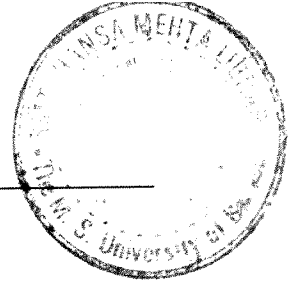




CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is a well recognized fact that the schools are not delivering in their endeavour of fuller development of all individuals as per the local, national and global demands.

This fact is reflected in the initiatives and texts of Gandhi's idea of Basic Education, Gijubhai Badheka's experiments described in 'Diwaswapna', Tagore's idea of Shantinketan, Ivan Illich, Paulo Friere, Report of the Educational and National Development (1964-66), A Nation At Risk (USA,1983), National Curriculum Framework for School Education, 2000 ("The nation has not yet reached the all important threshold of educational attainment where benefits are optimal and the high economic growth rates are sustained.") and National Curriculum Framework, (2005) Yashpal, "It was tempting to assign blame for many things that have not gone as well as we wished many decades ago. We have tended to avoid the blame game-perhaps due to the fact that we are all responsible in some way or another."; "In spite of the recommendations of the NPE,1986 to identify competencies and values to be nurtured at different stages, school education came to be driven more and more by high stake examinations based on information-loaded textbooks.") It makes it all the more imperative for us to investigate the state of the field and offer a robust understanding of schools in contemporary times.

There has been an interest in understanding schools especially its everyday life and its inner world. Kumar (2008) highlights the need of writing on education which focuses on 'the daily details of education' as against the 'vast ocean of writing available especially in the form of reports'. The 'daily details of education' are explained as 'what goes on inside education-inside the school gates and in classrooms, inside offices where decisions are taken or avoided, in training colleges, inside the covers of textbooks, and inside the vast, clandestine apparatus of the public examination system.' Kumar and Sarangpani (2004) have directed the attention of educational planners, economists and aid consultants to the blackbox of school and what shapes

the inner world of schools if stagnation of Third World Systems of Education is to be addressed. They further observe, 'significant answers to the problems of school can be found in the black box of school and classrooms, in the resources that teachers draw upon to organise their practices and in cultural factors, beliefs of teachers and community'. The Report of the National Conference on Focus Secondary Education, 2001, NIEPA, draws attention to the "internal scenario of school". An urgent need to understand the everyday life of school is thus indicated.

Everyday life of a school is marked by multiplicity of transactions. Each school has different forms of transactions and the number of transaction vary from school to school. The issue is not if the school has more or less transactions but what is the nature and meaning of these transactions. Our conventional approach to understanding of everyday life in school is very limiting. It falls short of explaining as to what do these transactions mean? What should be the nature of these transactions? It does not offer us a viable explanation as to what these transactions or the sum total of these transactions of a school at a given point of time in its immediate context or in the larger context mean.

This study endeavours to offer an understanding of these transactions and everyday life in school in an urban setting. Educational researchers in defining the urban as a field of research and practice have looked at schooling and its institutionalized role in cities. A wider discussion of the very character of urban experience and its relevance for pedagogic reflection and practice is a topic that still has to be explored. However, central to this view is the relationship between the school and the community. At the same time, in a continuously changing environment parents struggle to identify the idea of excellence and quality in contemporary school. As Anjini Kochar (2001) argues that demand for schooling will depend on the quality of schools which will require defining some quantifiable measure of school quality. The gap between educational needs of people and actual institutional responses are obvious and require new efforts and more innovative views.

1.1 IMAGINATION AND GENEALOGY

Before we move further, I will identify two key constructs – imagination and genealogy- that informs the very nature of enquiry and establishes the relationship between methodology and theory.

Imagination, a construct often used in recent discourse on globalization and education is invoked to explain how people come to know, understand and experience themselves as members of a community and citizens of a nation-state (Pokewitz, 2000). According to him it functions to “form individuals into the seam of a collective narrative” (p.168) and help them generate conceptions of personhood and identity. Rizvi (2000) writes: “imagination is the attempt to provide coherence between ideas and action, to provide a basis for the content of relationship and the creation of categories with which to understand the world around us. What is imagined defines what we regard as normal” (pp.222-223). Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai succinctly invokes imagination as a social practice. He explains that the link between imagination and social life is increasingly global and de-territorialised. Thus defined, imagination serves two purposes in this thesis. First, it provides a framework for understanding how schools are mediated and to what effect, and second, it signifies possibilities for alternative construction of an everyday life in school to become more responsive to the demands of education in today’s contexts where diversities have outstripped the meaningfulness of any homogenizing models.

Such an imagination feeds into the premise of an imperative for an enquiry leading to a new understanding of a school. This form of enquiry “encourages us to look with a critical eye at the categories that we are using is of utmost importance in the comparative analysis of education, for its only when we do so that we can generate alternatives to what already exists” (Diane Hoffman 199, p.481). This enquiry emphasizes the uncovering of the particularities of lived experiences across different groups, particularly in schools and classrooms, and hence acts as an antidote to generalities that do no count for cross cultural variation.

Foucault (*Discipline and Punish: the Birth of prison*, 1979) offers educational research a new framework- not for studying the past, but for assessing the present. This general framework is constituted by an analytic grid of power-knowledge, the method of

genealogy and the new notions of time, especially of rupture and discontinuity. Genealogy disrupts historical form by concentrating on historical objects not usually considered the province of historical enquiry. Genealogy is not the search for origins, and is not the construction of a linear development. Instead it seeks to show the plural and sometimes contradictory past that reveals traces of influence that power has had on truth. Genealogy takes each issue separately, exploring it in minute detail and reconstructing events so as to take account of subjugated and neglected knowledges. Given analytic grid of power-knowledge, the methodological imperative then is to examine processes of modern power in modern schools. For Foucault, school was an important site in which technique and strategies of power were developed and refined.

