
Tracing the legacies of the past: the development of student subjectivity in contemporary Indian secondary school education.

Lydia Harrell

A thesis submitted to
Auckland University of Technology
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

2019

School of Education

Supervisors:
Professor Nesta Devine
Dr Marek Tesar

Abstract

The reasons and motives behind my research are a blend of my own personal conflicts that I experienced as a student of India and also some of the professional and media debates that are on-going within this field. In the Indian school education context, some of the practices that are often debated in the media are physical punishments; Rote learning; examination centred learning and the promotion of English Language fluency as the only hallmark of good education. The PISA (2012) report states that one of the major future challenges for the Indian education system is to provide the kind of high skilled, creative and adaptable workers who require the complex 21st century skills. Media and Research reports also signal that a significant problem facing the Indian school education context, is the growing inequality in access to education. The secondary education enrolment rate and progression to higher education is considerably less among marginalised socio economic communities. The lingering impact of my personal school education experiences and the extent to which emotional abuse was normalised in Indian schools motivated me to explore the problems of the present and analysing why are things the way they are in the Indian school education context. In order to study this larger systemic problem, Tamil Nadu, a major southern state of India is used as a case study.

Foucault's discourse analysis is used as the major theoretical framework for this study as even the other theories used in this research such as Colonial Discourse Analysis and Post-Colonial theories derive their understanding of discourse from Foucault and draw from Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge. Foucault felt that to analyse a discourse in the present, it had to be looked at in its historical context. I found Foucault's idea of using history as a means of critical engagement with the present expressed in his conceptions of "genealogy" and "history of the present" as the most suitable framework for my research which aims to identify to both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using the pedagogic strategies of punishments, rote learning, examinations and English education. A range of materials such as school education policy documents, survey reports; current media debates; newspaper articles and historical documents have been used in this genealogical analysis.

Through my genealogical analysis, I have attempted to explain how in the three historical periods (Pre- Colonial Era, British rule and Post Independent India) the powerful institutions of each era have regulated and ratified the production and dissemination of knowledge that

have governed the formation of student subjectivity and have tried to explain the imbalances in the relationship between the discourses of the dominant/ marginalised or the coloniser/colonised.

The spirit of Foucault's approach and the post-colonial theories is strongly informed by the desire to critique, question or dismantle whatever is established as mainstream or hegemonic or dominant. This research attempts to question/ critique the dominant discourses of the Indian secondary school education practices. The hegemonic elements of the three periods that I have analysed in this research persist in the present day conduct of Indian secondary schools and classrooms and continue to affect student subjectivity in ways which may not be appropriate for India's current needs of its educated population. This is a problem because these practices perpetuate or increase inequality. In addition to disadvantaging marginalised learners, it contradicts with India's aspiration for high skilled, creative and knowledge workers with critical thinking, problem solving and other 21st century skills. The study has attempted to provide an insightful basis for potential action by recording the dominance of powerful discourses for future action research to be undertaken.

Contents

CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND	10
1.1. Rationale	10
<i>Research Aims</i>	<i>12</i>
1.2. Applying Foucault.....	13
<i>Focus of inquiry and Research Questions</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Examining the ‘present’:</i>	<i>15</i>
1.3 Background and Research Context:.....	16
<i>The Government Run education system- State board schools.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Low fee paying Private Schools:.....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Elite International Schools</i>	<i>26</i>
1.4 Outline of the thesis.....	27
CHAPTER 2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	33
2.1. Introduction	33
<i>Overview of the Foucault’s Discourse Analysis.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Foucauldian themes used in discourse analysis</i>	<i>35</i>
2.2. Post-Colonial Theory	41
2.3. Colonial Discourse Analysis	43
<i>Material Selection</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Use of Personal Narrative and technologies of self.....</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Ethical considerations.....</i>	<i>49</i>
2.4. Conclusion	50
CHAPTER 3-BATTERY HELPS!	51
3.1. Introduction: The Discourse of Punishments in Indian Schools.....	51
3.2. Foucault on punishments and the creation of compliant subjects	54
<i>Punishments and docile bodies.....</i>	<i>54</i>
3.3 The Normalization of Physical Punishments despite the Legal Ban	55
3.4 Challenges to the Indian Education System	59
3.5 School Corporal Punishments and impaired cognitive ability.....	60
3.6 Prevalence and the Public manifestations in TamilNadu & Personal Experiences	61
3.7 Genealogy.....	64

3.8 Consequences of physical punishments in school.....	66
<i>Punishments violate the right to education of the marginalised children</i>	66
<i>Punishments linked with mental health and behavioural problems</i>	67
3.9 Conclusion	67
CHAPTER 4 LEARNING BY HEART!	69
4.1 Introduction: The Discourse of Rote Learning	69
<i>Defending Rote Learning</i>	70
<i>Rote Learning inhibits critical and creative thinking</i>	71
4.2 Personal Reflection of the effectiveness of Rote learning techniques:	73
4.3 Rote Learning and the creation of a passive or compliant student subject	74
4.4 Challenges to the Indian Education system	76
<i>Rote Learning and Poor Learning Outcomes for the Marginalised</i>	76
<i>Rote Learning and 21st century skills</i>	77
4.5 Prevalence in Secondary Schools in TamilNadu	79
4.6 Genealogy of Rote Learning.....	82
4.8 Conclusion	84
CHAPTER 5-MARKS ONLY MATTER!	87
5.1 Introduction: The discourse of Examinations as the only mode of assessment	87
5.2 Government Initiatives	90
5.3 Prevalence of Examinations in Private Schools.....	92
5.4 The Discourse of Examination and the creation of compliant/docile student subjects	93
<i>Biopower and examinations</i>	94
5.5 Challenges to the Indian Education system	95
<i>Lack of application to real life contexts</i>	96
<i>Examinations test thin knowledge</i>	99
<i>Examinations: A prescriptive mode of assessment</i>	100
5.6 High Stake Tests and Private tuitions	101
5.7 Disadvantaging the marginalised.....	103
5.8 Examinations and mental health	104
<i>Academic Stress</i>	104
<i>Parental pressure</i>	105
5.9 Significance of the discourse in the state of TamilNadu	107
<i>Centum 'Madness' in TamilNadu</i>	108
<i>TamilNadu records highest number of adolescent suicides in India</i>	110

5.10 Conclusion	111
CHAPTER 6- ONLY IN ENGLISH!	113
6.1. Introduction to the Discourse of English as the Medium of Instruction (EMI):	113
6.2 The story of English in India (Post colonialism) and the creation of utilitarian and compliant subjects.....	117
6.3 Foucault's Governmentality and creation of governable and compliant subjects	119
6.4 Challenges of the discourse to the Indian Education System	121
<i>English as a language of intrusion vs inclusion</i>	122
<i>Content Language and Integrated Learning (CLIL) and its pedagogic challenges</i>	123
<i>Introducing English as the medium of instruction in primary school:</i>	124
<i>Challenges for first generation learners</i>	125
6.5 Personal Reflection and Significance of the Discourse in TamilNadu.....	126
6.6 EMI and notions of self- determination	128
6.7 Conclusion	129
CHAPTER 7-BRAHMIN, BUDDHIST AND MUSLIM EDUCATION (2000 BC TO 17TH CENTURY AD).....	130
7.1 Genealogy as a research practice.....	130
<i>Biopower</i>	131
<i>Disciplinary Power</i>	132
<i>Governmental Power</i>	133
7.2 Brahmin Education (2000 BC).....	134
<i>Conceptions of a 'good' Brahmin teacher</i>	137
<i>Decline of the Brahmin Monopoly of Education</i>	139
<i>History of the Present</i>	140
7.3 Buddhist Education (257 B.C)	141
7.4 Muslim Education (12th century AD).....	146
<i>History of the Present</i>	150
7.5 Conclusion	150
CHAPTER 8: BRITISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (1765-1947).....	152
8.1 History of the present	153
<i>Government Schools</i>	154
<i>Low fee paying Private Schools</i>	157
<i>Elite International Schools:</i>	158
8.2 Governmental Power: Education at the beginning of the British Period (1765-1813).....	159

<i>Rupture/ Discontinuity: 1781-1813</i>	161
8.3 Power and Knowledge: The Period of Preparation from 1813 to 1854	162
<i>Institutional Ratification – Macaulay’s Minutes</i>	165
8.4 Biopower: The Beginning of Systematic Training of Teachers, from 1854 to 1947	167
8.5 Colonial Discourse Analysis: Growth of secondary schools	170
8.6 Conclusion	179
CHAPTER 9: POST INDEPENDENT INDIA (1947-2019)	181
9.1 Introduction to the context	181
<i>Inclusive Education Practice</i>	182
<i>Social exclusion</i>	183
<i>Social Justice</i>	183
9.2 The political context (1947-1954)	184
9.3 History of the Present: Indian Secondary Education (Post 1947)	186
<i>The Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953)</i>	186
<i>The Kothari Commission Report (1964 -1966)</i>	188
<i>The Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017)</i>	189
<i>Draft National Education Policy (2019):</i>	191
9.4 Applying Foucault and Post-Colonial principles in Indian Secondary Education Policy and Practice	196
9.5 Conclusion	199
CHAPTER 10: REFLECTION AND CONCLUSION	200
10.1 Introduction	200
<i>Limitations</i>	200
10.2 Theoretical Experience and Philosophical Position	201
10.3 Current Discourses that affect the construction of student subjectivities	202
<i>Contributions of the research in relation to the research aims</i>	202
<i>The Discourse of Normalization of Physical Punishments</i>	203
<i>The Discourse of Rote learning and Memorisation</i>	204
<i>The Discourse of Examinations as the only mode of assessment</i>	205
<i>The Discourse of English as the Medium of Instruction</i>	206
10.4 Historical Matrices enabling the emergence and continuation of discourses	208
<i>Contributions of the research in relation to the research aims</i>	208
<i>Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim Education (2000 BC to 17th Century AD)</i>	208
<i>British System of Education (1765- 1947):</i>	208

<i>Education in Post Independent India (1947-2019)</i>	209
10.5 Implications for Policy	210
10.6 Scope for Future Research	211
10.7 Conclusion	212
REFERENCES	213

List of Figures

Figure 1: Questions from Grade 12 Physics Exams	93
Figure 2: Protests to ban NEET (National Eligibility cum Entrance Test).....	104
Figure 3: Examinations test thin knowledge.....	105
Figure 4: English Education in Indian Schools.....	110

List of Abbreviations

DISE	District Information System for Education
ASER	Annual Status of Education Report
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
TN	Tamil Nadu
PROBE	Public Report on Basic Education in India
EMI	English as the medium of instruction
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signature:

Acknowledgements

There are many people, and opportunities that have enabled me to start, sustain and complete this journey. Firstly I would like to express my sincere thanks to my primary supervisor Professor Nesta Devine for her patience, inspiration, and immense knowledge, without whom this experience would not have been meaningful. Her guidance, support and trust at every stage of my research helped me persevere and move ahead with my study irrespective of my circumstances. I would also like to sincerely thank my second supervisor Dr. Marek Tesar, for his constant encouragement and his insightful comments and for helping me interpret Foucauldian concepts when I have had difficulties. I will be eternally grateful to both my supervisors for pointing me towards Foucault as a theoretical influence which has permanently changed my perception of the world. I could not have asked for better mentors than the both of them who have not only inspired me professionally but also personally.

I wish to acknowledge the AUT Faculty of Culture and Society Strategic Doctoral Scholarship which was of great support in the initial struggling years. A special thank you to Donna Channings at the post graduate office who has been understanding and supportive of my study. I would also like to thank the librarian, Suhasini Gazula for helping me gain access to specific resources from the Indian school education context. I thank my family, my father who has always been my greatest source of inspiration and support; my husband for his endless emotional support and encouragement when I was down; my sister who has extended her help and support and my daughter who had put up with my long hours of writing and erratic schedules.

This experience has been the most rewarding learning experience of my life which also involved a lot of personal reflection on my own educational experiences in the past. This journey has not only contributed to my philosophical understanding but also has helped me improve my resilience and perseverance to a great extent. Finally, I thank God for graciously leading me in this journey.

CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Despite my business background, I decided to pursue a PHD in Education for few reasons. One reason was the lingering impact of my own school education experiences. An incident which is still fresh in my mind is when I was 7 years old in third grade, in a parent teacher meet, my class teacher reprimanded me severely in front of my parents and a whole lot of my classmates and their parents for scoring low marks in geography. This incident affected me quite significantly, my academic performance became worse and I suffered low esteem and low motivation for a number of my school going years. Later I realised that emotional abuse is normalised in the majority of Indian schools which significantly deters students' academic and personal development. Hence I wanted to start my study with what were the problems of the present and analysing why are things the way they are and was directed to Foucault as the primary theoretical influence, and other, post-colonial writers like Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivack.

This chapter will explain the rationale and the significance of the chosen study which also includes the research questions and the research aims. The rationale will be followed by the discussion on why Foucault's discourse analysis has been chosen as the major theoretical framework for this research. This chapter also presents a detailed analysis of the current Indian school education context and explores the pedagogic practices and policies that are dominant in the three types of schools: the Government schools; the low fee paying private schools & the elite international schools.

1.1. Rationale

The reasons and motives behind my research are a blend of my own personal conflicts that I experienced as a student of TamilNadu, India and also some of the professional and media debates that are on-going within this field. Having been a student of India and U.K in the past, I had this unique opportunity of viewing my educational experiences in a bicultural way. And, in my journey as a student, I realised that "what makes a good student in India was very different from what makes a good student in the U.K". So when I started as a student in the

U.K, I had to completely unlearn and change my learning style, my disposition and practices in order to become a good student in the U.K. This led me to questioning as to who makes these decisions as to who is a good student? What are the ideas that influence these decisions?

In the Indian school education context, some of the practices that are often debated in the media

1. The presence of a punitive approach, a system which punishes students both physically and verbally
2. The system of rote learning- the practice of memorising information
3. Examination centred learning and
4. The promotion of fluency in English Language as the only hallmark of good education (NDTV, 2015; Times of India, 2017).

The learning scenario surveys conducted by the Programme of International Assessment (PISA) IN 2012 ranks Indian class 10 children 73rd out of the 74 countries that participated. The report states that one of the major future challenges for the Indian education system is to provide the kind of high skilled, creative and adaptable workers who require the complex 21st century skills - a challenge which is difficult to meet with the education system that is followed currently in India which sets high academic standards but also on the other hand inhibits innovation. Innovation is stifled by current practices, including discipline, control, assessment and curriculum, which favour compliance over imagination, innovation or critical thinking. In order to study this larger systemic problem, TamilNadu, a major southern state of India is used as a case study.

Debates about the relevance, utility and effects of the discipline and control methods followed in Indian schools include claims that current teaching methods lead to the creation of compliant subjects who do not resist the dominant political culture of the society, the research therefore aims to shed substantive light on this issue by the use of Foucault's genealogical analysis which may be expected to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using these pedagogic strategies. By exploring the notions of the student-as-subject, power relations, discipline and resistance, the dominative and normalising tendencies within the Indian secondary school education practices will be illustrated in the research so that these tendencies may be resisted and challenged by staff and students alike in the future.

A significant problem facing the Indian school education context, is the growing inequality in access to education. India's educational progress lags behind the BRIC economies particularly China in secondary school participation, youth literacy, learner achievement and teacher absenteeism which is attributed to the poor quality of schooling in the Government schools (Kingdon, 2007). This gap has given rise to a massive growth of private schools which has furthered the gap and inequality in educational opportunities. The secondary education

enrolment rate and progression to higher education is considerably less than the national average for women, people with special educational needs and disability, marginalised socio-economic and caste based groups, religious minorities and those who live in rural areas (Planning Commission, Government of India 2013).

The Draft National Education Policy 2019 under the leadership of Dr. Kasthurirangan was published in May 2019 and was open for consultation until July 31st 2019. The report proposes an education policy, which claims to address the challenges of: (i) access, (ii) equity, (iii) quality, (iv) affordability, and (v) accountability faced by the current education system. The draft National Education Policy (NEP), 2019, is full of provisions that many in the education sector have been waiting for, but education experts and social activists who work on education reforms are sceptical owing to many of the policy's omissions and contradictions and the previous track record of platitudes and unrealistic policies which never translated into practice (Taneja, 2019; Rajagopalan, 2019). While the policy addresses the need to bring under-represented groups into school and focus on academically lagging special education zones, it misses a critical opportunity of addressing inequalities within the education system. It fails to provide feasible recommendations to bridge the access and quality divide between the privileged and the marginalised children. This research will draw on Foucault's discourse analysis and Post-colonial principles for inclusive education practice to critically examine the key secondary education initiatives with the aim of deconstructing the colonial legacy which continues to challenge Indian Secondary Education provision.

The spirit of Foucault's approach and the post-colonial theories is strongly informed by the desire to critique, question or dismantle whatever is established as mainstream or hegemonic or dominant and this research attempts to question/ critique the dominant discourses of the Indian secondary school education practices. Based on the rationale, the research aims can be summarised as follows:

Research Aims

- To use Foucault's genealogical analysis to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using these pedagogic strategies
- To explore the notions of the student-as-subject, power relations, discipline and resistance, the dominative and normalising tendencies within the Indian secondary school education policies and practices will be illustrated in the research.

- To provide some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts

1.2. Applying Foucault

Foucault's genealogical analysis is used as the major theoretical framework for this study as even the other theories used in this research such as Colonial Discourse Analysis and Post-Colonial theories derive their understanding of discourse from Foucault and draw from Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge. Foucault felt that to analyse a discourse in the present, it had to be looked at in its historical context. I found Foucault's idea of using history as a means of critical engagement with the present expressed in his conceptions of "genealogy" and "history of the present" as the most suitable framework for my research which aims to identify to both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using the pedagogic strategies of punishments, rote learning, examinations and English education.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) developed his ideas through his analytical writing of the 'histories of the present', 'archaeologies' and 'genealogies' of our present taken for granted realities. However, Foucault did not attempt to stipulate a set of rigid guidelines for his methodology and was committed to ongoing re-examination and revision of the methodology to achieve the aims of his various works.

"I do not have a methodology that I apply in the same way to different domains. On the contrary, I would say that I try to isolate a single field of objects, a domain of objects, by using the instruments I can find or that I forge as I am actually doing my research, but without privileging the problem of methodology in any way"(Foucault, cited in Fontana & Bertani, 2003, p 287-288).

Thus the key to using Foucauldian discourse analysis is to apply his work as appropriate for the particular focus of inquiry, ensuring that the application of the methodology has a coherent connection with his theoretical and philosophical aims and approaches. The approach to Foucauldian discourse analysis which will be used in the research involves designing the study and adapting the methodology according to the specific research questions of the study, using the philosophical and methodological concepts of Foucault and others who have followed his work in order to employ a methodological approach and a study design that is specific to

addressing the research questions and aims. Within the Foucauldian position, a topic can be analysed using various theoretical orientations, but my focus on the historical and cultural conditions of possibility and techniques and the relations of power, led me to choose a genealogical approach for my study. The rigour of this kind of research design relies on its alignment with Foucault's philosophical and methodological principles and appropriateness in answering the research questions. This research will use the works of Foucault, along with Post-Colonial theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis which draw from Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge. Foucault (1976) acknowledged that the techniques and weapons Europe transported to its colonies had a boomerang effect on the institutions, apparatuses and techniques of power in the West. Timothy Brennan has argued that "the greatest influence, theoretically speaking, on the postcolonial tendency of the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s has been that of Foucault" (Brennan 2006, p 103). The research will also use the framework of Colonial Discourse Analysis which refers to how the process of colonialism relates to the idea of discourse. Here we can see the interplay between Foucault's conception of power/knowledge and Post-colonial theory. This connection between discourse and colonial power relations was most elaborately explained in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). In chapter 2, I have discussed my interpretation and application of Foucault's work, Post-colonial theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis that is appropriate to my topic of inquiry.

Focus of inquiry and Research Questions

The specific focus of inquiry for this study is to apply the notions of the student-as-subject, power relations, discipline and resistance to illustrate the dominative and normalising tendencies within the Indian secondary school education practices and policies so that these tendencies may be resisted and challenged by policy makers, staff and students alike in the future. This is broken down into two specific research questions to assist my analysis.

- What discourses are evident in the secondary school education practices and policies in TamilNadu, India which affect the construction of student subjectivity?
- What does a genealogical account of the development of these discourses tell us about the ideas that currently influence these policies and practices?

Foucault's 'histories of the present' led to works that discursively explored not only how some of the key structures in societies had been made possible but also the conditions of possibility

for some of the most fundamental, taken for granted notions of the society which have massive and wider ranging consequences. The most fundamental discourses of the present Indian school education system such as Punishments; Rote Learning; Examinations; and English as the medium of instruction will be analysed using Foucault's genealogical analysis that seeks to problematize the present by making visible the contingencies that have made possible our ways of thinking and acting with regard to particular present day structures and experiences.

