

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF ANGLO-ARABIC SCHOOL,
DELHI**

(PhD Thesis)

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By

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Under the Supervision

Of

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DECLARATION

I, Md. Aftab Alam, a student of PhD hereby declare that the thesis titled “**An Ethnographic Study of Anglo-Arabic School, Delhi**” is submitted by me to the Dr. K. R. Narayanan Centre for Dalit and Minorities Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree/Diploma/Associate ship//Fellowship or other similar title or recognition. This is to declare further that I have also fulfilled the requirements of para 8 (viii and xi) of the Ph.D. Ordinance, the details of which are enclosed at the end of the thesis.

Place:

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(Md. Aftab Alam)

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(Md. Aftab Alam)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Anglo Arabic School
AASSS	Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
CSE	Centre for Study of Education
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DES	Delhi Education Society
DWB	Delhi Wakf Board
GB	Garstin Bastion
IAS	Indian Administrative Services
ID	Identity Card
IDB	Islamic Development Bank
IPS	Indian Public School
JMI	Jamia Millia Islamia
JSL	Junior Science Laboratory
LMC	Library Managing Committee
M Phil	Master of Philosophy
MA	Master of Arts
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MCD	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
MSc	Master of Science
NAI	National Archives of India
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSS	National Saving Scheme
OUP	Oxford University Press
PET	Physical Education Teacher
PGT	Post Graduate Teacher
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PWT	Permit With Transportation
RVS	Rishi Valley School
TV	Television
TGT	Trained Graduate Teacher
UCLA	University of California Los Angeles
USA	United States of America
VTS	Vernacular Translation Society

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CHAPTER—I

INTRODUCTION

Seeking knowledge has been an integral part of the Islamic tradition. Both forms of knowledge are seen to be complimentary to each other – *deeni and duniyawi* (religious and worldly). Muslims derive their inspiration from the many verses of the Holy Quran as well as the prophetic traditions and sayings which exhort them to seek knowledge as a religious duty and cheerfully bear hardships, if any, in its acquisition. In the first verse of the Holy Quran, revealed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), primacy of knowledge is affirmed in the words ‘*Iqra Bis-me-rabbekal-lazi khalaq* read in the name of the Lord and Cherisher, Who created’¹. Besides the Holy Quran, there are many Hadith (sayings and practices of Prophet Muhammad) - which also testify to this primacy of knowledge. The Prophet himself has reaffirmed the teaching of Quran by stressing that the acquisition of knowledge is incumbent upon every believer. Muslims were enjoined upon to “Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave” and “Even go as far as China to seek knowledge”. Till date these verses provide a source of inspiration to the community.

Keeping up with this tradition of seeking knowledge, Muslims have established a number of educational institutions across the world. With the coming of Muslims to India this tradition too travelled and a number of educational institutions were set up. One such institution that was set up in late 17th century was Madarsa Ghaziuddin at Shahjahanabad, the foundations upon which is built, what is known today, as the Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School.

1.1 LOCATING THE ANGLO ARABIC SCHOOL

The study is about the Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School, located at Ajmeri Gate which has its origins in Madarsa Ghaziuddin, established in 1692.² Ever since its establishment this educational institution has taken on various forms and adopted various names - Madrasa Ghaziuddin, Anglo Arabic School and Anglo Arabic College, Delhi College etc. during the course of its existence for over three hundred years.

Spread over nine acres situated just on the outskirts of what was once known as Shahjahanabad the Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School has an imposing Mughal style architecture built in red sandstone. The School is large in terms of its strength – with around seventeen hundred students studying in classes VI to XII and around sixty teachers.³

Today the school caters largely to the Muslim children of the walled city of Delhi and other Muslim localities of the city of Delhi, a large percentage of which belong to the lower and middle class background. The school is affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) and is recognised by the Directorate of Education, Govt. of Delhi. The school receives aid from the Delhi government to the tune of 95 per cent of its teacher's salary. The school is run under the aegis of Delhi Education Society (DES) since 1951.

Since Anglo Arabic School is largely serving the Muslim community, a community considered to be educationally and economically backward, the significance of AAS in relation to the community cannot be ignored. Its importance to the Muslim community can be seen both because of its historical and heritage value as well as being an educational institution at their door step as well as being run by the

community itself. Its value lies in the fact that it represents an institution that caters to both the identity needs of the community alongside providing modern and secular education. The study also acquires significance in the light of the recent Sachar Committee report which has highlighted the pitiable state of education amongst the Muslim community. A study of one of the oldest living educational institutions of North India catering largely to the Muslim community will provide a perspective to this phenomenon.

This study explores the socio-cultural milieu of Anglo Arabic School and its schooling and non-schooling activities from the perspective of its students, teachers and the community it caters to. The schooling process and its meaning for those it caters to will be delineated in this study by studying the everyday happenings at the school, the inter-relationships between the teachers, the students and the teachers, the teachers and the Management and the community. In this study of the Anglo Arabic School along with the formal expectations of individual behaviour one is also concerned with “individual perceptions, alterations, adaptations or acceptance of the same as these shape the nature of social interaction”. The attempt is to “render the school sociologically intelligible and in relation to ideology and society within an overall perspective that includes both objective facticity and the subjective meaning brought to situations and processes by the participants” (Thapan, 1991). To borrow from Thapan, this study is about understanding “Life at School”.

1.2 EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Since independence, India has achieved significant growth but there are indicators which show that not all religious and linguistic minorities have shared equal benefits of development. Among these, Muslims, largest minority group, contributing 13.4 per

cent of the India's population are seriously lagging behind on most of the human development indicators including education (Sachar Committee Report, 2006). Their literacy rate is below the national average (Muslim - 59.1 per cent and National Average – 65.1 per cent) ⁴ and much below in comparison to other minorities (Muslims – 74.6 per cent and other minorities – 88.5 percent) ⁵, Dropout rate is significantly visible, and their transition to the higher education is minimal. According to the Sachar Report twenty five per cent of the Muslim Children in the 6-14 years age group have either never attended school or have dropped out. The condition is more worrisome in relation to the girl child (Hasan and Menon). This despite the concern shown for development of minorities which can be traced back to the Constitution of India which is committed to the equality of citizens and it is the responsibility of the state to preserve, protect and ensure rights of minorities in matters of language, religion and culture. The articles 29, 30 & 350A of the Indian Constitution enjoin the rights of the minorities to establish and administer educational institutions and schools of their choice as the educational institutions are understood as potential agencies that produce and reproduce the culture and ideology through the instruments of curriculum and pedagogy. It also directs the state to provide facilities to instruct in their mother tongue at primary level. However, the story of the Urdu medium schools is dismal. Erratic supply of books, vacancies of teachers not being filled up for years is some of the issues that ail schooling through the Urdu medium. A report of the NCPUL points out that during a survey done by them “one school had twenty four and another had fifteen posts of Urdu teachers that had remained vacant for several years” (Chopra & Jeffery, 2005). ⁶

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To understand historical background, physical setting and the organization of material and human resources in the schools.
- To understand the ideologies and principles of the schools and their impact.
- To understand culture and ethos of the schools as represented through ceremonies and rituals.
- To examine the central functions of the school such as curriculum, content and context, pedagogic practices and system of instructions.
- To analyse the relationship between Pupils-Teachers, Pupils-Pupils, Teachers-Teachers and School – Local community.
- To explore problems and prospects of the school.

The purpose of this ethnographic study was to develop an understanding about the school by getting immersed in its daily routine and activities and place it in a larger sociological framework.

1.4 RATIONALE OF STUDY

The Anglo Arabic School is a unique institution. Its historical value and the fact that it has produced some of the great minds of the city of Delhi give it an added edge over other institutions of Delhi. A school catering to the children of the walled city for over generations while also being a school where many first generation learners are enrolled makes it a place worthy of being studied more so in the context of the recommendations of the Sachar Committee to open new schools in Muslim concentrated areas as an attempt to erase the educational backwardness of the community. Ethnographies of Schools is limited in the Indian context, that of Rishi Valley School, Andhra Pradesh and of Mirambika, Delhi are a case in point.

Schooling processes, the inter relationships between the various actors in the schooling process and the problems and issues inherent within the school context need to be studied in depth to understand the deep rooted problems which allow or do not allow schools to perform. While there are a number of Muslim managed schools in India no institution has been subjected to such a study. However, as far as madarsas are concerned one finds that institutions like Deoband etc have been studied in this manner, the famous study being that of Barabara Metclaf. A recent study of Arshad Alam is an ethnographic study of madarsa Ashrafiya of Azamgarh.

AAS an institution which has been around in some form or the other for over three centuries merits such a study. How does the school address the educational needs of the community needs to seen. What are the issues that come in the way of its being able to perform to its optimal level? It is here then that the relevance of studying the Anglo Arabic School lies. Having catered over the centuries for the education of a particular community, the Muslims – does it draws confidence as being one of the best educational institutions of the country. Why is it that despite its sensitivity to providing education in all three mediums – Urdu, English and Hindi – the performance of children in the school board exams gives no cause to cheer? Why is it that despite all attention and eyes focussed on the Anglo Arabic School from the community the school fails to deliver results. What is happening in the school needs to be known

So far scholars studying education of Muslims have looked at data on drop outs and attendance, etc. No attempt has been done in a serious manner attempt to actually understand the context and scenario in which the schools are situated. What are both

external and internal forces that act upon the school as a social as well as an educational institution and how this impacts the students and teachers.

1.5 CHAPTERIZATION

The thesis is divided into different chapters, sections and sub-sections. In chapter one, rationale behind this research and site selection, general scenario of Muslim education in India and condition of Muslim-managed schools are discussed.

In the second chapter, research methodology and fieldwork process adopted for data collection has been discussed. An overview on ethnography and how it, over a period of time, emerged as an approach, got acceptance in doing research in schools and other educational institutions. Following this different ethnographic objects and fieldwork process are delineated.

In the chapter third, I reviewed the literature available and presented an evaluative understanding of the studies already done both in India and outside on schools and madarasas of varied nature. This helps in developing insight and open different vistas and dimensions to see the research site.

In Chapter fourth, I delineated the historical legacy of the school in terms of its geographical location, architecture and educational journey in the past and consequently present goals, physical and learning resources and authority structure of the school are discussed in the later part of this chapter. This will give a clear picture of how this seminary survived over a period of more than three hundred years, serving its various goals, and the way it is being run by the present Management with present academic system and schematic structure of decision making.

Later, in the chapter fifth, the culture of the school is discussed in terms of everyday life and occasional happenings in the school. Everyday life is characterized by the

rituals of regular evaluation in terms of unit tests and term examinations, Morning Assembly and recess. The occasional happenings are illustrated by the Annual Function, sports day, Iftar Party and celebration of Independence and Republic days which are yearly round of activities in the school. The school culture provides a certain kind of environment to the actors in which they interact with each other and carryout teaching learning processes leading towards illustrated goals of the school, individual goals of the actors of the school combining all make a whole that is school culture.

In chapter six, world of students is discussed in relation to the different constituents; their interaction and involvement in academic and non-academic activities. Since the student culture in a school is influenced by personal and social belongingness of the students with which they enter into the school, I discussed the admission rules and regulations of the school and factors influence the admission policy. Following this their aspirations, career choice and sports and leisure time involvement are elucidated. Besides, I look at the student-student interactions in both formal and informal settings and their relationship in the school.

Following this, chapter seven dedicated to the world of teacher in AAS which begins with the recruitment and selection of teachers and different reasons why they join Anglo Arabic School. Their academic and non-academic roles are seen in terms of their perception and expectations of the school and their viewpoint on the assigned roles, their commitment and difficulties they face to perform those roles in the school. I also see the factors which boost their mood to work in the school and desire to change the present condition. In the rest of this chapter, I examine the teacher-teacher interaction, relationship and conflict not only in the way of performing assigned task

but also as a social being. At the end, supplementing the teacher culture I discussed two case studies.

In chapter eight, I deal with the interaction between teachers and students as it considered central to the teaching-learning process in the school. Their interactions happen in the classroom and outside the classroom in performing curricular and extra-curricular activities. The purpose was to understand their pattern of interaction in both formal and informal settings in the school.

Finally, chapter nine consists of parents' perception about the school and teachers, their aspirations for their children and contributions made by them in educating their children. At the end, several concluding comments based on the whole research work, are given.

End Notes:

1. The Holy Quran, Alaq 1.
2. As mentioned under the school logo. See Margrit Pernau, '*The Delhi College*' and Abdul Haq, '*Marhum Dilli Kallij*' for a discussion on the date of its establishment.
3. These figures apply to the year 2008-10, the year in which I conducted the field work.
4. National Census Survey, 2001.
5. NSSO 61st round (2004-05).
6. See 'Plural Society and Schooling: Urdu-Medium Schools in Delhi', Anne V. Chatterjee in *Educational Regimes in Contemporary India*, Radhika Chopra & Patricia Jeffery (eds., 2005).

CHAPTER — II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

This chapter discusses the methodology that has been used in this study. This is not just a description of the methods and techniques that were used but rather an account of the whole range of processes through which the research field is constructed.

2.1 ETHNOGRAPHY

In this study I have used the methods of ethnography for data collection. Many researchers and scholars from different fields of social sciences have delineated the term '*ethnography*' or '*ethnographic study*'¹ differently but the emphasis is given to the 'onus of responsibilities' of the researchers as the 'main instrument of data collection in participant observation is the researcher'.² Other than the ethnographic objects used for data collection the subjective interpretations of researcher are indispensable and play a vital role in compiling such studies. Weber (1947) draws attention to the necessity of interpretive understanding in the attempt to examine the subjective point of view. It is a form of research focusing on the sociology of meaning through close field observation of socio-cultural phenomena where the ethnographer focuses on a community — selecting informants, who are known to have an overview of the activities of the community, using chain sampling obtain saturation of informants in all the phenomenal areas of investigation. Informants are interviewed multiple times, using information from various informants to elicit clarification and deeper responses upon interview and re-interview. This process is intended to reveal common cultural understandings related to the phenomena under study. 'It is a science of socio-cultural description capture as a theme that is basic to all of its

accounts' (Wolcott, 1975a) and foremost a 'descriptive endeavour in which the researcher attempts accurately to observe, describe and interpret the nature of social discourses among a group of people' (Geertz, 1973). Traditionally, 'ethnography has been thought as a description of a culture of a whole community, but it is equally applicable to the description of social discourses among any group of people. Schools and classroom and other educational settings are well suited to ethnographic inquiry, although the difference in scope and setting requires certain adaptation' (Erickson, 1973).

The methodology of ethnography has been developed and utilized within the area of anthropology which is in common with other social sciences, depends for its data upon observation of human behaviour including verbal behaviour and the process of making such observation. It can be said that ethnography is a written report summarizing the behaviour, the beliefs, understanding, attitudes and values they imply of a group of interacting people. It is generally expected to give an overall view of the culture of the people about whom it is written, within the limits inherent in ethnographic research. As such it attempts to cover all aspects of the culture of given society but practically – it covers those aspects which the ethnographer considers relevant to the understanding of the main features of the culture he/she studied. As a methodology, it involves far more than an easily described and readily adopted data gathering techniques. Typically the ethnographic account includes an introductory section on the geographical and historical setting of the people to be studied and their racial, linguistic and cultural affinities. Agar in the book *Speaking of Ethnography* says "the social research style that emphasizes encountering alien world and making sense of them where ethnographers set out to show how social action in one world

makes sense from the point of view of another. Such work requires an ‘intensive personal involvement’, an ‘abandonment of traditional scientific control’, an ‘improvisational style’ to meet situations not of the researcher’s making and an ability to learn from a long series of mistakes” (M. Agar, 1986). Ethnography is now no longer claims to describe a reality accessible by anyone using the right methods independent of the historical and cultural context of the act of describing society. It is neither subjective nor objective but interpretive, mediating two worlds through the third. According to Emerson (2001) ethnography sees to represent social ‘things’ as they are grasped and shaped through the meaning conferring response of members where as Davis C. A. (1999) in his book “*Reflexive Ethnography*” described ethnography as a research process based on field work using a variety of research techniques but including engagement in the lives of those being studied over an extended period of time and draws its data primarily from field experiences and usually emphasizes descriptive details as a result. It facilitates zoom-in into particular aspects, relations or phenomenon in the setting without losing sight of the whole and enables researchers to understand the culture through the interpretations, experiences, perceptions and meaning given by those living within this specific cultural context.

In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating – overtly or covertly, in people’s lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. The ethnography based on three central features that are *induction*, *context* and *unfamiliarity*. The inductive process during ethnographic work sees general statements about human society and culture. It is for this reason attached to the notion

of a case study, which describes a detail of a particular event or series of events, social process or the human condition. The major part of the legitimacy for this induction process is careful attention within ethnographic work to the context of events, since it is assumed that events seen out of context might be misunderstood. So, central is context that is not merely a pre condition for the development of general theory out of particular events rather context when well described is the development of theory — *'description is explanation'* (Hammersley, 1992 and Dilley, 1999). The description of the events in context is particularly poignant, indeed, necessary—when dealing with situations unfamiliar to the general leadership. Such work allows us to see the world from *'the native's point of view'* (Malinowski, 1992) and to better understand motivation and meaning of social action.

Ethnography has achieved significant space across the social sciences that it has effectively become a catch-all term to describe any form of long term qualitative research using different methods. Indeed, it is acknowledged that at times it was legitimate to use ethnography interchangeably with qualitative methods and case study. From its origin in anthropology, ethnography has now expanded out to be part of overall methodological toolkit— ethnographic work is done by human geographers, sociologists, some political scientists, business studies, cultural studies, gender studies, media studies, migration studies, schooling and so on. The ethnography that has developed alongside and which is used to deliver the descriptive goals is what has called *'field work concept'* (Clammer, 1984) which involves a long term period of social immersion in a particular setting from which generated the holistic descriptive account—the ethnography of the group being researched. Within the field work the dominant method is involved observation/participant observation,

although like ethnography, this label is used to gloss over the variety of methods actually used by ethnographers—from simple observation to the collection of stories, life histories, interviewing, household surveys, archival research etc.

The social scientists turned to this rather open ended methodology as part of a critique of the more scientific quantitative methods of survey and experimentation. For them, these critiques were fivefolds. Firstly, quantitative methodologies were seen to impose a prior structure of social inquiry, thereby over all determining results and quarrelling researchers to the possibility of interesting data immersing from unexpected areas, ethnography by contrast, is often an exercise in uncertainty, in which an openness to change and/or unpredictable social and political development generate new research orientations. Second, they were criticized for attempting to derive an understanding of what happens in ‘normal’ social conditions from the categorically abnormal contexts of the experiment. Third, consequently they were seen as inexperienced in their belief on people’s own accounts of what they do. The focus on participant observation within ethnographic research aims to enable researchers to view social action ‘on the ground’ as it unfolds in a ‘*normal*’ and ‘*natural*’ manner. As long-term participants, rather than mere observers, their effect on social life is minimized, and they are able to measure the relationship between the people saying about what they do and what they actually do. Truly, this relationship is often central to ethnographic research. Fourth, quantitative methods were seen to concrete social phenomenon by treating them as distinct and isolable from the social contexts in which they emerge, develop and change but it is not case with ethnographic work. Fifth, they were seen as excessively behaviouristic in their assumption that people’s actions are mechanically determined, thereby neglecting to the account of human agency. The critical view on

ethnographic approach to see the phenomenal fields present the ethnographic study a distinct identity which is relevant to understand socio-cultural dynamics of human being and not merely psychological know-how.

2.2 ETHNOGRAPHY AND EDUCATION

My journey to understand the practices of schooling and the sociological on-going of the school by deploying ethnographic methods began when I have read the earlier ethnographic studies done on schools and other anthropological studies in the field of society, culture and schooling. In those accounts, the scope of examining the educational institutions as one of the key agents of cultural transmission had been given very little emphasis (Spindler and Spindler, 1987 and Moore, 1994). One of the reasons for the absence of such attempts can be traced back to the focus of earlier anthropological studies in understanding ‘primitive’ cultures. In many of these ‘primitive’ cultures that were subjected to early anthropological investigations, the formal types of educational institutions seemed to be absent or not found interesting for many of the ethnographers. In most of the introductory texts of anthropology and in the ethnographic studies a similar pattern can be noticed i.e. the sequence of chapters explaining social structure, kinship, economy, religion, political system and social stratification. Schools, other types of educational institutions or the role of education figured in the margin of early anthropological inquiries of culture and cultural transmission (Moore, 1994). Though, there were plenty of anthropological attempts to examine the concept of socialization, the understanding of formal institutions of education and their cultural linkages were not adequately focused.

Tracing the Indian context of ethnographic observation on schooling, there are some exceptional contributions. To mention one of the most significance works, Verrier Elwin's ethnographic accounts will figure in this context. His most important work in Bastar was his study of the 'ghotul', the unique dormitory-club of the boys and girls of the Muria tribe in the central provinces. In this work, he traces the formal sets of practices in the Ghotul School by locating the practice in the cultural context of the Muria Tribe (Elwin, 1968). Other ethnographic accounts are "*Life at school*" by Meenakshi Thapan (1991), "*Constructing School Knowledge*" by Padma M. Sarangapani (2003), "*Life at Mirambika*" by Anjum Sibia (2006) and "*Inside the Madarsa*" by Arshad Alam (2011) are the some examples of such research described about the sociological framework of schools and schooling systems. Such attempts of crossing the traditional disciplinary borders to accommodate and borrow theoretical and methodological tools of culture and education triggered during the late twentieth century. Thus, the traditional classification of domain of anthropological inquiries of kinship, politics, economy and religion, archaeology, socio-cultural anthropology, biological anthropology and linguistics was restructured with the expansion of the discipline to considerably more diverse avenues.

With the proliferation of the specialist subfields, such as the anthropology of development, organizations, education, theatre and performance, nutrition, cognition, psychoanalysis, psychology, gender and medicine, the boundary of discipline became blurred. By maintaining the degrees of theoretical specialization, the subfields borrow theories, concepts and methodologies from varying disciplines or from particular intellectual traditions or critiques that cross-out the disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences. Within the subfields, further boundary crossing processes become

typical when the topics, to list a few, such as the body, memory, the household, the person, land, consumption, nationalism, violence and art were listed among the objects of anthropological inquiry. In fact, the boundaries between ‘subfields’ and ‘topics’ are never fixed as a matter of contestation (Moore, 1994).

In the field of educational inquiries, qualitative tools and ethnographic methods have become a significant component. Ethnographic approaches in the area of educational research, as a subset of qualitative research has surged to prominence. In these approaches, new questions were asked, a set of answers were offered that co-relational and experimental research designs could not offer (Spindler and Spindler, 1987). Unsettling the universal scales provided by the dominant psychological perspectives in educational research in understanding the process of knowledge transmission, teaching and learning, ethnographic perspectives in education could offer more cultural rather than psychological explanations that makes processes and problems more context specific. However, in such processes of constructing the ethnography of education, there is nothing parochial or purely anthropological rather the theoretical and methodological components are borrowed freely from other disciplines.

Ethnography observes education as cultural transmission in which cultural learning is required. In that sense of understanding the process of learning and transmission are separated only by convention (Spindler and Spindler 1982 and Wolcott, 1983). The ethnographic approach sharpen the focus on the aspects of cultural transmission and learning in a more specific way of understanding education in a broad sense as a ‘*calculated intervention*’ in the learning spaces.

In this study, I would like to give emphasis on the narrower sense of schooling i.e. what I understand as school and the very concept I intent to locate within the spaces of ‘calculated interventions’ in the process of learning when deployed the ethnographic approaches. The concept of schooling *per se* does not essentially attach itself to the notion of schools or educational institutions; rather it requires a broader meaning of learning outside the spaces of calculated interventions. When I engaged with the concept of schooling in the present context, it is not my purpose to include the sites other than the domain of ‘calculated intervention’.

As a study of educational ethnography, this research does not make any attempt to understand the entire process of learning that takes place in varying spaces as children grow into adults or get older. The point that Spindler and Spindler make on the focus of educational anthropologist on the learning that take place, whether it is intended or unanticipated, as a result of calculated intervention, makes relevant to the present context of inquiry and conceive it as the unique subject matter of educational anthropology (Spindler and Spindler, 1987). I would like to stretch my focus from the modes of learning that take place in the space of calculated intervention to the different sets of practices in that space— relationship, negotiations, interactions and strategies, through which the participants perform. So the process of schooling is conceptualized not just in the domain of learning or teaching but rather in terms of a broad term ‘practice’. I do not intend to reduce the space of calculated interventions to just the domain of teaching and learning, rather the entire set of activities in that space is given emphasis in my analysis.

The entire set of activities including the ‘primary functions’—teaching and learning are focused by making a conceptual demarcation of the field of schooling. The sites of

schooling are understood school as a whole — classroom, staffroom, playground as these sub sites have different roles in the exercise of power and control. The analytical details of school culture are explained in the forthcoming chapters. Explaining further about the schooling and how children get into the life of school, I would like to discuss about the socialization that children experience in the school.

The discipline of anthropology had devoted much attention on the process of cultural transmission in the specific approach to understand socialization. Sociologists and anthropologists have understood the process of socialization as the exchange or transmission of norms, values, morals and other cultural traits in order to make one eligible for participating in that cultural setting (Douglas, 1968, Kerckhoff, 1972 and Freeman, 1975). The entry to school space is also involved with certain basic criteria which include both cultural and physical aspects with which a system decides the inclusion and exclusion of members in the field. In the present context, I tried to understand socialization, perception, expectation of the different actors in the school and their pattern of involvement in the school activities. The major concern is to understand the sociological on-going in the school, authority structure and the pattern of interactions among the different respondents in the school. In order to explore the practices and productions inherent to the institutional structure of education and schooling at Anglo Arabic School, I have adopted the methods of ethnography.

2.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS

The qualitative research approach is being adopted to understand the phenomena under the present study which primarily depends on the researcher as an essential component of the research process. It requires the researcher to take an attitude of the

student attempting to study the particular group or culture. ‘Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people’ (Spradler, 1979). Ethnographic work requires intensive personal involvement, an abandonment traditional scientific control, an improvisational style to meet situations not of the researcher making and an ability to learn from a long series of mistakes (Agar M, 1986). Participant observation, formal and informal interviews, artefacts such as document, records, phenomenological material etc. long term gossip are being applied to gather information about the school culture. This research at Anglo Arabic School is a single sited research and the site is selected before hand after consulting the ‘authority’³ attached to the school.

I was concerned in reaching towards an understanding of the school through the process of observing and interacting with the on-going reality and ‘lifting the veil that obscure or hide what is going on’ (Blumer, 1976) and emphasis was given on completeness of the analysis by taking into account every possible pertinent aspects i.e. detailed examination of one setting (Good and Scates, 1954). It consists of an observer sitting in a situation and describing the happenings as accurately, objectively and precisely as possible (Kerry and Eggleston, 1988). Collection of data through sustained contact with people in a setting where they normally spent their time helps to obtain the perspective of the participants and illuminates the inner dynamics of the situation (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). The following objects of ethnographic studies are used.

2.3.1 Participant Observation

The term participant observation is attributed to Edward Lindeman.⁴ It is used here to refer to research characterized by ‘a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the later’.⁵ The observational process in ethnography particularly school ethnography is characterized as the recording of extensive descriptive detail about the “*imponderabilia*” of actual life and everyday behaviour (Malinowski, 1922 and Thapan, 1991). The observer attempt to capture the concrete details of the conduct of everyday life in school and classroom, often records in longhand detailed running descriptions of interaction with the setting. The audiotape, cameras, and videotape are used to increase the accuracy of observational efforts.⁶ Gold in his book “*Social Forces*” has discussed the roles of the participant observer to play in the field – ‘*complete observer*’ (the researcher does not participate in activities at the setting but looks at the scene, literally or figuratively, through a one-way mirror), ‘*complete involvement*’ at the site with little discernible between the behaviour of the observer and the subjects, throughout the data collection I tried to be in between these two extremes and avoid ‘*over participation*’ which could lead to ‘*going negative*’, as a phrase used in anthropology to refer to researcher getting so involved and active with subjects that their original intentions get lost (Gold, 1958).

During my presence in the school I maintained a balance participation and observation with teachers, students and parents and did not let any of the group feel ignored or offended. If, for example, as my goal was to observe or understand the classroom from more on students’ point of view I chose to participate more with students than with teachers but share my strategy of focusing on the children to gain their acceptance. Participatory observation is done at two levels in the school; observational and participatory. During my data collection I observed different

settings and subsettings (Observing school, classrooms, staffrooms, different clubs, playground, canteen, in the hostel, morning assembly, Principal's office, different meetings, library, laboratories, examination and admission processes, around the bonfire and under the sun during winters etc) and participated in many happenings (School events like celebration of functions such as Foundation Day, Sports Day, Independence and Republic Days, Farewell parties, Parent-Teacher meetings) in the school.

2.3.2 Interviews

Interview as a method is used to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words to develop insight on how subjects interpret some piece of the world. In qualitative research interviews are generally used in two ways; as may be the dominant strategy for data collection and may be employed in conjunction with other methods like participant observation, document analysis and other techniques. I used the later one for the present study. I conducted the interviews which are relatively '*open-ended*' (Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1951), '*unstructured*' (Maccoby and Meccoby, 1954), or '*non-directive*' (Meltzer and Petras, 1970) focused on a particular topic or some time gives them space to narrate their life span in the school. The interviews were also guided by some general questions with a range of topics to be answered. I was relatively straight with the teachers who were new or recently joined the school. For example, their political feeling i.e. grouping and conflict among teachers or between school and school management, and more circuitous (Becker, 1951) with the older teachers. While asking question, I tried not to be instructive or evaluative with the subjects as the purpose of the research is to learn people's perspective or the participants' perspective.

In AAS, interviews are conducted with students (from both the sections junior and senior sections ensuring representation of all the classes), teachers (depending upon time they spent in the school; teachers who recently joined, at the middle of their service and those who are about to retire), and parents (both father and mother). Besides, Principal/Vice-principal, Manager, Vice-president, Secretary of the school and alumni or the Old boys and Visitors are interviewed.

2.3.3 Artefacts

About the data I have discussed above that consists of materials that I as a researcher have a major hand in producing. I wrote the field notes and conducted the interviews that become the transcripts. Here the written text and artefacts which are called a 'mute evidence' (Hodder, 1998) which are written by subjects also used will be discussed. 'Personal documents'⁷ or first-person narrative such as diaries of teachers and students are being evaluated as Allport has stated "the spontaneous, intimate diary is the personal document par excellence" (Allport, 1942). The criterion for calling written material personal document is that it is self-revealing of a person's view of experience (Allport, 1942). The aim of collecting such materials is to obtain detail evidence as to how social situations appear and what meanings various factors have for participants (Angell, 1945). Official documents such as memos, minutes of different meetings that reveals information about the official chain of command, and internal rules and regulations. These documents also provide clues about the leadership style in the school and potential insights about what school members' value. Materials or documents used for external communication produced by the school system for public consumption such as newsletters, news releases, and year

magazines etc. which are helpful to understand official perspective, the administrative structure and other aspects of school system.

In the present study the artefacts used are; school annual magazines, articles in news papers, Literature of school history, history of school events, written records of the different meetings, government rules and Acts, objects of Delhi Education Society, scheme of management of the school, Students' admission and teachers' recruitment documents, students, teachers and class diaries, communication with different external agencies, personal narratives of teachers and students etc.

The artefacts discussed above are used as supplement with the observation and interviews to come up with clearer picture of the site.

2.4 FIELDWORK PROCESS IN ANGLO ARABIC SCHOOL

In ethnography, fieldwork process starts when one conceives the idea of doing such a study. The researcher initiates his/her voyage starting with the selection of site, preparation to enter into the site, entering into the site, collecting data and exiting from the site where every step is a process itself.

2.4.1 Site Selection

After having decided to do an ethnographic study of Anglo Arabic School, I approached the Secretary of 'Delhi Education Society' ⁸ for seeking permission which was immediately granted.

2.4.2 Preparing to Enter into the Site

Before entering into the actual site, I prepared myself for making an effort to understand children's behaviour such as the type of questions they ask, what they talk while they see outsiders (not teacher) in the school etc. For this, I worked with an NGO running different schools/centres for ten to fifteen days. I observed classes, talked to the children and teachers, played with them, shared Mid-Day-Meals and took part in different activities in the classroom and also went for a local picnic trip with them. Meanwhile I also saw movies based on children, visited different schools of the locality and interacted with them while they waited to catch rickshaws and buses. I also interacted with some parents. Later, these experiences proved worthwhile in collecting data at the actual research site. Further, I had been wearing school uniform specially while observing the classroom, doing this I became more familiar and mixed with the students that sometimes they recognized me as school fellow.

2.4.3 Entering the Site

I entered the site with hope that I can establish a relationship characterized by trust and free and open exchange of information. Gaining complete access to the school and its different actors was not an easy task but accomplished in many stages.

2.4.3.1 Access to the School

After the confirmation and finalization of site selection it was presumed necessity in this study to get into the school campus and have a place in it for sustained and continuous observation. Initially, I met the Secretary, Delhi Education Society, and requested for a place to stay in the school campus. I also offered to look after the some activities of the school which I felt would help me in going ahead with this study. She shown deep concerned and interest in it and assured me provided that she

will talk to the other officials of the managing body. Later, more than two months of sustained and continuous effort made possible to have a place in the school premises and finally I joined the school as an Assistant Warden of the newly established hostel. This marked my first formal entry to the school. When I stepped into the school for the first time I was amazed and surprised to experience a calm and peaceful environment with its plants, trees and flowers, in contrast to a very busy and crowded area of Ajmeri Darwaza. I took a long breath keeping eyes wide open on the building. Seeing the imposing yet elegant mosque inside the school campus reminded me of my days in Aligarh Muslim University as parts of the campus seemed identical to each other. This unleashed a motivational energy and created an adhesive force which cemented my idea of doing this research on the Anglo Arabic School.

Further, I met the Vice-principal of the school and discussed the purpose and parameters of the study. He welcomed the idea but expressed his concern that the study might interfere in the functioning of the school especially when I would do observation in the classroom. However, he agreed but gave me certain instructions to follow. In the whole process of getting into the site no formal or written authorization was given but I was allowed to carry out the study. Initially, when I entered the field it was not easy to establish the kinds of relationships conducive for free and easy data collection. However, I tried to become familiar with my respondents, developed their trust in me and tried to make them feel at ease in my presence. I used the techniques of 'feel out the situation', 'learn the ropes' and 'come on slow' (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). I did not challenge the behaviour and /or statements of the subjects or ask questions that are likely to put them on the defensive, especially the teachers.

2.4.3.2 Access to the different Actors of the School

Teachers, students and parents are the actors in the school whose interaction affect school functioning and being affected by it.

Teachers: The views and identities of the school teacher and student result in construction of a particular teacher or ‘Little World’ (Thapan, 1991). I started interacting with teachers as I met them in their chamber or clubs, where they sat with other club members. As I entered their chamber and offered *Salaam*, they replied loudly with a smile on their faces and offered tea and asked me to sit down. I was asked my name, who had sent me and what was the purpose of my visit. I stated the purpose and gave the reference of the Secretary and Vice principal of the school. They appreciated and welcomed me as the Assistant Warden and took me to the hostel.

The very next day two teachers came to meet me in the hostel. They suggested that I should be very careful as there is high level of politics — on the basis of region, castes and groups are in the school among teachers. Many teachers, I was told, are not in the favour of this hostel in the school campus and my presence would be a threat for them. They saw me as a person implanted by the Delhi Education Society. However, some of the teachers expressed confidence in me to run this hostel successfully and offered help when needed. Therefore, later I decided to make personal contact and increased proximity with them. As time passed they emerged as my ‘key informants’. Later I come to know that those who extended their support belonged to my home state. This was an indication of strong feelings of regional differences among teachers in the school.

Initially, contact with teachers was not very easy. Many felt that this study was being conducted to look at their activities and I was referred to as '*Management ka Aadmi*'—a person from the school Management. I felt embarrassed as my presence was totally ignored at times. A teacher raised an objection at my presence in the school and called me an 'external person'. One teacher stopped taking his classes as I was continuously observing the classroom activities. There was a mixed reaction of my presence in the school. However, all this helped me in understand the existing conflicts and grouping amongst teachers.

Later, many teachers asked and sometimes insisted that I come and have a cup of tea during recess. I also invited them to the hostel for an interaction. In doing so I managed to develop a personal relationship with some of the teachers. Over a period of time, teachers started asking about my research progress — when will my book be published, whether names of the teachers would be mentioned. Some expressed their feeling of being proud to be a part of this research work. My presence was later taken for granted in the school by teachers and other staffs as we met and exchanged the rituals of salaam and handshake as they do amongst themselves. Many teachers saw me as a bridge between them and the Management to convey information regarding the changes they wanted in the school and enquire about the forthcoming decision Management has to take in near future etc. This increased proximity with them proved very useful in many ways. It gave me easy access and acceptance in the staff room, showing supportive attitude in the classrooms, and an open invitation to their respective clubs. This gave me an opportunity to understand the interaction among the teachers in both formal and informal ways.

During informal interactions with teachers I managed to gather information about their attitudes — temperament and commitments to the school, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, perception, their likes and dislikes, pattern of interaction, meaning interpretation of school functioning and their own roles in the life of school. Through interviews, conversation, observation, discussion of topics related and unrelated to actual school processes and listening to casual staff room talks, I was able to construct major views of teacher's culture. I then selected twenty teachers based on time spent in the school and interviewed them intensively to know challenges they face, their lives, careers, roles and views of school processes and to understand change in character of the school over a period of time.

As the time passed I established a close personal relationship with some teachers and students who later proved as important informers and they provided me a holistic view about the school. It helps in a way that interviews being transformed into a more informal encounters and I often got important and valuable information. Further, I managed to see the individual teacher's registers in which they write their notes and daily observation and remarks of the principal is also given. Some teachers spent much of their leisure time in the school, speaking to me at length about various aspects of school life and they also suggested me what to include and what not to include in my research. There were 62 teachers during the period of my research that fell in different categories—PGT, TGT, PET, YOGA, Drawing and PTA. Teacher perceptions were gathered through observation and informal talks, interviews and gossip sessions.

Students: It was relatively easy to get access to the students. Access with older students was simpler as they came to me to enquire about the scope in different fields

after school, how to take admission in Jamia etc. However, I faced some difficulty in establishing a rapport with younger children as they saw me as a teacher and have scared in my presence but gradually we got along. Informal contact with students started when they asked questions such as who are you? from where you came? Are you a teacher? Which subject you will teach us? My identity was not very clear to the students.

Entering into the life of the children and gaining their complete acceptance was important to understand their culture and interaction. My understanding of children views on different aspects of school developed in the course of my conversation with them in casual encounters, during recess in the play ground, canteen, and school functions and by observing and listening to them all over the school interacting with teachers and amongst themselves. I also examined their interaction in the classroom with one another and with their teachers.

Parents: Parents (both father and mother) play an important and significant role in understanding perceptions, expectation of the children and throw light on the dreams, hopes and fear they have developed for the future.

Parents comprise a significant group of participants in various school activities by way of their contribution, perception, pressures and opinions. The perspectives of the parents hold result in forming specific identities in relation to the environment while interacting with the social identity of the school. This results in school as well as teacher's culture.

Contact with the parents was established in the initial days when they come to meet me in the hostel with their children to get accommodation in the hostel. I also met

them in the school when they came to meet the class teacher and Vice-principal over issues like name being cut from the register, reduce their fees. Sometimes they were called by teacher as their child was not doing well in a particular subject. The last working day of every month was fixed for the parent-teacher meeting. On that day parents come to meet the teachers. Since they were informed 2-3 days before, they were few in number. The purposes of the meeting are to discuss with parents the problems faced by children, their level of interest in studies or in a particular subject and what could be done to improve their performance and attendance in the class. Interacting with parents on such occasions helped me to understand the extent of improvement required in the school processes and problems they faced sending children to the school.

2.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Among the research methods I used, classroom observation was particularly useful in understanding interaction in a situated setting. I did not use any pre determined set of categories into which I sought to fit classroom behaviour but had a guideline listed in mind that tells different aspect to be observed. Some time I used modern aids to classroom observation, talking to students, teachers and attending meetings as well as while taking interviews without making them more conscious. I also have taken photographs of different settings to see the arrangement in the classroom (tables and chairs, place of teachers in the classroom, teaching aids on the walls, condition of black board etc.) and, photographs of different occasions or celebrations and these were analyzed later. I was remain open to everything that was taking place in the school where my main task was to listen to and observe classroom talks and activities

and letter down detailed note. By using recording device did not disturb normal flow of activities in the school.

