. Such is materialized by practices such as 'integration of English into local dialects', 'consumption of foreign media and products' and taking on new habits associated with global culture such as drinking *lattés*. By doing so, it is thereby suggested that people around the world imagine themselves as part of an emerging global middle class (Polson, 2011: 149). What this section further goes on to suggest is that, apart from being attuned to global consumption practices and tastes, the 'globally aware' middle classes also inculcate within them a sense of 'taste' or lifestyles that call for being locally distinctive too. We thus delve into the question of,

how do such people spend their time or what forms of leisure activity do they engage in.

For instance, Farah (one of the parents) insisted that she spends her weekends through family dinners at her in-laws' place, something that allows for recreation as well as to communicate with the "big joint family". She also spends time with her children by taking them to watch Hindi and English films, which may include a comedy or even one from the patriotic kind. They (that includes the children) also listen to music that is mostly classical based and sometimes also go out for a *Gazal* concert; or for programmes such as the popular *Jashn-e-Rekhta* where Urdu programmes predominate; or even a *Kavi Sammelan* (poetry conference) in Hindi[40]. She has even taken her children to the Ramlila Maidan in Old Delhi to watch *Ramlila*[41]. She argues that, "just because it is in old Delhi and isn't that happening, or as it is often labelled – tacky; I don't feel that way. I feel we have grown up seeing all this and it's the culture which we belong to so they (her children) should not be deprived of it" (Interview, October 16, 201).

Apart from being members of the *Freemasonry*, which they frequent for a monthly dinner, they are not members of any other clubs[42]. She is also involved in philanthropic activities such as sponsoring children for their education especially education of the girl child. On the question of shopping or mall-hopping, she attests that online shopping is pretty tempting to her. While they visit malls frequently, she does not let "mall culture" become predominant. They visit the "normal markets" such as *Lajpat Nagar* or *Delhi Haat*. Apart from that, they also visit fairs such as the *Diwali melas*.

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[40] Gazal is 'a genre of poetry dealing largely with topics of both worldly and spiritual love, comprising of couplets, the second part of which are in rhyme, an amatory poem, an ode' (See, https://www.rekhtadictionary.com/meaning-of-gazal)
Jashn-e-Rekhta is a literary festival that takes place in Delhi every year. It celebrates Urdu language and is organised by the Rekhta Foundation which is a not for profit organization aimed at preserving and promoting Urdu language and culture (See, https://jashnerekhta.org/).
[41] 'Ramlila, literally "Rama's play", is a performance of then Ramayana epic in a series of scenes that include song, narration, recital and dialogue. It is performed across northern India during the festival of Dussehra, held each year according to the ritual calendar in autumn' (See, https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/ramlila-the-traditional-performance-of-the-ramayana-00110).
[42] *Freemasonry* is a worldwide fraternal organization that began in the Middle Ages and was introduced in India by the British. It is based on the principles of 'Fatherhood of God' and the 'Brotherhood of Man' and has a motto of 'Brotherly love', Relief and Truth'. Presently, it functions as a social and philanthropic establishment which aims to motivate its members to become more socially oriented and virtuous (See, Jacob, 1991; Stevenson, 2005).

Suraj also spends a substantial time watching a lot of movies together at home, particularly biopics, and also listens to a lot of music together with his wife Kiran. They (the family members) also love playing carrom. However, he feels that with the advent of Over-the-top (OTT) platforms such as *Netflix,* he feels that he does not have much control over what children watch. Nevertheless, as long as they do it in the "safe environment of the home", he is comfortable. They (Suraj and family) also like to visit *Select City Walk,* a prominent recreational mall located in South Delhi. Or maybe even attend a programme at the India Habitat Centre (IHC)[43]. Predominantly English music is what they prefer listening to, although at times even Hindi music is retorted to. As Suraj mentioned,

> 'I do listen to Gazals a lot and have a deep fascination for poetry. Also, classical music as I have a sense (read taste) for it' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September 21, 2019).

When asked about similar questions, his wife Kiran stated that as her sons have access to "Google" powered gadgets or *"Alexa",* and as her husband had gifted her one headphone set of the music brand *Bose,* there is a readymade ambience for music[44]. Even Kiran looks forward to the *Jashn-e-Rekhta*. Their weekends are usually spent at an upscale gated community in Gurgaon with their cousin, cycling and playing football make up for their leisure form. Therein, dining out is a common affair but they rarely visit ("once in 5 months") fine-dine restaurants and prefer to eat at food-courts in shopping malls wherein they get a wider range of cuisines to choose from. While Kiran and Suraj mostly prefer simple Indian cuisine their children usually prefer Chinese cuisine. Kiran admitted that she has never visited a market such as the popular ones at Lajpat Nagar or Karol Bagh. She prefers her "*boutique waali*" (the lady who owns an apparel boutique), someone who purchases the fabric as well as stitches it after Kiran selects the desired designs online. Her children on the other hand, hardly need to buy clothes as they receive their clothes from her sister who resides in the USA.

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[43] The India Habitat Centre is a convention centre in South Delhi which is known to bring individuals together under one roof through multiple kinds of events, workshops and exhibitions as well as refreshment and recreation centres (See, https://www.indiahabitat.org/).

[44] 'Alexa is Amazon's cloud-based voice service available on more than 100 million devices from Amazon and third-party device manufacturers' (See, https://developer.amazon.com/en-GB/alexa).

Tanya does not venture out much, locally or dine out. Weekends are spent in accordance to their children's wishes. English and Hindi are usually spoken at their home. Her son and daughter are into music, and hence they go for their lessons to Gurgaon which is scheduled on Sundays and they (parents) accompany the children. They take one long holiday and one short holiday. They have travelled well throughout the world. In fact, she proudly mentioned that they have "just not" been to Africa and Sri Lanka. Jazz music concerts or live concerts are common too in the family as the children have a taste and liking for music. They also watch a lot of movies, however upon the condition of common negotiations. So, while there is an appreciation for western music and English (Hollywood) movies by the children, they (Tanya and her husband) watch both English and Hindi movies of diverse genres.

Tanya and family shop only on vacations; else they do not do so. Whenever they are together on international vacations, they engage in shopping, else they "don't go to malls for window shopping and all", is what she asserted. Whenever she gets some free time, she prefers to rather "Google out" and shop (online shopping)[45]. It's easier as her son uses an *iPad*, and the daughter a laptop. They do engage in gaming too via the *PS4*[46]. They are members of *Siri Fort Sports Complex* as well as members of *Gulmohar Club,* both in Delhi. Tanya also mentioned that she is a member of some ladies' club. As a family they spend time playing golf at the *Siri Fort Sports Complex* where the son engages in playing basketball as well. The children would also engage in skating during their Junior School days at the same venue. Tanya is also associated with the *Devduti* Organisation which is a part of Rotary club that works for schooling of underprivileged children. At that juncture, she mentioned that they also visit "*anaath ashrams*" (orphanages) on the pretext of philanthropy but do not really engage in any physical activity that might involve community service apart from donating money. On this note, Tanya admitted that,

> 'Theoretically, we are doing so much; but practically we are simply making
> payments' (Tanya Maliwal, interview, November 25, 2019).

Sonali told the researcher that, "chilling out" involves going to the upscale South Extension market (popularly referred to as South-Ex) for shopping or going to the

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[45] Use the Google browser for the purpose of online shopping.
[46] PS4 refers to the fourth edition of PlayStation which is an electronic device for playing computerized video games at home.

Greater Kailash market, both located in South Delhi. Apart from that, they used to visit the *HYATT REGENCY,* a five-star hotel frequently for swimming or engage in *Yoga*, when they used to reside at Safdarjung Enclave, another upscale locality in South Delhi. They used to "enjoy, chill and eat and come back...w*oh bhi time achi thi!"* [that time was good too!], she exclaimed.

Using Brosius's (2010) work on the *India's Middle Class* it can be argued that wellness in from of "indigenous health and medicine based on yoga, Ayurveda, homeopathy and so forth" (p.308), has become a 'profit-gaining' industry. This wellness industry lures the 'new and established middle classes' to change their lifestyle in the hope of 'better health'. Not to forget, the cost incurred in such activities for instance, going to a five-star hotel to take yoga classes is not really a matter of concern for such middle classes for whom the idea of a 'good life' by practicing yoga is way more appealing than the expense.

Anju (one of the parents) does not venture out that much even if it is for the purpose of dining out. She told the researcher that, they have a large-size (60 inches) television at home which her husband is very fond of. Being academicians, they have a very different form of engagement, an aspect that was absent in the previous narratives – a culture of discussion amongst them on current affairs and various other topics. So usually, they spend time in discussions. Although they do watch Hindi and English films but that does not mean that they end up "watching anything and everything". They also look forward to exploring content in the form of films in a lot of other languages that include French, Telugu and Marathi. "I love Bengali movies", is what she exclaimed. On probing further, she expressed that she can understand Bengali when spoken to because has spent some time in Kolkata due to her father's job posting. Apart from films, they also watch dance programs, plays and theatres. But that is restricted to invitations only and when they have the time to attend them. As far as shopping is concerned, with respect to her apparel/ clothes, she prefers the old-school method of 'seeing and feeling the fabric' but just like others, she has also started shopping online now. However, venturing to *Fabindia* is something that she enjoys[47].

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[47]*Fabindia* is a retail store selling fabrics, garments, furnishing and ethnic products that are made in India by rural craftsmen.

With regard to choice in cinema, music and songs we find that Bourdieu's (1984) classification of taste into *legitimate*, *middle-brow* and *popular*, encapsulates the music preferences of these parents. However, we may differ with Bourdieu on the aspect that those 'richest in educational capital' have a *legitimate taste* while others do not. For instance, Suraj a High School (12th standard) graduate prefers to listen to *Gazals* which in the Indian context may be considered as *legitimate taste*, and also listens to classical music both in Hindi and English which, signifies *popular taste*. In Tanya's case, we find that, the family's (including her husband and children) preference for music (jazz) qualifies as *legitimate taste*. However, their (Tanya and her husband's) taste for cinema may fit into any of the three kinds mentioned by Bourdieu, since they do not have any particular preference for movie genres. Anju, who is a public university professor and according to Bourdieu qualifies as the 'richest in educational capital' as well as belongs to the 'intellectual fraction of the dominant class' expresses *legitimate* as well as *middle-brow taste*s when she informs that they watch movies in different languages but are very choosy about the content of the movies.

Conlon (2009) in his study on 'Dining out in Bombay/Mumbai' points out that "Restaurants reflect, permit and/or promote, the introduction of a wide variety of changes in modern life ... new patterns of sociability and, perhaps, growth of new ways for enjoying conspicuous consumption of wealth. These changes have been accompanied by shifts in ideas about commensality, cuisines, ethnicity, and sociality in India" (Conlon, 2009: 391). Along with restaurants the "practice of 'dining out' as a discretionary leisure activity" (ibid.) has also become a marker of cosmopolitan culture and social class. While for some people dining out may still be associated with celebration and special occasions (Conlon, 2009) the same cannot be said for the parents in this study for whom dining out is not restricted to any special occasion or celebration alone. It is rather a matter of 'mood', intent and choice based on which the venue for dining out is also decided upon. For instance, Farah (the parent) mentions that they dine out only once a month if and when they visit this particular club (*Freemasons*) otherwise their idea of dining out is primarily restricted to their joint family dinners at her in-law's place with the intent of catching up with the extended family members. On the other hand, Kiran's family dines out very frequently without any particular intent but prefers venues which offer a wide array of cuisines (like food

courts). Such is their preference because each of them can choose their own cuisine which they are unable to when they visit a fine-dine restaurant that offers a limited choice. For Sonali, dining out involves eating at a five-star hotel where she would go to swim or practice yoga whereas Tanya and Anju, do not dine out much and thus, did not have much to say on that regard.

The diversity in choice of cinema, music, cuisines and venues for dining out also gets reflected in the shopping preferences of these parents. While some of them are brand conscious and prefer to shop from branded stores in the shopping malls or online; there are others who visit the local flea markets and prefer to go out for apparel shopping to stores selling ethnic outfits produced by Indian craftsmen where they can get a 'feel' of the fabric of the garments they wish to buy. There are parents like Tanya who mostly engage in shopping when they are on vacations in a foreign country. On the other hand, there are parents like Kiran who neither visit shopping malls nor flea markets but prefer to get clothes stitched from an apparel boutique while her children receive their clothes from their aunt in the USA. That children often get moulded by their parents' preferences, was something that the researcher also witnessed in the case of some students of PIS. Upon observing a group of students who were about to go home after finishing an exam and were waiting for their parents to receive them, it was found that most of them had very colourful and fancy backpacks barring a few who were carrying the commonly found black formal school bags. While most of them were wearing watches that had big dials and black bands, some were also wearing pretty colourful ones. The watches seemed to be the digital types and what we nowadays call as 'smart' watches. Some of the brand names on their shoes and school bags could be identified. While one was wearing a *Nike* shoe another was wearing a shoe with the name *Force* on it. The school bags had various brand names; *Quechua*, *SwissGear*, *Wildcraft*, *Kipling*, *Jansport*, and *Justice*.

The differences in taste tell us that these families do not necessarily belong to a homogeneous group yet, what is noticeable is the significant increase in "a conspicuous consumer culture" (Mathur, 2010: 212). The possession of consumer goods, in the form of clothes, accessories, expensive electronic gadgets and a fascination for Western products, "have become vehicles of marking and claiming distinction" (Liechty, 2003: 100). The same holds true for membership to certain

leisure or philanthropic clubs which are not accessible to all social classes. Such then enables these classes of parents to establish "distinction in society" (Mathur, 2010: 213) by not only "*having* something distinctive but … *doing and being* something distinctive" (Liechty, 2003: 110).

This section helps in making the argument that, these parents appear to be 'globally aware' through their orientations and practices by participating in leisure activities of diverse and multifarious nature. Certain standardized notions such as advent of the weekend implies leisure and enjoyment and that films or forms of popular culture as a means to unwind are uniform more or less everywhere. However, one must not forget that people do develop tastes for their own forms of culture with equal rigour and passion as well. In that respect, looking forward to a local fair, visiting a flea market or attending a cultural programme like *Jashn-e-Rekhta* also become important.

Summary

This chapter has sought to attempt a conceptualization of the 'globally aware' middle classes via the life-worlds of parents. While such classes are overtly proud and assertive about their mobility abroad be it for education, work or leisure, they do not neglect travelling within the country at all. Nevertheless, we cannot restrict our understanding of the 'globally aware' middle classes to mobility (travelling) alone. Of the many characteristics of such classness that have been already discussed, the most prominent ones include, family and/or networks outside India; the vision of the parents to groom their children to become 'global children' and thereby 'world citizens' in the future; the cosmopolitanism that they practice and preach through their values, ethos, mannerisms, tastes and lifestyles. While an understanding of such classes of people may not be exactly aligning with the category of global middle classes as has been conceptualised by various scholars but, in many a way, these classes of people possess certain attributes similar to the 'new' middle classes. Here members of the 'globally aware' middle classes have achieved and aspired for a newness and change in life-world, but at the same time not at the cost of shedding certain sets of conservatisms, values or the status quo that the older middle classes sought to maintain.

Hence, if one was to use the phrase – there lies 'continuity in change' or one can say that for the members of such 'globally aware' classes, the tradition-modern continuum is a determinant characteristic that defines their natures and culture. While their earlier generations coerce them into their traditional mind-sets; generations after them are helping them to cope with the nitty-gritty of modern, global and aspirational lifestyles – one that is premised on the ethic of conspicuous consumption.

CHAPTER FIVE

School Choice-making among 'Globally Aware' Middle Classes

The chapter precisely aims to understand how Indian parents make their choice of an international school for their children. What do they seek to demand/attain by enrolling their children in such a school? How school choice (in this case international schooling) has become a medium to produce or reproduce 'globally aware' middle class aspirations? To stress upon this context further, it is argued that the global cities and international schools are 'transnational spaces' (Hayden, 2011) where class identities are reproduced (Ball and Nikita, 2014).

The first section of this chapter discusses some of the determining factors of school choice-making as outlined by the parent informants. The second section of the chapter looks into the acceptance of students from international schools in private universities in India and how that helps in fulfilling certain aspirations of the parents who are not willing to or may be unable to send their children to foreign universities due to various reasons. The third section will take the discussion forward by looking at various other factors that have gone into international school choice-making by the parents; their expectations and aspirations in relation to the school as well as post schooling aspirations for their children and themselves. The crux of the discussion in this chapter will largely focus on how families and individuals are engaged in (re)-producing their class identities of being 'globally aware' middle classes, wherein international schooling becomes the medium for doing so.

I. Determinants/Factors of Choice-Making in favour of International Schooling

When Suraj (one of the parents) was asked whether his children will enjoy a better future in a first world country than in India he claimed that,

> 'If they (his children) aren't entrepreneurs it's fine. If they do not become big businessmen, that's fine. They earn $1/4^{th}$ of what we are earning today it's fine. They will live in a good environment. The health facility will be better there (abroad). So what's stopping us then? (When) we have the money to

send them abroad (then) why not!' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September 21, 2019).

Suraj's comment, offers an example of the kind of aspirations and expectations which 'globally aware' middle classes harbour for their children. That some still hold on to the common-sense perception that living conditions are better outside India, is what is clearly indicated by Suraj's comment. Moreover, Suraj did admit that they have the required financial capital to support their children's higher education abroad and are very keen on sending both his children outside the country for higher studies. Additionally, in the course of the conversation he also confessed that enrolling his children in a reputed international school like PIS has made their convictions even stronger. Thus, one may agree with Ball et al. (1996) when they opine that parental choice of school in relation to one's social class has become one of the key aspects of good parenting today. Choosing the right/best school for a child depends upon various factors which might include reputation/brand name/prestige of the school, its proximity from one's residence/workplace, its curriculum, socialization/exposure provided by the school, future prospects as well as school's infrastructure, fee structure, ease of enrolment and the like[48]. All these factors increase competition between schools making the education market and along with it choice of a school, ever more competitive and challenging. Moreover, the new situation of post-liberalisation has attracted the label of 'international' as a branding and marketing strategy to attract privileged social classes that are highly mobile internationally in almost all metropolitan cities of the country. Such strategies are employed by a school in order to create a positive and reputable image of the institution thereby trying to differentiate itself from other schools and create an impact on parental school choice-making (DiMartino and Jessen, 2014).

Although, the parents themselves may not be expats, Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) or in other words globally mobile yet, the choice of an international school for their children is often related to their aspiration for their child to get entry into reputed higher education institutions in western (preferably English speaking) countries and thereby pursue the 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) which their children achieve through international qualifications (Hayden, 2011). This chapter, therefore, attempts

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[48] Factors derived primarily from fieldwork.

to provide a sociological analysis of how the 'globally aware' middle classes make the choice of an international school.

The kind of global identity that the international schools promise to inculcate in their students raises questions about the ethos and mannerisms that are anchored on global citizens produced in the international schools. Access to international schools have not been much of a problem for the 'globally aware' middle classes as they have somehow managed to continue the accumulation of educational opportunities by converting their economic capital into social and cultural capitals and using them for their children's scholastic careers (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). As Hayden (2011) argues, members of the global middle classes are already well established and placed in the class hierarchy to make use of their global networks and negotiate their choice of school similar to the 'globally aware' middle classes in our study. Nonetheless, what we intend to present in the following sections is how (those whom we are referring to as) the 'globally aware' middle classes are making their choice for an international school and what kind of aspirations are associated with such choice-making and how choice-making is leading to the reproduction of such classness.

From the field narratives the researcher found that there were certain criteria that emerged as common grounds for the informants (here, the parents) when they were asked to provide reasons for their choice of school. Some of these aspects have been explained according to an order of preference as mentioned by the informants. However, it must also be noted that choice-making is not limited to these factors alone and the same will be delineated in the following sections of the chapter.

Proximity

The proximity between school and home or even a parent's workplace has been an important factor for choice making. Largely, the group of informants in the study possess chauffer driven vehicles and attempt to avoid usage of any mode of public transport, barring technologically-driven or app-based taxi services such as *Uber* (that too on very rare occasions). Aspects such as congestion caused due to traffic or poor conditions of roads were not cited as reasons for choosing a school close to their home or office. The primary rationale was parents' concern with the aspect of security of their child/ren, something that they were not very vocal in expressing about, but came up as latently significant.

As the students spend a good number of hours in the school, the parents seemed to express satisfaction and attested to being largely at peace simply because their children were in close proximity and they could access the school in quick time in cases of any need – be it for a parent-teacher meeting, or for an event or for a function in the school, or for any medical emergency for that matter. While some parents (especially mothers) expressed the ease with which they can pick and drop their wards and manage their work and/or household responsibilities because of the proximity, others were of the opinion that they were not comfortable/secure with the idea of the child spending long hours on the road especially the ones travelling alone with their private chauffer or that of a taxi. These concerns were expressed irrespective of the gender of their child/ren. Some examples are as follows,

> 'My husband has his own manufacturing unit in South Delhi. So he is very close to the children's school. That was another reason why we decided to keep the children there because he is always there. He is at arm's length. So they reach the school at 7:30 a.m., by 9 a.m. they figure out what they have forgotten. And then at 11 a.m. when he goes he takes that forgotten thing there to them. So it's one big advantage' (Divya Sapru, interview, October 21, 2019).

Another parent added,

> 'All the international schools are based out of Gurgaon and Noida and I did not want them to travel that far, very clear on this. So it was proximity to start with. It's the biggest reason' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September 21, 2019).

As pointed out by Ball et al. (1995) "The closeness of a school is an important value (as well as practicality) for many parents and will be a major priority or limitation in the making of choices" (Ball et al., 1995: 62). However, while Ball's argument on the closeness of school referred to distance that can be covered on foot, here, closeness to the school from home or office did not indicate the same since none of the informants reside that close to the school. For instance, a parent filled up forms for five schools in different parts of the city out of which her daughter got through in three schools and according to her, she chose PIS because it was the closest to her house (which is a distance of ten kilometres between her house and PIS). Interestingly, while all the parents seemed to be very concerned about the school's proximity from home or office, though not on foot yet, they were equally at ease when it came to the question

of sending their children abroad for higher studies all alone. This is one of the many aspects which significantly distinguish the 'globally aware' middle class parents who are choosing an international school while they had other options for schooling within the same or similar distance.

Reputation / Brand Name

Sancho (2016) focuses on the transformation of a local private school into an international school and shows how such schools are catering not just to the country's elites but to the aspiring middle classes as well. Schools like the one discussed here are now "rebranding" (Sancho, 2016: 478) themselves as international schools, not only to achieve a global recognition but also to fulfil concerns of the city people in the competitive private schooling sector. Similarly, Babu and Mahajan's (2021) work also points out how branding is a vital element for a school in order to survive the tough competition that exists in the Indian education sector today.

Further, Ball et al. (1995) have opined that, "for individual parents general reputations are often supported by first hand reports" (p.66). For instance, Ashoke Kumar (one of the parents) mentioned that,

> 'Some of our friends from the Chinese Embassy, Taiwanese Embassy, and their kids were already studying there and we are in touch with them. To be frank we had known about only Palmer School at R. K. Puram (a branch school of PIS offering an Indian curriculum) not PIS. So it was this connection with the Chinese wards and they were satisfied with the system' (Ashoke Kumar, Interview, February 19, 2020).

Similarly, another parent whose first choice was PIS pointed out that,

> 'I read about the school in some newspaper or something. And my sister's very close friend's mother was a school principal. I had a friend in the colony and even her son was going there (to PIS) for pre-nursery. I did not apply anywhere else' (Nilima Kishori, interview, August 17, 2019).

Likewise, Surabhi Sharma pointed out that the school (PIS) is part of a very reputed brand of schools and thus, the brand name associated with the school was an important point of consideration in choice-making for her and her husband. On the other hand, Sonali Khatri mentioned that her husband is an ex-student of the same

brand of schools (to which PIS belongs) and had apprehensions over sending the children to other kinds and brands of private schools. What this suggests is that there are various aspects that go into the making of a reputed school. Reputation is no longer limited to the term 'international' in a school's name alone but is rather an amalgamation of many combined traits/qualities as has been pointed out by the parents. Beginning with a history and background of the school; the founders of the school; ethos and mannerisms inculcated in the students; parent and student interactions with the administrative and academic staff; national ranking of the school; performance of the school in examinations over the years; placement of students in reputed higher education institutions; curricular as well as co-curricular activities offered; and, most importantly, the positive first hand opinion from family members, relatives, neighbours as well as one's own social circle. For instance, Vinita Chhabra (another parent) revealed that, "What I had known from friends and people around is that these schools are aiming at an overall performance with a child's education plus co-curricular activities". Therefore, the parents here want to make a choice for a complete package without compromising on any aspect.