Examining the 'present':

Rainbow & Rose (2003) highlight that, although Foucault wrote 'histories of the present', he never wrote a genealogy that involved the analysis of the present day. The underlying argument is that Foucault's histories made it very visible as to which aspect of the present he was critiquing by looking onto the past. However in this research, I have chosen to explicitly examine the present and link the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. One of the aims of research is to use Foucault's analysis to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using the current pedagogic strategies such as Rote Learning, Punishments, Examinations and English as the medium of instruction. This approach is often seen in sociological and health research that draws from Foucault.

This approach of explicitly examining the present in relation to the past is appropriate for this research because the policies and practices in the Indian secondary school education context, particularly of the state of TamilNadu, is a niche and a specialised context. Foucault's histories of the present does not usually require a detailed examination of the present owing to the popularity and familiarity of the topics and the timelines in relation to the current events (Rainbow & Rose, 2003). But for my research topic which is based on the claim that the current practices in the Indian school education context lead to the creation of a particular kind of student subject, I felt it is important to explicitly examine the present discourses in order to provide the context to the genealogical analysis.

Foucault argued that as the genealogies are developed, it would continue to be adapted and modified to suit future purposes:

In his relation to Nietzsche, Foucault demonstrates that genealogy has to be invented anew as situations change. So perhaps the detailed and meticulous labour that needs to be done to unsettle our conventions must find other forms, other points of action on our present. These might be comparative, conjectural or ethnographic, or they may take form that has

yet to be invented or named. Thus, the practice of criticism which we might learn from Foucault would not be a methodology. It would be a movement of thought that invents, makes use of, and modifies conceptual tools as they are set into a relation with specific practices and problems that they themselves help to form in new ways (Rainbow & Rose, 2003, p xiv-xv).

For this research, Foucault's work has enabled a form of analysis which can include an explicit link to the present day, combining a history of the present with an analysis of the present itself with an emphasis on what the discourse enables. This outlines two types of consequences concerning the discourses of the present, firstly what is produced and reproduced by the discourse to the extent that it appears self-evident and taken for granted, and secondly the grey areas which include the practices, challenges, policies and material effects that do not fall outside of possibility within the current discourse but are still not exactly within what seems taken for granted and self-evident. In this way, the examination of historical material can show us, how the ways of thinking, doing and being as they are today have been made possible, while the examination of the present can make visible and intelligible what these discourses enable and what is potentially possible in terms of what the research allows.

1.3 Background and Research Context:

At every level, education is primarily concerned with the formation of student subjects. The Education system of India has made considerable progress in terms of increasing primary education attendance rate and expanding literacy to approximately three fourths of the population (NCERT, 2012). According to the World Bank report (2013) this improved educational system has been a building block for the economic and national development of the nation in the recent years. However, the school education system in India is an examination oriented system which establishes a strong focus on technical education, and values science, and mathematics as core subjects that every primary and secondary student must study. This raises the question of what kind of people the system wants their students to become and how the policies and practices of the system contribute to their formation. This corresponds with the Foucauldian view of the school as a disciplinary block which produces "subjected and practised bodies, docile bodies" (Foucault, 1991, p 138).

On the positive side, India has emerged as an important player in the worldwide information technology revolution, producing a large number of computing graduates and engineers. This phenomenon should be attributed to the rigorous training in related curricular areas offered in schools and colleges. But when India's educational progress is analysed from an international perspective, it lags behind the BRIC economies particularly China in secondary school participation, youth literacy, learner achievement and teacher absenteeism signalling poor quality of schooling in the Government schools (Kingdon, 2007; Kremer et al, 2005). This gap has given rise to a massive growth of private schooling especially in the urban areas, a phenomenon which raises questions about the growing inequality in educational opportunities. This inequality both derives from and contributes to different forms of student subjectivity as fostered in different forms of schooling. In this research, TamilNadu one of the major states of India will be used as a case study of this larger systemic problem. Tamil Nadu (TN), a southern state of India is one of the most literate states in the country with a literacy rate of 80.33% which is well above the national average of 74% (Census of India, 2011). The state has been ranked at the top amongst other Indian states for having the best school enrolment figures with a Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of 100% in primary and upper primary education in a survey conducted by the Industry body Assocham (India Edunews, 2008). Tamil Nadu is the seventh most populous state in India with the population of 74 million people and almost 50% of the population are below the age of 24 (Census of India, 2011). The state has a total of 53, 772 schools out of which 70% (34, 180) are primary schools and private schools according to the official statistics account for 34.37% which is 18, 907 schools. (Govt of Tamil Nadu, 2013). The school education systems can be seen as arbitrarily disciplining the students to meet particular ends, and one of the most expected culmination point is the production of good, or obedient and useful student subjects.

Any education system in the world has a significant place in the development of a modern nation state. According to Foucault (1971), education is a crucial instrument whereby every individual in the society gains access to significant forms of discourse. Education systems are referred to as constituting doctrinal groups by Foucault as they teach an entire generation, what is acceptable in the society and what is considered wrong. Most countries have a single education system for all its citizens and hence they create uniformity in outlook and thought within the society and the children who graduate from these systems share the same world view and become similar kind of subjects and have access to similar kind of opportunities (Nisar, 2010). The school education system followed in Indian states can be considered quite distinctive

in this way as there are different types of schools governed by various curriculum bodies and the students passing out from these systems have diverse perceptions and objectives of an ideal subject to be and access to different kinds of opportunities.

The schools of TamilNadu can be classified into three main types, the government run state board schools; the low fee- paying private schools which can be recognised or unrecognised, mostly affiliated to either the Matriculation, Anglo-Indian, or the CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) boards, and the elite International schools affiliated to the ICSE (Indian Certificate of Secondary Education), International Baccalaureate Programme (IB) or the Cambridge International Examinations (CIE). All these systems are products of different historical evolution processes and have divergent philosophies or approaches to education. These different systems are characterised by differences in curriculum, pedagogical style, disciplinary techniques and normalising tendencies which lead to distinct concepts of student subjectivity and crafting of identity among students and access to different kinds of opportunities. Conceptual tools, predominantly, Foucault's Discourse Analysis, Post-Colonial Theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis will be used for critically analysing Indian secondary education policy and practice to invite a revision of inequitable historical accounts to reclaim the stories, voices and experiences of those who have been traditionally silenced.

Each of these school types and the contemporary discourses are discussed below

The Government Run education system- State board schools

The state board schools which constitute 60% of the country's schools are funded by the respective state governments where education is provided free of cost and the medium of instruction is in the local language (UNICEF, 2012). According to official recorded data, the state government schools should be the largest provider of education. However research has claimed that due to the poor quality of public education provided in terms of high teacher to pupil ratio, huge dropout rates, and shortage of infrastructure, there is a tendency of parents even with very low incomes to send their children to private schools with hope for better opportunities (Kingdon, 2007). A research report conducted among government school teachers notes that they send their own children to private schools because of English medium of instruction and better education as they feel that the government school teachers were

occupied with a lot of paperwork and non-teaching duties most of the time (Ramachandran, 2014).

The Tamil Nadu Government has succeeded in achieving near universal primary education enrolment through the Right to Education act, 2009 (RTE) and Tamil Nadu Right to free and compulsory education act 2011 (RTFCE) (Tamil Nadu schools.gov, 2013). The major public education initiatives introduced by the central Government like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) which means Education for all, Mid-day meal schemes, and the Para teacher schemes implemented in TamilNadu have been focussed on improving infrastructure, increasing the number of schools in village hamlets, improving the student enrolment rate in primary schools and recruiting more teachers to improve the pupil teacher ratio. The SSA which is a campaign for Universal Education, funds infrastructure and civil works; salaries of additional teachers to reduce the pupil teacher ratio; distribution of free text books; special facilities for girls and students with disabilities, technical support, financial management, etc (SSA, 2010). The Mid day meal scheme was made universal in all states which provide every child in every government and government assisted primary school with a prepared nutritious mid-day meal for a minimum of 200 days a year. The Para teacher scheme introduced in the mid-1990s appoints low cost untrained teachers with educational qualifications below those of the regular government school teachers in order to expand schooling to small village hamlets where there are no regular schools and to reduce the pupil teacher ratio (Govinda & Josephine, 2004). Hence through these interventions, both the state and central government has been successful in providing key inputs, building infrastructure and hiring teachers. However, the findings of the rural Annual Status of Education Report (2014) and the Programme for International Assessment (PISA) reports that the learner achievement levels of students were alarmingly low in government schools particularly in reading, arithmetic and scientific literacy. The OECD-PISA is an international comparative survey of 15 year olds' which seeks to measure how well young adults have acquired the knowledge and skills that are required to function as useful members of the society in which 74 countries participated and the states of TamilNadu and Himachal Pradesh were ranked 72nd and 73rd among 74 participants, higher only than Krygystan. Another significant finding of the ASER report (2014) is that although in the last years the Government had invested a millions of funds on building more schools, hiring more teachers, providing free textbooks, mid-day meals and uniforms, the net enrolment of students declined by 11 million in the country.

Research surveys and a number of contemporary debates in the media including newspapers, television and social media, both at the national and state level have reported certain issues which lead to poor learner levels in government schools (Kingdon, 2007; Ashita, 2013; The Times of India, 2013; Ramachandran, 2014; ASER report, 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014). The system expects the teachers to teach the curriculum and finish the syllabus within the stipulated timeframe irrespective of whether the children in the class are learning or not. The presence of multigrade classrooms and frequent absence of teachers and students also lead to this cumulative burden of non-learning where some children in the class reach a point where they are unable to comprehend what is going on in the class. Another important issue that has been identified is the absence of a school level monitoring of teaching learning processes, lesson plans and the actual teaching time. Most of the monitoring in government schools is confined to inputs which include the enrolment rate, mid- day meals, distribution of textbooks and so on. The huge social and economic distance between the teachers and students in government schools, as the not so poor and the lower middle class families have opted out of government schools and hence children from very poor and socially marginalised families study in these schools. The educational NGO Pratham conducted a series of inclusion and exclusion studies which brought out the innate prejudices and stereotypes that teachers carry with them to school as many of them were convinced that these some children were not capable of learning because of their circumstances and the society they come from. The system of rote learning, the practice of memorising information and the use of exams have been continuously cited by educators and pedagogy experts as reasons for low learner achievement levels. In order to address this lack of child centric and experiential learning process, a number of interventions like the ABL (Activity Based Learning) and CCE (Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation) were introduced in elementary schools in TamilNadu. While there was considerable evidence that ABL energised classrooms and enabled children to learn at their own pace, there was little evidence that it improved learning when adopted on a large scale (SSA 2010; ASER report, 2013). The CCE which was introduced to respond to the damaging effects of year end examinations, has been reduced in many government schools as a series of paperwork which teachers just fill out without actually conducting activities on them (Ramachandran, 2014; ASER Report, 2013). Education researchers argue that the no detention policy where students should be compulsorily promoted from one grade to the other until class 6 without any guarantee of learning as a result of the RTE act fails to address that Right to Education is not limited to enrolment but learning (Ramachandran, 2014). The quality of teachers, his or her

mastery over subjects, pedagogic skills and aptitude to teach are cited by researchers as another issue that needs to be addressed as the results of Teacher Eligibility Tests (TET) conducted for the first time in 2011 to improve teaching standards revealed that a high proportion of the already existing government school teachers failed the test (Times of India, 2011, Ramachandran, 2014).

The objectives of the school education policies established by the Government of TamilNadu are focussed on expanding elementary education to small village hamlets, so that at every kilometre, there is an elementary school which provides education free of cost. The other objectives of the Government include providing free mid-day meals; to improve the basic amenities in schools; to eradicate literacy; to provide free and compulsory education for all children aged 6-14 (and many others), where the emphasis is on increasing numbers. However despite universalising elementary education in government schools, the attendance and retention rate of students is low, secondary school enrolment rates are low, as almost 50% of the children drop out after their elementary education owing to poverty and a range of factors. According to a survey conducted by India's largest educational NGO Pratham, learner achievement levels were seriously low at these government schools especially at secondary level (ASER Report, 2007). Teacher absenteeism is another significant issue in the government schools, and the state of TamilNadu has reported a teacher absenteeism rate of 21.3% in a survey conducted from unannounced visits to government run primary school sites by Kremer and his associates (Kremer et al, 2004). The survey also stated that only half of the teachers who were present were engaged in teaching during those visits and another significant finding was that higher pay was not associated with lower absence rate, in fact, evidence suggests that head teachers and senior, more educated teachers who were paid more were more frequently absent. Hence the poorly resourced government schools which suffer from teacher absenteeism and low learner achievement levels might have led to rapid growth of private schools (unaided) especially in the urban areas.

A major public education initiative known as the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) which means 'Education for all' is a flagship scheme introduced by the central government in 2004 (Mahapatra, 2009). The broad aim of this scheme is to provide useful and relevant elementary education to all children in the age group of 6 to 14 and to provide elementary education of satisfactory quality with emphasis on education for life. SSA has introduced Activity Based Learning (ABL) or joyful learning in the state run elementary schools all over TAMIL NADU in which self-learning of children is facilitated by the teacher through a series

of activities (Mahapatra, 2009). This programme emerged from an investigation of the current classroom practices that lead to low achievement levels of students which concluded that teacher dominated learning, learning through rote memorisation, lack of self-learning and group learning opportunities, traditional modes of assessments, failure to meet the learning needs of different kinds of learners, lack of interesting learning activities and such other factors contributed to low learner achievement levels (SSA, 2010). The ABL approach was found to be effective and the average achievement of elementary school children increased significantly although there were few problems in the implementation of the approach (Mahapatra, 2009). However, ABL is only implemented in state run elementary schools, as these students progress into middle schools, again the pedagogy becomes teacher centred, learning is through rote memorisation and exams become the only mode of assessment (Ashita, 2013). In the process of producing compliant, docile or good student subjects, exams are considered to be the most stringent of all disciplinary practices in which power and knowledge come together in a particularly potent and visible way. Foucault describes this procedure as follows; “It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them” (Foucault, 1991, p. 184).

Low fee paying Private Schools:

The key difference between a government run school and a private school is that most of the private schools have English as a medium of instruction. In this research, these schools are referred to as low fee paying private schools, as they do not have exorbitant fees like the international private schools where the fees is 10 times higher in comparison. According to the District Information System for Education (DISE), the private sector is not just a small group of education providers in India, 39% of India’s urban and rural children go to private schools and the net enrolment rate keeps increasing every year. The enrolment in private schools went up by 27 million in India Between 2007-2013 (DISE Report, 2013). Private schools capitalise on the drawbacks of the government schools such as lack of focus in the English Language, low learner achievement levels and low scores in the Grade 12 qualifying examinations.

Private schools can either be recognised or unrecognised in India; recognised schools have an official stamp from the Government for fulfilling a range of conditions. On the other hand, the emergence of large numbers of unrecognised primary schools suggests that government stamping is not recognised as a stamp of quality by parents and schools. Hence Kingdon (2007) suggests that the true size of the private sector in school education reported in the Indian states is more than three times that is shown in official statistics based on the findings of a household survey conducted in the year 2006. The self-financed private schools charge a substantial tuition fee and most of the private schools have English as the medium of instruction unlike the Government schools. The increase in enrolment rate at the private primary schools in India has been massive from the year 1993 and even in rural India, though the expansion rate has been slower; it has picked up over time. In TamilNadu, the percentage of children attending private schools has increased by more than 10 percentage points between 2005 and 2006 (ASER report, 2007). According to the public report on Basic Education in India (PROBE, 1999), the popularity of the private schools is inversely proportional to the quality and performance of public schools in that region. Hence a large number of private schools are found both in villages and urban areas owing to the poor performance of Government schools. In the private schools of TAMIL NADU, students receive 2 years of pre-primary education, 8 years of elementary education which includes 5 years of primary school and 3 years of middle school education, followed by 2 years of secondary education and 2 years of higher secondary education or technical institutes. The system is also characterised by streaming or subject banding which classify students into different groups on progress based on their performance in the 2 main qualifying examinations held after grade 10 and grade 12 respectively. Students in the primary and secondary schools study English, a second language, social studies, moral or religious education along with the core subjects' science and mathematics and face six written examinations a year for every subject (NCERT, 2013). Hence, in schools there is a highly competitive exam oriented culture where the school management, educators and students are primarily occupied with academic grades and school rankings (Ashita, 2013).

Private schools have reportedly higher levels of learner achievement compared with the government schools in arithmetic, reading and Science. (ASER Report, 2013, 2014; Kingdon, 2007). In the private schools there is a lot of emphasis on science and mathematics and the career focus is limited to medicine, engineering, business and civil services. (Times of India, 2013). The schools are highly utilitarian and the foremost objective of the students is to get high paying jobs (News Indian Express, 2013). The curriculum is tougher when compared with

the government schools and students are subjected to a lot of pressure in this system to perform. These schools multiplied in India as the professional middle-class started expanding in 1960s and the higher bureaucracy positions were being filled by these students. These schools constitute mostly students from middle class and upper middle class families; however there are parents of children from lower middle class and poorer sects who opt for these schools with substantial fee structures with the hope of getting better employment prospects for their children in the future (ASER report 2005; 2014). According to a research paper that was submitted to the International Association of Educational Assessment, the present system of assessment and evaluation for private school education in India is exam based and the assessment only focusses on the cognitive learning outcomes and in the process co-curricular domains are neglected (Ashita, 2013). Even in the curricular or scholastic areas, rote learning and memorising facts are rigorously emphasised characterised by the neglect of critical thinking, problem solving and creative ability (Ashita, 2013; Punj, 2013 and ASER Report, 2014). Another difference which reinforces the dominance and inequality of the system is that the syllabus followed by the private schools are deliberately made tougher and more challenging by the curriculum boards when compared with the state curriculum until grade 10 so that the students who come out of the private schools will perform better in the grade 12 public examination (which decides the fate of the students as they progress into their undergraduate courses). However, there are more untrained teachers in the private schools and the pay in private schools is relatively very less when compared with the pay of government teachers and departmental convenience is sought in teachers in both the government and private schools (Kingdon, 2007).

Private schools are characterised by rigorous training and discipline and low performers who are threat to the overall pass rate of the schools in the qualifying examinations are dismissed. Foucault had pointed to the importance of the state exerting control over the physical body of the subjects for the creation of discipline in the nineteenth century (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998). According to Foucault, it was a school, the pedagogical machine of the military which became the inspiration for the first prison of Panopticon where this kind of disciplining and control of the body are carried out (Ball, 2010). This phenomenon of physical discipline and control is evident in the private schools.

There is very limited research and literature available on learner achievement data, the link between student achievement and teacher characteristics and also very limited literature examining the relative effectiveness of private and public schooling in India. Nevertheless,

some learner achievement tests were conducted by researchers (ASER reports 2005-2014; Kingdon., 2007) in small samples of schools in the major states of India namely TamilNadu, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. These results reported that the private school students significantly outperformed their public school counterparts in learner achievement measured in terms of reading and arithmetic skills. This is attributed to a more rigorous syllabus in private schools when compared with the syllabus of the state run schools. It is important to note that the students in private schools come from mostly middle class and upper middle class families. Most of the private schools in TAMIL NADU are affiliated to the matriculation and Anglo-Indian boards, and follow the tougher syllabus set by their respective curriculum boards until class 10 (secondary school) but change to relatively easier state board syllabus in class 11 and 12 (Higher secondary school) which is the common syllabus followed in all government schools. This demonstrates the inequality and lack of fairness in the system which relates to the technologies (or to use Foucault's term '*techne*') at play to create particular kind of student subjects. By enrolling as a student, the individual is placed in the relations of power inherent in the technologies of domination, which are exercised over the body and its powers and capacities, and 'are concerned with defining and controlling the conduct of individuals, submitting them through the exercise of power to certain ends so as to lead useful, docile and practical lives' (Marshall, 1989).