Thus, Academic culture as a construct offers a genealogy of school. The thesis thus is an attempt to explore and engage with the understanding of academic culture and how through this imaginative use of the Foucauldian methodology one can build a more robust narrative of the ontology of school in urban India.

This research principally focuses on the conceptualizing, unpacking and engaging with academic culture. Normatively this entails mapping out the conceptual and theoretical parameters to problematize academic culture and then bring into play the analytics to explore the interactions of academic culture with everyday life and define its implications for everyday life as to how does this relationship occur. In doing so, it will reflect upon the politics of knowledge production. Further such a study will also examine the location of academic culture within the intersections and interstices of the larger globalization process and the implied transnational realities therein.

The thesis will deal with the unconscious structures that come in to play through variant kind of symbology during moments of interactions, conflicts (of whatever variety) and produce dysfunctional/functional outcome, a kind of behavioural self-mechanism that appropriates contingencies and funnels them into shape. Now this is something that is as abiding as it is elusive in its operations-a kind of performative text lodged within collective psyche and productive group actions, but only at key moments and in unseen ways.

It uses the “set of events” in school as a point of privileged access in the everyday life of school where an event is understood as a socio-temporal matrix of the transaction between the stakeholders. This everyday life constitute a moment of acute discontinuity that exposes dynamic structures and processes normally concealed beneath the surface of day to day operations in a school. The study attempts to grasp these through “a set of events”, breaking down the big, supposedly single-cohesive, one day in school into smaller units or clusters of micro events. Thus submitted to processual analysis, the empirical materials are framed and recalled as a narrative incorporating conceptual and historical insights. It is expected that such an examination would reveal the discrete temporal moments and diverse trajectories the every day events in a school embody, and, in turn, render intelligible the larger discursive themes, as given in the terms “process of nurturing and influence” played out in everyday life of a school. Pursuing somewhat similar lines of enquiry into everyday life of school, the thesis attempts to develop analogues that resonate and lend temporal and spatial depth to the “events” in school.

We understand that transactions in school manifest in Academic Culture. But Academic culture *per se* does not constitute only the transactions. It is imperative for us to understand what is academic culture, then? How a better understanding of Academic Culture will further our understanding of the everyday transactions in a school leading to a clearer understanding of the ontology of schools itself.

1.2 TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF INFLUENCES OF EVERYDAY TRANSACTIONS IN A SCHOOL

The common knowledge of the everyday reality of a school draws attention to the observable key players or the stakeholders in school: the learner, the teacher and the principal, the parents, the management and the community. An observation of the working of schools reveals that the teaching learning process occurs in particular slots of time (as per the time table) and at particular sites (classroom, library, laboratory, library, playground). The major delivery of the teaching learning process generally takes place in the form of teacher-learner interaction at various sites in school but largely in the classrooms. Some sub aspects of this major activity are interactions that

occur between teacher-learner, teacher-teacher, learner-learner, principal-teacher and principal-learner. These interactions are influenced by the larger societal context. The school then stands at the intersection of: (i) larger society/community/State through its Ministry for Education and its Department/s; (ii) the stakeholders-learners, teachers, principal.

The common/traditional understanding of a school indicates interactions between: (i) the learners, teachers, parents, community who are the stakeholders and the institution of school; (ii) the institution of school and the larger community and; (iii) the stakeholders and the larger community. This can be figuratively presented as below:

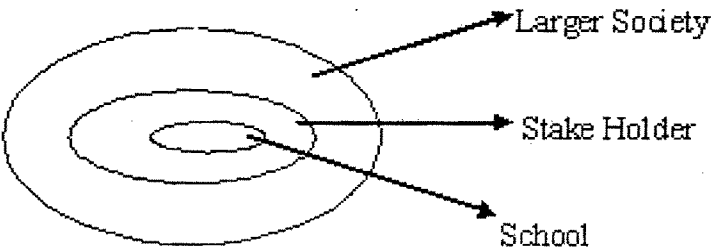


FIGURE 1: TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF INFLUENCES ON EVERYDAY TRANSACTIONS IN A SCHOOL

The traditional understanding of influences on school lead to bilateral transactions between the institution of school and stakeholders, between institution of school and the larger society, and between larger society and stakeholders. These bilateral transactions are presented figuratively as under.