Curriculum

Eggleston (1977) points out, "… the curriculum is concerned with the presentation of knowledge; and involves a pattern of learning experiences, both instrumental and expressive, designed to enable it to be received by students within the school. This pattern of learning experiences is one that responds to the societal view of the nature, distribution and availability of knowledge and is therefore, subject to change" (Eggleston, 1977: 13). The aforementioned conceptualization of curriculum fits well with the parental views on international and national curricula when they pointed out that any international curricula whether it's the IB or CAIE, is updated mandatorily every two or three years. According to them, 'the presentation of knowledge' in Indian curricula is not well aligned with current affairs and technological advancements. They also contended that Indian curricula especially the CBSE curriculum is not frequently upgraded, its contents are out-dated and not application based, does not encourage critical thinking instead harps on memorisation and rote learning while the international curriculum encourages application based critical thinking and not memorization. For instance, a parent who shifted both her children out of a CBSE curriculum school to PIS asserted that,

'CBSE board harps a lot on mugging (rote learning). You cannot write out of your own thought process. My children would tell me that they have to write in ways that the teacher has instructed them to write. I felt that the school is forcing things upon them' (Kiran Agarwal, interview, November 23, 2019).

Similarly, Sonali Khatri did make attempts to put her children into the 'prestigious' VV School (a popular school offering CBSE curriculum)[49]. However, the children were not able to make it and she dismissively attributed the same to the VV School's policies of catering only to "celebrity kids", "high-professionals' children" or "elite business family children". In hindsight, she felt glad and acknowledged the same that she did not pursue there since, "VV is not a school for academics" and she was further glad that her children are bent into academics. PIS somehow "grill you perfectly for academics, you know", was what she exclaimed.

Another parent pointed out that,

'I am open to my child going abroad. That plays an important part if you are choosing this kind of a curriculum…For me CBSE was not an option. I am very happy with IGCSE[50]. *Ek toh* [first of all] it's (CBSE) all *ratta* [rote-learning]' (Mitasha Khanna, interview, July 19, 2019).

Likewise, Suraj Agarwal on his choice for international schooling, suggested that,

'There were aspirations honestly. I did not think I would send them to IGCSE, but I sent them to IGCSE because we vividly remember that we wanted to send them abroad. We said definitely they are not going to study beyond 12th (grade) here. They are definitely not going to make it to any good college; 99%, 95% *aur usme mein bhi aap khade ho baahar*! [and in that too you stand outside!] You are not getting into Shri Ram College and I did not want to send them to Hans Raj College with all due respect or rather Kirori Mal College or whatever. *Mujhe pata hai wahaan kya mahaul hai, kya padhai hoti hai*. [I know what kind of environment is there, what kind of education is practiced.] Actually these Indian colleges are only meant for 99% in class *jahaan achi padhai ho rahi hai*. [where good education is practiced.] And if you know that your child is below 99 (smirk) don't waste your time in this country' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September 21, 2019).

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[49] The acronym was given in order to protect confidentiality of the school mentioned.
[50] IGCSE is the acronym for International General Certificate of Secondary Education.

Both Mitasha and Suraj's comments give a clear indication of the fact that they aspire for their children to go outside India post schooling and studying through the medium of an international curriculum will make it much easier for their children to go abroad. While Mitasha's contention is that the Indian curriculum emphasises on rote learning (as has been mentioned by other parents as well) and does not provide students with sufficient opportunities and avenues to go abroad. Mitasha's claim resonates with Saavala's (2010) contention when she points out that "Some middle class parents (in her study) were aware of the deficiencies in the educational system and the uselessness of learning by rote, which is the ubiquitous mode of teaching in Indian schools - save for a few very high standard, high prestige and exorbitantly expensive establishments" (Saavala, 2010: 36).

Suraj, on the other hand, exclaims that the top ranking colleges offering quality education in Delhi demand very high percentages to admit students and his children will definitely not be able to secure such high percentages because they are "pretty average" students. Therefore, according to him, if a child is unable to secure the desired percentage for admission to a good Indian college/university then the alternative is to send her/him abroad instead of enrolling her/him to any other less popular institution and thereby compromising on their potentials. Thus, here we see instances of how schooling through the medium of an international curriculum is considered to be like a ticket to step out of the country for higher education. Herein, one may also point out that, international education offers an easy passage to avoid local/national competition within the country and choose an easy way out through international credentials to universities abroad and acquire such credentials further (Waters, 2006).

Tanya Maliwal (another parent) informed the researcher that PIS was "always" their first choice because of their IGCSE board. According to her, no IB school was located close by; however, as their kids were already students of PIS' junior section, so they were aware about the school. She stated that, "as Indians it is a general tendency to get very fascinated with foreigners". Hence, she wanted that her children do not get socialised into such conventions and thereby wanted them to understand their own history; their own economy, together with the global curriculum and its topics. She elaborated by mentioning that,

'Now when they know about their history and then go to Europe with me, they say that *mumma jaisa apna Jallianwala Bagh tha naa yahan par bhi waisa hi hai* [mummy, here (in Europe) it is so similar to what happened in our Jallianwala Bagh]. These people were also jailed; they were also mean to their people, there were also these kinds of battles. So, they (her children) are aware of all those countries and their histories just as they are aware of India. And me being an International Law student, I was very much aware that by just studying about India would not help. A global perspective is required' (Tanya Maliwal, interview, November 25, 2019).

Alternatively, Simi Bhatia (a parent) confessed that,

'I am from ICSE; he (husband) is from ICSE, CBSE both[51]. We were very interested to know *yeh kya hai* [what is this?] Thirteen years ago nobody really heard of international education. We said let's try. I always love their education and the way they were taught' (Simi Bhatia, interview, November 9, 2019).

Simi's confession is an example of how even without having much prior knowledge about an international curriculum, parents may be keen enough to send their children to such a school with the belief that it will offer something new and different from what they have experienced during their school days by studying in schools offering Indian curricula. The fact that people are always curious about and attracted towards anything that is novel and unlike what already exists is what one can infer from Simi's comment. Her preference for the curriculum simply sprung out of a fascination for the 'international' component of the curriculum which according to her was not very popular when PIS was established. It is only after admitting her child to PIS did she start appreciating what the school had to offer in terms of its curriculum and pedagogy.

English Language

While English language teaching is common to every curriculum in the Indian context, one cannot discount the fact that it's global acceptance and relevance makes it all the more essential. Globalization and neo-liberalism have transformed the very nature of English wherein, aside from being an academic subject and/or a medium of

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[51] ICSE is the acronym for Indian Certificate of Secondary Education.

instruction in schools (Daw, 2021), it also symbolises 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu, 1991) that ensures 'social mobility' as well as 'personality development' (Highet and Del Percio, 2021a; 2021b). Social mobility, according to Deshpande (2019) is not restricted to income and wealth alone. It also involves certain 'non-economic markers of identity' wherein the acquisition of English plays an equally important role (Deshpande, 2019: 5). Informants for this study believed that the teachers in PIS, especially those that teach English, have very good communication skills because they are all formally trained in the subject of English and have also attended special workshops on how to teach and groom students in English, organised by the school both inside and outside the country. Thus, on the question of how well PIS is grooming her children to become fluent in English, Mitasha Khanna (a parent) pointed out that,

> 'For me definitely English speaking is a very important factor. If you are not
> going to be speaking the language properly your options are very limited…I
> have nieces and nephews from KRM (school) and GDG (school) so I see in
> terms of conversation skills, language, vocabulary, pathetic…Hey bro!
> sounds a lot better than *arre yaar* [hey mate][52]!' (Mitasha Khanna, interview,
> July 19, 2019).

According to her, a strong grasp over English provides one with multiple opportunities which otherwise would have become very limited. Moreover, after having heard her nieces and nephews (studying in popular international schools) communicate in poor quality English unlike her children, she is convinced that PIS does train their students in a better way than other schools. It must also be noted that according to Mitasha, "Hey bro! sounds a lot better than *arre yaar* [hey mate]!" even though 'Hey bro' does not necessarily qualify as good English. This statement points out the kind of upper hand and preference English enjoys over other languages in India even in today's time when saying "*arre yaar!*" in Hindi is looked down upon in comparison to saying "Hey bro!" in English, when ironically both share similar connotations. Thus, for such a parent, just an alteration in the language of communication speaks a lot about the overall personality of a person. Such also

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[52] The acronyms were given in order to protect confidentiality of the schools mentioned.

signifies the tendency to get carried away by a popular lingo and informal communication and thereby, treat them as proper English.

Similarly, Farah Lokhandwala (another parent) stated that an emphasis upon English language as a medium of communication and learning is the most appropriate means to attain global compatibility as well as to become globally competitive. The parents firmly believed that the quality of English imparted to the students of PIS is of much superior quality than what is offered by any other Indian curriculum because it is 'international English' and is much different from what is taught by the national education boards (Daw, 2021). The parents believe that the English taught at PIS is 'international English' particularly because the course outline and the books for the same are recommended by the Cambridge board and their textbooks are published by Cambridge University and/or Oxford University Press instead of any local publishing houses. In this regard, Vinita Chhabra (a parent) revealed that, "Basically all the students studying here (in PIS) had an approach towards international English".

From these excerpts mentioned earlier one may gather that these parents associate highest value with English not just as a compulsory subject in school, but much more as a medium of communication and now want their children to learn even 'better English' (through international schooling) in order to attain complete mastery of the same so that they can communicate confidently if/when they reside in any English-speaking country. For these parents selecting an international school signifies that their children can learn 'good' English (as compared to other private/public schools). Good English rather fluency in the language in this case becomes coterminous with 'good school' by which the parents mean that the teachers in these schools should have good 'communication skills' (Gilbertson, 2014) so that they are able to better interact with the students while helping them strengthen their command over the language. This association of superiority, 'domination, status and privilege' with the language was derived from years of exposure to colonial ways of life and their English culture (Scrase and Scrase, 2011: 131) which, the English-educated Indians till date equate with modernization (Daw, 2021) and thereby continue to identify the West as a "superior model of being and seeing the world" (Highet and Del Percio, 2021b: 4). Thus, these parents are trying to "distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make" (Bourdieu, 1984: 6) between themselves and parents of

students attending schools offering national boards. Through their choice ('taste') of international schools, they make distinctions not just between the quality of schools and educational boards, but also the quality of English being taught in these schools (Daw, 2021).

Global Exposure

As discussed earlier, parents who are able to afford international education for their children consider the national education system to be incapable of preparing students for the global era and are therefore looking out for the international education systems which they believe provide a much wider scope to their children, be it for higher education or any profession. In other words, "What most consistently distinguished those schools that were labelled 'international' from 'normal' schools was their focus on 'exposure' rather than marks achieved through rote learning" (Gilbertson, 2014: 214). According to Fuller and Narasimhan (2006), 'exposure' is "the process of enhancing social skills and cultural knowledge through new opportunities, experiences, social contacts and sources of information, as well as the enhanced state that ensues" (cited in Gilbertson, 2014: 215). As per the parents, PIS is doing just exactly that for their children. For instance, when Suraj Agarwal (a parent) was asked about his opinion on PIS and global exposure he instantly equated that with foreign travel and suggested that, it is fine to go abroad because an average earning guy outside of India has a "way more" comfortable life. In his opinion, while the richest out there might not have the most comfortable life as upper middle class people like them in India – that include services in terms of servants, drivers and so on; but it would teach the children a lot more.

So, when asked what kind of education does he want his children to receive abroad or what are his aspirations in that regard he suggested that, the children must make sense of what the country has to offer to them – for instance, whether people there are racist or not; in terms of what environment, food, people and culture really excite them. This is something that his children should be able to make sense of. Also because (he asserted) of the fact that they have travelled together to so many countries and have tasted what beautiful life they have. He did not mean this only with respect to ecological or environmental deficiencies that characterize Indian conditions but was also assertive of the fact that people here in India 'tell a lot of lies', which "irritates"

both him and his son. Thus, according to him, the kind of schooling that PIS is providing his children with, is well in tune with his aspirations and thought process regarding global exposure.

In the same way, when Farah Lokhandwala (another parent) was asked to provide reasons for choosing the international education system over the national one, she replied as following,

> 'The only reason that I could think of was that they will have a very good exposure as opposed to what we had when we were just studying in a CBSE school and admissions abroad in university level will be much easier' (Farah Lokhanwala, Interview, October 24, 2019).

She indicated that the activities offered by PIS do provide a 'good exposure', she felt that it creates pressure for her children. However, she was appreciative about the fact that, from a very young age, students are made to appear for examinations like the Assessment of Scholastic Skills through Educational Testing (ASSET) and Spelling Bee which are good opportunities for the children[53]. It is not exactly a part of the curriculum but nevertheless, she ascertained that such exposure, where the emphasis on your children's spelling abilities or vocabulary lies, enables one to gauge one's child from an early age.

Further, when asked about the kind of skill sets she wants her children to imbibe from the school with regards to higher education or becoming a global citizen, she asserted that, while a basic form of "education" is commonplace within all categories of schools irrespective of the curriculum they function within, what she understood is that, this school (PIS) is really helping in shaping her child to "come out as a responsible, kind hearted and a good human being by the end of the school life". She also mentioned that, although the children are barely in their mid-teenage years, PIS has instilled in them a sense of confidence and the kind of values that they too have been imparting to their children at home. As per her narrative, it was learnt that such values

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[53] Assessment of Scholastic Skills through Educational Testing (ASSET) is "a skill-based test that measures student's conceptual understanding and benchmarks the school's performance at international, national & regional levels with actionable insights through easy-to-understand reports" (https://www.ei-india.com/asset). Also see, https://www.assettalentsearch.com/ . The Scripps National Spelling Bee is a competition which began in 1925 and is held for school students across the globe. See, https://spellingbee.com/about

'......are good enough and for any child to become a world citizen or a global citizen once they are out of school. Because good education is definitely imparted to them – what grades they get; which university they get to etc. I know it is really important in today's day and age but at the same time I don't give that much of importance to it. I just want them to be successful people in life; happy human beings and good human beings where they give respect to their elders, love for their younger ones and they are kind to the less privileged. I feel that's what makes a person a global citizen' (Farah Lokhandwala, interview, October 24, 2019).

At the outset, while going through the above narrative, it can be noticed that a lot of emphasis is laid on the question of values – that one becomes a global citizen by becoming a 'good human being', respects elders and the younger ones, is sensitive to the needs of the less privileged and most importantly, becomes happy.

Alternatively, Richa Kukreja (the school counsellor) whose daughter moved from a "regular CBSE school" to PIS argued that, the former offered limited exposure as the "kids majorly belonged to that area" (the school mostly consisted of local students from the surrounding neighbourhood), unlike the case in PIS. She stated that,

'Here she got to meet students who have travelled the world. Some of them were born in a different country and they came back and obviously they would join an international curriculum. She has made friends from so many different cultures. She has plethora of experiences to learn from and this kind of exposure is going to sensitize her towards other cultures and it's going to make her learn about cultures which I wouldn't have been able to do purposely' (Richa Kukreja, interview, February 7, 2020).

In this regard, Nambissan (2010) pointed out that, it is the middle and upper classes which have been able to secure maximum profits as a result of globalisation and economic liberalisation. As a consequence, they have been exposed to those facilities and luxuries which at some point in time were only restricted to the upper classes and/or the elite which also included being educated from exclusive elite institutions and have thereby improved their lifestyles. Due to such exposure parents increasingly prefer international schools for their children as they want to provide them with an early exposure which the parents did not receive during their own school days.

II. International Curricula and their Acceptance in Private Indian Universities

There are now a large number of private universities in India which promise good academic environment, job placements and world class infrastructure and facilities (as compared to foreign universities) to students and to their parents. These private universities recruit foreign nationals as their faculty members in order to create a global image of their institutions which function as significant branding and image building techniques and thereby improve the saleability of such universities. These universities readily accept degree holders from international schools. In fact, the IB and CAIE regularly update their websites mentioning the approvals they receive from these universities[54]. With these universities becoming famous by the day and opening their doors to international school students, the path for the growth of such schools become even easier. The founders of these schools know that the international boards now have a place within the Indian higher education system and not just outside the country.

Also, those parents who are not very keen on sending their children abroad right after the school are also satisfied that their children are getting the best of both the worlds by staying in the country and close to the family. Sonali Khatri (a parent), for instance, has encouraged her children to study in India until they are matured enough to handle themselves as well as the conditions abroad. On the international curriculum, she stated that it certainly prepares the child for going abroad. However, with an A-level degree, it would be difficult to compete for a public examination to pursue courses in Medicine such as the National Eligibility cum Entrance Test (NEET) in India. Therein lies one of the shortcomings of the Cambridge curriculum. So when asked, does she think that studying in a university abroad is going to be better for her child's future? She was like "No, not really. Our education system in India is not bad, it's good, and in fact it's very good. Whether its engineering, medical or any other course, I am convinced with Indian education. There is competition but that is alright. If they study, then every child gets a good seat you know" (Interview, August 16, 2019).

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[54] IB is the acronym for International Baccalaureate and CAIE is the acronym for Cambridge Assessment International Education.

School choice thus enables the formation of social class identity by reflecting the parents' aspirations as well as that of their children (Ball, 2003). Under such a circumstance, access to economic and cultural capital becomes a key factor in gaining entry into an international school (Van Zanten et al., 2015), thereby reproducing and/or maintaining the social class identity. For instance, Mitasha Khanna (a parent) clearly stated her intent to maintain her class identity through her children's education:

> 'One of the considerations was the kind of kids your child is going to grow up with. That was a big disappointment when I went to MI School[55]. With no offence to anyone but of course there has to be some commonality because you cannot try to inculcate something and your child is in a completely different environment it's going to be like heaven and hell. Even now we have EWS (Economically Weaker Section) kids and etcetera but they are so well balanced in school (in PIS). And our school (PIS) doesn't say EWS, they say Remedial' (Mitasha Khanna, interview, July 19, 2019).

Here, one may agree with Bourdieu's argument that a school has its own culture and the children who are socialized in a similar culture in their homes will perform better (Bourdieu, 1996). Katz (2012) further justifies the Bourdieusian theoretical framework by contending that children are viewed as 'future investments'; whose talents are cultivated, learning and development woven into everyday practices, exposure to new interests and rewarding experiences sought – in most middle class households. It is suggested that, such practices then become integral to middle class belonging and stability. On this note, it is argued that,

> 'Middle-class parents are determined to pass on their class position to their children. Children as accumulation strategies are packed with resources that their parents imagine and hope will position them well in the market – cultural as much as political-economic – in which they come of age' (Katz, 2012: 182).

Katz's (2012) argument, though focused solely on middle class characteristics and attitudes does have strong resonance with the parents (in this study) whose class belongingness we are trying to understand. Although there are many similarities with the middle classes in general, as has been understood by sociologists, yet there are

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[55] The acronym was given in order to protect confidentiality of the school mentioned

also differences which become pronounced through their lifestyles, ethos, mannerisms, and most importantly their choice of school, college education and aspirations for their children. Therefore, in the context of international schools one pertinent question raised by Ball and Nikita (2014) is; "whether the children of the global middle class are acquiring a new kind of post-national class identity, and cosmopolitan sensibilities, through their education, and whether, together identity and sensibility are fostering a new kind of international surety and entitlement" (2014: 89)[56]. Can we then propose this new kind of class identity to be a 'globally aware' middle class identity? Let us look into some more examples from the fieldwork in order to answer the question.

Being an academician did make Anju (a parent) admit to the researcher that, not belonging to very-high earning profession or business, the fees at PIS are pretty high for them. While their budget had always been close to seventy thousand rupees quarterly, they paid a little beyond their budget (approximately seventy-one thousand rupees) this time for a quarter (during the time of interview on October 16, 2019). So she plainly admitted and confessed that, "beyond that we cannot afford". In fact, she complained about the fact that despite this, they are pulling themselves as her "husband is on a wheelchair and they have to hire an attendant". As her husband is unable to do anything on his own, they have to pay the attendant as well as pay a driver. She further said,

> 'So all of these extra expenses is going from his salary so we are really
> pulling ourselves to be able to make her study in this school because we do
> not have money for college. We are hoping that because of this education she
> will be able to get something at least whatever she does she knows the
> methodology. For me that is more important she should know what the
> process of learning is' (Anju Kutty, interview, October 16, 2019).

When asked about their plans of sending their daughter abroad for her graduation, Anju did mention that at that moment they did not possess the desired levels of self-funding needed to send their daughter abroad and the same can only be possible if she receives the Fulbright Scholarship. Anju did express their keenness about her desire to send her daughter to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London;

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[56] See, Maxwell and Aggleton, 2013; Maxwell and Yemini, 2019.

although even that would not be possible without a scholarship. As they have heavily spent from all of their savings on her present education, they are "also looking at some Indian Private universities" because they are "definitely not sending her to Delhi University". For them, Delhi University is a replica of the CBSE Board. As very few colleges have research oriented teaching, Delhi University becomes tricky in their opinion, because of its high percentage cut-offs. Hence, private colleges or Universities that have come up in the recent past in the Delhi-NCR region such as Ashoka University, or the O.P. Jindal Global University can be a viable option because most of the faculty there are either foreigners or Indians, who have qualifications and degrees from abroad.

It must be noted that while Anju expresses her helplessness of the fact that their levels of possession of capital are limited or dwindling; she is quick to note that despite all constraints of sending their daughter for higher education abroad, they will do their best to not send her to a public university in India irrespective of its reputation, as it is an extension of a "CBSE school". Hence, in case a scholarship does come to her daughter's aid and the daughter is thereby able to experience the 'global' conditions abroad, it will be a major relief; else, they will prefer being a part of such 'world class' settings or 'global' within India itself by educating her in one of these so called 'global' universities. Hence, one gets the feel and fulfils one's aspirations of being 'globally aware' middle classes, even by residing within the local itself. Ironically, Anju's daughter has already experienced global schooling through a school in China offering international curriculum and in a public school in the US during their work and stay there. So, one may say that they already had an experience of what school education is like outside India.

Among the parents, only Anju Kutty's child and Tina Sapra's children have had an experience of school education in a foreign country. None of the children of the other parents have had an experience of schooling outside the country. Therefore, the parents are trying to follow the linear trajectory of making their children globally aware and mobile through their international schooling in India and simultaneously through 'world class' college education either in India or abroad. Alternatively, an experience of schooling abroad has had a great influence on Anju and Tina which motivated them to enrol their children in a reputed Indian school (here, PIS) offering

an international curriculum so that their children could easily adjust with the curriculum and the overall environment of PIS thereby maintaining a parity in their schooling experiences. Moreover, in Anju's case, in spite of her budget constraints, her desire for her daughter to become a 'world citizen' is strong enough to even make her and her husband consider sending their daughter to one of the most expensive private universities in India, if not abroad. Such an instance indicates a rupture in the linear trajectories of progression of being globally (mobile) middle classes, that is, one need not always possess the trait of global mobility by default.

III. Aspiring to Become Global Within the Local Context

Aspirations can be understood as "preferences for a particular outcome and are often distinguished from expectations that reflect beliefs about the likelihood of an outcome occurring" (Baker, 2017: 1205). One may also understand aspirations as a thought process involving 'imagination' and 'reasoning' which is aimed at the 'acquisition of values' (Callard, 2018). According to Bourdieu (1990), *subjective aspirations* are constituted of "motivations" and "needs" (p.54) through which individuals are able to generate their aspirations on the basis of accessibility and inaccessibility (Bourdieu, 1990) of their intents. Such accessibility or lack of it depends on the different 'capitals' that people possess and how well they are able to utilise them in the fulfilment of their subjective aspirations (Baker, 2017). Taking the above notions on aspirations into consideration we may assume that in order to fulfil one's individual desires, possession of capital/s is an essential prerequisite. Without capital/s it may not possible to gain access to a 'particular outcome' as well as fulfil a certain need (Baker, 2017: 1205). Therefore, aspiration becomes distinct from expectation which is the result of "beliefs about the likelihood of an outcome occurring" (p.1205). A similar observation can be made with regard to the aspirations of the parents in this study which will be deliberated upon in the following discussion.