A Foucauldian critique of the discourses apparent in the school education policies of TAMIL NADU and practices would open up new ways of understanding the relationship between the different kinds of schools and its student subjects. In this view, the student subjects are seen to be normalised and disciplined by the dominative tendencies of the governing bodies and the institutions. The private schools have much lower unit costs than government schools as the teacher salaries in private schools are only a fraction of what the government school teachers get. Muralidharan and Kremer (2006) based on their national survey of rural schools in the major 20 states of India report that the rural private teacher salaries are typically around one fifth of that of regular government teacher salaries and sometimes as low as one tenth of the salaries of regular government teachers. Hence low cost untrained teachers are largely used in these schools and teacher absenteeism is high although it is relatively lower when compared with government schools (Kremer et al, 2004). Private schools are very utilitarian and competitive where the ultimate focus is on obtaining maximum marks in the 10th and the 12th qualifying examinations to obtain admissions into professional institutes. Science and Mathematics are highly valued and very less importance is given to arts and humanities. Like

the public schools, private schools also idealize discipline, follow a punitive approach; place a strong emphasis on routine, time tabling and completion of assigned tasks in time. Learning mostly involves cramming and copying what has been taught. The tight control exerted over spatial and temporal arrangements entail regulation and surveillance of student subjects (Grant, 1997). Students are encouraged not to question what is written in the text books and what is taught to them until the high school level. Most of the assigned homework involves copying from text books rather than analytical assignments. Hence the schools are characterised by pedagogic practices which promote conformity rather than criticality. The utilitarian model of education followed in India emphasises that the main aim of education is to get a good job that pays a lucrative salary and consequently the schools advertise the number of rank holders and professional college placements as inducements to parents to enrol their children into their schools (Times of India, 2013). Such rituals of public display are compelling for many students, producing their desire to become like the good student subject. Through all these policies and practices, students are constituted as governable subjects.

Elite International Schools

The term ‘elite’ is used to describe these schools because of the exorbitant fee structure and these schools promote international education as they follow a curriculum different from the school’s country of residence. There are about 68 international schools in TamilNadu and the distribution of these schools in large cities ensures that only students belonging to a particular socio-economic class can gain entry into these schools.

These elite international schools have an educational philosophy that is totally different from the state education system or the private schools. They neither follow the curriculum, teaching techniques, or the assessment methods of the state. Instead, all of these schools are affiliated with either the Cambridge Education System of England or the ICSE (Indian Certificate of Secondary Education), or International Baccalaureate Programme (IB) and follow their approved curriculum (Punj, 2013). However, these schools are gaining a lot of popularity in India due to the economic growth and development of the nation leading to the high spending propensity of people and globalisation has created a market for these schools. It has been reported that in New Delhi, India the number of worldwide applications for the University of Cambridge IGCSE (International General Certificate of Secondary Education examination has

risen to 20% in the year 2009 confirming the growing popularity of the international schools (TIC, 2008). According to the OECD Report (2011), in a global economy, it is no longer improvement by national standards alone but a best performing educational system is one which internationally provides the benchmark of success. Many new international schools are built to make profit and cater to the demands of elite sections of the society for world class education. Most of the students of these schools enter foreign universities after graduation.

Students studying in these schools are encouraged to choose and specialise in subjects such as drama, psychology, fine arts, dance and music which are not available in the other curriculums (News Indian Express, 2013). The infrastructure and the facilities that are available on campus for these students are too sophisticated when compared with some government schools which do not even have the basic sanitation and classroom facilities. Corporal physical punishments are uncommon and asking questions and eliciting ideas are encouraged in the classroom. The assessments in these schools follow the University of Cambridge guidelines and hence the focus is not on memorizing facts, instead questions in the assessments require analysis and intelligent interpretation of curriculum. The assessments include extended essays, independent research, oral presentations and 150 hours dedicated to creativity, action and service (Punj, 2013).

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The theoretical framework chapter that follows this chapter will discuss the theoretical frameworks of Foucault's Discourse Analysis, Post-Colonial Theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis which will be used to explicitly examine the present followed by the historical analysis and then link the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. This section will provide an overview of the Foucauldian themes such Genealogy, subjectivity, Power, Governmentality and Institutional Ratification and how these themes will be used in the research. One of the aims of research is to use Foucault's analysis to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using the current pedagogic strategies such as Rote Learning, Punishments, Examinations and English as the medium of instruction. Hence the theoretical framework chapter will be followed by examining the prominent discourses of the present in the Indian school Education context: Physical Punishments; Rote Learning; Examinations; and English as the medium of instruction and how they lead to the creation of a particular type of student subject and the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to

the Indian education system will be analysed. This analysis of the present will be followed by an analysis of the history of the present which will include a genealogical analysis of the Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim Influences on Indian Education (2000 BC to 17th Century AD) followed by a genealogical analysis on the influences on British system of Education (1765-1947) and finally the genealogical analysis of Indian secondary education policy and practice in post Independent India (1947-2019). The thesis will conclude with a chapter on Hindsight reflections, Implications and Conclusion. The outline of the thesis will be as follows:

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, an overview of Foucault's work, post-colonial principles and Colonial Discourse Analysis used to construct the methodology of the study will be discussed. These theories underpin the critical analysis of the current discourses and the historical discourses that circulate in the secondary school educational policies and practices of TamilNadu, India. The chapter will also cover the materials that will be selected and used in the research followed by the ethical considerations.

Foucault's Discourse Analysis: Foucault felt that to analyse a discourse in the present, it had to be looked at in its historical context (Foucault, 1972). While historical analysis is a view about the past, Foucault's analysis of history typically begins with the perception that something is wrong in the present. Foucauldian themes that will be used in the analysis of discourses identified in this research will include genealogy, the subject, power which includes disciplinary power, and governmentality. These themes and how they will be linked to this particular research will be discussed in this section.

Post-Colonial Theory: Post-Colonial theory which draws from Foucault's conception of power/knowledge is a research paradigm that seeks to situate contemporary issues in the context of underlying colonial experiences (Gupta, 2013). In this research, postcolonial theory will be used for critically analysing the dominant discourses of Indian secondary education practice, in terms of its transformative potential with regards to inclusive education practice, social exclusion and provision of social justice in education

Colonial Discourse Analysis: This research involves the study of colonial discourse which refers to how the process of colonialism relates to the idea of discourse. Here we can see the interplay between Foucault's conception of power/knowledge and Post-colonial theory. The connection between discourse and colonial power relations was most elaborately explained in

Edward Said's Orientalism (1978). This research requires a more nuanced understanding of the concept of Orientalism in its genealogical analysis of the discourses of the Indian secondary education context.

Section: The Present

Foucault's position is that the discourses of the present are not a culmination of knowledge with a linear history, but the current iteration (Foucault, 1972). This iteration has come about through a complex interplay of power-knowledge and it is this contingency that becomes more visible when a discourse analysis is conducted. This section analyses significant contemporary practices in the Indian school context that are often debated in the media 1. The presence of a punitive approach, a system which punishes students both physically and verbally 2. The system of rote learning- the practice of memorising information and 3. Examination centred learning – the use of exams as the only mode of assessment and 4. English Education- English as the medium of instruction (NDTV, 2015; Times of India, 2017).

Chapter 3 - Punishments:

Physical Punishments is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of punishments prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. The chapter will discuss the prevalence and normalisation of the discourse of punishments despite the legal ban. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts.

Chapter 4 - Rote Learning:

Learning by Rote which is defined as the practice of memorising information without understanding is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of rote learning prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts

Chapter 5-Examinations:

The use of examinations as the only mode of assessment is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of examinations prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. The chapter will cover conceptual issues with the format of exams and analyse how it disadvantages the marginalised and widens the inequality gap. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts

Chapter 6-English Education:

The use of English as the medium of instruction is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of English education prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of utilitarian student subjects. The chapter will cover how the discourse of English education disadvantages the marginalised and widens the inequality gap. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts

Section: History of the Present

Foucault felt that to analyse a discourse in the present, it had to be looked at in its historical context (Foucault, 1972). As discussed earlier in this chapter, the present is what we are living and our reality, and the matrices of power-knowledge that make our present possible is obscure and invisible. Hence history becomes an important tool in seeing the current discourse making connections with the “historical moments it connect up and deploys” (Rose, 1999b, p.20). In a study of this kind, the author is very dependent on the lens of various historical authors. I have endeavoured to see past to understand the current discourses of the Indian school education context. Foucault’s work explores the history of the present, focuses on the complex relations between events, the forms of subjectivity and how these combined influences shape knowledge and therefore practices in the specific time period leaving out history altogether (Dean, 1999;

Foucault, 1994). Three significant time periods that have strong influences on the current Indian school education context have been chosen to examine the historical matrices that have allowed for the emergence and continuation of the discourse, subjectivity and knowledge.

Chapter 7- Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim Education (2000 BC to 17th Century AD):

This chapter will conduct a genealogical enquiry of the Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim systems of education, where the work of Foucault's biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental power on these systems will be examined and studied. In each of the systems which include Brahmin (Hindu), Buddhist and Muslim systems of education, how the conceptions of a good teacher will influence the conceptions of a good obedient student will be explored. This chapter through its genealogical analysis will aim to establish links between the current practices and the historical practices such as rote learning, worship and blind obedience to the teacher and rigorous discipline & punishments in the Indian school education context.

Chapter 8-British System of Education (1765- 1947):

As discussed in the previous chapter, India's education system has had continuous historical influences for over 4000 years but the new education policy established by the British Raj in India by 1835 was considered the most far reaching single measure as without this, the present Indian nation, we know today could not have existed In this chapter, through my genealogical inquiry of the British Education in India, I explore the work of three kinds of power, Governmental Power (which shapes, guides and governs people's conduct (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1988; O'Farrell, 2005)., disciplinary power (power exercised through an impersonal and invisible gaze), and bio power (an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of a population) to establish societal control and create compliant people subjects.

Chapter 9-Education in Post Independent India (1947-1954):

This chapter will mainly examine key secondary education initiatives by the Indian Government after independence: The Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953); the Kothari Commission Report (1964-1966); the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017); and the National Education Policy (2019). The chapter will explore how perceptions of Power/knowledge and intervention may impact access, governance, pedagogical approaches, and curriculum reform. This may expose some of the challenges of inclusivity, equality, equity, achievement and progression in the current Indian secondary education.

Chapter 10: Hindsight Reflections and Conclusion:

This chapter will present an overall summary of the arguments and the findings of the research. The chapter will present a discussion of the injustices and inequalities of the present which has been made more visible or intelligible by looking at the past which is termed as genealogical analysis. The chapter will cover the limitations of the chosen research design. It will address the applications of this research, further research areas that could be explored and justify the extent to which it has provided material for those anxious to challenge the existing policies and practices of the Indian school education context.

CHAPTER 2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.Introduction

Foucault's Discourse analysis, Post-Colonial theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis as the three major theories used in this research will be discussed in this chapter. These theories underpin the critical analysis of the current discourses that circulate in the school educational policies and practices of Tamil Nadu, India.

The major methodology that will be used in this research is Discourse Analysis developed by Foucault. Foucault's Discourse Analysis is a distinct form of Qualitative Research. The main objective of social research is to uncover, understand and communicate the "truths" of situations. Foucault's Discourse Analysis is a form of critical analysis and in this form has become a much used philosophical, theoretical and methodological approach which facilitates an examination of the existing, taken for granted, practices or truths by tracing relevant points in their history (also referred as genealogy) that have made it possible to think and act in particular ways (Foucault, 1975). Foucauldian discourse analysis is a critical approach that uses historical and political tracking of discourse over time and the conceptual notion of power for interpretation (Grbich, 2012). Foucault suggests that once a discourse has been established, it disperses throughout the society. The metaphor of the body is used by Foucault to represent the society which shows discourses filtering through the arterial and the venous systems of the populace and then being fed back in a cyclical process through the capillaries enabling maintenance and reinforcement. According to Foucault, power is a key aspect of discourse and the technologies of power include disciplinary power (legal system) maintained through normalisation of discourses, surveillance and monitoring and enforced by the law and the judiciary system (Grbich, 2012). Discourse Analysis asserts that there is no truth or reality, which exists are multiple truths in any situation and it reveals how over time discourses shape and influence the position from which we view reality (Cheek, 2000). It provides a lens to examine the current discourses that circulate in the school education policies of TamilNadu, India with regard to different school types and allows for the examination of the notions of student subjectivity embedded in those discourses. The origins of discourse are always historical and hence the genealogical approach is a significant part of the analysis of discourse.

Hence there is an inbuilt inclination to emancipation in this form of genealogy because it impels us to ask, why are things like they are and not otherwise? ” . The rigour of this kind of research design relies on its alignment with Foucault’s philosophical and methodological principles and appropriateness in answering the research questions. This research will use the works of Foucault, along with Post-Colonial theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis which draw from Foucault’s concepts of power and knowledge which will be discussed in detail in this chapter. This chapter covers the methodological process of data selection, data analysis and the ethical aspects of Crystallisation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001), Reflexivity (Parker, 1992) and Rigour (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates. 2001).

Overview of the Foucault’s Discourse Analysis

Discourses are defined as the spoken or written practices or visual representations which characterise a topic, an era or a cultural practice (Grbich, 2012). Discourse is everything we see and do; it includes practices, speech and text. Discourse constructs our reality and how we interpret phenomena within our reality. This concept of discourse developed by Foucault moves away from the idea that discourses are primarily related to language and speech to a conceptualisation broader. Foucault suggests that a discourse contains a set of common assumptions which although, so taken for granted as to be invisible, provides the basis for conscious knowledge (Cheek, 1999). Discourses enable us to understand the contemporary experience and how the phenomena we take for granted came into being (Parker, 2002). Foucault describes discourses as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak (Foucault, 1972). By identifying the discourses and discursive practices of the school education practices of TamilNadu, the knowledge, subjectivities and power relations incorporated into these systems can be brought out.

Foucault felt that to analyse a discourse in the present, it had to be looked at in its historical context. While historical analysis is a view about the past, Foucault’s analysis of history typically begins with the perception that something is wrong in the present. Discourses develop because of the social and cultural conditions prevalent at a particular time period and percolate down to the present bringing with them the assumptions of the past (Foucault, 1972). The perception of my research is that the current practices of discipline and control followed in most schools of TamilNadu derive from earlier, older, historical ways of understanding education that favour compliance over imagination and critical thinking. The focus of this thesis is to identify the constructions of particular forms of student subjectivity that are evident in the

current discourses of the school education practices of TamilNadu, India and its derivation from the elements of historical discourses discovered by the use of the genealogical approach. Foucault's work on discourse analysis considered how historically and culturally located systems of power and knowledge construct subjects and their worlds, emphasising the concept of power in specific human contexts (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001). Along with genealogy, themes such as power, knowledge, subjectivity & governmentality of Foucault's view of discourse that are significant to this research. These themes help examine how discourses are located and exist within particular moments in history and that a given discourse will be replaced by another at a later time in history. Foucault's view also asserted that knowledge or meaning of the existing practises is created within and by the discourse (Hall, 1997). Through the contemporary discourses and genealogical study of meaning from the current set of school educational practices in TAMIL NADU, the notions of construction of student subjectivity embedded in those policies/practices will become apparent from within the discourses about them.

Foucauldian themes used in discourse analysis

Foucauldian discourse analysis involves a thematic analysis of the discourse which emphasises the organisation of the rich description of the data set which helps in identifying implicit and explicit ideas. The analysis uses a genealogy to document the historical conditions that tell us about the formative period of ideas that construct the current school education practices in TamilNadu, India. In this study, data analysis starts soon after the first set of data is collected as the selection and analysis of future data depends on the information which emerges from the analysis of the existing data which is referred to as explanation building (Strauss and Corbin, 1990)

Foucauldian themes that will be used in the analysis of discourses identified in this research will include genealogy, the subject, power which includes disciplinary power, and governmentality. These themes and how they will be linked to this particular research will be briefly discussed.

2.1.2.1 Genealogy

A significant component of Foucault's discourse analysis is the concept of genealogy which forms a substantial part of this research. This approach suggests that the meaning, practices and ideas that we take for granted are a result of a complex, long history which one is generally unaware of. This history has been shaped by various beliefs and understanding of knowledge through the different ages of the cultural arena. Foucault described the importance of genealogy as the

“... .history of ideas sets out to cross the boundaries of existing disciplines, to deal with them from the outside, and to reinterpret them. Rather than a marginal domain, then, it constitutes a style of analysis, a putting into perspective” (Foucault, 1972, p. 137).

According to Willig (2001), the genealogical/ historical approach which examines the way discourses change over time and how they influence the subjects' position is an important part of Foucault's understanding of discourse. When discourse is viewed as a historical object in itself rather than as a knowledge or discipline, its gives rise to different debates and new ideas. Hence discourses can be viewed as 'a transformable unit of history' that creates a history of ideas (McHoul & Grace, 1993).

Foucault's objective in conducting a genealogical study was to understand the present and how it has evolved from the past rather than to just understand the past (Rabinow, 1984). Power (2001) notes that while much of the history tries to show that where we are is inevitable, Foucault aimed to demonstrate that the past has ordered things in a different way and that processes which lead to our present practices and institutions were by no means inevitable. Our attitudes, behaviour and understanding have been influenced by discourses located within larger historical and theoretical discourses which were originally imposed to reinforce and maintain power (Grbich, 1999). In his genealogical study, Foucault developed a theory of power/knowledge with a strong belief that this approach will uncover and disclose discursive practices which have resulted in the current power practices. This research uses a genealogical approach which traces the history of Indian school education practice. The investigation of the current discourses in TAMIL NADU education leads to a historical investigation of assumptions and practices followed in TAMIL NADU.

2.1.2.2 The subject

According to Foucault, his goal in the last decade has been to create a history of the different ways in which human beings have been made subjects (Foucault, 2000c). He stipulates that the relations of power had a significant impact on the human experience of subjectivity. The term ‘subject’ was used by Foucault in two ways: one where an individual is made a subject through control and dependence and the other in which an individual is made a subject by his or her own conscience or self-awareness. This research will focus on the former where a human subject is created as an effect of power, discipline and control methods. The practises that are apparent in government and private schools in India create compliant subjects and this research will focus on how the construction of a particular form of student subject is made possible.

Foucault notes that always in the process of construction of student subjectivities, the subject is constituted within multiple socially produced and changing discourses, each of which produces a range of subject positions. He suggests that the word ‘subject’ has an ambiguous meaning which refers to both subject to and subject of and in this doubled sense of being subject, he finds a pervasive form of power which:

“applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates or makes subject to” (Foucault, 1986, p. 420).

The policies and practices which make a particular way of being or a particular kind of student subject more likely, are the disciplinary technologies which saturates the school as a disciplinary block (Grant, 1997). According to Foucault, a disciplinary block is formed when three types of relations, the relations of power, of communication and of objective capacities establish themselves in a regulated and concerted system:

“Take, for example, an educational institution: the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organised there, the diverse persons who live and meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character—all these things constitute a block of capacity-communication-power. The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition

of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the 'value' of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy)" (Foucault, 1986, pp. 425-426)

2.1.2.3 Power

Foucault noted that describing power relations and their influence in day to day practices was a significant part of his main objective of creating a history of how human beings were made subjects (Foucault, 2000c). Foucault's theory of disciplinary power will be used in this research.

Disciplinary power pervades the Indian education system in multiple ways. Foucault described how techniques and institutions developed for various, often non disciplinary purposes were combined in order to create the modern system of disciplinary power with schools, factories and hospitals all modelled on the modern prison. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault identified three main techniques of modern social control as 'hierarchical observation', 'normalising judgement' and 'the examination'. Through 'hierarchical observation,' control can be exercised through the observation of the population. This practice was exemplified on Bentham's prison of Panopticon where inmates divided by opaque walls were observed at all times by a centrally situated monitor without the inmate knowing which cell was observed at any given moment or even whether the monitoring station was occupied. The point of the Panopticon was that inmates behaved as if they were being watched at all times as they never knew whether they were being watched or not. Foucault transferred this idea of internal monitoring or surveillance to a large society which created a chain of observers, hierarchically ordered through which control was created and maintained (Foucault, 1991).

The second concept of normalising judgement is considered to be the foundation of the modern idea of disciplinary power according to Foucault where all those who do wrong or break the rules in the society are considered abnormal and ill and in need of a cure rather than being considered illegal that must be punished. Foucault's third technique 'the examination' demonstrates that power and knowledge are inseparable ideas. This concept differs from the

Baconian argument that knowledge is an instrument of power and the two concepts coexist independent of each other. For instance, a school student subjected to an examination is made to control his behaviour, forced to study; his conformity is measured to the systemic rules. His results are judged which establishes the truth of his state of knowledge by comparing his results with the national standards. According to Foucault, this knowledge is used by the predominant power structure to exert control and form the basis of the categories, norms and averages used by the societal power institutions to structure, stratify and legitimise the knowledge used for further normalising judgement. (Foucault, 1991).

Thus these subtle disciplines become a technique of institutions such as schools, hospitals and military establishments that then disperse to other areas of the society creating through that dispersal, power relations between the state and its subjects (Foucault, 1979). In this way, “discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise” (Foucault, 1979, p.170). The background of these techniques which were used to create and maintain societal control put forth by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* clearly suggests that the Foucauldian school of Discourse Analysis is specifically interested in the relationship between discourses and institutions. This concept that power or knowledge could be expressed through discourse, led Foucault to think how the behaviour or conduct of people is regulated by the use of particular techniques. (Hall et al, 2001). Foucault attempted to explain how within discourse, knowledge is created, is given an authority of truth, and acquires power to establish its truth. This knowledge is then used to govern people through rules, regulations and other disciplinary processes.