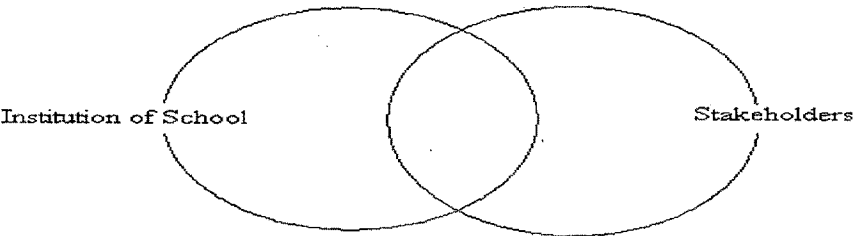


FIGURE 2: BILATERAL TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN INSTITUTION AND STAKEHOLDERS

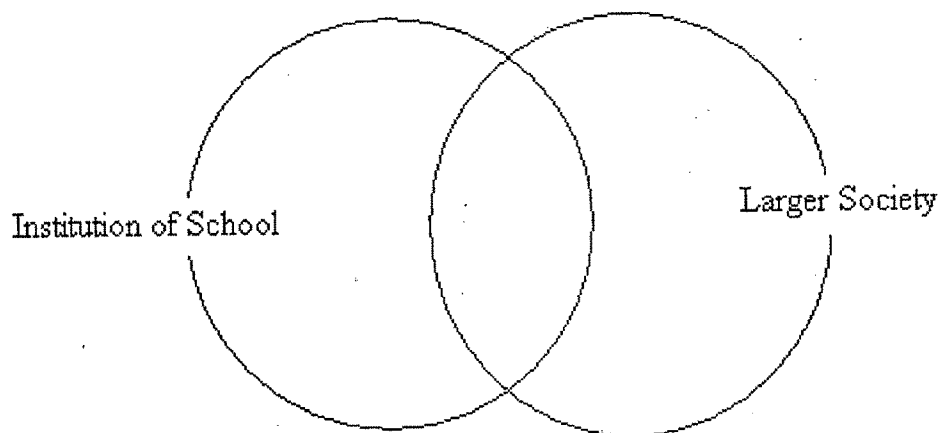
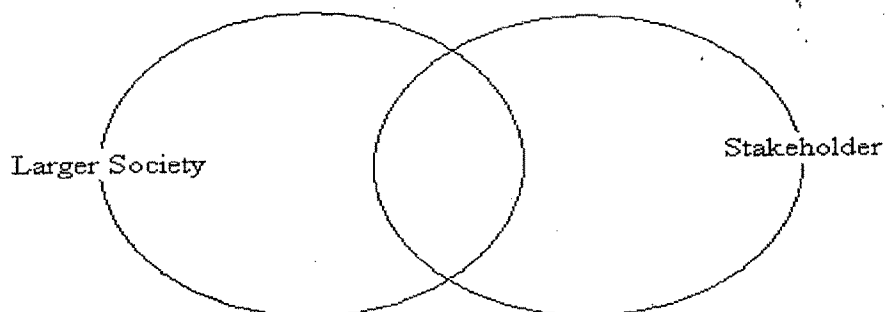


FIGURE 3: BILATERAL TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN INSTITUTION AND LARGER SOCIETY



**FIGURE 4:
BILATERAL TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN LARGER SOCIETY AND
STAKEHOLDERS**

1.3 ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF INFLUENCES ON EVERYDAY TRANSACTIONS IN A SCHOOL

The three spheres of influence can be observed as follows: influence of larger society, influence of stakeholders and influence of organization/institution.

A. INFLUENCE OF LARGER SOCIETY / MILLIEU

The larger society in which both the organisation and stakeholders are represented. It is also the domain of other cultural, economic, political economic and socio-political narratives which has direct impact on the other two spheres.

B. INFLUENCE OF STAKEHOLDERS

The key stakeholders, learners, teachers and parents are represented in this sphere.

C. INFLUENCE OF ORGANISATION

The Institution itself and major part of institutional organizational representatives and functionaries are represented in this sphere. Primarily they are the Founders, Trustee / Board members, management executives and principal.

In the alternative understanding of influences on everyday life the three spheres of influence form an intersection among the three thus creating a common critical space.

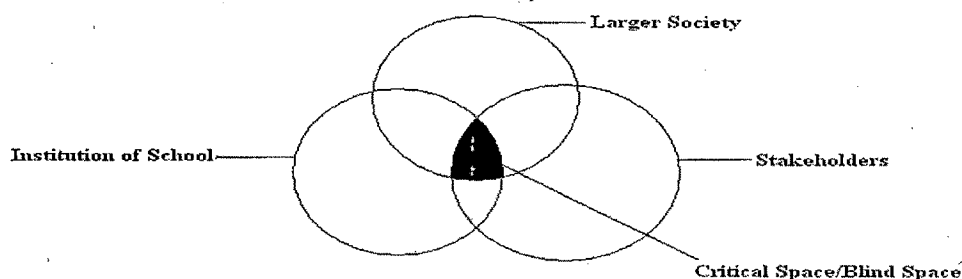


FIGURE 5: ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDING OF INFLUENCES ON EVERYDAY TRANSACTIONS IN A SCHOOL

In an attempt to map out the interactions of the three spheres one startling fact comes to the fore. Figure 5 demonstrates and identifies the historical blind spot that is not addressed in such interactions. In doing so it underlines the largely bilateral nature of interactions between the two spheres at any given point that defined traditional understanding of a school. In reality all three spheres are influencing in a confluence at all given points of time.

1.4 CONTEXT FOR UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY TRANSACTION IN SCHOOL

1.4.1 EDUCATION, GLOBALIZATION AND KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

We are experiencing tumultuous changes in our everyday life that often puts us in a challenging situation in view of our understanding of the world and its pervasive reality. The significant import of these times brings our attention to the idea of change and its related normative problematics. In invoking Thomas Kuhn (1962), one recognizes the imperatives of competing conceptual frameworks and the production of new knowledge. The post- industrial society was transformed into a knowledge society in which the premium was on production of new knowledge or renewed knowledge, thereby emphasizing on the creativity , innovative capacity of its citizens and in their ability to continue learning throughout life. The process of globalization had created a world which transcended the geographical boundaries. The breaking down of the physical boundaries was facilitated by technology which in turn gave rise to digital culture. This movement towards a post- industrial society demanded individuals to be equipped with skills and orientation different from those required for an industrial society. Macdonald (2005) suggested attention to three aspects in this respect: a re thinking of what is meant by learning; a forward looking and individualized curriculum; a new involvement with economic growth areas and; a quite different approach to networked technologies. David and Foray (2003) cite the significance of education system that foster people's creativity, and their ability to

learn and innovate 'as innovation comes close to being the sole means to prosper and survive in highly competitive and globalised economies'.

In India, the post 1992 period introduced liberalization and reform in economy. The pertinent questions at this point is how the education sector in India is coping with transformation of Indian society into a post industrial society. India's policy stand on public expenditure on education ever since National Policy on Education 1968 had been to raise it to 6 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, till 2004-05 outlay of Central and State government amounted to 3.5 percent of GDP. In terms of quantitative expansion, the education sector in India had shown progress since India became republic in 1950. The target group of India's education system in 2005-2006 was 410 million which consisted of children and young persons in the age group of 6-24 years. This population comprised 38 percent of the total population. The total enrolment from schools to universities was 237 million. With respect to school, the number of schools had risen from 0.23 million in 1950-51 to 1.28 million in 2005-2006. Within the education sector, it is pertinent to know what have been the considerations for preferences for funding between school education and higher education? Given the demographic advantage that India possesses, it is imperative to go beyond the quantitative dimension of growth in the education sector. The percentage of population in the age group of 0 to 6 years is 15.9 percent and in the age group of 7 to 14 is 19.4 percent. Thus the percentage of total population who should be getting the benefit of school education is approximately 35.3 percent. Notwithstanding the significance of all sectors of education, Shotton (2000) observed that a large number of children in India will never have substantial education after the age of 11 or, at best after 14. This brings attention to the centrality of school as educational institution for the development of an individual and the nation.