I was interested in observing the nature of teacher-student interaction for which I selected two different classrooms; each one from junior and senior sections. I faced problems of entering into the classes in both the sections but for the different reasons. Teachers from junior section shown disagreement to go into the class in my presence saying “*main inki maujudgi me nahi padha sakta—I cannot teach in his presence*” which I come to know from section in-charge who had taken permission from the teachers on my behalf where most of the teachers agreed and they were unconcern about my presence. I also asked from the students and they said “*woh achha nahi padhate hain iss liye aap pe ghussa horahe thy—he does not teach well so becoming angry at you.*” The student also accepted me, but some time they were looking at my notebook while going through to see what I was writing. Both teachers and student ask questions like you are observing this class only or other classes as well? How long you would observe this class? Whom you are observing student or teacher etc? I did not argue with them that may lead to the disruption of rapport building process but tackled these questions by avoiding the situation.

In the senior classes Vice-principal (section in charge) himself ask teacher to cooperate with me where mostly were agreed. A senior teacher shown attitude as he felt hurt citing reason that a student is watching him in the class as ‘superintendent’ and throughout my fieldwork he did not talked to me and see me as a threat.

To ascertain the socio economic background, role perception, views on education and various aspect of school life I took intensive interviews, long discussion with teachers, students and parents. In addition to observation, understanding through talk and

interviews and I also conducted the essay competition among the students on 'Life at School'.

In order to obtain answers to the specific question of school processes such as the official definition of school, the procedure of recruitments of teachers, selection of students, structural organization of the school. I conducted interviews using open ended and indirect question with the key persons in the school like Vice-principal, examination and admission in charge, Manager and upcoming Principal of the school.

I examined various files and other documents related to school to obtain the information on the topics like the guidelines of the teachers conduct, the provisions for students' admission, report on students. Further, I studied literature pertaining to the history of the school and its relation with external organization such as Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Delhi Waqf Board (DWB) and Education Department or Council.

The various methods are used and generated insight about the school and thereby contributed to my understanding of the physical, behavioural and social realities of the school. The combination of different research methods resultant in what, following Lacey (1976), it may be called as the 'spiral understanding'. Each level of understanding is associated with particular mode of data collection but each level also contributes to understanding of the whole.

2.6 LEAVING THE FIELD

The first day in the field I felt little uncomfortable, awkward and unwanted as many stared at me and their eyes asked the questions: Who is he? Why is he here? They were looking at me with suspicion. As time progressed, I started feeling more

comfortable and slowly became a part of the school life and got access to all corners of the school and people. Withdrawal from the field is a significant part of any research especially of the ethnographic research where deep involvement is required with the respondents. The withdrawal could be of two types—physical removal and emotional disengagement from the relationship built there (Berg, 1998). Leaving the research site in such type of research is difficult (Maines, Shaffir and Turowetz, 1980) as the close relations have developed with the subjects in course of long time involvement with them, sharing events and emotions.

It was also difficult for me to leave the school and say goodbye to the teachers and students especially my friends I had made during course of interaction. It was emotional moment when I was leaving the school with baggage as everyone had shaken hands, reminded me of some of the good moments spent together, pointed out few of my good characteristics, expressed hope to meet again and giving good wishes in life. I left the school gate with moist eyes. But it is required to keep in mind all the time that the research is conducted for a purpose. When I found that the repetition of data on a particular category and enough data is collected which is sufficient for the explanation of the purpose I left the field and got on the data analysis and writing. Although, I remained in touch with the school through the friends I had made as well as my occasional visits back to the school.

The next chapter is to give a view on the literature available in relation to this study which helps in developing different dimensions and insight about the ongoing research work.

End Notes:

1. See the works of Clifford Geertz (1975) *Interpretation of Cultures*, Spradley (1980) *Participant Observation*, Heath, S. B. "Ethnography in Education: defining the essentials". In: Gillmore, P; Glatthorn, A. (Ed.) *Children in and out of school: Ethnography and education*, P. Adler, P. Adler (1999), "*The ethnographer's ball revisited*", Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, Vol. 28 etc.
2. See Burgees R (1982) *Field Research: a Sourcebook and Field Manual*. London: Allen & Unwin.
3. The 'authority' here means who have the power to grant access to the research site that is called '*Gatekeeper*' by Howard Becker (1970) in his book *Sociological Work: Method and Substance*.
4. See Edward Lindeman's book (1924) *Social Discovery*. New York: Republic Publishing
5. See McCall and Simmons, *participant observation* and Howard S. Becker Blanche Geer "participant observation and interviewing: A Comparison," *Human Organization*, 1957.
6. Edward Ives (1974) in his book "*The tape-recorded interview: a manual for fieldworkers in folklore and oral history*" suggests that when interviewing, the tape recorder should be thought as a third party that cannot see. The camera in the hands of qualitative researchers can be used in an uncomplicated manner to take inventories of objects in a setting. The bulletin board, the contents of a book case, the writing on the black board, and the arrangement of furniture can be recorded on film for later study and analysis.

7. For writings on the history of the use of personal documents see Howard S. Becker, "Introduction" in Shaw, *Jack Roller*, 1966; Gordon Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942).
8. Delhi Education Society is 'Muttawalli— Sec. 3(f) of the Wakf Act, 1954 defines the Mutawalli as 'any person appointed either in deed or instrument by which a wakf has been created to be the Mutawalli of wakf'.

CHAPTER — III

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to review relevant literature in the areas of cultural studies of schools, broader societal context of schooling and impact of certain ideologies, given about schooling, and on the actors in the schools. Review of studies conducted before help researchers to develop an understanding and insight about the methodologies, its implication, principles, ethics and expected problems in carrying out the similar kind of studies. It gives scope to develop own ideas and open new vistas to use those ideas during study. It also provides inspirations to the researchers and motivate as such studies report social and cultural hidden minutes which seems interesting.

Different qualitative/ethnographic researches have been conducted, in the country and outside, using ethnography as a method, to investigate sociology of educational institutions and schools.

3.1 STUDIES CONDUCTED IN INDIAN SETTINGS

Anjum Sibia (2006).¹ This case study is conducted at Mirambika- a co-educational school located in Southern part of the New Delhi based on the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo on education. This school is popularly known as an “innovative school”. The study aims at portraying a comprehensive picture of Mirambika, especially in the context of its philosophy and the socio-cultural milieu. It aims to know the innovative teaching-learning approach followed in Mirambika and it is being studied in relation to its goals; ideological and operative. It also concerned to know about the academic

performance and adjustment of children after the Mirambika and entering into the totally different system of education and to understand how schooling in Mirambika with its ideological underpinning helps children tackle real life situation and performance in the competitive world.

In order to carry out this research, ethnography as a method is used where researcher spent sufficient time span in the school interacting with teachers, parents, students, staffs and volunteers and observing the processes of schooling. To gain understanding about the school and its internal organization, roles and responsibilities of the key functionaries; managing committee, principal, students, teachers and parents, and their perceptions are being examined. Observations of routine and formal activities like meditation, lunch, projects, formal training and cultural programmes are made in order to depict the culture of the school.

Analyzing the data- facts and findings, it is found that the school makes attempt at organizing its various activities in line with Sri Aurobindo's principles of teaching, and attempts are also made by the school to create necessary condition for the implementation of its ideological goals. The philosophy of the Aurobindo and Mother is well entrenched in the portals of the school and permeates the social and academic climate of the school. Reverence for the Mother and Aurobindo's thought is found tangible in day to day activities, cultural functions and celebrations and evidence of all these are found in the pedagogic processes and in the classrooms.

Looking into the life of the teachers known as '*diyas*' in the school, they are categories into three types; functions they performed, mode of recruitment in the school and ideological commitment. In spite of wide disparities among the teachers

they all view themselves as learners in the school. The teachers' role in the school is more of a facilitator, a generalist rather than specialist. Many teachers abandon the role of an initiator and simply react to events as they unfold. Fewer constraints operate on teachers and their success is not measured in relation to contents covered calls for situational and personal control. The teachers profile shown a wide disparity among them in terms of qualification, background, experience and expertise as the teaching style can be labeled as informal, participative and democratic and illuminative.

Organizational dynamics in Mirambika are the result of absence of principal as a figure of authority and delineating increased powers to all its members. This gives rise to equal power or status to people in the school, which fosters ethics of responsibilities and commitment to work. The classroom climate is described as dominated by curious enquiries by students, teaching through questioning and eliciting answers. There was democratic flexibility and participation of children in teaching learning process range from context selection and mode of teaching to selection of resources and their utilization. The organizational dynamics in Mirambika can be also described as decentralized planning, emphasis on inculcating a sense of responsibility amongst students, child centered syllabus according to the needs and capacity of the child and the project approach to the teaching-learning.

Children at Mirambika are perceived as '*confident*' as Mirambika system of teaching encourages the child to come forward and do whatever they want to do without the fear of being compared with peer group. The teachers at Mirambika perceived that the Mirambika children are very resource full in right manner and being responsible makes them complete the assigned work quickly. They are found honest, frank and

expressive, and teachers felt they are at upper hand over Mother's International School children. Children are seen as information seeker apart from being independent and the responsible learners. Ending this it can be said that this case study of Mirambika has therefore reflects on the linkage between ideologies, social processes and students' outcome.

Arshad Alam (2011). ² Much has been written on the growth of madarsa across the world. Some are complimentary many not so. The recent spurt in the growth of madarsa has been viewed with suspicion and a degree of unease amongst many. Without going in to details of what madarsa stand for and what has been their purpose it has been far easier and convenient to cast aspersions on them with reckless abandon. An important reason being the lack of scholarly studies and in depth analysis of what actually happens in these institutions of learning. While schools as educational institutions have been the subject of ethnographic enquiry madarsa have not been given the status of an educational institutions in the modern world. They have been looked upon with suspicion as institutions of learning but not regular school

Arshad Alam has tried to fill this gap by locating a madarsa as an education institution. This work is a welcome addition to the existing research done on madarsas. With Barbara Metcalf's pioneering work on Deoband to Yoginder Sikands more general study on madarsas in India, to Mareike Jule Winkelmann work on Girls Madrasas in India, Arshad Alam has added to the richness of these works.

The author examines Madrasa Ashrafiya located in Mubarakpur in Azamgarh. But more than the life at Madrasa Ashrafiya, it is a story of one of the biggest madrasa of

the Barelwis in North India. Moreover it is also the story, in many ways, of the negotiations of a 'lower caste Muslim qasba' and of the Ansaris of this qasba. It will be of immense importance to scholars interested in the study of the backward castes amongst Muslims as much as it would be for those interested in education institutions catering to the Muslims in north India. While the stories of educational institutions at Aligarh, Nadwa and Deoband have been told many times over – drawing our attention to a Ashrafiya is energizing in many ways.

This study normalises the madarsa as an educational institution- with its discipline, it demands on young children – in terms of discipline, subject matter to be learnt and ways of behaviour expected of them and relationships between junior and senior students. Corporal punishment so common amongst schools in India is the norm here as well. Like children passing out of most denominational institutions develop an identity of their own – similarly here too a 'maslaki identity' The book is also valuable for the interesting ethnographic details it provides which are missing from the other studies on madrasas. Works of this kind will also go a long way in breaking the stereotypes of a madrasa. Replete with vivid descriptions of life in the madarsa and experiences of students – the friendly cricket matches and the watching of Television renders the madarsa student as one amongst us 'normal'

Even as the Madrasa is problematized what comes across from many of these studies is the viewing of the madrasa student as a young normal student – with all their apprehensions and fears and their aspirations. While in many ways the madrasa can be seen to be like any other educational institution with the subject focus alone being different on the other hand it has its own peculiarities. An important distinction Alam draws attention is that the 'other' in this madrasa is not a Hindu but a Muslim from

another maslak. This should put to rest the fear. The power relations between students and teachers follow similar power relations in any other educational institution where the student is subjected to the control of their superiors.

Going through the book the reader is forced to acknowledge the madarsa as an educational institution with its ideology and the power structure it promotes. Nowhere does one get the feeling of reading about a terrorist attacks being brewed. It is about a belief system. In an interesting manner Alam points out how the 'othering' in this madarsa is all about the relationships between the different maslaks in the Muslim community rather than vis a vis the non- Muslim. Having said that it is difficult to imagine how this could get translated into the carrying out of terrorist attacks vis a vis the non- Muslims be they Hindu or Christian or the Western work. In fact if any one was to worry about the going on inside the madarsa should be the Muslims themselves.

It tells us of the selective narration of what is true Islam according to the different maslaks in India. The strength of this book lies in what he tells us of the going on in the institution rather than the diversity of Indian Islam They have not been easy to understand - both for a in India perhaps the only seminal work has been that of while the title of the book suggests that it is about the life inside a madrasa – the book tells us much more than that. It painstakingly

In an environment where madrasas are increasingly being seen as orthodox institutions that spawn terrorism and religious violence, this book argues that such a focus obviates an impassioned understanding of madrasas as social institutions and how they create and sustain a wide variety of possible interpretations of Islam. It

contends that if madrasas are about the dissemination of Islamic knowledge, then they also problematize and compete over how best to approach that knowledge. At the same time, they play a significant role within the broader Muslim society where they are located by providing a degree of social mobility, however limited, to the often poor and low-caste Muslims students who study there, especially in the absence of competent government schools providing secular education.

Through an in-depth analysis of a madrasa in northern India, the book offers a nuanced, contextual and comprehensive understanding of the diversity of Indian Islam and its various practitioners, arguing how Indian madrasas represent a diverse array of ideological orientations that are mostly opposed to each others' interpretation of Islam. Readers will benefit from the appendices comprising details of the syllabi and organisation of the madarsas which provide an objective insight into its thought and pedagogy.

Barbara Metcalf (1978).³ Study aimed to investigate and to understand historical background, of the *madrasa* Deoband, its structure, principles and the system of instruction and its contribution in religious and national development. The study suggested many historical themes, important trends towards formal bureaucratization of the '*Ulmās*' and their institutions. Defining the rationale for relationship among members and establishment of the secure system of finance were two basic critical problems were faced by madrasa. Madrasa has produced many religious leaders, politician and freedom fighters that all come from findings of this study.

Meenakshi Thapan (1991).⁴ Under this study Rishi Valley School (RVS) is being studied to examine the relationship between Ideology (Krishnamurti ideology on

different aspects of education and schooling such as teaching, goals of education, roles of parent teachers and pupils etc.), School and the Society of which it is the part. The school's social and cultural setting and their implication for teachers and pupils were the focus of this study. The nature and context of interactions between and among the participants in the school were also a major concern of the study.

The objectives of the study were — to understand the internal organization and authority structure, the nature of the school and context of interpersonal relationship between different categories of actors of the school. The effort was to render the educational institution intelligible sociologically i.e. in terms of certain selected sociological paradigms of social reality at both the sociological and institutional levels. Questions like what comprises the foundation on which school exists? What is relationship between ideas and actual pedagogic processes? How interaction takes place between ideology and education? Find relationship with external order and its influence on school progress and to know relationship between teachers and pupils in the school because they make school a social institution.

Ethnographic methodology such as participant observation, informal or formal interviews, observation in the classrooms, staffrooms, playground, at canteen and dining halls during lunch, at morning assembly etc. were used to carry out data collection activities.

In examining the world –view of Krishnamurti on education in relation to the RVS and its processes of schooling, it is found that the school has an objective reality organized around ideological and institutional principles which are being affected by transcendental and local orders. The transcendental order in this study refers the

values system in the school and creating a new kind of human being through the process of self-knowledge and transformation as what Krishnamurti says that 'human transformation through the process of education' and the local orders concern with the reproduction of knowledge through transmission of educational knowledge in the RVS.

Looking into the pupil's culture in RVS, the study describes it as an ensemble of relationship and exists in relation to the many components of school life. It reveals the life of pupils in terms of school generated experiences and activities in order to understand what it means to a pupil at RVS. The social background, attitudes and general experiences such as their perceptions and expectations of the school and the teachers, their encounter with one another their hopes and fears for the future are considered while examining the pupil's culture in the school. The study finds while analyzing the value aspects of the pupil's culture that the admission policy in the school seeks students from middle and upper-middle class families from urban Indian society as it is seen inconsonance with the school's local order and the influence of these background also found evident. Further, it also seen from the study that equally importance given to the co-curricular activities in the school as pupils are being engaged in the activities organized by school in the area like arts and dramas, music, dance, home science, science, photography, dramatics, current affairs and the school estate. The study explored that most of the student spent their Leisure-time while reading magazine, news papers, listening to music and radio and playing games. While replying the question in what way this school changed you? Most of the students respond as change in way of thinking, made more independent and helped to be able to mix with people. All activities and movement of school life were being

seen to understand the culture of the pupils as Krishnamurti viewed learning as ‘whole movement of life’ here it is school life.

The teacher’s culture in RVS is viewed in terms of roles they have been assigned to them and pattern of interaction among themselves. Analyzing the commitment of both kinds of teachers; professional and ideologue in the school sitting different criteria as role perception of the both kind of teachers were different. It reports that there is a silent conflict between the both as professional teachers were to impart knowledge, technical skills, subject specialization knowledge but ideologue teachers were to focus on Krishnamurti’s ideology of education and establish the right relationship between the pupils as a fellow human being. The interaction pattern among teachers is both formal and informal in the school. Their interactions were being found affected by different institutional status, positions they hold the cultural ethos of the school and their personal differences.

In order to explicate the culture of RVS as a whole, the rituals (collective celebration of certain values and individual performance) and ceremonies (foundation day, republic day celebration etc.) associated with the daily round of activities and their dramatization was examined. Rituals and ceremonies in the school found responsible to create ethos in RVS and these are illustrative to the school’s relations to both the ideology and the formal school system. The culture of RVS seems configuration of rituals and ceremonies which are found in transcendental and local orders constituting the school.

The teacher-pupil interaction in the RVS is found that there was a sense of informality and stability but bounded by the goals of the participants and the rules of

different settings and certain modes of behaviour among teachers and pupils in a particular context. Lack of authoritarian element in the pupil-teacher interaction caused difficulties for the teachers in the school and the pupils and teacher perspectives were also indicative of the ambivalence in their attitudes and expectations which resulted contradictory and complex elements in teacher-pupil relation in the school.

Summarizing the life at Rishi Valley School (RVS), after going through this report, I can say that this study focused more on among people (pupils, teachers and society), between people and school life, between ideas (Krishnamurti's idea on education) and school activities and the structural and cultural setting of the school and the society as a whole. Further, this work has therefore, shown the linkage between the ideologies, school processes, the participants' views and external influences in their interrelatedness through an analysis of the different aspects of the school life.

Padma M. Sarangapani (2003). ⁵ To know the nature of child's construction of school knowledge (common facts of the school like culture, internal structure, interrelationship and taught in the school curriculum), the anthropologist approaches were used in this research of Kasimpur Boys Model School. The activities and discourse in the community, in the school and in the classrooms are also included in the study.

The study of the Kasimpur Boys Model School represents a first step to understand the relationship between the child as a knower and knowledge. The study represents a departure from dominant research methodology in education in India. The field study of common school which is presented in this study is significant in relation to view a

common school in India.

This study concerned with constructing school knowledge of two kinds. One is the common facts of the government school that referred to the ethos, internal structure of authority; inter relationship with pupils and teachers, pedagogic practices and discourses. These are the elements which constitute the everyday life of the children and teachers. The other school knowledge included and taught in the school curriculum and which is the object of learning and pedagogic activities

This study is based upon a detailed ethnographic study of a village school and draws upon philosophy, epistemology, cognitive psychology and the sociology of education for its interpretive framework. It describes the ethos of the village in order to explain the social structure that the children inhabit.

Analyzing the schoolchild as epistemic subject, it is being found that the individual subject itself conceived as a social or a social product and acquiring an identity, existing as a manifestation of social arrangement. It is found evident that for construction of a self identity, opportunities for enhancing social status, the experience of power and opportunity to exercise is needed. It is also appeared that the basic dichotomies of *parent- offspring* seen in the families along with the dichotomies such as *ustad-shagird* are extended into the school to constitute the new dichotomy of *teacher-taught*.

The study explored the meaning of schooling in Kasimpur Boys Model School that manifests in children's understanding and informs their construction of school experiences. Here the children understand the purpose of schooling as one of the

opening of employment opportunities and considered an educated man a *bada aadmi* and illiterate as a man of low status. The idea of school in Kasimpur is based on a discontinuity from the everyday reality and marked the school as a space distinct from the village and within this space they relate with each other and with reality and reality constructs in a way different from outside the school. This study also said that the attention on the extent to which the learner is able to function independently as the knowledge regulation and techniques are aimed at turning children into individual subject with no access to the cognitive assistance that the teacher-adult could provide.

The whole picture of the epistemic orientation of the child emerges from the pedagogic and discursive practices and the identity of the children is constructed essentially as an interpersonal condition in the Kasimpur community primarily realized in the teacher taught duality.

The authority structure in the school is elaborated by representing the teacher-taught as parent-child and other folkloric and traditional relations like patron-protégé and *ustad-shagird*. The forms and depth of the authority of the teacher over the taught revealed in its multidimensionality which is essential to understand how teacher constitutes and exercise epistemic authority in matter of school knowledge.

Concluding this, I can say that this study describes; local conception of childhood, of the educated person and of the failure, the teacher-taught relationship and the centrality of authority, the manner in which modern institutional roles are differentiated and elaborated through folk and popular cultural imagery, and the way in which teachers and students collectively participate to construct and regulate school knowledge and memorization as a process of learning. Further it explores knowledge

corpus, epistemic activities such as argument and reasoning, children understand of science, and the relationship between schooling and everyday knowledge and manner in which knowledge is constructed in the school.

3.2 STUDIES CONDUCTED IN OUTSIDE INDIAN SETTINGS

Carmel Therese Laffan (2004).⁶ This work constitutes a study of a Catholic Secondary School in the state of Victoria, Australia, in the year 2001. The study addresses the issues and the nature and purpose of Catholic school in Situ. It gives focus on in-depth analytical description of the participant school. The two areas were given focus as defining the features of the school, in selection to the concern of the study with the nature of the school and secondly the ends of the school, in relation to the concern of the study with the purpose of the school. So, this study is governed by the two research questions; what are the defining features of the school and how are they maintained, and to what ends is the school oriented and how this orientation sustained. Using ethnography as a method of data collection, it describes and interprets the participant school from the perspectives of those who constitute the day to day community. The data is gathered from five major sources viz. participant observation, in-depth interviews, observation of various school meetings, school documents and a survey of student body over a period of a school year.

This study concluded that the nature and purpose of the school were consequent upon its prevailing autocratic hegemony, its pre-eminently managerial administrative focus and its profoundly bureaucratic organizational culture. These interconnected elements of school practices desperate from the ideological imperatives advocated for this school were found to effect latent opposition within the school community, in relation

to the teaching personnel, masked by the overall compliances with the day to day community with prevailing orders. These are the necessary cultural elements which allow school organizations to be transformed into distinctive cultures and niches with their environment.

In the coming chapter, the historical legacy, architectural inheritance, educational journey, physical location and learning resources of the school will be discussed and described which gives understanding of past and present condition of the school and how over a period of time become a heritage.

Donald Dor- Bremme (1982).⁷ This ethnographic research aimed to evaluate the Permit With Transportation (PWT) program run by Los Angeles Unified District with focus to know the social experiences of the participants at four receiving schools. This research is conducted by a group of researchers, as per the instruction given by the local court for the same to monitor desegregation process of the PWT program, at Centre for Study of Education (CSE), University of California Los Angeles (UCLA).

Aspects of student participants' experiences and PWT program activities at four receiving schools were described in this study;

- to know at what extent the students' participating in PWT program are integrated into social life at the receiving schools
- to understand and evaluate the policies, programs and activities specifically related to the PWT and
- To know the staff members' view on the PWT program

But, this study ignored (sitting the reason of lack of time space for the research) to know the participants' feeling about the access to the activities, their believe and assumption, which govern the ways in which participants act with one another, of acceptance as regular members of the students' body, attitudes of local students towards the students come there to participate and believe of the staff members at receiving school about the program.

While collecting data, a team of researchers did extended visits to four receiving schools and spent more than four weeks there in each school. There formal and semi-structured interviews were conducted with staff members- administrators, classroom teachers, instructional specialists and others and informal conversations with other professionals' personnel were also done. As non-participant observers, observation of students' and staffs' actions and interactions during the arrival and departure of the buses, at recess, lunch, physical education classes, in halls and offices in the classrooms and on the ground before and after the school were observed.

From the study, it is found that the transportation facilities to take students to and from the four receiving schools were available without exception and late buses were also available on daily basis. The students participating in PWT program seemed to have equitable access to all school facilities, programs and activities as they were mixed throughout classrooms and were taught side-by-side with classmates and took part in all curricular and in full range of school sponsored extra-curricular activities such as sports, music games, clubs etc., inter- group hostility and negative attitudes towards PWT minority students were also reported while looking into the life of students, their interactions and behavioural patterns.

Concluding this I can say that this study has provided a wholesome picture of participants' social experiences, their involvement in different spheres at receiving schools and somehow discriminating attitudes of local students specially to the minority students, but not at all schools selected for the study and the study also ignored students' feelings and believe of being accepted in the schools and their activities.

Fredric Lawrence Patrick (1996).⁸ The purpose of this study was to describe, using the tools of ethnography and qualitative research, selected events in the history of a public special education school and its school culture. This research started at the school serving around 125 students with cerebral palsy and other disabilities affecting some or all of their physical, sensory, and cognitive abilities.

Study participants included faculty and staff, former students, parents, school administrators, and others identified with the school and in the Nashville community during a complete school year. In-depth interviews with study participants, on-site observations, and semi-structured interviews with informants, document, and archival research were used to create five collective tales based on stories of those who knew the school best between 1975 and 1995.

This study investigated events beginning with the school's founding in 1975, school success and survival using institutional theory and organizational analysis, and the school as a model day school in special education's continuum or Cascade of Services. At the time of this study, the inclusive schools movement was believed to be responsible for declining enrolments at Harris-Hillman, increasing numbers of

students with disabilities being placed in other public and private schools, and rumours the school would soon be closed.

By applying institutional theory to the study of organizations, this study offers an explanation of how one special education school survived the inclusion movement by adapting to societal demands and by maintaining certain environmental elements considered important to school survival. This study provides a number of stories which serve as evidence of how the continuum of services for students with disabilities continues to work as inclusion efforts in some public schools often go away. Study results a collection of stories from one educational setting over two decades. This study addresses the problems and prospects and provides support for special education schools and a continuum of service and placement options for students in need of special settings with appropriate curricular content and instruction.

George Spindler (1982).⁹ This book is about schooling in USA, gives insight about schooling from particular point of view of ethnography. It shows how ethnography can give fresh ideas into perplexing educational problems: focuses to explore anthropological ethnography as applied to the study of educational processes and searches for unifying features of these applications. Study teaches us wide range of ethnographic techniques, approaches, tools as well as their common features. It defines and describes a field of enquiry and to clarify the potential of this field for contributing to the solution of vexing educational problems and generally to the development of anthropological theory and methods related to education.

Martin Forsey (1999).¹⁰ This study is conducted at Ravina High School-a government high school in Perth, Western Australia. It was started in January 1998 and ended in April 1999 went sixteen months long. The study started with objectives

to understand teachers' perception of social class and distinction between teachers' perception of social class and those made by Cannel and his colleagues in their highly influential amount of the sorts of differences to life changes that social class helps create. The study was less concerned with the validity of the class claims made by people at Ravina High School than with the uses to which they put this particular social category. It was also concerned to analyze social life in terms of relationship between social and cultural structure and the nature of human actions. The focus was given on the importance of Middle Classes in guiding the practices of teachers.

The study adopted the ethnographic research methods for data collection where researcher spent more than a year observing the teachers and students in school and conducted formal and non-formal interviews with them, and doing so, the researcher become the familiar figure in the school. At the end of the school year, researcher conducted a survey that drew responses from 59% of the school's 58 teachers and administrators.

This study represents a sample of the ways in which those working in the Perth High School over an extended period of time directed their energies towards ensuring market share of the middle classes. For many teachers middle class children are more likely to support them in their pursuit of the stimulation environment as Cannell et al drawn. Many teachers at Ravina High School acknowledge the significance of class and power in everyday social relations. A teacher, who identifies her as a middle class person, gave not only limited support assertions liking government schools to the working class and she also offered a means of refining such analysis. The study also described that the middle class students at the school are thought by many of their teachers to override the more confronting tendencies of the apparently smaller number of working class kids attending the school. At the end the research reports that how

perception of social class influences teachers practices in a particular school, here the Ravina High School in Perth. It is also found that the status and the worth of teachers is indeed defined by particular qualities by their students and reveals that many teachers fined working class students descriptive and wearing.

The next chapter is 'School Described: Past and Present'. It gives and account of the historical legacy of the school ever since it started as Madarsa Ghaziuddin and its journey till present day as the AAS. The location, infrastructure, facilities provided in the school are discussed.

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CHAPTER — IV

SCHOOL DESCRIBED: PAST AND PRESENT

4.1 HISTORICAL LEGACY

Since time immemorial it is a widely held belief that education is vital and for human emancipation and works as a transforming agent — from darkness to light, and introduces human kind to the world as ‘an eminent creation of Allah which gives edge over the angels’.¹ Over the ages, Muslims give prior importance to education and established different *maktabs*, *madarsas*, *masjids* throughout the world. Madarsa Ghaziuddin Khan, presently known as Anglo Arabic School is one of them. In this chapter I would be discussing about the historical legacy of Anglo Arabic School — its founding, its architecture, its geographic location, educational journey and periodic changes taken place. The current scenario — goals, physical and learning resources, academic system and authority structure in the school is also discussed. Seeing from the sense of reality this madarsa was not simply a learning institution but an educational movement and invitation to the people which edify intellectual and scholarly awakening among them, opened their eyes from deep sleep of negligence and inactivity and inspired to love both religious and worldly education. It was a place where different cultures and rituals met together without losing their own identities and served the educational purpose of different communities.

Mir Shahabuddin came to India in seventeenth century and established a madarsa in Delhi in 1692. He worked with Aurangzeb in different capacities and positions and earned various titles for himself. Being from the Central Asia, Ghaziuddin Khan became a ‘*Turani*’ — an ethnicity which together with the Iranian represented the

most advantaged group in the Mughal Ranking System (Athar Ali, 1985). He was soon employed in commanding positions in the emperor's Deccan campaign. For his success against the Marathas he received the title Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur, in 1684 and after one year '*Firoz Jang*' was added to his name. His services in the conquest of Hyderabad earned Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang the high *mansab* of 7000 *zat*/7000 *sawar* (Athar Ali, 1985).² Ghaziuddin Khan died during military campaign in Ahmadabad in 1710. His body was brought back to Delhi and buried in the mausoleum he had constructed during his life time next to the madrasa.³

4.1.1 Surroundings of the School

Initially, the madarsa was situated at the outskirts of Delhi, just in front of Ajmeri Gate. But today it finds itself in the heart of Delhi surrounded on three sides by the railways and a buzzing market place on the other.

The entire complex of the school spreads in around nine acres which is used for different purposes. It is surrounded with railway station and metro at the South, railway godown at the North, yard at the back of the school and the railway colony is situated adjacent to the building. There are many well-known markets in the vicinity— Kamla Market, Chawri Bazar, Hauz Qazi, Nai Sadak, Sita Ram Bazar situated right from the Ajmeri Gate to the historical Jama Masjid. Delhi Haj Manzil is also located within walking distance. The famous Ram Lila Maidan where processions, agitations, political rallies and other religious gatherings are often held is at a distance less than five hundred meters. Besides, the road in front of the school is busy twenty four hours on which vehicles move day and night creating a huge problem for the students and fear amongst the parents. The MCD parking in front of the main gate of the school adds to their woe. The infamous 'GB-road' starts from

Ajmeri Gate towards the Sadar Bazaar, an area known for prostitution and its '*kothas*'. This has an adverse impact on the children coming to the school through this area and is a cause for worry for the parents. Its presence so close to the school is a source of embarrassment and disturbs school environment.

4.1.2 School Architecture

The school has well-designed buildings and has earned the status of a national heritage. It comprises of a large enclosure of arched apartments with three gates on the east to enter into the inner part of the school building made up of red stone and reminds one of the great magnificence of the Mughals. The middle arched door has a lofty ceiling and is in the shape of a dome which makes a big and spacious hall. The other two doors, most of the times remain closed with heavy wooden slabs, which open to the inner part of the building passing through corridors. There is a three domed mosque on the west and a tomb of Ghaziuddin Khan near the mosque. The mosques and tombs of that period were not only to offer religious duties but considered as centres of learning where thousands of students were taught. The most notable aspect about the mosque is the visually compelling contrast of red sandstone in the mosque and the plaster facing of the courtyard wings and the school buildings. It establishes a link with the imposing gateway that is similar faced with red sandstone. Considered one of the most beautiful examples of the smaller Shahjahani-type mosques in Delhi, it's intrinsic worth comparison with the other mosques built along similar lines in Shahjahanbad. These include the Zinat-un Nisha and Fatehpuri *Masjid* (1568-78) as well as the Khairul *Masjid* inside the Purana Qila. The architects who built Ghaziuddin mosque were no doubt influenced by the Shah Jahan *Jama Masjid* as well as the mosque and *Mehman Khana* of the Taj at Agra (1632-43) and

Jahanara's *Jami Masjid* also at Agra (1643-48). The *pishatq* or jutting arch adorning the central chambers on either side allows for more space inside the prayer hall. Rectangle base forming extensions of the north and south wings of the courtyard flank the side domes. Ghaziuddin mosque is flanked by minarets with an enclosure of perforated stone screen both on the north and at the south. It contains three compartments; each topped by bulbous domes with octagonal towers against the backdrop of beautiful *jharokhas*. The design gives a royal view to the entire surroundings. Under the central dome the floor of the mosque is paved with rectangle stone framed with marble bands. The central chamber has a noticeable double arch and the two sides chambers each have three arcades formed by rectangular pillars. Here they sport a bunch of leaves like the sepals of a flower, budding more leaves at the juncture where the shaft of the column merges into a delicately scalloped arch. Compare this with the solid blocks of granite that serve as common in most Lodi and Tughlaq period mosques. One can only marvel at the refinements that were introduced by the Mughals. These were coupled with the increasing attention to details and the near-obsession with symmetrical grace that reached its height with the *Jama Masjid* built by Shah Jahan.

The tomb of Ghaziuddin Khan where he buried is made up of and curtained with *jaali* from four sides and open towards the sky which gives it a natural look. The trelliswork of the flowers, buds and vines is a fine example of the 'naturalistic' style, making it one of the most picturesque corners in Delhi. Below the platform on the opposite of the north side, are underground rooms, *takhhanas*, now called *sardaba* or *sardawa* (John T. Platts, 1884). That the gem like this should exist in the city and be so little known is a great tragedy. In fact the flora motif of these stone *jaalis* deserves

to be the logo of some governmental agencies, like the stone *jaalis* of the Siddi Mosque in Old Ahmedabad which features as the logo of the Indian Institute of Management. These screens have real doors kept locked in the south and blind doors in the north near the mosque. The blind doors contain panels with the same naturalistic flowery plants in sandstone relief. It can be peered through these *jaalis* to spot another *Jaali*-screened enclosure that houses Ghaziuddin's tombstone. These *jaalis* are much simpler; each side there is a blind door flanked by two panels. The same motifs as on the outer screens are taken up again in the south wall of the mosque that has floral patterns set into a frame of rectangular panels. Like the flower-filled panels of the Taj Mahal, these floral patterns are meant to symbolize blooms that evoke the legendary gardens of paradise as the fitting funerary decoration. Recently, a small part of the screen at eastern side has been broken as a tree fallen on it during storm.

The Ghaziuddin's *madrasa*, tomb and mosque reflect the indescribable sense of lightness and delicacy and represent outstanding contribution of Mughal architecture. It revives once more the concept of the geometrically planned *madrasa* and brings significant innovations to the time honored scheme. It demonstrates that the principles of Shahjahani of perfect symmetry and proportional divisions were not a dead cannon at the end of the seventeenth century but could still bring forth creative solutions, by merging a four-*iwan* plan with the riverfront garden design, and by the clear definition of the individuality of the wings which culminates in the unprecedented portion of the mosque building in the four-*iwan madrasa* scheme. The architecture of the whole *madrasa* of Ghaziuddin something so exquisite, like fine handmade lace, especially the tomb, is carved out of stone is hard to imagine. The building that houses the

Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School was declared a heritage site by the Delhi Development Authority and declared to be of national importance under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 1958. In 1993, it received the DDA Urban Heritage Award. In 2005 the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) began to restore the building by creating in the courtyard a new stand stone tank and undulating walkways which drastically altered the historical design and the character of the building. The restoration entailed forceful eviction of a large number of people living in the building, considered as unauthorized occupants (Arun P. Sharma, Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 27 Jan. 2005 and Times of India, New Delhi, 25 March 2005).

4.1.3 Educational Journey

Traditional *madarsa* started its educational journey began with the teaching of Arabic and Persian apart from religious discourses and Quranic instructions as madarsa usually did. Later, English Language being introduced combining with the existing *madarsa*, that led to the introduction of two sections — Oriental and English, and perhaps at that time the word ‘Anglo’ added to this. The efforts were made, if not to resolve, at least to compare oriental and western learning and both were taught through the medium of Urdu (Abdul Haq, 1989). The oriental curriculum involved the Indian classical languages — Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit and the texts and branches of knowledge associated with their literature and religion. The western curriculum was humanistic one, in transition from its own classical and clerical past towards a great emphasis of science. Further, with establishment of Vernacular Translation Society (VTS) in 1843. ⁴ It was initially known as ‘Society for the Promotion of the Knowledge in India through the Medium of Vernacular Languages’ (Dr. Shamsul Huda Daryabadi, 2005). The responsibility of the institution widened and

the work of ‘translating culture’ started and such creative roles include not only instruction but also translation, publication and popularization. Vernacularisation to make more knowledge available to more people was more essential to this process. The institution was the centre of a major effort of translation and also known for its mediation work and the Vernacular Translation Society made it possible for the students and others to participate in both the ‘revival and improvement of literature’ and the ‘promotion of knowledge of science’ without any conflict between two goals. The list of the Society’s publication includes basic text book such as Medicine, Law, Science, Economics, Geometry and history of England, Greece and Rome and the Geography of India from English to Urdu. Science texts includes both Natural philosophy and *Yunani tibb*; translation of oriental classics from Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit includes Sadi’s *Gulistan*, selections from the *Thousands and One Night* and *Majnu* and the *Dharma Sastra*’s.

4.1.4 Periodic Journey

This seminary has 317 years of history which has been witnessing ups and downs but still its glory is shining and brightening for the purpose and thriving the cause of education under the different names — Madarsa Ghaziuddin, Delhi College, Zikir Husain College and today the Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School which is commonly known as Anglo Arabic School.

Since its inception and till 1825 this institution was serving the community as a madarsa; imparting religious discourses and languages of Urdu and Persian in more traditional and ancient way of teaching. With the establishment of Delhi College or Dilli Kalij as it was generally known during those decades (1825-1877), it was the second period of the *madarsa* where the modernity took its birth when the British

government in India begin to take responsibility for the education of Indian elites following the revision of East India Company's Charter in 1813, when a sum was set aside from a projected surplus in the annual revenues for the support of education. The particular clause also brought to head the debate between Orientalists and Anglicists within the British Indian Administration not only for "revive and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" but also for "the introduction and promotion of the knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India" (H. Sharp, 1920). This provision in the law remained a dead letter until the 1820, when a revenue surplus actually materialized and when a General Committee of Public Instruction was established followed by local committee in urban centres around India. The Delhi Committee of Public Instruction which included both British officials and local notables such as Mufti Sadruddin Khan, investigated the state of learning in the Mughal capital in the early 1820s and reported that there were a number of *madarsas* and small schools in the city, but many of them were in the state of serious decline and Ghaziuddin madarsa was one of them. The Delhi Committee of Public Instruction took an interest in such institutions. In the mid-1820s they obtained a grant from the general education fund for the support of oriental learning at the *madarsa*. In 1827, the government sanctioned an additional sum supplemented by the funds raised locally to start English classes and teach Astronomy and Mathematics on European principles at the school. Now the Ghaziuddin Khan Madarsa began to be called as Delhi College (1825) with the Oriental section, where Arabic and Persian grammar, literature and other Islamic subjects were taught and an Anglo-vernacular section, where Western subjects were taught. J.H. Taylor, a Principal of Delhi College, who used some creative book keeping and utilized the funds from the Nawab's *Waqf* to meet expenses of both the

sections of the college, resulting in the further cut in support to the oriental section. The Delhi Committee of Public Instruction fighting against this policy as this “greatly injured the interest of the institution.” It also investigated Taylor’s actions, expressing doubt that “the wishes of the Nawab has been fulfilled,” and reprimanded him for damaging” one of the few public colleges left to the people in which Oriental Literature is still being taught under the patronage of the British Government.” Sir James Thomason, who later becomes Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, emphasized Delhi College unique character; the Oriental College in Delhi occupies a prominent part in the eyes of a large an influential body of the native community, whom it is most important to convince of our liberality and sincerity. Great and successful exertions had been made (by those connected with the college locally), and these it would be unjust and unwise to disappoint (Richey, 1922 and NAI, 1965).