2.1.2.4 Governmentality

Governmentality as a theme was first introduced by Foucault in the series of lectures he delivered in 1978 and 1979. Foucault used the term ‘Governmentality’ to describe the way, governing powers operate in a particular era (Foucault, 2000a). This explains how the states started using tactics/ techniques instead of laws to control, administer and direct the entire population to obtain production services from it (Foucault, 2000a). These tactics and techniques of the government were exercised through the development of an administrative state where bureaucracies were created that addressed the various aspects of the society such as demographics, public health care, education, housing and others. These bureaucracies

developed the state's knowledge allowing new forms of tactics and techniques to emerge (Foucault, 2000a). Governmentality was also defined as being 'conduct of conducts' by Foucault, where the behaviour and conduct of both individuals and groups were influenced and directed by the government through political or economic tactics and subjection (Foucault, 2000c).

Foucault argued that the government was not a sovereign or singular power, but an assemblage of multiple practices entailing governance of oneself, governance within social institutions, communities and government of the state. Foucault defined governmentality as the "conduct of conduct" suggesting that power and governance can take place from a distance to influence the actions of others. Foucault interprets governmentality as:

"The ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument" (Foucault, 1991, p. 102).

Rose and Miller (1990) suggest that institutions like schools or hospitals even in democratic governments can become "key resources for modern forms of government [that] have established some crucial conditions for governing in a liberal democratic way" (Rose & Miller, 1990, p. 2). Hence governmentality, does not necessarily take an autocratic or dictatorial approach but rather originates from a general consensus or more exactly from the use of a common language.

"Governmentality should not be thought of as a top-down process, in which the elites at the top of the government coerce others into doing their bidding. Instead... governmentality emerges from an alignment of the administrative apparatus of the state with the knowledge being produced in other institutions, such as universities and hospitals (Flores, 2013, p. 5).

As a theoretical construct, governmentality not only focuses on the governing of the state apparatuses, but also addresses the governing of the individuals

"Government designates the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick... to govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others" (Foucault 1982, p. 790).

2.2. Post-Colonial Theory

Post-Colonial theory is a research paradigm that seeks to situate contemporary issues in the context of underlying colonial experiences (Gupta, 2013). Although the term ‘postcolonialism’ can be understood to refer to the historical period that marks the end of colonisation and the start of political autonomy in a former colony such as India, it is more often understood in contemporary social research as a paradigm that seeks to study the extent of influence that began with the start of colonisation. The theory brings out the differences between the dominant and the marginalised discourses and hence provides a platform to critically examine the past in order to bring to light the marginalised experiences of the colonial era (Gandhi, 1998). The following definitions of the term post colonialism will be used in the study. It is a powerful interdependence or a two way dialogue between the coloniser and the colonised. According to Bhabha (1994), the colonised condition can be explained as a phenomenon of cultural hybridity where there is an intercultural negotiation between the ideas of the colonizer and the colonised. It is defined as the continuing contest between the dominance of the colonisers and the consequent legacies that were created.

The conceptual framework of postcolonial theory is mainly useful in studying the juxtaposition of varied perspectives, to examine how knowledge is produced, and to explain imbalances in the relationships between discourses that reflect dominant/marginalized, or colonizing/colonized. It can be used to study the impact that colonisation has had in shaping the current discourses of the Indian school education context. Postcolonial theory addresses the two-way dialogues and transactions between diverse ideas opposing each other. But when these binaries are viewed as cultures with fluid boundaries interacting with each other, then the exchange can appear as a form of cultural translation as ideas from one culture become altered and integrated into another culture (Bhabha, 1994). This process may lead to the creation of a grey area, a third space of cultural hybridity, which holds new possibilities (Bhabha, 1994; 2009). Moreover, the framework provides for a deeper understanding of the transaction and the knowledge production that occurs within the third space of cultural hybridization (Tikly, 1999).

The same applies when ideas from one pedagogical discourse become embedded in a culturally different one. Postcolonial discourse enables a critical analysis of the flow of diverse educational ideas and the pedagogy that is enacted within the third space. Teaching and

learning processes occurring within this space of pedagogical hybridity constitute a pedagogy of third space (Gupta, 2016).

Post-colonial theory is useful and instructive for critically inviting a revision of inequitable historical accounts to reclaim the stories, voices and experiences of those who have been traditionally silenced (Shimpi and Nicholson, 2014). Van der Westhuizen (2013) suggests that postcolonial perspectives contribute to transformation in structures of understanding policy and research for inclusive education practice. Postcolonial insights contribute to social change through shaping intellectual and attitudinal tools that may provide a framework for remedying inequities and inequalities intensifying social injustices. Similarly, Shimpi and Nicholson (2014, p. 727) assert that:

“Choosing a discourse to signify the production of knowledge and truths is inherently a moral and political act. Each type of dis-course, through its language and assumptions, makes particular understandings salient while leaving others undetected and unexamined, thus reifying certain assumptions and power relationships over others”

In this research, postcolonial theory will be used for critically analysing Indian secondary education practice, in terms of its transformative potential with regards to inclusive education practice, social exclusion and provision of social justice in education. A postcolonial conceptual lens may create space for transforming one’s epistemological invisibility, within hegemonic practices, through a commitment to, in Spivak’s words,

“the ethical stance of making discursive room for the Other to exist” (Spivak, 1988, p. 6). Empowerment, leading to the possibility of social justice, “is not realised in terms of subject positions determined by the other rather it is a posture of autonomy adopted in the desire to create new spaces to self-identify and self-represent within the hegemony of structural and systemic realities” (Spivak, 1996, p. 289).

Postcolonial principles for inclusive education practice in the Indian secondary education context: 1) validates and legitimises the voice and visibility of marginalised groups of people through democratic and participatory processes and; 2) acknowledges different individual’s agency as embedded in and evolving through forms of collective action, that activate differences, in order to transform historically situated discursive practices of inequality (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006, Tikly, 2010).

2.3. Colonial Discourse Analysis

This research involves the study of colonial discourse which refers to how the process of colonialism relates to the idea of discourse. Here we can see the interplay between Foucault's conception of power/knowledge and Post-colonial theory. The most important conception of Foucault which informs the study of colonial discourse is that power and knowledge are interrelated, and in the colonial situation underlined by a power imbalance it is the discourse generated, circulated and ratified by the institutions of the powerful colonizers that gains acceptance as the truth. This connection between discourse and colonial power relations was most elaborately explained in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Said, a Palestine born American Professor is widely considered as the founder of postcolonial studies and this concept of colonial discourse analysis was initiated by his book *Orientalism*. In his seminal text, "*Orientalism*" (1978) as well as in his later works like *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said claims that the expansion of post 16th century European colonialism, especially in Asia, was inherently connected with a particular kind of discourse which he refers to as the discourse of Orientalism. Said (1978; 1993) further argues that much of Western literature, ranging from Greek tragedies produced during the 5th century BCE by playwrights like Aeschylus to 19th and 20th century novels written by novelists like Gustave Flaubert and Joseph Conrad, formed an integral part of this discourse of Orientalism which justified the colonial domination of the East by the West.

Said's main argument is that the European colonial domination of the Orient was integrally associated with how the Orient was conceptualised, researched and talked about in Europe. In other words, what Said propounds is that the military and economic domination of the Orient was tied up with the discourse about the Orient which he refers to as Orientalism (Chatterjee, 2018). This proposition of Said builds upon Foucault's conception that power, knowledge, and the discursive manifestation of knowledge are inherently correlated with each other. Said applies the power/knowledge conception to the specific context of the European colonial domination of the Orient (Said, 1978; Said, 1993). Hence, Orientalism, signifies the European coloniser's discourse about the Orient which is related with the military and economic domination of the Orient. This research requires a more nuanced understanding of the concept of Orientalism in its genealogical analysis of the discourses of the Indian secondary education context.

The term 'Orientalism' refers to the East or to things related to the East. More specifically, the Orient or the East refers to the land that we now know as the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. This 'Orient' or the East is contrasted with the 'Occident' or the West which in turn refers to the coloniser; and together, the Orient and the Occident form a conceptual binary which will be explored in this research. The 'Orient' and 'Occident' represent not just the geographical areas but also the values and norms that include food habits, dress codes, bodily postures, and moral conduct. Chatterjee (2018) suggests that this offers a matrix to conceptualise the world by dividing it into two broad mutually exclusive categories which are exactly the opposite of each other. Said (1978) in his discussion of how the discourse of Orientalism affects colonial power relations highlights how Orientalism had evolved into a particular style of thought and as an academic discipline in the late 18th century.

Said argued that the discourse of Orientalism was based on contrasting the Orient from the Occident. This binary way of thinking about the Orient can be traced back to the Greek tragedies of the 5th century BC where the Orient was not just a land of Asia but the 'other' of the European 'self' (Chatterjee, 2018). The Orient, as a foil, symbolised exactly the opposite values that the Occident represented. If the Occident represented masculinity, then the Orient by contrast assumed a feminine entity; if the Occident represented mature adulthood then the Orient represented childish immaturity; if the Occident symbolised the pinnacle of civilisation, then the Orient represented barbarism and moral and cultural depravity. Hence the discourse of Orientalism presents the Orient as the dark and the unregenerate counterpart of the Occident which is repugnant but excitingly exotic (Chattopadhyay, 2017).

Chattopadhyay (2017) in his lecture on Edward Said suggests that the discourse of Orientalism as the opposite of the Occident transformed itself into an academic discipline when European military conquests of the Orient during the late 18th century. The European access to the Orient was limited until the latter part of the 18th century, but the military conquests enabled the European scholars to study the Orient more closely. Said (1975) highlights that in 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte led a military expedition to Egypt, he was not accompanied merely by the military army but also brought with him scholars and scientists who could transform the conquered territory into an object of enquiry and a field of systematic knowledge. The outcome of this systematic enquiry of Egypt was a multivolume Encyclopaedia, the 'Description de l'Egypte' which not only contained texts on natural histories and descriptions of Egyptian

antiquities but also contained engravings and detailed maps of that region. Hence Egypt was no longer the unknown exotic land, it became an object of enquiry, a site of systematic knowledge. Similarly, India became the site of systematic inquiry under the leadership of Warren Hastings (1732-1818) who was the first Governor General of India. Hastings, along with two other colonial officials William Jones and Nathaniel Halhed, researched, compiled, and published voluminously on various aspects related to India. These publications were on diverse topics such as law, literature, astrology, botany, history and language. All this knowledge that was gathered of the Orient led to the inauguration of academic fields like Egyptology and Indology in the 19th century which were then broadly referred to as Oriental studies which became an integral part of the Western academia (Chattopadhyay, 2017). These documents were acknowledged in Europe and the rest of the world as the most authentic way of knowing about the Orient that the British philosopher James Mill was able to write and publish a multivolume History of India without visiting India or knowing a single Indian language (Chatterjee, 2018).

The evolution of Orientalism as an academic discipline during the late 18th and 19th century did not signify that the earlier discourse of Orientalism as the opposite of the Occident was wiped out. The style of thinking about the 'Orient' as the dark, backward, and the barbaric 'other' of the Occident continued to underpin the new form of academic Orientalism and it informed the systematic enquiry of the Orient (Said, 1993). This is evident in the article of Karl Marx titled "The British rule in India" published in 1853. Marx (1853) considered the British rule in India to be a boon in disguise which helped India evolve into a modern and civilized society, although he was fully aware of the destruction of the traditional, economic and social structures caused by the British Colonisation. This was underpinned by the assumption that the Orient represents a backward and barbaric society (Chatterjee, 2018). Therefore, according to Marx, although Indians lost their ancient forms of civilization and hereditary means of sustenance, the British colonisation resulted in them losing their barbaric and unregenerate customs and ways of living, ushering them to the much needed social revolution. Thus, the academic writings of the 19th century reflected this belief and also formed the basis of the literary texts that made the Orient its subject.

The above discussion takes us back to Foucault's conception that the discourse which is generated, circulated and ratified by the institutions of the powerful is the discourse which gains acceptance as the truth. The European conquest of the Orient in the 18th-century contributed to the discourse of Orientalism which was validated and circulated by the

institutions of the Occident. Hence the discourse of Orientalism, with all its predispositions and challenging research methods, gained acceptance and validity as the authentic truth about the Orient. These powerful institutions included the colonial legislature and judiciary; the learned societies like Institut d'Egypte or the Asiatic society; as well as the educational institutions set up in the colonised parts of the world to propagate Western learning. These institutions connected colonial power with colonial knowledge; and together they constitute what Foucault refers to as Institutional Ratification. The institutions that represented colonial authority not only ratified the biased views and research as the truth about the Orient, but also enabled the colonial power to justify its rule over the Orient. Thus, when the institutionally ratified discourse identified the Occident as the seat of civilisation and the Orient as the den of barbaric customs and vile rituals, it was justified that the European powers should have control over the Orient because it was the morally right thing to do. This institutional framework which supported the discourse of Orientalism repackaged the profit making motives of European colonialism into a civilising enterprise. This research will explore Foucault's power knowledge nexus that connects the discourse of Orientalism with the influences of the British colonisation on the current secondary Indian education context.

Material Selection

Discourse Analysis is different from other research methods because the research is located philosophically with the focus being on theoretical underpinnings. The method that is used to differentiate discourses from one another is by examining the patterns of dominant language and imagery in contemporary and historical documents/media. In this research, the analysis will be confined to the discourses that are constructed in public documents rather than in the discourse of the people who produced the talk or the documents.

According to Powers (1996), the process of Foucauldian discourse analysis involves a careful examination of the entire body of text /video/commentary in relation to one another, in order to interpret patterns, rules, assumptions, contradictions, silences, consequences, implications and inconsistencies. A discursive analysis of material/text needs to be critical and reflexive which aims to situate the text in its social, cultural, political and historical framework (Cheek, 1999). The researcher has the responsibility to specify the most important texts and other organised work that will be explored in this research and the criteria of selection.

The first set of data that will be studied are the **secondary school education policy documents of the state of TamilNadu and India** which has been published by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India and the department of school education, Government of TamilNadu. Along with this reports on Performance and Statistical Information of the department of school education and the welfare schemes introduced by the present government of TAMIL NADU and Government of India which are published in the respective Government websites will be studied.

The second data source that will be examined are the national citizen led learner achievement survey reports called as the **Annual Status of Education Reports (ASER)** designed and conducted by India's largest educational NGO, Pratham. This assessment differs from most other large scale learning assessments as they are household surveys rather than school based sampling conducted every year since 2005 in every rural district of India reaching more than 600, 000 children annually. The reports present the findings of the surveys in a simple and elaborate format along with notes and articles by education experts analysing the reasons for the present situation and on ways to improve the learning outcomes.

The third source of data that will be studied include documents pertaining to the major public education initiatives introduced by the Central government in the last 10 years like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) , RTE (Right to Education) 2009 Act, TamilNadu Right to Free and Compulsory Education (RFCE) 2011. The documents pertaining to key Indian secondary education policy initiatives: **The Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953)**; the **Kothari Commission Report (1964-1966)** the **Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017)** and the **Draft National Education Policy (2019)** will be studied. In addition to this, the **District Information System of Education (DISE) reports** conducted by the National University of Education Planning and Administration is a reliable system of statistics of school education during the last two decades which provides the basis for assessing the progress under SSA and the status of implementation of the RTE act will also be critically examined.

The fourth set of data which will be analysed includes documents related to specific schools which include **school prospectus, school websites, annual reports of schools, school curriculum, websites and reports of the respective governing bodies** in order to identify and examine the contemporary discourses that exist in different types of private schools governed by different governing bodies with different curriculums.

The fifth data source that will be studied includes **media sources** such as contemporary debates on education and reforms both in national and regional television shows; panel discussions and transcription of speeches by education experts; relevant media articles in the newspapers like The Hindu, The Indian Express, The Deccan Chronicle and Times of India.

These materials have been selected for the study as they present a range of perspectives on the current discourses that influence the construction of particular forms of student subjectivities in the schools of TamilNadu. A variety of survey reports on learner achievements conducted by both the Government and private Organisations are used to avoid bias and identify the most important discourses. The media sources are selected to identify the most recent topics that have been discussed and debated which would provide a clear representation of the merits and demerits of the current educational policies and practices.

Use of Personal Narrative and technologies of self

In this research, personal narrative and reflection is used as a part of my discussion of the dominant discourses of the Indian secondary school system and its consequences and challenges. Personal Narrative is an interpretive approach in social sciences research focusing on how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives. The use of personal stories and reflection help convey tacit knowledge, explaining how it enables sense making, and how it constructs individual identity (Mitchell & Edugo, 2003).

Situating me in this study, I have multiple subject positions and multiple subjectivities. The most relevant to this research being a school student in India; a post graduate student and a teacher in the U.K and a doctoral candidate and a teacher in NewZealand. Engaging in these subject positions has exposed me to a wide range of discourses; some of which I engaged in and agreed with and some of which I dismissed as morally wrong and all of which have shaped my subjectivity. For this research, I wanted to explore the dominant discourses of Indian secondary schools that governed the formation of student subjectivity and a Foucauldian perspective was suggested. Hence I had to use a complex methodology with absolutely no prior knowledge or exposure to this way of thinking.

I have relied on the works of researchers such as Tamboukou & Ball (2003) and O' Farrell (2005) to understand the difference between the implications of technologies of government and technologies of self. Technologies of self are sometimes categorised as moving away from power, a turning in on the self. Another perspective of technologies of self which is applied in this research, is the person turning upon himself/herself to consider the choices made within the limits of freedom set in place in that specific historical context. It is still the knowledge/power which is providing the opportunities to engage or resist the process, and it is

still the knowledge/power which sets the limits of freedom or these fields of possibility (Foucault, 1997/2007e; O' Farrell, 2005).

Technologies of government and technologies of self are the tools used by the state to govern from a distance. To comprehend how the state governs from a distance, three aspects of governmental power are analysed: What do I know? - episteme (truth/knowledge), What am I?-ethos (identities, shaping of subjectivities and subject positions) and What can I do?- techne (technologies of government and technology of self) (Dean, 1995; Deleuze, 1988). According to Deleuze (1988, p 116), "these three aspects, knowledge, power and self are the triple root of a problematisation of thought". Hence personal reflection used in this research enables the researcher to analyse the conceptions of power/knowledge in relation to self and enables a more nuanced understanding of how in a society that is characterised by a power imbalance, it is the discourses of the more powerful institutions that regulate and control knowledge and its discursive manifestation.

Ethical considerations

Documentary analysis does not require ethics approval, but any legitimate research must take ethical issues into consideration.

Crystallisation: It is the phenomenon which should be employed to achieve validity and reliability when doing text based research. Crystallisation deconstructs the traditional idea of validity by using the concept that there is no single truth (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001). It is important to examine the texts that will be studied in this research as crystals which could be turned in many ways, revealing multiple layers of meanings and these meanings can be refracted and reflected helping to uncover hidden assumptions and perceived truths.

Reflexivity: According to most researchers, with Foucauldian discourse analysis, achieving neutrality is impossible unlike traditional research as the researcher and the researcher cannot be meaningfully separated (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). However, reflexivity is the process of reflecting critically on the self as a researcher, consciously experiencing the self as an inquirer and receiver of information. The concept of reflexivity asserts that my position as a researcher is central and visible (Parker, 1992). During analysing texts, it is important to be self-aware and take a back seat and observe and question my own behaviour and understand how my experiences and presence might influence my findings. Hence self-awareness is incorporated into the write up and involves constantly questioning and evaluating the claims that are made rather than presenting them as statements of truth.

Rigour: This establishes that a researcher needs to trust worthy and open minded. It is important to be honest, complete and consistent using the chosen procedure for drawing inferences, making claims and for supporting interpretations (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001).

2.4. Conclusion

Thus in this chapter, the major theories used in the research, Foucault's genealogical Analysis, Post-Colonial Theory and Colonial Discourse Analysis have been discussed elaborately. The chapter also has explored the Foucauldian themes such as Genealogy, subjectivity, Power, Governmentality and Institutional Ratification and how these themes will be used in the research. The chapter has also discussed the use of personal narrative, the materials used for research and the ethical considerations.

One of the aims of research is to use Foucault's analysis to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using the current pedagogic strategies such as Rote Learning, Punishments, Examinations and English as the medium of instruction. Hence the theoretical framework chapter will be followed by examining the prominent discourses of the present in the Indian school Education context: Physical Punishments; Rote Learning; Examinations; and English as the medium of instruction and how they lead to the creation of a particular type of student subject and the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system will be analysed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 3-BATTERY HELPS!