1.4.2 CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SCHOOL

The centrality of school as an educational institution warrants a critical position on understanding school. Delors Report (1996) emphasizes the importance of a school in education as "School is a fundamental educational establishment where practical educational activities are carried out systematically." International Organizations like

UNICEF, UNESCO mention that schooling allows for the promotion of hygiene and public health, lowering of birth rate (Cochrane, 1979) improvement of status of women (Kagiticbasi, 1996,1998) and respect for democracy and human rights. On the other hand, Desan and Akkari (2008) have observed that most of the discourse on education is marked by one single model, Western Schooling, or what Serpell and Hattano (1997) have called the 'hegemonic imposition of Institutionalized Public School Basic Schooling (IPBS). Shotton (2000) has raised several questions in the context of school: Do schools though failing to meet the children's needs at least fulfill the needs of society? Is the school as it exists as a model for learning really appropriate to the diversity of culture and the structures of society at local level? A move away from schools towards de schooling was recommended by Illich (1976).

These critical perspectives on school lead to the question: what is the appropriateness of schools as they currently exist through out world. The intention in this is not simply to criticize schools but to understand it.

Before embarking on the exploration for answers to this question, it is relevant to understand the narrative of school. This leads to the further questions: what a school is; where the idea of a school is located and what informs the making and development of a contemporary school. In understanding such a narrative, one grapples with the ontology of a contemporary school. An understanding of the functions of school at this stage would facilitate the process of understanding a school.

1.4.3 FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOL

Parson (1999) identifies six functions of a school system: custodial, civilising, developing the national identity, skill building, credentialing and delivery of knowledge. The continuum on which these functional areas are organized in a school equips it to be accessible to all the children or become exclusive. Gore and Desai (1967) observe the change in function of school from pre industrial period to post industrial period. They state:

The school, on the other hand, focuses mainly on the transference of knowledge from one generation to another, the general development of

intellectual ability and the preparation for adult occupational roles. Prior to industrialization the limited and somewhat exclusive school system was expected to turnout men of broad learning and culture. With industrialization and emergence of state supported and extensive school systems in most industrialized countries the school-as well as colleges- have ceased to be looked upon as agencies for socialization or acquisition of 'culture' in this broader sense. They have now a more directly instrumental significance. This is a consequence not merely, or even chiefly, of the expansion of the school system and of its being state supported but, rather of the changes that have come about in the attitudes to knowledge and of some of the other value changes that are noted in a later section. Educational system is looked upon primarily as the agency for the transference and advancement of knowledge and for preparation for occupational life.

Weiner(1991) describes functions of school as: "In all these (Western) countries there eventually developed the view that the family could no longer be relied upon as the institution for the transmission of those values... essential for the modern world... The school emerged as a unique modern institution, indeed the only institution in which, with the introduction of compulsory education, everyone in the society was required to participate. As notions of equality, merit, mobility, citizenship, and nationality became societal and state goals, the school became a favourite institution for all political persuasions." Tomilson (1982) feels the requirement of skilled manpower to pursue further commercial interest, a need to enforce necessary discipline and control unrest among the workforce were the guiding principles and motivation for the industrial class to promote the institution of school.

The functions of school thus are numerous: socialization, transference of knowledge, developing individuals for the adult role, occupational training, and most significantly to transmit the values necessary for the industrial society. It is also evident that the imperatives of the industrial society influenced the functions of school to a large extent. The position of school may be observed between the two extremes: an acknowledgement of positive influence in some quarters as in the development of respect for democracy, hygiene, lowering birth rates on one hand and on the other hand the questions raised on its relevance and a suggestion to do away with school through deschooling.

1.4.4 ONTOLOGY OF SCHOOL

There are multiple factors that led to the development of school. Akkari and Dasen (2008) have identified four factors which characterize the modern school: (i) it is closely connected with the development of the State and of industrialization thereby becoming a base for the new relationship between the individual, and the political and economic authority; (ii) the education system has a universal vocation thereby suggesting that it is intended for all children irrespective of their social background and it is the guarantor of a scientific knowledge with universal intentions; (iii) the development of school coincided with the emergence of childhood and adolescence as specific periods in the life of an individual; and (iv) the rise of European educational systems is intimately linked with the formation of nation-states that are generally mono lingual.

Despite the contextual variations in schools on account of regions and location of school on historical period, there is much that remains stubbornly familiar about the patterns of daily life in school.

What informs these interactions at the various sites in a school among the various key players is significant for understanding a school. This would tell the story of school. The popular idiom of this story is historical narrative and the policy narrative. A historical narrative would trace the development of school in various historical-social-cultural-political settings. Along with this, a policy narrative would help to understand the direction for the making of a school.

1.4.5 IMPORT OF HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Beneath the present school, there lies a multitude of different institutional forms each with a distinctive and often complex history. Insitutions like Gurukula, Temples of Learning, Buddhist monastries, Church are some of the educational cum religious insitutions which existed prior to the formal schools of today. Thus, educational institutions have a much longer history than that of formal schooling. Also there were various models of educational institutions. White and Duker (1973) have based the historical survey of education on two questions: (i) what educational goals arose

in what kind of society; (ii) what evidence would have been acceptable to measure progress toward such goals. The Chinese model, the Athenian model, the Spartan model, the Western Liberal Arts model and the English Public School Model have been identified on this basis. Simmons (1982), Simmons (1983) and Beare and Slaughter (1993) have referred to the origin of the institution of school as a system of mass education for less than two hundred years in the industrial period. Colonization introduced many countries to formal schooling though indigenous educational institutions existed in the colonized countries. Akkari and Dasen (2008) observe, "It is not surprising that the rise of formal schooling coincided with the peak of colonization." Trajectory of evolution of schools in India can be located in two distinct phases: pre-independent and post independent. Each phase is characterized by distinct educational goals which were reflected in the various educational institutions.