Farah (a parent) pointed out to the researcher that, although they have acquaintances and networks abroad, familial ties are absent. Hence, in case her children plan to go abroad for higher studies, they have to learn to be on their own. When asked if she has plans and aspirations as far as her children's educational career is concerned, her reply was, "I have seriously no plans" and relies on divine kindness or powers for the best of her children. Although she wasn't averse to the idea of her children studying in

India, she had cast aspersions as well as a deep sense of disregard for the "kind of benchmarks that Delhi University has set". She observes that

> 'If you cannot get through to DU even with 93-94% and somebody from Bihar or somebody from Jharkhand or MP or UP comes and takes your child's seat, I think this is something that needs to be dealt with at the earliest. Delhi students should be given priority to study in DU first' (Farah Lokhandwala, October 16, 2019).

Hence, she thought that it would rather be a better idea to send one's children abroad to study. According to her, over there (referring to foreign universities) only marks/grades are not the sole criterion for consideration but one's achievements throughout school life matter as well. Also, there is "a sea of opportunities abroad that one can explore as far as courses are concerned". Furthermore, she expressed a sense of disappointment over the practices of bribery and *jugaad* (a practice to solve problems with the help of some kind of make-shifter by using limited resources) that are commonplace in Indian settings that may include even quota systems like that of a sports quota. When asked by the researcher as to where she would like to see her children settle down in the future, she stated, "Wherever they want to settle down. Be it India, be it abroad". Whereas, when asked about whether they would prefer shifting with their children wherever they are based, she observed that – belonging to a business family, it is difficult to simply wind up (like in a job) and settle anywhere. She stated that, "we have our properties here so it is not easy and neither are we willing to leave our country...we are very happy with our country the way it is".

By the same token, when Suraj (another parent) was asked about his opinion regarding his children settling abroad he categorically emphasized that, "I want them to settle abroad, I want them to. I don't want them to come back, really!" Whereas, when asked about his future aspirations to shift outside the country with his children, he confessed that,

> 'I think we are quite used to the help community (domestic workers) here[57]. So, I tell Kiran (his wife) that, I cannot clean my car by myself and she (Kiran) is like I cannot go there (abroad) and keep washing utensils all the time. I said it is alright. We have the money, we go visit them, stay there for

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[57] The middle class has historically been dependent on domestic workers to provide them with basic services that are common to such households (see Qayum and Ray in Baviskar and Ray, 2011).

two months, come back. Here we have our friends, our culture and our people. So, we are very *dal roti* [lentils and flat bread] types and we know that the *dal roti* will not taste similar to the way it does in India. So, we will just go and come. Here we have everything. The business is here along with everything that we need. It's all here' (Suraj Agarwal, interview, September 21, 2019).

The choice of the school is very much dependent on how well the parents are able to make use of their respective capitals (social, cultural, economic) and are thereby able to gain access to their preferred school. According to Ball and Nikita (2014), the choice of school is a means to reproduce social advantages and either to enhance or to maintain their class positions. Besides, the education system is increasingly following the 'supply and demand' pattern of the market where supply indicates the provision of education and other associated facilities promised by a school (here international school). Demand, on the other hand, indicates the choice of school made by the parents who along with their children become the consumers of all that is supplied by the school. As a result, education has become a private asset which the parents seek for their children.

Following a similar demand and supply trajectory the international schools in India are not just promoting themselves by providing international curricula. Quality of education (Kingdon, 1996; Tooley, et al., 2011) is a key factor which the parents believe is far superior to what is offered in schools that follow the Indian curricula. Moreover, the parents who attended convent schools during their childhood were of the opinion that those schools are no longer what they used to be with regard to the quality of education and ethos. According to them, the Catholic brothers who would manage the convent schools back then were well known to impart moral values and discipline among students which is no longer the scenario today.

From field observations and interviews it is inferred that the overall infrastructure also becomes a point of consideration which includes facilities like central cooling, smart classrooms, Audio-Visual (AV) rooms, well equipped washrooms, play grounds, Information and Communications Technology (ICT) facilities including the virtual presence of the school through a detailed website, laboratories with high end tools, library stacked with books across disciplines as well as novels, fiction, non-fiction,

magazines and newspapers for students and teachers, spacious rooms for teaching various kinds of art (singing, dancing, yoga, painting, etcetera.), well-furnished auditorium capable of accommodating at least a thousand students at a time and not to forget the presence of surveillance cameras at every nook and corner of the premise. For instance, Nilima Kishori (a parent) observed, "I liked the school building. It was fancy but not too fancy. Overall, the school actually gave a feel that it was an international school". Similarly, Mitasha Khanna (another parent) too mentioned, "What is really nice about this school is, it is simple and compact. It just gives you a very comfortable feeling".

In another instance, Kiran Agarwal (a parent) recalled that prior to her son's admission in PIS, when he was studying in another private school (the name of the school was withheld from the researcher), one day the school carelessly sent the son home in the school bus, despite them opting for private pick-up. Further, when her husband had been on a visit to the school and visited the washroom, it was 'clogged' and 'filthy'. Hence, her husband was insistent that their children cannot be a part of such a school. Also, she did harp on their 'stature' and what would people of their neighbourhood think of them – of their business, of them as 'miserly' and so on. Such attitudes reveal very typical middle class characteristics which are full of contradictions and anxiety (Ball, 2003). After much school-hopping, they (Kiran and her husband) were able to take their children to PIS and have been ever grateful and appreciative thereon.

This was precisely because; she (Kiran) felt that in an age where "smartness" matters, this school has provided the avenue. It has also helped their children mould a "free thinking mind". To conclude, she does assert one point that has been asserted by many parents over time and also to criticize the "overcrowded nature of classrooms", characteristic of public boards,

> 'I have studied in a government school. It still has good standards - washrooms were not dirty, graffiti were not scribbled on the walls.... but that won't come back. My teachers were good too. But in today's times, we hear that teachers sit and knit sweaters or sit and eat peanuts...no, such stuff never happened in my school' (Kiran Agarwal, interview, November 23, 2019).

Keeping aside these technical features, there are also other attributes which the parents have appreciated about the school. According to them, the student population of each class is limited to a maximum of twenty to twenty-five which enables a teacher to pay equal attention to all the students unlike other schools offering the Indian curriculum wherein there are forty to fifty students in a class at a time making it extremely challenging for the teacher to take care of everybody at the same time. As a result, the parents feel that their children are neglected. For instance, Vinita Chhabra (a parent), pointed out, "I was not prepared to send my daughter to a huge campus where hundreds of students are there in nursery and then till tenth it goes on the same way. And this school had a very small scenario with twenty to twenty-five kids in one class. Not only the distance, but this was also a big factor. The strength was too less for the teachers to handle."

In the same way, Surabhi Sharma (another parent) also confessed that one of her priorities to select PIS was its reduced classroom strength because all the other schools that she had shortlisted had a classroom strength of more than thirty students some even going beyond forty. She desired for her daughter to get some special attention by the teachers which according to her can only be possible when the student strength in the classrooms is below twenty-five.

In addition, during the fieldwork, it was observed that there are frequent training programmes and workshops for the teachers to keep up to the demands of the education system. There is a lot of emphasis on the overall personality development of a student wherein, along with good academic results, participation in extra-curricular activities is also emphasised and therefore, these schools offer a whole range of such activities together with a diverse choice of subjects. Becoming an all-rounder has become a demand of the present times. And that is what the foreign universities are looking out for when enrolling students. Thus, along with good academic scores one also needs to be equally involved in sports and extra-curricular activities. The parents happily confessed that PIS does try to maintain a good balance between academic and extra-curricular activities.

Additionally, the parents have been highly appreciative of the kind of surveillance the school engages in to keep their students safe and secure within the premise. The school authorities justify the use of Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras

primarily on the pretext of safety and security of their students which is their prime concern as well as that of the parents. Apart from keeping a constant vigil on the students (which for a student might be an infringement of privacy but is well appreciated by the parents) the school, also regularly keeps updating parents about their wards and offers frequent one to one discussions with parents whenever they seek thereby not limiting conversations to parent-teacher meetings alone. Hence, they feel that there is transparency and accountability maintained by the school.

However, the use of CCTVs within the premise may also be considered as controlling an 'individual's conduct' (Hope, 2009) whether it is their employees or students. As pointed out by Ball (2000), "Surveillance systems are items of material culture that are capable of effecting a modification in the behaviour of persons within a clearly limited area. They are in large part installed to promote an element of social order and accountability within an environment" (Ball, 2000: 2). Thus, by using these cameras the school is first of all, able to exercise control through 'direct physical intervention as a response to real-time observation' and secondly there is indirect control by making individuals aware and conscious of the fact that their every move is under surveillance (Hope, 2009). The CCTV then becomes "a perfect eye that nothing would escape" (Foucault, 1977: 173). As a result, individuals conduct themselves accordingly within the premise by imposing self-surveillance on themselves due to the fear of being observed (Hope, 2009) all the time.

Parents believe that all these characteristics are quite at par with what is offered by schools in the Global North and by choosing such a school for their child/ren within the country, they have provided them with the best exposure (local as well as global) possible. Such kind of feedback from the parents is a good source of encouragement for the international educational organisations as well as the stakeholders who invest in the establishment of such schools. According to a news report (*The Times of India*, 2018), these curricula have been designed in a way to suit the Indian academic calendar by offering final examinations for each grade in the month of March for the Indian students as well as by offering some Indian subjects like Hindi and Sanskrit.

Bourdieu (1986) has rightly pointed out that the "best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, [is] the domestic transmission of cultural capital" (p.17) whereby the educational outcome of a child depends upon the cultural and

social capitals invested by the family and inherited by the family (ibid.). In that context it can then be maintained that one of the important ways in which the middle classes seek to maintain their class positions in society is by investing in their children's education and simultaneously developing a home-school relationship (Gupta, 2020). The aspect of home-school relationship has been explored by scholars like Lareau (2011) and Reay (1998). Lareau (2011) has talked about the ways in which middle class parents engage in the process of 'concerted cultivation' to enhance their children's career opportunities. Reay (1998) on the other hand, discusses how mothers who self referentially identify themselves as middle class, cultivate home-school relationships while trying to make a space for themselves in the society. In the Indian context Gupta's (2020) study in Dehradun explores how middle class parents in Dehradun establish home-school relationships by making educational choices which will fulfil their children's 'long term career goals' (p.55). Studies such as these resonate with the educational practices and strategies that the parents in this study have adopted by investing a significant proportion of their resources into choosing what they believe is the best education system for their children.

In the context of the foregoing discussion, it can be maintained that it is these sets of people who constitute the classes that have not only revolutionized international schooling in the Indian context, but have also desired for an education abroad for their children further on. In doing so, while there is a sense of an aspiration of being integrally linked to global networks, mobility, services and lifestyles; somewhere, a deep sense of nostalgia and connect for their home land also works in a number of such cases. Moreover, the discussion in this section has also pointed out that the aspirations of 'globally aware' middle classes can be fulfilled not only by the possession of different capitals but also, by how well they are able to amalgamate the capitals in order to extract maximum profit. Herein, lays the sharp contrast between the *haves* who can afford to 'aspire' and the *have-nots* who can afford to 'expect' but not to 'aspire'.

Summary

There are several standpoints that have been gauged in the foregoing discussion – while Farah Lokhandwala wants her children to go and study abroad and even settle down there if need be as long as they (she and her husband) are not involved in doing

so; Sonali Khatri is very protective towards her children and does not want to send them abroad at a tender age. She feels there are ample opportunities in India itself with respect to graduation courses. Hence, she is someone who expressed confusion regarding sending them abroad. Further, the Agarwals (Kiran and Suraj) are quite keen on being globally mobile on account of paying frequent visits to their children after they (his children) settle in a foreign country. In fact, Suraj deemed it necessary that his children leave India. But, Anju Kutty simply demonstrated and ascertained that the aspiration of becoming/being global does not wither away despite one's limitations and constraints. Thus in a nutshell, all of the narratives have one aspect in common – that of being global, and some among them do harp the necessity of being accustomed to one's 'local' or, aware of one's own histories, or completing some higher education within one's homeland or even being global by studying in a local 'world-class' university for that matter.

What is certainly common to the testimonies that are discussed so far is the emphasis the school (PIS) lays on engaging and grooming students with certain skill-sets within and outside the classroom, something that is perceived as absent in other curricula or Boards. According to Gerhards et al. (2017) such skill-sets and identities "that allow people to act beyond the confines of their own nation-state or within transnationalized contexts that transcend national borders" (p.2) have been identified as "transnational human capital" by them. Therefore, PIS is serving as a 'launching pad' for the accumulation of such 'transnational human capital' by students and enabling them to fulfil their aspirations of being a global resident or a global citizen however, with national/local sensibilities. While majority of the informants are critical of the CBSE or other Boards that are operating in India presently, some of the reasons that are attributed for such apathy (apart from academic concerns relating to teaching) include 'over-crowded classrooms', 'lack of personal attention to the pupil', 'deficiencies in offering skill-based programmes' and most importantly, 'global exposure'. This demand for a global status is thus triggered by a host of institutions and factors; a particular form of education being one of them as already mentioned.

However, what this chapter makes clear is that while possession of capital is a necessary condition, but it is not a sufficient condition to reproduce class power. Rather, the process of how forms of capital inter-play within the field is sought to be

understood and is brought out in the chapter. Therefore, the chapter establishes that the resources that parents employ in order to make choices are an amalgamation of factors like peer pressure, maintenance of social status/status-quo, wherein, parents determine school choice on the basis of what will their neighbours think if they send their children to 'so and so' school and not something like a PIS. More importantly, it is also about giving to the child something that the parents themselves did not receive.

The central idea in this chapter has been to channelize the course for production of 'globally aware' middle classness which is overtly embedded in the desires, aspirations or even in the achievements of the class in seeking international schooling for their children. Such aspirations are thereon fulfilled and concretized or cemented by the school itself. So one could claim that, with the introduction of globalization and neo-liberal education policies the international education providers have found a favourable environment in India to promote their system and offer it to those who can bear the expenses of such a system, thereby giving hope (in the form of educational facilities and higher educational qualifications) to such aspirants to compete at the global level and create a global identity for themselves; at the same time it can also be argued that international schooling then becomes the desired means to achieve the end – one of reproduction of classness.

CHAPTER SIX

Aims, Ethos and Everyday School Life

This chapter discusses how international schooling seeks to foster a spirit and quality of internationalism among the students in order to make them a part of the 'globally aware' middle classes through its everyday activities that have been observed during the fieldwork. The reception of the everyday activities by its pupils and how these reflect an element of international orientation and distinction has been dealt with in this chapter.

The chapter is divided into four sections. While the first section of this chapter discusses the aims and values of PIS together with perceptions of some teachers about those aims and goals, the second section will discuss the everyday practices at PIS which encompass the whole school assembly, The last section of the chapter will discuss how the students become internationally oriented at PIS by becoming conscious about the global as well as the local.

Discussion

This chapter as well as following the chapter (Chapter Seven) utilises the very recent work of Tristan Bunnell (2020) on 'rituals and character formation' in an 'Elite Traditional International School' in Geneva in order to contextualise our discussions. According to Bunnell (2020),

> 'The Elite Traditional International School is 'elite' not just because it is expensive and exclusive, as is the case of many private, privileged institutions, but also because it delivers an expressive culture based upon the dispositions, attributes and habitus of 'international mindedness' characterised by mutual respect, intercultural understanding, and global responsibility. Such an expressive culture not only transmits an idealised version of character, manner, and conduct but arguably also elevates status, and provides a pragmatic platform for (global) class solidarity among fellow 'internationally minded global citizens'. Such a platform can be useful for making (global) associations and friendships both now and in later life,

essential ingredients of any 'elite' schooling experience' (Bunnell, 2020: 264).

In this article Bunnell has attempted to theorise the role of school rituals like whole school assemblies, food and other social festivals, fund raising programmes, in order to understand how such rituals can be instrumental in character building and its 'elevation' thereby making it an 'elite' as well as 'international schooling experience' (Bunnell, 2020: 249, 264). In order to engage in such a theorisation, he employs Basil Bernstein's work on *Sources of consensus and disaffection in education* (Bernstein et al., 1966). Bernstein contends that there are two kinds of cultures that a school transmits; the *Instrumental* and the *Expressive*. While the *Instrumental culture* is associated with the transmission of formal school knowledge, the *Expressive* is concerned with the transmission of values and norms (Bernstein et al., 1966). Bunnell (2020) in his paper, makes extensive use of this idea of *Expressive culture* together with Randall Collins' (2004) work on *Interaction Ritual Chains* which is inspired from Erving Goffman's (1967) work on *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour.* The '*interaction ritual*' may be understood as, "a mechanism of mutually focused emotion and attention producing a momentarily shared reality, which thereby generates solidarity and symbols of group membership" (Collins, 2004: 7).

In this work, Bunnell (2020) also uses a third concept called *Collective Memory* as developed by Maurice Halbwachs (1950). *Collective memory* enables one to understand how certain rituals can become ever-lasting memories even after one leaves school thereby creating feelings of solidarity and togetherness and resulting in a kind of 'collective consciousness' as has been understood by Durkheim (1984) (Bunnell, 2020). Though PIS may not entirely fit into the category of an elite traditional international school yet, similar activities like morning assembly, winter carnival, sports festival, fund raising, etcetera are also undertaken at PIS. Using Bunnell's (2020) ideas an attempt has been made to show how certain rituals and practices can be understood using these aforementioned concepts in a school like PIS.

I. Values and Ethos of PIS

Like every other school, PIS also has its goals and ethos outlined in the form of its Vision and Mission Statements respectively. A glance of the two statements gives the

reader a fair impression of what the school aims to propagate in terms of its objectives and philosophy. For instance, the Vision Statement points out that, *"The school aims to prepare students with a bold spirit of enquiry and service so that they can be active citizens of their countries and ever-changing globalized world"*. The Mission Statement, on the other hand, intends,

> *'To build self-actualized young men and women with the ability to make informed choices. To instil in students, the values of hard work and self-discipline in their pursuit of excellence. To foster in students, integrity and the courage of conviction through their experiences at school. To develop in schools a healthy respect for and appreciation of different cultures, both local and global. To nurture in students an awareness of the environmental and economic issues of the contemporary world to prepare them for their role as global leaders'.*

From the Vision Statement one may understand that PIS seeks to enable its students to develop themselves into 'brave personalities who will have the aptitude for questioning and for providing assistance wherever and whenever required'. It is argued that such qualities instilled in the students will empower them to not just become responsible but also actively involved citizens of their countries as well as the world at large which is constantly in a state of flux due to processes such as globalization. On several occasions, the Principal and Vice Principal were found constantly harped on promoting a culture and instilling attitudes of appreciating global cultures among its pupils; however, not at the cost of neglecting local/national cultures or ethos. This is also reflected in the Mission Statement of PIS.

Reading the Mission Statement, if one was to make a count of the word global – it can be noticed that it appears twice, with due emphasis. However, the term local is not absent either. Thus, by trying to lay due emphasis on the local and global the first point that the statement makes is to create *self-actualized* young adults. The term self-actualization, was first coined by the Neuropsychologist Kurt Goldstein in his work *The Organism* (1995, originally published in 1939) and later promoted by the American Psychologist Abraham H. Maslow in his paper 'A Theory of Human Motivation' (1943). The most popular usage of the term in the social sciences is with reference to Maslow's understanding wherein, "It refers to the desire for self-fulfilment, namely, to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is

potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow, 1943: 383). Going by Maslow's definition then, PIS aims to produce young capable people who will believe in their own capabilities while striving to achieve more and will also recognise and respect the capabilities of others. In so doing, they will be able to make knowledgeable decisions. The second point is an indication of the fact that, in order to achieve *excellence* in life it is just not enough to be a good academic performer. The attributes of *hard-work* and *self-discipline* in every sphere of life is equally important in order to excel.

The third statement suggests that PIS attempts to raise honest and upright students who will be courageous in holding on to their beliefs through the wide range of *experiences* they will have within the school. Fourthly, the school tries to cultivate and maintain an atmosphere of mutual respect and appreciation for diverse cultures, irrespective of whether it is one's own (*local*) or that of others (*global*). Last but not the least, PIS aims to make its students 'aware' of *environmental* and *economic* concerns that the world at large faces in present times so that they will be able to contribute their assistance by becoming *global leaders* in the future instead of just local/national leaders. Therefore, one may infer that PIS aims to mould its students to become 'globally aware' people for the future by providing the facility of international schooling.

Likewise, the yearbook of PIS – the *Almanac* which according to Bunnell (2021), is often ignored by researchers, does constitute an important artefact which can give rise to notions of 'solidarity' and 'social membership' among students. Therefore, the following extract from the *Almanac* can be seen as an example in relation to what Bunnell has pointed out. The extract clearly demonstrates the kind of ideology that PIS seeks to promote.

> *'Fostering internationalism from an early age is important especially in children growing up in a global world. At PIS, students absorb internationalism through the curriculum, activities, exposure to the life and works of world famous personalities, exposure to world cultures through exchange programmes, etc. Country presentations by students during the morning assembly, encourage children research the customs and cultures of*

different countries. In the process they learn to see the similarities that unite people and appreciate difference as the richness of world cultures'.

The fact that PIS aims to promote internationalism in every way possible is clearly understood from the above passage. The passage begins by harping on the point that *internationalism* as a way of life must be inculcated from childhood because today's children are being raised in a world wherein the process of globalization has made communication, cooperation and exchange of diverse sorts to take place not only across national but international boundaries as well. Thus, to live in a *global world* would mean that one must be able to recognise the existence of every culture that exists across the globe and not be ethnocentric in one's judgement about others. As a result, the notions of 'solidarity' and 'social membership' among students will be ensured.

In a very concise manner the passage then lays down the various curricular and co-curricular activities that the students in PIS engage which enables them to inculcate ideas of internationalism and its way of life. In other words, PIS aids the development of *international mindedness* (Hill, 2012) which has been understood by Bunnell et al. (2020) "as a collectivising and unifying 'platform' that acts as a potential binding force, uniting young people with a sense of shared (global) concerns and responsibilities" (p.3). Thus, international mindedness is inculcated among students of PIS through its pedagogy and diverse activities which involve morning assembly on multiple topics encompassing both the local and global; national and international exposure trips, co-curricular activities.

Unlike some studies (Koh and Kenway, 2012; Chiong and Gopinathan, 2018) that have pointed out the application of a formal global citizenship education as part of the school's curriculum, PIS does not include a formal global citizenship course as part of its curriculum. Instead, the subjects that are offered in PIS along with all the facilities and services are designed in such a way that they aim to create 'globally oriented' citizens (Franch, 2019) whose identity "entails the embrace of cultural diversity, being open minded and working actively to build relationships with others" (De Costa, 2016: 242). Therefore, the values and ethos that PIS tries to impart to its students through its diverse curricular and co-curricular activities may be understood as the *expressive* culture of the school as put forward by Bernstein (1966). The idea

that PIS wants to propagate through these diverse kinds of activities is that of 'global awareness' and 'international mindedness' which may be considered as indicators "for creating solidarity and class consciousness" (p.7) among students. Such may lead to the creation of 'globally aware' middle classes of people which this study has sought to interrogate.

Keeping in mind the notion of 'international mindedness' that PIS seeks to propagate, it will be interesting to see what some insiders at PIS had to say regarding the same.

Dipak Kumar, the IT (Information Technology) and Computer Applications teacher has pursued his education (school to university) from government institutions in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh and has teaching experiences across various states in the country. His career started with teaching in higher education institutions followed by government and private schools offering national and international curricula as well as conducting online classes and training for candidates aspiring for college and university admission. He has a son who was studying in PIS in grade four (when the interview was conducted on February 6, 2020). Prior to joining PIS his son was in a CBSE school of the PIS Society in the Indian state of Jharkhand. Talking about his ideas of a global citizen he contended that,

> '…just by training someone in an international curriculum you cannot make a person ready for the global perspective. The major concern is the practices and the approaches where the child can compete at a global level and by developing an atmosphere which automatically transforms a child to a global citizen. Just having co-curricular activities is not sufficient; nowadays designing a co-curricular activity in modern approach is needed. The thought process should be universal. Let them think globally. That is what PIS does'.