(The Dominant Discourse of Normalization of punishments)

3.1. Introduction: The Discourse of Punishments in Indian Schools

Physical Punishments is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of punishments prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. Foucault (1995) called this as ‘dynamic normalization’ where people end up acting, thinking and being the same for fear of being punished. He suggests that this process is fundamentally undemocratic because it effaces free will and independent thinking, creating a society of compliant and automated subjects. Awareness that non-compliance or any kind of deviation from the established norms would lead to punishment stifles individuality and creative thinking. This contradicts with India’s requirement of producing high skilled, creative and knowledge workers. In this research I have chosen to explicitly examine the present and link the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. Foucault’s analysis is used to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using Punishments and this chapter will include a brief genealogical analysis of the historical matrices that have contributed to the emergence and continuation of this discourse which will be further elaborated in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The chapter highlights the prevalence and normalisation of the discourse of punishments despite the legal ban. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts.

In this section, I introduce the discourse of punishments prevalent in Indian school and its significance. Corporal Punishments (CP) is an accepted way of life of Indian children in schools and at homes. Corporal punishment can be defined as violence inflicted on children by parents, teachers, carers and peer group members in the name of “discipline” and is experienced by a large majority of children worldwide (UNICEF, 2014). In many media reports and research studies conducted throughout different states across India, physical punishment stands out as a common and recurring theme [Hindustan Times (5th July 2017); Portela & Pells (2015); Morrow & Singh (2014); Contreras et al (2012); National Commission for Protection

of Child Rights (2012); Kacker et al (2007)]. These reports suggest that the children interviewed in these studies mentioned that the situation was no different at home. In a national level research study conducted in May 2006, almost 80% of the teachers and parents interviewed had no qualms in accepting that they punish their children physically (Plan International [India], 2006). Many argued that children cannot be disciplined without punishments. The research team saw a stick in the classroom or in the hands of the teachers in all the 41 schools they visited. Out of 41 schools, in more than 20 schools, the students actually showed or pointed out to the stick with which they are beaten.

A 2012 global study of men's childhood experiences of violence in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico and Rwanda reported a very high prevalence of corporal punishment in all six countries. This study involved men living in urban areas and aged 18-59 years at the time of research. In India, of the 1,547 men who participated, 45% reported to have been spanked or slapped by a parent at home during childhood and 64% reported to have been beaten or physically punished by a teacher at school. The study speculated that men who had experienced violence, including corporal punishment, during childhood, were more likely to commit intimate partner violence, hold inequitable gender attitudes, be involved in fights outside their homes or robberies, pay for sex and experience low self-esteem and depression, and were less likely to participate in domestic duties, communicate openly with their partners, attend prenatal visits when their partner is pregnant and/or take paternity leave (Contreras et al, 2012).

The most common forms of punishments in Indian schools include hitting with hands & sticks, pulling hair and ears, and asking the children to stand for long periods in various positions. Most of these research studies report other extremely cruel forms of punishment administered to children both at school and at home which include: being kicked severely; making them starve (at home); tying them (with rope) to chairs / poles followed by beatings; assigning physically strenuous work, etc (Contreras et al, 2012; National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2012; Kacker et al, 2007). A significant manifestation is that a child often faces a series of punishment for the same /single "offence". A nationwide study stated that their research team came across a number of cases where the sequence of punishments started with the teacher (Plan International [India], 2006). The same child is then punished by the head teacher for having "invited" the punishment. Yet another round of punishment (usually beatings) awaits the same child at home if the parents come to know that he or she had been punished in the school.

A study carried out in 2009-2010 by the Indian National Commission for Protection of Children's Rights, New Delhi stated that 99.9% of the children involved in the study had experienced either physical punishments or verbal abuse at school. The study involved 6,632 children aged 3-17 in seven states across India. According to the study, there was very little difference in the prevalence of corporal punishments between the private schools and the government schools, or between the girls' and boys' experiences. 75% of the respondents had been beaten with a cane, 69.9% slapped on the cheek, 57.5% hit on the back, and 57.4% had had their ears "boxed". Other punishments included being pinched, being hit on the knuckles, having their hair pulled, being forced to squat, being forbidden to use the toilet and being given electric shocks. Even most of the young children aged 3-5 had experienced physical punishments, 65.4% of those children interviewed had been beaten with a cane and 60.7% slapped on the cheek. The study reported various reasons for which the children were punished; not completing schoolwork or homework; eating in class; talking in class; talking in regional languages (in English medium schools) and sometimes for no apparent reason. Research reports and contemporary television debates suggest that the incidence of Corporal Punishments (CP) at Indian schools was found to be quite common and alarmingly frequent (Hindustan Times, 5th July 2017; Portela & Pells, 2015; Morrow & Singh, 2014; Contreras et al, 2012; National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (2012); Kacker et al (2007); Plan International [India], 2006). A global campaign to end violence in schools titled "Learn without fear" was conducted throughout 13 states in India by Plan International, a global child rights organization. The study stated that in all the schools their team visited, there would be at least five (5) beatings per class per day, not counting other moderate forms of punishment. The study claims, "Inflicting punishment on children is a part of the teachers' tool kit or a "justified" extension of the teachers' repertoire!" (Plan International [India], 2006, p5). When asked why they used physical punishments, teachers stated that there are just too many students for them to handle and physical punishments came in handy to control the crowd. They also attributed the use of CP to non-teaching duties assigned by the Government, which restricted their contact time with the students.

Thus, corporal punishments are commonly prevalent in Indian schools despite the laws enforced and campaigns launched to ban punishments. The reasons to be punished at school and the types of punishments administered to children depends on the context and other demographic variables like age, gender and the socio-economic status of the students

3.2. Foucault on punishments and the creation of compliant subjects

Foucault's views on punishment as a modality of power offer us useful ways for re-imagining the use and/or misuse of power in classroom management. According to Foucault, power is exercised in the docile bodies of the subjects through different instruments and techniques like punishments. He writes that "the power relations have an immediate hold upon it (the body); they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (Foucault, 1995, p 25).

Punishments and docile bodies

Punishments are used in Indian schools to instil discipline and compliance in the student subjects. Traditional school discipline, which involves punishments, has the potential to create 'docile bodies' or compliant subjects. Foucault was particularly interested in the relationship between discipline and the 'docile bodies'. He argues that the body becomes docile in so far as it can be subjected, used, transformed and/or improved (Foucault, 1995 p136). It is his contention that "discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, that is, 'docile' bodies. In short, discipline turns bodies into "a relation of strict subjection". The body's visibility lends it to being easily controlled by political, economic and educational processes. Thus, in Foucault's terms the graduates are the new 'docile bodies' of a new social order who have 'agency' only to the extent that they adopt the prescribed agenda, follow the rituals and co-operate in putting the new policy prescriptions into practice (Dwyer, 2006)

Foucault's work *Discipline and Punish* (1995) provides the conceptual tools for understanding the politics of violence and the escalating disciplinary problems in Indian schools. Punishment according to Foucault, need not be centered on torture or as a technique of inflicting physical pain, it can also be loss of rights or loss of freedom. Foucault in the chapter "The body of the condemned" from *Discipline and Punish* (1995) argues that "the political investment of the body is bound up in accordance with complex reciprocal relations with its economic use; it is largely as a force of production that the body is invested with relations of power and domination. The learners in schools can be easily turned into 'docile bodies' by the very school which purports to provide them with 'education'. As Mertus and Rawls (2008, p 34) attest, the process of torture only serves to accelerate docility such that "the body interrogated in torture [constitutes] the point of application of the punishment and the locus of extortion of truth". In

American theory, the evidence is that the ‘truth’ extracted under torture is unreliable and might lead to lying and hypocrisy. As educators, it is important to understand how the above analysis of punishment and power plays itself out in the Indian schools and classrooms

Foucault used the term docility to explain how control and power are achieved through the administration of disciplinary techniques. Disciplinary techniques, which produce and constitute knowledge, include physical punishments, constant surveillance, rote learning, the ritualized use of the examination, the use of timetables to regulate conduct for each moment of the day, and a plethora of documentation. All are aimed at sustaining the hierarchical nature of most formal institutions such as schools. A body is docile, Foucault explains, when it is both obedient and teachable. The human body subjected to these disciplinary practices begins to achieve the desired malleability, the subservient demeanor, and the repentant posture. To summarize, the exercise of punishments and physical power has the potential to create ‘docile bodies’.

3.3 The Normalization of Physical Punishments despite the Legal Ban

Normalization is a term that Foucault (1980) uses to describe how societal norms are created. Normalization is the process that tends to have its own disciplinary power, owing to the fear of being not normal. In Indian schools, the ideal is being a compliant and obedient subject following the established norms and procedures. Foucault suggests that the effectiveness of normalization is that it exerts maximum social control with minimal force (Taylor, 2009). By using this concept of normalization in this study, it is possible to further understand how physical punishments has been accepted as a way of life by parents, teachers and students despite the legal prohibition of punishments.

According to the Indian law under the Free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2004 and the 86th amendment of the Indian constitution: (1) No child shall be awarded physical punishment in any recognized school. (2) Violation of sub-section (1) by a teacher shall amount to professional misconduct, and shall be liable to be punished in accordance with the disciplinary rules applicable to him / her (3) If a recognized school, fails to take action against a teacher as provided in the subsection above, it shall be liable to forfeit its recognition or State grant or both, in such manner as may be prescribed. The Supreme Court in India has legally banned

corporal punishment for children but only 6 out of 29 states have taken steps to implement the ban. From these, 3 states have completely banned corporal punishments legally [Delhi (2000), Andhra Pradesh (2002), Goa (2003)], while 3 other states have sought prohibition on corporal punishment: Chandigarh (1990), West Bengal (2000), and TamilNadu (2003). However, both the national and regional media reports numerous incidents on a regular basis, where children are brutally thrashed in the name of corporal punishments in all of these states (Hindustan Times, 5 July 2017; Hindustan Times, 29 March 2017; Early Childhood Association (ECA) (2016); Delhi Commission for Protection of Child Rights (DCPCR), 2014-15; City Level Programme of Action (CLPOA), Association for Social and Health Advancement (ASHA) & Action Aid (2015); The Times of India, 6 May 2015; The Hindu, 30 March 2014; Portela & Pells, 2015; Morrow & Singh, 2014; Contreras et al, 2012; National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2012; Kacker et al, 2007)

Research reports state that although all the stakeholders including teachers, parents, school management and children recognize harsh physical punishments as a social malpractice, few agree with the idea of legally banning the same (Contreras et al, 2012; National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2012; Kacker et al, 2007). A nationwide research study reported that, barring few children and volunteers of NGOs concerned with child rights, most of the education department officials interviewed in different states tried to play down the seriousness of this legislation (Plan International [India], 2006). Some of them stated that there was no rule issued by the department of education regarding corporal punishments, it was only a directive and a set of guidelines. In one of the southern states Andhra Pradesh, 7 out of 8 education department officials disagreed with the notion of legally banning corporal punishments in schools.

In 2010, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) issued guidelines for teachers and institutions to completely stop the system of punishing students in schools all over India. The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015 imposed on teachers convicted of using corporal punishments at schools, a monetary fine and imprisonment for three years. However despite all these laws and preventive measures harsh physical and verbal punishments continue to be extensively practiced in Indian schools. The Indian National Policy on Child Education (2013) reports that more than 70% of the students in Indian schools have experienced physical punishments. The existence of special defences in state laws, excusing violence by parents, teachers and caretakers, breaches the right to equal protection under the

law. Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child requires States to protect children from “all forms of physical or mental violence” while in the care of parents, teachers, and others.

Every developed, industrialized country in the world and many developing nations in Asia and Africa have made the violent punishment of school children illegal (National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2012; Plan International [India], 2006). In India, too, corporal punishment of children is “illegal”, but there remains much more to be done.

Research reports and media debates suggest that the children themselves believe that punishments are necessary to control their behavior to some extent and in some form. However they rated violence (involved in corporal punishment) as a least preferred option and had problems with the severity of certain punishments (Hindustan Times, 5 July 2017; Hindustan Times, 29 March 2017; Early Childhood Association (ECA) (2016); Delhi Commission for Protection of Child Rights (DCPCR), 2014-15; City Level Programme of Action (CLPOA), Association for Social and Health Advancement (ASHA) & Action Aid, 2015; The Times of India, 6 May 2015; The Hindu, 30 March 2014; Portela & Pells, 2015; Morrow & Singh, 2014; Contreras et al, 2012; National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2012; Kacker et al, 2007). A research study on Indian School children suggest that most of the children have the following views on punishments

1. They consider corporal punishments as desirable as it has a huge corrective value.
2. They believe that parents and teachers have a right to subject their wards (children) to corporal punishment to direct them towards success.
3. The injury (resulting out of a punishment) is not as painful as the act of punishment
4. Corporal punishment is a just an outcome of bad behavior &
5. Legislations and laws banning corporal punishment to children is neither desirable nor acceptable (Plan International [India], 2006).

Some quotes of the children involved in the Plan International study suggest the extent of normalization of the discourse of punishments in Indian schools.

“.....sir is a good teacher; so what, if he beats?

.....sir does not beat, but does not teach either.” (A primary school girl student, village Badkidali, Maharajgunj district, Uttar Pradesh)

“We are beaten mercilessly at the school. As a result, we are no longer able to sit properly.” (A group of boys from upper primary school, village 465 RD, Bikaner district, Rajasthan)

“I have a model of discipline to tackle the students....Between the Baalwadi and the Primary School, there should not be any punishment; little punishment for students between primary and upper primary; moderate punishment for the students belonging to class above upper primary but up to high school; and, corporal punishment – if required – for the students of the high school and above...” (A girl student from secondary school, village Chandupetla, Nalgonda district, Andhra Pradesh) (Plan International [India], 2006)

Indian parents accept corporal punishments and conventionally believe that physical punishments are necessary for disciplining their children (Douglas, 2006). Various studies have highlighted that positive parental attitude toward corporal punishments is a significant predictor for its popular use with children (Taylor et al, 2010; Winstok, 2014; Ghosh and Pasupathi, 2016). A longitudinal study to examine the prevalence of corporal punishments at schools over 15 years with two large cohorts of children from Ethiopia India, Peru and Vietnam. Portella and Pells, (2015) suggested that in India 93% of the 8-9 year-olds and 68% of 15 year-olds had been physically punished by a teacher in the past week. 78% of 8-year-olds and 34% of 15-year-olds said they had seen other children being physically punished.

The study reported that among the 8-year-olds, corporal punishment was more common in boys (83%) than girls (73%), in rural areas (79%) than urban areas (75%), and in public schools (80%) than private schools (77%). Almost 16% of 8-year-olds cited “teacher beating” as the most significant reason they disliked school. In a nationwide research study, about 15% of the girls report that they do receive lighter punishments at schools but in homes they too are punished as severely as the boys. Various studies exclusively done in government schools state that, in general, boys are likely to get punished more frequently than girls at homes. Studies report that the perception parents hold is that boys have more free time to get into situations that disturb the adults around, and hence get punished. However girls, are always busy in household work and are hardly noticed as “doing nothing” or “playing pranks” or “whiling away time”. At the same time, if girls refuse work at home, the results are severe (Plan International [India], 2006).

Morrow and Singh (2014) conducted a survey of nearly 3,000 children examining the prevalence of corporal punishment in the southern state of India (Andhra Pradesh) from 2002 to 2009 and reported that physical punishments were rampant and recurrent in the State. 92%

of children aged 7-8 years reported witnessing corporal punishment in their last typical week at school, while 77% said they had experienced it. Among the older children (aged 13-14 years), 68% said that they had witnessed corporal punishment and 34% had experienced it at school in the last week. In 2007, the Ministry of Women and Child Development, published the first nationwide study on child abuse in India, based on the experiences of 12,447 children aged 5-18 from across 13 states and also involving 2,324 young adults (aged 18-24) and 2,449 stakeholders (adults holding positions in government departments, private service and urban and rural local bodies, and individuals from the community). The study revealed a high prevalence of corporal punishment for children in all the settings, their family homes, schools and institutions, and on the streets. In the majority of cases the perpetrators were parents (reported by 88.6% of respondents – 50.9% mothers, 37.6% fathers). The second most commonly reported perpetrators were teachers (44.8%), followed by employers (12.4%), caregivers (9.5%), NGO workers (4.8%) and others. When stakeholders were asked for their views on the use of physical punishments, over 44.5% felt it was necessary in disciplining children; 25.5% disagreed with its necessity; 30.0% expressed no opinion (Kacker et al, 2007).

Based on these research reports, it can be concluded that corporal punishment is highly prevalent in Indian Schools despite the legal prohibition. Most of the children in Indian schools have witnessed a teacher administering corporal punishment in the last week. Violence in schools, including physical and verbal abuse by teachers and peers, is the foremost reason children give for disliking school. Boys are more likely to experience corporal punishment than girls. However, girls are often at a greater risk of other forms of humiliating treatment and sexual violence. Children from poorer households and government schools are more likely to be punished than their better-off peers and those in private schools.

3.4 Challenges to the Indian Education System

In 2012, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) conducted an international comparative study of education systems through its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The PISA studies investigated the education systems and outcomes of 74 countries by testing and comparing the performance of school children across the world. The study assessed the ability of 15 year olds in using their knowledge and skills to solve real life problems and not their mastery of the academic content. The test required

students to use their cognitive abilities and apply their knowledge of math, science and reading literacy in different authentic situations. The results of these learning scenario surveys conducted by PISA ranked Indian class 10 children 73rd in the world out of 74 countries that participated (PISA report-OECD, 2012). Results from the study suggest that one of the major future challenges for the Indian education system is to provide the kind of high skilled, creative and adaptable workers who require the complex 21st century skills - a challenge which is difficult to meet with the current Indian education system which inhibits innovation and self-learning. Innovation is stifled by current practices, including punishments, rote learning, examination and textbook orientation which favour compliance over imagination, innovation or critical thinking. Foucault (1995) called this as 'dynamic normalization' where people end up acting, thinking and being the same for fear of being punished. He suggests that this process is fundamentally undemocratic because it effaces free will and independent thinking, creating a society of compliant and automated subjects. Awareness that non-compliance or any kind of deviation from the established norms would lead to punishment stifles individuality and creative thinking.

3.5 School Corporal Punishments and impaired cognitive ability

Evidence all over the world (Gershoff and Gregor, 2016) suggest prominent links between childhood experiences of corporal punishment and impaired cognitive ability. A number of research studies (Straus and Pascall, 2009; Pinheiro, 2006; Center for Effective Discipline, 2010) have reported associations between corporal punishment and lower IQ scores, smaller vocabularies, poorer Math scores, poorer cognitive abilities, slower cognitive development, and low academic achievement. Fox & Shonkoff (2011) cite early experiences of fear and stress on the developing brain as reasons for slower cognitive development in children subjected to harsh discipline. Results from neuroimaging studies propose that experiencing harsh physical punishments may reduce the volume of the brain's grey matter which leads to lower scores in IQ in adolescence and adulthood (Tomoda et al, 2009). Gershoff (2016) in his report on the outcomes of School Corporal Punishment (CP) suggests that there is significant evidence that CP undermines and damages a child's learning and highlights there has been no evidence of CP leading to better educational outcomes. Cognitive Development in children is key to develop skills such as Active Listening, Cognitive Adaptability and Flexibility, Category

Formation, Pattern Recognition and Inductive thinking. All these abilities become the basis from which children develop their higher order skills such as critical thinking, problem solving, creativity, and team working skills in the future. Advocates of the 21st century skills like the Partnership for 21st century skills & Carnegie Institute for the Advancement of Teaching assert that this century needs a new kind of graduate who has the above skills and competencies to successfully navigate the rapidly changing world (Schoen & Fusarelli, 2008). Psychological research in creativity suggest that working conditions characterised by high threat, fear of punishments and close oversight minimizes creativity and curtails innovation (Zhou, 2003). This has important implications for the Indian school education system not only in the planning of classroom experiences for students but also managing the work environments of teachers.

3.6 Prevalence and the Public manifestations in TamilNadu & Personal Experiences

Disciplinary problems seem to have escalated in schools in TamilNadu despite the advent of social media, ratification of human rights and child rights and banning of corporal punishments legally in India. In January 16, 2007, the TamilNadu government banned corporal punishments and deleted the TamilNadu Education rules on physical punishments specifically Rule 51 which stated that

“Corporal punishment shall not be inflicted, except in a case of moral delinquency such as deliberate lying, obscenity of word or act or flagrant insubordination, and it shall be limited to six cuts on the hand and administered only by or under the supervision of the headmaster”.

This rule was replaced with the following,

“Every child be given an opportunity to learn of the errors in his/her ways through 'corrective' measures. While making it clear that the school shall not cause mental or physical pain to the child, among the corrective measures suggested are 'imposition' and 'suspension from class'. (The Indian Express, 2007).