1.4.5.1 PRE-INDEPENDENCE PHASE

The Pre-independence phase can be further divided into Pre-colonial phase and Colonial phase. The Pre-colonial phase indicated existence of indigenous models of education. A variety of educational institutions such as Gurukul, Pathshala, Tol, Agrahara, Maktab, Madrasa, Khanquah, Durgah, Karkhana, Universities (Taxila, Nalanda, Vikramshila) and Temples of learning (Saltogi Temple college, Ennayiram Temple college) constitute the indigenous education system. Some of these were institutions of higher education and some institutions are in very broad terms comparable to the contemporary schools. Some were established under the aegis of religious institutions like Gurukula, Madrasa, Maktab. Some were established under the caste / trade associations like the Karkhana, Pathshala.

The Colonial phase showed a co existence of indigenous models of education and the colonial models of education. The modern school was introduced in India by the British in the backdrop of the indigenous system of education with indigenous schools/institutions like *pathshala* and *maktab*. The difference between the above two ideas of school are captured well in Kumar's (2000) observation, "A 'school' in the Indian system must be understood with careful attention to its own associations and meanings. There was no Sanskrit or Hindustani term equivalent to 'school'. The

closest equivalent is *shiksha-diksha*, or the giving and receipt of teaching. A school equaled a single teacher, and a school was wherever the teacher sat. A school was not understood as a building or even a specialized space apart from the physical presence of the teacher.”

The imperatives for education in this context were conflicting in nature. The British wanted to strengthen their hold over India, philanthropy was not their motive and they wanted trained locals for administration of their colony while Indians employed education for the social reforms and national freedom struggle. In between there were sections of society who sought education for their individual gains. Various models of schools functioning during this period were the British model schools, the indigenous schools, schools for social reforms and national freedom struggle. In the category of British model schools, there were three types of school offering ‘modern’ education: government schools, grant-in-aided schools and, privately financed schools where English was both a subject and the medium of instruction. Indigenous school such as pathshala, maktab, madrasa continued to co exist with the ‘modern’ school established by the British. However, the indigenous schools in India as in other colonized countries could not survive for long. The forms of indigenous education mostly oriented towards inculcating religious and traditional cultural knowledge and ideals were transformed, assimilated or destroyed by missionary groups or colonial authorities (UNESCO,2005).

Schools were also perceived as sites for social reforms and national freedom struggle. Initiatives of Maharshi Karve for girls’ education, Jyotiba Phule’s initiatives for education of the low caste sections of society were for introducing social reforms using the platform of schools. The schools also became a public space for national freedom struggle. Tagore’s Shantiniketan and Sriniketan were places for nation building and not politics (Gupta, 1998). Gandhi’s scheme of Basic Education was a political step to revolt against the British and also a step in social reform as it aimed to bridge the urban rural divide through its craft based curriculum. The historical narrative in this phase indicates that a variety of goals of education within the same society were perceived for which the educational institutions responded.

1.4.5.2 POST -INDEPENDENCE PHASE

The Post- independence phase in India was contextualized by the imperative of building a nation. As against the pre- independence phase, this phase presented a common educational goal. The period from 1947 to the early 1990s is marked by the Nehruvian model of national development which was based on mixed economy. The period after the 1990s is the era of economic liberalization. Educational goals in these two contexts generated and sustained different models of schooling.

India, in the Post-independence phase, had inherited a variety of schools. Given the diversity in the Indian society, all types of school had a role to play in the task of national development. The response to diversity in Indian context necessitated a need for the variety of regulatory bodies for school. In India, the various bodies governing school education system are: the state government boards; The Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) board; The Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations (CISCE) board; The National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) board ; International schools affiliated to the International Baccalaureate Programme and/or the Cambridge International Examinations; Islamic Madrasah schools, whose boards are controlled by local state governments, or autonomous, or affiliated with Darul Uloom Deoband; Autonomous schools like Woodstock School, Auroville, Path Bhavan and Anand Marga Gurukula.

From the point of view of regulation and accountability, all schools had necessarily to affiliate to one of the above Boards. The CBSE is the second oldest Board in India which has evolved from 1921. The diversity in Boards ensures choice to students. Amongst these diversity, The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) is the apex body for school education in India. The NCERT provides support and technical assistance to a number of schools in India and oversees on many aspects of enforcement of education policies.

Reified (2004) observed that there was a need to have differentiated system of education that covers a wide range of different kinds of educational aspirations. Different kinds of schools are required to meet different potentials. Different system of support might help to develop different capacities. The various models of schooling observed can be classified on the basis of educational goals identified in the view of

the task of national development. The public school model presents a model for the elite. The public school model is a typically English model. Eton type of schools were established in India for the education of the princes. These schools can be broadly classified into four types: Schools which were once intended for European and Anglo Indian children. Such schools were established at Simla and Darjeeling; Schools which were once meant for the princely families. Mayo College, Ajmer, Rajkumar colleges at Rajpur and Raipur; Schools which once catered to the needs of children of military personnel like Lawrence School at Sanawar and; Schools which have been started by public trusts or individuals for the education of the children of the well-to-do class like Delhi Public School.

As against the public school model, a model for the talented rural commoner is presented by the Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, as per recommendation of NPE, 1986 for setting of pace setting schools for nurture of talent especially in rural area and without consideration to economic status. Kendriya Vidyalayas instituted in 1963-64 present a model for the pan Indian acceptability. The objectives of Kendriya Vidyalayas are: to cater to the educational needs of the children of transferable Central Government employees including Defence and Para-Military personnel by providing a common programme of education; to pursue excellence and set pace in the field of school education; to initiate and promote experimentation and innovativeness in education in collaboration with other bodies like the Central Board of Secondary Education and National Council of Educational Research and Training etc and; to develop the spirit of national integration and create a sense of "Indianness" among children.