He further pointed out that,

> 'Global citizen means a person has to think in multi-dimension. The person is not going to be limited to one geographical area. They should not be limited to a caste, a region, a geographical area they should have an open mind and be smart workers. To make a global citizen an international school should have a progressive framework. Progressive framework means a framework which is continuously in the developing process. It is developing, implementing and again maybe after a year it is re-changed because the

mind-set is changed, technology has changed, approaches have changed, world requirement has changed, it's a regular process' (Dipak Kumar, interview, February 6, 2020).

John David, the Geography teacher, who comes from a small town in the Indian state of Rajasthan has been associated with the School since 2017. John has completed his schooling from a Convent CBSE curriculum school in Rajasthan, then pursued a Bachelor's degree in Geography from Chandigarh, followed by a Master's degree in History and then did pursued Master's in Geography from Rajasthan[58]. He began his professional career as a teacher and has experiences of teaching not only in CBSE and ICSE schools in India but even a Cambridge curriculum school in Dubai[59]. According to him,

'It is about how much exposure the school gives to understand everything. It is not just the curriculum. Activities and exposing them to situations would give them a better understanding of a global citizen rather than just reading. Unless and until you make children aware of the problems, the issues, how we are connected then only you can make them global citizens. The public level participations where they can go out and interact then you can understand what is going on where. This school provides the space to work freely. They are not bound by too many constraints. Curriculum has to be followed, yes but, textbook is not a constraint. The thought here is vast. They allow you to create new things. Even failing and then trying. That is what I like' (John David, interview, February 7, 2020).

Richa Kukreja, the school counsellor has done her schooling from a Convent school in Meerut after which she moved to Delhi and pursued her Bachelor's degree in Applied Psychology. Thereafter, she pursued Master's degree in Psychology. Then she did Bachelor's in Education (BEd). She already had a long duration of work experience before joining PIS. Before joining PIS she worked as a counsellor in another CBSE school. On asking about her opinion regarding what makes a school international apart from its curriculum, she had the following response,

'Apart from curriculum, children from different nationalities are even here. We do have people who have stayed and probably studied in other parts of

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[58] Convent schools were primarily known to be established and controlled by Christian Missionaries.
[59] ICSE refers to Indian Certificate of Secondary Education.

the world though less in number but we do have a few of them. So you will get perspectives from everywhere. Even the kinds of topics that are picked up they are of global interest. Not just the curriculum even extra-curricular if you talk about when we look at profile building (of students)'.

'So people are thinking globally. They are aiming at places like MIT, Cambridge, and Oxford so they are looking outwards. So for that they know what is to be done within the school. Even the school knows what are the things that a child should have in his or her profile'.

'Not every school can boast of such good admissions every year. It's because we understand what is needed outside India when they go for higher education. So that is how even the teachers are groomed and they groom the students. Even the students, they know a lot of things' (Richa Kukreja, interview, February 7, 2020).

Thereafter, when asked how one becomes a global citizen, she mentioned that,

'There is one thing that I really believe in and that is CQ (Culture Quotient). I mean how sensitive you are towards the other cultures. This is some sort of thing that comes from your upbringing. It can come from home, from school, from both quarters, from peer group also. This kind of sensitivity I think is very very important. That helps you fit in anywhere or everywhere. That not something that we get here only in an international school. So, when you think about community you think about a larger perspective' (Richa Kukreja, interview, February 7, 2020).

From some of these above mentioned excerpts, the inferences one may draw are that, just an international curriculum is not enough to create 'globally aware' pupils. The curriculum does play an important role, no doubt, but along with an international curriculum, the co-curricular activities and the entire pedagogy adopted by the school has to have a global approach/perspective. If a school aims to create 'globally aware' pupils, then the services and facilities that it offers has to be in tandem with present times and needs to be constantly evolving. It is through an understanding of the inter-connectedness (political, economic, and social) among regions across the world that a global perspective can be developed.

There has to be an understanding of the way different cultures and identities across the world are shaped together with one's own identity and culture. However, as

pointed out by the school counsellor, developing this sort of sensitivity is not restricted to the school alone. But, nonetheless, the school does play a very important role in a child's life because that is where she/he spends a good number of hours, gets to meet children from diverse backgrounds and form peer groups, meets teachers of different kinds as well. The human interaction alongside the activities and exposure that the school provides will enable to create a "universal thought process" as pointed out by Dipak (the IT teacher).

Another common thread that evolved from the above excerpts is grooming young students to become critical thinkers by making them think about solutions for global problems. According to teachers, the curriculum in PIS is not followed blindly and the students are not expected to blindly produce what has been prescribed. The school provides the space for free and critical thinking and expression unlike many other schools. Thus, as pointed out by John, "textbook is not a constraint" neither for the teachers nor for the students since, they (teachers and students) are allowed to refer multiple sources to teach and learn as long as the objectives of the school and its curriculum are getting fulfilled. In a nutshell, what these teachers intended to imply is that in order to become 'globally aware' one has to understand the process of globalization and how it has impacted the world order. Such an understanding is what PIS aims to develop among its students. This may be considered as another way to enhance one's global awareness which in turn may be linked to the nature of classness that is expected to emerge through such schooling practices.

II. The Everyday Life of PIS

According to Pathak (2013) "the quality of a school reflects the way its students think, feel and act; the way they grow up, and develop the faculties of learning…it is important that the children imbibe the ethos of the school, and grow up with radical, life-sustaining ideals" (p.227). On a similar note, the everyday life of PIS according to its authorities is organised in a manner that will inculcate among its students, values and ethos of the school thereby helping them to grow up as meritorious and responsible adult citizens.

Schools worldwide are offering an international curriculum with the aim of enabling students from a variety of national backgrounds to study together and providing an

education that is acceptable to higher education institutions globally (Hayden and Wong, 1997). The extent to which a curriculum is internationalised depends on contextual variables such as the mix of nationalities within the school and the school's location, as well as structural variables including the particular school's recognition by other schools and institutions (Hayden and Thompson 2013).

Further, Yemini and Fulop (2014) have argued that, "internationalisation in schooling takes on differing meanings and manifestations in developing versus developed countries, in curricular versus extra-curricular issues, and in organisational matters" (Yemini and Fulop, 2014: 2) whereby such diversities extend the debate regarding the concept of internationalisation in general with its wide range of meanings and interpretations. It must be noted that, on paper, the curriculum of PIS is organized in such a manner that it helps in implementing the best global practices in education. A statement from the school's *Almanac* reveals that its programmes seek to help students 'address the challenges and needs of adolescence in an ever changing world' (PIS-*Almanac*, 2018-19: 35). Nonetheless, an exclusivist nature of the school also comes into the fore through its everyday practices which aim at developing meritorious students. The idea of merit for a school like PIS, as Pathak (2013) points out, is comprised of and mediated on the basis of a kind of cultural capital like 'etiquette' and 'certain kinds of skill' (p.120) which on the hand these students inherit from their families and on the other hand, acquire through such schooling practices.

Let us look at how the everyday life of the school is organised that enable students in becoming compatible and ready for the 'ever changing world'.

The Morning Assembly and Home Room

The school assembly which usually takes place in the auditorium at PIS is conducted weekly on every Tuesday and Friday. Each Section of the different grades and each School House gets an opportunity to conduct assemblies on diverse topics (national and international). The students can seek help from their class teachers and the School house managers in order to organize the assembly. It is expected that every student must take part in the assembly in order display their 'talent', and develop the 'the spirit of group activity, leadership and value building' (as mentioned in the *Almanac* for the year 2018-19). PIS also invites parents for the assemblies in order to enhance communication between them and the school. It was implied that PIS can devote only

two days in a week for the assembly as it is an elaborate affair which includes rigorous presentations wherein students and teachers need time to prepare. Therefore, it takes place on every Tuesday and Friday with a sufficient gap of two days in between.

Another reason behind conducting weekly assemblies is that, as the school follows a five-day working schedule, there is another activity known as *Home Room* which happens on other working days of the week at the time that is allotted for the assemblies. During *Home Room* the students engage in discussions with the teachers with whom they wish to talk to personally and seek their advice on various matters (both personal and professional) which may be a cause of concern for them. This idea of allotting time for one to one interaction between teachers and students and keeping the activity as part of the daily school routine is not an interesting activity. This resonates with Goffman's (1967) idea of 'face-to-face interaction' wherein there is real physical communication between people, be it verbal or non-verbal, and is considered to be the most effective and meaningful mode of communication.

In the case of *Home Room*, the aforementioned one-to-one/ face-to-face way of social interaction enables both the teacher and the student to perceive themselves as well as one another and also try to understand how each perceives the other. In this process a strong emotional bond between the student and the teacher may develop, which might end up benefitting the student more than teacher. Through such a ritual, students can become more confident and motivated to face people in the society at large and be able to tackle different situations within and outside the school, based on the advice that they receive from their teachers during the *Home Room* ritual. After all, PIS does aim to create 'bold and active global leaders'. Such an aim of PIS resonates well with the 'globally aware' middle class characteristics of the parents in this study. For such classes of parents international schooling is not necessarily about enabling their children to become prosperous income generators. These parents are rather, more inclined towards providing a platform that will socialize their children to become smart, confident global citizens of tomorrow. In this context, PIS is being considered as such a platform that fulfils the aspirations of these 'globally aware' middle classes but in a way, also reproduces such classness through its rituals.

Let us look some more examples to bring forth the significance of the morning assembly.

The morning assembly presents an avenue to organize presentations thematised on various countries across the globe, to thereby 'encourage children research the customs and cultures of different countries'. Bunnell (2007) argues that, in the 1970s when the very first edition of the *International Schools Journal* talked of 'education for international understanding', terms such as 'education for international mindedness' and 'international attitude' began to feature in scholarly works. 'Pan-national education' was another such concept that has been often used (Bunnell, 2007: 350). For instance, while attending an assembly practice session in the school, the researcher witnessed a moment that can be attributed to a form of 'exposure to the life and works of globally recognized and renowned personalities'. It featured the students singing a song titled *Blowin' in the wind* by the American musician, Bob Dylan. The opening verse of the song goes like,

> How many roads must a man walk down, Before you call him a man?
>
> How many seas must a white dove sail, Before she sleeps in the sand?
>
> Yes, and how many times must the cannonballs fly, Before they're forever banned?
>
> The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind. The answer is blowin' in the wind.

The song was written in 1963 primarily as a marker of protest against the (Vietnam) war by raising questions about peace and freedom. According to Dylan answers to such can never truly be untangled and thus, they are bowing in the wind (Gray, 2006).

Although this was one such episode among many whereby elements of 'international mindedness' did feature during the assembly, it made sense to understand what PIS entails by referring to 'uniting people and appreciating differences as the richness of world cultures'.

Another assembly that was conducted on one of the days was themed on Australia. Thereafter, two students spoke for and against the topic '*Technology will destroy the world.*' That was followed by a prize distribution ceremony whereby students who had participated in an inter-school competition were rewarded with trophies, medals

and certificates. The assembly began with the Morning Prayer known as the Lord's Prayer. It is known to be a Christian prayer commonly cited in convent schools, the first few lines of which read as, 'Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name….', which was followed by a discussion on national and international news. On enquiring about the choice of the prayer the Principal mentioned that they have a prayer booklet (the same was shown to the researcher as well) where different kinds of prayers and hymns are mentioned in English as well as in Hindi since both are official languages of the country. However, she decided to choose the current English prayer because she considers its words to be very thought provoking, unbiased and appropriate for moulding young minds in the right direction. The prayer was followed by a 'Thought for the day' which usually comprised of philosophical quotes. After the presentation ceremony concluded, the Principal addressed the audience, which composed primarily of students of the School, the teachers and also had some parents in attendance.

The Principal acknowledged that many students go abroad every year and many of them from the present batches want to follow the footsteps of their seniors. Hence, it is very essential that they should know about every aspect of the country to which they aspire to go. In that regard, she also mentioned that students then need to take their career counselling sessions very seriously – ones that are rigorously conducted by the School. The assembly was concluded with singing of the National Anthem of India. In fact, every morning assembly at PIS begins with the Lord's Prayer and ends with country's National Anthem. Although, the school does not propagate any ideology consciously yet there is an interesting amalgamation of religion and nationalism that can be observed through the ritual of the assembly. One may contend that the assembly had several resonances with regard to inculcating a spirit of appreciating plural cultures – something that is attained by reciting the Lord's Prayer. On the other hand, it also tends to boost the morale of students by encouraging the fact that studying abroad is something that must be a part of every student's career ambitions. Thus, career counselling has indeed become an industry in itself which "caters to the educational aspirations of India's middle-class and elite" (Tuxen and Robertson, 2018: 1).

Figure 6.1: Pictorial representation about Australia

The Vice Principal informed the researcher that although the assembly held on Australia was a pretty random selection, something which they have been doing in order to enhance the levels of awareness, knowledge and aptitude of students on the 'global' per se; at times students from different countries request her for making presentations in the assembly about their country of origin. Similarly, there are also assembly presentations on different events and occasions depending upon the School academic calendar. Such a ritual like the whole school morning assembly thus becomes a part of 'cosmopolitan learning' as pointed out by Rizvi (2009: 265). He further argues that such a phenomenon helps students to understand not just global but also local issues "within the broader context of the global shifts that are reshaping the ways in which localities, and even social identities, are now becoming re-constituted" (p.254).

Similarly, the 'Scholar Badge Ceremony' is conducted which is an annual award ceremony hosted by the school sometime between July and August in order to felicitate students for various achievements. On that occasion it was observed that among teachers and parents there were a host of dignitaries present which included the Vice Chancellor of Jamia Milia Islamia University, the Chairperson of PIS, a member of the Managing Committee of the PIS Society, and a Retired Indian

Administrative Service Officer; also in attendance was Romania's Ambassador to India. His daughter has been a student of this school for almost six years. The event began with lighting of the lamp while the *Saraswati Vandana* was being sung by some of the students[60].

In a way, such features are commonplace to the school setting – wherein students and parents of multiple nationalities integrate with each other. However, it must also be noted that despite having people from many parts of the world at a common platform, indigenous forms of cultural practices are enacted without any hesitation. In the aforementioned instance, reciting the *Saraswati Vandana* (hymn glorifying the Hindu Goddess *Saraswati*) exemplifies the same.

On yet another assembly day, the guest speaker was Mr. Vikramjit Singh Rooprai who is a teacher trainer and a heritage activist. He spoke about Delhi, its history, heritage, the different interpretations of the name Delhi. He also spoke about how the different localities of Delhi came to be called by the names that we use today, some of which included Mehrauli, Khirki, Mahipalpur or Qutab Minar. Before he was invited to talk the assembly began with the Morning Prayer followed by '*Thought for the Day*' and a discussion on world news. The Assembly was concluded with the National Anthem. The session lasted for about an hour at the end of which the guest speaker recited a poem wherein he gave a brief history of Delhi till the British rule. While he was discussing about Delhi he was also asking questions to the students about Delhi and Indian history. Not many were being able to answer. A teacher whispered to me and said that the students will not know much about Indian history because they are not taught Indian history in-depth. The researcher did agree with her on that note because upon glancing through some of their History textbooks she found that Indian history as a separate topic is only dealt with in the form of case studies and project work. In the following image (Figure 6.2) there is an example of a case study on India titled, 'Growing Influence of India's Cultural Diversity'. Based on such a case study the students will be expected to prepare projects/assignments. Through such tasks the students gather knowledge about India.

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[60] Saraswati, a Hindu goddess of knowledge, wisdom and music, is widely worshipped by Indians. The Saraswati Vandana is a Hindu *mantra* (sacred hymn) that is dedicated to goddess Saraswati and recited in order to receive her blessings.
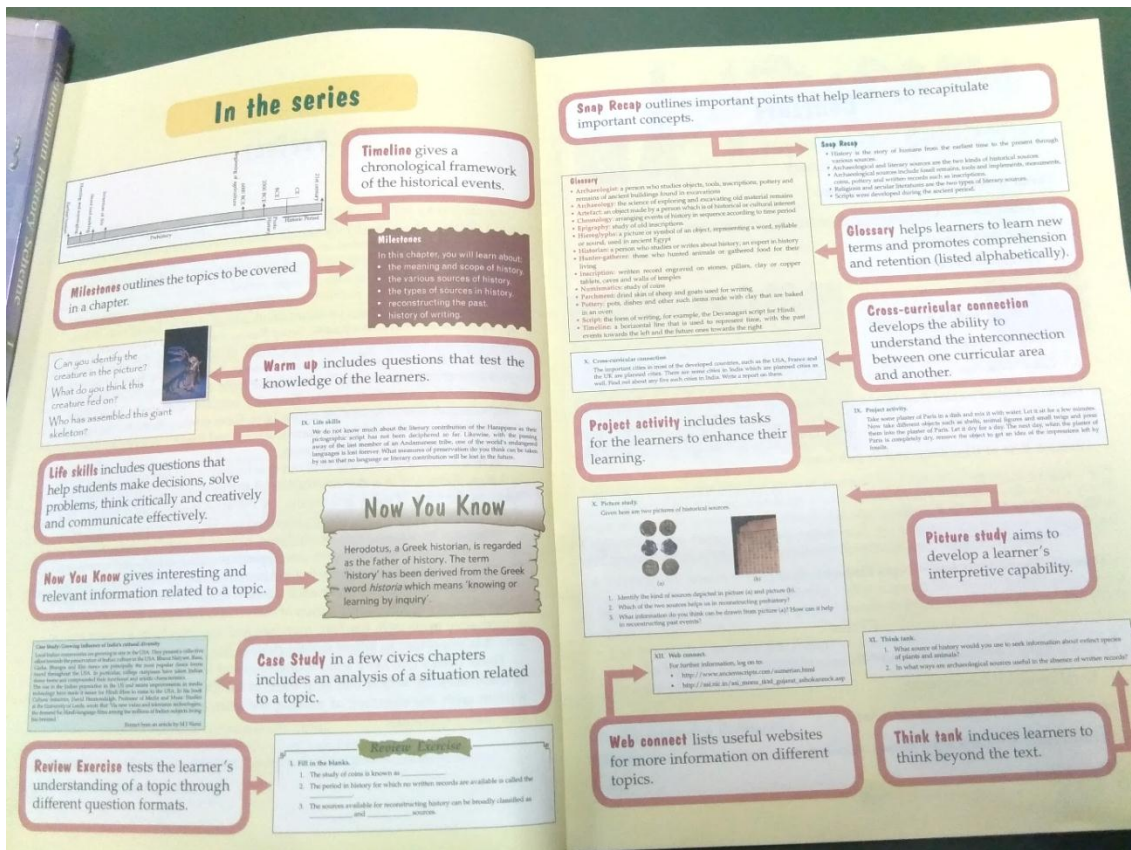
Figure 6.2: A case study in one of the History textbooks

The theme for another morning assembly session was 'Happiness'. Short skits by the students of grade seven were a featured therein on the early life of Elizabeth Murray (an American painter, print-maker, and draughts-woman) and Pratik Shinde (India's youngest soccer player to earn a foreign contract). The chosen theme in relation to the lives of the aforementioned personalities had a few things in common – humble backgrounds, following one's dreams and most importantly, happiness. After the skit, the students sang a self-composed song on the theme of happiness. In the end, the Vice Principal was requested to address the audience, who praised the students for the assembly and reiterated the need for thanks giving amid the forthcoming festive season. Hence, students were encouraged to explore avenues for *giving* or engaging in charity. They were also asked to discuss about the same with their parents and teachers.

Therefore, as pointed out by Bunnell (2021), "a simple act like holding a whole-school assembly may be useful to convey the school's messages and points of information, yet it also acts as a form of control and builder of a sense of community or solidarity. Crucial to this act is that it transmits not only information but also the

school's values" (Bunnell, 2021: 255). It may also be contended that such 'interaction rituals' as assemblies and Scholar Badge ceremonies which transmit the 'expressive culture' (ethos and values) of the school can indeed lead to the creation of 'collective memory' among the participants of the rituals. Such activities thus become 'a complex process of ritualization and socialisation' (Bunnell, 2021: 256) for global orientation. Bunnell's arguments does resonate with the Vice Principal's opinion well who pointed out,

> 'The school assembly, I don't think the children feel they are important right now. But, I think they are important because it's a moment where they all sit together, the principal talks and there is a oneness in the student body which is imp. Also, *thoda bohot toh* current affairs *ka sunn hi lete hain* [they do listen to a bit current affairs as well]. Sometimes maybe the learning for the whole group is not immense but for individuals in the group is there. It brings you all together and it kind of gives you a common feedback, talking about things, about something that might matter. Even if you change one person's life it makes a difference. It's the same with the assembly' (Vice Principal, interview, February 4, 2020).

Apart from instilling among its students a sense of the 'national' via cultural concerts and stage events; PIS also looks forward to instil fragments of the sentiment of patriotism. For instance, on the occasion of Army Day, the topic for the assembly was also the same. The assembly began with the prayer followed by '*Thought for the Day*' and rounding up on daily news. A round-table discussion saw students discuss about the current budget allocation for the Indian army. It must be noted that they were dressed as politicians, bloggers, journalists and retired army officers. The talk show was conducted by the students of eighth grade. After the discussion a student of grade eight presented a Hindi poem on called *Humare veer jawan* [Our brave soldiers]. Following the recital, the students enlightened the audience about the recruitment process in the Army. Lastly, the Principal was invited to address the audience. She encouraged the students to show some gratitude to the armed forces personnel. She contended that, while everybody is busy in their daily lives and enjoying their freedom which they have got for free, one must have some concern for the army men. Everybody present then stood in silence for a minute, to pay tribute to the army personnel and the assembly ended with the singing of the National Anthem.

Figure 6.3: Round-table discussion on Army Day assembly

Pawan Anand, a twelfth grade student, whose mother is a housewife and father a businessman, pointed out that,

> 'School assemblies I would say are informative, helpful at times. If the topic isn't nice sometimes it doesn't make sense. And there are repetitions also at times. Like Gandhi Jayanti *ke din* [during the assembly on Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary] it's the same thing every year. They play only that South Africa story. All the festival assemblies are really fun' (Pawan Anand, interview, October 23, 2019).

A special assembly was held on the occasion of India's Republic Day in 2019. This assembly began with the National Anthem for which a short video was prepared where three female students enacted the lyrics of the anthem through sign language while the vocals were being played at the background. There was a prayer after the anthem. There was a skit performed where there was a debate session enacted by the students on the contribution of the country for its people and vice versa. There were dance performances. Then there was a show depicting the inventions, innovations and discoveries made by Indians. The assembly concluded with an extempore, the topic for which was excessive expenditure for the Republic Day parade and celebration. The event ended with the singing of the National Song of India, *Vande Mataram*. Parents were also invited for this occasion. While the Principal was asked to address the audience, she spoke about the significance of this day, highlighting the role of the

Constitution of India and how important the Constitution is in running the country; more importantly on the kinds and patterns of values that it upholds. She praised the non-verbal depiction of the anthem and requested it to be screened again for the students to understand the meaning of the words properly. Nevertheless, before asking for a replay she apologised and expressed that she is well aware of the fact that it must not be played twice.

The whole school assemblies enable the school to achieve multiple goals – connect with the globally prominent classes of people; sing an indigenous/localized hymn; recite an internationally popular prayer; get counselled; attain technological knowhow; and finally, attain happiness via the act of *giving*. We may contend that the recitation of an English Christian prayer, singing the *Saraswati Vandana* or singing the National Anthem may essentially point towards a secular as well as 'glocalised' character of the school. However, we may also argue that exhibiting Indianness through *Saraswati Vandana* and the National Anthem in spite of the presence of individuals from diverse backgrounds does indicate "how dominant narratives become common sense" (Babu and Mahajan, 2021: 295). Certain practices that are essentially religious get conflated with national identity creation (Srivastava, 1998; Benei, 2009; Sancho, 2016). On the other hand, it may also be contended that the assembly therein becomes an extended medium for the school, apart from its conventional classroom exercises of teaching-learning to inculcate certain sets of skills, aptitudes as well as knowledge ('global awareness') on plural cultures or issues – many of which that may not be fulfilled within the ambit of the classroom. In this context, the Principal justified by stating that, although the theme/topic for any morning assembly would probably appear very simple or even matters that are of national or local concerns, the interpretation or the dimensions that they try to ascertain to the same is global.