This decision came as a response to the series of protests by parents, the public and child rights activists when a class 10 student, Ram Abhinav, from a private school in Chennai, committed

suicide after being beaten up by his class teacher before the class. Abhinav had not attended class on his birthday and was punished by his teacher the next day. He left a suicide note saying “he was afraid of going to school again” (The Indian Express, 07/01/2007).

Although corporal punishments have thus been legally banned in schools in TamilNadu since 2007, the mainstream media reports numerous incidents both in private and government schools in which students suffer major injuries as a result of physical punishments on a regular basis since that time. A recent news article published in August 2016 in a prominent English newspaper reported an incident where a Government School teacher from Villupuram District in TamilNadu burnt the feet of her 13 students with camphor for not answering questions posed by the school inspector. She was furious as the inspecting officer had reportedly reprimanded her in public owing to the poor performance of her students. Nine out of the 13 students who underwent this cruel punishment suffered severe injuries (The Indian Express, August 2016). According to research and media reports, students who study in government schools experience more cruel forms of punishments than those in private schools (National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2012; Kacker et al, 2007; Plan International [India], 2006). Ramanathan (2012) suggests that the Government schools teachers and their students do not share the same life experiences, making empathy more difficult, and thus leading to punishments. The students comes from low income or marginalized families: most of them belonging to the lowest caste in the hierarchy referred to as Dalits whereas the Government school teachers are paid well and mostly belong to the middle class or the upper middle class and only 17% of them are Dalits. The disengagement of the local community from neighbourhood schools has meant that teachers and students do not occupy the same geographical space. Hence Dalit students are often socially and economically distanced from their teachers. A study done by Malhi and Ray (2004) on prevalence and correlates of corporal punishments in adolescents suggests that obtaining lower grades or marks in school exams and having a father with a low level of education significantly increased the risk of being physically punished.

A Chemistry teacher in a private school in Kodaikanal made his 45 students, including 15 girls, stand in a row and thrashed them severely with a bamboo stick for failing a text with very low marks. Media reported that several students had bruises on their back and some students who were seriously injured, fainted and had to be taken to the hospital (NDTV, Feb 2015). There were a range of reasons for being punished in secondary schools in TamilNadu, including being

absent from school due to work, illness or attending family celebrations, missing classes, not doing homework, not reading well, making mistakes, conversing with the opposite sex, receiving poor marks in exams, not wearing uniform, not having the right equipment, or not paying the fees in time (Ghosh and Pasupathi, 2016).

Section 17 of the Right to Education Act denies a teacher the right of 'physical punishment or mental harassment,' no exceptions, no exemptions. Teachers contest the rule. The teachers in the TamilNadu school context resort to the principle of "in loco parentis" where a person or institution assume the parental duties for a minor and they replicate practices parents use, which themselves may be controversial (Ramanathan, 2012). As discussed earlier positive parental attitude towards physical punishments is one of the significant predictors for its popular use in schools (Ghosh and Pasupathi, 2016). Teachers couch their punishments as expressions of love and concern, to discipline students and to establish a quiet, orderly and respectful atmosphere conducive to learning. They argue if the parents have no problems, with their children being subjected to physical punishments, why should the Government interfere? I remember my very educated parents telling my teacher, if you want to punish her, hit her on her hands or leg (below the knee) but please take care, she is very weak.

Personally, I've had a range of personal experiences of receiving punishments both at primary and secondary school which varied from getting hit in the knuckles of the hand with the back of the duster, being made to stand on the top of the bench, getting abused and beaten in front of another class, to group punishments. I studied in a private school, so my experiences with corporal punishments would vary from the experiences of students from government schools. If you were a student, whose academic performance was low in a particular subject especially in Maths or Science, then you should be prepared to be abused, bullied, hit, warned and humiliated by teachers, teachers teaching other subjects, physical education master, administrative staff, student or peers who performed better than you, the principal, the watchman or the security guard and the list goes on. I remember a school housekeeper asking my friend on the day of her results "What work have you got other than studying at this age? Are you not ashamed of your performance? Why do you come to school if you don't want to study?" in front of the school canteen where so many other students and staff were present. The teachers discuss low performers or poor students (as they are referred to) in staff rooms, with their colleagues, and staff. So humiliation, belittling and ridiculing is something which becomes an inherent part of your school life for those who do not perform well in studies. This

is why administering punishment to a student in school is not the same as reprimanding a child in a family setting. While both are reported to have negative consequences, school corporal punishments are mostly public manifestations and affects a student's self-esteem to a greater extent. A school is a public space and cannot afford the privacy and containment of a home. Punishment by a teacher is invariably meted out in the presence of other teachers, and the peer group. Even when administered in private, the knowledge of such an act cannot be kept secret, which may lead to reduced self-efficacy, depression and other confidence issues.

Corporal punishment is so deeply ingrained into the Indian education system that it is assumed that to "learn", one must "suffer" through this kind of treatment. 'Everyone-kneel-down' meant a shared punishment was about to be unleashed. If three or more of us were caught breaking a rule, we were made to kneel down in a line next to each other and we would be hit with canes. We had a strict teacher who had this habit of catching our hands and hitting the knuckles with the wooden part of the duster. She would ask objective type questions from the textbook to every student, and anyone who did not answer a question would get hit. It was considered an achievement if anyone managed to finish that year without getting hit. We had a language (Tamil) teacher who we called a "terror" in eighth grade. She always had a pleasant smile in her face but was very terrorizing and sadistic in the way she punished students. She would be evaluating our homework and if she found spelling mistakes, she used to call the erring students in front of the class (with a smile in her face), and under pretext of softly questioning them, she slaps them suddenly. When this happened for the first time, we were shocked. We would be shivering with fear when she was checking our work, I remember once she even removed the spectacles of the student slowly (with a smile) before the slap. In a class of 50 students, the teachers have little/no time to analyze or talk to students about what causes them to perform poorly, as a result of which the students undergo a lot of physical and emotional abuse if they do not study well. This raises a lot of questions about the image of a good teacher in the Indian context and the ideas that influence the image of a good teacher.

3.7 Genealogy

In the indigenous system of education in India especially owing to the influence of Brahmin education, teachers (Guru) were placed in the same rank as of Gods. Therefore, it is often believed that the teacher needs to be worshiped and obediently served as the popular ancient

Guru Mantra which states, “Gurur Brahma, Gurur Vishnu, Gurur Devo Maheshwarah, Gurur Saakshaat Para-Brahma, Tasmai Shri Guruve Namah.” It means the Guru (teacher) is Brahma (The God of Creation), the Guru is Vishnu (The God of Sustenance), the Guru is Shiva (The God of Annihilation), I bow and salute to such a Guru (teacher), who is absolutely the Supreme God (trans.by Vedananda, 1993). Veneration of the teacher to the level of God elevates them to a place of extremely high power and authority, and such unchecked power runs the risk of inducing violence because their moral positions are never questioned in the society.

The indigenous system of education which included the education by Brahmins and Muslims, was characterized by intimate personal relationships between the teacher and the student. This was when the teachers (Guru) were the only adults in the student’s (sishya) life and arrogated to themselves Parental rights. During this time, the teacher took up the profession more for the joy of teaching and the teachers were responsible for the moral development of his pupils and hence had to model good behavior and conduct and practiced what he preached. This image however changed with the introduction of modern schools by the British. This can be related both to the status of schools at the beginning of the British period in 1765 which had influences from the previously existing indigenous systems where punishment was more or less an accepted part of education and the dangerous effects of punishment and abuse on the mental health of the pupil were not yet recognized. This can be attributed to the fact that there were no formal training institutions for teachers and they were unaware of modern educational methodology and educational psychology. In fact, the first teacher training college in India was established by the Danish missionaries in the late 1700s. Until then, it was assumed that the brightest and the most loyal student/disciple of the Guru (teacher) will eventually become the teacher himself.

Today's set-up of large schools, crowded classrooms and individual subject teachers leaves little scope or time for deeper relationships between the student and the teacher. Rather, students have intermittent associations with a number of adults over periods of time, an affiliation that can hardly be equated with the constant and deep bond usually shared by the parent and the child. This is why the Committee on Corporal Punishment was categorical that teachers should not consider themselves in loco parentis, especially in handing corporal punishment (Ramanathan, 2012). Punishments still continue to be an accepted part of the Indian schools and the theories of educational psychology taught at the teacher training

institutes are memorized for passing examinations as they are not related to the context or their socio-cultural realities.

3.8 Consequences of physical punishments in school

Punishments violate the right to education of the marginalised children

India's first-generation learners have transformed student demographics but stand threatened by the proverbial stick (Ramanathan, 2012). A UNICEF research report (2011) attributes 74% of all school dropouts in India to the fear of physical, mental or verbal abuse in a classroom. School corporal punishment violates children's right to education by creating a violent and intimidating environment in which children are less able to learn. It is often a reason given by children for not attending or for dropping out of school (Pinheiro, 2006). The UN Secretary General's 2006 major global study on violence against girls and boys found that physical punishment in schools contributes to absenteeism, dropout and lack of motivation for academic achievement.

A study carried out in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan involved nearly 400 disadvantaged 8-16 year olds, including children from poor rural homes, children with disabilities, survivors of trafficking, homeless children, working children, children in conflict with the law and children engaged in or affected by armed conflict. Challenging the myth that children end up in vulnerable situations only because of poverty, the study found that physical and psychological punishment was one of the main reasons for some children to leave home and drop out of school, which eventually led them to do sex work, become jailed and/or live on the streets (Choudhury & Jabeen, 2008). Portela and Pells (2015) used data from the Young Lives project which involved around 12,000 children in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam (about 3,000 children in each country). The study reported that among the Indian children, Corporal punishments was stated as the first cause for not liking school. According to Gershoff (2016) there is significant evidence that school corporal punishments undermine student learning as they consider school as place of fear and shame, which results in absenteeism and dropping out. The Center for Effective Discipline (2010) suggested that school corporal punishments affect the quality of education in schools as a whole. The negative impact of corporal punishment on children's cognitive development and education may last into

adulthood. Straus and Mathur (1995) found that adults who experienced corporal punishment as children were less likely to graduate from college and have high status and highly paid jobs

Punishments linked with mental health and behavioural problems

Corporal punishment breaches fundamental rights of children to lead a life of respect, dignity, and physical integrity. Straus (2001) explains that corporal punishment which is considered as an act to correct the child's behavior has served as a possible factor to affect a child's well-being and create many problems in the future. It can result in various psychological and behavioral disorders like anxiety, depression, withdrawal, impaired self-concept, impulsivity, delinquency, substance abuse, and maladjustment (Chang & Laskey, 2011). Studies show that the acceptance of corporal punishment in childhood results in higher rates of criminal activity, perpetration of partner assault, abuse against one's own children and depression (Ghosh and Pasupathi, 2016). Evidence across the world (Gershoff, 2016; Portela and Pells; 2015; Csorba et al; 2001; Naz et al; 2011, Heckler et al; 2014 & Youssef et al; 1998) suggests that school corporal punishment is linked with mental health and behavioral problems. These studies included in the Global Initiative to end Corporal Punishment show links between corporal punishment and a wide range of negative outcomes, including: 1.direct physical harm; 2. negative impacts on mental and physical health; 3. poor moral internalization and increased antisocial behaviour; 4. increased aggression in children; 5. increased violent and criminal behavior in adults; 6. damaged education; 7. damaged family relationships; 8. increased acceptance and 9. Use of other forms of violence.

3.9 Conclusion

Thus, the fear of corporal punishment may make students compliant but does not ensure real learning. In fact, when the anxiety level is raised by fear, it inhibits learning and is a deterrent to creativity and critical thinking, the key 21st century skills graduates need to successfully navigate this rapidly changing world. If, as the National Curriculum Framework states, the purpose of learning is to help students become independent learners and experience joyful learning, a culture of fear should have no place in the classroom.

Acknowledging that students are emotionally and intellectually capable of participating in their own learning, respecting their dignity and human rights requires a fundamental shift in teachers' perceptions of students. Teacher education programmes should be more responsive to these changes by engendering a greater understanding and appreciation of the needs of students, especially first-generation learners. This would enable teachers to be more empathetic and create a classroom free from fear, humiliation and pain. For instance, teachers could be educated to address discipline issues, helping students analyze the sources and consequences of their actions, reflect on the values that prompt their behavior and, when necessary, consciously seek to change it.

As discussed, the first-generation learners, for whom schools are a new cultural and life experience, are more vulnerable than any other section of the student community to the effects of corporal punishment, and consequently more likely to feel alienated from the educational system. To tackle the problem of increased school dropout rates, absenteeism and to increase student retention and progress, there is need to construct inclusive and participatory educational experiences for these first-generation learners.

CHAPTER 4 LEARNING BY HEART!

The Discourse of Rote Learning

4.1 Introduction: The Discourse of Rote Learning

Learning by Rote which is defined as the practice of memorising information without understanding is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of rote learning prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. Friere (1996) argues that the narrative method where the teacher leads the students to memorise the narrated content mechanically turns students into empty containers to be filled by the teacher. This according to Friere mirrors an oppressive society as a whole. This contradicts with India's requirement of producing high skilled, creative and knowledge workers. In this research I have chosen to explicitly examine the present and link the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. Foucault's analysis is used to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using Rote Learning and this chapter will include a brief genealogical analysis of the historical matrices that have contributed to the emergence and continuation of this discourse which will be further elaborated in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts.

Rote Learning or the practice of memorising information is a widespread practice in schools in India more so in secondary schools. There are different techniques that students use when memorising information. The most commonly used technique is the use of raw rehearsals, which involves reading and reciting the same text repeatedly until it gets stored in their memory. The other technique is the use of mnemonics, where the students associate the text with a song, phrase, acronym or image that is easy to remember. An example of mnemonic is the phrase [My Very Excited Mother Just Served Us Noodles] to remember the order of planets [Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune].

Defending Rote Learning

Rote Learning or memorisation has a number of defenders in the recent times particularly in the West (Christodoulou, 2014; Faller, 2014; Hefferman, 2010; Blumefield, 2000). They suggest that it is a useful technique, which helps students, form the basis for conceptual understanding. Daisy Christodoulou in her book, *The Seven Myths about Education* (2014) attempts to debunk the common myths such as 1.Facts prevent understanding; 2.Teacher led instruction is passive and 3.You can always just look it up. Christodoulou (2014) argues that memorisation does not prevent understanding but rather is crucial to it. She suggests that it is not that we should spend time on conceptual understanding instead of spending it on learning the numeric tables. It is by spending time on tables that you will develop the conceptual understanding. According to Christodoulou (2013), having numeric tables, basic maths facts, phonics, spelling and grammatical structures really well established in your long-term memory will enable you to speed up in developing complex higher order skills. A number of researchers on memory and cognition argue that the facts that we have stored in our long-term memory is crucial for cognition (Simon, 2003; Atkinson& Shiffrin, 1984; Ericsson & Kintsch, 1995; Baddeley, 2007, Kirschner et al, 2006).According to Kirscher and his colleagues,

“Our understanding of the role of long-term memory in human cognition has altered dramatically over the last few decades. It is no longer seen as a passive repository of discrete, isolated fragments of information that permit us to repeat what we have learned. Nor is it seen only as a component of human cognitive architecture that has merely peripheral influence on complex cognitive processes such as thinking and problem solving. Rather, long-term memory is now viewed as the central, dominant structure of human cognition. Everything we see, hear, and think about is critically dependent on and influenced by our long-term memory” (Kirschner et al, 2006, p 75).

Researchers on memory and cognition who defend factual learning suggest that education needs to capitalise on what we know about memory and how it works (Anderson, 1996; Cowan, 2005; Laird, 1983; Anderson & Pearson, 1984).There are two kinds of memory, working memory and long-term memory. Working memory is limited, can manage about three to seven bits of information at any one time, whereas long-term memory is not limited, and is capable of storing thousands of facts. Christodoulou (2014) suggests that it is possible to cheat the limitations of the working memory by committing many facts in our long-term memory, which can be hugely useful. When we have memorised thousands of facts on a single topic, they

together form a schema. When we think about that topic, we use that schema (Anderson & Pearson, 1984). So memorising a random fact like the date of Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha movement will be of limited use. But memorising the dates of 50 historical events in the Indian struggle for independence between 1945 to 1947 AD and a couple of key facts about why each event was important will be of immense use as it will form the fundamental chronological schema that is the basis of all historical understanding. Similarly just memorising $6 \times 12 = 72$ will be of limited use. However, memorising all of the 12 times tables in such a way that we do not have to think much when solving a complex problem is the basis of mathematical understanding.

The defenders of rote learning establish that teaching facts without meaning might be of limited or no use. However, they strongly argue that factual knowledge is not in opposition to higher order skills such as creativity, problem solving and even meaning and understanding but closely integrated with these skills. Willingham (2005) writes

“Data from the last thirty years lead to a conclusion that is not scientifically challengeable: thinking well requires knowing facts, and that's true not just because you need something to think about. The very processes that teachers care about most – critical thinking processes such as reasoning and problem solving – are intimately intertwined with factual knowledge that is stored in long-term memory (not just found in the environment)” (Willingham, 2005, p 28).

This research recognises the importance of having a body of knowledge or facts stored in your long-term memory to develop conceptual understanding and higher order skills. However, a number of research and survey reports suggest that the teaching methods used to impart these facts often lead to the formation of passive and compliant learners who are mere receivers of information.

Rote Learning inhibits critical and creative thinking

A number of theorists and researchers suggest that the teaching methods used to impart factual knowledge are often passive, dehumanising and even ultimately ineffective at teaching those facts (Rosseau, 1921; Hickman & Alexander, 1998; Slater, 2005; Ward, 2012; King 1993; Cunnane, 2011). Paulo Freire in his most famous book, “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” (1970),

writes about the banking concept of education. Freire criticises how the teaching methods used to teach facts deter learners from truly understanding the reality around them.

“The teacher ... expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of the students. His task is to ‘fill’ the students with the contents of his narration—contents, which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could, give them significance” (Freire, 1996, p 52).

Freire talks about the narrative nature of the teacher -student relationship where the teacher functions as a narrator and the students become mere listening objects. He criticises this practice by saying

“Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated, and alienating verbosity ... ‘Four times four is sixteen; the capital of Para is Belem.’ The student records, memorises, and repeats these phrases without perceiving what four times four really means, or realising the true significance of ‘capital’ in the affirmation ‘the capital of Para is Belem,’ that is, what Belem means for Para and what Para means for Brazil” (Freire, 1996, p 52).

In the late nineteenth century, the educationalist John Dewey criticized the schools in his time. He said the significant issue was that the pupils were not active and treated as mere objects. “The child is thrown into a passive, receptive or absorbing attitude. The conditions are such that he is not permitted to follow the law of his nature; the result is friction and waste” (Hickman and Alexander, 1998, p 233). Dewey suggests that the teaching, which leads to memorising content, isolated from its meaning is short term and does not help in conceptual understanding or formation of higher order skills:

“We present the child with arbitrary symbols. Symbols are a necessity in mental development, but they have their place as tools for economising effort; presented by themselves they are a mass of meaningless and arbitrary ideas imposed from without” (Hickman and Alexander, 1998, p 233).

The Swiss Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1921) argues that memorisation may enable the learner to repeat exactly what you said, but they will not be able to use those facts or understand how those facts can be deployed in different ways.

“You tell me they acquire some rudiments of geometry, and you think you prove your case; not so, it is mine you prove; you show that far from being able to reason

themselves, children are unable to retain the reasoning of others; for if you follow the method of these little geometricians you will see they only retain the exact impression of the figure and the terms of the demonstration. They cannot meet the slightest new objection; if the figure is reversed, they can do nothing” (Rousseau, 1921, p 72)

Freire (1996) argues that the narrative method where the teacher leads the students to memorise the narrated content mechanically turns students into empty containers to be filled by the teacher. He refers to this as the banking concept of education where a good teacher is one who keeps filling these containers (students) with more and more facts and a good student is one who meekly permits himself to be filled with more and more facts.

“Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits, which the students patiently receive, memorise, and repeat. This is the ‘banking’ concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filling, and storing the deposits. They do, it is true, have the opportunity to become collectors or cataloguers of the things” (Freire, 1996, p 53).

Freire suggests that the method mirrors an oppressive society as a whole. He argues that this type of education assumes the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing. The teacher disciplines and students are disciplined; the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, the students comply, and finally the teacher confuses his/her authority over knowledge with his own professional authority and exerts indisputable control over his/her student subjects. This research acknowledges the importance of factual knowledge but challenges the methods used in Indian schools to impart the factual knowledge. To explore the concept, I reflect on my personal experiences with the rote learning techniques.