A need for correcting the imbalance in the officer cadre of the defence services on account of region and class was felt. Sainik Schools Society was set up in 1961 primarily with this aim under which Sainik Schools were established. The objectives of these schools were: (i) to remove regional imbalance in the officer cadre of the defence services, (ii) to develop qualities of body, mind and character which will enable the young boys to become good and useful citizens, (iii) to bring public school education within the reach of the common man. This model of school is similar to the model for the talented rural commoner except for the sharp emphasis on preparing young boys for the officer cadre in the defence service.

Given the religious and linguistic diversity in India, Minority schools were instituted under the constitutional directive of Article 30. The National Policy on Education, 1986 recommends it (para 4.8). With the emphasis on industrial growth, the industries set up schools for its employees and/ or schools open for all under the social responsibility of industries. Such schools were funded by the industrial houses and/or aided by the government education department. These were affiliated to any one of the Boards governing school education in India. There have been models which have been established to provide scope for experiments in education. Schools for experimentation or based on particular philosophy were established. One such example is Mirambika School, Delhi. Another model is the inclusion of non formal education. National Institute of Open schooling (NIOS) is set up to extend the facility of open education to the secondary schools. This facilitates reaching the unreached section of society.

In summing up the import of the historical narrative, it can be concluded that the various models of schooling that came up in the post independence phase were continuation of the existing models and creation of new models. The variety in models of schools indicated an attempt to address the challenges posed by diversity. The variety in models of schools manifested with respect to : (i) the socio economic status of learners especially with respect to the financial capacity to pay the fees and other expenses of the school for example, public schools, Navodaya Vidyalaya; (ii) experimentation in terms of following a particular ideology and being different from the other existing schools for example Mirambika school, New Delhi; (iii) catering to the needs of learners who are required to change schools across the country on account of parent's transfer for example the Kendriya Vidyalaya; (iv) specific needs felt as the need to correct the imbalance in the office cadre in the defense services for example the Sainik School; and (v) specific needs of learners who are outside the formal school for example the NIOS. This approach pre determines its stakeholders and their interactions. The continuity is in the approach to the making of different models in accordance with the stakeholders especially the learners and the perceived role of these stakeholders in developing the nation.

1.4.6 IMPORT OF POLICY NARRATIVE

The historical roots and the contextual imperatives of the contemporary school provide an understanding of the evolution of school. The policy perspective provides another dimension to the understanding of school. The policy perspective is based on the following policy texts: National Policies on Education, 1968, 1986, 1992 (revised); the National Curriculum Framework, 2000 and 2005; the Secondary Education Commission 1952; Education and National Development, 1964-66; and Learning Without Burden, 1982. The policy texts have been examined to understand the goal of education identified and the role of school in its pursuit.

The development of policy texts has been at the various periods in the history of post independence period in India. It took a long time of two decades after independence for the country to present its first official stand on education vide the National Policy on Education, 1968. This implied that the schools continued to be functional entities allowing for the historical continuum. However, there were attempts to assess, address and prioritize education through three national commissions: University Commission, 1948-49 for Higher Education; Secondary Education, 1952-53 for Secondary Education and Education and National Development 1964-66 for a comprehensive view of education in the country. It was at the behest of the recommendations of the report of Education and National Development 1964-66 that the first policy on education was developed.

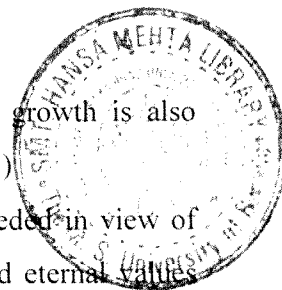
Prior to the first policy text, University Commission (1948-49) stated, 'secondary education needs radical reform'. A direct address to the aim of school is observed in Secondary Education Commission (1952-53). The aims of secondary education in accordance with the needs of democratic India were stated as: " we shall have to formulate our aims with reference to these broad categories-the training of character to fit the students to participate creatively as citizens in the emerging democratic social order; the improvement of their practical and vocational efficiency so that they may play their part in building up the economic prosperity of their country, and the development of their literary artistic and cultural interests, which are necessary for self expression and for the full development of the human personality without which a living national culture cannot come into being." The emphasis on national development through the development of individuals was thus mandated.

After a span of a decade, Education Commission (1964-66) whose task was to advise Government on 'the national pattern of education and the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all aspects' recommended structures for unifying the diversity of educational institutions and patterns. The unifying structure recommended was the common school pattern of 10+2+3. Schools can be located as educational institutions characterized by uniformity across the country with the task of developing future citizens for national development.

A recurrent thrust in the policy texts on education has been the notion of development of nation; inculcation of values necessary for individual development as envisioned in the goal of national development and; the role of education in this context. National Policy on Education, 1968 and National Policy on Education, 1986 affirmed faith in education through the following recommendation:

- 'In the post-independence period, a major concern of the Government of India and of the States has been to give increasing attention to education as a factor vital to national progress and security.' (NPE,1968)
- Recommendation of national curricular framework with common core and other curricular components that are flexible. (NPE,1986, para 3.4)
- Emphasis on international peace, understanding, international cooperation and peaceful co existence. (NPE,1986, para 3.5)
- Recommendation of shift from promotion of equality to creating conditions for success. The purpose is to remove prejudices and complexes transmitted through the social environment and accidents of birth. (NPE, 1986, para 3.6)
- Attention to the minority groups as per constitutional guarantee to establish and administer their own educational institutional and protection to their languages and culture. (NPE, 1986, para 4.8)
- Secondary education as the stage to provide exposure to students differentiated roles of science, humanities and social sciences; to provide a sense of history and national perspective and give them opportunities to understand their constitutional duties and rights as citizens. (NPE,1986, para 5.13)

- Preparing children as valuable manpower for economic growth is also visualized through vocationalization. (NPE,1986, para 5.13)
- Education as a forceful tool for inculcation of values needed in view of culturally plural society, education to foster universal and eternal values oriented towards the unity and integration of our people and the emphasis on national goals. (NPE,1986, para 8.4,8.5,8.6)



The emphasis in these recommendations is on national integration based on common national goals and ideals, in conformity with the core curriculum. The plurality of Indian society and the inequality of various types that exists in it has been the backdrop for the necessary values to be inculcated through the process of education. Overall, the recommendations suggest what occurs in schools or rather what should occur in schools and that is linked to various aspects of national development.