Later, Anglo-Arabic Middle School (1872) was set up at Muhallah Chandani Mahal because the historic building of *madarsa* Ghaziuddin had been used as Police line and the government of that time was not ready to vacate it. The first Headmaster of this school was Syed Mir Ali who was the student of Delhi College and a known educationist. The annual exams of the school were conducted by the government and that was equivalent to the present degree of B.A. In 1884, the Anglo-Arabic Middle School becomes the Anglo-Arabic High School and the building of the school was transferred to the Khan Muhallah and the Khawaja Shahabuddin becomes the Headmaster of the school. In 1892, the government opened the original building of the school. The occasion was celebrated at full extent at the government expenses. At that moment student recited a ‘*Nazam*’ the few lines of the *nazam* were

Aap ko hum per raham jo aaya
Ghar ye Ata hum ko fermaya,
Hukam murammat ka bhejwaya
Tute phute ko banwaya,
Jab tak shahar aabad rahega
Naam tumhara yaad rahega. [Maulana Altaf Husain Hali]

In 1929, the Anglo Arabic High School becomes the degree college when Ayer Waqar was the Principal of the college. The other staff of the college was Syed Shoukat Hussain, Syed Zaidi, Mohammed Latif Quraishi, Choudhari Abdul Gafoor, Khurshid Ahmad Chisti, Abdul Samad, Arbi Layer, Mirza Mehmood Begg, Hari Shankar, Syed Mansoor Hussain Mausuvi and Maulana Syed Mohammed were the known teachers of the school. Later, in 1942, M.A. classes were also started. The infrastructure also expanded to include an additional block in 1935 which currently houses the school library ⁵ and an auditorium. Other than the Anglo Arabic School in this historical campus, the other units have been started in late 20th century to impart education to the children, named Anglo Arabic Model School, run by Delhi Education Society and a Vocational Training Centre for Women run and managed by the Maulana Azad Educational Foundation. The campus has scattered across it a number of graves, many whose identity is not known. At one end of the campus is an underground mazaar known to be that of Hafiz Saadiullah Naqshbandi. It is alleged that this was built by Ghaziuddin Khan who was a mureed of Hafiz Saadiullah.

Period- I	(1710-1825)	Madarsa Ghaziuddin Khan
Period- II	(1825-1877)	Delhi College
Period-III	(1872-1883)	Anglo-Arabic Model School
Period-IV	(1884-1923)	Anglo Arabic High School
Period-V	(1925-1928)	Anglo-Arabic Intermediate College

Period-VI (1929-1947) Anglo- Arabic Degree College

Period-VII (1947-) Anglo Arabic Sr. Sec. School

[Sources: Islami Tehzeeb and Saquafat ke Gahwaare: Musalmane Delhi ke Paanch Maayanaaz Idaare 1983]

4.2 PRESENT SCENARIO

The Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School is imparting education to more than seventeen hundred students, mostly from the Walled City of Delhi. It has on its rolls students from classe six to twelve. More than sixty teachers are engaged in imparting education. There are in addition other staff members to maintain the school complex and administrative activities. In the forthcoming sections goals, resources, academia, and authority structure of the school will be discussed.

4.2.1 Goals of the School

Drawing facts from the past the Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School known for carrying multiple goal orientation ranging from the religious teaching followed by introduction of new curriculum or area of education, work of translating culture to benefit the fruit of education to the maximum and in addition to that protecting the school site from any damage or encroachment. Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School (AASSS) running under Delhi Education Society (DES) ⁶ and the goal orientation of the school exists in the form of ‘objects’ of the DES ⁷ and the purpose and content of schooling. The goals of any organization, here a school is the combination of the aspirations of students, expectations of parents and role perceptions of teachers and other staff, and organizational and societal objectives. Reviving, maintaining and promoting the historical legacy of the school are the additional responsibilities with this school.

It is the interaction between the actors and resultant configuration that give rise to what may be termed as an organization. ‘An organization, such as school is therefore created by the meanings and purposes an individual brings to the school and through his or her relations with other similar individuals in the same setting’ (Thapan, 1991). In AAS, students shown concern to their academic performance as well as preserving their religious values and they feel it as a heaven to get worldly education ;*dunyavi taleem*’ along with own culture and religious sentiments. Besides, students perceive their goals in relation to school work and future aspirations but goals of most of the students, I found, not clear. The expectations from the school are very high because of its historical past of producing good number of scholars.

The primary concern of teachers is the transmission of useful skills and information or the acquisition of qualifications or in the other words with the ‘gaining of knowledge or of examination results’ (Lambert et al, 1970). In AAS, teachers involved in academic and administrative work also. Teachers perceive their roles in terms of imparting knowledge, technical skills and their subject specialization and creating a particular kind of atmosphere in the learning situation but the way teachers intend for the purpose lacks coordination and commitment which in result not able to develop positive minds of students that are receptive to the life and commitment towards education and society and not motivate them to fight against the social injustice. More about the teachers will be discussed in the chapter given for the teacher culture separately. Other than the goals of students and the perception of the teachers, there are the parental expectations that the school has to cope-up with, especially in relation to the academic performance of their children although their involvement in the school processes is very less or in-effective.

Organization is a continuous system , once created develop a life of its own and the Management takes charge with the task of achieving the school's official goals, directing activities, taking decision in relation to school organization and to ascertain its continuity and reputation. To achieve these organizational objectives, AAS is compliance with essential requirements of the rules and regulations of Central Board of School Examination (CBSE), Directorate of Education, Delhi and Delhi School Education Act and Rules, 1973. Affiliation with CBSE and relations with external agencies create pressure on the school and fulfilment of their requirements is inseparable. Further, the school has to adhere to the prescribed syllabi — as the students of standards X and XII take CBSE certificates in the school, and what De Souza (1974) said it 'authoritative sanction'. Apart from ascertaining smooth relations with external agencies the school ensures to have adequate on and off line staffs in terms of numbers and quality to ensure its continuity, reputation and can operate in a smooth, orderly and efficient way and avoid in-efficiency in achieving diverse goals of the school. The organizational aspects of the school's goal orientation may therefore be viewed as on-going system. Anglo Arabic School has an elaborative system of administration, under the authority of DES and the Managing Committee of the school for recruitment of the school personnel and distribution of their salaries. Further, protecting the school properties from any damage and maintaining its original shape is also a major concern of the school management, as the part of the school building declared as 'National Heritage'.⁸ For this, the school authority has to work with outside organizations; Delhi Development Authority (DDA) — worked for renovation in 2005, Archaeological Survey of India (tomb and mosque of Ghaziuddin come under it), and Delhi Wakf Board (DWB) as it is alleged that the whole campus of the school is wakf property and Delhi Education Society is the '*Mutavalli*' -

ownership' since 1951. Besides, satisfying societal expectations from the community for whom the school has been serving, is a unique feature of Anglo Arabic School, but present condition and academic performance is not at par with their expectation and the school is struggling to get its past glory.

4.2.2 Physical and Learning Resources

Physical and learning resources is indispensable for teaching and learning environment in the school and the performance of the school depends on how these resources are being utilized.

As enter into the school through Gate-I or Gate-II, where one gate remain closed most of the time, there are two small rooms made up for the guards or *chawkidars*, deputed there - day & night, for the safety of the campus. There is a space at the right of the entrance uses for the Morning Assembly and a Gymnasium Hall at the left which is now functional not as a gym but for organizing workshops, training programmes and seminars and conducting Yoga classes. Moving ahead there are three darwazas to enter into the inner part of the school building made up of red stone that reminds the great grandeur of the Mughal. The gate at the middle makes a big and spacious hall, where students do time pass and chat with each other and at the both side of the middle gate there are corridors which open to the inner part of the building. These corridors are the safe heaven for the children used for smoking and chewing '*gutkha*' or pan masala. From the inside, there is a spacious open green area, divided into four equal parts, in front of the mosque consisting plants and trees and colourful flowers pots where students spend time basking sun during winter and teacher take classes. The double-storey building composes a science, fine art and computer laboratories at the north of the mosque, Principal office and computer lab at the east, examination

and admission sections at the south and school hostel, and other rooms are used for taking classes of the senior section on both the floors.

Science block in Anglo Arabic School comprises Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Fine Arts laboratories and all these are maintained and activities are supervised by different in-charges (senior most teachers of the respective subjects). As per the information given by the different in-charges the science block is constructed by the Delhi Education Society partially sponsored by Islamic Development Bank (IDB) and the block looks different from the old architecture. They stated that these laboratories are very rich and almost all materials and equipments in Physics, Chemistry and Biology required for the senior classes are available. The labs are fairly decorated with charts, science models, mostly prepared by the students guided by the respective teachers. The purposes of these laboratories are to acquaint the students with the practical aspects of the science as per the syllabus defined by the CBSE and practical classes are conducted as per the defined schedule. First-aid is also provided in the Biology lab by the lab assistant and some time doctors are called from outside for check-up and treatment and there is a rest room for the students in case if needed.

Junior Science Laboratory (JSL) started during my stay in the school, and was inaugurated by Prof. Krishna Kumar, Director NCERT. The lab is situated at the extreme back in the campus in room no. 39 in front of which a Botanical Garden was prepared. This initiative is taken with the notion to inculcate scientific attitude in children especially students from the junior section and to develop observing, measuring, reasoning and predicting skills and bring them into realm of practice based learning. While observation it is found that the equipment, chemicals and other articles were properly arranged and kept in cupboard, different charts, figures, tables were hanging on the wall which given a sense of happiness when enter into it. A

Botanical Garden was there in front of the lab where students enjoy spending time which gives them different feeling from those do not get same opportunity.

Computer lab serves the students chose computer science as a subject offered in the school in collaboration with a private computer institute. The lab is fully air conditioned with good facility of lights and equipped with computers of latest version connected with the internet facility. Computer classes — both theory and practical, are conducted in the lab. The students from the junior section seemed very excited while using internet and playing computer games. The students from the senior section use it as an opportunity to learn computer skills and score good marks in the exam. Teachers also visit to the lab to access internet but has to take prior permission from the lab in-charge and the concern of the Principal is also needed.

Career guidance and counselling room in the school through which different career counselling programmes are organized in the school offering students opportunities to learn about the external world and job opportunities. A career conference is organised on an annual basis where people from different corners are invited to interact with the students and provide them with information regarding entry into the profession, its nature, opportunities for growth etc. On this occasion doctors, engineers, C.A., management personnel have been invited. Personal counselling to the students and parents are also given by experienced teacher but school needs a qualified counsellor as concern expressed by teachers. Eventually, the in-charge of career guidance and counselling centre coordinates the activities by taking services of other teachers of his choice. It is a small room has a table and few chairs and a cupboard keeping related books and charts. According to the in-charge there is lack of funds and interest for such activities and need to do more to provide better counselling environment for the children.

Library: The building in which the library of the school is housed was built in 1935 and the foundation stone was laid by Haji Abdul Chani Sahib, Trustee and Honorary Magistrate of Delhi. The library is situated at the south-west of the campus. Initially it was the library of the Delhi College and remained there till 1991 when the college, presently known as Zakir Husain College, shifted to another campus and since then it is being used as school library. This library which had a rich collection of books and manuscripts was looted during the partition related riots that took place. The school and college lost its very valuable to fire, arson and looting. “The irony was that they tore the English books and had spread throughout the school campus seemed a thick layer of pages all around and they took books of Arabic, Persian, Urdu and other religious books to their home and sold”(Abdul Haq, 1989).

To enter into the library, there is a two-level door; one is a grill made-up of iron and the other one is of wooden open both sides and both the doors seem very old and rusted.. There is a white rectangular stone fixed at the top of the door written ‘786’⁹ and ‘Library Anglo Arabic School’ but it has been half rubbed off. As one entering into the library, it is spacious and divided into two sections; A & B. Section A is at the front which is used as reading room and stacks are arranged all around the wall and Section B at behind uses for storage. On the left side of the door, there is a librarian desk, made-up of polished wood, on that a box kept consisting students’ ID-cards, when they issue magazines and papers and a cupboard kept behind her/his chair containing reference books. There are many almiras and cupboards, most of them are closed consisting of old books and seems not to have been touched for many years and are covered under a thick layer of dust and only one cupboard of text books remain in use. Students issue books by depositing their ID cards (however now library cards have been prepared for the children). Wooden desks, tables and chairs are

arranged for teachers and students and information was pasted at the respective sides but found not to follow. The notice board kept in the middle, just in front of the door, visible from all corners of the library. It is used to put time-table, quotations etc., although, I found un-changed information on the notice board throughout my data collection and this is the case with other notice board in the school as well. Besides, no proper lighting facility as many bulb and tube points are either un-used or not working, fans hanging above the heads and just revolving, dust-net can easily be seen all around the walls even inside the cupboards and windows most of the time found closed.

The library is equipped with more than thirty thousand books ranging from Urdu and Hindi novels, English literature and stories, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, books of Islamic Studies and other religious books like Quran and Hadis were also available. Books on Urdu novels and English literature were large in numbers. Availability of religious books like Quran and Hadith along with the best of English literature gives this library a unique nature.

The books are not arranged and difficult to search as not being catalogued. Magazines like Champak, Cricket Samarat etc. are subscribed for the children and news papers in all the three languages; Urdu, Hindi & English, was there in the library. Other than these, there are documents on teaching aids, historical charts, maps and globe and the photograph of Gandhiji, versus of Holy Quran can also be seen on the walls. On the other hand, storage section where old magazines, news papers rotten books etc are kept but in a very rough fashion where pages of the news papers and magazines of recent days or week missing or not serially arranged. During observation I found that since the school has its historical importance and all of them feel proud of that but

little interested to restore and accumulate the history. Instructions like ‘outsiders not allowed’, ‘keep silence’, ‘be quiet in the library’, ‘do not tear pages’, ‘your behaviour is your responsibility’ etc. are displayed inside the library. For the students, library is merely a place for reading news papers and magazines and they are not allowed to take any other books and even not available for consultation and reference. Every class has a library period once in a week and students come in the library in their respective period, not accompanied by teacher. There they make their assignments, read news papers and magazines and for them library is not a ‘hushed sanctuary’ (Anjum Sibia, 2006) but a place where they can interact and discuss. Students from the senior section prefer to sit in the ground or canteen or go outside from the school for refreshment instead. The teachers consider it a free period. They also sit in the library for checking copies, doing register work, reading papers and take lunch during ‘recess’, especially female teachers as there is no separate staffroom for them. The library work is coordinated by a Library Managing Committee (LMC) and a librarian. The committee arranges resources, purchasing books and other day-to-day requirements of the library.

The post of the librarian has been remained vacant for the longer period as Directorate had reserved the post as a Schedule Tribe (ST). It is difficult to find a person from ST category having knowledge of Urdu language (as library consisting of books in Urdu, Persian, and Arabic). Because of this conflict the post has remained vacant. Further, because of the Librarian has been recruited from PTA on a meagre salary and on temporary basis. While the meagre salary and temporary nature of the job is not conducive to find a suitable person nor of motivating whoever is on the job to excel at work. Beside, the existing politics of the school does not allow any new entrant to

perform to the best of his/her abilities. There is constant discouragement that new teacher has to face from his/her colleagues when they do hard work. A constant refrain they have to bear is “why are you doing so much work” or “you are temporary why are you putting so much effort”.

Sports: There is a variety of sports equipments, kits and other sports materials of cricket, football, tennis, badminton and other indoor games in the sports room. Many trophies are kept inside the cupboard school have been won on different occasions. The sports room is operated and coordinated by two sports teachers in the school and materials are issued by them to the respective captains and they hold the responsibility to return it back. The sports teachers prepare the students for different games in which the school participates. They also organize different games for the children and sports day is celebrated in the school annually. The sports materials are purchased by a purchasing committee headed by the principal. The senior sports teacher expressed that the proper sports facilities are not available in the school due to limited funds and non availability of required equipments is also a major concern. The school even not in a position to provide jerseys to the student participating in different games and students are supposed to arrange it by their own. He told further that sports room is very small not enough to accommodate the items and there is no place left to display winning trophies that is required to create interest among the students in sports and motivate them. These are kept in the cupboard in un-arranged manner covered with thick dust layer.

Apart from all these there are two playgrounds one is called as '*chota ground*' another called as '*bada ground*' used to take physical education classes, doing match practices and organizing sports events.

The other rooms on the name of National Saving Scheme (NSS), National Cadet Corps (NCC), and drawing room can be seen and the activities related to these are coordinated by teachers those who have taken responsibilities.

Classrooms are an indispensable resource of the school. Their size, space, ventilation need to be well designed and managed for effective teaching-learning process. In Anglo Arabic School the classrooms are quite uneven in terms of size, quality of furniture, blackboards, lighting, ventilation, cleanliness, and decoration. There are number of classrooms where teaching is not possible in absence of sufficient light and ventilation. Windows panes damaged where sitting either in winter or summer, becomes difficult for the students. Cleanliness of the classroom depends on the class teacher's motivation to make his/her students ready to clean the classrooms on regular basis. Although there are *safai karamcharis* for such work but because of their limited number they are found complaining most of the time for heavy work load.

Hostel named M. M. Begg (Boys) Hostel is started in the school campus, during this study, in the inner part of the building for the children studying in the school. This hostel space was recently vacated by the Zakir Husain College which was running its own hostel in this premise. It was started with the intention of providing accommodation to the children of AASSS from outside to make the school campus lively (*chahal-pehal*).

It was felt that providing this hostel facility would help children of the school who lived in camped space which was not conducive for study. It was also felt that by providing hostel facility that school would acquire a national character by inviting students from outside Delhi. At present there are forty students staying in the hostel, all are from outside the Delhi and mostly are from science and commerce streams.

Students see it as a good opportunity to prepare for the board examinations in peaceful environment, away from their home. Presence of the children in the school campus throughout the day would make the school campus alive even after school hour. Also it was felt that this environment would help in the betterment of school results. The perceptions of the actors of the school regarding physical and learning resources will be discussed in the coming chapters.

School logo is a valuable for motivation, inspiration and encouragement it provides. There is a distinct mark of each nation or country for its identity so as there is mark of identity for the AAS which enlighten its name and qualities. Describing the school logo, the double circle of 120 degree angle divided in three parts. In the upper part there is a symbol of mosque and looks like a funnel. The mosque symbolizes its identity of being a Muslim institution. Down the left side of the circle the name of founder is written in Arabic and on the right the name of '*Eithmaud-Dula*' is written who donated a huge amount to the institution for education of the Muslim students in Delhi. Over the double circle the name of the school '*Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School*' is written and at the bottom is the motto of the school '*Find a Way or Make One*' is written. It carries a meaning that there are many ways of success in life but chooses the best way and work hard till get success and make some one your guide to lead you to your goals in life. The logo reflects the Islamic teaching and culture that can be seen in the school culture as well.

School Tarana a famous Urdu poet of Delhi, Shri Gulzar Dehalvi, had been asked to write the school tarana in 2008 on the occasion of his visit to the school as a chief guest for the Inter-school debate competition. After leaving the field I got to know that Gulzar Dehalvi Sb has written a tarana for the school

4.2.3 Academic System: Classes and Curriculum

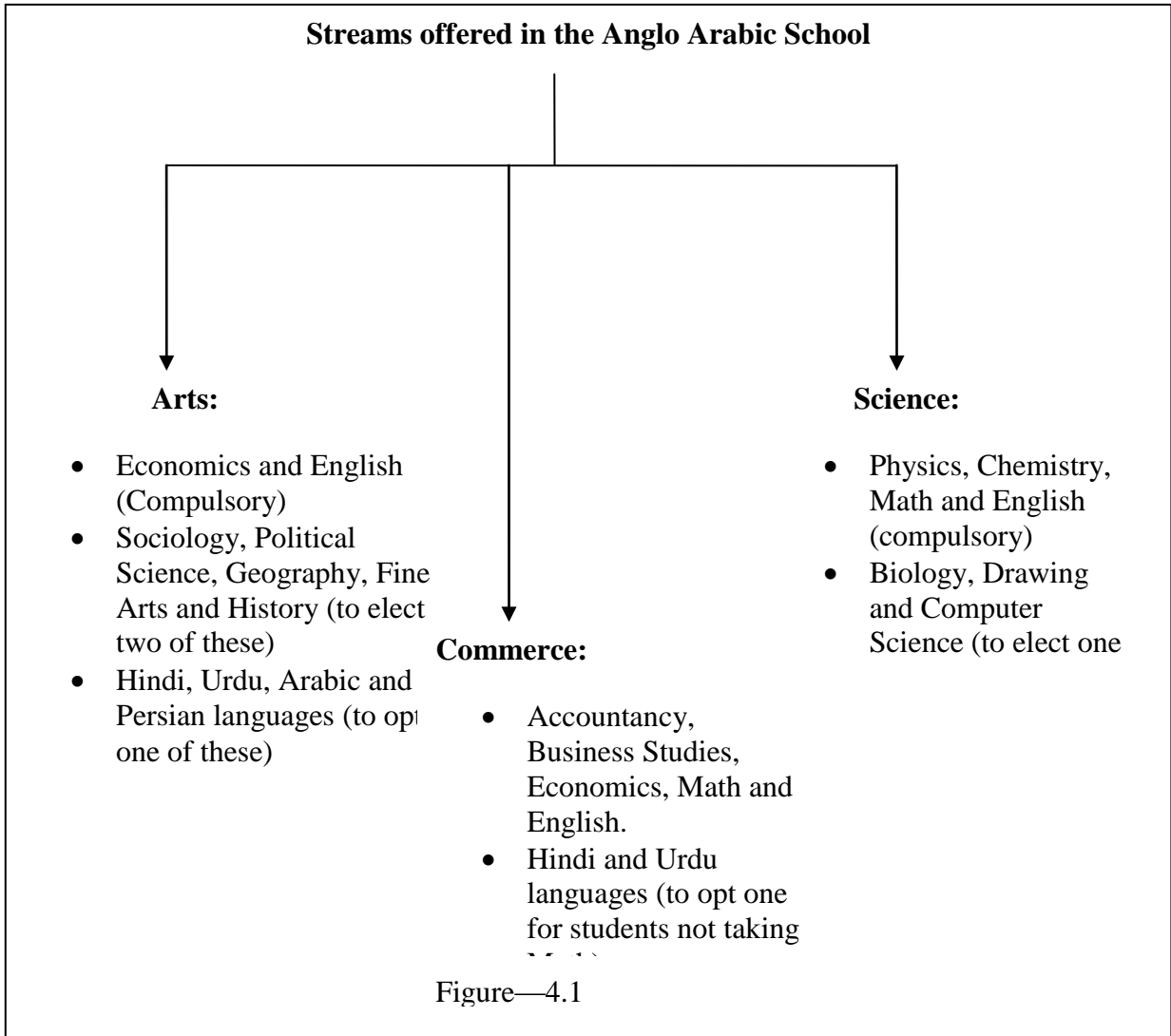
There were around seventeen students enrolled in the academic session (2008-09). The students are divided into two — junior level (VI-VIII) classes and senior level (IX-XII) classes, and each level are supervised by an in-charge. At both the levels classes are divided into different mediums *viz* Urdu, Hindi and English depending on the interest shown by the students and their understanding of languages although English as a paper is compulsory in all the three mediums. Further, they are divided into different sections; A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H etc. (total 45 sections) depending upon the numbers of students enrolled in a particular class. However, most of the teachers instruct or give lectures using Urdu or/and Hindi as a medium of instruction. According to the teachers, the students or that the school gets is ‘weak’ or ‘below standard’ or ‘first generation learner’. Therefore, they cannot cope with the required pace. Students studying in English medium feel superior to those who are in Hindi or Urdu medium. School follows a structured time-table for the pedagogic processes, sports/physical education and other practices. There are eight periods in a day for each class lasting 40 minutes in all working days but on Friday it is of 30 minutes and school ends before the Friday prayer at 12:30 p.m. Other than the Friday Prayer, 15 minutes time is given for the Morning Assembly and 25 minutes for recess.

The school is affiliated to CBSE and syllabus or curriculum in the school is prescribed by the Central Board of School Examination, but school has freedom to opt languages of its choice.¹⁰

In the junior section, the weekly allotment of the periods includes both curricular and three periods of extra-curricular activities. The Science, Mathematics and English are allotted the maximum number of periods (seven each), Social Studies (six), followed by languages Urdu and Hindi (six and five respectively) and other languages *via*

Arabic and Persian (one each). Besides, periods of Yoga, Library and Physical Education (one each) are also allotted to the students keeping in mind their overall development. Computer classes are also provided to the students excluding class-VI, saying that it is too early to give them since they cannot handle and may destroy the computers. The relative emphasis of various subjects and activities is reflected in the number of periods allotted to each. In junior classes emphasis is given to the basic skills of Mathematics, English and Science and the importance of Mother Tongue can also be seen in the curriculum although the number of students opt these languages is going down especially Persian because of less importance from the career perspective. Following this there is policy of declaring a teacher 'surplus'¹¹ from the Directorate of Education and school have to follow the directives issued. This is the great setback perceived by the teachers and the school authority as the school was known for teaching Persian and Arabic languages in the past.

In the senior section, the AAS offers three streams — Science, Arts and Commerce. The students in the Commerce stream are larger in number followed by Arts and Science. In each stream there are three compulsory subjects, one elective (out of available options) and Language. See Figure—4.1



In Arts stream, most students choose History and Political Science out of the optional available because it comprise good combination and easy to pass and Urdu as a second language considering scoring paper. In Commerce, there is less options students mostly choose with ‘Math’ as an option considering its importance in the future and availability of good teachers. Students from Science stream mostly take Biology out of the optional considering the dual benefits in future; to go for engineering and medical as well. Science students have no option of languages where as Commerce and Arts students have two or four languages respectively out of which one can be opted. According to the children, school put pressure on the candidates to opt a particular language especially Persian as few choose this considering its

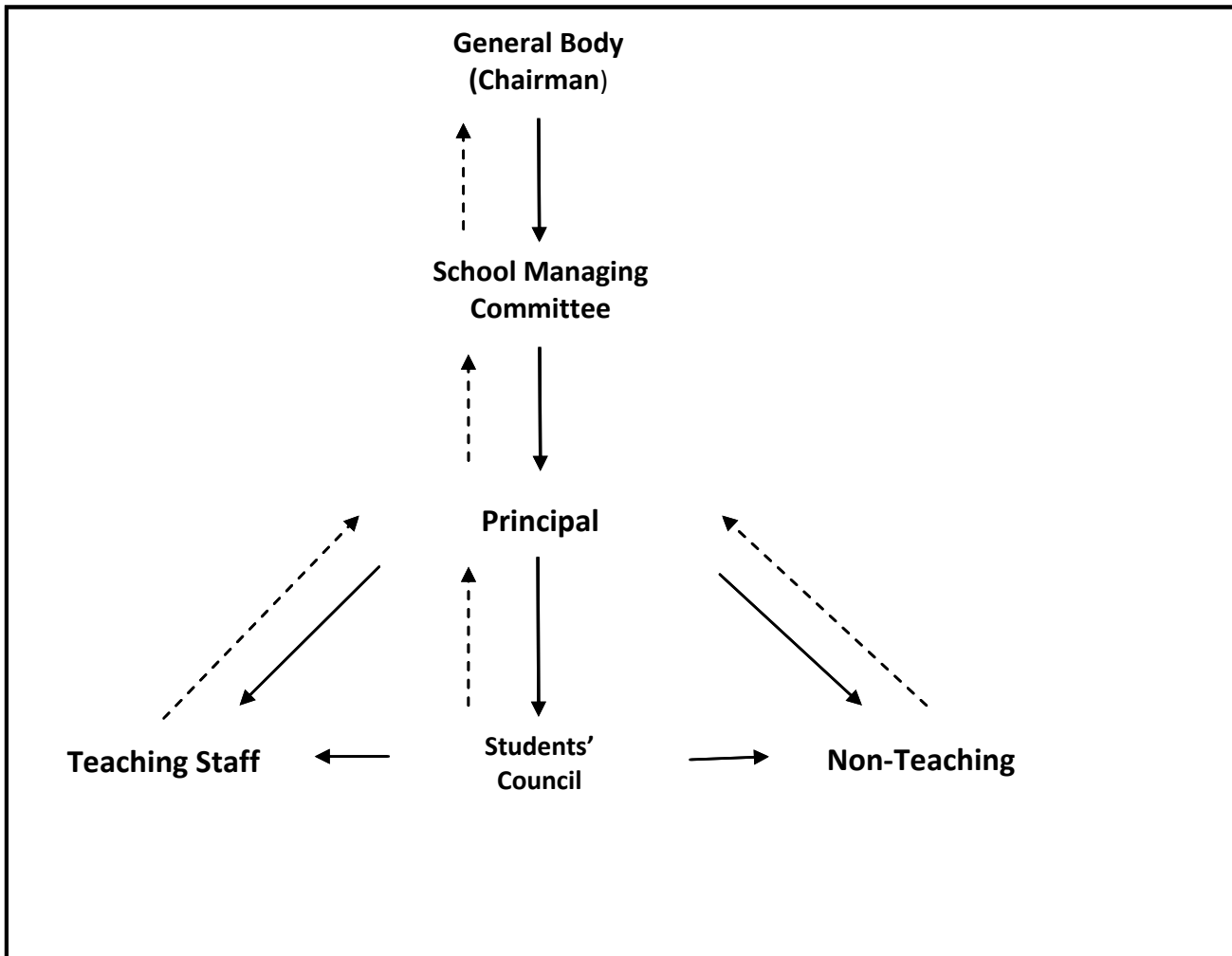
secondary or less importance in making good future. This arises out of the fear of teachers of becoming surplus from the school. Past performance of the school in a particular stream is also one of the factors students consider while choosing the subjects.

4.2.4 Schematic Authority Structure and Decision Making in the School

The meanings and intentions that the actors bring to the school are to some extent influenced by the processes of day-to-day administration and decision making is one such critical process (Thapan, 1991). Aspirations of students, expectations of parents and role perceptions of teachers and other staff in the school are inter-related and can be well achieved through effective decision making. The day-to-day administration and authority structure in AAS can be un-veiled by looking into the whole decision making process.

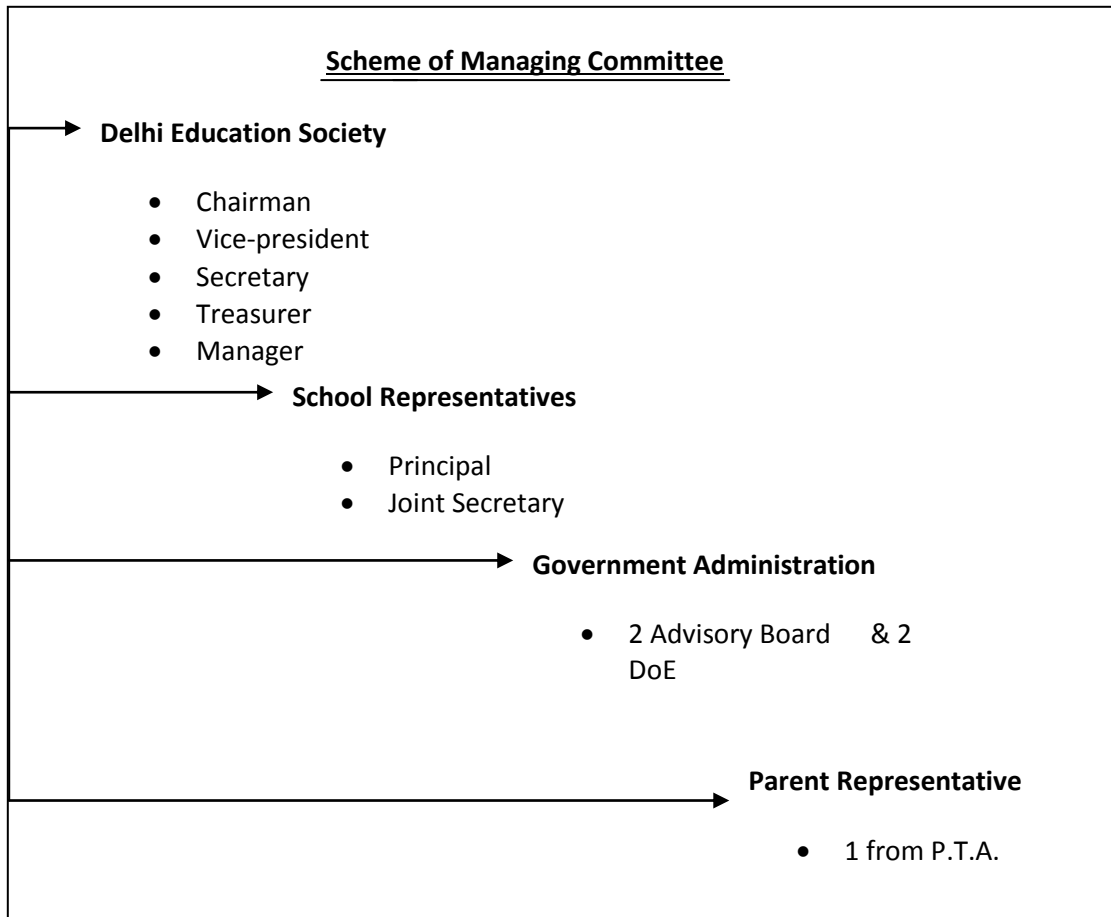
The Anglo Arabic Senior Secondary School is government aided school in Delhi and hence the provisions stated in Delhi School Education Act & Rules, 1973 are applicable in formulating the scheme of management in the school. The Delhi Education Society under the aegis of which the school is run is the highest body to take decisions in school related matters. The DES takes policy decisions on appointments of teachers and other staff, admission of students, change in authority structure and functions through Governing Body which contains members of the society and members from School Managing Committee. The Governing Body is the linkage between school and the society. The decision making process in the Anglo Arabic School is given below in figure—4.2

DECISION MAKING IN ANGLO ARABIC SCHOOL



4.2.5 Scheme of Management

The Managing Committee of the school comprises 15 members and representing persons from Delhi Education Society (Chairman, Vice-president, Secretary, Treasurer, and Manager), School (Principal and Joint-secretary), Parents (one from the P.T.A.), Teachers (2) and representative of government administration (2 nominees of Advisory Board and 2 of Director of Education).¹²



Figure—4.3: Members of Managing Committee

The Managing Committee is the authority to maintain discipline in the school and among the employees and the disciplinary proceedings against any employee of the school, including the head of the School, is happens to be under its guidance, control and supervision. It is the final authority in this behalf but approval must be taken from the Director of Education. It takes decision in constituting selection committee for the appointments of teachers and staff. The timing of the committee meeting is not fixed and meets as often as necessary but at least thrice a year. It has authority to exercise control over the funds, received by the school as Grant-in-Aid and to ensure that no irregularity is committed or no irregular procedure is followed with regards the utilization of such funds. The Managing Committee may constitute such number

of committees as it may consider it to be necessary for the proper functioning of the school. The Principal is an ex-officio member of such sub-committees.

In the school there are different committees being constituted by Managing Committee for the purposes arise. The Library Managing Committee to coordinate and look after the affairs in the library. The Principal is the convener and the senior most from amongst the members is the secretary of the committee and this is the case with the other sub-committees also. Academic Monitoring Committee has also been appointed recently to look after the academic functioning of AASSS and other two schools vested to the DES. This committee has been constituted to find out the ways and means to increase the school academic performance, identifying the reasons for the poor performance in the class X and the class XII Board examinations and to identify the focus areas where intervention is required to insure the effective learning takes place. A Discipline Committee, also known as Proctorial Team, consisting junior and senior teachers and Principal as convener of the committee, to maintain the discipline in the school campus. The major tasks are to stop the students from going outside; jumping the wall which is very usual affairs among the senior students, look into any misconduct done by the students and final decision on any grievances is taken by the convener. Apart from these committees, there are other committees working in the school like Canteen Managing Committee, Eco-club to ensure greenery and plantation in the campus and responsibilities are given to individual teacher also. The selection of the members for such committees are taken independently either by Mrincipal or Manager depending upon the nature of committee and its works.

The duties, powers and responsibilities of the head of the school described in the provisions made under the rule 59(2) (h) as given up to item No (xxv) in the Delhi Education Rules, 1973. In all school related matters the Principal is the paramount authority and shares executive powers and takes decisions on issues related to day to day administration and academic work. Besides, he takes part in pedagogic process and takes classes (at least 12 periods in a week). During talk he expressed that the work load is too much in the school and sometimes become difficult to disseminate administrative responsibilities along with taking classes.

Formation of student's council, a long felt need expressed by the students was constituted in 2009. Proper election was held and students from standards 9-12 elected their different representatives. This formation of student's council generated a lot of enthusiasm and energy amongst the students and gave them a platform to express their views. However, the teachers have not been too happy with this arrangement and therefore it has not managed to function efficiently.

There is a student council, a formal representation of the students' grievances in the AAS where they discuss their problems and state their opinion. But, due importance is not given to the student council and mainly students present their problems to the respective class teachers and some time directly to the Principal or section in-charge and action on the issues are taken with the consultation of class teachers.

The decision making in the AAS seems democratic based on consensus and cooperation as there are different consultative committees at various levels. The teachers and the school do not like much interference of Management in school related affairs and expressed it as a threat and termed as "too much interference" to

their autonomy and some teachers also feel that there should be some independence in taking decision. In-charge of different sub-committees some time express concern about the constraints; either by the school personnel or by the Management, in doing their assigned works also see them with suspicion. Although there is set pattern of decision making where the school, Management and government administration work together for the purpose and tasks school has to accomplished. Thus, the decision making and authority structure in AAS that is operating under state acts and rules which clearly define roles and responsibilities of the key functionaries and create clear hierarchy and division of work but the element of cooperation prevails in accomplishing the work assigned.

Summarizing this chapter, it can be pronounced that the AAS where education took a shape started spreading and produced eminent personalities. Over a period of time it served goals of many dimensions and in spite of witnessing ups and downs running successfully and serving the current needs of the community.

In the coming chapter, the cultural of the AAS will be discussed which gives clear understanding about the ongoing day to day realities and occasional happenings in the school.

End Notes:

1. *The Quran*, Surah Bani Israil, Chapter- 17, Aayat- 70. “We have honoured the sons of Adam provided them with transport on land and sea, given them for sustenance things good and pure, and conferred on them special favours above a great part of our creation”.
2. M. Athar Ali (1985). *The Apparatus of Empire: Award of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility, 1574-1658*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press p. xx-xxi quoted in Margrit Pernau, *Delhi College*.
3. Margrit Pernau (2006). *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press p. 37
4. See M. A. Chaghatai ‘Dr. Aloys Sprenger’ p. 87 quoted in Margrit Pernau *Delhi College*. p. 38.
5. It is written on a white rectangular stone which is fixed in front wall of the library block of AAS.
6. Delhi Education Society is a society registered under Society Registration Act, 1860 in 1951, since then the school vested under it.
7. See the Bye Laws of Delhi Education Society.
8. In 2002 the and tomb of Ghaziuddin Khan declared to be of national importance under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958 and Rules, 1959. See a board in front of the tomb in the school campus.
9. 786, the numeric version of ‘*Bismillah-hirr Rahmanir-rahim*’ means starting with the name of Allah, Who is most kind, beneficent and merciful.
10. Since it is a minority govt. aided school so has freedom to offer mother tongue and other associated languages. The school offer Urdu, Arabic and Persian as the second Language.

11. There is a government provision which applies on the aided schools that if the numbers of students in a particular subject are less the respective teachers can be declare as surplus and transfer to the other aided school.
12. Stated in the Delhi Education Acts and Rules, 1973 in chapter-v.