4.2 Personal Reflection of the effectiveness of Rote learning techniques:

My first experience with memorisation was when my grandmother encouraged me to memorise the two times tables as a 4 year old. As a child, I have memorised biblical verses, spellings, phonics and grammatical structures. I cannot deny that having them stored in my long-term memory has helped me immensely in writing, speaking and solving mathematical problems. However, as I grew older, the system demanded that I memorise each word in textbooks to

score well in examinations, which on reflection suppressed my curiosity to ask questions like why and how. For instance, I memorised that $\pi=3.141$ or $e=2.71828$ to solve some trigonometry and mathematical problems throughout my secondary school but never wanted to know why. We were encouraged to memorise a textbook from its front cover to the back to get very high grades. I watched one of the ‘toppers’ in my 10th grade, recite a theorem in physics word by word from the textbook and she even remembered the page number for which she was appreciated greatly. At secondary school, the teacher drew the parts of the nervous system on the black board and gave us notes. My friend and I memorised an essay type answer (500 words) on the nervous system word by word from the textbook using funny mnemonics for a class test. None of us in the class wanted to know how this applied to our own brain functioning and how it related to our daily tasks.

As I sat in one of the physics classes at secondary school, the teacher announced that she will ask objective questions to each one of us, and the person who does not give the right answer gets a beating in the hand with a stick and the person who answers right escapes the punishment. I then moved to University in India to do my Bachelors of Science, our professor of Plant Pathology used a similar technique where he would question us on the members of Kingdom Fungi and the associated symptoms. In both these instances, I memorised the content just not to be humiliated in front of the whole class but forgot them soon after the course or the module was completed.

In another instance at Secondary School, my teacher asked me to prepare a presentation on the famous Portia’s speech from the Merchant of Venice for an English Club event at school. While preparing, I had read the speech a dozen of times and dissected each word in the speech. I never intended to memorise the speech but the speech remains in my memory even today. Hence, I believe that this process of learning, which may lead to memorisation, is a lot more meaningful than the use of raw rehearsals or the use of mnemonics.

4.3 Rote Learning and the creation of a passive or compliant student subject

The subjectivity of the student, that is, what position he or she can occupy within the overall competing discourse is made possible by competing ‘knowledges. The purpose of the study is to identify these discourses that act upon the actions of students to produce a particular subject position for students within an overall discursive frame (Roberts, 2005).A discourse can

produce a subject within a particular domain of power/knowledge by writing subject positions. Therefore, discourses produce particular subject positions for persons by setting up conditions of possibility for the emergence of a particular kind of subject (Foucault 1982; Smart 2002). The discourse of compliance and docility in Indian schools is a complex combination of many other discourses. These include discourses of punishments, rote learning, memory based examinations, the discourse of British colonialism to produce clerks, Indian philosophy and Indian values of duty and responsibility.

Foucault's goal in the last decade was to create a history of the different ways in which human beings are made subjects (Foucault, 2000c). He stipulates that the relations of power has a significant impact on the human experience of subjectivity. Foucault used the term 'subject' in two ways: one where an individual is made a subject through control and dependence and the other in which an individual is made a subject by his or her own conscience or self-awareness. Evidence suggests that the Indian school education system, which is characterised by punishments, discipline; teacher centred didactic pedagogy, rote learning and textbook centred examinations leads to the creation of passive and compliant student subjects through control and dependence.

Foucault argues that these discourses including banking education are often used to minimise or annul the student's creative power, which serves the interests of the oppressors to retain their profitable situation (Foucault, 2000; Friere, 1996). The student subjects thereby accept the passive role imposed on them and simply adapt to the world as it is and the fragmented view of reality deposited in them (Freire, 1993). The teaching methods, which encourage blind memorisation of facts, will never propose students to critically consider reality turning them into automatons. Rousseau (1921) argues that these methods, which render the pupil passive, are not only dehumanising but also immoral as it steals the joy and curiosity of their childhood.

“No, if nature has given the child this plasticity of brain which fits him to receive every kind of impression, it was not that you should imprint on it the names and dates of kings, the jargon of heraldry, the globe and geography, all those words without present meaning or future use for the child, which flood of words overwhelms his sad and barren childhood” (Rousseau, 1921, p 76).

Rote learning encourages blind belief of what is in the textbook without logic or critique. This according to Foucault can lead to the creation of a particular kind of student subject who will not demonstrate curiosity or initiative to question or challenge the existing norms and rules in

the society. This may lead him to comply with the chain of command or power without questioning. This student will expect communication or instructions to be one-way or unilateral and will look up to his teacher as the giver of the right information and the ultimate judge of their performance.

4.4 Challenges to the Indian Education system

Rote Learning and Poor Learning Outcomes for the Marginalised

The Education system of India has made considerable progress in terms of increasing primary education attendance rate and expanding literacy to approximately three fourths of the population (NCERT, 2012). However, when educational progress is analysed from an international perspective, it is reported that India lags behind the BRIC economies particularly China in secondary school participation, youth literacy, learner achievement and teacher absenteeism signalling poor quality of schooling in the Government schools. (Kingdon, 2007; Kremer et al, 2005). This gap has given rise to a massive growth of private schooling especially in the urban areas. The Annual Status of Education Reports (ASER) designed and conducted by India's largest educational NGO, Pratham is the only source of nationwide student learning outcomes. This assessment differs from most other large-scale learning assessments as they are household surveys rather than school based sampling conducted every year since 2005 in every rural district of India reaching more than 600, 000 children annually. The ASER reports (2004-2014) suggest that more than half of rural India's fifth-year students cannot read a simple story from a year two textbook fluently. Around 75 per cent of third year students cannot do two-digit subtraction, while nearly 20 per cent of second year students cannot recognise numbers up to 9. The CEO of Pratham, Mahesh estimates over the past decade, 100 million children completed primary school without attaining basic reading and maths skills (ASER Report, 2014).

A nationwide survey by an education research and innovation company EZ Vidya reported that 80% of the school principals interviewed across 2512 schools in India cited rote learning as one of the major reasons for the poor quality of students passing out of schools. Nearly 70% of them argued that the poor teaching methods and the curriculum deterred students to think creatively and critically. A number of research and contemporary debates in the media both at

the national and state level have suggested rote memorisation to be one of the major reasons, which lead to poor learner levels in Indian schools (Kingdon, 2007; Ashita, 2013; The Times of India, 2013; Ramachandran, 2014; ASER report, 2005, 2006, 2013, 2014). Media reports across India in the last 5 years suggest that a substantial number of students who graduate from schools with very high marks struggle to barely pass in their respective qualifications at University. Times of India (2012) reported that nearly 75% of second year engineering students in colleges in and around Chennai failed in at least one subject in the third semester. Nearly 40% of medical college students in 27 colleges across the state of TamilNadu who had scored the highest in their Class 12 exams failed in their first year of study. The dean of Madras Medical College responding to this said,

“We get the cream of students into our college. The quick dip in academic performance has something to do with the quality of students coming into medical colleges. They probably are so used to rote-based learning that they simply can't adapt themselves so quickly to concept-based learning” (Chennai Times, 2011).

Rote Learning and 21st century skills

The results of learning scenario surveys conducted by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) to evaluate education systems worldwide ranks Indian class 10 children 73rd in the world out of 74 countries that participated higher only than Krygystan (PISA report-OECD, 2012). This is an international comparative survey of 15 year olds', which measures how well young adults have acquired the knowledge, and skills, required to function as useful members of the society. New Delhi, the capital of the country apparently miffed with the results of the PISA test, refused to participate in the subsequent round (Financial Times, 2015). Media reported that the officials argued that the test's focus on problem solving was unfair to their students, who are geared more towards regurgitating facts. The OECD report (2012) states that one of the major future challenges of Indian education system is to provide the kind of high skilled, creative and adaptable workers who display the complex 21st century skills, a challenge which is difficult to meet with the current memory based school education system. Innovation and optimum learner achievement is seen by some as being stifled by current policies and practices, including discipline, control, assessment and curriculum, which favour compliance over imagination, innovation or critical thinking (ASER report, 2013; SSA, 2010)

It is important to understand what are the 21st century skills and their significance in this rapidly changing economy and society owing to technology. 21st century skills is a buzzword used by a range of thinkers and experts in and out of education. The most common skills that appear in most of the writing around 21st century skills include creativity, problem-solving, critical thinking, communication, and ethics and responsibility. Andreas Schleicher, the Director of The OECD Education Directorate of Skills in his report says:

“Today, because of rapid economic and social change, schools have to prepare students for jobs that have not yet been created, technologies that have not yet been invented and problems that we don't yet know will arise” (Schleicher, 2018).

Steve Wheeler, the academic and learning technologist, makes these economic concerns clear in his blog titled ‘Content as Curriculum?’ (2011) said

“After all, it is the ability to work in a team, problem solve on the fly, and apply creative solutions that will be the common currency in the world of future work. Being able to think critically and create a professional network will be the core competencies of the 21st Century knowledge worker ...” (Wheeler, 2011).

Richard Susskind and Daniel Susskind (2015) in their fascinating book titled “The Future of Professions” say that even the traditional professions like medicine, accountancy, law and teaching which were considered safe and reliable may be dismantled or transformed in the future owing to technology

“The introduction of a range of increasingly capable systems will entirely replace the work of traditional professionals...this will give rise to new ways of sharing expertise in the society and will lead to the gradual dismantling of the traditional professions. This is where the latest evidence and thinking leads us” (Susskind & Susskind, 2015).

Hence based on these experts and many other thinkers, one can argue that the demand in the workplace for routine cognitive skills based on memorisation of easily digestible knowledge is in the decline, as these tasks can be automated and outsourced. The future lies in the 21st century skills such as problem solving, creativity, interpersonal skills. A twenty first century curriculum cannot simply have just the transfer of knowledge at its core for the simple reason that the selection of what is required has become problematic in an information rich age.

“As access to information becomes easier and less expensive, the skills and competencies relating to the selection and efficient use of information become more

crucial ... Capabilities for selecting relevant and disregarding irrelevant information, recognising patterns in information, interpreting and decoding information as well as learning new and forgetting old skills are in increasing demand” (OECD, 1996).

Evidence indicates that the rote learning and didactic methods used in educational institutions in India is linked with the lack of 21st century employability skills in graduates passing out of those institutions. A number of newspaper articles report that India graduates millions but too few are fit to hire (Wall Street Journal, 2017); Millions of engineers in India struggle to get employed in the extremely challenging market (Economic Times, 2016); Nearly 50% of the Indian Graduates are not employable owing to lack of skills (The Hindu.com, 2016; NDTV.com, 2016). Former president of India, Dr. Pranab Mukherjee said in one of his speeches in 2016 that the country’s demographic dividend might turn into a demographic liability if action is not taken by schools to improve the skills and employability of the youth. He said

“if (the situation is) not reversed quickly, we will land ourselves in a scenario of having a large number of people with degrees but not enough manpower with proficiency to meet the emerging requirement of our industrial and other sectors” (Huffington Post, 2016)

4.5 Prevalence in Secondary Schools in TamilNadu

A major public education initiative known as the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) which means ‘Education for all’ is a flagship scheme introduced by the central government in 2004 (Mahapatra, 2009). The broad aim of this scheme is to provide useful and relevant elementary education to all children in the age group of 6 to 14 and to provide elementary education of satisfactory quality with emphasis on education for life. SSA has introduced Activity Based Learning (ABL) or joyful learning in the state run elementary schools all over TamilNadu where the teacher facilitates self- learning through a series of activities (Mahapatra, 2009). This programme emerged from an investigation of the current classroom practices that lead to low achievement levels of students. The research studies suggest that teacher dominated learning, learning through rote memorisation, lack of self-learning and group-learning opportunities, traditional modes of assessments, failure to meet the learning needs of different kinds of learners, lack of interesting learning activities and such other factors contributed to low learner achievement levels (SSA, 2010). The ABL approach was found to be effective and the average

achievement of elementary school children increased significantly although there were few problems in the implementation of the approach (Mahapatra, 2009). However, ABL is practised only in state run elementary schools. The pedagogy becomes teacher centred, learning is through rote memorisation and exams become the only mode of assessment as these students progress into middle schools (Ashita, 2013).

Results of the study conducted on 89 top schools of the India signifies that even the country's top schools exhibit signs of rote learning (The Hindu, 2015). Private schools in TamilNadu are very utilitarian and competitive where the ultimate focus is on obtaining maximum marks in the 10th and the 12th qualifying examinations to obtain admissions into professional institutes. Science and Mathematics are highly valued and very less importance is given to arts and humanities. Like the public schools, private schools also idealize discipline, follow a punitive approach; place a strong emphasis on routine, timetabling and completion of assigned tasks in time. Learning mostly involves cramming and copying what has been taught. The tight control exerted over spatial and temporal arrangements entail regulation and surveillance of student subjects (Grant, 1997). Students are encouraged not to question what is written in the textbooks and what is taught to them until the high school level. Most of the assigned homework involves copying from textbooks rather than analytical assignments. Hence, both in Government and Private schools the pedagogic practices promote conformity rather than criticality.

At present, in TamilNadu, the top public and private schools encourage rote learning or cramming of text. Rote learning has also become a frequent subject of complaint and mockery in the Tamil media and movies. In the Tamil film titled *Nanban* (2012), the protagonist plays a prank on a studious antagonist by replacing a complimentary word in a flattering speech with the Tamil word for 'rape', which the student rattles off without realizing the mistake. In the Hindi Film, *Student of the Year* (2012), the students of an elite school lip-sync to a song called "Ratta Maar" ("Rote Learn") as they study for their finals. Contemporary debates in the regional and national media indicate that rote learning is so widespread across different levels and different disciplines in education. The education system is so restricted to the memorization of the content that students find it difficult to differentiate between the concept of information and concept of comprehension and application. In majority of schools especially secondary schools, the pedagogies used for teaching science, mathematics, history and languages are teacher centred and instruction based. It has passed from one generation to another generation. A number of students end up scoring very less in competitive global examinations even though they were toppers in their schools. This is because the schooling system does not encourage

application based thinking, critical analysis, reflective thinking and rational reasoning. Even in mathematics and science subjects, which are purely application-based subjects, students tend to simply memorize the facts, formulas and concepts without the process of logical discovery and thoughtful explorations. Furthermore, the rigid examination system pushes them to believe that rote learning is the best way of learning to pass the examination.

Rote learning is not just widely practiced at the secondary level in TamilNadu, it's a tradition that continues life-long for the student at tertiary level and even further. They use rote-learning techniques to pass exams in higher education institutes, which include medicine, engineering and teacher-education colleges. After Higher Education, students rely on rote learning to pass the entrance examinations to gain employment in public service and other government jobs. A professor of physics and mathematics at the Forman Christian College in Lahore recounted sitting in on the class of a junior physics teacher.

“He had memorized the lesson perfectly, glancing only occasionally at his notes while speaking and writing before the class. But there were big gaps between his steps. When I later asked him to explain the reasoning, which led from X to Y, he had no clue. All he could do was re-produce the text” (Imtiaz, 2016).

In a popular television debate show in a regional TV channel (Sep, 2013), the Government and Private secondary school teachers in TamilNadu shared the challenges they faced in the current system which is highly textbook driven and examination oriented. A grade 9 science teacher who works in a private school stated

“They (the policy makers) have got a formal curriculum which we have to follow and we do ...at times we feel the academic pressure is too much for the students. We have got too much to cover in a class of 40 minutes that we hardly have any time left to talk with the students”

Another Government schoolteacher who teaches English and Maths for Grade 7 said,

“There are too many tests and too much of paperwork ...This is not right....A little bit of testing needs to be removed from our system.”

Therefore, it is quite evident that with such an academically demanding curriculum, which is textbook driven and examination oriented, memorisation becomes an important skill to be successful in schools in India. This is one of the significant legacies of the British Colonisation, which has a lasting impact on today's school education context in India.

4.6 Genealogy of Rote Learning

Foucault felt that to analyse a discourse in the present, it should be looked at from its historical context. While historical analysis is a view about the past, Foucault's analysis of history typically begins with the perception that something is wrong in the present and discourses develop because of the social and cultural conditions prevalent at that particular time (Foucault, 1972). In ancient India, the major textbooks that pupils studied were the spiritual scriptures, which include the Vedic literature and the Quran where they had to memorise the slogans and the verses and recite them word by word. Evidence suggests that rote learning or memorisation is a deeply embedded in the Indian philosophy and values of blind obedience to elders and teachers. Tan (2011) argues that when memorisation is a culturally ingrained approach, students tend to use it for lifelong learning. Indian cultural values emphasise blind obedience to parents, teachers (Guru) and elders. "Back- answering" elders which meant questioning the existing norms and beliefs is considered as disobedience and disrespect. One can argue these values have the tendency to discourage children from critical thinking, provide own judgements and deal rationally with situations.

In the Brahmin system of education, the teachers and priests before taking up their respective positions had to memorize Vedas to perform teaching and religious duties. This needed tremendous memory and practice and this emphasis on memory has still not disappeared from the Indian education system. People from India still can recite the Vedas with great memory. This method has severe drawbacks, the students will never understand the meaning of a text and it is still the reason for the difficulties faced by Indian students. This method of memorizing is still deep-rooted in the Indian minds. The Brahmin system of imparting education based upon learning everything by rote, prolonged the course of study indefinitely

The Buddhist educational system followed the same general pattern as the Brahmin with the exception that it involved a more rigorous and longer training. The student read a book called Siddhirashta, an arrangement of forty-nine letters, in 300 couplets and Panini's grammar, which was the foundation of all learning. (Zuhuruddin, 1927, p.20). The curriculum consisted of five courses: grammar, technical subjects, medicine, logic and metaphysics, besides the detailed books of ritual. There was a great similarity in the Brahmin and the Buddhist methods of

teaching. Both were tutorial, and both laid considerable emphasis on rote learning and memorisation.

In the Muslim system of education, the Quran was the foremost subject of learning because it acquainted the student with Quranic traditions and modes of Islamic conduct. The pupils sat in a circle around the teacher, who read the Quran and explained its meaning. Both student and teacher were required to learn the verses of the Quran by heart.

It was Akbar (A.D:1556-1605) who really took significant efforts to popularize the Islamic education. His views on education were expressed in the Abul Fazl's Ain-I-Akbare.

“He ordered that every school boy first learns to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learns to trace their several forms. He should learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write joined letters. They may be practiced for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memorise some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately”. (Rawlinson, 1937, p457).

Education under Mughal rulers was through two Institutions, ‘Muktab’ and ‘Madrasah’ something like the schools and colleges of today. The Mullah (the teacher in charge of a mosque or Muktab) taught the boys to repeat the verses by heart and chapters of the Quran, which were necessary for daily prayers. The writing was done on a wooden board, and the reading material consisted of the textbook and one or two Persian books. The discipline in the Muktabs was very strict. According to a report of the Indian association, Lahore,

“The Mullas (Mohammedan teachers) in the great majority of (Quranic) schools, teach the boys to recite the Quran, which is almost the first book they take up and of which they do not understand a word” (Hartog, 1939, p.95).

The British introduced textbook centred education to popularise western education to form a useful population. Memorisation of textbook information assumed a lot of importance in colonial India and is very much a part of both of Government and private schools today as students are promoted from one grade to the other only if they passed the examination that tested them on the content of the textbooks they had studied (Gupta, 2013). The British introduced English as a medium of instruction in the private schools and colleges with the motive of producing clerks and translators who would be able to handle the British commercial and administrative functions in the country. The British rule established that the government

jobs should go to the subjects benefitted by this new course of education (Spear, 1958). Since they preferred subjects who obeyed and blindly followed the policies and rules, the same discourses of rote learning, teacher centred teaching and punishments were adopted in the educational institutes

Textbook centred pedagogy and the examination oriented learning continues to dominate the Indian school education context, the higher education and largely the teacher education context. Despite revisions made to India's National Curriculum Framework (NCF) in 2005 particularly in the field of early childhood education with the introduction of Activity Based Learning (ABL), the rote learning system of education implemented by the British administrators in the early nineteenth century is widely followed in India until today. The British bureaucracy controlled all aspects of schooling and the ruling bureaucrats designed both the examinations and the textbooks. In the current educational system, a mandated academic curriculum is translated into a prescribed syllabus and corresponding textbooks. Students are evaluated based on the content of the textbooks they have studied.

4.8 Conclusion

Memorization has enjoyed a surge of defenders recently. They argue that memorization exercises the brain and even fuels deep insights. They recommend new apps aiming to make drills fun instead of tedious. Most of all, they complain that rote learning has become taboo, rather than accepted as a healthy part of a balanced scholastic diet. The research acknowledges the importance of having factual knowledge such as numeric tables and grammatical structures well established in the long-term memory. However, the memorisation, which involves learning an isolated fact through deliberate effort, is found to be ineffective as a lot of evidence suggests.