1.4.7 DEFINING STAKEHOLDERS AND THEIR ENGAGEMENT IN SCHOOL

The policy texts and reports etch role of the key stakeholders in school - teacher, learner- as also the engagement between them. The national policies brought to the fore the centrality of teacher as a key stakeholder to achieve the goal of national development through education. NPE,1968 suggests protection of academic freedom of teachers to pursue and publish independent studies and researches and to speak and write about significant national and international issues. NPE, 1986, recommends freedom of teachers to innovate, to devise appropriate methods of communication and activities relevant to the needs and capabilities of and the concerns of the community. As a corollary to freedom of teachers, it also suggests accountability of teachers and need for professional ethics. In a similar fashion, a sharp emphasis on freedom of learner as a stakeholder is observed in National Curriculum Framework School Education, 2000 and on equality in National Curriculum Framework, 2005. Advocating the constructivist paradigm, the National Curriculum Framework, 2005 etches the role to be played by the learner as active participant in the learning process and as a constructor of knowledge.

The engagement between the two stakeholders-teacher and learner- is depicted in National Policy on Education, 1986 (para 7.2) 'All teachers should teach and all students study.'

The context and the content for the engagement between the two stakeholders is also influenced by the goal of national development. A concrete shape of educational experiences to the ideals, goals and expectations stated in the national policies to be transacted at the institutional level is provided by the national curriculum frameworks. The curricular concerns (culture specific pedagogy, integrating diverse curricular concerns, strengthening national identity and preserving cultural heritage, education for a cohesive society) confirms the notion of national development in the context of diversity of Indian society.

The enabling factors to facilitate this engagement between the two stakeholders have also been recommended. National Policy on Education, 1986 states a strategy to enhance this engagement as: a better deal to teachers with greater accountability, provision of improved students' services and insistence on observance of acceptable norms of behaviour, provision of better facilities to institutions, and creation of a system of performance appraisals of institutions according to standards and norms set at the national or state levels. Secondary Education Commission (1952) recommends a 'stimulating environment' and the Education Commission 1964-66) recommends 'stimulating conditions of work'. National Curriculum Framework, 2005 describes it as 'enabling environment' of which equality is a dominant value. The 'enabling environment' is further described as 'one where children feel secure, where there is absence of fear and is governed by relationships of equality of space for equity'. The school is also defined as a public space and an institutional space.

A study of the enabling factors for the engagement between the teacher and the learner in the public space of school demonstrate attempts to address the critical space (Refer Figure 5) in school. The focus of these attempts is either on one of the stakeholders, provision of infrastructure facilities and mechanisms and services to enhance either the teacher's or the learner's participation in the engagement. A holistic view of both the stakeholders and the other stakeholders (parents and community) is not obtained. Not only this, but the National Curriculum Framework,

2005 raises the question, 'How can the space of school be nurtured as a context where children feel safe, happy and wanted and which teachers find meaningful and professionally satisfying?' The challenge, therefore is two fold: one to comprehend the school and two to nurture it to the desired goal.

In summing up the policy narrative on school, it may be stated that it provides glimpses of the ontology of school. The location of the idea of school is in terms of what happens in a school as suggested by the directives from the policy texts. In a school situated in India, the educational experiences involving the learner and the teacher would be to contribute to the goal of national development. In this process all sections of Indian society which is marked by inequalities of class, caste, language and region are to be addressed. Structurally, the school in India is located on the common pattern of 10+2+3¹. Another unifying pattern is the common core curriculum with curriculum with flexibility for context specific requirement.

Thus, the policy narrative demonstrates endeavours to address the question of ontology of school but these endeavours are inadequate. These fall short of addressing the totality of the situation and presenting the understanding of school at a normative level.

1.4.8 SUMMING UP THE IMPORT OF HISTORICAL AND POLICY NARRATIVE

Both these popular narratives are focusing primarily on continuities. Recently over a decade a number of scholarly work in the form of ethnography of schools- Thapan (1991), Srivastava (1998), Sarangpani (2003) have challenged those notions of continuity rejecting the focus either on stakeholder and its bilateral interactions (refer figure 2,3,4) in order to effect change from within the mainstream scholarship. What this figure draws upon is the urgent need to look at the composite and multilateral interactions of the three spheres and allow them to be located in "common and critical space" which otherwise has been ignored in the history of primary and secondary education in India. This allows figuratively to perceive the conceptualisation of this "common and critical space" which has been termed as Academic Culture.

Shotton (2000) studied experimental schools like Mirambika and initiatives/projects in education in a departure from continuity. These experimental schools, initiatives and projects were explored as models for the government to observe and learn from and use as examples for a new departure more generally.

Thus subversion of popular idiom becomes the conduit to build narrative of ontology of school in contemporary India. One of the ways in which this subversion is achieved is by privileging disjunctions over continuity. The understanding from historical and policy perspectives will not add substantially to the stagnant pool of knowledge about school. It would need a shift in perspective of viewing and understanding the reality in school. The attempt in this research is to propose the conceptual tool of academic culture to understand the ontology of school.

It would be worthwhile to address the questions raised at this point:

- How can the ontology of school be comprehended?
- What tools can be employed in this process?
- Can academic culture be a conceptual tool to understand the ontology of school?
- How can academic culture be delineated as a normative concept?
- How can academic culture be nurtured in school?
- What is the influence of academic culture in school?