The ritual of morning assembly may be seen as a "celebration of the school as a community" (Thapan, 2006: 57) and as an important aspect of the school's routine. However, according to Thapan (2006) while 'rituals maybe routinized, every routine may not be a ritual' (p.63). For instance, certain ceremonies organised on some special days like Republic Day which is celebrated once a year. Therefore, celebration of such special days need not necessarily be considered as a ritual since, they do not

form a part of the everyday school routine. Moreover, the everyday life of a school does incorporate other activities as well (curricular and co-curricular) which constitute a school's routine. While a discussion on the co-curricular activities has been engaged with in Chapter Seven, let us briefly look at some of the other aspects that form a part of PIS's everyday life.

Academic Organisation: school routine and classrooms

The academic organisation of a school includes the activities of a working day of the school in which the school's routine and classroom organisation are important components that depict the goals and ethos of the school (Thapan, 2006). The school's daily routine may point out how different subjects offered by the school are distributed among different grades. In case of the classroom, certain aspects like the seating arrangement of the students and the teacher pupil ratio (Woods, 1983; Thapan, 2006) may depict the difference between the values that the school propagates and the class consciousness that such arrangements end up producing.

The Senior school of PIS as already mentioned in Chapter Three, comprises of grades five to twelve. While grades five to nine have three sections (A, B and C), grades ten to twelve have two sections each which are then further divided on the basis of the stream of subjects (for example, Arts, Commerce, Science, etcetera) that students opt for. The PIS-*Almanac* mentions that at least 5 students should choose any subject from the optional category, for the school to teach those subjects. Grades eleven and twelve are known as A1 and A2 respectively. There are a total of nine departments in the school with a Head of the department for each. The departments comprise of English, Science, Co-Curricular Activities, Mathematics, Social Sciences, Foreign Languages, Computer, Hindi and Commerce. The discussion that follows has been derived from the school timetable for the year 2017-18.

Subjects offered in grade five include English Language, English Literature, Mathematics, Science, Environmental Science, Second Language (Hindi), Third Language (French, German, Spanish and Sanskrit), Information Technology and Co-Curricular Activities. While the co-curricular activities have been given the highest number of slots amounting to seventeen in a week (Monday to Friday), followed by languages which occupy fifteen classes per week for the fifth grade students. For students of grade six to eight, the subjects offered are similar to that of grade five.

Nonetheless, Science from grade six onwards is separated into Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Environmental Science is replaced with History and Geography. Languages in the sixth grade occupy the highest number of classes adding up to sixteen in a week whereas, there are ten classes in a week for co-curricular activities followed by the remaining subjects.

For grades seven to ten the languages occupy the highest number of classes in a week that is sixteen. This is followed by co-curricular activities for which the number of classes allotted per week reduces as we go higher up the grades. On enquiring about the reduction of co-curricular activities in the higher grades, the researcher was informed that since, the academic burden begins to increase in the senior grades the students are expected to focus more on their studies rather than co-curricular activities. However, during the interviews with the students, all of them expressed their discontent with such an arrangement. They pointed out that the school should try to strike a balance between their studies and other activities because the non-academic activities are a good source of 'stress buster' for them.

What comes to notice from the aforementioned discussion is the weightage given to languages and co-curricular classes in the daily routine of grades five to ten, something that has already been pointed out by the parents interviewed for this study. The parents (in Chapter Five) mentioned how their choice of PIS was influenced by the quality of English offered along with other foreign languages and the co-curricular activities. In the following chapter we will discuss about the opinions of students and teachers regarding the foreign languages and the co-curricular activities. Amongst the languages offered, we noticed that from grades five to eight along with Hindi being compulsory, Sanskrit is also offered which however, is has been kept as an option together with the foreign languages. Here again we may point out how there is an attempt at demonstrating Indianness (Benei, 2009) together with internationalness. Such a kind of facility suits the 'globally aware' middle classes of parents who wish to make their children global citizens without compromising their national identities. Nonetheless, it was observed that from grade nine onwards, though Hindi continues to remain a compulsory subject, Sanskrit is no longer offered as an option while the three foreign languages retain their place in the timetable. The Vice Principal

informed that Sanskrit is no longer offered in the higher grades because the demand for foreign languages is much higher than that of Sanskrit.

Grades nine and ten are known as the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) which is a two year course and is equivalent to the GCSE in the UK. The IGCSE examination is conducted at the end of grade ten. The students are expected to take a minimum of seven subjects wherein, three should be compulsory and four optional subjects. The compulsory subjects offered for IGCSE are First Language English or English as a Second Language, Mathematics, Hindi as a Second Language or a Foreign Language (French, German, and Spanish)[61]. The subjects under the optional category have been grouped and the students are expected to choose four subjects from any of the groups.

The Groups have been organised in the following manner: Group One comprises of Literature in English, Art and Design, Geography; Group Two consists of Information Technology and Computer Studies; Group Three includes Physics and Accounts; Group Four consists of Chemistry or Business Studies; Groups Five, Six and Seven comprise of Biology, Economics and History respectively. The compulsory subjects offered in grades A1 and A2 are similar to that of IGCSE. The optional subjects also remain the same with two additional subjects of Applied Information and Technology and Further Mathematics. While the classes allotted for co-curricular activities reduce drastically (two classes per week) in grades eleven and twelve, English occupies the same number of classes (seven in a week) as that of Mathematics and Science.

On Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, school begins for the students with the activity of *Home Room* (mentioned in the previous section) for ten minutes. On Tuesdays and Fridays, the whole school morning assembly marks the beginning of the day. Apart from the *Home Room* time, the daily routine of PIS consists of a short break for ten minutes and a long (lunch) break for twenty minutes in between the regular classes which range from thirty-five to forty minutes. During short break the students were mostly found running to the cafeteria to grab some refreshments and catch up with friends from other classes for a quick chat. The long break is what the students eagerly wait for. It is mostly during these twenty minutes that the students apart from having their lunch also engage in playing games as well as casual

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[61] The languages offered at PIS have been dealt with greater detail in Chapter Seven.

conversations of diverse kinds ranging from gossips, current affairs to academic discussions.

During one such long break when the researcher visited the cafeteria, she chanced upon a group of students (probably from eleventh or twelfth grade) who were munching on a packet of *nachos* while talking to each other with a lot of excitement. From what the researcher could overhear, she deciphered that they were discussing about some new music album that has launched recently and they were all 'super excited' about it. On asking one of the students (with whom the researcher had developed some rapport) about the reason for such excitement over a music album, the researcher was informed that the music album is of the 'K-Pop' (Korean pop) genre, something that the students are a big fan of[62]. Till that moment the researcher had not heard of any such genre of music amongst her network of people. It was surprising to know the extent of knowledge some of these students have about global cultures. The exposure to such global cultures does speak of their social class belongingness which becomes a marker of distinction for them since, not everybody knows what is K-Pop and might also not have a taste for such music.

As has already been discussed in previous chapters, in every section especially that of the Middle school, the student strength ranges from 20 to 25 which reduces even further in the higher grades depending upon the subjects chosen by the students. Such classroom strength has been highly appreciated by the parents and is also upheld by the school authorities since they feel that the teachers are able to give equal attention to every student in the classroom especially the academically weaker ones. In this context, Woods (1983) claim resonates well with that of the stakeholders of PIS when he mentions that, "Teaching a class of forty pupils is a vastly different matter from teaching a group of twenty" (p.23). Though the researcher was not given access to observe any regular classroom proceeding yet from her walks in the corridors she was able to make some observations. Distinction in the form of a gendered seating arrangement was not found in the classrooms as the girls and boys were sitting in random pairs. The seating arrangement is such that the students have to sit in pairs but may choose whom they wish to sit with. Thus, while some were found sitting in same sex pairs, others were sitting in mixed pairs. However, during an interview with one

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[62] K-Pop refers to the abbreviation for Korean popular music which is a part of South Korean culture and has gained immense popularity especially among children and the youth across the world.

of the teachers, the researcher was informed that sometimes some teachers including him, make the academically weaker students sit in the first two front rows near the teacher's desk. This is done with an aim to focus more on such students as well as enable them to maintain their focus during a class and thereby help them to improve their academic skills. Such non-gendered seating arrangements may be understood as one of the many ways in which PIS aims to inculcate among its students, values of gender neutrality.

Summary

This chapter has mapped the philosophy, goals, structures and processes of teaching and learning in PIS to gauge how its rituals and academic organisation inculcate global/international orientation among its students. The everyday life of PIS comprising of its rituals and practices signify the kind of students that the school wishes to produce along with the kind of classness that it reproduces. We have centrally argued that such a system of schooling functions in a manner that enables students' global compatibility of body and mind and aims to lend them a competitive edge thus leading to reproduction of attributes of 'globally aware' middle class(ness). In doing so, the chapter arrives at the contention that the optimism placed by the 'globally aware' middle classes on such networks of schooling, primarily serve as vehicles to fulfil their aspirations and desires.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Transmission of International Orientation Through Curricular and Co-Curricular Interventions

This chapter discusses how international schooling seeks to foster a spirit and quality of internationalism among the students in order to make them a part of the 'globally aware' middle classes through its curricular as well as co-curricular programmes. The model of education at PIS primarily embeds teaching and learning processes within the domain of the school as well as outside of it Apart from the teaching-learning exercises, the school entails a variety of skill-sets, exposure to foreign languages and 'exchange-interaction' programmes which solidify such constructions of international orientation. It attempts to lay out ethnographic snippets as well as discuss the narratives that emerged from in-depth interviews with major stakeholders of the school. These include administrators, teachers, and parents and most importantly, the students. The chapter explores, describes and explains whether an intrinsic relationship exists between international schooling, globality and reproduction of class privilege. It explores how an international school imparts education that may help produce and/or reproduce such orientations that stress on 'globally aware' middle class ways of life as well as values.

The first and second sections of this chapter discusses the pedagogy followed at PIS through its curriculum, textbooks, the medium of instruction and communication as well as the languages taught in the school as part of the curriculum. The third section discusses various co-curricular activities that PIS offers to its students. Out of the various activities that the students engage in, the ones that will be discussed in detail in this chapter include workshops, career counselling sessions, orientation programmes, working for ecological concerns, international exchange programmes, local/national exposure trips and community service.

I. Textbooks and Curriculum

While one can appreciate the seriousness that the school attaches to a mundane activity such as the assembly, the centrality of the pedagogy along with textbooks and curriculum in the construction of 'international orientation' cannot be discounted since, "pedagogy is not the art of teaching; it is the *savoir faire* of the educator, the practical experience of the teacher" (Durkheim, 1961: 2). Let us look into some of the textbooks in order to understand their contribution towards international orientation. To begin with, the researcher was able to first take a look at an English (first) language textbook; Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. It was noticed that the textbook *Macbeth* was not just about the original drama alone. It consisted of illustrations, explanations, short notes, Shakespeare's biography, a list of popular films on *Macbeth* together with movie posters amid other such details. As can be seen from Figures 7.1 and 7.2, the Contents of the text make us understand that the textbook is very illustrative and self-explanatory. Reflecting on the past experience of reading Shakespeare during her school days, the researcher could well gauge the differences (in appearance, textual content, information, etcetera) between the text that her school (offering a national curriculum) followed and the one followed by PIS. As was also pointed out by many parents and teachers, such differences still exist between the texts followed in schools offering national curricula and that of PIS.
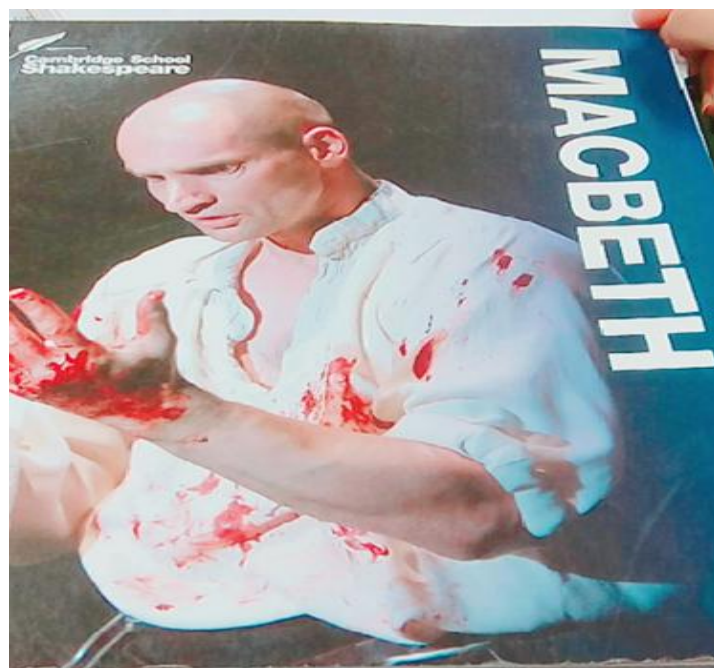
Figure 7.1: Cover Page of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* textbook
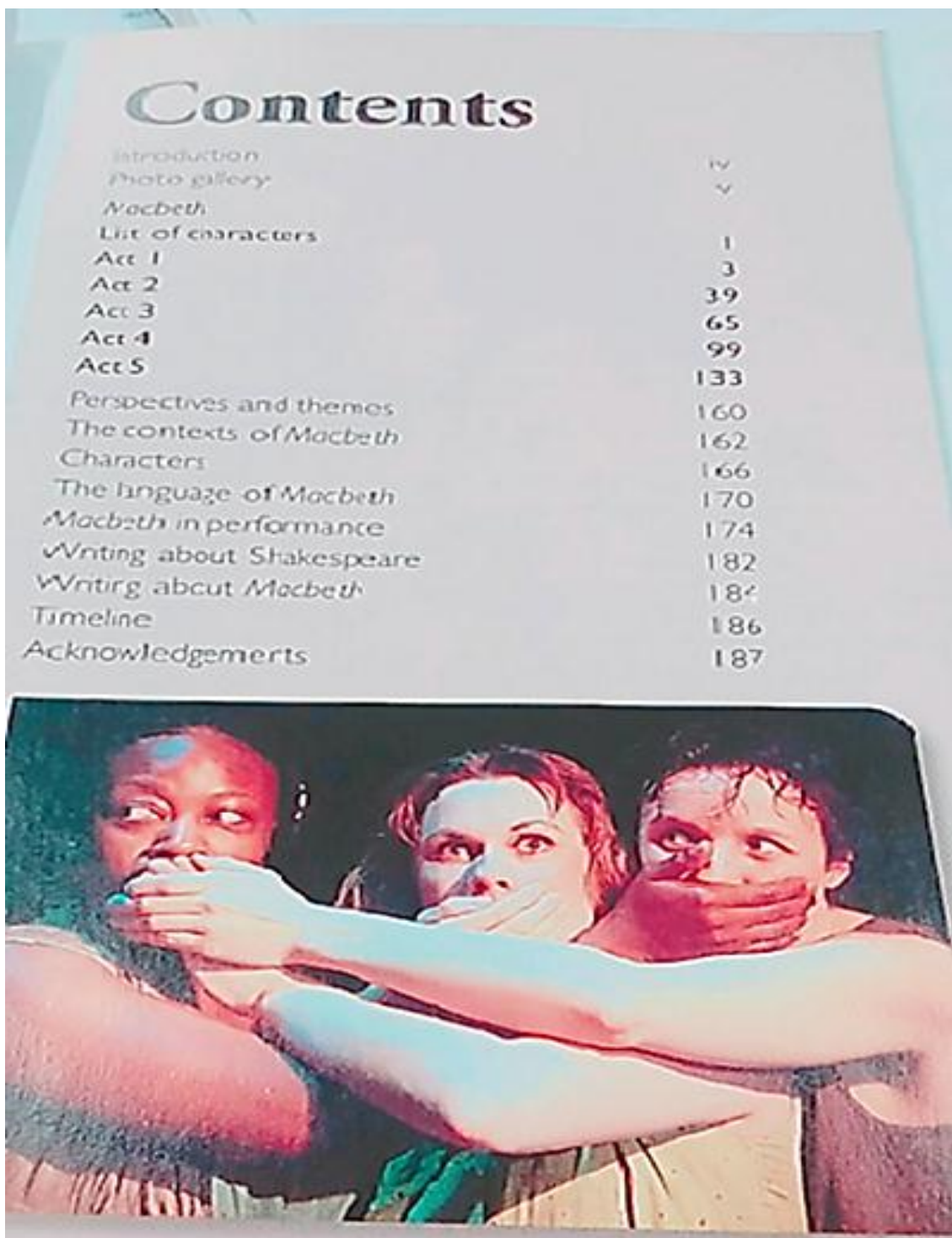
Contents

Figure 7.2: Contents page of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* textbook

The researcher was also able to go through a Geography textbook (Figure 7.3) wherein the framework of the Geography syllabus was outlined for the exams of grades eleven and twelve (A and AS Levels).
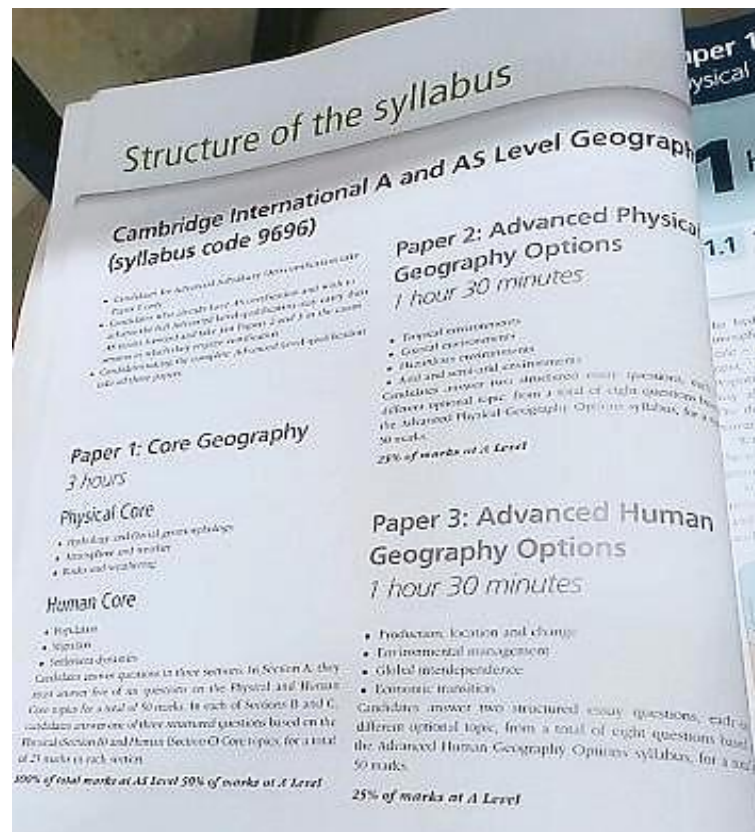
Figure 7.3: Geography syllabus

Textbooks for each grade have different contents and appeared to be pretty diverse. For instance, there are sections on Core Physical Geography, Core Human Geography followed by Advanced Physical Geography and Advanced Human Geography. It was noticed that the content of the text did not focus on any particular regional description (for instance, India) in trying to make students understand the basics of the subject. Instead, it consisted of broad topics like geomorphology, atmosphere, weather, rocks, population, migration, and settlement dynamics as part of Core topics. The Advanced topics include environments of different kinds; production, location and change; environmental management, global interdependence and economic transition. What was interesting to note was that each of these topics had a case study to be conducted by the students. These case studies were based on different countries so that the students could research about the countries and in the process get to know about each of their landscapes. In this way the students are not just made aware of the Earth's

geographical features along with its people but also, about specific countries by researching on them. But, we must also note that learning through such case studies might provide limited knowledge especially when a student is expected to prepare an assignment about an entire country within limited number of pages as well as time.

Moving on to the discipline of History, the Headmistress confirmed that British History, European History and World History are the major components of the syllabus, wherein Indian History is a part of the World History and not taught separately. A brief assessment of the textbook gave the researcher a sense that its design has been overtly multi-faceted in principle; making students well aware of the socio-economic, historical, geographical, ecological and even ethical conditions around the world. However, the absence of Indian History in the form of a separate topic to be studied is very striking especially when majority of the students are Indians. Merely working on certain case studies on India may not be sufficient to learn about India's past. Figure 7.4 which shows the History syllabus for the 10th grade students and Figure 7.5 which indicates the Contents page from one of the History textbooks confirm what the Headmistress has mentioned regarding the History syllabus.

Core Topics

1 Were the peace treaties of 1919–23 fair?
2 To what extent was the League of Nations a success?
3 Why had international peace collapsed by 1939?
4 Who was to blame for the Cold War?
5 How effectively did the USA contain the spread of Communism?
6 How secure was the USSR's control over Eastern Europe, 1948–c.1989?
7 Why did events in the Gulf matter, c. 1970–2000?

Depth Studies

8   The First World War, 1914–18
9   Germany, 1918–45
10 Russia, 1905–41
11 The USA, 1919–41
12 China, c. 1930–c. 1990
13 South Africa, c. 1940–c. 1994
14 Israelis and Palestinians since 1945

15 Preparing for assessment

Figure 7.4: History syllabus

Figure 7.5: Contents page of a History textbook

As discussed earlier, instilling a 'critical bent of mind' is an important part of the learning process at PIS. Asiya Khatoon (the English teacher for the Middle school) informed that students in PIS are far more critical in their thinking process. She attributed the same to the fact that the teachers are given some kind of autonomy in the classroom – they are free to teach the way they want and are not monitored at every point. A similar point was also mentioned by the Geography teacher previously.

According to Asiya, the scope of CBSE is very limited as compared to IGCSE. The students in PIS and IGCSE curriculum are taught to think (critically) and not just "mug and produce" what is there in the textbook. According to her experience, what students are taught in the tenth standard of the CBSE Board; is also taught to (much younger) students of fifth and sixth grades in the IGCSE setup.

Richa Kukreja (the school counsellor) whose daughter moved from a "regular CBSE school" to PIS argued that the former school offered limited exposure as the "kids majorly belonged to that area (north Delhi where the CBSE school is located)", unlike the case in PIS. She stated that,

> 'Here she got to meet students who have travelled the world. Some of them were born in a different country and they came back and obviously they would join an international curriculum. She has made friends from so many different cultures. She has plethora of experiences to learn from and this kind of exposure is going to sensitise her towards other cultures and it's going to make her learn about cultures which I wouldn't have been able to do purposely' (Richa Kukreja, interview, November 7, 2020).

Just as teachers and parents who appear to be appreciative of the School, students feel the same too. While Khushbu Garg, an eleventh grade student, whose parents work as Marketing Heads in two different corporate firms, felt that,

> 'PIS gives you lot of exposure and it also helps you identify yourself like what you are capable of; such aspects are definitely less in CBSE as they prefer just doing the course and getting the marks. So that thing in this school is definitely better. And academically compared to CBSE we actually take something back from every class we attend' (Khushi Garg, interview, July 15, 2019).

Khushbu has been a student of the School since kindergarten. Her parents were always eager to enrol her in a CBSE school and they had no idea about an international school but, according to her, she was lucky enough to get admission in PIS which her parents had chanced upon while they were on the look-out for schools.

A tenth grade student, Atif Hussain, whose parents are business persons, felt the same way. He too has been a part of this School since kindergarten, plans to pursue Hotel Management from Singapore and return to Delhi in order to continue the hotel

business with his mother. Atif stated that, "Whatever they (students of CBSE schools) do in 12th we (students of PIS) do in 10th, which gives us an edge that we do it much before them (students of CBSE schools). And our school mostly focuses on English which as an international board it should do".

Atif's statement meant that, in any CBSE school the topics that are taught to the students of twelfth grade, in PIS, they would have already covered all that up in their tenth grade. Thus, what he tried to indicate is that the content of the Cambridge curriculum followed in PIS is much advanced compared to the CBSE curriculum. As a result, students in PIS are able to cover a much wider range and number of topics when compared to any CBSE student. So, according to him, students of PIS are ahead of students from a CBSE school as far as formal learning is concerned. But, one must acknowledge that this learning that Atif referred to, is restricted to the curriculum content only since, learning can take place through multiple avenues.