CHAPTER — V

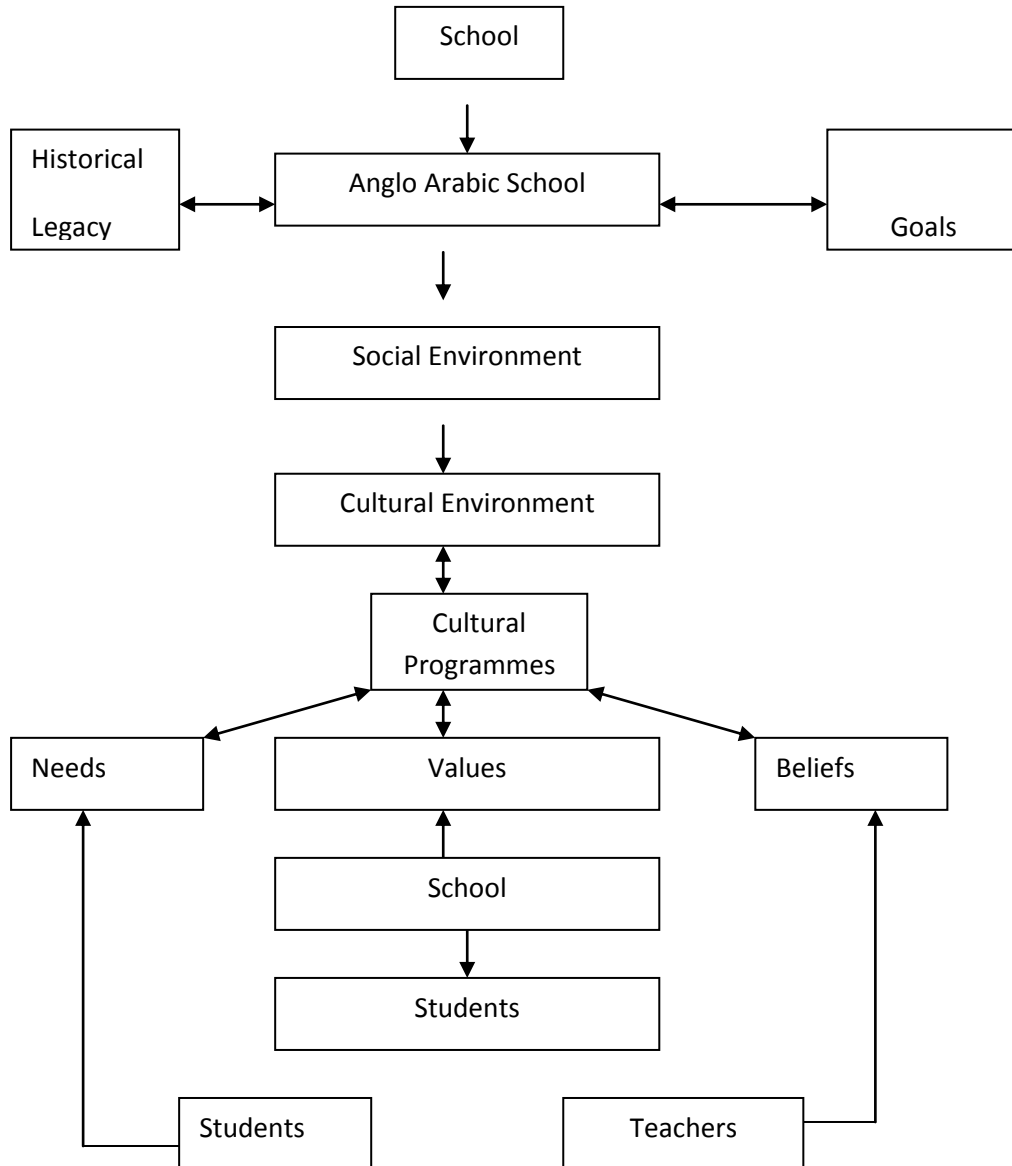
EVERYDAY LIFE AND OCCASIONAL HAPPENINGS

Cultural dynamics is critical to understand the dynamics behind any thriving community or organization, so as the daily routine and defined structure of the school life hold the key to educational success. It is viewed that ‘unless teachers create their own school climate, unless the children can see some differences they leave their own part of the building then they are not going to identify with it. Unless the children bond with teachers and the other children in the school than they are not going to feel that they are really involved with or a part of this process and will not buy the school values and therefore school will not work’.¹ In this chapter I would be delineating about the school culture in terms of routine activities and occasional events and celebrations and the meaning these activities and celebrations hold for the actors in the Anglo Arabic School.

School culture influences everything that happens in a school. It is an “inner reality” (Deal and Peterson 1993) that means “what organizational members care about, what they are willing to spend time doing, what and how they celebrate and what they talk about” (Robbins and Alvy, 1995). Gry Philips (1993) further stated that school culture is “the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour which characterize the school” and Wagner (2000) conceptualizes school culture as shared experiences (tradition and celebrations, a sense of community, of family and team). Thapan (1991) in her book *Life at school* views school culture in terms of rituals (routine activities) and ceremonies (occasional celebrations for expression and affirmation of the school values) involving both children and teachers. So the learning in the school takes place while

participating in such activities is presumed to be based on the norms and values of the school. Children learning attitudes, their role in school, values of right and wrong and sense of responsibility are all shaped by the culture of the school. The ingredients of the school culture are the curriculum — content and processes, interaction among school personnel, ideology and values that pervade the school setting (Anjum Sibia, 2006).

Cultural Heritage of AAS is explained with a view to construct the cultural reality as noticed, arranged, chosen and represented by the actors in the school. Assuming the AAS as a social and cultural institution, its cultural feature is the combination of cultural belongingness of teachers and students that forms, changes, modifies and sensitizes the beliefs and values of the actors in the school. Grammage (1982) also views that people, here teachers and students, perceive the things they see in relation to their usefulness and their traditional and ritual meanings. Activities and processes in AAS vary from rituals like ‘morning assembly’ and special ceremonies like ‘annual day’ and ‘sports day’. These activities represent the elements of the school ethos, which is certainly not visible in the curriculum but noticeable in the school culture. The combination of the different elements that forms the school culture are give in Figure—5.1



Figure—5.1: Dimensions of the school culture

5.1 RITUALS AND OCCASIONAL CELEBRATIONS

The rituals and celebrations in the school are described in relation to the meaning they possess for the actors. Rituals in AAS which are routine activities such as morning assembly to combine the school actors and reflect the school image, recess for refreshment, periodic evaluation to ensure upward movement of students etc which are fixed in the operative goals whereas the celebrations are those activities which

overshadow the routine works and have special meaning to the actors in the school and acquire an important place in the school.

Annual Day to remember the founder of the school, Sports Day to ascertain the overall development of the students, Iftar Party to reflect the religious ethos, Republic and Independence Day for national integration. Other than these the occasional celebrations like Farewell Party and Condolence Meetings are the notable gatherings and celebrations in AAS.

Both rituals and celebrations are the collective expression of school's beliefs and values. Though rituals are more visible in the school curriculum and form part of the daily activities and celebrations are occasional in nature and these are discussed in relation to their importance to the actors of the school.

5.1.1 Rituals or Routine Activities

'Morning Assembly' or Morning Prayer in the school signifies the beginning of the day which starts always at the time given and lasts for about 5-10 minutes and it is never being excluded from the daily structured routine.² A place just right to the entrance is fixed for the prayer but physical gathering is not strictly structured. As bell rings, a teacher usually a physical education teacher comes on cemented stage and calls students to join the assembly saying '*chalo jaldi line main lag jao, jaldi karo, jaldi kahi bhi lag jao, tum logo ko daily bolna padta hai*' (come quickly in the line, come fast, quickly stand in any queue, I suppose to say daily to you the same thing etc.) using mike or loud speaker (subjected to the availability of charged battery). Later, one or two teachers (section in-charge and Principal) also come on the stage. Students of both the sections — junior and senior, start coming to the ground and

stand one after other in their respective queue as per the class and sections. The respective class teachers take responsibility to ensure proper arrangement of the students during prayer. There is no clear demarcation to separate students of junior and senior sections but usually senior students stand at the right side from the front so as the junior students at the left. Those who comes late stand in any queue found near and teachers also allow them doing the same. Teachers stand on the both sides of the gathering and the female teachers make their own group and stand at the back. Teacher holding mike at the stage calls one of the students on the stage, ensuring different student from the previous day, for recitation of *'The Quran'* followed by *'Dua'*. As recitation starts, everyone present in the prayer stands straight with folding hands, keeping eyes down and female teachers cover their heads using *'aanchal'* or *'dupatta'* symbolizing the complete submission to the Allah. This shows the influence of Islamic values in the school which is a feature of school culture at AAS. Further, as the *'dua'* ends sometimes importance of *Quran* and its impacts on the human deeds are explained by the teacher and they also feel fortunate for being in the school getting both *'Deen'* and *'Duniya'* (offering religious duties and getting world as well). Replying to a question, a teacher said *"yeh pehla school hai jahan per Quran ki telawat ke saath school ki shuruat hoti hai aur mujhe khushi hai ke main iss school ka ek hissa hu"*—this is the first school I have seen where school starts with recitation of *Quran* and I feel proud to be a part of this school.

While observation at Morning Prayer it is found that the number of students attending the prayer is less, they prefer to be in class or anywhere, especially the senior students and enter into the school late, waiting outside of the school gate till prayer ends and take it as an optional. Teachers roam in the school, peeping into the classrooms and

toilets, holding a stick to ensure students present in the school should attend the prayer. The irony is that the number of teachers present in the prayer is less than half of the total number of staffs and rest comes after the prayer. A teacher expressed his concern saying '*koi teacher prayer attend nahi karna chahta hai aur zyada ter teachers prayer khatam hone ke baad hi aate hain ladko ki to baat hi chod dijiye aap* — no teacher wants to attend prayer and most of them reach the school after the prayer and leave the attendance of the students behind'. Morning Prayer is also used for checking uniform and cleanliness of the students, for praising achievement of the students in different competition participated outside the school and announcement of any celebration and holidays. As prayer ends, students rush towards the classes in unguided manner — breaking queue, producing unusual sounds, pushing each other and the teachers go to the Principal office to mark the presence and take class attendance registers.

'**Recess**' is another component of the school culture perceived as time for refreshment by both teachers and students. It is a daily routine activity in the school takes place at stipulated time at 10:45 a.m. and lasts about twenty five minutes. It is a separate activity for students and teachers and not joint refreshment. As the recess starts, students rush towards the canteen buying items like samosa, tea, cold drink, biscuits, *chole-chawal*, *puri-sabzi* etc demand of samosa is more among children and *chole-kulche chole-chawal* are favourite among teachers as they prefer not to take oily items and seem health conscious as well. Green-label or special tea is also served to the teachers on demand. Students eat standing and sitting in and around the canteen and it seems a crowd like situation and when they leave the canteen looks like a garbage box spreading paper plates, sauce and pieces of the items taken on the floor

and tables. Person who runs the canteen commonly called as '*Canteen Walla*' many times found abusing the students saying '*jangli* — not civilized' and blames teachers and parents not to teach way of life and says '*teacher hi ganda karte hai to bacche kyun na karer* — if teachers are spreading dirtiness why students be behind'. Many students who bring their Tiffin boxes from home take in the classroom or in the ground forming their own groups sharing boxes to each other. A large number of students mostly from the senior classes go out of the school campus either through gates or jumping the walls, hanging bags at the back and many of them do not come back that exhibit lack of discipline in the school order.

Recess is a group affair for the teachers in the school where they sit in various groups or 'club' in different places *via* laboratories, rooms, staffroom and office. When recess starts every teacher reach their respective club. Canteen Walla sends the ordered items by the teacher's name (who is considered group head) before the time of the recess to each club. This is a private group affair as no person from the other group can take part. During this they do not entertain anyone (students or parents). Principal is also part of a club including senior teachers. This reveals the group culture and '*clubism*' among the teachers is clearly apparent in the school.³ Details of this will be discussed in the later chapter of teacher culture.

'Regular Evaluation' is another ruitinized activity in the school. Academic ability of the students is an essence for the upward mobility in both junior and senior classes that is to evaluate through ritual of regular unit tests of different subjects. It is essential to carry out such ritual as the students take part in Board Examinations at Xth and XIIth standards and have to be adequately prepared for them. There is no such prepared schedule is followed but six unit tests for each subject are supposed to be

conducted in each term which depends on the teacher who teaches a particular subject. The tests are generally conducted after the completion of each teaching unit. It comes under the teacher's duty to inform the students one or two days before conducting the test but sometimes surprise test is also conducted especially in the junior classes which is not part of the formal evaluation and depends on the mutual agreement of the teachers and students. In junior classes the students are supposed to prepare fair notes of each subjects unit wise and get it checked by the teachers periodically which does not happens in the senior classes. Since there is no defined schedule for conducting unit tests I observed that many teachers take it casually and rush to take tests just before the end of the term as they have to submit marks of each unit test to the Principal.

The students start preparing for the test as teacher announces but find very less time. For this students bunk classes and prepare sitting in the ground and during recess. Position holding students in the class sometimes take such tests on pride which shows competitive environment among them although the competitive spirit lacks among both students and teachers in the school. These tests are conducted in their respective classroom and in respective periods. For example, unit test of Mathematics is conducted in the Mathematics period allotted in the time schedule and so on. The sitting arrangement as same as they sit in normal days. At the test either question papers are distributed or the questions are written on the blackboard. The instructions are given by the teacher before they start writing and warn not to change their seats and do not look into the copies of other. But students sit so closer, as the size of the table is very small — they can easily see the answer book of each other. Students hide their answer sheets keeping hands, instrument box and also turn their back towards his

fellow. They complain about inconvenient they face due to rough floor of the tables and its size. To avoid this teachers inter change their seats and seating arrangement as well. Canvassing is very common in both unit tests and term examinations by using '*kharras*' — written answers on small papers, writing on hands and on instrument boxes and most of them on the walls and tables which is very common and clearly apparent in the school ⁴. When the teachers announce result or distribute answer copy of the unit test students do not share their copy with one another but see privately. Later, they come to know the marks of everyone as teacher tell numbers of all the students one by one and students seek clarification from the teacher on the marks obtained. These tests are therefore a 'differential ritual' (Thapan, 1991) as it creates differences among students primarily in terms of competence through a process of preferment and humiliation. Other than the regular evaluation in the form of unit or class tests there are terms examinations which are internal in nature are also conducted thrice in an academic year. It is called internal assessment because the papers are prepared and copies are checked by the teachers themselves. But, both the teachers and students take such assessment seriously as the certain percentage of the marks obtained is added to the final examinations. These internal examinations are not only to assess the students' abilities but also an effort to expose and prepare them for the Board examinations. The importance of examinations can be seen in the school as the teachers start taking extra classes, revising the topics taught in the classroom, and discuss the syllabus in relation to the examinations. Besides, pointing out important questions is very common before term examinations. A teacher termed it as a 'disease' in the school and blamed this act for the poor result in external board examinations ⁵. The students especially of the junior classes feel a sort of relax and

ease in such setting knowing that their performance in examinations is not huddle to get promoted into next class.⁶

The three major rituals or routine activities in the school are Morning Prayer, recess and unit tests which have high in affective meaning for the participants and implications have for the culture of the school. The unit tests and term examinations located in the school order create an atmosphere of fear for the students as they indicate success and failure for them. The students consider it very important to succeed at these tests as they view their results as an indication of their performance in the final or board examinations. The ritual of conducting tests therefore creates differences between students where teachers warn for their weak performance and encourage those who have done well in the tests. Morning Prayer on the other hand contrasting the ritual of tests and work as an adhesive force to combine the both students and teachers and create a sense of attachment with the school in them through religious values, which is indispensable part of school values as well, rather than differentiating elements. The recess however is a non-academic and is a free time where students relax and feel free and fearless from the competitiveness. It provides a platform where they learn life skills by sharing of tiffin boxes and pocket money. On the other side, teachers use this time to strengthen their group bonds sitting together in their respective clubs. No interaction can be seen between teachers and students during this period. Thus, this occasion in AAS is a separate and non-interactive affair between both teachers and students.

5.1.2 Celebrations or Occasional Happenings

Other than routinized rituals that constitute essential elements in the everyday routine of AAS, there are some special occasional celebrations that take place every year in the school. These are Annual function, some national holidays like Independence and Republic Days, Farewell for teachers and Condolence meetings and Iftar party are also organized where students do not participate and are confined to the teachers and staff only.

‘Annual Function’ in AAS is one of the biggest and brightest events are being celebrated to remember the founder of the school. There is no fixed schedule to celebrate this event but organize in December-January every year just after the completion of the second term examination and viewing the schedule of the Board examination. School ensures that students should get enough time after this to prepare for external examinations. This celebration goes to the period of two to three days and preparation starts as programme announced. Formation of different committees — discipline committee, reception committee, refreshment committee, purchase committee, organizing committee etc starts including members of Management, teachers and other staff in preparatory activities and to make celebration a great success. These committees are formed taking the members of the same club they belong to and with the interest of the teachers to avoid conflict because they strongly attach to the respective groups and do not want to associate with the members of the other club or group. Decisions on such formation are taken in the meeting with the school higher authority. Responsibilities to the individual teachers are also given. There is pressure teachers feel while performing their work due to tensions between the groups and always try to overshadow the works of other and want their works to be recognized and praise by the school Management. This creates a competitive

culture among the teachers to perform their duties which is an indicative of the form of social control that operates through an ‘invisible pedagogy of the transcendental order’ (Thapan, 1991). Participation of students in preparing, planning and organizing is not encouraged in the school and lacks in collective participation but students take part in different cultural and sports programmes. This encounters the school’s objective of overall development of the children.

In this occasion the cultural — poem, painting, ghazal, debate competitions etc and sports activities are organized on both senior and junior levels where students from other schools also participate. Students take it as a special occasion with an element of competition and strive to succeed in all areas of sports and cultural activities. This shows the competitive spirit is therefore is an element of school culture. Selection of the participants in different cultural and sports activities is done through open application in writing or inform verbally to the teachers or to the in-charge of a group of teachers within stipulated time. Students carry confusion about when, where and whom to submit the application or enroll their names as no formal written notice is circulated or pasted on the notice boards but communicated in the Morning Assembly only. Final decision on the number of students participating in respective activities is taken by the teachers though whisperings were listen at many occasions complaining about the decision both by teachers and children pointing out the personal relation with teachers or other staff help in getting better opportunities in the school. Those Students who are not selected feel as ‘neglects’ and express their anxiety which shows the existence of differentiating element in the school.

As the schedule announced, cleaning the campus, colouring the walls and venue, cutting grass and flowers and giving plants and trees a proper shape, arranging the

flower pots, unfolding and cleanings the school flags etc starts to ensure good looking physical appearance of the school campus. For these services school hires workers on daily basis from outside and work along with the school staff. They feel great pressure of work in such occasions as there is less number of such workers in the school and taking leave on such days is very common to avoid work load that adds extra trouble to the organizers.

All the cultural and sports programmes are conducted before the final day ceremony which is held in school auditorium. The final day ceremony seems more organized having well decorated stage with flowers, clean and fancy costumes, good looking sofas and chairs with specified name plates of special invitees, carpet on the floor and the flower pots and flags of the school are kept defining the path to welcome the dignitaries. Whole venue is full of guests, teachers sitting at the front rows and students are sitting after them. Parents are not being welcome in any occasion in the school defining them as 'troublesome' by the teachers. There is no dress code but many teachers wear shervani and suits seem different from usual days but students are advised to be in the school uniform. Proceeding starts with the recitation of Holy Quran followed by the formal welcome of special invitees, presenting bouquets, and saying few praising words and poetic sentences about them and mentioning the few names and their contributions. Announcement of names of winners in different cultural and sports activities, distribution of prizes, saying praising and encouraging words about them is the centre of the occasion. The closing ceremony ends with the vote of thanks by the Principal of the school. Thus, the closing ceremony is an expression of integration of all the cultural activities of the school.

Such celebrations in the school overshadow the scheduled curricular activities or the pedagogic processes. Teachers start giving excuses not to take classes and start skipping the classes or giving less time in the classroom. So as the students not sitting in the classrooms and roaming here and there in the campus, sitting in the canteen and returning in the hostel early saying that teachers are busy in preparing for the function and not coming to take class and said it is better to be at home in these days and study as most of the teachers are engaged in the ceremony. The hangover also seems longer than usual and express unreasonable feeling of anxiety and tiredness after the celebration.⁷

There are celebrations on special days, or special events or occasions in the school calendar as well. These are some of the national holidays — Republic Day and Independence Day. These events are organized in the school with equal excitement and enthusiasm by both teachers and students although these are celebrated before the days due for such occasions to ensure not to come in the school on national holidays.⁸ A formal function is being organized — inviting guests and dignitaries and giving Tri-colour flavour to the venue. National flag is hoisted by the chief guest where NCC and Scout personnel give salute followed by singing national anthem with instrumental music. Both students and teachers get chance to give speeches remembering freedom fighters give due emphasis on the importance of the contribution of Muslim leaders in freedom struggle, exhibiting love and affection for the nation and teaching a lesson to the students for the same. The function ends with distributing trophies and prizes to the students done well in the board examinations. These national holidays are equally important to the participants as the other

celebrations and attach meaning to them and considered such celebration a part and partial of the school culture.

Other sub-cultural components and social happening contribute to the over all cultural figure of the school. Thus, some special occasions within the routine of the school time bring the teachers and students together formally or/and informally at periodic intervals for example ‘farewell party’ to the teachers and students as well. This is not a complete school involvement occasion but celebrate in different groups. Teachers give farewell to those teachers or staff getting retirement but do not invite the students and the teachers working under P.T.A. This is celebrated any of the working days they feel, cutting two or three periods from the scheduled school timing. It is an informal gathering where teachers find time to share their experiences and emotions attach to this school and some encouraging words for teachers who newly joined saying *‘hamara zamana to chala gaya ab school ka mustaqubil app sab ke haath me hai’*—ours time is over and now the future of the school lays in your hands, with shaded eyes and down reflexes on their faces. Offering thanks to the Allah and blessing to the children, teachers and the school is indispensable feature of this occasion. On the other side, students arrange farewell party to the P.T.A. teachers at the end of the academic session considering they might not come again as they teach on contract basis. It is celebrated on class basis and arrangements are done in the classroom itself affecting the pedagogic process without taking permission or informing the Principal or in-charge which indicates the lack of central control in the school. Farewell to the students, those who are leaving the school after tenth and twelfth, are also given by the class teachers inviting principal and few other teachers as well. ‘Welcome ceremony’ and ‘Iftar party’ are also organized in the school which

is confined to the staff members. Such occasions reflect that there is less interactions (other than pedagogic process) between teachers and students and somehow lacks in community feeling i.e. school as a whole, in the school rather group feeling is more dominant.

Apart from daily rituals and occasional celebrations the natural environment adds to the overall culture of the school. Historical building with a mosque at the middle symbolizes its minority character where all the actors feel soothing as they enter in the school in the morning. Plants and trees which are good in number in the school, along with chirping birds of different colours spreading shadow and sounds in the school building and ground gives delightful feeling in the summer and grassy open areas in the winter as they interact in free time or/and take classes by the teachers under the sun. Therefore, the physical structure and natural environment of the school provide learning and interacting opportunities that have effective meaning to the actors.

Thus, the AAS culture is the combination of everyday activities, regular affairs and occasional happenings. The rituals and celebrations are discussed which has different meanings to the students and teachers and affect differently. The rituals like unit tests and term examinations which are related academically and possess a strong meaning to the students as they relate these directly to the personal achievement where as the recess and prayer are the group and interactive affairs which are non-academic and participatory in nature bringing participants together in love and affection. The occasional celebrations like annual function on the other hand are a joint endeavour and have collective meaning where participants share collective achievements and the proceedings of celebrations reflect the religious values and beliefs in the school which the actors feel of equal importance.

Further, the minority character of the school can be seen in school culture whether routine activities and occasional happenings. Recitation of 'the Quran' in morning assembly followed by 'raising hands' for Dua, uttering the '*Bismillah hirr rahmane rahim*' before writing the tests or exams by the students, 'thanking the Allah' by the teachers and students for success in the tests or internal and external examinations, inaugurating the occasions with the 'verses of Holy Quran' and ending with the 'thanks giving' to the Almighty. Besides, adopting the school logo which consists structure of a mosque and a theme 'find a way or make one' a basic teaching of Islam, presence of a mosque and many graves in the school campus and ensuring due respect to the graves and mosque by actors of the school and ensuring to windup curricular and non-curricular activities and routine or/and occasional celebrations before the religious prayers particularly '*namaaz-e-juma*' and expressing concern by the actors of the school if it does not happen etc. reflect the influence of minority character on the culture of Anglo Arabic School.

In the next chapter the world of student at Anglo Arabic School will be discussed which gives understanding about the student culture-constituent, interaction and involvement in the school.

End Notes:

1. Raywid M.A. (2001). *Viewpoints: Small by Design: Resizing America's High School*. NCREL.
2. I observed that on the occasions of celebrations when formal classes are not held, the Morning Prayer is not done.
3. There is five clubs in which teachers are divided on the basis of regions they belong, castes and on the basis of Junior and seniority. All the clubs have informal existence but followed strictly. During interaction a teacher said about the other group that 'unka jutha bhi khana haram hai' on the occasion of Iftar party organized by the DES in the hostel involving that group.
4. It was very embarrassing moment when one Jamia guest from outside India comes to visit to the school and said 'strange' after looking on walls and tables and laughs seeing the Principal face.
5. A teacher explained "once I prepared the question paper of final examination, many teachers including seniors asked me to give questions- set. I could not refuse as they were senior, they took and solved all the questions in their class and said to the students that these questions will come in the examination. Many students come to me saying sir every teacher give us important questions but you do not."
6. There was change in educational policy in 2009 that no students will be declared fail till the class VIII provided the attendance of the students is not less than seventy five percent in the class.
7. Students' attendance seems very less in the school after such celebrations or holidays for significant number of days which teachers use as an excuse not to take classes and sit in the canteen or clubs and discussing about the celebration.

There is always blame from the students that teachers do not take classes if number of students is less in a particular class

8. Every one (teachers, students, Principal) in the school feel uncomfortable to come in the school on such holidays as stated by the many teachers and students during interactions with them. So they celebrate these days before but with great excitement.

CHAPTER — VI

STUDENTS' WORLD

Once a student steps into the school campus, he or she is irrevocably connected to it, for better or worse, for the rest of his/her life. The experience a student undergoes at school also determines the reputation for the school. In this chapter, I will be discussing the world of the students of AAS and their experiences.

Student culture in a school is the agglomeration of different factors — that which the individual students and being with them and that of the school itself and their participation in the school processes. Individual factors like social background, experiences in the school, their perception and attitudes, their expectations from the teachers and school, fears and hopes for the future and their interactions with the peer groups, the Management , Principal, teachers, administrative staff and other workers in the school. Social belongingness like background, personal, social and religious values, the students bring into the school determine the student culture. Besides, student personal experiences in the school help in shaping their attitudes towards the school, their behaviour and own perceptions. School factors such as place they get in the school administration, the nature of school and the school's preferences to get the kind of students are the constituents build student culture in the school. Other than these factors, their participation in the school processes — pedagogic and non-pedagogic, the nature of relationship between the students and the other actors in the school, their perspective on school work and the attitudes towards different activities in the school build student culture.

When a student enters school he/she comes along with a cultural baggage. This cultural baggage of the students reflected in their views on different aspects of school life. Once the student is in the school, he or she is in the different environment from that at home, interacting with divers people, events and situations where the process of ‘secondary socialization’¹ begins (Thapan, 1991). Woods in his book ‘*Pupil Strategies; Explorations in the Sociology of the School*’ said that the students here in the school are “exposed to a number of new experiences such as individual teachers, aspects of school organization, problems of work and knowledge, class cultures, teachers and student cultures, peer groups, towards which they are required to make a response. Through this multiple activities and encounters, student negotiates his or her way, making the most of his power and abilities in furthering interests, often in company with the fellows, discovering and inventing strategies of infinite number and complexity” (P.Woods, 1980). Student culture may thus be seen to be characterized by strategic action in order to adapt to the complex nature of the many situations confronted by them as well as to fulfil their personal goals. Similarly the student culture at AAS is the combination of elements, ethos and values they bring from their ‘primary socialization’², and their experiences in the school and their views about the school— teachers, facilities and administration.

6.1 ADMISSION OF STUDENT: POLICY, PROCESS AND PREFERENCES

Every school has its own admission policy and procedure for the student entry into the school. At AAS the admission of the students is influenced by the number of internal and external factors. Internal factors like preferences of the school, and external factors such as the area in which school is situated, influence of the local people and the legal obligations are the major deciding factors to take admission of the students.

Although the school is open for the all kind of students belonging to any background. However, it is traditionally been a madarsa and situated at the walled city of Delhi now has to become known as school exclusively for Muslims. In fact, in the past the school had non Muslim teachers and students. At present, there is one non Muslim student and one non Muslim teacher in the school and this is because of number of factors — there is general image has been developed that the school is meant for Muslim children, knowledge of Urdu language is compulsory those who want to study in AAS, less number of applicants from other community due to restriction of language etc. However, as a policy the school is open to children from all communities.

Students take admission in Anglo Arabic School are from different parts of Delhi such as schools of Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) and small private schools of Okhla, Seelampur, Mustafabad and mostly from ‘Walled City’ of Delhi where the school is situated. Other than Delhi, students also come from the different states — mostly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It is observed that many of the students, but not all, coming from the other states outside Delhi take admission in the AAS as a ‘last resort’ as they come to take admission either in Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) or Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) and if not selected there, they come to know about the school from their relatives and teachers of the school. There are significant number of students studying in the school is the relatives of the teachers teaching in the school or/and known by them one way or other. This suggests the teacher’s recommendations may also be playing a role in getting admission in the school.

In case of students from Delhi particularly Walled City, its been their dream to join AAS since childhood as they have heard about its historical importance, its huge

sprawling campus, presence of mosque. Their visit to the mosque especially on Friday Prayer developed curiosity in them to study in AAS.

A student of class nine shared his journey from childhood to get entry in the school and his four year experiences in the school that is described and given here.

“I was thinking about this school since childhood and dreamed at to study as it is very famous school in Delhi. I used to tell my father since I was a small child but he always said “Become Big” to get into this school as the school was at a distance from my home. The day came when I passed class five and it was a very delightful moment (main phoole nahi sama raha tha) and I was hoping my father take me to this school. One day my father took me to this school for admission. It was the first time I boarded the bus. As I entered the school I saw the Principal’s office in front of the gate and went to the admission room where I saw a number of teachers. As I was told to appear in the admission test my hands and legs started trembling and the fear of rejection in the test was looming large. When the test paper came in my hand only one thing was in my mind that Allah will help me. I started doing the questions and did thirteen out of fifteen but I had a fear of not being selected. Till I completed the test my father was waiting outside. As I came out from the test room I saw many students and asked questions about the school and its teaching. I was seeing this school for first time with my eyes. It was very big and beautiful. The result of the test was to be declared after one week. On the day I had to see the result I woke-up early in the morning and was nervous. I

and my father came to see the result. The notice board (a flat wooden board hanging on the tree near the Principal's office) was surrounded by a number of children who had come to see the result. With fear I closed my eyes and then opened thereafter taking a long breath and saw the result. I had passed. As I saw the result tears of happiness and joy hilled up in my eyes. I reached home and told this to every member in my family and friends as well. My first day in the school was very exiting that even I cannot explain. My dream had come true and now I am very happy that I am a student of this school”.

The status of the AAS is ‘senior secondary’ imparting education from the class VI to class XII. Entry of students starts every year in the month of April just before the summer vacation and ends in July-August. Students are taken in the school at different levels through an entrance test conducted for the classes - VI, VII, VIII, and IX & XI. For the classes VI, VII and VIII tests are conducted for the subjects of Science, Mathematics, English, Urdu and Hindi where as the first three subjects are compulsory to all of the students seeking admission in these classes. Appearing in the test of rest two depending upon the choice of the medium of study as the school provides education in all three mediums — Urdu, Hindi and English. For the classes IX and XI tests of Science, Mathematics and English is conducted. Knowledge of Urdu language is compulsory to all wishing to join AAS. Academic performance in the test (aggregate of passing marks in the main subjects plus marks obtained in the test of languages) is the criteria for the final admission in the school. There is no upper limit is fixed to get the number of student every year but taken on the basis of performance in the test and accordingly decision is taken for division of classes into

sections. There were seventeen students in AAS in session 2008-09 divided into 45 classes as per the number of students in a particular class and medium opted. This is contrast to the general belief that a smaller number of students in the school helps in establishing close relationship between teachers and students and facilitates learning and the overall development of the students. The students coming in AAS are from lower and lower-middle socio-economic strata as more than eighty percent of the parents are engaged in skilled and non-skilled occupation working in the small factories and running their own businesses— restaurants, roadside hotels, shops of milk and related items, meat shops, and vending and even children of rickshaw puller are the aspirants of the school followed by the profession like teaching and other occupations. Significant number of students do part time jobs — working in *karkhanas*, and sit at their shops so that they can contribute into their family income. This is in stark contrast to the children of the schools researched by De Souza (1974) on Indian public schools and Thapan (1991) on Rishi Valley School where children from elite families come. De Souza's finding in his study of IPSs that they 'are patronized by the professionals and the business, civil and military elites'. It suggests that one factor influencing this trend is 'the structure of the fees with its built-in tendency to favour the upper social strata'. The teachers said that school is getting students of average and below average standards as the applicants are from poor family or first generation learner causing lowering of school standard. Thus the AAS is dealing with the students from weak and medium socio-economic background and of Muslim community which has its impact on the student culture in the school which can be seen in the later part of this chapter.

6.2 STUDENT AND SCHOOL WORK: CURRICULAR, CO-CURRICULAR AND SPORTS

This section deals with the different perspectives of students about the school work, subject choice and preferences, considerations while choosing a particular subject and involvement in co-curricular activities and sports and their involvement in free or leisure time in the school and outside.

Academic work in any school is the most prevailing and primary activity so as in the AAS combined with co-curricular activities and sports. The kind of school work a school has can be well viewed in its framework developed in the form of timetable — periods allotted to the academic and non-academic activities. In AAS there is eight periods held every day where most of them go to the classroom teaching except one library period and one period for the sports activities every week to all the classes. So the academic work is more dominating in school timetable which gives an important meaning to the student culture in the school.

At AAS the students have different options to select the subjects of their interest right from the entry level where students can exercise their choice according to the interest and importance. From class VI to VIII, there is three additional papers — Arabic, Persian and Drawing other than the compulsory subjects — Science, Mathematics, Social Science, English, Urdu and Hindi in the school. It is mandatory for the students to take one paper out of these till the class VIII and after that it becomes optional. Larger number of students opt Arabic language followed by the Drawing and Persian. Children opt Arabic because it is considered as ‘own language’ by the parents which helps in understanding the Quran and Islamic Values. Presence of significant number

of Hafiz-children, who have memorized the Quran, is another reason why more number of children chooses this language. A parent said that “*shuru me yeh sab pandna bahut zaroori hai, aage chal kar mumkin nahi hota hai-* at initial stage these languages is necessary to study which is not possible to do afterwards” (he was indicating about the increased level of competition and importance of English language at the later stage). Arabic and Persian are kept in the curriculum because these two languages attached with the school since its inception. A teacher said “*farsi aur arabi ke begair iss school ke bare me sonch bhi nahi sakte*—I cannot imagine this school without the inclusion of Arabic and Persian”. However, the Persian language is losing its shine in the school as very less number of students opt it causing less or no importance in the career building and the school seems worry about it.³

Further , in class 10 the students have less options in subject choice as the school offers only languages as optional subjects (Urdu, Arabic and Persian) along with five compulsory subjects (Science, Social Science, Mathematics, English and Hindi). Most of the students choose Urdu followed by Arabic and Persian. The reasons of opting Urdu are first, there is no other choice appealing to them and second, they are aspiring to get admission either in Jamia or AMU (mostly those students who are from outside Delhi coming from other states) and be in the AAS (mainly those from Delhi) itself in the ascending classes where this subject gets added advantage (as they feel). This shows ‘ghettoized aspirations’ of the students as far as the choice of institution is concern. The students have deep feeling of negligence from the part of the government for not making more options available to them for higher study. They feel that they are not well come by other colleges and universities and getting admission in them is a ‘hard nut to crack—*terhi kheer hai*’. A student said that “*hame (Muslim*

children) kahi aur admission to milega nahi, Jamia aur AMU hi bachta hai—we (Muslim children) cannot get admission in other institutions except Jamia and AMU”. Another said that “*yeha se padhne ke baad achchi jagah admission mushkil hai*—it is difficult to get admission in good places after passing from here”. It is observed that students feel neglected being a Muslim and also not believe to be capable to compete from the students passing from ‘good private school’. Comparing of their weakness and strength such as lack in English speaking and better knowledge of Urdu language decides their institutional aspirations.

At the senior secondary level (class XI or XII) the students have more options of subjects choice grouped in three different streams — Arts, Commerce and Science. Arts and Science streams offer more options than the Commerce. The school offers Sociology, Political Science, Geography, Fine Arts and History in Arts stream out of which students have opt two subjects along with Economics and English which are compulsory or main subjects. Besides, one language paper out of options (Urdu, Hindi, Arabic and Persian) is offered. History and Political Science are considered ‘good combination’ along with Economics by the students and mostly opt it followed by Sociology, Geography and Fine Arts. In the science stream students are supposed to choose one out of Biology, Drawing and Computer Science. Besides, there are four (Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, and English) compulsory subjects. Mostly choose Biology followed by Computer Science and Drawing. In the Commerce stream students have fewer options either chooses Mathematics or Urdu or Hindi. Most opt for Mathematics considering it to be ‘necessary’ along with other Commerce papers. Good teachers, particularly in this subject, are another reason for considering this option. Both among teachers and students, English language is considered most

demanding and useful in making good future and kept compulsory (core) in all three streams. Students see it as a key to success whereas teachers always been seen emphasizing on it and directing the students for its improvement.

The Determining factors for the choice and dislike of a particular subject or stream by the students is based upon career prospects, difficulties, lack of financial support, personal interest, suggestion of teachers and students own views are the determining factors. Friendship groups and teachers' encouragement regarding a particular subject are other reasons for their choice. Parental aspiration has little to do with their choice of subject in the school.

The primary aim of most of the students in AAS is to get a part time job quickly after passing from the school and continue their studies along with it. This indicates that interest is secondary to them while choosing subjects for the study. Even though they want to plan for their future but they are apprehensive regarding their own capability to achieve and an un-certainty about their future prevails in their minds. Lack of financial support from the family is another determining factor giving preference of soft or easy subjects over other subjects (where less or no extra expenses are needed on stationary or practical work). For some personal interests is however, a factor in determining their choice. Two students mentioned that they wanted to become 'astronaut' and two other students wished to become 'scientists' and undertake 'study of environment' (*phool-paudo ke bare me padhne me bada maza aata hai—I enjoy reading about trees and flowers*) expressed a student, another wanted to have their own business said "*mera to shuru se hi business me dimagh lagta hai iss liye main ne economics liya hai aur age chal ke main MBA karunga aur phir field me thoda experience lene ke baad apna business karunga iss ka apna alag maza hai aur kisi ka*

naukar banne se achcha hai—from beginning I like business so opted Economics or Commerce, later I will do MBA and after getting experience of the market will start my own business”, another said “*apne (Musalman) raja-maharaja ke baare me padhne me bada maza aata hai aur khushi bhi hoti hai aur social study mera faviouarate subject hai—reading about the Muslim emperors is very interesting and gives happiness to me and social study is my preferred subject*”. Students also consider subjects as suggested by the teachers, having personal relations with them and availability of ‘good’ teachers in certain subjects.