1.4.9 RATIONALE

This research is an attempt to explore and engage with the larger problem of ontology of school. This study perches itself on the disjunctions marked in the historical and policy narratives that have made limited attempts to address this critical space in question here. These attempts were not supported comprehensively by any normative understanding of the problem. Essentially these policy directives were nothing but attempts at problem solving while the historical narratives were a linear tale of development and institutionalization of education. The need of a conceptual tool to understand the experiences in school to understand a school in its everyday life, were completely absent in these narratives.

Various researches (Thapan 1991, Srivastava 1998 , Sarangpani 2003) have attempted to grapple with the ontology of schools. As a sociologist, Thapan (1991) sought explanations for the question-what life at school is all about- not merely in terms of processes of interactions but as an engagement with the human and social world. The research also demonstrated a conflict between the philosophical guidelines of Krishnamurthy and the actual school processes. Srivastava (1998) studied the site of public school in the process of development of post colonial urban identity. Sarangpani (2003) studied the familiar grounds of village government primary school. The common knowledge of schools and the process of schooling was constructed.

This critical space is examined as an abstract object in its delineation of academic culture. This examination subsequently leads to development of the concept and its constituent analytics. This study highlights the imperative for such an examination to be explored through an understanding of the relationship between school and education in the realm of its practice. Such an interaction would try to articulate the politics of relationship at the level of its discourse, its collision with the nation state and its institutions, and its determination by the investment and apparatus. What increasingly needs to be grasped through such an understanding would more satisfactory be termed as an analytic of the relationship, an analytic of which instead of asking the question 'what is the relationship' would ask instead 'how does the relationship work'.

Normatively the process of engaging with the conceptualizing, unpacking and engaging with the ontology of academic culture entails mapping out the conceptual and theoretical parameters to problematize academic culture and then bring into play the analytics to explore the interactions of academic culture with everyday life in school and define its implications for everyday life in school as to how does this relationship occur. In doing so, it will reflect upon the politics of knowledge production. Further such a study will also examine the location of academic culture within the intersections and interstices of the larger globalization process and the implied transnational realities therein.

Some attempts in this direction have been made. Donna (2005) studied the creation of caring culture in school. Ferreira (2006) found that academic culture is formed and

maintained by an ever-negotiated and shifting set of activities. With regards to the constituent components, Koppi et al (1998) suggested that freedom and flexibility are key components of academic culture. What else could be the constituents of academic culture need to be explored and delineated in detail.

With its focus on the schools of the urban city of Vaodara in Gujarat, the western province of India, the research problematizes a critical space marked by the continuous and simultaneous interactions between the three spheres:

(i) the learners, teachers, parents, community who are the stakeholders and the institution of school; (ii) the institution of school and the larger community and; (iii) the stakeholders and the larger community. In doing so the study endeavours to deal with the unconscious structures that come in to play through variant kind of symbology during moments of interactions, contestations (of whatever variety) and produce dysfunctional/functional outcome, a kind of behavioral automata that appropriates contingencies and funnels them into shape. Now this is something as abiding as it is elusive in its operations- a kind of performative text lodged within collective psyche and productive group actions, but only at key moments and in unseen ways. Key to understanding these dynamics is to engage with the spatiality in which they are anchored.

The research uses the 'set of events' in school as a point of privileged access to the everyday life of school. This everyday life constitute a moment of acute discontinuity that exposes dynamic structures and processes normally concealed beneath the surface of day to day operations in a school. The study attempts to grasp these through 'a set of events', breaking down the big supposedly single-cohesive, one day in school into smaller units or clusters of *micro events*. Thus submitted to processual analysis, the empirical materials are framed and recalled as a narrative incorporating conceptual and historical insights. It is expected that the methodology would reveal the discrete temporal moments and diverse trajectories the everyday events in a school embodied, and , in turn, render intelligible the larger discursive themes, as given, in the terms 'process of nurturing and influence' played out in everyday life in a school. Pursuing somewhat similar lines of enquiry into everyday life of school, the research attempts to develop analogues that resonate and lend temporal and spatial depth to the 'events' in school. Finally supported by observations and secondary sources the research

draws broader conclusion on the concept, process of nurturing and influence of academic culture in school indicating possible conceptual frameworks and insights for comprehending the ontology of school not as aberrations, or as mere products of materialistic exigencies, but as intrinsic elements of urban, social and education history.

The research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

- What is academic culture?
- What are its determinants/constituents/components?
- What are its observables?
- Can academic culture be thrust or does it evolve participatively with the help of all members of the institution?
- How is academic culture to be nurture?
- What is the influence of academic culture in school?
- This study has been planned to address these research questions.

1.4.10 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The study is titled as “Concept, Process of Nurturing and Influence of Academic Culture in School”.

1.4.11 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of study are as follows:

- 1) To evolve the concept of academic culture
- 2) To find out the process of nurturing academic culture in school
- 3) To study the influence of academic culture in school

1.4.12 ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The thesis is divided into five chapters. **Chapter one** introduces the conceptual framework. It deals with the significance of attempts to understand school by focusing on the inner world of school in terms of the everyday transactions occurring therein. The potential of Academic Culture to understand the inner world of school is presented. The limited attempts to address the inner world of schools as observed in the historical narrative and the policy narrative are discussed. **Rationale** of the study follows the conceptual framework. The **statement of the study** and the **objectives of the study** are presented at the end of chapter one.

Chapter two presents review of related literature. The studies and literature reviewed are grouped in three categories: (i) literature on ontology of school, (ii) literature suggesting determinants of academic culture, and (iii) literature on nurture and influence of academic culture.

Chapter three focuses on methodology of the study. It explains the process of evolving the concept of Academic Culture. The identification of sample and the case study approach adopted to study the nurture and influence of Academic Culture in schools is presented.

Chapter four presents the concept of Academic Culture.

Chapter five presents Manifestation of academic culture, its nurture and influence. The presentation of each case study in this section is followed by understanding the manifestation of Academic Culture, pathways to nurture it and influence of Academic Culture.

Chapter six presents findings, discussion and conclusion.

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