On the contrary, a tenth grade student whose mother is a homemaker and father is a businessman, had a slightly different opinion. He pointed out that,

> 'I feel it's a myth that we get to better colleges than CBSE. I mean every student gets to the same type of college. I feel it isn't that big a task with admission through CBSE abroad. I feel personally you should be open to both because India also has good colleges and abroad as well. And in this board the main disadvantage I feel is lack of access to Indian colleges. What I know is that the A Levels are not widely accepted. They (Indian higher education institutions) have another set of criteria which they ask for A Levels. There is a slight advantage here (in PIS) for us, if I was in CBSE I would have been still struggling. This board (Cambridge) gave me the opportunity to go away from Science and choose Commerce in class 9th' (Ayush Srivastava, interview, November 8, 2019).

Through Ayush's slightly contrasting opinion what he tried to indicate is that there is no added advantage for getting into better quality colleges or universities that the Cambridge curriculum offers. This international curriculum does provide students with avenues to easily apply to multiple foreign universities but it does not guarantee that one will get through the best of institutions abroad and definitely not in India because there is limited acceptance of the A and AS Levels qualifications here in

India. According to him, the only 'slight' advantage that the curriculum offers is wide options in the choice of disciplines from ninth grade itself, while in CBSE schools options are offered from eleventh grade onwards wherein Ayush felt that, "two years for a subject is very less particularly when you are starting fresh".

In this section, we saw how the curriculum and textbooks followed by PIS become essential components of its pedagogy. From what the informants mentioned, it can be inferred that they consider the Cambridge curriculum far superior compared to the Indian CBSE curriculum irrespective of its limited focus on teaching about India. Further, it can be observed that there is a constant comparison between the Indian system of education and the international system wherein the international system along with the pedagogy followed by PIS is given much greater weightage. The textbooks and the curriculum are designed in such a way that they encourage research and critical thinking along with providing vast exposure to the students which according to the informants are lacking in the CBSE schools. However, the contrasting opinion of one of the students (as mentioned above), did also bring to the fore that, as far as getting admission into foreign institutes are concerned, that can be achieved by a student of a school offering Indian curricula as well. The only difference being that the international curriculum makes the path easier for such endeavours.

II. The *lingua franca* of PIS and other Foreign Languages

Over the years, a substantial body of literature has emerged that have discussed the centrality of English language for education in the Indian context in order to facilitate global preparedness. For instance, Roy (1993) suggests that, "the efficacy of English had also been acknowledged by colonial administrators from the very outset" (Roy, 1993: 42). In the context of international schools, if we go back to the definition of the same as proposed by Bunnell et al., (2020), the emphasis was on rendering a 'non-national curriculum, at least partly in English' (p.4). In the case of PIS, English is considered to be the first language as well as the only language for communication between teachers and students and between students themselves within the school premises. The researcher would like to point out certain instances as well as interactions within PIS which explicate the emphasis on languages – both on English language as well as foreign languages.

One particular day during her field visit, as the researcher entered the library, a group of sixth grade students accompanied by Dimple Singh (the Sports teacher who is also in-charge of School discipline) was being shown an English film (of the animation genre) which depicted the relationship between humans and robots and how the human creator of robots can both use and misuse a robot (technology) and what could be the probable outcomes of the misuse. What was significant about this brief and particular ethnographic moment was that, it was observed that due emphasis is always laid out towards English language – in teaching, in interacting as well as even in screening films or documentaries. Fostering a sense of internationalism via the usage of an international language is the minimum basic criterion of the curricular programme in the school.

English as a First Language (read, EFL) is taken up by native speakers of the language and also the non-native speakers who wish to voluntarily study the language as EFL. Furthermore, special English language classes or English as a Second Language (read, ESL) programme is rendered in the junior school which focus on teaching English to foreign nationals whose native or primary language is not English. In these classes every opportunity is provided to allow learning and to practising composite communicative language skills (Daw, 2021: 14). In this respect, Vaishali Sethi a twelfth grade student whose mother is a homemaker and father is a businessman, brought out an interesting dimension that relates to appearing for the internationally-required qualifying examination – the International English Language Testing System (IELTS)[63]. She suggested that,

> 'If you've done A levels you might not even require to give IELTS. But if you are CBSE candidate you have to give IELTS because it's going to be compulsory for you. This is because our level of board is quite tougher than CBSE. So our English is meant to be on quite a good level than CBSE' (Vaishali Sethi, interview, May 15, 2019).

In many ways, learning the language then becomes a primary and essential credential, not only to facilitate interactions but primarily to assert the fact that it serves as a 'window to the world' (Roy, 1993) by enabling students to get formal certificates for achieving proficiency in English which will help them for college/university

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[63] IELTS is an internationally standardized exam to assess proficiency in English for those who did not have English as their mother-tongue. See, https://www.ielts.org/.

admissions abroad. The same was also harped upon by Pratima Sengupta (the English teacher for the Senior school students as well as the Cambridge Coordinator for the school) during a Parent-Teacher Meeting (PTM) wherein she was heard telling the parents that the students cannot neglect English. If they want to go abroad and get admission in a good college or university, English will provide the edge because the English taught in PIS is 'Cambridge English' which is a 'qualification' and not just a subject in the formal curriculum. And to deliver this Cambridge English in PIS, they recruit teachers who are highly qualified degree holders of the language with strong communication skills and also make them participate in local/national and international workshops on Cambridge English.

But this does not mean that English which is the *lingua franca* in many parts of the world is the only language that is given weightage at PIS. As per their official records, a global citizen is supposed to be compatible as well as appreciative of global cultures that include languages. Hence, the significance of foreign languages cannot be discounted. Although it is an integral part of the learning curriculum, there is a sense of enthusiasm as well as the domain of self-experience that counts among students. Sarika Jain an eleventh grade student whose mother is a homemaker and father is the Director of a marketing firm, apprised that she had selected Spanish and French since she has some knowledge of Spanish language back from her school days in England; and, French because of the fact that the alternative to French was Hindi.[64] Similarly, Vaishali (the student) opted for French language as she happens to be a regular visitor to France; feels good to 'actually be able to communicate' with the native people there and cherished 'the School weekly assemblies every Tuesday and Friday on the Bastille Day'.[65] On the other hand, while Atif (the student) had initially opted for German language at PIS, he had to opt out and take up Hindi due to the burden of other subjects. When asked about the rationale behind taking up German earlier, Atif said that,

> 'My mother had studied in Switzerland and they normally speak German over there. So, even she knows German so, the motive was that even she could help me in German. That is why I took German. And just because even

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[64] While Sarika was in the United Kingdom up to her fifth grade and then joined PIS, her elder sister was a former student at PIS and is presently pursuing her higher studies in the UK. Her younger sister, who is presently in the ninth grade at PIS also looks forward to going to the UK for further studies.

[65] Bastille Day refers to the National Day of France, celebrated every year on the 14th of July.

I also plan to go to Switzerland for pursuing Hotel Management so, German keeping till 8th which was beneficial for me' (Interview, May 16, 2019).

Interestingly, on being enquired as to why he chose Hindi after dropping German, he had a very interesting explanation. He contended that, he plans to come back to India later on and "spend his whole life here". Hence, both German and Hindi have practical utility for him.

Another twelfth grade student Karan Thapar whose mother is a homemaker and father is a businessman, pointed out that,

'I did German. My dad told me that most of our machinery comes from Germany and this printing the whole thing started in Germany so, why don't you learn German. It's a good language also. Right now I was checking these job interviews for the Airlines and what they wanted were one European language, English, Mathematics and Physics. So, I had to do one thing. I am glad I did German because even though it's not widely spread it's easy, interesting and fun. Some words are similar to Hindi. Learning a new language helps a lot. This boosts up my C.V because the universities will think that if I know a foreign language I am bringing something extra. It did improve my personality because it gives you a platform to interact with number of students also. I went for this German exam and made like 20 friends' (Karan Thapar, interview, October 23, 2019).

What emerges from the discussion with the three aforementioned students is that either they have been globally mobile or residing earlier or engaged in frequent international travel. Most are even looking forward to a professional career abroad. Not only do these students exhibit a sense of being confident, but are also happy in many ways to be able to be studying within such environments (read PIS).

III. Co-Curricular Activities Offered at PIS

Workshops, Career Counselling Sessions and Orientation Programmes

Just like training in the languages, information, knowledge and knowhow regarding the nitty-gritty of admissions abroad as well as the desired eligibility criteria that are required together with it; teachers' orientation or even for parents' benefit are disseminated by the school authorities via various modes and sessions.

On one particular occasion, a workshop was organised by the renowned Oxford University Press (OUP) that was meant for teachers and visitors from in and out of the school. A Power Point presentation is exhibited wherein the opening slide reads *'Supporting your next steps'*. The second slide is titled: *'How can we move children forward'?* The third slide of the presentation says, *'How do we ensure progression?* It consisted of three sessions which comprised of imparting knowhow on grammar, reading and writing English. Asiya Khatoon (the Middle school English teacher) made a pertinent point therein: that the problem with her students is that they think in Hindi. She felt that students directly translate their thoughts which are in Hindi into English and that is where they get it all wrong. Simultaneously, on the same day there was an author interaction slated in the auditorium too. Gavin Bishop, a novelist from New Zealand who writes fiction stories for children that are usually based on legends, had come to visit the school. He too shared his reflections and experiences on and of writing.

Apart from such workshops, the Middle and Senior school students benefit from *Life Skills Programme*, in dealing with 'adolescent issues'. On the other hand, for the Junior school students such a programme is known as the *Value Education Programme* where the junior students are "sensitized to human needs and values" (PIS-*Almanac*, 2018-19: 35). They are also made to imbibe qualities of citizenship, environmental care along with caring for one's community and the world at large. In other words, the students are made to internalise the three essential elements of 'moral education' as laid down by Durkheim (1961) which are 'discipline', 'attachment' and 'autonomy' through which a child learns her/his roles and responsibilities in order to become a 'moral' as well as global being.

In the *Life Skills Programme* the "Middle and Senior school students learn how to cope in the real world in the unthreatening environment of the classroom. Regular workshops are held on issues like peer pressure, stress and anger management, AIDS awareness and substance abuse" (PIS-*Almanac*, 2018-19: 35). In this regard the school counsellor suggested that, Cambridge Assessment or IGCSE does not prescribe any syllabus or textbook in order to impart life-skills. She submitted that it is 'entirely up to her' and her prior experience and/or interests which help her 'keep looking for new things'. Hence, the skills that she tries teach are the 'Ten life skills

laid down by the World Health Organisation (WHO)' together with debating and role-plays; special games or even discussions on mental health. Vaishali (the student) particularly appreciated this activity since; she is able to get 'important things' such as 'how to write a Statement of Purpose' or even 'how to get a letter of recommendation".

Further, regular career counselling sessions are organized by the school and are generally conducted by trained professionals to help students and parents take informed decisions. Students are assisted in making subject choices for grade nine and the 'A' Levels. These career counselling sessions also guide students through the process of applying to colleges in India and abroad. A counsellor (Richa Kukreja) is also available in the campus and can be met by appointment.

On the contrary, Vaishali (the student) again felt that such an exercise of counselling within the school itself is "definitely beneficial",

> '.... one gets an insight of what the university is about and what sort of requirements do they have; if you are capable enough to go to that university or is it the university you are looking for. So then you can shortlist a university and then get an idea of what your course has to be like which course you do want to pursue further and which university is going to offer it. So it definitely helps us because then we can look for ourselves which university we want to pursue' (Vaishali Sethi, Interview, May 15, 2019).

On another occasion, the researcher recalls attending a workshop where an ex-student of the school, then pursuing higher studies from an Indian college in Homeopathy medicine - had come to address the students. She also happened to be the student ambassador for the *Oxford Summer Course* and sought to motivate and encourage the students to apply for the course. Ramya Patil (tenth grade student and academic staff representative as well as an English teacher at PIS), apprised the researcher that, on behalf of the school they make strong attempts to provide the students as much exposure as possible so that they do not have to depend on counsellors outside. So they keep organising such events where ex-students come and interact with the current batches. Khushbu (the student) believed that such a pattern (of inviting ex-students) makes for an honest and unbiased assessment or representation because they

would not engage in stating "flowery stuff" about their respective institutions, unlike representatives from various universities, who she feels do so.

Figure 7.6: Workshop by ex-student of PIS

PIS also engages its pupils with a *Generation Global Programme* previously known as *Face to Faith*[66]. It is a workshop for 12-17 year olds and is active in nineteen countries. The programme discusses global issues from a variety of faith and belief. *Generation Global* prepares the students, giving them the skills and experience they need to navigate differences in a peaceful way. It aims to promote cross-cultural understanding, provides young people with the knowledge, skills and competencies. It is an innovative activity which encourages meaningful inter and intra-faith dialogue across a range of cultures, containing diverse and often conflicting views. It inculcates key mediation and negotiation skills among students so that they are able to hold significant and respectful interfaith discussions - even if their views differ. In this programme, students interact directly with their peers around the world through video-conferences, engaging in dialogue around issues of culture, identity, beliefs, values, and attitudes.

Ecological Consciousness and Concerns of Climate Change

Yemini and Fulop (2014) have argued that, some of the more prominent subjects contributing to internationalisation are education towards global citizenship and

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[66] *Face to Faith* primarily connects students worldwide via a secure website within which they interact with each other.

human rights as well as global environmental problems and their ramifications. Similarly, taking cues from Tagore's educational model, Samuel (2010) argues that, "curriculum reflecting the love of nature and the importance of preserving a healthy environment for posterity is consistent with the concepts of Tagore - ones that promoted international cooperation starting in the educational field" (Samuel, 2010: 353). Such a principle is also reflected in the Mission Statement of PIS which underlines that, the objectives of its curriculum also lie in nurturing among students 'an awareness of the environmental and economic issues of the contemporary world to prepare them for their role as global leaders'. A student who was a member of an Ecology club till the eighth grade told the researcher that they used to participate in rallies, with slogans, telling people not to litter and not to waste electricity, thereby creating awareness.

According to a new research study conducted by the Cambridge International Education organisation in March 2020,

> 'Students around the world are keener than ever before to learn about global issues like climate change in school, but currently almost a third isn't getting the opportunity to do so. Over 11,000 students aged 13 to 19 took part in Cambridge International's first ever Global Perspectives survey and shared their views on global issues; how they learn about them; and how their awareness of these issues might impact on their future career choices. Globally, more than a quarter (26%) of all the students who responded to the survey said climate change was the biggest issue facing the world today. Globally, pollution and poverty and economic equality, were the second and third most chosen issues of concern'[67].

The Ecology Clubs (popularly known as the Eco Club) of the Junior and Senior schools are actively involved in raising awareness about ecology and the environment. The importance of adopting eco-friendly practices, the urgency of adopting next generation technologies and making a life style change is stressed. The school observes the *Earth Hour*, encourages recycling and promotes awareness on climate change through blogs and student networks[68]. In the beginning of every school year,

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[67] See, https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-global-perspectives/survey-results/

[68] Earth Hour is a global movement "started by the World Wide Fund (WWF) which began as a symbolic lights-out event in Sydney in 2007" (https://www.earthhour.org/our-mission).

the students find themselves placed into six school houses, beginning from grade four, which are named after some of the mighty rivers of the world – *Amazon, Missouri, Nile, Ganga, Murray* and *Thames*. While five of them (Amazon, Missouri, Nile, Murray and Thames) happen to be located outside of India, one (Ganga) happens to be in India. Here again, one can notice how the idea of globality has been portrayed through the school houses. On one particular inter house project display (Figure 7.7) in the month of November 2018, the topic of plastic waste management and sustainable development was explored. Each house made different projects on different ways of disposing waste (degradable and non-degradable). The items prepared by the students were put on display in front of the reception area.

Figure 7.7: Project display

Reflecting on the issue of climate change, Vaishali (the student) affirmed that,

> 'It does prepare us practically because it helps you build as a person. You get to know about what's going on in the real world. You become aware. Whether it's the climate change or whatever is going on around you and how you can take precautions and protect the environment. So, it's quite necessary for everyone to know about such essential things' (Vaishali Sethi, interview, May 15, 2019).

It would thus be worth noting what the Principal of PIS had to say regarding the school and its approaches. She believes that, "Internationalism specifically is built into everything they do". To quote her words,

'So, if it's a simple problem like smog in Delhi, the children would take trouble to analyse smog in China and how they have they have dealt with it. So the same issue acquires a larger dimension and the global perspective is developed very seamlessly. Also, the teachers have grasped that they are always looking at something bigger. Further, giving exposure to students with regard to various competitions also enhance their capabilities. They are taking exams from University of Waterloo, Australia so automatically their perspectives change. Hence, it is not only the curriculum; even the activities here matter. We have the Model United Nations or even the *Scholar Cup* that exposes them to over a hundred countries' (Principal, interview, November 28, 2019).

International Exchange Programmes

While it has been discussed time and again that PIS takes initiatives to promote the ethos of 'study-abroad', the idea would now be to look into another such school-promoted programme that actually enables students to get first-hand experience of the global values, conditions, nature and cultures, geographies and politics – the *international exchange programmes.* This section further seeks to understand how the international exchange programmes at PIS are organized to undertake special focus on the idea of 'exchange' – the primary driving principle for globalization. And by exchange we not only mean mobilities of people, goods and services but more importantly being a part of a collective shared experience that involves an exchange – of ideas, cultural forms, customs and conventions, languages (as discussed in an earlier section), forms of leisure and so on. That, privilege is the primary factor which enables the manifestation of such 'exchanges', thereby allowing few individuals belonging to particular classes to be a part of such 'networks', is the embedded principle of the entire discussion. Khushbu, the student who has had the experience of an exchange programme described,

'We went to Paris for around 14 days in the summer break. We had our correspondents and we were staying with their families. So personally my correspondent she had a younger sister and she was living with her parents. So we were able to bond and as a third language I took was French, so I was a bit familiar with the language. I tried to communicate with them and otherwise also indulged in roaming around with them. So we could create good relations and I felt like with this experience I could discover Paris better

than if would have been just a normal trip. So that kind of a trip I would say is one of the great trips that the school plans and if maybe some place in India if we could (maybe some places in MP) I would really love that' (Khushbu Garg, interview, July 15, 2019).

On further probing (in relation to the benefits accrued with respect to academic inputs or socialization) it was learnt that she did not acquire much academic skills, it however, did help a lot on in terms of her personality development. As students venture out for these trips on their own (without parents), they learn to 'handle things' on their own.

Karan (the student) too felt the same and also gave a detailed account of his trip to France, which is a part of the exchange programme. According to him,

'It was amazing! We learnt about their history. We went to the Palace of Versailles. I made like 12 friends. We made friends; we made memories because this is something we won't get anywhere else. Exchange programmes give you an exposure on how to be responsible because handling money is a huge task in any European country. Their culture, their food, everything is different from ours. They can't have spices so it was a disaster for us (giggles). We also learnt how the children spend their time, how they spend their money. They are very organised. Their school, everything is much organised. We can't walk on the streets of Delhi but for them they can just walk up to their friend's house, walk up to the school. That city is very well connected. They have these blocks and they are much interconnected' (Karan Thapar, interview, October 23, 2019).

Both the students highlighted that the exchange programmes are well promoted at PIS. While the school already encourages among its students an orientation and an ethos of 'internationalism' or 'internationalness' in principle; in practice it does so by organizing counselling sessions and, more importantly, via international educational trips. Not only does it allows for an intermixing of people and socializes students in correspondence to those cultural forms, it instils within them a sense of confidence, readiness, and levels of compatibility as well as respect for diversities. Although a student did talk about 'differences in culture', she was quick to acknowledge that sharing/exchanging in the true sense of the term is witnessed and facilitating internationalization is the prime motive behind these exchanges. In a way such

activities also promote an element of globally awareness as well as classness among its students.

Vaishali (the student) further informed the researcher that their French counterparts (here, same correspondents), did visit India for a couple of weeks. She took their visitors to India Gate, and exhibited dance forms as well as the Indian folk-culture through exposing them to the *SPICMACAY* initiatives[69]. For her as well as for them, the highlight of their visit was the day of the farewell when the visiting students dressed up in traditional Indian costumes such as a *lehenga*, performed as well as sang a couple of *Bollywood* songs[70]. When asked whether they too had engaged in similar acts back in France, Vaishali observed that they had performed a skit in French on the day of their farewell, apart from engaging in forms of classical Indian dance such as *Bharata Natyam* and *Kathak.*

From the accounts of the students, it is noticed that care is taken to ensure that students get exposure to host countries' cultural practices which include language, dance, food and even values; if not in their academic traditions. Hence, much care is taken to promote foreign languages within the curriculum – to ensure that students 'feel at home' in any respective country (outside of their home countries).

The student, Atif said, "When you go abroad, these exposures and experiences make you more versatile to adapt to more cultures and traditions wherever you go. So it doesn't make you stiff and then do whatever you are used to doing. It makes you more adaptable basically" In the words of the student thus, one can shed one's 'stiffness', in case there are any, and allow for greater adaptability into other contexts.

Interestingly, Rajyavardhan Budhiraja, a tenth grade student whose mother is a homemaker and father is a businessman, noted that, he is unsure about attending the exchange programmes as most of these trips usually are to Europe alone. He observed that he has already travelled to every part of Europe and hence his participation is contingent on the nature (location) of the programme. Another feature that can be ascertained is that, many of these students have travelled across the globe or have

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[69] The Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music And Culture Amongst Youth. See, https://spicmacay.org/
[70] A blend of the words Bombay (presently Mumbai) and Hollywood (American film industry) Bollywood, is the Indian Hindi film industry which is based in the city of Mumbai in the state of Maharashtra, India.

been globally mobile on account of their families. The fact that middle classes also invest in travelling (domestic as well as international) and that such practices have become indicative of a middle class lifestyle, has also been pointed out by scholars like Fernandes (2006) and Brosius (2010). Hence, socialization and exposure through these travel programmes are not only attained first-hand from the schools alone; families also play an important role. This substantiates that, much of the clientele at PIS do belong to families that come from those middle classes – one that has travelled across the world sufficiently or are exposed through relatives and friends abroad. Many of them therefore, have already 'shed their stiffness' and have acquired certain amount of awareness from an early age before venturing into PIS. The school simply and subsequently reproduces their classness by socializing them into such practices and ideals thereby, engaging in the reproduction of 'globally aware' middle classes.

Exchange programmes are very commonly conducted in various schools across the length and breadth of the country which no longer is specific to this school alone or any other international school for that matter. However, PIS's objective (as witnessed in its mission statement) of enabling/allowing each student to become a global citizen in the true sense of the word did catch the researcher's attention. Moreover, the practice of making each student reside with the family of the students in the host country was a unique and novel idea which was unheard of prior to conducting this research. The idea then also is to give its students a deeper understanding of the diverse cultures and learning about the world and its people. According to PIS's authorities, the programme allows students to become more inclusive in their approach to foreign cultures and helps them develop a more liberal and sensitive world view. PIS has also worked and continues to collaborate with schools that have benefitted students by making them aware of multi-dimensional learning approaches – that is, by enhancing their own understanding of the world around them and by experiential learning.

National Exposure Camps, Community Service and the Practice of 'Giving'

Apart from international exchange programmes, local/national exposure camps are also organized within the country which involves community service, adventure camps, acquaintance to rural societies which focus on leadership and teamwork skills, activities, et cetera. While Farah Lokhandwala (a parent) was particularly glad to

inform the researcher that her children have always participated in trips – both internationally as well as within the national domain; she was particularly happy to see her children helping the rural population with their daily chores. She equates herself and her children as being privileged using the allegory of the activity of fetching water in the villages and thereby feels 'blessed'. Hence, she feels that the children owe a lot to these trips as far as their upbringing is concerned.

However, unlike the foreign exchange programmes which involve co-habitation with residents of the host countries, the national (Indian) counterparts restrict students' exposure to brief 'visits' to certain hill stations, villages and historical sites. To elaborate further, Karan (the student) who was a part of the Chail (a hill station in Himachal Pradesh) camp mentioned that,

> 'We learnt how to pitch tents, how to cook our own food, how to hike, we
> learnt rappelling, mountain climbing, river crossing by foot. We learnt how to
> live in a jungle if you are all alone. This was trip was basically to make you
> learn how to live by yourself because your parents won't always be around
> you' (Karan Thapar, interview, October 23, 2019).