Poor quality of teaching is an important reason for disliking a particular subject followed by their own weakness or incapability. A student does not like Physics because the teacher is ‘boring’ (*lagta hai yaad kar kea ate hai, sirf likhate hai samjhate kuch bhi nahi-* it seems he mugs up and asks students to write and does not explain). Another dislikes English saying “*samjhate nahi hai our grammer bhi sahi se nahi padhate hai, kuch samajh me nahi aata hai, class me aakar sote rahte hai, kitni baar sote-sote pen niche gir jata hai—*he does not explain the lesson and also does not teach grammar and does not even know how to explain. He sleeps in the class and while sleeping his pencil falls usually”. Another student does not like Accounts saying “*sirf board per likh dete hai kitab se solved questions dekh kar ke magar samjhate nahi hai—*he only writes on the black board and solves the question seeing from the book but does not explain”. Seeing student’s views which suggest that poor quality of teaching is the domino effect of teacher’s ‘way of teaching’, ‘less capable’, ‘lack of control’ in the classroom and ‘uninteresting’. Many teachers do not take interest in teaching in the school as most of the students go to coaching centers where the same teachers take classes. Keeping this situation in mind many students attend

‘selective periods’ and prefer to be outside the classroom. For example a student said that “*attendance ka chakkar nahi hota to main school hi nahi aata, main to sirf daily do-teen periods deta hun*—I come to the school just for attendance and only attend two to three periods”. This suggests lack of competitiveness and commitment towards school goals of both students and teachers in the school. Students own weakness and incapability to cope up with certain subjects is another reason for disliking subjects. For example a student, said “*math mere palle hi nahi padta aur number bhi kam aata hai iss me*—I do not understand Mathematics and scored less marks in it”, another said “*jiss subject (he was indicating about Persian) se faida na ho nahi padhna chahiye*—we should leave the subjects which is not worthy”. This indicates that obtaining good marks in the examinations and future benefits are the other factors students give preference to one subject while choosing another.

Taking coaching classes is a dominating reason to get better marks in external examinations believes by the students. Most of them take tuition in subjects like Mathematics, Science, English, Accountancy and Economics in nearby coaching institutions where many teachers are from AAS. Those students who do not go for coaching or private tuition feel that they are “on the losing side” and make arranging up by note books from their classmates and friends. Gaining teacher’s preference, better marks in practical and internal evaluations and a common trend among the peer group are the other reasons they go for coaching classes. There are the teachers in AAS who earn equal amount, if not more than their salary, from the coaching and private tuitions. This is seen as a status symbol among the teachers. This is often a topic of discussion amongst those teachers who do not go for coaching classes.

In addition to the curricular involvement of the students, participation in co-curricular activities, leisure time involvement and taking part in sports are the other constituents of the student culture at AAS. School organizes co-curricular activities at both the levels — senior and junior, in different areas of painting, poem, ghazal and debate where student take part according to their interests although the selective students get chance to participate as identified by the teachers. Students take part in such activities outside as the school gets invitations from Urdu Academy, Hindi Academy, Bal Bhavan and from the other schools in Delhi. The school has bagged number of prizes every year in different fields of participation. They also take part in different rallies organized by different organizations on social and environmental issues. Besides, school has Scout and National Cadet Corp (NCC) units where interested students become part of and take part in camps every year. Personal interests, curiosity to go for the camps, holding rifles and other arms in hands and taking scout and NCC uniforms (parts of it can be used as school uniform) are the several reasons students expressed for joining such units.

Leisure time or free time involvement of the students both in and outside (at home) school is varied. Playing indigenous games like '*ghodi kachchi ya pakki*', '*uchal tinda*', '*aankh machauli*' in the classroom and '*marr pitto*', 'throwing ball from one end to other', cricket in the ground and doing some gardening work as suggested and guided by the teachers, are the involvement of junior classes students. Senior students' activities are listening to music, using mobile (although carrying mobile in the school is prohibited), chatting, playing games, sharing jokes and break school rules by jumping the boundary wall and spending time on *dhabas*/hotels and tea stalls. Some even Spend time sitting in mosque and reading Quran and visiting library

where they read news papers and magazines. In the month of Ramadan school looks more like a religious place than a school. Both students and teachers seek to spend time in the mosque, reading Quran, offering *namaaz* and understanding the Hadith. Since its inception the school (madarsa in those days) tends to promote Islamic knowledge and Quranic instructions and mosques are built nearby or in the campus to endorse Islamic practices. But the nature and objective of this institution has changed and now it offers formal education with guided syllabi and legal obligations, where school has to follow a teaching-learning process within time schedule and prepare students for common world of competition rather than make them a religious being. It is observed that during Ramadan many students and teachers spend time in mosque not only in their free time but also during class or teaching hours considering it more important and ‘be in fast—*roze se hona*’ becomes an excuse not to attend classes properly or go home before time.

Further, maximum number of students expressed that ‘playing games’ is the most enjoyable way to spend the free time and their preferable interest is in cricket. Other also interested in games like carom, football and hide & seek. Expressing their concern about non availability of playground in area near the home they are forced to go long way or play in the *gali-muhalla*. They see sports as ‘time pass’ and not as a career option. Spending time for ‘watching television’ at home is the second most free time involvement responded by the students. They prefer to watch cricket followed by the films or movies and serials. Going for movies in cinema halls with family members and friends is another option. ‘Reading’ of different books—magazines, news papers, comic items is experienced as their third choice. Books on sports, stories, *sher-o-shairi*, ghazals etc and going madarsa and reading Quran and Hadis are

the other things they do. Significant number of respondents said that ‘sitting on their own shops’ (not by choice but ask to do so) is another work they do. This suggests how family affairs and their background determine how they spend leisure time. Listening to music and songs on radio and mobiles is another way to use their free time. A student said “*purane gaane sukoon dete hai aur isse zindi me sikhne ko milta hai*—old songs are soothing and give lesson in life”. But many students have different opinion saying ‘it is against Islam’ and such things add ‘*gunah*’ and Allah will punish for this. This indicates religious norms influence their behaviour in and outside the school and works as an element of social control. Doing nothing and be at home and sleeping are the other response they gave and they believe that “*kuch (wrong things) karne se behtar hai so jao gunah kam honge*-it is better to sleep than doing wrong things”. A list of involvement is given in the Table—6.1 which give clear picture of what the students of AAS do in their free time.

Involvements	Responses
Playing (Cricket, Football, Carom, Hide & sick)	29
Watching T.V. (Match, Movies, Serials)	23
Readings (Books & Comics)	16
Listening Music & Songs	13
Sitting at the shop	11
Sleeping	07
Visiting relatives	07
Discussing with friends (cricket and study)	06
Reading Quran	06
Watching movies in cinema halls	06
Keeping things in better shape	06
Cleaning place	05

Going to walks in the field	05
Singing	04
Drawing work	04
Go to library	04
Playing computer games	04
Internet surfing	04
Washing cloths	03
Observing nature	03
Think about teachers	02
Visiting malls and the markets	02
Others	03

Total number of respondents = 92

Reading Quran in the mosque and at home and talking something in relation to it is another response suggesting impact of religious values on their daily life involvements. Besides, keeping things in better shape, cleaning places and clothes (emphases on wearing clean clothes and are *paak* all the time symbolizing the half-imaan) are the other responses. Discussing with friends, going to enjoy in malls (*tafrih*), observing the nature, thinking about teachers are the things that they do in their leisure or free time involvements.

Involvement in sports activities is another constituent of school life of the students. Looking from the pages of sports history of Anglo Arabic School where the students of the school given remarkable contributions in the different fields of sports especially in Football. Recollections and memories of alumni of the school who were excellent in sports and/or involved in and witnessed the different sports events of the school, suggest the presence of sporting spirits among the students of school. Students like Abdul Basit, Abdul Bari, Mohammad Mansoor, Aziz Jr., Mohammad Ghafoor,

Mohammad Iqbal, Syed Ali Abid, Ikram, Shamshad, Aziz Qureshi etc who had played for various clubs (Shimla Youngs Clubs, Delhi Students Club, Moonlight Football Clubs etc) of that time and made their presence in the game of football at national and international levels. Many of them, on the basis of their interests and excel in sports, picked-up by Customs, Indian Railways and some Calcutta clubs. An official of Delhi Education Society, retrieving from his past memory, said “Anglo Arabic School was a great nursery of Delhi football arena and one event etched in mind when the legendary goalkeeper Peter Thanagaraj came in the school to give tips to the boys on the finer aspects of the game. Still remember how many times he told the Anglo Goalie to keep an eye on the feet of the striker and the angle of the ankle rather than merely on the ball. Aziz Qureshi was a household name led Delhi at the Santosh Trophy and the Manzoor Ahmad we called him the flying goalie. Anglo Arabic boys played football remarkably with short crispy passes”. Another official of the DES said ‘I still remember that sometime in the 1960s, Anglo Arabic School football team had won the Zonal Championship for six consecutive years where Athar Ansari, now with the Indian Railways, had played as a goalie for many years’. So, seeing from the past the AAS had bright and significant presence and enjoyed happy and sorrow moments of wins and losses but now, at present, the sports’ spirits and past achievements of the school are summarized into merely a routine activity in the school time table.

Presently, AAS has teams of Cricket, Football, Table Tennis, Badminton but more students opt to play Cricket and other games are at the dying position in the school. Cricket has overshadowed the other games expressed a sports teacher. The school participates in Zonal sports events at both junior and senior levels but spirit to

participate in sports is missing in the school among both students and teachers as they feel it as an obligation to take part in different tournament of Directorate and Zones. A teacher said that *“sirf khana purti ke liye sports hai school me, sports teachers ko apni zimmedarion ka ehsaas nahi hai, jab koi tournament hota hai to sirf kuch dino ke liye bachcho ko maidan me lekar pahuch jate hai baki dino me tai-tai phiss—sports is only for the name sake in the school, whenever there is any tournament sports teacher take students to the ground for few days and rest of the time take casually.”* Another teacher expressed deep grief indicating the negligence of the school of the past achievement in the field of sports saying *“purane shields, cups, trophies school me iss tarah rakha hua hai jaise godawns me chawal-daal rakhe jate hai, unper moti-moti gard ki partiyen jami hui hai, iss se bachcho me interes kahan se paida hoga—old shield, cups and trophies are kept in such a way in the school as rice and pulses are kept in the godowns, and you can see thick layer of dust on them, how it develop interest in the students.”* He further said that *“there is only one good thing about the sports in the school and that is ‘its past achievements’ (jaisa maine suna hai—as I heard in the school about this).”* On another occasion, a group of teachers standing in the ground and looking at a group of students playing, among the teachers one start saying *“inika kya hoga iss tarah khelne se, na to khel me kuch kar payenge aur na hi padhayi me—what they will do playing in this way, neither they will do anything in study nor in sports”* others were nodding heads saying yes. During observation it is found that most of the time, in the name of sports period, students are left unattended where students play whatever they want and in the manner they wish, a student of class eleven said with high anger *“agar kisi class ka sports period hai to uss ke saamne dusre class ko baitha diya jata hai dekhne ke liye, hame aisa lagta hai ke kahan aagaye hai, hum preshan hokar iss wajah se bahar bhi bhagte hai, sports ka*

class alag-alag hona chahiye-if there is a sports' period of one class, students from other classes told to sit before them and see. We feel very bad and this compels us to go out and avoid attending sports period" although there is significant presence of sports activity in the school time table and given one period to each class or section in a week. Further, it is seen that they are playing game for example cricket, using pieces of bricks or stones as wickets, carrying personal bats or balls suggesting proper facilities are not provided to the students. It is also seen that there is lack of equal opportunities to the students to be a part of any team they wish to join as selection of students is totally in the hands of sports teachers. A sports teacher replying to a question said "students are in my mind and I decide whom to take or not, there is a sports committee but they do not know anything and nothing to do with the selection of any team." A student said "*sabhi ladke unke jaanne wale hi to hote hai hame mauka milta hi nahi hai*-every student who join the team known by the teacher and I never get any chance to play."

Students in AAS have very less interest in sports and even there is a little which is in cricket. They are not capable to and show interest to invest even a little amount as they are from moderate family (*gharib gharane*). Students do not get time as they have to either go to their shops, deliver lunch to their shops or/and many students go to work in factories and get no time for sports. And those who play for the school do not see it as a career option. Sports facilities in the school is very less as do not afford even basic sports amenities to the students because of lack of financial supports from the government (*aided Muslim school hone ki wajah se government dhayan nahi deti hai our sports per to bahut kam hai*—because of Aided Muslim school government does not pay attention and on sports it is negligible), available resources

are not maintained properly (*school me do-do ground hai magar halat buri hui padi hai, uss per khelna kafi mushkil hai, injured hone ke chances bahut hai, koi bhi itna risk kyun lega*—there are two ground in the school but in very bad condition and playing is very difficult and why anybody will take that much of risk) and lack of supporting staff to maintain the sports room and other resources (*sab kuch hame hi karma padta hai, agar item issue karna hai to hum karte hai, safai bhi karni padti hai, koi bhi kitna karega, ground ki safai ho ya pitch ki murammat ho bachcho se karani padti hai*—we sports teacher do every things, how much one can do, cleaning, issuing sports item, we take help from our students in cleaning and making ground playable). During observation it is found that the although there is a sports resource room in the school having number of sports items but seems like a garbage box the way in which things are kept, many items seems unused, past achievements spread around and kept in cupboard and on the other side the sports ground seems like a container of bricks and stones, unlevelled ground, lengthy grass grown where students hide themselves and do some acts of smoking and sit for their private talks.

Student considers sports as ‘secondary’ and little to do with the success in life. They merely see it as a ‘time pass’ and a form of an exercise as a student of class eight said “*fit rahne ke liye khel lete hai kabhi kabhi*”. Taking part in sports events and be in any school team is just for the enjoyment, friends are playing and sometime teachers encourage to participate and not see it as a career option and an element of competition is far away from reach.

Despite all these, school celebrates Sports Day every year where students participate in different games of cricket, football matches, carom competition, kabaddi and different kinds of race. In such event students participate with zeal and enthusiasm as

it keep them away from class teaching and see such occasions to come closer and get recognition in the school. They also participate outside the school at zonal and Directorate levels at both junior and senior levels and won different prizes.

Talking with the teachers, students and data collected through observation suggest there is lack of interest in sports among students and in the school. Although the participation is remaining there in different sports events in and outside the school but making 'marks' on the pages of artefacts is missing somewhere.

A Sports Teacher:

Researcher: Sir, how are you?

Teacher: Fine, '*sab theek hai*' (raised hands and greeted)

Researcher: How are your sports activities going on?

Teacher: *Nothing special (kuch khas nahi)*

Researcher: How you see sports in this school?

Teacher: All sports are here and have teams of Cricket, Football, Badminton, and Table Tennis (he was hiding something and avoiding to answer this Question)

Researcher: Are students participating outside?

Teacher: Yes, yes, there are tournaments of Directorate every year where my school participates and won many times. Many prizes (shields) are in the school some are kept in the Principal office and some are in my (sports room). There are many. But now most of the students are coming towards cricket only (agar ek ko bolao to satrah line me hote hai-if there is need of one boy seventeen come in queue)

Researcher: How you select them (school team)?

Teacher: Students are in my mind and I decide whom to take or not, there is sports committee but they know nothing and selection is done by me only

Researcher: What sports committee does?

Teacher: Nothing, just in purchasing the sports items we do a meeting and display the list..... and nothing more important. I am the senior teacher and there is another sports teacher, we are only two

Researcher: How you manage with only two sports teachers (there are more seventeen students in the school), do you think more teachers are required?

Teacher: No, no, there is no need of more teachers but there is severe lack of facilities and this should be increased. See, there are two grounds but not maintained (it is very difficult to play, there is high chance to get injured....) we are not getting the things required easily. In reality this is an aided school and government is not giving much support and for sports it is much lesser (he was showing anger on government discrimination as this is a Muslim school)

Researcher: Do the school have any other helping staff for sports activities?

Teacher: No, there is nothing like this, we take work from the students. This needs more money and the school does not have resources and we are financially very weak. The sports were much better before especially in the field of Football. Now students are coming from poor background and do not want to spend both time and money on sports.

Researcher: How you see students' interests in sports?

Teacher: It becomes very less and decreasing day by day, and if there is little which is in cricket. This cricket has overshadowed the other all games (*yeh cricket ne saare games ko barbad kar diya hai*). And students in this school are not capable to and show interest to invest even a little amount as they are from weak family (*gharib family*). Students do not get time as they have to either go to their shops, deliver lunch to their shops or/and many go to work in factories and so get no time for sports.

Researcher: Sir, how is your journey in sports?

Teacher: My game is Badminton and I study in National Institute of Sports (NIS). I took part in international events as I was the part of junior team went to Sri Lanka and Saudi Arabia. I helped many students of this school to get jobs in railways and banks. It was good here before but now not to say any thing (*pehle yeha bahut achha tha ab to bas aise hi hai*).

6.3 EDUCATION, SCHOOL AND CAREER CHOICES

In this section, I will be discussing about what education meant to the students of the AAS, their viewpoints about the school and their career choices. Expressing their concern about the education, students of AAS says the first and for most goal of the education is to build the 'good career' and ranked it first (25 out of 92). To them good career means 'working in office', 'giving order' and 'getting recognition' among the friends and relatives. Going outside the country for 'good jobs' is also what the significant number of students meant for better career. Avoiding the 'hard work' is

another goal of the education as expressed by the students and ranked it second. To them hard work refers as ‘working on the roadside and carrying heavy load and sleeping on footpath’, ‘doing coolie kind of work and carrying luggage’, ‘working overtime’ and ‘pushing plough or *hal chalana*’ and also ‘leaving home in early age’ for work. While talking to them, a student said that *‘padha-likha aadmi road per sokar zindgi nahi guzarta hai, woh achche environment me rahta hai*—educated people do not live their life sleeping on the road but in good environment’ another said *‘nahi padhne-likhne se hal chalana padhta hai, sadko per kaam karna padhta hai*—not studying means pushing plough and working on roads’ another said *‘mazdoori se bachne ke liye padhna zaroori hai*—study is must to avoid hard work’. A student of class seven expressed his deep emotion about the children in his locality working in hotels and the way they are being treated and said *‘agar hum bhi padhai nahi karenge to abhi (bachpan) se hi kaam karna padega, main to bahut padhunga*—if I will not study I have to do hard work since childhood, I will study more’. Further, education is required ‘to get respect’ and ‘good life’ and it makes life ‘easy’ responded considerable number of students. During interaction a student said that *‘kisi bhi party me, shadi ya meeting me jaane per izzat milti hai or sabhi log ek alag nazar se dekhte hai*—educated people get respect in all formal meeting and all kind of good gatherings and people see in different angle that of from uneducated’ another said *‘padhne wale ladko ko log izzat ki nazar se dekhte hai*—people see with respectable eyes those who are studying.’ Number of students replied that education is also helpful in ‘developing personality’, learn ‘manners’ and provides ‘understanding of life’ and helps in improving ‘thinking process (*dimagh khulta hai*)’. A student of class twelve said *“education har cheeze nahi hai magar har cheeze ke liye education zaroori hai,. zindgi ko behtar banana ke liye, aage badhne ke liye, rasta dikhane ke*

liye, kisi bhi tarah ka kaam ho education zaroori hai—education is not everything but for everything education is necessary. For good life, for progress, to teach the lesson and for any kind of work education is needed.” Further, to solve the problems of society, to teach the lesson to others and creating own identity in society (*samaj me alag pehchan banana ke liye*) are the other goals of education expressed by the students. Two students expressed that education is needed to please the parents (*maa-baap ko khush karne ke liye*), one said that “*main ne to achche marks lakar maa-baap ko khush karma chahta hun*—I want to make my parents happy by getting good marks” another said “*padhna bahut zaroori hai—mere mamu padhe nahi hai to unhe zindagi me bahut pareshani ka saamna karma padta hai. ek din ek aurat unke paas aayi aur English me baat karne lagi, unko samajh me nahi aaraha tha, oh sharma rahe the, isliye mujhe bahut padhna hai*—my mamu is not educated and he is facing a lot of disturbance in life. One day a lady come to him and start talking in English, he was not understanding and become very disappointed so I need to study and get education more.” Education is required to become ‘*bada aadmi*’ expressed by the students as well. To them *bada aadmi* means ‘*achchi kamai*’ to provide good education to the children said a student and another told “*itni kamai ho ke dilli me achche se reh sake*—I should earn the amount by which can live in Delhi easily.” Quoting a verse of Quran students said that the Education plays a vital role in understanding religious affairs and performing religious duties.

Thus, in so far as the responses of what education meant to them suggest that the students of AAS are aware of number of implications of education in life — personal, social and economic. They ranked first that the education is helpful in making better career and earning money followed by getting respect in society, making life easier

and avoiding the hard work. The social implication of education like solve the problems of others, teach the lesson and please the parents comes at the end of their responses. Table 6.2 shows details of the responses given by the students.

Responses of the Students of the Question “*What Education Meant To You?*”

Responses	Numbers
To provide good career	25
To get respect	15
To avoid hard work	15
For better life	15
Provide success in life	10
To make life easy	07
For personality development	07
Learn how to behave	05
Gives understanding of life	05
To become ‘ <i>bada aadmi</i> ’	04
Helps in developing thinking	04
To teach the lesson (<i>rasta dikhane ke liye</i>)	04
To avoid early work engagement	03
To solve the problems of the society	03
Helps in understanding right or wrong ways	03
To create own identity (<i>shohrat milta hai</i>)	03
Helps in understanding religious affairs	03
To find edge over uneducated	02
To please the parents (<i>maa-baap ko khush karne ke liye</i>)	02
To teach own children	03
Help in overcoming from recession	01
It is needed for everything in life	01

Total number of respondents = 92

In replying to the question in what way this school changed you, indicates that the number of changes responded by the students being a part of the Anglo Arabic School. The most number of students feels their ‘improvement in English’ as many students expressed it in the number of ways. For example, a student said that “*hamare English ke teacher kaafi achche hai, unke padhane ka andaz kaafi achcha hai sabhi ko samajh me aajata hai iss se main English me achcha karne laga hun aur bolta bhi hun*—my English teacher is very good, his style of teaching is very good everybody understand it and for this reason I become good in English and now I can talk also” another told “*iss school me meri English achchi hui hai jiss se mera confidence badha hai*—in this school I feel improvement in English which increases my confidence.” Further, expressing the importance of English language a student said “*ab English thoda asaan lagne laga hai, aur English bolta hun to achcha impression perdta hai*—now English become easier to me and it put good impression while I talk in English” another said “*bahut regard milta hai English bolne se*—get good respect when I talk in English.” This indicates that, up to a certain extent, the goal of school to make AAS a complete English medium is in consonance with the situation required for taking such decision as significant number of students wants to be in the English medium sections, feel proud to study in English and the school has English language as a ‘core’ paper in all the three streams of Arts, Commerce and Science. Changes they perceived like become ‘more confident’, ‘develop interest in study’ and ‘develop personality’ in terms of manner, how to behave, speak in public, learn to talk and become extrovert. A student said that “*class me achcha position aane se mera confidence badha hai aur yeh sab mere 2-3 teachers ke wajah se hua hai*—

getting good position in the class I become more confident and this happen due to two-three good teachers in my class.” Another student said “*main iss school me aap-janaab bolne sikha hun, class me teacher kabhi kabhi yeh sab bhi batate hai*—I learnt to respect people as often teacher talk on such issues.” They also feel that the organizing different events like Annual Day, Sports Day and taking part in different co-curricular activities outside the school helpful in developing their personality. This shows school’s objective to develop students from holistic perspective is being realized significantly. Further, understanding the ‘value of time (*waqt or namaz ki pabandi*)’ and learnt ‘discipline’ in life are the other changes they perceived. A student said “*school aane ke liye subah uthna padta hai iss se waqt aur namaaz ki pabandi hoti hai*—to come to school need to wake up early in the morning that helps me to be on time and offer namaaz.” Significant number of students perceived that they have developed the attitude of ‘self study’ citing adverse reasons. One said “*yeha khud se padhne ka mauka mila, kyun ke iss school me padhayi hoti nahi hai, yeha ka mahaul to bahut hi kharab hai, ladke aane se pehle jaane ki sochte hai, class teacher bhi bas 10 minute padhata hai, aur jab doosre teacher class ke baahar khada rahte hai to achcha padhane ki kishish karte hai*—I learnt to do self study because school does not teach well, students think to go home before they come to school, class teacher only teaches for ten minutes and try to teach well when other teachers standing just outside the class.” Another said “*yeha har kaam khud se karma hota hai school me kuch nahi hota*—everything is to do by our own school do nothing”. During observation it is seen that the number of teachers some time more than half of the total strength come to the school after the Morning Prayer ends and reach to the respective classes *via* reaching to the Principal office, talking to the colleagues,

marking attendance, passing through the clubs (the place where they sit during recess) resulting late arrival in the classroom.

In contrary to the changes perceived by the students given above which seems 'positive', there are many changes expressed by them seems 'negative'. First of this kind which the number of students said is 'learnt abusive language/words' followed by 'experienced discrimination' and 'enjoying freedom'. One student said "*yeha teacher bahut marte hai aur gande gande naam se bulaate hai*—here teacher beat me and calls by abusive names" another told "*yeha maine gaali dena bhi sikha hai, aur bade class wale maa-behan ki gaali dete hai aur gande-gande ishare bhi karte hai*—here I learnt abusive language, senior students do lots of abusive words." In this line of such learning in the school many students also experienced amorous advances of a teacher who is silently known for such acts among students as well as among the teachers. Experiencing discrimination a student said "*main Bihar ka hun aur yeha ladke aur teachers mujhe Bihari bolke bulate hai*—I am from Bihar and both students and teachers call me Bihari." It was quite apparent when I was observing a fight between two groups of students where they were blaming each other saying '*Biharion ne kiya hai*' and other was saying '*U.P. walon ne kiya hai*' on the other occasion a group of teacher asked about my native place and as I said they replied '*yeha per yeh sab bahut hai thoda bach ke rahiye*ga in AAS it is very common, be care full.' Such things are in contrast to the school's objective to provide equal opportunities and fear free environment to the each and every student in the school without any other considerations.

Students also expressed their freedom in terms of coming late in the school, not attending Morning Assembly, going outside, and attending classes of their choice and

early exit from the school. Expressing freedom in AAS a student said “*yeha teacher hi 15-20 minute late aate hai class me to hum bhi aaram se ghar se chalet hai*—even the teachers come late in the class room so we also come late” he also said “*recess ke baad to mushkil se class hoti hai, bahut ladke chale jaate hai*—after recess hardly teachers come to take class and many students go home because of this” another student of class twelve expressed his concern about the Muslim school saying “*saare Muslim school ka yeh hi haal hai, teachers ko apne zimmdarion ka ehsaas nahi hai to ladko ko kya hoga, hum ghar me baith kar padhna zayada achha samajhte hai yeha school me aane se, 4-5 period se zayada mushkil se hota hai*—the condition of all Muslim schools are same as AAS where teachers do not realize their responsibilities, and we students feel better to study at home than to come to the school.” Such things are quite evident in AAS which suggests lack of central control in the school where everyone is enjoying freedom of negligence which is untoward to achieve professional goals of the school. Table 6.3 shows student’s responses on how this school changed you?

Student’s responses of the question “How this School Changed You?”

Responses	Number
Improve in English	22
Develop confidence	14
Develop interest in study	14
Learn how to behave	06
Personality development	06
Way of Thinking	06
Understand value of time (<i>waqt ki pabandi</i>)	06
Learn abusive language/words	06

Learn to choose career	05
Learn how to talk	05
Developed self-study	04
Become active	04
Experienced discrimination	04
Learn to set target	03
Enjoying freedom	03
Made me responsible	02
Learn to speak in public	02
Became extrovert	02
Developed interest in sports	02
Learn Discipline	02
Mind become sharp	01
Namaz ki pabandi	01
Not Responded	09

Total number of respondents = 92

In so far as the positive changes in students are concern, for example improvement in English, they compare among the colleagues, seniors and the children they spend time in their neighbourhood but always carry ‘a feeling of being defeated’ by the students of private schools in Delhi. Personality development, developing confidence to them refer to ‘looking good’, conscious to wear clean dress or uniform (as compare from during initial period in the school and today), entering into big malls/shops/offices, addressing and reading the Quran during Morning Assembly. Certain teaching style, consistent emphasis given by few teachers, observing the respects few teachers receive by way of their certain life style (always well dressed, smile on face when talk, give response to the queries, offer *Namaaz*) and opportunities to take part in occasional happenings are the reasons they cited for positive changes in their life. In

relation to the negative things they acquired in the school such as abusive language, and discrimination are the results of both impact of local or external environment and teacher's conflict. Students also learned that 'all teachers or world is not equally good' as they experienced alien behaviour (*bahut buri harkat*), from the teachers, who seek 'amorous advances' from the students.

The ways and means of earning livelihood and their career choices are also very significant while talking about the student's culture in the school especially in relation to the schooling, personal interest and influence of peers, parents and teachers. Students' career choice is influenced by many factors including life context, personal aptitudes and educational attainment (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 2001) and the cultural and social context of the family and community are also found to be instrumental in how students learn about career and influential in the choice process.

Before describing the career preferences of the present students of the school, here I unfolded the students' history of Anglo Arabic School and their career choices which were quite contributory to the field of academics, literature, social upliftment, political reform rather merely earning the livelihood. Master Ram Chandra, Maulwi Karim'd – Din, Mohan Lal Kashmiri, Maulwi Zaka Ullah, and Deputy Nazir Ahmad were the bright pupils of this institution. Master Ram Chandra later chose to become the professor in this institution and known as a great Mathematician and Urdu stylist and for his clear prose, and his contribution to the Urdu journalism and the transmission of knowledge were immense. Over time his interest in the press and publications lead him to be known as a chief figure in the development of the periodicals issued from this institution. In these periodicals he made western innovations in science and

technology available and articulated an ideology of reform that involved openness to knowledge from wherever it is issued. Mohan Lal Kashmiri, another student of then figured out institution whose career path is full of dynamism and known as the public image as he participated in public political discourses against the all offended British officials in India. He was known for his lofty social pretensions and raised voice for fulfilment of British financial and moral promises. For his splendid work not only his classmates and contemporaries but later generations of Indians in his intermediary position including Jawaharlal Nehru openly admired his accomplishments and shared his pain of cultural and social estrangement. ⁴ Even Jawaharlal Nehru identified himself with Mohan Lal and reconsidered his career in the light of Mohan Lal. Deputy Nazir Ahmad, known as a person, as a thinker, a writer, and as an educator and educationist, as an activist and as a religious reformer, was a student of this institution. He started his career as a teacher in an elementary school to earn the livelihood but it was not the position he wanted to be known for and later he described this period as a bore and waste of his time, talent, and knowledge. ⁵ Later he worked with British offices and alongside translated different books into Urdu and for his substantial part in the successful translation of the Indian Penal Code he was recommended for the post of deputy collector. He became the most prolific writer of his time and remembered for his original writings, translation work and speeches in public for religious reform. Despite these remarkable contributions and achievements, he becomes a highly controversial figure towards the end of his life. Maulawi Zaka Ullah; a historian and mathematician, Mohammad Hussain Azad perhaps the most outstanding contributor to Urdu literature, Maulawi Karim'd Din a scholar were the pupils of this institution and their career path was quite lively and contributory to the social, religious and academic reforms alongside earning the livelihood. But now, the

present study on this school reveals that the earning the livelihood becomes the prime preference while choosing the career and contribution to the social and national development is little in their vicinity.

A list of career choices given below shows that the maximum number of students choose to become engineer/diploma engineer followed by the professions like Master of Business Administration (MBA), Doctors, Lawyer, Chartered Cccountant and marginal number of students wish to build their career in the field of sports particularly cricket which seems a paradigm shift as the school is known for its achievements in the field of football. Students also give preferences to the civil service, languages, and scientist/astronaut/pilot. Not a single respondent express to become teacher particularly in this school which is quite reverse as the teachers' history of the school where the significant number of teachers constitute the teaching staff of the school were studied primarily in this school. Third largest numbers of respondents are not clear about their career choices in the school citing the lack of guidance both from the parents and the school.

During interaction and interview with the students, it is combination of factors like personal aptitudes, social and peer pressure and school influence their career choices. Among all the 'quick earning' for the livelihood is the most striking to them while choosing the career option. A student said that "*engineering kar ke job karunga to achchi salary milegi aur Arts ya Commerce karne se low range se start karna padhega*—I can get job with handsome salary with engineering but not with commerce and arts". Another said "*engineer naam sunne me bahut achcha lagta hai aur kamai bhi achchi hoti hai*—it is great to listen engineer with my name and it gives good earning as well". Citing family and social concerns a student said "*mere ghar*

me sabhi achche post per hai' agar main achcha nahi kar paya to mohalle ke log aur rishtedaar ghalat kahenge iss liye mujhe padhna hai aur engineer ban ke paisa kamana hai—in my family everyone is doing well, if I will not do at par with them neighbours and relatives will blame me so I need to do engineering and earn good money for the family”. Another said “*mere ghar aur gaon me koi engineer nahi hai iss liye mujhe engineering karni hi aur naam kamana hai*—there is no engineer in my family and village so I want to do it to become famous among them”. Table 6.4 gives details of the career choices of the AAS students.

Career Choices

Profession	Number
Engineering/Diploma	24
M.B.A.	14
Doctor	12
Lawyer	07
Chartered Accountant	06
Cricketer	05
I.A.S.	03
Language	02
Astronaut	02
Pilot	02
Scientist	02
Business (<i>apna karobar</i>)	01
Not Decided	12
Total number of respondents = 92	

Becoming IAS and Doctors is considered a novel profession to get respect and serve the country besides earning handsome money. A student expressing concern of the social disorder and corruption in the country said “IAS banna hai aur samaj ko badalna hai—I want to become an IAS to change the society”. Another said “*main to doctor banke aaram se apne gaon ki sewa karma chahta hun*—I will do MBBS and will serve my village peacefully”.

Concern for religion and faith is expressed by the students while choosing their career prospects and give importance of one profession over others. One said “*main Arabic language me career banana chahta hun, iss se Deen-Duniya dono saath lekar chal sakta hun aur Quran and Hadith samajhne me bhi asaani hogi*—I want to do something in Arabic language to carry both religion and world together and this is also helpful to understand Quran and Hadis”. Another said “*mujhe to wahi kaam karna hai jo Iman ko bachay rakhe, MBA waghairah karne se bank me naukari karna hoga iss se halah-haram ki tamiz khatam hojaigi*—I want to do something that save my Holy Trust, doing MBA etc means working in banks and earning haraam”. One student wants to become business man (owing family business). This seems quite contradictory with the responses of the number of parents who are doing their own business or owing the family business after primarily passing from this school.

Seeing the career choices and preferences of the students at AAS, numbers of factors which influence them are making money, social and family pressure to become successful, but parental aspirations in terms of choices of the career option has marginal influence , while personal interest play a dominating role.

6.4 STUDENT-STUDENT INTERACTION: SETTINGS AND CONTENTS

It is known facts that in an educational setting or school the peer relationship and interaction play a vital role and influence their educational aspirations, utilizes the abilities in achievement situations, socialization of values, attitudes and way of perceiving the world and learn social competency and influence each other attitudes towards school. In this section, I will be discussing about the bases, different settings and contents of interaction among the students. Outside interaction, friendship, similar age group, similar aspirations and personal characteristics and studying in the same class are the bases of their interaction in the school. Friendship seems dominating reason for their interaction created through both their outside interaction — where they live in their locality, and the academic and nonacademic interests in the school. Similar age group and senior-senior and junior-junior interaction is quite apparent as there is separate wings to arrange classes for both senior and junior students and there is few occasions like sports and cultural events where they interact with each other and exist relationship between them as '*bhai* or brother' as every junior students address the seniors as '*bhai*' in the school as the senior students provide them guidance, helping in curriculum understanding. Many students said they learn negative way of life from the seniors like jumping the wall to go outside the school, damaging school property (breaking chairs and tables, doors of the class rooms etc), smoking and chewing pan-masala in the school campus. This indicates there is more indirect influence of the seniors than the direct interaction.

Students interact in the school in various settings such as classrooms, library and sports periods, canteen, and different occasional celebrations — giving farewell, NCC camps, and sports day. Contents of interaction varies from characteristics of the teachers (which teacher is doing what and how in the classroom and the respective

character of the teacher) to the problems faced due to lack of facilities in the school. Discussing about the locality issues, new film releases, about the cricket and the favourite players and many students found calculating and talking with each other about their wages they earn while working after school hours and what they do of this income.

Asking about what make them popular among teachers and students, a response list is give below in Table 6.5

Responses	Number
Good Behaviour	21
Sharp Mind	16
Sit in front of the teacher in the class	14
Do regular classes	12
Do all work on time	12
Do hard work	11
Respect the teachers	11
Better in study	11
Do not flee from the school (school se bhagta nahi hai)	08
Come to school on time	06
Ask questions in the class	06
Show discipline	05
Speak less	05
Target oriented	05
Hafiz	05
Good personality	03
Always spend money on us	03
Play less (khelta kam hai)	03

Topper in the class	02
Do not accompany with bad boys	02
Good communication skill	02
Come school in proper uniform	01
No response	09

Total number of respondents = 92

Maximum number of students consider behavioural and social aspects are the bases of popularity and getting respect both from teachers and students and doing well in academics comes after that and personal strengths like good personality, good communication skills, and performance in sports and extracurricular activities come at last to get popularity in this school.

It is observed that in AAS there is lack of formal guided and defined pattern of student-student interaction as they do not enjoy the freedom to manage their affairs like student council activities. School administration and teachers expressed strict view ‘not to give much freedom to the students’ as they are considered ‘less aware’. For example, conducting student council election was completely under the hands of teachers which later termed as ‘undemocratic’ by students and saying it a ‘*burī seekh*—wrong teaching’. Informal interaction among students is full of humour, local dialects with friendly gesture.

Student’s world in AAS can be summarized on many fronts. Their entry into the school is characterized by two kinds of students. One who are from Walled – City of Delhi and deliberately wish to study in AAS because of ascendancy of their relatives, curiosity developed out of occasional visit and there is no other school of this nature available to them. Another, who come from other state and consider this school as last

resort for schooling and enter into the AAS with two minds—complete the schooling up to twelve or leave as soon as get admission in other institutions like Jamia or AMU. The kind of intake school is getting out of its admission policy of making knowledge of Urdu language a compulsion to everyone.

Selection of subjects for study is deeply influenced by religious values, ghettoized aspirations, career prospects, peer pressure, teachers' encouragement and economy of the subject. Further sports is seen as time pass activity and not as a career option and interest is quiet minimum and taken as ritual. Although their leisure time involvement is in playing various games followed by other domestic involvements but number of students do not find free time as they work for livelihood after school.

As far as the impact of the school on student's life is concern, AAS is making positive learning in one hand for example, improving English and developing personality, and in other hand negative learning for example, learning abusive language and experiencing discrimination. Career choice to them is to start earning as soon as possible and opt diploma or engineering considering good job opportunities and avoid taking long route to make career like 'going for master degree' or 'preparing for competitions'. Their religion also influences career choice as many dislike doing MBA or become lawyer as they do not want to work in banks considering forbidden earning and working as lawyer generally not considered good.

In the next chapter the teacher's world in terms of their recruitment and selection, the reasons they join, their likeness and disliking, role performance, challenges they face and their interactive dynamics will be examined.

End Notes:

1. Secondary socialisation is a process of teaching a child the norms, values, socially accepted behaviour and social limitations and barriers. Children learn all these from their peer groups, teachers in the schools and many other sources out of the family. In the school, secondary socialisation is done through hidden curriculum which is the message the school transmits to the children without directly teaching them which consists of ideas, beliefs, norms and values which is often taken for granted and transmitted as part of the normal routines and procedure of school life.
2. Socialization 'as the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it'. Further, 'primary socialization is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society' (Berger & Luckmann 1967). I am using this term 'primary socialization' in a similar ways.
3. Over a period of time the enrolment of students in Persian language is going down in the school. The school administration in general and teacher related with this language in particular are worried about the low enrolments in Persian at both the levels. First, as the history of AAS is to offer Persian as one of the main language but dying with the time and second, the teacher declared as surplus and transfer to other school nearby if number of enrolment in particular subject is less. To prevent this from happening, teachers deliberately ask students to opt Persian as one of the optional language at the time of admission.
4. Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Foreword', in Hari Ram Gupta, *Life and Work of Mohan Lal Kashmiri, 1812-1877*, Lahore, Minerva Book Shop, 1943.

5. *Darbari Lecture*, p. 424, given in the book *The Delhi College of Margrit Pernau*, OUP, 2006.

CHAPTER — VII

TEACHERS' WORLD

A teacher in a school carries multiple responsibilities — directly or indirectly. This includes involving students in both curricular and co-curricular activities for a holistic development. Besides, they have to be conscious of how they carry themselves as for many students teachers are a role model.

Correspondingly, a school is also known for the kind of teachers it has. Their contribution to the school is indispensable and central to the teaching-learning process. In this chapter, I have described the world of the teacher in Anglo Arabic School from their own perspective. In the coming sections details of their personal qualifications and achievements, their performed and expected roles, constraints and challenges they face and their relationship dynamics would be discussed.