The student, Ayush, informed that they engaged in community service at Mukteshwar (a village in Nainital, Uttarakhand) for 'one day'. While he did exhibit sensibilities regarding the hardships that people in the villages face with regard to access to basic amenities such as water and food; poor access to healthcare and that long travels to hospitals; and believes that trip was an eye-opener. Hence, they went to the villagers' houses as a part of the visit; cooked food for them and also fetched water from a source downhill. To quote his words,

> 'The Mukteshwar camp was in partnership with TERI[71]. Ninety-five percent
> of students from my class are not accustomed to low profile stuff. They
> haven't stayed in tents. They haven't gone to villages. It was unique. It was
> different to see how low and difficult life is on the hills. I feel our school did
> it to make us realise how privileged we are and how we should count our
> blessings as people say. Even now we have everything but we are not that
> happy and they hardly have anything and they are happy with that. We had

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[71] The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI) is an independent organisation working for environmental concerns and has its headquarter in Delhi.

one team building event as well' (Ayush Srivastava, interview, November 8, 2019).

Hence, students' narratives can be taken into account in order to reflect upon the fact that it serves as an 'eye-opener' for them, by taking them away from the comfort zones of their urban households and lifestyles. It is also interesting to note that PIS ensures that the rural interaction is limited to brief visits, unlike the ones to the European countries which span for almost a fortnight at stretch. Moreover, adventure camps or leisure forms of such nature are a regular feature to the rural programme too, apart from the so-called 'community service for a day'.

Prajakta Varman, who has done her PhD and Post Doctorate in Biology from the University of Texas, was employed as a Biology teacher in PIS and also responsible for the community service activities in the school. She informed that, of her four years of experience in the school, she has witnessed students evolving to become aware of ground realities the hardships and struggles that Economically Weaker Section (EWS) children go through. She has seen their attitudinal change for the better because most of the students in the school come from affluent backgrounds who might have never "walked on foot" by which she meant they have always had cars at their disposal and are provided with everything they required and enjoyed all the luxuries in life. She spoke very highly of the community service programme of the school.

According to the PIS-*Almanac*, community service programme entails that students put in a number of hours of compulsory service as part of the IAYP (International Award for Young People which is a non-governmental organisation and is a member of the Duke of Edinburgh's International Award Association). This includes in school and out of school programmes. The *buddy system*, mentoring of juniors and the *Each One Teach One* programme are some ways by which students follow the school precepts. The community service programme is carried out mostly by students of senior school comprising of approximately fifty students from each grade. One such activity that students engage in, is with an NGO called Conservation Knowledge and Service (CKS) Foundation which is located in Malviya Nagar, a locality in the southern part of Delhi. The activity involves the EWS students of PIS being taught by the non-EWS students of PIS after their school hours (2:30 to 4:30 pm) on a regular basis within the school premise itself.

Apart from community service, the act of giving is also promoted by the School. An act of giving that was witnessed involved collaboration with a fundraising agency – *Goonj*. As part of this collaboration students raise funds for calamities, for extreme weather conditions during summer and winter months (which the school refers to as *Rahat*) and they also put up fair-stalls during Christmas Carnival at PIS to raise funds. With the assistance of the fundraising agency, the students are then able to distribute the funds as well as donate clothes to the poor and needy. Also, students and the school per se make book donations to two organisations namely, the *Physical Education Federation of India* and *Malala Fund*. Raising funds for a cancer support NGO called *CanSupport* is another such activity of giving – for which the students from grades five to twelve participate in a walkathon and the eleventh grade students raise funds by organising a bake sale once a year during winter. Students also visit one of the *SOS Children's Villages of India* located in Faridabad, a city in Haryana (located in the National Capital Region) where they go and spend time with the children – teach them, help them with their tasks and even spend a day or two with them. Through these funds, the education expense of four students from the village is being sponsored.

Figure 7.8: Display of community service activities

According to Bunnell (2020), "Such experiential learning is considered transformative (Hayden & Macintosh, 2018), but awaits full sociological theorization" (p.16). Such activities become important 'interaction rituals' which can generate positivity in the minds of the students and thus become important elements of the 'expressive culture' of the school. More so, such ritual practices also generate a kind of 'collective effervescence' (Durkheim, 1984; 1995) by making the student community come together and participate in the same activity and thereby develop a common thought process (for example, the idea of charity) related to such activities. However, a contrasting opinion has been put forward by Sriprakash et al. (2016). She argues that such practices like community service might ideologically seem to encourage conceptions of 'equality', but these (activities) in reality strengthen inequality between the privileged and under privileged as well as lead to the reproduction of classness because it makes the privileged perceive themselves as better-off than those whom they offer their services to. Also, what needs to be kept in mind in the context of the present study is that, many of the students mentioned opting for Community Service as part of their extra-curricular, in order to get an extra edge during college/university admissions abroad. Additionally, the job prospects for these students may become better due to their global exposure and lived experience (Rizvi, 2000). According to these students, foreign colleges and universities expect their student applicants to have prior exposure of activities involving community service. In this context Koh (2014) also points out that, "Students who participate in study abroad view in pragmatic terms that a short stint of studying abroad looks good on their CV and speaks well of their exposure to intercultural and cosmopolitan experiences. This 'biographical project' and accumulation of 'an economy of experience' are deemed to give the student added labour market advantage (Heath, 2007)" (Koh, 2014: 27).

IV. Inculcating International Orientation by becoming 'Glocal'

While PIS places enormous emphasis on the category global or at times even international to promote and brand itself, it is deeply rooted to the local/national conditions and cultures. This aspect of inter-mixing the global with the local/national is strongly emphasized upon by PIS whose stakeholders believe that, the true spirit of internationalism lies in becoming *glocal* (Francois, 2015) and not simply global. Such is also accomplished by promoting musical concerts, exposure to classical dance forms; theme based assemblies; educational trips and adventure camps; celebrating

the National Days of importance for Indian and foreign nations. Also, PIS houses a Fine Arts department which enlightens students on the Indian folk and classical songs and dances, just as students learn *Warli*, *Madhubani* and other folk/classical painting styles in their art lessons. The prime emphasis therein lies on inculcating deep-rooted indices of moralities and the middle class is known to harbour such moralities largely within their sociabilities. In this context, Yemini and Fulop, (2014) argue that although there are no single-consensual pathways to achieve and accomplish internationalisation within the ambit of schooling, standard approaches lay the emphasis on gauging a variety of perspectives by acknowledging international similarities, respecting and protecting intercultural differences and commonalities.

SPICMACAY concerts are a highlight in the school calendar, something that allows for an exposure to classical musical traditions in the Indian context[72]. The researcher recalls witnessing a performance by an American Odissi dancer, Sharon Lowen. It was a unique experience to see an American perform an Indian dance form. Not only did she perform but also interacted with the students between her performance. She taught the students a few basic dance forms and engaged in an interaction at the end of her performance. After the concert ended the Principal spoke about the artist's social background and tried to point out to the students how an 'American' (emphasised) woman has imbibed Indian culture and the Indian dance form so well that she is now involved in teaching us 'Indians' (emphasised) the same.

Figure 7.9: SPICMACAY concert of Sharon Lowen

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[72] The Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music And Culture Amongst Youth. See, https://spicmacay.org/

On one occasion of a casual conversation with the Principal, she spoke about the significance of learning about the Indian culture and its traditions as well as to also value them. She said that she purposefully wears a *saree* to the school just to send a message to the parents and the staff – that being in an international school does not affect her way of dressing and that being international does not mean you need to wear western attire. However, she does not insist that the teachers wear a *saree/salwar* suit because she does not like to be of an imposing nature.

She further pointed out,

> 'If they (students) are good human beings, growing up in a global environment they are bound to be good global citizens…when you are exposed to global issues through the internationalism in school, you are almost ready to go out into the world and if you have had the experience of an exchange programme or some immersion you are already you know more comfortable…look it's an endless process, I can't say that everybody leaving the school is ready for the world, no, they will grow as they go but the ground is being set, the soil has been prepared you know, the seed has been planted and then they will grow. So they will automatically become global citizens' (Principal, interview, November 28, 2019).

The Principal's aim is to ensure that the school must not be international only through the curriculum but also through its ethos and practices. She aims to make the students think differently, out of the box and not just do what the curriculum asks them to do. She also tells the teachers the same. Being international for her is to become professional, critical thinkers, and develop their (students') enquiry skills. To elaborate further on the aforementioned aspects, she emphasises that the *Model United Nations* (read MUN) Society of PIS International is run entirely by its students. Over the years, delegates from this society have gone to several MUN competitions within the city as well as the country and won accolades for the school. Each student in this society is self-assured, has sharp insight of the current dynamics of the world and has enhanced debating skills. Wholly managed by the student community, the Model United Nations community also teaches students more responsibility, more accountability, and more adaptability, something that the Principal personally appreciates.

Therefore, it can be noticed that the moot idea that lies behind the designs of such curricular and co-curricular activities harp on the development of skills but more importantly, to make students aware and sensitised to global and local/national issues that would dominate the future. Students are provided with opportunities to experience the diversities of cultures, geographical locations and cultural patterns not only internationally but within the Indian context as well.

Summary

From visits to the field and detailed observations the researcher would like to understand *international orientation* to be a kind of global awareness building and socialization that takes place not only through the introduction of a formal international curriculum but also through an informal 'hidden' curriculum (Giroux, 2001). In this context, different facilities/services offered to the students and various activities engaged in by an international school in order to trying to be distinctive from any other public/private school, have been discussed. For instance, debates and plays on various issues and topics from across the globe; conducting life skill classes (wherein the school counsellor tries to inculcate and enhance different intra and inter personal skills among students through various activities); organising plays and concerts to celebrate a French, German, Spanish or Hindi Day in school (or any other foreign language as offered by the school); organising MUNs (Model United Nations) and international Olympiads; offering international exchange programmes as well as exposure trips and camps within India. Organising workshops with various foreign university representatives and counsellors; collaborating with various international organisations in order to conduct international level competitive exams within the school; helping students to attain foreign scholarships to study abroad and the like are also important aspects for the transmission of international orientation. PIS's case only goes further to demonstrate that such programmes definitely serve as a unique selling point or for branding purposes for its clientele who undoubtedly belong to privileged classes and is composed of individuals who frequently traverse foreign shores for multiple purposes if not for permanent residency.

In PIS' case, it has been witnessed that the school believes in steadily relaying aspects and formations of neoliberal modernity. For instance, a Spanish Day is celebrated with much rigour and seriousness and exchange of ideas and knowledge flow freely

amid such a site and setting. Probably, this entails the emergence of or the making of 'globally aware' middle class(ness) that moves away from Ball and Nikita's (2014) conceptualisation to that of Bussolo et al.'s (2011) understanding that they constitute a class of people who want to enjoy the privileges that were once reserved only for people of the developed countries and/or the elite; who want to travel abroad for a definite span of time, but may not want to necessarily settle abroad permanently. There are those who want to travel to Paris with ease, speak the local language there, and acculturate themselves to the conditions there and 'feel at home' despite being abroad and away from their native places. Most importantly, parents want their children to become truly international or global, in mind, spirit and orientations. PIS helps them achieve such pursuits seamlessly. That 'globally aware' middle classness can be ascertained via such forms of schooling that reproduce elements of class privilege among children has also been looked at. Herein lays the importance of international schooling for such classes of people who want their children to become globally mobile as well as compatible and thereby become 'globally aware' conscious citizens. Whether forms of global citizenship and mobilities ascertain traits of classness or not has been the primary point of inquiry of this research work in general as well as this chapter in particular.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study began with the purpose of deciphering the rationale behind choosing an international school in India and simultaneously delineating the social class composition of the clientele that such a school caters to. We began by presenting the rationale behind conducting such a study in the Indian context along with the theoretical frameworks that have been adopted for the study. It was found that Bourdieusian (1984; 1986; 1987; 1991; 1996) concepts and categories are pertinent if one has to discuss social class and schooling. However, we also confess that while these concepts are necessary yet they were not sufficient to develop a holistic understanding of what this study sought to achieve. For instance, Bourdieu claims that "… it has to be posited simultaneously that economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital and that these… produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal… the fact that economic capital is at their root… at the root of their effects" (Bourdieu, 1986: 24). Such a claim did not fit into the context of PIS where the authorities affirmed that their selection criteria for admission are such that not everybody endowed with economic capital is catered to. Along with economic capital one's socio-cultural background also holds a lot of significance. Hence, Bourdieu's claim about economic capital being supreme gets negated here making us realise that money is not the only factor to get access to an international school like PIS. On the flip side, segregating aspirants on the basis of such preferences clearly points out how the school attempts to strike a balance between its own habitus and that of the families whom they cater to. As a consequence, social classness gets reproduced through such international schooling.

Therefore, along with Bourdieu, we borrowed ideas of class analysis from the more recent works of Stephen Ball (1996, 2003, 2014), John H. Goldthorpe (1995, 2007) and Mike Savage (2009, 2013, 2015), to name a few. The introduction then further discussed the wide array of theoretical and conceptual underpinnings that have contributed in analysing the middle classes in general as well as in India particularly. In doing so, we discovered how different scholars have understood the Indian middle

classes and have also introduced the ideas of 'old' and 'new' middle classes (Beteille, 2007; Fernandes, 2006; Brosius; 2010; Saavala, 2010 and Mathur, 2010; 2018) in the discourse followed by a conceptual understanding of the newly introduced phrase - 'global middle classes' (Heiman et al., 2012; Ball, 2003; Koo, 2016; Bussolo et al., 2011). It was found that there are both convergences and divergences among all the conceptual categories of middle classes that have been analysed so far.

However, in the context of our study, we observed that while there are certain similarities between the 'old' and 'new' and 'global' middle classes and our sample of study, through the analytical chapters – we inferred that there are significant differences between the class composition of our sample and that of other contexts with regard to international schooling. We contend that, the social class composition of our sample did not converge with the category of global middle classes as has been understood by various scholars neither did they resonate well with the classical conceptualisations of 'elites' nor with a more recent one as offered by Khan (2012), who understands elites as "those who have vastly disproportionate control over or access to a resource" (p.362). We have thus, attempted to introduce a new classification by the name of 'globally aware' middle classes to identify our particular context of school clientele. And the rationale behind introducing this category has been laid out in the analytical chapters. After a brief discussion on middle classes we present the research objectives divided into macro and micro levels which inform this study and put forward the research questions that we have tried to address through the study. The discussion then shifts to the methodology that has been employed to conduct our study followed by a brief discussion on the chapterization of the thesis.

The broad objectives and the associated research questions presented in Chapter One have informed the presentation and analysis of data in Chapter Two. In this chapter our aim was to begin with an understanding of the meaning of an international school wherein it was learnt that there is no standard definition with which one can identify an international school and no standard guideline for the use of the word 'international' in a school's name. What exists are certain characteristics which have been identified by various scholars to determine the types and the nature of international schools that exist worldwide. Of these, the most prominent ones are, international curriculum, student-teacher population across national boundaries,

marketing strategies and most importantly, 'international orientation' (Crossley and Watson, 2003; Hayden, 2006).

However, the nature of international schools in India paints a different picture. In India we have a wide range of international schools which comprise of the different attributes previously mentioned. While there are some which offer an international curriculum and cater to only NRIs, diplomats and expatriates, there are others which cater to locally residing Indian students; there are some schools wherein the majority of the parent clientele are from the professional classes (multinational and transnational corporations), at the same time there are others where the business class parent clientele is in majority. Even in case of teachers there are some international schools with a mixed population of foreign and Indian teachers while others have Indian teachers only. Interestingly, there are also schools which have the word international in their name while they offer only Indian curriculum. Such international schools align with Cambridge and Thompson's (2004) argument that they may be only international by name without offering any international education. In case of PIS, it was found that the school is not only international by name, it offers an international curriculum (the Cambridge IGCSE, A and AS Levels) from K-12 and puts a lot of emphasis on inculcating 'international orientation' among its students. The student population of PIS, is not a balanced one with a greater percentage of locally residing Indian students. The teachers and other staff members of the school including its management team are all Indians with no exceptions. In fact, a recent report compiled by ISC Research claims that, in India, international schools can enrol up to hundred percent of the local population (*India: International Schools Market Intelligence Report 2020-21, ISC Research,* 2021: 6).

Having established an understanding of the variety of international schools that exist worldwide, and particularly in India, we move on to discuss various social contexts which led to the mushrooming of such schools in India post 2000s and how the international school market developed thereon. The effects of globalisation and neo-liberal policies no doubt played a crucial role in providing an entry to the system of international schooling in India since, private education was already widely prevalent in the country. However, what led to the entry of private unaided international schools within the private school market was an interesting discovery made in the concerned

chapter. While Kotler and Fox (1995) have understood "educational marketing as 'the analysis, planning, implementation, and control of carefully formulated programs designed to bring about voluntary exchanges of values with target markets for the purpose of achieving organizational objectives' (p. 6). Foskett (1998) described a marketing-oriented organization as 'one in which the customer (or client, or clients, or those groups who are the focus of its major day-today activities) is central to its operation' (p. 199)" (cited from Damaso and Lima, 2019: 3).

Based on such an understanding of the educational market, it was observed that branding played a key role in establishing the international school market wherein to begin with, the term 'international' is a brand in itself which is given a lot of weightage in a developing country like India. There is a symbolic recognition and value representing social status associated with the word international especially when it denotes international academic or professional qualifications which are very much in demand now. No doubt then why the Indian government is inviting foreign universities to establish their franchises here and the Delhi government's Board of Education is partnering with the International Baccalaureate Organisation in order to introduce the international curriculum in 30 schools in the state. Of these 30 schools, 20 will be Schools of Specialised Excellence and remaining 10 will be government Sarvodaya Vidyalayas (*The Indian Express*, August 12, 2021).

The other aspects of branding include the brand of the school and its curriculum (particularly the examination board). While a school itself might have its own brand value locally through the variety of services that it offers, its national ranking, placement of students in popular higher education institutes (in India and abroad) and annual examination results, the brand of the curriculum that it offers also adds value to the school's reputation. As put forward by Cambridge (2002), "it may be argued that schools act as the retailers of products (i.e. academic qualifications) that are 'manufactured' by the examination boards. Schools and examination boards are joined in a symbiotic relationship giving mutual benefit, because the examination boards require the schools' knowledge of local markets while the schools derive benefit from their association with the name and reputation of the branded product that they are retailing" (Cambridge, 2002: 231). In some cases, alternate strategies of brand management are also employed by schools wherein they do not let any negative

feedback about their school get circulated. For instance, in case of PIS it was observed that there is no practice of taking feedback from students and/or parents regarding its teaching staff or any other aspect. Also, taking disciplinary action against any student without the knowledge of their parents is forbidden. That way the school is able to control its once established reputation and keep away from being subjected to open criticism as well as from the fear of losing its clientele.

The other important factor that the international school market has capitalised on is the drawback of the national system of education. Both literature and field experiences reveal that the parents who have chosen an international school have done so due to their dissatisfaction with the national system which includes the national curriculum, the pedagogy followed by the schools offering national curriculum and most importantly, the lack of global outlook in the national system of education. Such reasons coupled with other factors (which have been discussed in the chapter) have led to exponential growth in the number of international schools in prominent urban localities as well as certain urban fringes. Moreover, the annual income that is generated through the tuition fee from these international schools has given the international organisations further impetus to continue to provide their services. Thus, the demand and supply of international schools has been affected by both push and pull factors. The increasing dissatisfaction of the parents with the national system of education has pushed them to look for greener pastures. Those who can afford to avail such a system are therefore, going for other options which they believe will provide them with better returns for the money that they put in. On the other hand, the system of international schooling has managed to pull potential clients towards them by raising their hopes for a better future for their children in the global arena.

Chapter Three onwards we move on to the micro level analysis of the ethnographic data that was collected during fieldwork and the discussion continues till Chapter Seven before we conclude this study. In Chapter Three, we have presented a detailed picturesque description together with some analysis of the infrastructure and organisation of PIS where the fieldwork was conducted. To begin with, we deciphered that the school is part of a trusteeship and is just eighteen years old by now. However, given the popularity that the school has attained in just these few years speaks something about the increasing demand for such schools among the privileged

classes. Not to be forgotten is the reputation of the Trust commonly referred to as 'Society' with which PIS is associated. PIS is the first international school under this 'Society' which already has schools offering the Indian national curriculum within the country as well as overseas. Thus, the 'Society' itself has become a brand today whose brand value is quite high in the country but especially in the northern part of the country. Therefore, when such a reputed Trust establishes an international school offering a curriculum and examination board like that of Cambridge, it is bound to attract the attention of potential clients or customers, if we can say so, given the rate at which education is getting commodified by the day and brand consciousness percolating into the education sector as well. After all, the international qualifications symbolise cultural capital which the aspirants want to accumulate either in order to maintain their classness or and/or reproduce it.

A detailed and descriptive account of the built environment of PIS such as the geographical location and infrastructural arrangement of the school campus, together with descriptions of the surrounding areas of the school have been vividly presented to showcase how such spaces are organised in relation to 'global city' arrangements in contemporary times. It was learnt that location does play a very important role in attracting people's attention as was also pointed by our interviewees. Moreover, location also has its effects on classness for, many a times a particular location gets identified for being either upscale or otherwise and people choose to venture into those locations accordingly. Schools like PIS are very well aware of this fact and have therefore very thoughtfully selected a prime location for the school which attracts local parents residing as far as Faridabad, Ghaziabad, Gurgaon and NOIDA, in spite of the presence of popular international schools in these areas as well.

As already mentioned earlier and reiterated by the school authorities as well, the school was established to primarily cater to the locally residing residents of Delhi-NCR who need not necessarily be globally mobile especially for purposes of work but want their children to become so. As it has been repeatedly stressed by the interviewees that becoming global means becoming sensitive to and aware of other cultures (local as well as global), the built environment of PIS did indicate the same. The interior arrangement of the library, for instance, gave the impression of how the school makes attempts to symbolically represent an amalgamation between the local

and the global. However, certain observations were made which gave a contrasting opinion as well. Vegetarian cuisine in the cafeteria as well as for the mid-day meals, pictures of Hindu Gods and Goddesses near the music and dance rooms gave strong impressions of the existence of dominant religious beliefs and how it is made to subtly seep into one's conscience. Also, making the students aware of the practice of thanking the Almighty before sitting for their mid-day meal brings out the embedded religiosity present within PIS while it promotes itself as a secular, co-educational international school. The fact that religion and nationalism are very subtly built into the system of the school was clearly evident from its landscaping and internal décor and the same was also observed during the whole school assembly which has been elaborated upon in Chapter Six. At this point one is made to wonder, how the philosophy of globalism works out in such a scenario. When the attempt is to create global awareness by recognising and respecting global societies and cultures then, why does the diversity of the local Indian culture get neglected by such a school, is asked.

The admission process and the school's fee structure brought out the socio-economic class background of the parents who avail such schooling for their children. While on paper, PIS gives first preference to embassy officials followed by professionals working in multinational and transnational companies, the parental occupation data revealed that majority of their children belong to locally residing business families and the same was evident from the sample set as well. Such an observation made it evident that the nature of class composition in such schools is gradually changing. Although PIS has its preferences with regard to their clientele yet they can only exercise it when children come to take admission at higher grades because, the admission process at Kindergarten is based on the lottery system. Herein, the researcher made another observation that, be it the lottery system or the direct admission process, it is majorly the local business class parents who are approaching PIS to enrol their kids. No doubt these parents have the economic wealth to afford the fees of such a school yet, the fee structure of PIS that it is the lowest fee charging international school in the city. The Principal clearly stated that the school is not meant for the 'very rich' or elite section of the society who would prefer an international school just for the sake of status symbol and not for the academic rigour that PIS offers. According to her, PIS is a 'middle class' school. Well, simply

claiming to be a middle class school does not blur the fact that PIS functions as a gated enclave since, not every middle class individual will be able to afford such a school neither does the school cater to the vast middle class population of the country. As it is well known, there are fragments within the middle classes itself, what such a school does is to maintain that fragmentation by engaging in the practice of exclusivity under the garb of cosmopolitanism and the same has been demonstrated in the remaining chapters as well.