Before discussing the teacher's culture at Anglo Arabic School in the present day a brief discussion of teachers and scholars of the past will be discussed as the culture of any setting is the accumulated experiences of its history.

Right from the beginning this school has been dominated by the presence of its teachers and scholars who played an important role in national building and shaping the educational, social and cultural life of India. Felix Boutros, the first principal was known for his intimate knowledge of European literature and science together with a competent knowledge of Oriental languages. During his stint he authored two valuable books '*Principles of legislation*'¹ and '*Principles of public revenue*'.² His contribution in shaping this institution is inseparable. Alloys Sprenger, another known scholar of oriental studies oriental languages and served this institution as the

Principal. He also held different positions under British Raj — Director of the Hugli madarsa, ex-officio examinee of the Fort William College and got the honorary professorship of Arabic and Urdu languages at Bern University. Shah Abdul Aziz, a notable theologian, Maulwi Rashid-ud-din Khan, an Arabic teacher, Mufti Sadruddin Azurda, known as Sudru's Sudur of Delhi, played an assertive role in the educational affairs of Oriental department, Shah Wali Ullah, associated with religious movement in India and Shekh Imam Bakhsh Sahabai, a puzzle master. Other than these scholars, Ayer Waqar, Syed Shaukat Husain, Syed Zaidi, Mohammad Latif Qurashi, Chaudhri Abdul Gafoor, Khurshid Ahmad Chisti, Abdul Samad, Arbi Layer Hari Shankar, Syed Mansoor Husain Mausuvi, Syed Mohammad and Mirza Mehmood Begg, are known for re-organizing and re-constructing work for the school. Their contributions for social, educational, cultural and political progress of the school seem immortal as they serve as the source of inspiration for the school at present.

Presently, there are sixty two (62) permanent teachers (2008-09) ³ working in the school under the different levels — Post Graduate Teacher (PGT), Trained Graduate Teacher (TGT) out of which four are woman. Three teachers retired from the job during this period and one newly appointed teacher left the school as he got selected for another government job. Teachers are also hired under the Parent-Teacher-Association (PTA scheme) and serve as a replacement of the teachers who are on leave or have retired or left the job till vacancies are not filled. Entering of the female teachers is new and a recent development in the school's history. There has however been strong resistance from the teacher community towards this institution especially from the old teachers.⁴

The background of the teachers is diverse. They belong to both rural and urban areas of northern states of India mainly Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana and Delhi and belong

largely to the middle or lower middle class. Most of the teachers are Muslim and belong to different '*beradaries*'— syed, khan, rangad, ansari, Shia and Sunni. There is one Hindu teacher who was appointed under reserved category. A list of teachers of Anglo Arabic School is given below in Table 7.1

A. Post Graduate Teachers (PGTs)

<u>Name of the Teachers</u>	<u>Subjects</u>
1. Mr. Abdul Malik	(Vice principal)
2. Mr. Islam Uddin	Arabic
3. Mr. Ibrar A Khan	Biology
4. Mr. Md Sibghatullah Khalid	Political Science
5. Mr. Waseem Ahmad Khan	Accountancy
6. Mr. Khalid Mustafa	English
7. Mr. Mumtaz Ali	History
8. Mr Parvez Ahmad	Chemistry
9. Mr. Sardar Ahmad	Mathematics
10. Mr. Md Saleem	Economics
11. Mr. Pervaiz Berqui	Geography
12. Mr. Javed Khan	Economics
13. Mr. Bilal Ahmad	Hindi
14. Mr, Shabab Haider	Drawing
15. Mrs. Faiza Nisar Ali	Business Studies
16. Mr. Khizar Abbasi	Business Studies
17. Mr. Faizul Hasan	English
18. Mr. Ahlullah Siddiqui	English
19. Mr. Abdul Qadir	Economics

B. Trained Graduate Teachers (TGTs)

20. Mr. Mohd Qasim	Mathematics
21. Mr. Zafar Husain	Mathematics
22. Mr. Raghbir Masood	Social Science

23. Mr. Maqsood Ahmad	Science
24. Mr Manawwar Ali Khan	Science
25. Mr Azizur Rahman	English
26. Mr. Kaleemuddin	English
27. Mr Khursheed Ahmad	Social Science
28. Mr. Moiz Qadri	Physics
29. Mr. Md. Rahmanullah Abbasi	Social Science
30. Mr. Munazir Alam	Mathematics
31. Mr. Taj Mohammad	English
32. Mr. Yusuf Ali Saifi	Science
33. Mr. Nooruddin	Social Science
34. Mr. S. Shahood Ali	Social Science
35. Mr. Maqsood Ahmad	Mathematics
36. Mr. Anjum Ali	Mathematics
37. Mrs. Saba Rehman	English
38. Mr. Khalid Bin Rasheed	Urdu
39. Mr. Md Saeed	Arabic
40. Mr. Md Salam Israily	Arabic
41. Mr. Md Tayyab	Persian
42. Mr. Aftab Alam	Urdu
43. Mr. Akhlas Ahmad	Urdu
44. Mr. Md Imran	Hindi
45. Mr. Pervaiz Ahmad Khan	Urdu
46. Mr. Md Azam	Hindi
47. Ms. Sunita	Hindi
48. Ms. Rukhsana	Hindi
49. Mr. Aftab Alam	Science
50. Mr. Zaheen Ahmad	Science
51. Md. Abdullah Naseem	Science
52. Mr, Nihal A. Khan	PET
53. Mr. Srawar A. Khan	PET
54. Mr. Md. Afsar Khan	Yoga
55. Mr. Intekhabur Rehman	W.E
56. Mr. Anzar Ahmad	Drawing

C. Teachers on Extension

57. Mr. M.A. Mirza	Sociology
58. Mr. Tanveer Ahmad	Mathematics
59. Mr. Arif Hasan Kazmi	Persian
60. Mr. M. Alimuddin	Urdu
61. Mr. Arif H. Usmani	Urdu
62. Mr. Md Zahid Khan	Science

[Source: School Magazine (2008-09)]

Teachers of Anglo Arabic School are well qualified and many teachers possess qualifications more than the requirement to teach at school level. They have multiple degrees of MA/MSc, M. Phil and PhD along with additional diploma certificates and their experience as a teacher ranges from one year to forty years in the AAS. Besides, their academic contribution outside the school is notable as they are associated with institutions of national importance like National Council of Educational Research and Training, All India Radio. It is observed that teachers acquire multiple degrees in different subjects during the course of their employment. This is done keeping in eye on vacant positions or soon to be vacant positions in the future, in order to get promotions although their fundamental qualification does not match with the positions. Further, there are the teachers who have higher qualification or are pursuing higher degree. This is more amongst newly appointed teachers, who show their un-willingness to stay on in the school, citing number of factors and wish to make advanced career as they feel 'under employed' and 'suffocated' in AAS. This is quite contrary to have motivated teachers for achieving professional goals of the school as teachers must love their career and teaching in order to pass interest, enthusiasm, and knowledge to the students and build school environment.

7.1 RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF TEACHER

Selection of teachers is an important phase and a challenging task for the school as the “best curriculum and the most perfect syllabus of the school remains dead unless accelerated into life by the right method of teaching and the right kind of teachers”⁵. In Anglo Arabic School the selection of the teachers is done by adhering to government guidelines. Acceptance of reservation policy for Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes and Other Backward Castes is inevitable by all sections of the society so as the Anglo Arabic School adhere with such regulations. The Anglo Arabic School adopts three modes for selecting the teachers and ensures to fill the vacant positions with competent people. In the first mode of selection, vacancies are advertised mentioning eligibility criteria, qualification and experience required, in the newspapers of all three languages—Urdu, Hindi and English to attract number of applicants. Apart from other eligibility criteria, knowledge of Urdu language is mandatory for whoever is seeking a career in Anglo Arabic School. Final selection of the teachers is done through a selection committee consisting of representatives from the school — Principal, Manager, Secretary, President nominee and from external agency — Department of Education, Directorate of Education and a subject expert.⁶ Getting insight from the teachers, it is observed that the school ascertains to select teachers in account of the factors related to qualifications, teaching potential, ability to conduct a lesson, knowledge of methods of teaching at different levels, good communication skills and interest in other activities in the school.

In the second mode of recruitment, positions are filled through promotion — from TGT to PGT, within the school. As per the government norms a teacher will be eligible to get promoted to PGT grade after serving consistent ten years in the school

and the promotion procedure starts after the recommendation of the Principal. In the third mode of selection, teachers are appointed under PTA scheme through an informal mode of recruitment where informal interviews are conducted periodically but mainly at the beginning of the academic session on the personal contact of existing teachers and the recommendation of Management. But teachers' recruitment through all the three modes ensuring they have teaching aptitude and qualifications to teach in the school as they are viewed as a person who deliver the educational discourses and their power lies in the process of doing the same.

Every teacher joins an institution here a school to fulfil their personal and professional objectives so as in the Anglo Arabic School. During interaction with the teachers it is observed that they are here in AAS for variety of reasons — inheritance and job security at one hand and serving the community on the other. Most of the teachers consider the Anglo Arabic School a place for 'free will' and heaven to reside. A teacher said I joined the school as 'my father taught here' and 'to improve the condition of the school'. Another joined for the 'job security' and '*sarkari naukari*' after leaving a well-paid job in a private school of high reputation. Emotional attachment with the school is another reason to join AAS expressed by a number of teachers as they studied here and their parents served the school for long period. Permanency, job security, serving 'own community', freedom to work are the major reasons to choose Anglo Arabic School as teaching career. Teachers also use this as an opportunity for 'career advancement' and to get prospects in the university as many aspire to qualify National Eligibility Test for lectureship and pursuing PhD. A teacher said that '*iss waqt ka istemal karna hai higher study ke liye aur jaldi se school chorna hai* — this (be in the school) is good time to do higher studies and leave the

school as soon as possible'. Besides, glittering history of the school, getting religious satisfaction along with worldly desires are the other reasons expressed by the teachers. A teacher said that 'I am proud to be part of this school where morning starts with the *'Telawat-e- Quran'*. Another teacher said that 'teaching at the place where Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a student and Mirza Ghalib appointed as a teacher gives great feeling to me'. A list of various reasons why teacher join Anglo Arabic School given below in Table 7.2

Reasons why a teacher joins AAS

- Job security
- Government job or Sarkari naukari
- Permanent job
- To make improvement in the students
- Emotional attachment with the school
- Performing religious duties along with worldly desires.
- Members of family have taught here earlier (father, uncles etc)
- Serving the Muslim community give different satisfaction
- Freedom to work
- To develop the level of understanding of the students here
- To improve the result as the result of the school is very poor
- Using this school as a platform to prepare for the better and higher opportunities in the university.

Reasons expressed by the teachers to join Anglo Arabic School are more personal and emotional and less professional and academic. Personal factors such as securing

permanent employment and use this opportunity, which is more conducive, to prepare for career advancement. Teachers are also emotionally attached with this school because the parents of many teachers taught here, teaching the children from Muslim community which give an emotional satisfaction to them. This is quite contrary to the goals of the school to impart education and its value and prepare the children for the outer world to compete.

7.2 ROLES OF TEACHER: ACADEMIC AND NON-ACADEMIC

In a school, role of teachers is influenced by number of factors — school expectations, individual and collective responses of the teachers to those expectations expressed by the school, their coping strategies towards different settings along with ensuring own orientation, interest shown by them, qualifications and level at which teacher is working and the years of experience in the school. However, it appears that historical aspects and the locality in which the school is situated are more influential in defining the role of teachers in Anglo Arabic School. In order to ensure involvement of the teachers towards their role expectations the school Management has made a number of efforts in the form of conducting meetings, workshops as well as drawing their attention to give references of the past glory of the school. Directives from the government are also repeatedly highlighted although regularity in this respect is missing in the school.

Inter-subjectivity is central to the process of perceiving in acting one's role in so far as ' my life is not my private world but rather, is inter subjective; the fundamental structure of its reality is that it is shared by us' (Schutz and Luckmann as quoted by Hammersley, 1977). Thapan (1991) explained that to understand the teachers' culture

in the school it is essential to understand their perspective as inter-subjectivity — sharing and exchanging of information with fellow occupation members is central to the process of perceiving and enacting the roles. In AAS the inter-subjectivity remains largely constrained with the different groups or clubs and does not get translated to the school as a whole. This results in an improper sharing of information leading to conflict among them. This affects school process negatively while the government manual provides guidelines for action. Teacher' role is influenced by the combination of all these factors.

In Anglo Arabic School teachers perform multiple roles which are defined and allotted to them. Adherence to the time table is specified in terms of number of periods allotted to the different teachers. This is the major area where they need to be involved in along with some administrative work. Teaching load is influenced by the subject specialization, grade they are teaching and the number of years spent in the school. Uneven distribution of teaching load even at the same level (junior and senior) is one of the factors for resentment amongst the teachers. Replacement/arrangement period is also allotted to them. For example, if a Maths teacher is absent or engaged in other work then a replacement would be sent to that class. It was however, observed that many a times teachers did not go to take the replacement period but sighed the replacement register. Many times they remained unaware that a replacement period had been allotted to them because the register had not reached them. In addition to teaching they also perform administrative tasks. Some of the tasks are as follows;

- Member of different committees such as Library Managing Committee, Examination Conducting Committee, Admission Committee, Cultural Programme Committee etc.

- In-charge of different laboratories (Chemistry Lab., Physics Lab, Biology Lab, Maths Lab etc.).
- Collecting school fee by the class teachers and maintaining attendance register.
- Evaluating answer scripts and preparing question papers for the term examinations

Other than the internal responsibilities within the school they also take part in outside the school work such as evaluation of answer scripts of the Board examinations. For this however, only some teachers are selected. Besides the above mentioned responsibilities school teachers are routinely called to participate in election duties or Census related matters. According to the teachers, apart from regular teaching and administrative works the school expects teacher to improve results of Board examinations, to take part in extra- curricular activities, to maintain discipline, solve individual problems of students, help students outside the school if needed etc. Apparently poor results in the external Board examinations and maintenance of discipline in the school are the two major areas of concern of the school Management.

The School administration uses a number of strategies to check role performance of the teachers. Teachers of the junior section are under direct observation of the section in-charge and their role performance is judged by the following criteria – entering into and leaving the classroom on time, spending time in canteen, writing the weekly plan in register and getting it checked by the Principal, behaviour of junior or new teachers with the senior teachers. The role performance of the senior teachers is overseen by the Principal of the school. Senior teachers of each section are expected to guide the

junior teachers in carrying out their allotted tasks. However, a strict gap between junior and senior teachers is maintained. There is also a gap maintained between members of the different clubs. Further, 'PTA teacher' are under strict scanner and their performance and behaviour are strictly observed and reported and their continuation in the next session depends on their academic performance and the kind of rapport they build in the school. Teachers appointed on a regular basis are however not placed at the risk of losing their jobs. PTA teachers are expected to be followers and not free to argue.

7.3 CHALLENGES AND TEACHER

The AAS teacher faces a number of challenges while performing their roles and responsibilities. The intake and standard of the students, parents' attitudes towards school and teachers, conflict among teachers themselves, presence of other institutions in the school campus and lack of facilities in the school are the major challenges expressed by the teachers. This challenge is felt more intensively in their initial days of joining the school.

7.3.1 Challenges with the students

Many students are first generation learners and this poses a big challenge. Teachers termed students as 'first generation learner' and they termed students as 'below average', 'mattha not the cream', 'sub-standard', and 'zero level' and 'indisciplined' and perceived them as 'troublesome'. Teaching and preparing them for examination is an uphill task and a big challenge for most of the teachers. They believe that the 'crème' does not come to this school. According to a teacher, "*agar kisi bachche ka percentage achcha hai to woh iss school me kyun aayega? Kisi achche school me*

jayega. Iss school ka result bahut achcha to hai nahi – If a child gets good marks why will he come to this school as the result of this school is not good”. Further, according to a teacher children joining Anglo Arabic School in class six do not deserve to get admission in that class as most of them cannot even write and read their Mother Tongue.

Lack of interest in education is another problem. According to the teachers only five to six percent of students are serious about their studies. For many students (more than fifty per cent) schooling will help to develop the skills of reading and writing as this will help them in their own business. There appears to be no further aspiration to pursue higher education. Coming to school is also considered as a social obligation by many. A teacher said that *“bachche yehan school aate-aate zaroor bade hote hai magar padhte-padhte nahi*—children become older by coming to the school not by studying in the school”. Non availability of books and copies with students is another reason cause trouble in completing lesson on time. Contrary to this the school administration has different opinions and sees it as the ‘tactic used by the teachers to shift their failure to improve results and blame the students’.

7.3.2 Challenges with Parents

The interaction with parents appears at a different level. Most parents do not come even if called by the teachers. “In-active” and “Non- cooperative” is how teachers see the parents.

Illiteracy, lack of education and mannerism of the parents is a matter of concern for the teachers. Teachers also fear parents from the local community who have at times misbehaved with the teachers, displayed lack of respect and have even been abusive.

These are the reasons why teachers prefer to maintain their distance from parents. This uneasy relationship has its impact on the performance of the students leading to continued problem of indiscipline and poor results.

Moreover, very few parents show concern about their children and come to meet the teachers in the school or ask about the performance of their children. In the words of a teacher *“hamaare kaum ka kya hoga? Na bachche padhte hain aur na parents zimmedari lete hain—what will happen to our people? Neither children are ready to study nor parents ready to take their responsibilities”*. He also said that *“phone kar kar ke bulana padhta hai phir bhi nahi aate hain—*we make phone calls but even then they do not turn up”. He further added that most of the parents are self-employed having shops and *karkhanas* or factories and do not have time to come to school even when the results are distributed.

7.3.3 Gender, Caste and Region

Orthodox thinking and group-ism are the other challenges teachers are facing in the school. Anglo Arabic School has a history of having male teachers and entry of female teachers is a taboo. Teachers and parents have silently disagreed with the decision of the Management to have female teachers in the school. This in their view disturb the school functioning. Recounting her first day at the school the first female teacher of the school narrated the humiliating experience she had to face. *“Jab main pahle din principal office me baithi thi, ek senior teacher ne principal se kaha yeh kya karwadiya tumne. Aaurat ki entry ho gayi school me. School ki tawarikh badal dali. School ka beda ghark hojayega –* sitting in the Principal office in the first day of my joining in the school, a senior teacher said to the Principal what you have done. How

you have allowed a female teacher in this school. You have changed the history of the school. Now school will perish”. She added “*mere aankh me aansu aagaye, main chup chap sunti rahi aur phir uthkar chali gayi* — tears welled up in my eyes. I listened quietly and then left the room”.

The first female teacher to join the school faced many challenges. Many teachers still do not approve the presence of female teachers in the school citing their absence in the school’s history, religious sanction of males-females working together. They also raise questions regarding their suitability to teach the boys. However, the number of female teachers has been increasing as the present Management has a different opinion on this.

Difference based on caste and region is yet another challenge before the teachers. This is felt more intensively if the teacher is a new entrant in the school. Getting associated with one group automatically distances the teacher from the others. A new comer is often asked about the group to which he has joined. Joining one group in AAS means that you have become ‘unacceptable’ in the eyes of the others. These groups are based on both region and on caste.

7.3.4 Lack of infrastructure and facilities

Another challenge faced by the teachers in AAS is lack of proper infrastructure. Poor lit classroom, fear of electric current due to seepage in the walls of the old structure, broken window panes are a constant source of concern for the teachers. Damp and poorly lit classrooms force teachers to take class outside in the summer and in the winter months.

As in most old monuments, pigeons have made a home for themselves in the school buildings. This becomes filthy when pigeon droppings all over the classroom floor and the desks of the students resulting in an unbearable sight as well as emanating smell. Improper sanitation facilities and lack of maintenance of toilets in the school is another concern with the teachers as they become ‘*napaak or impious*’.⁷

7.3.5 Multilingual Teaching

The school offers instruction in three mediums –Urdu, English and Hindi. This poses another challenge for the teachers. Students have divided into the different sections on the basis of medium they have opted or kept all three medium students together in one section if number of the students is less which leads to create a chaos in the classroom. Non-availability of books in each language adds to the difficulties of the teachers.

7.4 WHAT TEACHER LIKE IN ANGLO ARABIC SCHOOL

Satisfaction and happiness of the teachers create positive impact on the school. In Anglo Arabic School, factors which give satisfaction to the teachers are related more with religion and historicity and less with the the school as an educational institution. Religious satisfaction, achievement of the school in the past, freedom to work, and serving the students from their own community are some of the aspects most liked by the teachers in AAS. According to them “We are Muslims first”. “The sound of *azaan* and the opportunity to offer *namaz* in the school’s mosque keeps on religious spirit alive” said a teacher. He further added, “Religious rituals like offering *namaz-e-janazah*”.⁸ With most people belonging to the same religion (i.e. Muslim Community) the environment offers a favourable environment for religion related

matters. According to a teacher “*namaaz ka waqt miljata hai, jumah ka waqt miljata hai, eid ki chutti miljata hai—gets time for prayer and leave for Eid.*”

Teacher also takes pride in the fact that they belongs to a grandeur institution. Its physical infrastructure reminds of the Muslim dynasty. The names of different scholars associated with the school, famous sports personalities of the school give the teachers a reason to feel proud of and to be associated with such a legacy.

Further, Anglo Arabic School is considered as heaven. Free work environment is another factor teachers like and observed AAS as ‘*jannat* - heaven’. There is no fear of losing their job or getting any kind of notices. In most schools teachers are watched closely or monitor by the Principal, Vice Principal or Head Master or Management. In AAS this practice is rarely observed. Teachers are more or less free to organise their time the way they desire to do so. Coming late (as more than half of the teachers enter the school after the end of the Morning Prayer), going early (to catch tuition or coaching centre), sitting in the canteen, or going late into the classroom, even present in the school and leave the classroom before the bell rings, doing outside work during teaching hours, taking classes under the sun and standing around bonfire during winter are the factors teachers enjoy in the AAS. Besides, the green campus with plants, tree and flowers, large size of the school campus as compared to the other schools in Delhi, rich library, and canteen are the other factors teachers like in the school. A list why teachers like the school are as follows which is given below in Table 7.3

Why teachers like AAS

- Religious factors or Islamic culture
- A heritage campus and its historical values
- Free working environment
- Serving own community
- Company of few teachers
- Big campus
- Rich library
- Presence of a mosque in the school
- Plants, trees and flowers in the school
- Canteen

7.5 TEACHERS AND CHANGE

In spite of lack of professional commitment of the teachers in AAS and their non-seriousness towards school goals they expressed desire to bring a number of changes in the school. Teachers believe that school has lost its glittering days and desirous to bring changes in the school. Modification of physical and learning resources, getting opportunities for the self-development, change in admission policy, and the way of administration are the concerns expressed by the teachers. Improper sitting arrangement for the teachers as they do not have staff room as per their strength which leads to the division of teachers into different groups and there is no separate staff room for female teachers as well. It is embarrassing situation for them as they knock the door of the other school running in the same campus to meet such reasons every day. Further she said we face speechless situation when someone, who come to

attend any event in the school, ask for lady toilet “*hum ek dusre ki shakal dekhte hai*—we just see the face of each other”⁹ which is not good for the image of the school. Further, teachers expressed a desire for opportunity for capacity building. The selection of the school’s Principal is another area of interest for the teachers and is a hot topic for discussion. Many prefer that the Principal should be selected from outside and not from within the school. Principal selected among the teachers seems ‘less influential’ particularly on teachers leading to indiscipline in the school. But at the same time many teachers expressed their wishes to get an opportunity to head the school and those at the verge of retirement regretted not to become Principal of the AAS.

Nature and extent of involvement of parents and local community in the school affairs are also frequently discussed by teaches. Majority prefer “not to invite parents in group” as they may create disturbance. Others want “complete rejection” as they have had bad experiences in the past. Few however, feel that ‘it is necessary’ for teaching – learning process of the school. Although there is Parent-Teacher-Association (PTA) in the school and provisions are made to organize meetings every month and results of the examinations are given to the students in the presence of their parents or guardians. They are invited on individual basis by the teachers particularly by the class teachers to discuss issues like attendance, marks obtained but passive response from the parents is quite evident. They also believe that there is need to change in student admission policy to get ‘better stuff’ which will help to increase the passing result of the school. A list of teachers’ desires is given below in Table 7.4

Teachers' desires to change in AAS

- Improvement of physical facilities and learning resources
- Opportunities for development and capacity building of teachers
- Policy to select the Principal
- Change in admission criteria and procedures
- Improvement in communication pattern in the school
- Recruitment and promotion of the teachers should be on time
- Financial problems should be permanently resolved
- Less involvement of local community or parents
- More extra-curricular and sports activities should be organized in the school
- Group culture among the teachers should be avoided
- Government policies should not be implemented in regard to indiscipline among the students
- Desire to have degree college in the campus
- There should be residential quarters for teachers

7.6 TEACHER DYNAMICS: INTERACTIONS, RELATIONSHIP AND CONFLICT

Interaction gives birth to a relationship and both together give life force to a culture, here a teacher culture at Anglo Arabic School. Describing teacher culture is incomplete without describing their interactions and relationship which activate the culture of any setting. Teachers in AAS interact with one and other in both formal-situated and informal-non-situated settings and their relationships build not only on the basis of professional duties they release but also as a social being. My description

on teachers' interactions and their relationships are based on what, where and when they interact within the school working days where they perform their assigned and non-assigned duties in formal and informal settings and not what they do and have relationship out of the school where they live.

Interaction and relationship between teachers are determined by different factors — school and individual. School factors such as assigned duties and responsibilities they perform, their position in the organizational structure of the school — TGT and PGT teachers and members of different committees and association, their academic and non-academic roles. The individual factors such as the year in which they join the school, the area or region they belong, their castes and the groups or clubs they join in the school are the factors to be in the relationship among the teachers. Performance of the assigned roles and member of a club or group are the major determinants of teachers' relationship in the school. Events like meetings, rituals of examinations, recess and morning assembly and occasional celebrations like annual and sports day and the different settings like staffrooms, clubs are the contextual and time based interactions among the teachers take place in the AAS.

In AAS, meetings are conducted at different levels and at different places where teachers interact with each other formally such as general meeting, meeting of Managing Committee, special teacher meeting, and sub-committee meetings. General meeting is conducted within the school where all teachers are called to participate irrespective of their status in the school. Such meetings are called to discuss problems related to academics such as results improvement and administrative problems like indiscipline and truancy among students and matter related to salary are discussed. Matters related to recruitment, promotion and other school related issues are the

contents of Managing Committee meetings. Teachers raise questions of accommodation of students in the classrooms as number is more than the size of the class, opposing the government rules of not to give physical punishment to the students leading to indiscipline in the school in general and in the class in particular are the contents of this meeting.

There are special teachers meetings held in the school to discuss subjects related matters. Teachers of a particular subject come together to discuss problems face by the teachers specially those who newly join. Students' performance is also discussed in such meetings. The senior most teacher of that subject held in-charge of such meetings.

There are different Committees and sub-committees in the school where teachers meet occasionally in formal environment. These committees in the school are formed for the period of two years and after that subjected for renewal but there is no such time frame are defined for meetings of such committees. Making library more functional, maintaining records of the books, upgrading physical facilities and making more convenient approachable to the students are the contents of the Library Committee meetings in the school. To get a permanent librarian in the school is the need of the time to make library more useful is being expressed by the committee members. Truancy and misconduct of the students are the major concern of the Discipline Committee of the school. Going out by jumping the school boundary, not attending Morning Prayer, damaging the school property are the major issues of the Discipline Committee. Disapproving the government policy not to give physical punishment to the students and blame it for such condition in the school are the major things being discussed in such meetings. The Mosque Committee meeting which is

directly under the supervision of DES is also a place where teachers interact with each other in the school. Maintaining the mosque for the benefit of the people coming for prayers, generating funds to meet the expenses required for the maintenance of the mosque are the responsibilities of this committee. Eco club and canteen committees meetings are the other periodical gathering where formal and purposeful interaction takes place in the school. The Principal of the school is the convener of all the committees created to look after different activities and the senior most teacher of each committee is the Secretary of that committee.

Occasional committees are also formed to perform occasional celebrations such as organizing annual function and sports events where teachers meet and interact together. They also come together to perform some duties like preparing the time table (mainly done by the Principal with consultation of few teachers), scheduling the examinations and involved in taking admission (a group of teachers is responsible for such things), producing school magazine every year (editors of different sections- Urdu, Hindi and English involve in the process) are the encounters among teachers in the school.

Observing the meetings in the school it is found that the environment of the setting seems relax as there is no defined proceedings take place, all are free to sit with their choice but mainly teachers sit with the club members and it seems very obvious that the senior teachers hold the front places whereas the junior teachers prefer to sit behind. Few teachers are always expected to raise the questions and start the discussion as they are considered 'vocal' by the other teachers and junior teachers found remain silent till they are not ask to put their own views. Comment on the junior teachers when they ask question or produce their views is a common thing. For

example, a teacher start talking in English language, then a teacher of same subject who is senior to him said '*arre bhai yeh Muslim aur Urdu school hai yeha Urdu me baat karo—brother this is Muslim and Urdu school, please talk in Urdu*'. Such tactics are used by the senior teachers to demoralize the junior one and keep them behind.

Other than interactions while performing assigned tasks in the school there are other settings where teachers interact and build relationship with each other. For such interactions staffrooms, laboratories, individual rooms allotted to the individual teachers, for certain works, and the Principal office (every day they spend 5-10 minutes after the Morning Prayer in the Principal office for marking their presence in the attendance register, taking class registers, talking to each other on the issues related to home and the present happening in the city and also talk about what to order to the canteen and reminding one another the turn to prepare tea during recess and some time have argument with the Principal) are the places where they sit with their club members during 'recess' and spend free period. Maintaining attendance registers, counting the fee collected from the students, preparing report cards (by the class teachers), suggesting each other about the personal problems faced in the school and in their personal life and most of it about the members of the other clubs are the issues they discussed in such interactions. Problems of salary-not getting on time due to lack of funds vested with the Management to pay five percent of the staff' salary, how to save taxes and behaviour of the few teachers who supposed to be nearer to the Management are the focal point of discussion. Fighting between management and the local community over different issues in relation to the shrine, mosque and training centre in the school campus are the other matters on which they discuss. They also opine on such issues and raise questions on the way management is dealing with.

Presence of multiple units in the school campus and problems arise related to this are the other things they discuss on the tea during recess. Teachers always keep themselves away from these issues in the school campus fearing direct fight between teachers and the local people (mostly are the parents or guardians of the students studying in the school) which may hamper the school functioning.

Different clubs in the school have their own strong identity. Members are referred to by adding a prefix before his or her name. For example, “Qasim saheb ka club”, “Abdullah bhai ka club” etc. Members feel a strong sense of belongingness. Although all teachers interact with each other but are conscious of the presence of others while talking with the members of other clubs. According to a teacher “*Iss school me naap taul ke baat karni padti hai-* you need to be very careful while talking to any person in the school”.

During interaction with the teachers I managed to observe one club very closely. Even teachers started associating me with this friendship group. They were newly appointed and joined the school together and are in the school for less than a year. They all were young, energetic and shown spirit to work and bring changes in the school. They sit together and share the workload when needed as three out of four were the teachers of same stream. They all were very closely associated with each other not only in the school but outside. Their relationship is based on their similar definition of life—serious concern about the responsibilities given in the school, conscious about self development and career enhancement and most of these perform mandatory religious rituals and reading *Hadis* (Islamic book) during recess. Otherwise their friendship chemistry was very much informal as all were very much humorous in nature commenting on each other about their personal life affairs, laugh at, and share their

private life. Gossiping about the Management and pros and cons of decisions taken and talking about the characteristics of the other clubs and behaviour of the few teachers, and domineering attitude of seniority are the other contents of their talks.

With their active participation in school activities and sincerity towards school work they become popular among students, teachers and even in the eyes of Management in short span stay in the school that is not considered usual in AAS.

The group becomes more known when they took an initiative to reopen a dead Computer laboratory (closed since many years) as Junior Science Laboratory (JSL). They were so concerned for having a laboratory of this kind as one of the group members arranged an initial sum on his personal ground, stealing time from personal affairs and devoting time out of the school hours and this become a strong reason to get permitted by the school Management to go ahead with this idea. They got a mixed reaction from the teachers or other groups as they were being appreciated by one and discouraged by the others. The reasons for disliking of this initiative were their status of being junior and not taking advice of the seniors. This created a conflict like situation between them and few teachers who do not visit to lab and use its facilities. Besides it took more than a month to get key of that room (dumped lab) from the Principal as he was in the influence of the group not in favour of this initiative. They also got negative reactions from the teachers. A teacher said that "*hame school me room milne me dus saal lag gaye aur ye aaj ke ladke puro lab lekar baith jainge-* we struggled ten years to get a room in the school and these boys of today occupying a whole lab." Another said "*kuch bhi ho senior ka pehle haq banta hai-* priority should be given to the seniors". Such reactions caused for their discouragement and one point of time they wished to withdraw from this but getting support from the Management

and will to do something new for the school encourage them to establish the Junior Science Laboratory. But, they were fearful that they would lose it from their hands as the charge was not given in writing. The demand to hand over the laboratory to the senior teachers was in the air.

7.6.1 Basis of Conflict

Conflict among teachers is another essential to understand their dynamics and its effect on the school processes. It is considered unavoidable when there is a human organization that has both positive and negative impact on the processing and arise out of many reasons. In AAS, senior-junior, group-ism or club-ism, and domineering attitude of a particular group, regionalism and uneven distribution of work load are the factors causing conflict in the school among teachers. Group culture, regional belongingness and hierarchical status of the teachers are the dominating issues on which they differ. Group culture is so influential that one group does not want to even see each other members and even do not respond to their salaam (*ek zamane se ye sub hamara salaam nahi lete hai*, said a teacher) and using abusive words about each other and a feeling of hate, as a teachers said that “*inka jutha khana bhi haram hai—* even eating together with them is forbidden for us”. This seems direct impact on the school functioning as they do not cooperate each other works. Strong hold of teachers from a particular caste (considered closer to the Principal as he also belongs to the same caste) seems influential on deciding work load of the teachers caused conflict. A female teacher explained how they are being discriminated while distributing number of periods to them and the kind of relax and freedom (coming late and going early etc) they enjoy. Seniority is another reason of such kind of discrimination in the school. For example, a senior teacher getting 19 periods a week where as his counterpart but

junior to him gets 30 or more periods in a week. Junior or newly appointed teachers seem compromising with their talent and work load and treated as subordinates by their counterparts but senior teachers.

Role perception and role expectations of the teachers in the school, their viewpoints on school processes and school affairs, their preferences, their personal considerations and attitudes school work and pattern of interaction and relationship among themselves which are the contents that build teacher culture in a school and provides a move for transforming it to the next generation. Teachers perform academic and non-academic duties, take part in rituals and celebrations, interact in formal and informal settings, involve in interpersonal gossips, and give suggestions to bring changes in school contents and process, lend personal help to the new colleagues in their coping process, guide students in their school work and career planning and also remind their religious and social duties. Further, blame socioeconomic and educational backwardness of students for poor result in Board examinations is the dominating content while expresses their viewpoint about the students in the school. Lack of commitment towards performing their academic duties and more on their group and individual interest is another feature of teacher culture in AAS.

Ending this chapter, I would say the teacher culture at AAS is quite lively but not progressive, teachers are qualified but less on using their qualification and translating it into the students in the school, they like the school but not working for making it more liking, teachers are full of capacities but always look for highlighting the weaknesses of other fellows, they are more on blaming the others than to own responsibilities, they are united as clubs but not teachers as a whole, they are teaching but not creating a teaching-learning relationship with the students, they are committed

to the goals of the school but more concern about fulfilling their personal goals and take teaching in the school is secondary affairs than meeting the club members, enjoying tea and looking for early exit from the school to go for outside affairs. They wish to bring discipline among students but they are not disciplined in relation to the school processes. The teacher culture at large causes a peril for teaching-learning environment in the school.

Case Study — I: Teacher - A

A child came to Delhi with his father and started his educational journey from Anglo Arabic School and later completed his graduation and B. Ed from Jamia Millia Islamia. He joined the AAS as a TGT-teacher in 1969 and later was promoted to the grade of PGT- in 1996 after completing his Master degree during the course of his employment and now he is at the verge of retirement. He was a person of calm, patient, tolerance and easygoing attitude and believes in doing assigned works silently and believes that the role of a teachers is not only 'to teach' a child but 'to guide for better opportunity' and 'to develop their personality- *shakhsiyat ko nikharna*'. He teaches Physics and Sociology and presently no other additional responsibilities are given to him except regular classes. Perhaps, slowly he is withdrawing from the responsibilities in the school and waiting for the day of retirement to leave. He is a firm believer of Allah and opines that the religion is the private affair between individual and God and this should be kept separate from the school life. He has a good relationship with his colleagues and known for his 'straight-forward' attitude and among the students known for his 'sleeping habit' in the classroom.

He believes that the children coming to the school do not have interest in education as many of them do jobs after the school and contribute in the family income but have 'element of intelligence' which need to be channelized. To him, teachers joining AAS are more interested in their personal work and not performing the actual duties and sense of responsibility gone down and 'bad practices-*biddat*' started. He believes that there should be 'free sharing' relationship between teacher and students but a line of respect must be there which he feels lacking in the AAS.

He feels frustrated and dissatisfied as he got promotion after long struggle and missed the chance to become Principal of the school and for this he blames school Management of being 'inactive'. His dissatisfaction with the present Management is quite visible as saying 'do not have experience to run a school' and 'financially very weak' as do not manage for even five per cent of staff salary and facility for the staff is 'far from standard' for example, there is no proper single staff room where teachers can sit together instead they sit in different groups which he considers one of the biggest hurdle in the way of progress. He does not see Principal is controlling the school but few teachers are controlling the Principal. He sees 'go slow' attitude of the Management in resolving the conflict between school and local community due to presence of multiple units in the school campus especially the old shrine which creates 'bad and unpleasant environment in the school' and teachers 'feel fear' and this has 'negative impact' to build triangular relationship between teacher, student and parents.

As far as the future of the school is concerned, he was quite pessimistic and worried the kind of teachers joining the AAS as 'do not respect their work' and making own salary 'forbidden-haram'.¹⁰ Teacher should give first priority to teach the students and not letting students to come for the private coaching and school administration should have check on it. The worst thing in the school as he believes that school does not have Principal for many years and Management 'tactfully not filling the post' as they want power less officiating Principal work as 'the puppet of their hands'.

He is however very happy to work for the community throughout his teaching career and committed to his tasks of teaching for example going into the classroom on time

and spend time with the children, and spending time with the colleagues and waiting purposely the day of retirement.

Case Study—II: Teacher - B

He started teaching in AAS as a ‘PTA teacher’ and later become permanent in 2008 as TGT-science teacher along with four others who are closely associated with each other. Soon they formed a club of their own. He teaches Science and English in junior section and is known amongst both teachers and students as being energetic, hard working and caring. Before joining AAS he taught in a good reputed private school but in a ‘strict environment’ which he did not like and wanted to get a ‘*sarkari naukri*’ where ‘one can work freely with ease’ (*main itna mahan aadmi to nahi hun ke kehdu ke mujhe sarkari job ki zarurat nahi thi* — I am not that of great a man to say that I do not need a government job). His idea of education is ‘over all development’ of the students and ‘learning to respect others’. Other than teaching he carries other responsibilities like being in-charge of a laboratory and is committed to his curricular and non curricular responsibilities. He is not satisfied with present role performance in the school but wants to do more for the children but finds environment difficult. He feels disappointed at not getting ‘better’ opportunities like taking classes in senior section and feels humiliated as his colleague have get the opportunity. He faces many problems in his relations with the teachers because of his popularity and success as a ‘new teacher’ in the school and ‘positive view of Management’ and his ‘straight forward’ attitude to express his ideas.

As far as the teachers of AAS is concerned, he feels that there qualification is more than required to teach in a school but their attitude and interest in teaching is missing

as teachers feel that teaching in the AAS is 'no less than being in the heaven'. Their interest to teach and 'do something for the community is going down' and whenever a teacher takes initiative he face a negative response and other teachers try to demotivate. To him, teachers are more concerned on 'dictating important questions' in the classroom which he sees 'as a disease' in the school and this is 'one of the major reasons for poor result in external examinations'. On the other side, the students of AAS according to him have lack of interest in study, are disobedient, lack ambition in life, and are fearless. Further, he opines that progress will take place when a batch of teachers is retiring in near future and new teachers are taking initiatives and have element of courage to go against the 'status quo'.

He is not satisfied with the school Management the 'way they are running the school' as playing 'blame game' where Management is blaming the Principal, Principal is blaming the teachers, teachers are blaming the students, and parents for poor result and indiscipline in the school. Its involvement is more on to fight for the right to have possession of the school campus and less on improving teaching learning environment and facilities in the school. There is a lack of proper administration in the school. The Principal is not impartial. For example, if one teacher comes to the school late in the morning he gets a red mark on the attendance register but turns a blind eye in case of another teacher. Presently, he is performing his duties of taking classes and managing the lab and optimistic towards leaving the school and join lectureship in the university which he feels a better step for the life.

In the coming chapter the student-teacher interaction pattern in school will be discussed. The chapter consists of interacting sessions in formal and informal settings,

contents of interactions and their negotiating strategies to have control over the situations and turning the discussion their favour.

End Notes:

1. F. Boutros (Compiler), *Principles of Legislation from Bentham and Dumont*, Serampore Press, 1842.
2. F. Boutros, *Principles of Public Revenue with a Short Abstract of the Revenue Laws in the Bengal Presidency*, Serampore Press, 1844.
3. *Eitemadiyah*, Anglo Arabic School Magazine (2008-2009).
4. A female teacher recounting her first day expressed the humiliating experience she faced at the school. “*jab main pahle din principal office me baithi thi, ek senior teacher ne principal se kaha yeh kya karwadiya tumne, aurat ki entry ho gayi school me, school ki tawarikh badal dali, school ka beda ghark hojayega, mere aankh me aansu aagaye, main chup chap sunti rahi aur phir uthkar chali gayi*”.
5. Secondary Education Commission, India
6. The Delhi Education Act and Rules, 1973, Chapter V.
7. Be in impious is considered as bad habit and punishable act in Islam and Muslims have clear cut instruction to avoid such condition. Muslims cannot offer religious act of prayer, reading Quran, enter into the mosque. *Paaki* or piousness is considered as a symbol of ‘half-faith-*aadha imaan*’ in Islam.
8. Very often local people come with *janazah* to the school’s mosque to offer *namaz-e- janazah*.
9. During interaction a teacher explained that, it was a function in the school in which many dignitaries (male or female) were invited. A lady roaming in the campus and as she saw me come so closer, that put me into trouble, and asked “where is the female toilet”. He wanted to say that the lady was in unbearable

condition as not finding the female toilet for long and finally asked for it from me (a male). This lead to the negative image about the school he said further.

10. In Islam, if someone is not doing his work allotted to him/her and receiving remuneration out of that work then that earning is considered as *haraam* or forbidden.

CHAPTER — VIII

TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTION: FORMAL AND INFORMAL

A healthy, positive and friendly relationship between a teacher and his students is considered to be an important aspect in the pedagogic process. Communication between them is one of the indicators of success and failure, achieving goals of the school and of students as “Academic achievement and student behaviour are influenced by the quality of the teacher and student relationship” (Jones, 1995). The more the teacher connects or communicates with his students, the more likely will be able to help students learn at the high level and accomplish quickly. Further, for teacher conducting the lesson in the classroom and any other school activity and shaping the minds of the young students the proper interaction between them becomes extremely important for a successful relationship through the entire time of school year. A close relationship between teacher-student relationships can also be helpful to those students who need special attention. In this chapter, I will be discussing about the nature, settings, and contents of interaction between teacher and student in AAS.

In a school, children spend approximately 6 to 7 hours in a day where they interact with their teachers and school mates in different settings—formal and informal, in different situations and for the different purposes. Further, the interaction between the teacher and student is of certain form with certain level of stability and definite time period in each setting—interaction in the classroom where both the actors for pedagogic activity, they spend an hour together in the sports ground and so on. The

temporal sequence of events makes a structure on the activity and contributes to predictable and orderly manner in which the interaction occurs. ¹

In school or educational institution interaction between teacher and students featured with ‘short-term but consistent interaction’, ‘varied in content of interaction’, ‘situation of interaction’, ‘variation of students’, and ‘intention of the actors’ in the school. Factors like physical environment, the personality of the teachers and their multiple role performance, their image of the students, the kind of subject being taught, effect of a preceding event, effect of a forthcoming event and their relation in other setting and outside factors like parental concern and local community environment have an effect on student-teacher interaction. Further, the nature of interaction varies from teacher to teacher, in terms of the age, senior-junior status, their attitude towards school and teachers. The kinds of reputation a teacher have established among the student also affect the nature of interaction. Thus, the behaviour towards each other and interaction between them is the combination of personal, school, nature of setting for example; sports field, and outside relationship are the factors influence teacher-student interaction in the school.

While interacting with each other both student and teacher entail the process of negotiation to reach on an agreement over any discussion so that to maximize their interest. In the process of negotiation, firstly, the teachers have more power than the students but their use of power depends on how student use tricks to turn negotiation in their favour. Secondly , teacher and student always create relationship, changing these relationships, shifting the bases of relationships, new ways of getting round the relationships, allowing one there, developing new forms of relationship and plugging holes in one’s own version, detecting weaknesses in others and so on in their

interaction in school life. Thirdly, since the teacher and student have varied interests, so the use of negotiation during interaction in both formal and informal setting is a common attribute.

8.1 FORMAL AND INFORMAL INTERACTIONS: SETTINGS AND CONTENTS

In AAS, classroom is the core formal setting where student and teacher interact with each other. Academic achievement and completing the prescribed syllabus within stipulated time are the major objectives for both students and teachers in either of the sections-senior or junior. But students in junior section (up to class VIII) have developed a 'sense of relax' as 'academic performance in the term-end examination cannot debarred them from getting promoted from one class to another'² as a result, teachers loose their interest and take classes merely as a ritual to complete syllabus. To examine the pattern of interaction between teacher and student in the classroom, I observed two classes— one senior classroom and one extreme junior classroom. There were six teachers teaching in the class of standard twelve and four teachers are engaged in teaching in class of standard six. The kind of interaction between teacher and students and the negotiation strategies used by them differ from teacher to teacher depending on 'the kind of image' a teacher has among the students other than the paper his/she is teaching. The prime purpose of the teacher at AAS appears to be to have control over the students and mentained the dominant position which is quite apparent in AAS, by talking, teaching and questioning them so as if teacher is blurred in teaching- content explanation, way of teaching, students lose their interest and involved in disorderly behaviour. Different teachers use different strategies to maintain control over their students in the class or in other interactive sessions. In

AAS, teacher primarily uses 'coercive strategy', where they emphasize on 'negative consequences on exam result', 'ask to leave the classroom', 'contextual scolding' for example; *maa-baap ko to chinta hai nahi ke mera beta school me kiya karta hai*-your parents do not bother what you are doing in the school, 'ask to stand on the table or at the door facing wall', 'warn to cut name' from the school to ensure regular attendance and physical punishment like 'twisting the ears', 'slapping' and 'turning the hairs', 'stare at the students'. Giving a moral lecture is another strategy. Students' attention is drawn towards 'general educational status of Muslim' in India and their condition worldwide, 'value of education in life' and 'importance of a particular subject' to have control over the students are the other strategies adopted. Besides, ordering and reordering the physical order of the students and tables; sending noisy students to sit at the back or changing the position of tables although the participation of the students in teaching process in the classroom is 'less student oriented' but 'more teacher oriented'. Students do not ask questions, discuss and debate with the teacher fearing negative impact (*teacher aankh pe chadha lete hai*). 'Creating humours' which is what Woods (1979) called it 'fraternization' to work for good relation with the students, for smoothing the inherent conflict, increasing the student's sense of obligation and reducing their desire to cause trouble. Appointing the class monitor and 'making few students favourite' to get information in their absence and 'creating fear among the students by referring the matter to the teachers who are known or relative of student' are other strategies used to apply to control student's behaviour.

Students on the other hand use different tactics to turn the situation favourable to them which Delamont (1976) in his book '*Interaction in the Classroom*' described as 'student's first strategy is to find out what the teacher wants and give it to him/her-

assuming that they can see a pay-off for themselves, in terms of grades, eventual jobs or peace and quiet. When there is no discernible benefit to be had by giving the teacher what he/she wants, “disruptive behaviour” is likely to become the major strategy’. In AAS, my classroom observation shows that both junior and senior classes, students use different strategies to gain from the situation. In senior class, students use tactics like ‘comply with the teacher order’, ‘not arguing in the classroom over any point of confrontation’, ‘giving book when teacher asks’, ‘showing eagerness to bring chalk or cleaning blackboard when asked by the teacher’, ‘seeking opportunity to do the personal work of teacher’ as they send students outside the school for their personal work, ‘not showing gesture which teacher considers bad while in the classroom’ for example, sitting crossed-leg or keeping legs outside the table and desk or leaning behind and so on. More of these the personal relationship with teachers (i.e. son or relative of a teacher) works to get positive response from the teachers in terms of allotting the marks in the internal tests or practical examination and relax when break rules, for example, coming late in the classroom. Here, I am illustrating two case studies of the classrooms I observed to understand the interaction pattern in the formal setting of classrooms and factors affecting it.

8.2 CLASSROOM STUDY—I: SENIOR SECTION

In this section, I attempt to explicate the interaction pattern between student-teacher in the section ‘D’ of class twelve which is the class of Commerce stream held in room number 20. Students of standard twelve are divided into four sections A, B, C, and D where A & B are for Science stream, section C is for Arts stream and Section D of Commerce stream. I was allowed to observe this classroom because of two reasons—first, class teacher is too generous and does not have any objection and the Principal

has good relation with the class teacher and second, other class teachers strongly opposed my presence in the classroom.

This is a very big classroom in size where at least sixty students can be accommodated but there are only 45 students enrolled in this class. In the classroom the number of table and desk were insufficient with the assumption that the full strength of the class will never be present. The seating arrangement in the classroom is the choice of the students and not directed by the teacher but some are known to sit at the front while some are identified as back benchers. The classroom remained uncleaned throughout my observation where beats of the pigeons seems all around on the floor and desks where student uses handkerchiefs to clean it. Walls of the classroom were full of writing where students do cheating during examination. Windows were broken and seemed never to have been cleaned and ceiling was full of thick cewwebs which some time becomes a issue of talk between teacher and student and the Management becomes the soft target to criticise.

School starts at 8:00 a.m. in the morning and ends at 2:00 p.m. with 20 minutes short break for recess. An electronic bell announces the beginning and end of the each period which last for 45 minutes where teachers move from class to class taking their period. It usually takes a teacher 5-10 minutes to enter into the classroom after the announcement of the bell. This is because of the following reasons;

- Teachers consider that time given for recess is not sufficient and more time is needed to finish the recess.
- They spend more time to ensure that the club members have reached the place where they sit and order made in the canteen for recess.

- Finishing the recess by 5-10 minutes late is considered as ‘normal’ and ‘nothing to worry’

During recess students go to canteen and outside the school campus for breakfast. Teachers sit in their respective club. Student also take it as a chance to ‘escape from the school’ as number of students remain less in the classroom after the break.

In the senior section the teacher-student relationship is academic and goal oriented. Teachers feel pressure to complete the syllabus in a stipulated time and students see external examination as their only force which they must pass in their own interest. The classroom interaction is generally encompassing ‘authoritative’, ‘coercive’ and typical ‘*ustad-shagird*’ relationship where teachers play dominating role but the purpose is to maintain the order in the classroom to make possible the teaching-learning process. As they enter into the classroom, different teachers use different strategies where they tell to ‘sit properly’, order them to ‘open the books’, ask them to ‘rub the blackboard’, ‘starred at them’, ‘throw a piece of chalk on them’, and ‘start writing on the blackboard’, and ‘ask questions about the lesson taught in the previous class’ etc. There are some unsaid set of rules in the classroom.³ When teacher enters into the classroom, children show their obedience in the form of stand-up and wish by saying good morning or good afternoon, answer by standing when teacher ask something and stand-up when teacher leave the class.⁴ These rules are enforced by the teachers by giving instruction in the classroom as teachers relate it with their respect and breaking these rules lead to the ‘soft punishment’ of scolding or asking to leave the classroom. Here I have given three examples of lessons taken in the classroom and strategies applied in order to deal with the situation. Teachers of AAS are aware of the importance of applying different strategies in order to maintain

discipline in the classroom (*kaise bachchon ko control me rakhna hai*-how to keep students in control).

Lesson one

As teacher entered into the classroom, students stand-up and wished good morning, teacher did not reply and put attendance register on the desk, had a look on the students and while sitting said *baith jaye*-sit down. After a minute of pause, asked about the preparation for practical examination, few students nodded their heads as yes but most of the students remained silent. Teacher informed roll numbers of each student and warned to start preparation. A boy stands up and asked, “Sir, will all give practical exam on the same day?” Teacher replied “No” with anger and then, opened the register and asked a boy by his name, “Where is your practical copy?” and scolded saying it is three months now and you are still not submitting it. “*Fail hona hai kiya tumhe*”, the boy stood up and showed his copy and said “Sir, it is completed and I am just giving you”. Then, teacher asked from another boy by name “where is your copy?” and added, “you will be debarred from appearing in the examination”.

After few moments, teacher stood up and said “*Chalo tumhe kuch practical exam ke bare me bata dete hai*-what prospective questions can be asked in the practical exam” then a boy asked “Sir, please, tell us one or two important questions (which must come in the exam)”, then teacher, with smile and looking at all students, said “Don’t worry simple and easy questions will be asked”.

Next, teacher looking at the blackboard, started a lesson, and begins with asking a question, students remained silent for the moment, then one boy started answering, the teacher immediately asked him to ‘first stand up and then say anything’, then he asked a question but teacher did not reply it saying ‘will see it later when I will teach another topic’. Later, he explained the topic in detail, meanwhile few students, sitting at the back, who are considered as non serious, talking to each other. Teacher reached to them, keep hand at one’s back, and asked to explained topic covered. The boy, with

no voice, starts answering, then, teacher scold '*khade ho kar batao-stand and then tell*'. All students were laughing at him as he was murmuring, teacher putting ears, then asked to 'sit down' and said 'yeh theek hai-this is o.k.' then added something to it. Then, said 'listen carefully' '*aap log samaj le iss tarah ke sawalat main exam me aane ke chances ziyada hote hai-it is high chance that these type of question will be asked in the main examination*'. Then, he took register, and left the room.

Lesson Two

Teacher began with saying open the book and wrote a topic on the blackboard. Only three of them opened the book and rest are trying to share with the fellow students and looking at the blackboard. Teacher warned 'if you will not bring book next time I will throw out all of you from the classroom-main sabhi ko bahar bhaga dunga'. She was explaining the topic very fast where students were losing interest and not paying attention to the lecture. Teacher stopped for a moment, put chalk on the table, looked at them, and asked to leave the classroom. Students, all together, said 'sorry mam' and then they pretended to pay attention. She starts again, after looking at the book, explained the topic. Then, a boy asked a question, she pretended to avoid, but boy again asked, then she pointed out another boy, by name, to answer this question, the boy explained, then, teacher '*agar regular class karte to samajh me aajata-if you attend regular class, you can understand easily*'. Further, she, suggested to all of them to write and revise it at home as such questions must be asked in the exams. And, mainly indirect questions will be asked and not the direct questions always. Then, said, 'it is enough for today, if you want to ask any thing you can ask, then left the classroom and bell rang thereafter.

Here, both the teachers attempt to control the students—their insincerity and impatience, and seek their attention by using 'authoritarian mode of control' and paying individual attention by asking question by name, starring at which what Hammersley (1977) called it a 'direct selection' method employ the strategy of domination to control the behaviour of the students in the classroom. Out of this, fear

stirred up in students which lead to their inadequate participation in the classroom. Teacher some time use open penalizing physical punishment in the classroom and make them feel of humiliation in the eyes of other students which Woods (1975) called it 'showing up—punishment in the force with which an individual's deviation from the norms can be emphasized in the eyes of his peer'. Teacher worried for inactiveness, insincerity, non-participative attitude of the students in the classroom and not from their 'over participation' which was the case with the Thapan's study on RVS.⁵ they apply another strategy of 'relating the topic directly with the exams' which work more to control them.

Lesson Three

A teacher walked into the classroom with the answer sheets of internal examination. All students stood up wished salaam. Teacher replied with very kindness, and indicated to have their seats. After a while, four students rushed to enter into the classroom. teacher with taunting voice, said, '*ao beta ao apne karname to dekh lo-come and see your performance in the exams*'. Teacher took his chair, and start talking about the performance. Indicated one student and said '*tumhara theek hai-you performance is o.k.*' then, other students saw at him and smiled. Then, he distributed answer sheet to all the students and asked to see carefully and come for explanation-*isse achche se dekho aur koi problem ho to batao*. Then, teacher pointed out a boy, as he was looking at the answer sheet, '*kiya likha hai tum ne, iss tarah to fail hojaoge-what you have written, you will be failed if you will write like this*'. Student stood-up and shown a copy to the teacher saying '*sir iss sawal me mujhe kam number mile hai-you have give less number in this question*', sir, '*iss me tum ne likha kiya hai-what you have written in this*'. Boy did not say anything. Teacher, twisting his ear, said '*sudhar jao nahi to board exam me sochna padega- do hard work and perform better in the board exam*'. Boy did not say anything and took his seat. Another boy reached to the teacher, with his answer sheet, complaining about the marks he got in a particular question, teacher, '*you cannot get marks more than this, go and have your seat*'. Teacher, one-

by-one replied the queries of the students. He was not satisfied with the performance but encourages them to do well in the Board examination, and expected better performance in the Board examination. Many times he repeated a warning and expressed unhappiness. He, then, recollected the answer sheets and left the classroom, students stand-up and offer salaam.

While some teachers devote the whole lesson to discuss an individual student's answer sheets, and suggested how questions can be attempted in a better way. But some others took only the part of the lesson either at the beginning or end of the lesson. As teacher enter in the class with answer sheets, students starts gossiping about their performance in the testes. They starts doing continues request to show the answer sheets when teacher plans to show at the end of the lesson. Anxiety, disquiet and nervousness can easily be seen among the students and looking at the other's answer sheets is indispensable among them. Comparing own marks with friends, relating current marks with the marks obtained in the past, calculating overall percentage, blaming the teacher for his/her ineffective teaching are the contents of the moment students discuss among themselves. Teachers give freedom to discuss over marks obtained by the individual students and let them to clarify their doubts. Student's unrest about their performance in the internal tests is directly related to the anxiety about the performance in the external Board examination and teachers also anticipate student's performance on the basis of marks obtained in internal tests.

Different teacher have different way to control behaviour of the students, controlling student's behaviour by developing an attitude as a 'strict teacher' and 'maintaining distance' and talk with the people formally and not and an overall 'teacher aura' which students link with certain pattern of behaviour. Lacey (1970) has suggested the thing is done by the young teacher to cope with the problems such as controlling

student's behaviour in the classroom by developing a teacher persona. This strategy work when teacher maintain such behaviour in informal setting too. In my analysis of senior class, it is evident that a female teacher (lesson two) uses this strategy to maintain gap from the students.

8.3 CASE STUDY—II: JUNIOR SECTION

I observed Class VI 'E', room number 35, lower-most classroom in junior section where I observed 32 lessons. This classroom is situated at the extreme end of the school campus on the first floor. This was the English medium classroom I was allowed to observe and is considered one of the best in terms of students, cleanliness and teacher. There were 33 students enrolled in this class. They sit in two queues, facing the teacher, and are divided by the desk of the teacher which is placed at one end of the classroom in front of the blackboard and facing the door of the classroom. Insofar as the physical condition of the classroom is concern which affect the teaching learning process, rectangular shape of the classroom consists of fixed tables and desks, properly arranged. There were number of photos, posters, poems pasted on the walls made by the students and details of time table was kept just above the blackboard.

There are four teachers taking classes in this class, out of these, one is a lady of later adult age, appointed temporarily, and given responsibility of class teacher, popular as 'strict teacher' among the students. Others are male teachers, teaching different subjects of language, social sciences, and science out of them one is a sports teacher given extra responsibility of classroom teaching.

The rules and ethos in this class is not much different that of from the senior section. Interaction between teacher and student influenced by the course curriculum and the

content of a particular lesson where teacher focuses on the completion of the syllabus, preparing notes, asking students to make notes of lesson taught, remind them to memorise. The other factors affect their interaction are which teacher taking the class, their relationship in other setting and outside the school (where they stay), relationship with other teachers in the school the way students behave, perform in the school work and comply with the order or given work. Element of emotion is not their while they interact along with social and physical environment which is considered important for the success as suggested that 'socio-emotional environment has direct effect on both attitudes and achievement (Hager, 1974).

Further, student success relies heavily on the environment in which the students are taught and teacher-student interaction is one of the elements of school environment. In this class, while taking lesson there is an element of authority exists and teacher are at the dominating end and there is lack of open communication but the element of academic support exists between the teacher and student.

In so far as the nature of disorder in this classroom of junior section is concerned, the nature of disorder in senior and junior classrooms is different. There are more noises in comparison to the senior section but tension among the students is more in terms of what punishment they can get from the teachers. The nature of punishment depends on the individual teachers. A teacher believe on punitive strategy to control the students in the classroom as expressed that the physical punishment in the school should not be banned by the government (*yeh hi to ek hathiyar hai inn ladko ko control karneka oh bhi govt. ne cheen liya, ab to school me discipline lana aur bhi mushkil hogaya-* this was only an instrument to maintain discipline in the school and control their behaviour and it is not good that govt has also taken it from us). In contrary to that another teacher believes that 'if teacher is not able to keep students in

order in the classroom, it is the fault of teacher not the students' they control them 'suggesting the importance of the lesson and its benefits' and 'put students to dream for better future'. One use authoritative sanction and command such as 'not allowing them to go out for water or toilet' and 'ask to keep face towards wall'. The use of punitive measures, authoritative sanction, and domination of teacher are the elements of teacher-student interaction and relationship in AAS. There are lessons given below to better understand the kind of strategies teacher use in the classroom of junior section to control the students and maintain the order while teaching.

Lesson One

Teacher entered into the classroom, in hurry, as she was late, all children 'stand-up and offer good morning, teacher nodding her head, moves to her chair, finished attendance quickly. Looking at all the students, asked to open the book, and writes a question on the blackboard, pointing figure at a boy, sitting at the front. Boy seeing at the ceiling, murmuring, and teacher asked to sit saying 'stupid'. Asked from another boy, from the back, he tried to see on the blackboard and said, 'can I sit near the blackboard as I am not able to see from here (due to weak eyes). All seats were full, teacher looking at all the students, requested them to cooperate, and talked at length, and explaining rewards of cooperation before Allah. One boy stand-up and offer his seat and come at his place and asked the boy to sit there. Teacher said '*shabbash-good*'. Then, teacher again asked the question nodding to another boy, he did not reply. Teacher, very angry, rush to that boy, twisting his hair, warning to 'break the *bone-haddi*' and beating him by book in her hand, and asked to sit. While this, two boys, on the side, talking to each other, moving to them, teacher said with irritation '*kiya hua bey-what happens with you*' then, '*beimaan, chore padhai nahi karta aur baatein kar rahe ho*' throw them, holding their hands, out of the classroom and told to stand at the door for whole day.

She asked same question from three boys, but got wrong answer from each of them (as she taught). Then asked all students to maintain silence in the class, they did not listen; then, she shouted and slapped a boy sitting her left. All students become silent. Teacher then said ‘if you will not remember these, I will fail you all in the exams-*agar tum log nahi yaad karoge to exams me sab ko fail kar dunggi*’. As bell rang, she took the attendance register and while going, told them to memorize it and asked the boy, who were standing at the door, to have their seats. As teacher leaving the room, all students stand up and said thank you mam.

She is known as a strict class teacher, using mixed strategies to maintain order in the classroom; punitive, authoritative and mild physical punishment like twisting the hair/ears. Completing the prescribed syllabus and letting students to see it from examination perspective are the tensions prevail in junior classroom but element of fear to get fail remains minimal in compare to the senior classes.

Lesson Two

As teacher walked into the classroom and sit, students stand up and offer good afternoon. This was the lesson after the recess where few students left home. Looking at them, teacher asked the students, who were sitting at the back, to fill the gap and come forward. Then, asked students to ‘open the book and keep it at the front-*apni apni kitabe nikale aur apne samne rakhe*’. Then, after a moment, asked them to read a lesson, no one started, then, he start reading. As he was explaining a line from the poem, student asked a question. He given the answer but with very low sound. Nobody was able to listen but they did not ask again. He starts reading again, then, another student asked the meaning of a word. He replied and translated another word. A student, sir, I knew the meaning of this word, teacher looking at him ‘ok’. Then he started explaining the importance of the poem and where and in which areas of the India such poems are recited and famous. Suddenly, he stopped reading and left the rest of this lesson for tomorrow (*aaj itna hi baki kal khatam kiya jayega*). While leaving

the classroom, he advised them 'not to go out' and 'keep silence'. Bell rang much after he left the classroom.

He 'gives space' to the students for asking question as 'recognising their response' such strategy is not common in AAS either in formal (classroom) or informal (sports field).

Lesson Three

Immediately after entering into the classroom, teacher asked student to bring chalk. Monitor, rushed to another classroom and bring it. Teacher, while writing on the blackboard, asked to ready to give the answer. This was a revision lesson. Teacher briefed the previous lesson and asked to ready for giving answer. Looking at the students, he asked a question, for all, and told to raise hands. All students raised their hands to the sky, but teacher nodded at one boy sitting extreme back, he given the right answer. One by one he asked questions to most of the students.

Next, he drawn a diagram on the blackboard and asked everyone to take the name of the diagram. When a boy (considered as weakest boy in the class) asked to give answer, he stands up and as he starts giving answer, everyone laugh at along with teacher. Then, teacher coming to him, keeping soft hand on his head, asked his name, giving emotional touch, said, '*beta ghar me bhi padha karo aur yeha apne doston ki madad se notes banao nahi to mushkil hojayega*-son, you should study at home and with the help of your friends make notes otherwise you will be in trouble' everyone looking at him. Then, teacher narrated a story related to the lesson and tried to explain in easiest way. Meanwhile, he, reaching to the students adjusting their tie and collar if not properly tied, explains the importance of proper dressing and keeping clean and ironed. Ending the lesson, teacher reminds them to make fair notes and bring it to show before unit tests. Left the classroom as the bell rang.

This teacher known for passing corrective remarks (about proper uniform, how to stand while talking to teacher, the way of expressing things, reminding the importance of cleanliness and so on) in the school and students respect him out of his ‘way of teaching’ and ‘important tips of life he gives’. He is famous outside the classroom for his generous nature with the students.

Lesson Four

As teacher entered into the classroom asked students to open the book and took one book from a student and ordered him to see the lesson in your friend’s book. Teacher stands keeping both hands in the pocket and insisted to see the lesson. Many of the students did not bring the book went to the teacher and stand around him, looking at the book. Teacher asked them to go to their seat. He, then starts reading, walking in the classroom students were talking with each other and teacher many times asked them to keep silence saying ‘chup raho’, ‘maar padegi’, ‘class se bahar kardunga’ but there was more disorder in this class. Teacher was reading, explaining and asking question, giving answer, and warning them again and again to keep silence. Then suddenly, he received a call and rushed outside the class and told them to finish it in next class. As he left the students stand up and said ‘o.k. sir’.

Maintaining order in the classroom to carry out the pedagogic process is universal phenomena in school, but every teacher opt their own way to control the students and guide them towards the lesson and school work. Here, four teachers coming to take lesson in this classroom are somewhat different in their approach to deal with the students and maintain order. One, who instantly asking questions or method of direct selection where as another use punitive measure and strategy of domination to control the students. Although rely on punitive measures is common to most of the teachers in the school to keep students disciplined.

These two classrooms are intensively observed to examine the pattern of interaction between teacher and student in the school but it does not, in any case, represent the interaction pattern in all the classrooms in the school.

Other than classroom, teacher and student interact in informal settings and occasions in the school such as cultural events, celebrating national festivals—Independence and Republic Days, celebrating occasional farewell (not at school level but given at the class level), taking student outside to participate in different activities and largely on the sports field.

End Notes:

1. See Delamont (1976) writes about the ‘physical, temporal, organisational and educational contexts in which the classrooms are embedded’. The setting therefore comprises the ‘temporal aspects of classroom interaction, the formal organisation of the school, the social and educational context, and the physical and surroundings in which they take place’. My use of term ‘setting’ and the different contexts, as suggested by the Delamont, extends to all teacher-student interaction in AAS.
2. Government have taken a decision that no children will be declared as fail till class VIII and shall be promoted on the basis of his attendance in the class. Further, made Board examination optional if a child wish to stay in the same school for further study
3. See Woods (1980b) *Teacher Strategies: Explorations in the Sociology of the School*. London: Croom Helm.
4. Hergreaves et al. (1975) in his book *Deviance in Classroom* suggested that a lesson generally consists of five phases: an entry phase, a settling down phase, the lesson-proper phase, a cleaning up phase and an exit phase.

CHAPTER — IX

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY: PERCEPTUAL MAPPING

School is an institution established to meet the academic needs of the community that operates in a social and cultural milieu (Serote, 2001) together with the institutions like home.¹ The school can serve the community and achieve the objective of educating the children in most better form by getting feedback from the community — parents, learners and other stakeholders to whom it is serving, but on its own, the school cannot function effectively and properly. In this chapter, I will be focussing on to current image of the school — teachers, and school environment from the eyes of the community — parents, old boys of the school, visitors and mosque and *mazaar* goers. Besides, perceived roles of the parents in the educational development of their children and what and how they are contributing in their child's education and schooling processes. Since most of the parents happen to be the members of the local community where school is situated whose perception would be taken as community perception along with others actors in the community.

To present the view point of the community, data has been collected through interview with the parents, old boys of the school, visitors and mosque and *mazaar* goers and also by observing the different settings where parents meet the school personnel specially teachers and Principal.² Visits were also made nearby homes and shops to collect their views about the Anglo Arabic School. In the process I tried to find the answers to the questions — what factors motivate parents to send their children to AAS? How do they see the school facilities for their children? What

changes they want to see in this school? How they see parents' contribution in education of their children? What they are doing for their child's education etc?

Nothing helps the school succeed like an involved community, especially the parents, and it brings wonder in schooling processes and child's achievements. Continued research show that child's chances of succeeding in the school process in much better form if their parents are involved in the process of education (Hoover, Demsey & Sandler 1997). The concept of parental involvement with the student and the school is a vital one and can produce great rewards for all concerned as the 'parental involvement, in almost any form, produces measurable gains in student achievement' (Dixon 1992). The more that the parent becomes involved with the teacher, school curriculum, and administration, the better will be the results of the children and school. Helping them and taking their help in the education process can overcome the problems of the children not only related to the learning and solving the questions they come across in the school but benefits the teachers, the school, the parents themselves, the community, and the other children in the community or school. It also builds relationship with friends, teachers, classmates and can reduce stress by passing more positive experiences that can be proved as life confidence booster for the children. In the next part of this chapter I will discuss how parents and the larger community see the AAS and their contribution in the schooling processes.

9.1 COMMUNITY VIEW AND PARENTAL CONCERN

Local community including parents see the AAS from 'different perspectives' ³ and expressed disbelief about the teachers roles and the way school is being run by the Management. Many from the local people including parents expressed deep concern

about the quality of the school. this resentment amongst some members of the community is reflected in the following narrative.

“Hamare baap dadaon ne iss school ke liye qurbani di hai aur hame hi school ka hissa nahi mante hai, inn logo ne school ka kabada kar diya hai aur deen se bilkuk alag hai, gate pe gair Muslim chawkidar baitha rakhkha hai woh kiya jane namaz kiya hoti hai aur mazaar kise kehte hai, school ko viran kar ke rakha hai aur development ka paisa kha jate hai. Yeh log hum me se nahi hai aur zabardasti quabza kar ke rakha hai school pe. Yeh school qaum ki milkiyat hai aur sab se pehle hamara haq banta hai kiyun ke hum yeha ke bashinde hai, aur unlogo se achcha school chala sakte hai—our fore fathers have scarified for this school but now they (Jamia waale) are not considering us as a part of this school, they are away from Islam and school has lost its shine under them, they have deputed non-Muslim guards at the gate how they will come to know the importance of namaaz and mazaar, they charge money for development and not doing anything as school looks like dead sanctuary, they are not from us (Poorani Delhi Waale) and forcefully have entered in the school management, this school is the

property of Millat and we have first right to have control over it as we are living here and can run school better than them”.⁴

Further, they expressed their concern while visiting the school for the academic and non academic reasons. When replying to the question what difficulties do you face while visiting to the school? Most of the people said ‘there is no system to meet the teachers in the school’. A parent said “*main dhundh dhundh ke preshan hojata hun teachers nahi milte hai, recess ke period me to milna hi nahi chahte hai, dant ke bhaga dete hai ke recess ke baad aao, bachcho se puchna padtahi ke teacher kahan milenge, Principla bhi apne room me nahi hote hai, aur shikayat karne pe ulta hi dant dete hai aur kahte hai jao ab.*—I become tired to find the concern teachers, they never allow me to meet during recess and even scold me some time, I ask the students to search the teacher, and the Principal does not sit in his office and when I complaint about it, he scold me and show the way to go out of the school”. Another expressed concern about the teacher’s attitude while meeting; *bilkul jahil ki tarah treat karte hai, aur aapas me mazak bhi karte hai ke khud padha nahi to bacha kiya khak padhega, tuition laga do pass karjayega*—they treat me as an illiterate, and they laugh at me and say if you want your children to pass the exam send him for the private tuition. Parents were upset about the lack of any space where they can discuss issues

Responses	Numbers
Teacher se milne ka koi system nahi hai	25
Bache ka class dhundhne me dushwari hoti hai	18
Koi privacy nahi hoti hai	12

Koi hota nahi hai batane ke liye	12
Waqt bahut barbaad hota hai	10
Principal room me bhi koi batane waala nahi hota	10
Teacher respect nahi dete hai	09
Koi preshani nahi hoti bahut log mujhe jante hai yeha per	09

Total number of respondents = 49. [Table 9.1]

concerning their child with Principal or teacher. For example, matter related to fee reduction or waiving of fee and discussing the results of their children. This experience sometimes very humiliating for the parents. According to one parent “*jab main principal ke paas fee maaf karane ke gharz se mila to woh zor zor se chilla kar kahne lage ki tumhare paas gosht khane ka paisa hota hai, shadi me lakho kharch karte ho aur yeha fee maaf karane chale aaye, chalo jao yeha se yeh khairati idara nahi hai, pure poorani dilli ka yeh hi haal hai, mujhe bahut bura laga tha wahan aur bhi teachers baithe the*—when I reached to the Principal for the fee relief, he started shouting at me and said you have money to eat meat and spend on marriage and coming here for fee relief, go from here as this is not a voluntary organisation, this is the condition of all Old Delhi people, it was very embarrassing for me as many teachers were also sitting there”. Another parent said that “*teachers sudhar jaye to school apne aap sudhar jayega aur, yeh log hamari sunte hi nahi hai, bacho ke baare me maa baap se ziyada kaun jaanta hai, hum aate hai padhai se mutallik aur yeh log masjid mazaar ki baat lekar baith jaate hai aur teachers ke dil me hum logon (poorani dilli) ke liye nafrat bhara hua hai, sabhi waise nahi hai, achche log bhi rahte hai yeha per*—if teachers become responsible then school will be better automatically, nobody knows children better than parents, we come here to discuss

related to educational status and performance of my child but they start talking about mosque and *mazaar* as they have developed hate about the people from Old Delhi, we all are not the same, there are also good people living in this area”. ‘Time killing’ is one of the reasons while visit to the school and meet the teachers cited by the number of parents as one showing deep frustration and said, *kiya hoga iss school ka jahan teachers se milne me hi pura din nikal jaata hai aur agar mulakat hoti bhi hai to apni zayada sunate hai aur hamari sunte hi nahi hai, main to aana hi chor dunga mera bacha pade ya na pade*—what will be the future of this school where it takes whole day to meet the teachers and if meet them they start saying their own problems and hardly listen to us, now I will avoid to come to this school either my son will study or not”. Visible number of people expressed that they do not face any difficulty as number of teachers and other staffs know them and they help in all aspects of the schooling of the children.

While asked them to rank the Anglo Arabic School, they put the school in ‘above average’ category, but the parameters were more non-academic which reflects their less concern about the educational achievements of the school. One parent said, *“chahe under kuch bhi ho hum iss school ko achcha rank hi denge kiyun ki yeh ek Muslim tanzeem hai, Allah sab theek kar dega*—whatever the condition inside I will give it good rank as it is a Muslim institution, and Allah will take care of this school”. Another said, *“abhi school ki kafi kharab performance hai magar masjid hai mazaar hai to main achcha number dunga isse*—presently school performance is not good but I will give good marks because of presence of a mosque and a *mazaar* in the campus”.

On the other side, while comparing with other schools in the locality, they put in ‘poor category’. saying *“bahut kami hai iss school me agar dusre schools ko dekha*

jaaye”, “*agar private schools ko dekhe to yeh school kahi exist hi nahi karta, dekhne ko bada school hai lekin result bada nahi hai*” (if we compare it with other there are many shortcomings in the school and its existence is invisible before the private schools in the area, only its size is bigger but not the results”. Further, pointing towards a boy, he said, “*dekhiye yeh ladka kela kha kar yehi phak diya, yeh kela khane ka waqt hai, wahan paani jama hai, yeh log padhai nahi bimari phailane ka kaam kar rahe hai, innke uper to jurmana lagana chahiye, main to inn sab ko zero rank bhi na dun*—see he ate banana and thrown here, is this time to eat banana in the school, there is water lodging at many places in the campus, they are not spreading the education but diseases, they should have been fine for these things, I personally will not give even zero rank to this school as they deserve less than this”.

While talking about the facilities for the children most of the respondents termed it as ‘*ganda*’, ‘*burā*’, ‘*bahut kharab*’ and shown deep concern about non-availability of safe drinking water, filthy condition of the toilets and classrooms and playground. Significantly, people are not happy with the overall

What you think about facilities in the school for the children?

Responses	Numbers
Bahut achcha nahi hai	16
Gandagi kafi faili rahti hai	12
Saaf paani bhi nahi milta hai	12
Class ganda rahta hai aur bachche khud saaf krte hai	12
Ujda-ujda sa lagta hai	12
Mahaul achcha nahi hai	07

Khel-kood ki kami hai	07
Library achchi hai	06
Canteen achcha hai	03
Not responded	01

Total number of respondents = 49 [Table 9.2]

condition of the school saying “*school bilkul ujda-ujda sa lagta hai*—school seems like a dead sanctuary” while few respondents expressed satisfaction on the condition of school library and availability of canteen for the children and staff.

Further, it is revealed that people see Anglo Arabic School from comparative angle of its past performance and glory. An alumni put a comparative view which gives a clear picture of what changes occurred over a period of time;

“there is much difference between the condition of the school at the past and today, in yester years if the teachers come to know that a student is weak in a particular paper they were extending their support without charging any fee (*masjid me baitha kar pada dete the*) but time took wrong shape for this school as now teachers think of their job not about the school and children, they think they have sarkari naukri and working here with no fear to lose it. They have weak will to teach them and control their behaviour. It was the time when teacher-parent relationship was very cordial and had respect for each other but now teachers avoid the parent’s involvement in the school and children related matters, they let the parents to wait for long and hardly

offer their time to meet them and they do not call parents even when needed. Teacher-student relationship was like *baap-beta* during those days as teachers had influence on students' behaviour but now teachers are unable to make personal impact on the students and this is the major reason of degrading values of education and result in this school. The school had good rapport in the past, people had been proud of studying in this school (*faqr se kahte the main Anglo Arabic School me padhta hu*) but today people feel shy of telling this as other people reply 'koi aur school nahi mila kiya'. Students are also not of that kind as no student impressed me, I felt here being in a madarsa and meeting madarsa students as nobody was able to express anything (*chup-chap the*). Political negligence is also there for this school as the government finds hundred ways not to give money to you but you must have hundred and ten ways to seek attention of the government and get assistance.”

Others also give similar opinions while comparing the present with the past as one said “*teachers bahut matlabi ho gaye hai, sirf apni salary aur faide ke bare me sonchte hai aur school ki halat aur result pe dhyan nahi dete, aisa pehle nahi tha—* the teachers become more professional and more interested in salary and own benefits rather about the school performance which is quite opposite to the teachers' attitude of those days”. He further said “*pehle yeh school yehan ke logo ke liye pehla choice hota tha, lekin aaj yeh logo ki aakhri choice banke rah gayi hai, aur yeh sirf iss liye*

hai kiyun ki teachers ka interest khatam ho gaya hai aur pehle jaisa intazaamia bhi nahi raha—the school was the first choice for the local people but now it become last choice because of lack of interest among teachers towards teaching and inefficient administration”. This shows the past glory of the school is weighing heavily on its present. This impacts the decision of the community to send their children.