The research objectives pertaining to the parent and school levels have helped to give shape to the arguments in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven of this thesis. The aims of these chapters were to capture the parental life-worlds, their aspirations regarding the future of their children, their perceptions and expectations from the schooling of their children, how these three aspects along with other factors play a role in their choice of a particular school, how and whether the school fulfils these aspirations, and finally, whether all of this reflect 'globally aware' middle classness. As a conceptual-theoretical contribution of this work, interventions were made to expand/substantiate upon existing interpretations on the concepts 'global middle class' and 'international schooling' (as they have been recently/historically understood). These are largely addressed through snippets from the field which present a very mixed picture. Hence, obfuscations and limitations of these categories as well as the transitions have been addressed in this work by working towards nuanced understandings of the same (for instance, 'international schooling with national sensibilities' and 'globally aware' middle classes).

The parental life-worlds, their lifestyles, tastes, ethos, aspirations and decisions pertaining to the education of their children, have revealed that they are a heterogeneous group and must not therefore, be categorised under one single terminology. While we were able to gauge certain common factors that contribute towards their global awareness yet their middle classness is not a homogenous attribute. The first point of consideration in this regard is their occupational status. As pointed out by Maxwell et al. (2019), the scholars who have spoken about global middle classes have given a lot of weightage to the professions of these classes and have mostly associated them with global mobility for purposes of their vocation. However, the distinction that we came across in case of our sample was that, their

global mobility was not a result of their occupational trajectory. In fact, the parent interviewees were found to be local urban residents living in Delhi for over two decades wherein, majority are working in the business sector only with a few exceptions. In fact, an interesting observation that was made with regard to the occupational profile of the parents was that there are also public university professors whose children were studying at PIS, something which was not heard of/read about prior to conducting this research.

The social background of the student and teacher interviewees also revealed that the popular notion of associating international schools with globally mobile professionals does not hold much ground in the context of our study. Moreover, it was interesting to note that some teachers at PIS claiming to belong to the middle class clearly mentioned their inability to enrol their children to such a school if they had not received a fee waiver from the authorities. It is at this juncture where we begin to depart from the notion of global middle class and introduce the plurality of 'globally aware' middle classes through their socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, lifestyles, life-worlds as well as choice of schooling.

While all the respondents claimed to belong to humble middle class backgrounds as children yet, presently, they were conscious enough to self-referentially associate themselves with the upper middle classes considering their accumulation and possession of different forms of capital and resources. While very few had the privilege of pursuing higher education overseas as well as a brief opportunity to work outside the country, all of them have done their schooling from public/private schools offering the national curriculum. While their earlier life trajectories find resonance with the way 'old' middle classes have been understood by scholars, their present lifestyles and life-worlds resonate more with 'new' middle class characteristics. They want to hold on to their old middle class values of care-taking for their aged parents, continuing with their business establishments in the country and, therefore, unwilling to shift base to a foreign land because they are too used to the Indian lifestyle, not to forget, their dependence on domestic workers (Dickey, 2000; Qayum and Ray, 2011), all of which they will find hard to adjust with in the overseas. Through their biographical narratives they attempted at self-identifying themselves and creating a 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984) between those lower to them in the social strata and

those above (the elites, according to the interviewees). Their narratives also revealed that these 'globally aware' middle classes engaged more deeply in creating a distinction between themselves and that of the elite whom they consider to be so because of their inherited forms of capital unlike themselves who have achieved their present social status and identity through entrepreneurial achievements. In that sense, class then becomes a mode of differentiation rather than signifying collective belongingness (Johnson, 2007).

These are the urban 'globally aware'middle classes who want to tightly hold on to their national identities for reasons that have helped them flourish in their country of origin but, at the same time express extreme dissatisfaction with the services offered by the state, be it education of their children or occupational opportunities. They are grieved about the country's pollution levels, its crime rates, its politics and the ever increasing population. These are people who feel insecure to avail local transport services and neither allows their young ones to do so yet, the same feeling of insecurity does not creep into them when they want their school pass-out children to venture out of the country for higher education. Surprisingly, just one mother raised her concerns about feeling insecure regarding sending her children abroad right after school. As a result of their dissatisfaction and insecurities such classes of people are increasingly preferring an international school like PIS over schools offering national and/or state curricula.

On the other hand, it may also be pointed out that choice of such a school which tries to offer every kind of exposure and create easy avenues for students to apply for foreign colleges/universities indicates the attitude of escapism among the parents which gets reflected in their children as well. By making their children study in a classroom of 20-25 students and avail all the facilities required to apply overseas, such parents do not want their children to face the highly competitive Indian academic and occupational arenas. Through their narratives, the parents overtly confessed that their children do not acquire the required grades/percentages to enrol in the top ranked public institutions in India because, the highest grade in the Cambridge Board does not qualify the cut-off percentages for the best Indian public universities or colleges. However, what gets covertly reflected is the fact that by making their children study in a school like PIS, these parents are trying to help their children escape competition

first, at the level of schooling followed by higher education which might even get reflected at the vocational levels overseas.

Such attitudes do point out the kind of 'global' awareness that such classes of people have acquired over the years through various means, which in turn has enabled them to make informed choices for their children's academic careers. By identifying our interviewees as 'globally aware', we are not attempting at a reductionist approach nor a binary model which would identify only an international school clientele as 'globally aware' and others as not. The idea/understanding that we propose through this study is that, the diverse nature of International schools and the social classes aspiring for such schools require a very context specific conceptualization. As a result, incorporating existing studies on social class and international schooling, together with observations, interactions/interviews from the field – this work has made an attempt to conceptualize the categories of 'globally aware' middle classes and international schooling. Via the life-worlds of parents, students and teachers; the moot idea that reproduction of classness (here 'globally aware' middle) is mediated through international schooling, has been problematized here. Although, the local/global; national/international scale may not be well balanced as far as the school's pedagogic practices are concerned, it has been deduced that the school (PIS) attempts to promote an 'international mindedness' that encompasses appreciation for local/national as well as global histories, geographies, cultures, values and attitudes.

As in PIS' case, it has been witnessed that the school believes in steadily maintaining the tradition-modern continuum. For instance, a Spanish Day is celebrated with the same rigour as is the Hindi Day. It is argued then that such an ethos leads to the emergence of 'globally aware' middle classness with local sensibilities; classes who are culturally sensitive to their local conditions as well as that of the global. For instance, they want to travel to Paris, live there with ease and speak French fluently in as much as spend a day with a family from a village in Uttarakhand, India. Therefore, the school as well as parents want their students and children respectively to become 'globally aware' in the true sense – one who possess a holistic understanding of the world, and not an exclusive one. Thereby, it can then be argued that there is a transition from the much-hyped era of globalisation to one of glocalisation (Robertson, 1995).

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Students of PIS,

Parents whose children study at PIS, and

Teachers and Administrators of PIS

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ANNEXURE I

Table: Distribution of International Schools Across Cities and Towns Classified By Population

States/UTs	Mega City (> 1 Crore)	Metro City (40Lkh-1Cr)	Million Plus (10Lkh- 40Lkh)	Med-sized (5Lkh-10Lkh)	Class I Towns (1Lkh-5Lkh)	Statutory Towns (>5000 - < 1Lkh)	Total Schools
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0	0	0	0	Andaman-1**	0	**1**
Andhra Pradesh	0	0	Vijayawada-1 Visakhapatnam-3	0	Eluru-1 Nellore-1 Vizianagaram-1 Anantapur-1	0	**8**
Assam	0	0	0	Guwahati-2	0	0	**2**
Bihar	0	Patna-2 Gaya-1	0	0	Jehanabad-1	Supaul-1	**5**
Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	Chandigarh-3	0	**3**
Chhattisgarh	0	0	0	0	Raipur-3 Rajnandgaon-2	Kanker-1	**6**
Delhi (NCR)	Delhi-71	0	0	0	0	0	**71**
Gujarat	0	Ahmedabad-14 Surat-5	Rajkot-2 Vadodara-2	Bhavnagar-1	Mehsana-1 Valsad-4 Anand-2 Gandhinagar-2	0	**33**
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	Kullu-1 Mandi-1 Hamirpur-1 Kangra-1 Una-1	**5**
Haryana	0	0	Faridabad-5	Gurugram-18	Sonipat-4 Panipat-3 Ambala-2 Panchkula-2 Rohtak-2 Hisar-2 Sirsa-1 Jind-1 Rewari-1	Mahendragarh-1 Jhajjar-1	**43**
Jharkhand	0	0	Ranchi-2 Dhanbad-1	0	Giridi-1	0	**4**
Jammu& Kashmir	0	0	0	Jammu-1	0	0	**1**
Karnataka	0	Bengaluru-42	0	Mysore-2	Mandya-1 Bagalkot-1 Udupi-2	Chikkaballapura-1 Sulya-1 Vijayapura-1 Kanakapura-1 Huliyar-1 Hassan-1	**54**
Kerala	0	0	0	Kochi-1 Thiruvananthapuram-4	Kozhikode-1 Kollam-2	Thodupuzha-1	**9**
Maharashtra	Mumbai-40	0	Pune-16 Thane-7 Navi Mumbai-3 Nagpur-3 Nashik-3	Kolhapur-1 Amravati-1	Raigarh-1 Satara-2	0	**77**
Madhya Pradesh	0	0	Indore-9 Bhopal-3 Jabalpur-1	Ujjain-1	Ratlam-1 Mandsaur-1 Khargone-2	0	**20**

262

					Katni-1 Morena-1		
Odisha	0	0	0	Bhubaneswar-2	0	Khordha-1	**3**
Punjab	0	0	Amritsar-3 Ludhiana-4	Jalandhar-2	Hoshiarpur-3 Moga-1 Mohali (S.A.S. Nagar)-3 Bhatinda-2 Patiala-3 Pathankot-1	Sangrur-2 SirhindFatehgarh Sahib-1 Gurdaspur-2 Tarn Taran Sahib-1	**28**
Rajasthan	0	0	Jaipur-8 Kota-2 Jodhpur-2	Ajmer-1	Ganganagar-1 Udaipur-2 Sikar-2 Bharatpur-1 Jhunjhunun-1 Alwar-3	Sirohi-1	**24**
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	Gangtok-1	0	**1**
Tamil Nadu	0	Chennai-18	Coimbatore-7 Madurai-1	Tiruchirappalli-1	Kancheepuram-3 Erode-1 Thanjavur-1 Cuddalore-3	Ooty (Udhagamandalam)-3 Thiruvallur-2 Kodaikanal-1 Namakkal-2 Krishnagiri-1 Viluppuram-1 Gingee-1 Tindivanam-1 Thiruvarur-1 Kanniyakumari-1	**49**
Telangana	0	Hyderabad-33	0	Warangal-1	0	0	**34**
Uttarakhand	0	0	0	Dehradun-11	0	Nainital-1	**12**
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	Ghaziabad-5 Lucknow-3 Meerut-5 Kanpur-5	Jhansi-1 Saharanpur-1 Aligarh 1	Faizabad-1 Muzaffarnagar-1 Mathura-1 Rae Bareli-1 Greater Noida-10	Kushinagar-1	**36**
West Bengal	0	Kolkata-8	0	Siliguri-8	Nabadwip-1 Barddhaman-1 Dabgram-1	Bairatisal-1	**20**
Total Schools	**111**	**123**	**106**	**61**	**107**	**41**	**549**

Table compiled by ressearcher from data obtained online in 2020.

popn. * indicates population.

1** numbers indicate the number of international schools.

Sources: (1) http://www.studyguideindia.com/Schools/international-schools-india.html

(2) https://www.educationworld.in/

ANNEXURE II

SCHOOL PROFILE

Name of the School

Full Postal Address

Contact Number/s

Email ID

Name of the Governing Body

Year of Establishment

Type of Ownership

Private	Govt. aided	Non-profit

School Timing

From:	To:

Type of School

Coeducational	Segregated

Functioning of the School

Day	Residential	Both

Method of selection of students, please elaborate

Number of Students in the School

Indian Female	Indian Male	Overseas Female	Overseas Male	Total

Number of Students availing Residential facility

Indian Female	Indian Male	Overseas Female	Overseas Male	Total

Number of Students with Learning Disabilities

Indian Female	Indian Male	Overseas Female	Overseas Male	Total

Country/Countries of origin of the Overseas Students

Age range of the Students

	Female		Male	
	From(years)	To(years)	From(years)	To(years)
Indian				
Overseas				

265

Number of Students per Class

	Pre-School		Primary School		Middle School		Senior School	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Indian								
Overseas								
Total								

Number of Teachers in School

	Female	Male	Full Time	Part Time
Indian				
Overseas				
Total				

Country/Countries of origin of the Overseas Teachers

Approximate duration of a Teacher's Employment

Month/s	Year/s

Nationality of the Principal

Nationality of the Vice Principal

Number of Library Staff

Number of Laboratory Staff

Number of Administrative Staff

Number of Security Personnel

Female	Male

Fee Structure

Pre-school	Primary school	Secondary school	Senior school	Boarding

Country of origin of the Core Curriculum

India	USA	UK	Europe

Examination Pattern

CBSE	ICSE	IB	IGCSE	AICE

Medium of Instruction in a Class

ESL (English as Second Language)

Yes	No

Facility

How many students in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades in your school have a second language that is not English?

<div style="border:1px solid black; width:150px; height:40px;"></div>

How many students in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades in your school have a first language that is not Hindi?

<div style="border:1px solid black; width:150px; height:40px;"></div>

Accrediting Body/ies

<div style="border:1px solid black; width:300px; height:50px;"></div>

Extra-curricular activities offered on School Premises

<div style="border:1px solid black; width:600px; height:150px;"></div>

Does the school organise field trips for the students within India?	Yes	No

Does the school organise field trips for the students outside India?	Yes	No

Does the school engage in overseas exchange programs with teachers and students?	Yes	No

Does the school send its teachers overseas for training and/or workshops?	Yes	No

Does the school engage in any kind of outreach programs? If Yes, what kind/s of programs?	Yes	No

Does the school run any Community School for the children of the Economically Weaker Section?	Yes	No

ANNEXURE III

Interview Guide for Principal

Basic Information

1. Please tell me about your educational and occupational journey.

School, Curriculum, Pedagogy

1. As a principal what is your role? What are the responsibilities that you have been vested with?

2. How much are you involved in the selection of teachers and students?

3. What are your opinions about the Cambridge curriculum?

4. What according to you are the unique features of this school, the curriculum and pedagogy in this school?

5. What are the differences that you observed between DPSI and other schools where you have worked?

6. Apart from the formal curriculum what other factors contribute towards making this an international school?

7. What according to you are the significance of the following as part of the school:

a) Extra-curricular activities (MUNs, Olympiads, Syntax Day, French/Spanish/German Day, etc.)

b) Exposure trips/camps within the country and international exchange programs

c) Workshops with student counsellors and university representatives

d) School assemblies

8. How does one become a global citizen according to you?

9. In what ways does the school contribute towards the creation of a global citizen?

Social Class

1. What are the things that you look for while selecting the teachers?

2. What are the things you look for while admitting students?

3. How important is family background for selecting a student?

4. Since you mentioned that the fees are lowest compared to other IS and that DPSI is a middle class school, how would you like to conceptualize the middle class?

5. Does a particular level of income become a qualifier for being middle class?

6. According to you, what kind of a social class is being produced as a result of this kind of schooling?

7. What is your vision about the school and the students?

ANNEXURE IV

Interview Guide for Parents

Basic Information

1. Sex:

2. Type of Family you reside in at present

Nuclear	Joint	Extended

3. Education and Occupational Background

Member	Educational Qualifications	Occupational Background	Approximate Monthly Income (Rs)
Mother			
Father			

4. Educational and Work Profile of Children

Child	Sex	Age	Educational Level	School/s they attended/are attending	Curriculum /Board	Current Profile	Approximate Monthly Income (Rs)
1							
2							
3							
4							

I. Childhood and Educational History

1. Can you please tell me about your childhood and schooling?

2. What has been your everyday routine?

3. How much importance did your parents place on receiving education? Please elaborate.

4. What were your parents' considerations during key transitions in your educational career?

a. Class X.

b. Class XII

c. College

d. University

5. What influences from your parents helped in shaping who you are today?

6. How did your education help in shaping your career?

7. Can you tell us about your present career and the journey behind it?

8. What kind of a work routine do you have?

9. Can you compare your childhood with your children's and in what ways are they similar or different?

II. Home environment, Family values and Ethos

1. What kind of moral values and ethos do you try to instil in your child?

2. What are your goals as a parent while raising your child/ren? And why?

3. What are your thoughts about developing strong relationships with your child/ren?

4. In what ways are you involved with your child's education?

5. In what ways do you spend time with your child/ren on an everyday basis?

6. How do you negotiate with your child when there is an argument or difference of opinion?

7. Please list the language(s) most often used in the home by the: (And why?)

7. a. Mother to child:

7. b. Father to child:

7. c. Parents to each other:

8. What kind of a home environment you think is ideal for the children?

III. Lifestyle and Taste

1. a. What kind of recreational/leisure activities does your family engage in?

1. b. How does your family spend weekends and school vacations?

2. a. How often do you go for family dinners?

2. b. Where do you go and why?

3. a. How often do you go for movies and plays with the family?

3. b. What kind of movies and plays do you and your family prefer? Why?

4. a. Do you and the family like listening to music and live concerts?

4. b. If yes, what kind of music and concerts do you and your family prefer?

4. c. If no, why?

5. a. Are you a member of any leisure club?

5. b. If yes, what kind of activities and discussions do you engage with in the club?

5. c. If no, why?

6. a. Are you a member of any social service organisation?

6. b. If yes, please describe the kind of activities you engage in as a member.

6. c. If no, why?

7. What mode/s (traditional/online) of shopping do you prefer and why, with respect to the following:

7. a. Accessories

7. b. Garments and Footwear

7. c. Beauty products

7. d. Gadgets

7. e. Home Appliances

7. f. Any other

8. What kind of gadgets do you allow your child/ren to use? And why?

9. Where do you go for healthcare services? Why?

IV. School Choice

1. a. Was this school the first choice for your child/ren?

1. b. If yes, why?

1. c. If no, why not?

2. a. What have been your considerations in making school choice for your child/ren?

2. b. Why do you think so?

3. a. How did you come to know about this school?

3. b. What avenues did you explore to gather information about the school?

4. What motivated you to choose an international curriculum, especially IGCSE-CAIE for your child?

5. How different do you think the other schools are from the school your child is studying in?

V. Role of Family, Peer Groups and Networks in Choice making

1. a. Did anybody from the family, friend circle and/or your social networks influence your school choice?

1. b. If yes, how?

2. a. Do you think peer groups and friends had a significant role to play in your own educational career?

2. b. If yes, how?

2. c. If no, why not?

3. a. Do you engage in discussions with your friends and other relatives about your child/ren's educational and career aspirations?

3. b. If yes, please give some instances.

3. c. If no, why not?

4. a. Do you have cousins/relatives/friends staying outside the country? (Yes/No)

4. b. If yes, where?

4. c. Do you engage in discussions with them or draw inspirations about your child/ren's future?

5. a. Did you approach any consultant for your child/ren's schooling and future educational plans?

5. b. Please narrate some of the discussions.

VI. School Experiences

1. a. Do you think this school is mentoring your child/ren in the way you had expected?

1. b. If yes, how?

1. c. If no, why not?

2. a. Do you think studying in an international school is making your child/ren different from students in other type of schools?

2. b. If yes, how?

2. c. If no, why not?

3. a. What kind of skill sets and abilities do you expect your child to imbibe as a learning outcome from the school?

3. b. With regard to going abroad for higher education?

3. c. With regard to being a global citizen?

4. a. What are your thoughts about the extra-curricular activities, camps and international exchange programs offered by the school?

4. b. What are your thoughts about sessions with student counsellors and university representatives visiting the school?

5. a. Do you attend PTMs? (Yes/No)

5. b. If yes, please share your thoughts about the same.

5. c. If no, why not?

6. a. Have you attended any orientation program in the school? (Yes/No)

6. b. If yes, what are your thoughts about it?

6. c. If no, why not?

7. a. Do you attend school assemblies? (Yes/No)

7. b. If yes, please share your thoughts about the same.

7. c. If no, why not?

VII. Educational Plans and Aspirations

1. What are your plans and aspirations for your child's/children's educational career?

1. a. Class X and XII

1. b. College and/or University

2. a. Has there been any kind of alteration in your plans and aspirations after admitting your child/ren to this school?

2. b. If yes, why so?

2. c. If no, why not?

3. a. Do you engage in discussions with your child/ren about their future plans and aspirations?

3. b. Please narrate some of the discussions.

4. a. Do you support their plans?

4. b. If yes, why?

4. c. If no, why not?

VIII. Ideas about Social Mobility for Children

1. a. Do you think studying in a university outside India will enable your child/ren to fulfil their and/or your future plans for them?

1. b. If yes, how?

1. c. If no, why not?

2. a. Where would you like your child/ren to settle down in the future?

2. b. Why so?

ANNEXURE V

Interview Guide for Students

1. Basic Information about the Student

Age	Sex	Current Educational Level	School/s attended before joining DPSI	Highest Educational Level attained in previous school/s	Curriculum/ Board of previous school/s

2. Basic Information about Sibling/s

S. No.	Age	Sex	Educational Level	School/s they attended/are attending	Curriculum /Board	Current Profile (Academic/Employment)
1						
2						
3						

3. Basic Information about Parents

Member	Educational Qualifications	Occupational Background
Mother		
Father		

I. Lifestyle and Taste

1. What are your hobbies?

2. Discuss about your activities after school hours.

3. How do you spend your weekends?

4. a. How do you spend your school vacations?

4. b. Do you travel in the country or go abroad?

4. c. If abroad, do you have cousins/ relatives/ friends staying there?

5. a. How often do you go for family dinners?

5. b. What kind of places do you go to?

6. a. How often do you go for movies and plays with the family?

6. b. What kind of movies and plays do you prefer? Why?

7. a. Do you like listening to music and live concerts?

7. b. If yes, what kind of music and concerts do you prefer?

7. c. If no, why?

8. What mode/s (traditional/online) of shopping do you prefer and why?

9. What kind of gadgets do you use? Why?

10. a. Are your parents members of any leisure club? (Yes/No)

10. b. If yes, do you accompany them there? (Yes/No)

10. c. If yes, what kind of activities do you engage with in the club?

10. d. If no, why?

11. a. Are you or your parents members of any social service organisation? (Yes/No)

11. b. If yes, please describe the kind of activities you engage in as a member.

11. c. If no, why?

12. a. Do you have any role model/s?

12. b. Who are they?

12. c. Why do you consider them your role model/s?

13. a. Do you have peers and friends in your neighbourhood?

13. b. If yes, which school do they go to?

14. What kind of activities (for e.g., debates/discussions/sports/hangouts) do you engage in with your friends inside and outside of school?

II. School Experiences

1. In which grade did you take admission in this school?

2. How different and/or similar was your previous school from this school?

3. a. What excites you the most about this school?

3. b. Why so?

4. Have you opted for any foreign language/s?

5. a. Do you think learning a foreign language will help you in the future?

5. b. If yes, how?

6. a. Do you participate in any extra-curricular activity/ies and/or clubs in school?

6. b. If no, why not?

6. c. If yes, what are those activities?

6. d. Why did you choose these activities?

7. a. Did you participate in any tours/camps/exposure visits organised by the school?

7. b. Share your experiences

8. a. Did you participate in any exchange program?

8. b. Share your experiences.

8. c. Do you think these will help you in any way? How?

9. What are your thoughts about the sessions with student counsellors and university representatives?

10. What are your thoughts regarding the school assemblies?

11. a. Do you think studying in an international school makes you different?

11. b. If yes, how?

11. c. If no, why not?

III. Higher Education, Career and Future Aspirations

1. a. Which stream would you like to choose for your higher education programme?

1. b. Why?

2. a. Which college/university would you like to study in?

2. b. Why?

2. c. How are you preparing for it?

3. What are your career goals?

4. How do you think the school is going to help you in realising your career aspiration?

5. a. Did/do you discuss your future plans with your parents and/or friends?

5. b. What do they feel about it?

6. a. Where would you like to settle down in the future?

6. b. Why?