Parents desire to send their children to Anglo Arabic School is governed by many factors — more on personal, financial, language of instruction, historical aspects of the school than factors related with educational achievement. The personal factors such as less distance from the home, desire of the child to study in AAS and relationship with teachers and other staffs are the major reasons before the parents to take decision about this school. Factors related to the economic status of the family are of prime importance in taking decision as many expressed “*yeha padhai me kharch kam hai*—this school is less expensive” and

Why do you send your child to AAS?

Responses	Numbers
Ghar se qareeb hai	25
Yeh Urdu medium school hai	18
Quam ke liye banaya gaya hai	16
English medium school hai	14
Mera beta yehan padhna chahta tha	12
Hamare ilake ke hisab se achcha school hai	12
Yehan padai me kharch kam hai	09
Ghareebon ke liye achcha school hai	09

Yeh bahut purana school hai	05
Bade log padh kar nikle hai	04
Musalman mahaul hai	04
Deen-Duniya dono lekar chal sakta hai	04
Padhai theek hai	03
Bada idara hai	02
Relative padhate hai	02
School ka apna ek meyar hai	02

Total Number of Respondents = 49 [Table 9.3]

“*gharibon ke liye achcha school hai*—this is a good school for poor people”. Saying these things were very hard to them as one said “*agar hamare paas paise hote to iss school me kabhi nahi padhata*—if I have money then will never send my child to this school” another said that “*iss school ki wajah se hum jaise ghareeb ke bachche bhi kuch padh lete hai aur issi me se kuch padh kar aage bhi nikal jaate hai aur zindagi me naam kamate hai*—due to AAS children from poor family are getting education and few of them go ahead and earn name and fame in life”. Showing the economic incapability one said “*ghareeb hai iss liye yeha bhejte hai*—send my child here because I am a poor father”.

AAS offers education in all the three languages (Urdu, Hindi and English) which become one of the biggest reasons of choice for the parents to send their children to this school. One third of the parents choose AAS because of language of instruction is Urdu as it either considered, being a Muslim, own language or child studied in *maqtab* or *madarsa* before joining the AAS. Similar number of parents give priority to English language seeing the future prospects. Historical factors also play a vital

role for their choice to send their children to AAS like “*bade log yehan se padh kar nikle hai*—big people studied here”, “*yeh ek bahut purana school idara hai*—this is oldest school in Delhi”, “*iss school ka apna ek meyar hai*—this school enjoys its own status”. One said, with great hope, “*aadmi apne bachchon ko wahan padhana chahta hai, jahan se bade-bade log padh kar nikle ho jiss se bache ke under uss insaane ka asar/chaap aaye*—parents want to send their children to the school where many successful people studied with the hope that their good qualities will come in them as well” another said “*yeh ek purana school hai, bachcha jab yeha se padh kar niklega to isski apni ek pehchan hogi ek shinakht hogi kiyun ke iss school ko log jante hai*—this is an old school and has its own identity, if child will study here and go out will enjoy a status of being studied here as people know this school”. Religious factors such as “*musalman mahaul hai*—there is Muslim culture in the school”, “*yeh school muslim quam ke liye banaya gaya hai*—this school is built for the Muslims”. A person, thanking to the founder of the school, said “*iss school ke hone se bachche kum se kum subah-subah bande matrum padhne aur haath jod kar khade rahne se to bach jaate hai, yeha kum se kum salam-kalaam ka mahaul to hai*—studying in the school children at least avoid to recite *vande matram* in the morning, and there is an environment of saying salaam in AAS”. Three parents cited ‘good schooling’ as a reason to send their children in this school as one said “*padhai theek hai*—teaching is good in the school” another said “*kuch teacher achche hai aur mere janne wale bhi hai*—few teachers are good and they know me well”. However, this show, at Anglo Arabic School, the parents have low efficacy because of their own low achievement in the field of education, low sense of belongingness to child’s educational success, low expectation from the children in terms of success in education and their contribution to the society. On the other hand, the school and the teacher have negative attitudes

towards parents and local community (as discussed in the chapter of teacher culture) as there is war like situation and this is the reason they do not involve, welcome, acknowledge and encourage parents' presence in the school matter. And this reflects that they have 'behavioural difficulties' with each other at AAS which prevent healthy coordination between them leads a chaos in the school processes.

An Interview with Parent/Alumni

Researcher: *salaam, main aap se school ke bare me aur aap ke bachche ke baare me kuch baat kar sakta hun?*

Parent: *han-han, kiyun nahi (smile...)*

Researcher: *aap ka naam kiya hai aur aap kahan se aate hai?*

Parent: *Mohammad Anwar Hussain, main yehi se padh kar nikla hun, lekin uss waqt haalat aisi nahi thi (showing grief), aur main Turkman Gate se aata hun.*

Researcher: *school ki aisi halat ka zimmedar aap kis ko mante hai?*

Parent: *Sonchte huye, hum khud hai aur issi wajah se saare muslim idaaroon ka yehi haal hai, teachers qualified to hai magar padhate nahi hai, parents school me darr se nahi aate hai ke kiya baat karenge, musalmano ko sardaron se aur Christians se sabak lena chahiye ke schools kis tarah chalaya jaata hai. (He had become quite angry for the moment).*

Researcher: *aap apne bachchon ko AAS me hi kiyun bejte hai?*

- Parent:** *(looking at me) iss ki sirf do wajah hai, pehla ke teachers mere jaanne waale bhi hai aur relatives bhi hai aur iss ka thoda bahut faida mil hi jaata hai (with smile on face) aur doosra school mere ghar se kafi nazdeek hai.*
- Researcher:** *muskurate huye, kis tarah ka faida sir?*
- Parent:** *meri taraf dekhte huye, ab aap se kiya chupana hai, teachers mere bachchon ka khyal rakhte hai, aur tuition bhi yehi sab padhate hai, waise to iss school ke sabhi teachers tuition padhate hai. Aap yeh baat kisi ko kahiyega nahi, achcha nahi lagta.*
- Researcher:** *school visit karne par kis tarah ki preshani hoti hain aap ko?*
- Parent:** *jab mera bachcha kuch shaitani karta hai ya padhne me dhyan nahi deta tabhi main aata hun. Jab main school me enter karta hun to koi kuch puchta nahi hai ke kahan ja rahe ho, iss se kabhi kabhi lagta hai ke bachcho ki security khatre me hai, yehan teachers se milna ek tedhi kdeer hai.*
- Research:** *Bachcho ke liye school me facilities ko kis tarah dekhte hai?*
- Parent:** *Paani ki shikayat bachche karte rahte hai, saaf paani to nahi milta hai, toilet me agar aadmi jaaye to napaak hi hokar nikata hai, bahut ganda hota hai (he was very upset and unhappy). Class ki halat bhi kuch achchi nahi hoti.*
- Researcher:** *bachche ko school bhejne me kiya preshani aati hai?*

Parent: *kio khas preshani nahi hoti hai, nazdeek me ghar hai hamara, lekin rasta kharab hai, aur bahar ka mahaul ganda hai (GB road ki wajah se) to iss ka khayal rakhna hota hai.*

Researcher: *apne bachche ke liye kiya soncha hai aap ne?*

Parent: *main ne to abhi kuch nahi soncha hai, bachche ne agar kuch soncha ho to keh nahi sakte, main chahta hun bas padh kar achcha insaan ban jaye.*

Researcher: *apne bachche ki padhai ke liye aap kiya-kiya karte hai?*

Parent: *Tuition karata hun, yehan teachers bhi kahte hai ke tuition lagado to result sahi hojayega? Mere ladke ne mujhe bataya tha ke teacher class me nahi aate hai. Kami do no me lagta hai. Ek baar yeha teacher ne kisi student ko itna mara ki us ski pasli toot gait hi, aur police bhi aagai thi, iss tarah se nahi marna chahiye, aur ek ladke ne bhi teacher ko maara tha. To mahaul bhi kuch khas faide ka nahi hai.*

Researcher: *aap ke hisaab se school me kiya tabdili honi chahiye?*

Parent: *(looking at the school building) saare school ka maintenance bahut zaroori hai, safai pe dhayan nahi hai, bahut kharab lagta hai. Saare guardian ko shikayat karni chahiye principal se ya management ke logo se. Aur hum yeh bhi chahte hai ke achchi tarah class lage, school me maar-peet na ho, bachche per dhayan ho kiyun ke bachche to bache hote hai, meri dua hai ke school sudhar jaye aur teachers bhi (hanste huye).*

- Resaercher:** *app iss school ko 10 me kitna number denge?*
- Parent:** *bahut sonchne ke baad, 5 points sahi hai iss ke liye, kharab to hai, lekin kuch bhi hai apna school hai.*
- Researcher:** *aap aur kuch kehna chahte hai?*
- Parent:** *bas itna key yeh sab aap kisi teacher ko na bataye nahi to woh mujhe bura bhala kahenge aur mere bachche ko bhi.....(he become silence for a moment), mujhe jo laga main ne aap ko bata diya..... (he took a long breath and looked at me as saying do not reveal my name).*

The local community is quite disappointed about the school functioning, teachers' behaviour, management personnel and the condition of school infrastructure which is of historical importance.

Dissatisfaction shown over the security of the children, controlling mechanism of the school both for the children and teachers, internal conflict among the teachers (everybody wants to become principal), results of their children and diminishing character of the school as compare to the past. They are worried about loosed identity of the school and not having control over school's management which push them to criticise the way school is being run. Seeking control over the school Management, they seem to politicise the religious issues related to the mosque and shrine and see this as a gateway to intervene in the Management of the school. In this process the school's teacher community has different viewpoint and this divides them into groups where one talks (silently) in the favour of the 'local' and other oppose (silently) their

wishes. On the other side, school Management see it as a political interest of the local people to acquire control over the school property rather to participate in the schooling processes. They have strong believe that allowing the locals; considered illiterate or '*Jahil*', in the decision making of the school matters will simply an invitation to bring all their ill wishes and conflicts and the typical, traditional and orthodox mind set of Delhi-6 and environment of the school surroundings, which is unanimously considered as bad, in the matter of school functioning which can never solve the actual problems of the school. Consequently, it will spoil the development of the school, school environment and school function in more perilous way.

9.2 ROLE PERCEPTION

Number of researches, here and outside India has been suggesting the role of parents and truthful, conscious and continuous coordination among school, teachers, parents and children can bring wonders and are vitally important for normal educational growth of the children. Getting families and parents involved in education and make them aware about their roles in schooling and allowing them to perform can mean better attendance, more homework, a positive attitude toward school, better behaviour hence greater performance (Henderson & Berla 1994; Becher 1984). Further, Walberg (1984) reported that academic success is more closely related to family practices and as per the Barton and Coley (1992) most of the differences in achievement reported throughout the nation can be directly attributed to what happens in the home. Parental involvement in children's academic pursuits can influence achievement in all academic subjects (Keith & Keith, 1993) and educational achievement is not necessarily simply a function of parental insistence on doing homework but also a matter of attaching significant social and familial importance to educational values. In

this section, I will be discussing about the perceived roles of the parents and their level of conscious efforts to the child's education. At AAS, parents' involvement in the educational process of their children is limited to the financial support and unconscious expectations. They are quite unaware about the importance of their coordination with the school and what can be done to achieve those expectations made for their child rather hope in Allah is the prime to ascertain all those expectations. For example; a father said I want my child to become doctor, but his child was studying Commerce at class twelve.

To know the expectations of the parents and their efforts to meet those expectations, I asked two questions; what do you think about future of your child? and what are you doing for education of your child? The responses of the first question were quite confusing as given more than one professions to be achieved for example; a parent said that I want my child to become doctor or engineer. Most of the parents were not aware what his/her child will do after passing from the AAS and not aware of which subject his/her child has opted at the senior secondary level. Maximum number of parents replied that

What do you think about future of your child?

Responses	Numbers
Abhi to kuch nahi soncha hai	10
Bas kuch ban jaaye	08
Doctor banana hai	06
Allah ki marzi me jo hoga ban jaayega	04
Engineer banana chahte hai	04
Bas pairon per khada ho jaaye	04

Molvi banana hai	04
Bachche khud hi jaane	03
Army me bhejna hai	02
Kuch padh jaaye	02
IAS banana hai	02
<hr/>	
Total Number of respondents = 49 [Table 9.4]	

‘*Abhi to kuch nahi soncha hai*—not think of it yet’, ‘*Bas kuch ban jaaye*—just anything he becomes’, ‘*bas pairon per khada ho jaaye*—just stand at his own feet’, ‘*bachcha khud hi jaane*—child know himself’, *kuch padh jaaye*—just do study etc. They seem very much passive about the future of their children and not worried about the educational progress too. Indicating hands to sky, most of them left the future in the hands of Allah saying “*hum kuch bhi karle Allah jo Chahega wahi hoga*—we do everything but will get as God’s decree”.

At AAS, parents are quite unaware about the educational achievement of their children, they see education in terms of monetary benefits and do not think much about the career of their children, their decisions to send them to AAS backed by the religious factors of not losing the religious identity as praying in the morning in non-Muslim ways like ‘*doing Namaste*’ or reciting ‘*Vande matrum*’ or celebrating non-Muslim occasions by sending them to the other government or private schools.

Replying to the second question, monetary contribution was the central focus towards the education of their children alongside the putting restrictions to keep away from environment of the old city of Delhi which is considered commonly bad. Monetary investment like ‘*Tuition de raha hun*—giving tuition’ and coaching destination and choice of the teachers done by the students themselves in almost all the cases and

most of them go for coaching where teachers from AAS teach and provide home tuition to get favour otherwise.

What you do for education of your child?

Responses	Numbers
Tuition de rahe hai	24
Waqt nahi de paate	24
Waqt deta hun	12
Koi khas nahi	12
Donation bhi dete hai	10
Delhi-6 ke mahaul se bachane ki kishish karte hai	06
Namaz ke liye kahta hun	05
Pocket money deta hun	05
English mahaul dene ki koshish karte hai	03
Sehat ka khayal rakhte hai	03
Alag se room dete hai	03
T.V. ka waqt bhi dete hai	03
Sehat ka khayal rakhte hai	03
Khelne ka waqt bhi dete hai	02
Computer de rakha hai	01

Total number of respondents = 49 [Table 9.5]

Giving donation at the time of admission is another investment they remember always and abuse the school administration for this. Pocket money to the children is also responded by the significant number of parents. Regarding this, two parents were quite against to give more money considering to restrict them to become extra-vacant (*bahut kharchila mijaz na ho jaye*), and prevent them to indulge into wrong behaviour (indicating the prostitution activities in the GB road) although everyone there in the school and local community viewed it as threat for schooling and the impact of such activities around the school hamper the school environment and adding more problem to the school. Further, three parents, considered not to give money in the hands of children but to give ‘things’ needed for them as they take it as a controlling mechanism of the children behaviour. Significant number of parents believe in providing comfortable environment along with it like ‘*sehat ka khayal rakhte hai—*keep notice of their health’, ‘*alag se room deta hun—*provide separate rooms’, ‘T.V. *dekhne ka waqt—*allow to watch T.V’ and ‘*khelne ka waqt dete hai—*allow to play along with monetary rewards and also spare time with the children at home for their education and otherwise. But on the other side, maximum number of parents do not give time to their children at home excusing their involvement in own business or work and they feel they are nothing to do with the study of their children as either they are illiterate or do not think to do so and do not believe that they have any knowledge that the school is interesting in knowing because they are not being welcomed. Many parents want to withdraw their children from the school and not interested to continue study of their children in AAS. A parent replied “*school aur coaching to bhej hi rahe hai ke kuch padh le, agar hum padhe hote to yeh haal hota—* I am sending my child to the school and coaching so that he can study something, if I would have studied this would not be the my situation”.

Seeing the responses of the parents and other people in the local community, at AAS parents are eventually involved in the education of their children and in the school matters rather than take strategic involvement, their contribution is quite peripheral than as a core decision maker, their concern is limited as the role of the parents *per se* (providing *roti, kapda aur makaan* and arranging the books, copies, pen, uniform etc) rather than work as an informed parent, they are more on criticising the school and teachers than working as a feedback agent for educational progress of their children, their priority is to teach their children religious rituals and do not let them away from those rituals than facilitating for school education or worldly education. Mostly, do not see the education in terms of ‘achievement’ rather consider it to learn how to live — behave with elders, parents, and earning *rozi-roti* (livelihood).

Parental attitude about the school is quite complaining and wish to make changes in school, its teachers but bring changes in their own attitude towards school, teacher and education of their children is far from the acceptance. They are more interested to know in what school is doing? But not what they are doing? They are more concerned to have control over school rather controlling the behaviour of their children, their concern is more about religious processes (mosque and shrine) and less about the educational processes, seeing school more as economic property and less as educationally important.

Endnotes:

1. The home is the first institution where children receive the education. Children in the family learn some norms and values that have to be carried out throughout all the stages of their lives. This lifelong learning can only be possible when there is a partnership between the home, community and the school.
2. The success of any program will be tied directly to the support and encouragement of the principal (Lewis 1992). "Principals are key contributors to helping parents and other educators understand each other" (Duncan 1992). "Ultimate responsibility for creating harmony between the school and the home rests with the principal" (Campbell 1992).
3. Local community see the AAS as a commercial complex as it is situated at the heart of Delhi, as a religious site because of the presence of a mosque and a shrine inside the campus and as 'own property' as it a *wakf* done by the founder. They hardly see or it comes at last to see the whole campus of the Anglo Arabic School as an educational institution.
4. The meeting of the some of the members from the local community held at *mazaar*-shrine located in the school campus to show resentment against the school Management.

CHAPTER — X

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter the attempt will be made to draw out some key themes and issues that have emerged in this study. This chapter consists of three sections. First section gives an overview of the study. The second section includes some salient findings and discussion of some key issues that emerged out of the study and the last section presents implications of the study.

10.1 SECTION — I: AN OVERVIEW

The thesis has been titled “An Ethnographic Study of Anglo-Arabic School, Delhi”. The focus was on the study of an historical educational institution of Delhi in its present day context and form. The origin of this school lies in the establishment of Madarsa Ghaziuddin in 1692 outside the limits of the city. The institution which started as Madarsa Ghaziuddin took various forms and acquired different names throughout its long history. Upon its foundations was built the Anglo Arabic senior Secondary School. In 1951, it came under the management of Delhi Education Society and continues to function under it till today.

While a brief historical account of its founding and journey across more than three centuries has been narrated, the thesis largely explores the complex relationship within which the school is situated. The social and cultural settings, the implications that this has for its students and teachers has been explored by looking at the everyday life and world of its students, teachers and the inter- action and inter-relationships of the teachers, students and the community. I have attempted to do this through an ethnographic study of the Anglo Arabic School. Participant observation, interviews,

discussion and field work was done between 2008- 2010, the duration through which I was physically situated on the campus of the AAS. This exposure allowed me immerses myself in the field and to pick up the nuances, and a valuable consequence of the ethnographic methodology. The chapter on ‘Everyday Life and Occasional Happenings’ discuss the routine activities and occasional events that take place in the school. The chapter on ‘Student’s World’ discusses the world of the students and their experiences in AAS. After this, there is a chapter on the ‘Teachers’ World’, which describes the world of teachers in AAS from their own perspective. Details of their performed and expected roles, constraints and challenges they face and their relationship dynamics has been discussed. In the chapter on ‘Teacher- student interaction: formal and informal’ the nature, setting and content of interaction between the teachers and the students is presented. ‘School and Community: Perceptual Mapping’ discusses the current image of the school from the eyes of the community, besides perceived role of the parents in the educational development of their children and their contribution in their child’s education are discussed.

10.2 SECTION—II: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The section draws upon the findings of this study to build a discussion around the children, teachers, community and the school management within a social context and the dynamics at play in the context of a Muslim managed school.

- **School Ethos**

While today the Anglo Arabic School is a secular institution its ethos is overwhelmingly Muslim/ Islamic. The religious ethos of the school is visible on a number of fronts. The Mughal style architecture and the presence of the mosque in the campus itself is a reflection of the Muslim/Islamic ethos of the school. Scattering of

graves and a shrine in the campus of the school adds to its Muslim flavour. The school starts with the recitation of Holy Quran every morning at the school assembly. The logo of the school teaches the Principle that ‘find a way or make one’ and carries religious symbol of a mosque. Islamic calligraphy found on calendars and paintings in the office, library, staff room etc. reflect the values and symbols of Islam. Further, occasional celebrations in the school feature Islamic contents and daily routines are scheduled keeping in mind the schedule of the prayer and religious festivals. The Islamic form of greeting *Assalam-o- Alaikum* is heard throughout the day. Moreover, a student’s success or failure is seen more as the ‘decree of Allah’ rather than the ‘effort or neglect’ of the students themselves. Similarly, love for the ‘quam’ is seen as a valuable quality to possess and permeates all actions and outweighs even professional commitment. The school also opens its doors to students from a *madarsa* background and is proud of the number of Hafiz (those who have memorised the Holy Quran by heart) it has on its rolls. This is one of the unique features of this institution wherein children from a *madarsa* background have got an opportunity to acquire modern education.

- **School and its Past**

Despite the ups and downs the school has faced, AAS fortunately is remembered very fondly with reference to its past glory which even though has faded still seems to be going quite strong. The school remains rooted in the past and in its past glory - in terms of performance, success, kind of teachers and school environment. They believe that ‘there is one thing good about the school which is its past’ which even today influences the decision of the parents to send their child to AAS. Teachers feel proud to be part of it and students are happy to carry on with its historical legacy. In fact Anglo Arabic School is perhaps the only school of its kind which has generations of

families who have studied here. It is a strange paradox that it also has many first generation learners!

- **Upkeep and Maintenance**

This glorious heritage ironically also poses one of the biggest challenges to the school. The size of the school, the old buildings and the lack of staff is an important cause for the poorly maintained look the school exhibits. The building is coming apart in many areas and at times poses a risk. The Management is constantly engaged in generating funds for this purpose but the task at hand is so immense that all effort appears to be a drop in the ocean. With the Lieutenant Governor of Delhi's intervention the Delhi Development Authority has taken on the project of renovation and repair. However, because of bureaucratic delays this project still remains incomplete. There is helplessness and frustration regarding these issues amongst Management, teachers and the community.

The physical status of the school though of historical value pose a challenge to the children studying in classrooms with broken flooring, seepage, broken window panes, etc., thereby also affecting the teaching learning environment.

- **Issues of Discipline**

Maintaining discipline in the school among the actors—student, teacher and parents, is an overall concern for the school administration. There appears to be a 'free culture' that has emerged in AAS where all actors enjoy 'being at own' whether students, teachers or parents. Despite the few areas of tension, teachers largely consider AAS to be a 'heavenly place' to work where there are no strict rules or schedule which compels them to perform their tasks.

Students enjoy freedom of not attending classes, enjoy gossip and roam around the school without any fear of punishment. Students are in the habit of coming late and many a times skip the Morning Prayers. While for some the reason may be genuine because of distance and the use of public transport (school does not have buses of its own), coming late for many others is the non-seriousness about maintaining discipline. Many children even after coming to school in the morning bunk classes - sitting in the ground or canteen and going outside the school. Some boys, however, leave to attend to the petty jobs they are engaged in to supplement their family income.

Parents once enrol their children in school feel that 'they have nothing to do with the study of their children and leave all responsibilities to the teachers and children itself'. Their visit to the school (if any) is 'not planned' but come to school when they find free time from work. Thus, everyone is inclined towards their own comfort and not willing to come out of their comfort zones. A 'laissez-faire' culture has emerged in AAS where the pattern of communication between actors is very informal. There is no time fixed to meet each other. For example, parents can come to school and meet the teachers/principal/his ward whenever they want and put their point, there is no time allotted to meet students and teachers, meeting of the sub-committees held whenever and wherever members want. Notices are not displayed on notice board but mostly communicated verbally.

Another finding that has emerged through this study is that there is that the actual teaching hours in Anglo Arabic School are less than in other schools. There is a tendency in the school to delay starting their academic schedule, elongate recess time, adjust holidays for their own benefits and hangover also seems longer than usual after

any celebration in the school. Usually academic calendar starts in the month of April but it is seen that there is a 'feeling of being relaxed' among the teachers and have preconceived notion that the actual teaching starts after the summer vacation. Holidays are adjusted in such a manner to have four or five bunches of holidays of seven to ten days in a year which disrupt the teaching learning momentum in the school. Occasional celebrations in the school overshadow the scheduled curricular activities or the pedagogic processes. Teachers start giving excuses not to take classes or giving less time in the classrooms. The hangover seems longer than usual and express unreasonable feeling of anxiety and tiredness after the celebration.

Restricting entry of visitors or mosque and shrine goes into the school is a major challenge for the school which causes indiscipline during school hours. Attempts at regularising this entry of outsiders have created a lot of ill will between the school authorities and the community. The members of the new Management have even been referred to as 'dahriye' (Atheist) for regularising the entry of people to the shrine located within the campus.

- **Worries and Tensions**

The relationship between teachers of AAS unfolds in an interesting manner. The factors that come in to play are seniority, caste and region. Many a times these factors become the basis of clash amongst teachers which leads to ill will and has a negative impact on the school culture. This group-ism gets played out on a number of fronts , for example, in allocation of school work, holding administrative responsibilities, academic work load, representing school in events outside the school, formation of committees and their heading them, etc.

However, a number of nagging issues seem to affect the teacher- management relationship. These are primarily linked to issues pertaining to the school results at the Board examinations. While the management tends to hold the teachers squarely responsible for this, teachers argue that the quality of students who take admission in school are ‘below standard’. This is a tussle which none has been able to overcome with the school results continuing to remain dismal.

An easy explanation forwarded by the teachers is that a large percentage of students who appear in the Board exams are not truly “their products” having taken admission in classes VI (after completion of their crucial primary level classes in another school) and a much larger percentage taking admission in class XI after completing ten years of schooling in another school only to pass out as an Anglo Arabic School product!

The Management however, does not take kindly to this, their argument being that teachers should at least ensure that students are able to attain at least the minimal pass percentage under even the most trying of circumstances.

Salary is another issue which keeps the teachers a worried lot. Since AAS is an aided school the school Management has to bear the cost of five per cent of teachers’ salaries which is generated through income from other sources and occasional donations. This understandably remains a constant source of worry for the teachers who are often engaged in a discussion on whether there is enough money in the school’s coffer for their salaries. This many a times also becomes a source of distraction for them. The uncertainty around this issue keeps the teachers anxious and tense.

Maintaining a relationship with parents is an issue which often bothers the teachers of AAS. Teachers see them as troublesome and would rather meet them individually rather than in a group. The scant respect and disregard parents exhibit towards the teachers is another reason for this. On the other hand parents too feel that due respect is not given to them by the teacher and the principal and they are often at loggerheads with each other. Many a times politics between teachers and the principal is also played out through the use of parents as a scapegoat. This results in very few occasions where parent- teacher interactions take place.

Another matter of grave concern for teachers is of being declared 'surplus'. The Directorate of Education's stipulation that if the number of students decreases teachers who may have been appointed in the school will be declared as 'surplus', This has created a strange, rather pathetic situation, with teachers desperately assigning subjects to students irrespective of their choice, so that the teacher does not become surplus in the school. Besides, this is equally irritating for the management which after close scrutiny has selected its teachers has to relieve the teacher if made 'surplus'. Management sees it as threat to its autonomy and hurdle in the process of getting, selecting and retaining best teachers in the school. But by the time when decision is implemented (which normally takes two years) enrolment of the students increases where the school and children suffer because of lack of teachers.

Teachers also worry with regard to their fear of certain outspoken students who may pose queries which they may not be able to answer. To nip this in the bud their classroom strategies are organised in such a manner that children themselves feel inhibited in asking questions. Heavy reliance on providing important questions before exams is another strategy adopted to pacify students in raising question.

- **A Peculiar Syndrome**

Anglo Arabic School appears to be suffering from a peculiar syndrome, characterised by boredom, inactivity, idleness and apathetic feeling. Different kinds of teachers have shown different reasons for inactiveness and apathetic feeling towards their responsibilities. Retiring teachers have feeling of withdrawal much before the actual date of retirement and do not believe in ‘doing the best at the last minute of his or her existence’. Experienced teachers who are at the middle of their career are enjoying ‘being on their own’ and less sensitive towards goals of the school. New teachers at AAS have a feeling of ‘being at the cross road’. Many teachers who joined AAS in recent years are pursuing higher degrees and making more efforts to quit the school rather than to perform their current tasks. Besides, there is lack of career development activities, absence of system for recognising the better performance of the teachers and a conflict like situation in AAS makes teachers a ‘passive performers’ rather than active initiators.

- **Distractions at the school**

The Management of the School is placed in a unique situation. Rather than concentrating on issues pertaining to the running of the school and bringing about quality improvement, they are kept busy on a number of fronts which are not directly related to school management. The issues surrounding the school are so immense and varied in nature that the Management is constantly entangled in a web which keeps it distracted from its primary focus of building the school’s quality. These pertain to issues around encroachment on the school’s campus, petty disputes around the shrine and the mosque on the campus, bullying by local politicians, repeated cases of thefts, entry of mischievous elements in the campus, etc. The Management is constantly kept

busy trying to ward off all this. Each day brings with it a new issue with which the Management has to deal with.

- **Directorate of Education**

Other points of conflict arise out of the fact of being a government aided school. This fact places a lot of tension on the school authorities and places the teachers and the school Principal in a strange limbo.

Government interference in the matters of recruitment of teachers, declaring teachers as a surplus, rules and regulations imposed on aided schools are constant irritants which have to be faced on a near daily basis. This also comes in the way of maintaining discipline by the school management vis a vis the Principal and teachers as they are more eager to please and take instructions from the smaller officials of the Directorate rather than that from the Management. Another issue with the Directorate has been the 'Minority Status' of the school. This is a point of tussle. A minority state allows some concession vis a vis administration, recruitment.

- **Optimism and Hope**

Despite all odds the Anglo Arabic School is a branded address for the residents of the walled city of Delhi. Many parents are desirous of getting their children admitted here. For some children it has been a dream to study at AAS. The historic campus, playgrounds and open spaces away from the hustle and bustle of life of the walled city makes it a place of great value. The academic potential it offers is immense - with well qualified teachers, all three streams - Science, Commerce and Arts, being offered at the plus two levels. Many children speak very proudly of some of their teachers and are eager to take up subjects taught by them. The option to choose to study in any of the three languages – Hindi, Urdu and English, allows for diversity in the school. .

The school's library is another attraction. A vast collection of books on a number of subjects gives an added advantage to the students studying here. Besides other subjects, the collection includes books on English and Urdu literature as well as books on Islam. A collection of children's magazines in Urdu published during the 1940's and 1950's also find a place in this library as do many old textbooks.

A hostel with decent facilities allows even children from neighbouring states to take admission here.

Plants and trees which are good in number in the school, along with chirping birds of different colours spreading shadow and sounds in the school building and ground gives delightful feeling in the summer and grassy open areas in the winter as they interact there in free time or/and take classes by the teachers under the sun. Therefore, the physical structure and natural environment of the school provide learning and interacting opportunities that have effective meaning to the actors.

During my stay, I could also see the beginnings of reform taking place. A new Management had just taken over the year I had joined which was open to bringing about reform. This was evident in the fact that they mingled easily amongst the students and teachers, listened to their grievances, responded many of the needs, etc. A newly established junior science laboratory and a botanical garden raised the hope and aspirations of many children of the possibilities of pursuing their scientific interest. Revival of Football in the school after a gap of thirty years represented a promise of things to come. The concept of a Student's Council bore fruit with the investiture ceremony of the Student Council on the occasion of the Independence Day celebrations. The campus was made out of bounds for outsiders in an attempt to

develop it for the children. A new Basket ball court was constructed and the playground cleared of all debris, etc.

Besides, even as I was in the process of submitting my thesis, the Anglo Arabic School, which was so far as only boys school, has opened its doors to the girls.

10.3 IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY

One cannot see school in a vacuum. Schooling is a sociological process affects the life of the actors and being affected by the cultural baggage they bring to the school out of their primary socialization, which is varied in its nature. The school with its rules and regulations channelizes all these different cultural traits into making a unique school culture heading towards achieving school and individual goals.

In relation to the Muslim minority aided schools here AAS, where children come largely from lower strata, the concerns are wider—because of community inactiveness towards education, passive response on the schooling needs of their children, considering education a less important aspect of life. This may be because of their economic backwardness, disbelief about the future gain out of educational attainment, and feeling of being neglected on the part of the government.

The study has thrown up a number of issues which are of significant value. Use of the ethnographic method has helped in highlighting issues which would not have been possible to do in a study dependent on a purely survey based research. Most research on schools would not be able to highlight the nuances of the issues in the manner this study had done. For Instance, the study has highlighted the lack of harmony between all the players in the field – teachers, students and the parents and the reasons thereof.

The study deserves attention because of the following reasons

- Study of this nature and extent especially on Muslim minority schools is negligible, rather non-existent in India.
- The findings and issues emerged out of the study will draw attention of the policy makers to come up with more comprehensive and community based educational policy to render their specific educational needs in more informed manner.
- It will be helpful for the research scholars, who are involved in applying ethnographic approach. This study adopted unique process/steps to access into the life of school's actors which is helpful in better involvement and rapport building with them.
- This study presents a linkage between its past glory in terms of its culture and its transformation through its actors into life at school today and how it is affecting it present. This can help those professional who are working on culture and its impact on education.

The study has significant policy implications. It brings before us some very relevant issues which need to be addressed in the context of schools, especially those which are government aided and belonging to the minorities. For example

- The vacant positions in the school which can exist for ever (because of bureaucratic hurdles in a govt. aided minority institution) and can create havoc in the schooling of marginalised children
- The system of declaring teachers 'surplus' and the effect it has on the psyche of the teacher, the negotiations the teachers enter into for not getting declared 'surplus' all impact the teaching learning process

This study has brought before us some of the compelling reasons for the educational backwardness of the Muslims community located both within and outside of the community. While Muslims never tire of assigning blame for their backwardness on external factors there are many counts on which Muslims fail themselves as well. What Willis (Paul Willis, 2011) in his path breaking work *Learning to Labour* has pointed out that how for “the lads” it is their own culture which blocks teaching and prevents the realisation of liberal education aims , the same can be said to a large extent of Anglo Arabic school.

This study can be used by all those concerned about bringing about a change in the status of education of Muslims. The finer nuances that emerge in this study need to be highlighted and studied in greater detail. It also compels us to address larger issue that are affecting education of the community – factors arising out of mistrust, local politics as well as refusing to move out of their ghettoised existence.

This ethnographic study of a school situated within a community provides us with an understanding of how schools in the neighbourhood function and what are the issues. The thesis, probably a first of its kind of such a study of a Muslim managed school provides a sound understanding of how such schools are operating, how problems outside of the school system play an important role and what happens within the school.

10.3.1 Recommendation for Future Research

There is a need for more such case studies and ethnographies of schools which would allow a better assessment of the varying dimensions of schooling, more so those which cater to the marginalised sections, especially minorities. These studies could

be expanded to include research on Classroom processes in minority schools which do not find any place as a research agenda in our universities.

GLOSSARY

This lexicon gives the meaning of many Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Hindi words which has been used in the main text and also some technical terms particularly related to Indian, historical and religious context. Many of the episodes appearing in the text include the teachers', and students' and parents' own words. The sentences and oral testimonies of the respondents are translated there in the main text and hence not given here.

<i>aanchal</i>	: it is a piece of cloth that is used by females to cover their head.
<i>aazaan</i>	: a call to the faithful to perform Prayers.
<i>bada aadmi</i>	: an influential person.
<i>bazaar</i>	: market.
<i>biradari</i>	: brotherhood; the patrilineage within which, by custom, marriage is preferred
<i>bismillah hirr rahmane rahim</i>	: starting in the name of Allah Who is most kind, beneficent and merciful.
<i>Chowkidar</i>	: guard.
<i>darwaza</i>	: gate
<i>deen</i>	: faith or religion
<i>dilli kalij</i>	: Delhi College
<i>diyas</i>	: teachers are called Diyas in Mirambika School, is coined from the words 'didi' (elder sister) and 'bhaiya' (elder brother). As explained by the teacher it symbolises beckoning the light, the one who kindles the light in children.
<i>dua</i>	: asking from the Allah after each prayer.
<i>duniya</i>	: world.
<i>dunyavi taleem</i>	: worldly education
<i>dupatta</i>	: it is a long scarf that is worn by women across their head and chest and has been a symbol of modesty.

<i>gali-muhalla</i>	: street-locality
<i>ghazal</i>	: poem which describes the about the woman
<i>gunah</i>	: sin
<i>gutkha</i>	: paan masala
<i>hadith</i>	: the sayings of Prophet Muhammad based on the authority of a chain of transmitters..
<i>haraam</i>	: forbidden
<i>iftar</i>	: the time of opening the fast in the month of Ramazaan.
<i>iwan</i>	: an iwan is a rectangular hall or space, usually vaulted, walled on three sides, with one end entirely open.
<i>Jaali</i>	: perforated screen
<i>janazah</i>	: Islamic funeral of a dead body
<i>jangli</i>	: not civilized.
<i>jannat</i>	: Paradise.
<i>jharokhas</i>	: overhanging enclosed balcony used in Mughal architecture
<i>karkhanas</i>	: small factories
<i>kotha</i>	: a place of prostitution
<i>madrasa</i>	: an institution where religious teaching and Quranic instructions are given.
<i>maidan</i>	: play ground
<i>Maktab</i>	: a writing school, where basics of religion are taught to young children
<i>management ka aadmi</i>	: a person either from the school or from outside the school, who favours the school Management or Delhi Education Society and spy in the school for their interest.
<i>mansab</i>	: mansab was the generic term for the military –type grading of all imperial officials of the Mughal Empire.
<i>masjid</i>	: mosque.
<i>mazaar</i>	: shrine

<i>mehman khana</i>	: a Mehmaan Khana is a drawing room where guests are entertained
<i>millat</i>	: religious community
<i>muhallah chandani mahal</i>	: this is an area in which AAS reopened in 1872 because the historic building of Madarsa Ghaziuddin had been used as Police line and the government of that time was not ready to vacate it.
<i>mureed</i>	: a disciple of a peer or follower of a saint
<i>mutawalli</i>	: sec 3(f) of the Wakf Act, 1954 defines the Mutawalli as ‘any person appointed either in deed or instrument by which a wakf has been created to be the Mutawalli of wakf’.
<i>namaaz</i>	: the canonical prayer, performed five times daily
<i>nazam</i>	: It is a poetic composition describing a particular situation.
<i>paak</i>	: pious and pure
<i>paani wala dargah</i>	: a shrine situated in the AAS campus
<i>peer</i>	: sufi master
<i>pishatq</i>	: it is an Iranian term for a portal projecting from the façade of the building. This device is most common in Anatolian and Iranian architecture although it also occurs in India. In its most characteristic form this consists of a high arch set within a rectangular frame, which may be decorated with bands of calligraphy, glazed tile work, geometric and vegetal designs.
<i>purana qila</i>	: the Old Fort
<i>purani Delhi wale</i>	: people living in the old city of Delhi.
<i>quran</i>	: highest form of Islamic book believed as words of Allah.
<i>rozi-roti</i>	: livelihood.
<i>sadi's 'gulistan</i>	: a book written by the poet Shiekh Sadi.
<i>sajjadasheen</i>	: successor to a peer
<i>salaam</i>	: it is a mean of social bond and is offered to the people known when they usually meet for the purpose of blessing peace and prosperity
<i>sarkari naukari</i>	: government Job

<i>sawar</i>	: a rank in Mughal Period.
<i>shahjahanbad</i>	: the old city of Delhi
<i>shakhsiyat</i>	: personality of an individual
<i>sher-o-shairi</i>	: poetic verses
<i>tafrih</i>	: an outing for the sake of recreation and fun.
<i>tahkhanas</i>	: a galleried suite of underground rooms.
<i>telawat</i>	: reading of Quran.
<i>ulmas</i>	: Islamic scholars.
<i>ustad-shagird</i>	: teacher-student.
<i>waqf</i>	: an Islamic endowment created specifically for religious purpose.
<i>yunani tibb</i>	:yunani Medicine

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