Overreliance on memorization is like most problems in education: systemic. Evidence indicate that the learning outcomes of school children across the country has declined after the introduction of the Right to Education act in 2009. Few research reports suggest this could be due to the Government's exclusive focus on quantity as opposed to quality. However, another significant development in the RTE regulation is the no detention policy until grade 8. This means a student could pass Grade 8 without acquiring even the basic numeracy and literacy skills. There is a need to examine the gaps in teacher education and quality of teaching in the

light of student achievement data and skill development. It is important to note that learner outcomes at primary and secondary level affect the access to vocational education. The

Adopting teaching techniques that improve learning outcomes and aid cognitive stimulation will enable students to develop skills needed to be a part of the formal economy. Freire (1996) suggests an alternative version of education, one that is based around discussion, dialogue and enquiry. He argues the discussion and dialogue between the teacher and student would result in the creation of new knowledge rather than the teacher transmitting knowledge to the pupil. A number of thinkers and educationalists believe that the true aim of education should be the co-construction of knowledge:

“For apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other” (Freire, 1996, p 53).

Government data shows that the gross enrolment rate in primary schools in India is 99% and in TamilNadu is 100% in 2017. This means that almost all the children start school. Herein exists the underlying opportunity, of providing quality education to the second-largest set of school going children in the world, empowering them with the skills required to navigate through this rapidly changing economy and society.

CHAPTER 5-MARKS ONLY MATTER!

(The Discourse of Examinations as the only mode of assessment)

5.1 Introduction: The discourse of Examinations as the only mode of assessment

The use of examinations as the only mode of assessment is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of examinations prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. Examinations are the most significant of all techniques of societal control and domination as in examinations, power and knowledge come together in a particularly potent and visible way. Of this procedure, Foucault says:

“It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them” (Foucault, 1991, p. 184).

Through these ubiquitous practices in Indian secondary schools, students are constituted as governable subjects. This contradicts with the India’s requirement of producing high skilled, creative and knowledge workers. The chapter will cover conceptual issues with the format of exams and analyse how it disadvantages the marginalised and widens the inequality gap. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts

In this research I have chosen to explicitly examine the present and link the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. Foucault’s analysis is used to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using Examinations as the only mode of assessment and this chapter will include a brief genealogical analysis of the historical matrices that have contributed to the emergence and continuation of this discourse which will be further elaborated in Chapters 6, 7 and 8

In this section, I explain the significance and the prevalence of the discourse of high stake examinations in secondary schools in India. The section examines the Government initiatives taken to respond to the damaging effects of year-end examinations. The section also includes

a discussion on how the technique of examinations leads to the creation of compliant and docile subjects.

Examinations play a crucial role in shaping what happens in secondary schools and societies within India and its constituent states. Secondary School children in India are primarily evaluated based on written examinations. Students face major written examinations at the end of each school year, in addition to monthly examinations and weekly tests. The outcome of these examinations influence the decision to promote the student to the next grade. Every year, the Indian government conducts two board exams, otherwise referred to as public exams, at the end of the 10th (secondary education) and 12th (higher secondary education) grades (Rao, 2008). Each state in India is responsible for the 10th and 12th board examinations within the state. The scores obtained in the 10th board exams are required not only to obtain admission in good higher secondary schools but also to enable choice of the preferred main stream of higher secondary education. Since the number of seats in popular schools are limited, there is fierce competition to get into these schools by getting high scores. The 12th board exams are even more significant and put substantial pressure on students to score high grades as they enter University or college education based on the scores obtained. Medicine, engineering, and management have been the most preferred choice of higher education by Indian parents and students owing to societal image and perceived high salary prospects. The admission process is extremely competitive and the seats are limited in popular colleges. In addition to the board exams, secondary school students also face separate entrance examinations for their chosen discipline or institute. Written examinations continue to be the primary mode of assessment in tertiary education and in job selection processes in India. Thus, written examinations are one of the most prevalent discourses in current Indian education system.

India's current school education system is textbook driven with a strong focus on the assessment of students through a rigid examination system that was initiated by the colonial administrators in the mid-nineteenth century (Kumar, 1992). The ruling bureaucrats prescribe the textbooks and the syllabus, which includes the CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) at national level and the State Boards at state level. Students are individually assessed at the end of each academic year for the content of the textbooks they have studied. Rote memorization of facts and information in the textbooks assumed great importance in schooling in modern India as a consequence of the colonial implementation of the stringent requirement for students to pass a series of examinations in order to graduate from high school. The systemic focus on examinations in the educational system in India continues to result in

such memorization. Guidebooks for all the subjects including maths, science and languages are highly popular and largely used by students as they focus on the question and answer model that is followed in the exams (Gupta & Raman, 1994). The origin of this exam driven education system driven by a prescribed curriculum and rigidly structured textbooks traces back to the discourse of British colonialism, which was conducive to rote learning and memorisation. However, it is important to note there are also aspects of Indian philosophy and implicit beliefs embedded into these practices. The Indian values of duty, responsibility, and respect to elders, discipline and obedience, which come from the Indian cultural values, religion, philosophy, mythology and folklore, are fused into the practices that are evident in schools in India. Memorisation, although it has a longer history, which I have discussed in detail in the previous chapter “Learning by Heart” has become embedded in the colonial technique of examination.

The impact of examinations on students is often debated both in regional and national media. The pressure to perform well in exams has led to a high degree of anxiety and stress in many Indian students. A large population compared with relatively low numbers of preferred tertiary education providers creates enormous competition for high academic results. Good academic performance is also attached to social status in India which leads to more anxiety and stress in students.

Exam or test anxiety refers to the situation-specific heightened experience of anxiety arising from performance testing and involves the experiences of worry, emotional reactivity, interference (i.e. distracting and blocking cognitions that disturb or interrupt performance during exams), and lack of confidence (Stober, 2004). A study reported exam anxiety and parental pressure as the two most significant contributors for stress in Indian youth (Deb et al., 2011). Contemporary media reports suggest that Indian students especially at secondary school consistently face tremendous pressure, as the opportunities are limited, the competition is fierce, and their mark sheets determine their futures. Indian families set incredibly high expectations, which further intensifies the exam related stress of students. This stress pushes them to take extreme steps if they fail to meet the set expectations. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB, 2016) report that close to 40,000 students in India committed suicide from 2011 to 2015, with 8,934 cases in 2015 alone owing to exam related stress. It is important to note that suicide is illegal in India and so a large number of suicidal deaths and foiled attempts remain unreported. The LANCET medical journal (2012) reports that India has one of the world’s highest suicide rates for youth aged 15 to 29. At least in part, this is happening due to

exam pressure among adolescents, emphasizing the imperative need to understand the pattern of anxiety and various factors contributing to it among students

5.2 Government Initiatives

The Draft National Education Policy published in 2019 which will explained in Chapter 9 has proposed to introduce public board examinations for Grades 3, 5 and 8 in addition to the existing board exams for Grades 10 and 11. According to educational reformers this may prove to be additional stress for younger students who will find it hard to cope with failure and social pressure. But the policy states that the 'Board Exams will be made 'modular' and 'restructured to test only core concepts, principles, critical thinking, and other higher-order skills in each subject' (Draft National Education Policy, GOI, 2019). Critics of the policy and the social reformers argue that the above statement is vague and does not analyse the kind of knowledge the examinations are testing and the impact of high stake tests and Private tuitions on widening the gap of inequality (Taneja, 2019; Gopalan, 2019).

However, the central and state governments have not been completely indifferent to this problem. They have launched a number of initiatives in response to the damaging effects of year-end examinations on student's well-being. One such initiative as a part of the Right to Education Act (RTE) was the introduction of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) System (Srinivasan, 2011). CCE seeks to spread the evaluation over an entire academic year, rather than judging a student's potential and performance based on select term-end or annual examinations (Ramasubramanyam, 2012). The Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) launched this, for students of grades 6 to 10 in 2009 in all schools affiliated to the CBSE. The School Education Department of TamilNadu introduced the Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) system for classes I to VIII in 2012 for all the Government Schools in TAMIL NADU. CCE is a continuous evaluation system, which includes both formative and summative assessments. This evaluation system aims to assess both the knowledge and skills of learners. Although CCE was launched with good intentions of reducing pressure and workload of students, the system faced many setbacks in its execution. Reports suggest that the CCE has been reduced in many government schools as a series of paperwork which teachers just fill out without actually conducting activities on them (Ramachandran, 2014; ASER Report, 2013).

Chrysalis, a Chennai-based educational organisation, conducted research across the country on the understanding of teachers about Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE). The study reported that only two per cent of teachers were aware of the actual purpose of conducting such assessments and 98% misunderstood the purpose of such assessments (The Indian Express, 2016; Vinayashree, 2016 & Poorvaja, 2016). CCE was not fully understood and appreciated by 67% of teachers and 58% of teachers opposed the system. The three-year survey, which surveyed 9,361 parents and interviewed teachers from across the country, suggest that a majority of teachers, instead of incorporating innovative ideas to help students learn, have been keen on grading students. The research reported that the students wrote more exams under CCE than before since bigger tests were broken into smaller tests, thus failing the very purpose of reducing exam pressure.

Based on these outcomes, in 2017, the CBSE cancelled the CCE system for students appearing in the Class 10 Board Exam, returning back to the compulsory Annual Board Exams thereby removing the Formative and Summative Assessments under the CCE model (CBSE circular, 31/03/2017).

Another response, contemporary with CCE was an attempt to keep children in school until Grade 8. The Indian Government launched the No Detention Policy (NDP) under the Right to Education (RTE) act on April 1, 2010. The No Detention Policy states that no student can be failed or expelled from school until the completion of elementary education covering classes 1 to 8. The intent of the policy was to ensure all children completed elementary education without the fear of failing. The Act mandates a process of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) to assess and evaluate the student's learning instead of year-end examinations. However, several studies conducted to analyse the impact, suggest that the policy had a negative impact on students learning (ASER, 2014; Maadhyam, 2017; Sundarami,, 2018). Media interviews with educational experts suggest that the no-detention policy is the reason why the school system is not accountable for the learning of children. They argue that the very purpose of schooling is negated when children are pushed up without any guarantee of learning. Education researchers argue that the no detention policy fails to address that Right to Education is not limited to enrolment but learning (Ramachandran, 2014).

However owing to substantial increase in failure rates in class 9 and 10 and poor learning outcomes and laxity among students, the Central Government has scraped the No Detention

Policy on August 2017 allowing schools to detain students who have not achieved the learning outcomes in class 5 and class 8.

Thus, both these Government initiatives launched with good intention of reducing the damaging effects of year-end examinations faced major setbacks in the implementation. Few education experts argue that scraping the initiatives such as CCE and NDP altogether may not be the best idea as reducing assessment to examination marks will not enable learning in the right spirit. Harjeet Kaur Bhatia, Head of Department of Educational Studies (DES), at Jamia Millia Islamia University, said that in spite of the no-detention policy having much merit, the major flaw lay in its implementation. He argued that the success of such initiatives depends on effective evaluation procedures and remedial action by teachers.

“Actually, the no-detention policy and the continuous and comprehensive evaluation (CCE) go hand in hand. It calls for evaluation, which is diagnostic, remedial and corrective in nature rather than being punitive or concerned with certification only... I think there should be systemic changes and capacity building of teachers, administrators, parents and the like for its effective implementation” (Bhatia, IANS, 2018).

Experts and Educators emphasise the need for an authentic assessment pattern but with adequate planning and preparation of teachers. It is important to note that these initiatives have been implemented only in Government Schools.

5.3 Prevalence of Examinations in Private Schools

Compounding the difficulty, in private schools, there is a highly competitive exam oriented culture where the school management, educators and students are primarily occupied with academic grades and school rankings (Ashita, 2013). A significant discourse, which reinforces the dominance and inequality of the system, is that the syllabus followed by the private schools is deliberately made tougher and more challenging when compared with the state curriculum until grade 10. This is to ensure the students who come out of the private schools perform better in the grade 12 public examination, which may facilitate their entry into the reputed institutes as discussed above, and in a preferred discipline.

Private schools have reportedly higher levels of learner achievement compared with the government schools in arithmetic, reading and Science. (ASER Report, 2013, 2014; Kingdon, 2007). In private schools there is a lot of emphasis on science and mathematics and the career

focus is limited to medicine, engineering, business and civil services (Times of India, 2013). The schools are highly utilitarian and the foremost objective of the students is to score the highest marks and thereby improve their employment prospects (News Indian Express, 2013). The curriculum is tougher when compared with the government schools and students are subjected to a lot of pressure in this system to perform. According to a research paper that was submitted to the International Association of Educational Assessment, the present system of assessment and evaluation used in private schools is exam based and the assessment only focuses on the cognitive learning outcomes and co-curricular domains are neglected (Ashita, 2013). Even in the curricular or scholastic areas, rote learning and memorising facts are rigorously emphasised characterised by the neglect of critical thinking, problem solving and creative ability (Ashita, 2013; Punj, 2013 and ASER Report, 2014). The existence of private schools is dependent on satisfying parental expectations in both the conduct of education and the outcome of examinations

5.4 The Discourse of Examination and the creation of compliant/docile student subjects

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault identified three main techniques of modern social control as ‘hierarchical observation’, ‘normalising judgement’ and ‘the examination’. Through ‘hierarchical observation,’ control can be exercised through the observation of the population. The second concept of normalising judgement is considered to be the foundation of the modern idea of disciplinary power according to Foucault where all those who do wrong or break the rules in the society are considered abnormal and ill and in need of a cure. Foucault’s third technique ‘the examination’ represents that power and knowledge are both inseparable ideas. This concept differs from the Baconian argument that knowledge is an instrument of power and the two concepts coexist independent of each other. For instance, a school student subjected to an examination is made to control his behaviour, forced to study; his conformity is measured to the systemic rules. His results are judged which establishes the truth of his state of knowledge by comparing his results with the national standards. According to Foucault, this knowledge is used by the predominant power structure to exert control and form the basis of the categories, norms and averages used by the societal power institutions to structure, stratify and legitimise the knowledge used for further normalising judgement (Foucault, 1991).

Biopower and examinations

Foucault defined 'biopower' as the power that operates on our own bodies, regulating them through self-disciplinary practices, which we each adopt, thereby subjugating ourselves. Its force derives from its ability to function through "knowledge and desire"-the production of scientific knowledge, which results in a discourse of norms, and normality, to which individuals desire to conform (Foucault, 1978; Foucault, 1982). By virtue of becoming a student in an Indian school, the individual is placed in the relations of power inherent in the technologies of domination, which are exercised over the body and its powers and capacities, and 'are concerned with defining and controlling the conduct of individuals, submitting them through the exercise of power to certain ends so as to lead useful, docile and practical lives' (Marshall, 1989, p. 1). These technologies of domination operate through the processes of classification of the student subject via regulation of space, time, and capacities to produce the normalised student, particularly the competitive individual who is responsible for her or his own success or failure. The construction of the docile and a compliant student begins with the tedious school admission process in India where students and parents are made to wait for hours and fill many forms to get into popular schools and their preferred discipline. It continues with teaching centred practices adopted in the classroom. The tight control exerted over spatial and temporal arrangements, entail regulation and surveillance of the student-subjects. The positioning and interpersonal practices of teaching in a crowded classroom in India produce a particular set of power relations between the teacher and students. In this power dynamic, only the teacher has the power to speak, their statements backed by the disciplinary power that comes from being both the giver of information and the ultimate judge of their performance by being examiners of the students. The students are passive and silent and the teacher stays central to the process. In Indian schools, the textbook and the teacher are positioned as the origin of what can be known and origin of what should be done to become the ideal student subject who gains entry into the professional institutes. Bourdieu (1977) adds the insight that because the teacher's voice is backed by textbooks and what will be asked in the exams, it has a symbolic power which is underpinned by the 'belief in the legitimacy of words and of him or her (the teacher) who utters them, a belief which words themselves cannot produce' (p. 117). In the teacher's delivery of the content from the textbook, the processes of selection and judgement, the underlying values and assumptions which have informed the text, the ruling party's political

agendas and choice of ideas are almost entirely hidden. To many Indian students, what they hear sounds like the seamless truth which cannot be questioned or critiqued.

The practice of preparing and sitting the 3 hour examinations in Indian schools classify the students and function as forms of surveillance, which contribute majorly to the disciplining of students. Of all the disciplinary practices, the examination is perhaps the most acutely felt because for an Indian school student, the scores that they obtain in the board and the entrance examinations decide their destiny in a big way. Examinations are the most significant of all techniques of societal control and domination as in examinations, power and knowledge come together in a particularly potent and visible way. Of this procedure, Foucault says: “It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them” (Foucault, 1991, p. 184). Howley and Harnett (1992) suggest that the results of the examination, although only permitting inferences about students' performances, allow students to be classified into achievers, mediocres and low performers, thus distinguishing themselves among individual students. Through these ubiquitous practices in Indian secondary schools, students are constituted as governable subjects. The disciplining is relentless and students self-discipline themselves to score high in the examinations. The practices of domination are usually justified as being for the student's good, or in the interests of fairness, or efficiency, or for the good of the Indian society and economy as a whole, and, at the same time, are established as 'normal' and thus guaranteed by common sense. They are seen to produce calculable effects, that is, their purpose is to limit the field of possible action and thus control the behaviour of their subjects. The above concept of power is used in the research, which aims to study how people's conduct were directed and controlled through large-scale text book based examinations to establish and maintain power, domination and inequality in the society.

5.5 Challenges to the Indian Education system

In this section, I explore the conceptual issues with the examination format that is used in Indian schools and how this might inhibit the 21st century skills such as creativity, critical thinking and problem solving. The section also includes the discussion of how these high stake board exams and entrance exams has given rise to the booming private tuition industry and how this

disadvantages the marginalised and poor students who cannot afford private tuitions. The section also explains the impact that examinations may have on mental health of students.

Lack of application to real life contexts

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) aims to assess the capacity of students to apply knowledge and skills to analyse, reason and communicate effectively as they pose, solve and interpret problems in a variety of real-life situations (Dohn, 2007). The results of learning scenario surveys conducted by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) to evaluate education systems worldwide ranks Indian class 10 children 73rd in the world out of 74 countries (PISA report-OECD, 2012). The report states that one of the major future challenges for this exam oriented Indian education system is to provide the kind of high skilled, creative and adaptable workers who display the complex 21st century skills, a challenge, which is difficult to meet with the high stake standardised testing, used in Indian schools.

Indian students both at secondary and tertiary level master the skill of finding a right answer from choices given, memorising information and spitting it back as answers for exam questions and finishing the exam within the stipulated time. The techniques to crack an exam that Indian students spend years mastering is practically useless as it is not authentic and does not relate to real life contexts. For instance, we do not go to our workplaces where we are given a piece of paper with predetermined answers and we choose the right answers and go back home. An engineer or a doctor cannot ask for five choices when faced with real problems to solve. Organisations like Google do not have tests in their hiring process or ask for test scores or transcripts of candidates. They used to ask for transcripts but stopped when they studied and found no correlations between the test scores and the candidate's performance on the job. The demand for skills is changing in the economy. There is a growing demand for higher order skills such as complex communication and critical thinking and decreasing demand for routine cognitive or routine manual skills, which can be outsourced or digitised. The problem becomes more pronounced as knowledge is growing at a rapid pace. Two professors from the University of California, Berkeley, studied the growth of knowledge in the world. Their study suggests that there was more new knowledge created in the world from 1993 to 2003 than the total knowledge that was created in the entire world preceding. The implication of this study on education is that we cannot divide the facts that students need to know into the 12 years of schooling, and have them memorise it and reproduce in the examinations. Memory based

examinations cannot prepare students for a the future where they will be using knowledge that has not been discovered yet; technologies that have not been invented yet to solve complex problems that we do not know yet will arise(Schleicher, 2018).Schools have the responsibility of preparing students to solve problems that we have not managed to solve in India, like the Global Climate change, pollution, Lack of sanitation facilities, Access to clean drinking water and food, Corruption and deep conflicts, which lead to the destruction of the planet. This cannot be achieved with the memory-based examinations, which are unidimensional and assess only the textbook knowledge without relating it to real life situations.

Real life application of knowledge is more complex, multidimensional and requires the appropriate use of domain knowledge based on situational requirements. For example, when buying groceries for the week from the supermarket, just domain knowledge of mathematics will not help. Other factors like space in the fridge, affordability, and transportation has to be considered. This is a simple, every day decision but involves application of knowledge in a particular situation. Therefore, someone who might be very good at mathematical calculations, may still fail in trying to assess how much he/she can afford. They are aware of their affordability for today, but they cannot assess what the situation could be like at the end of the month. Similarly, if one wants to solve the problem about how much chemical fertiliser to use in his/ her field, it is not just the knowledge of chemistry that will help but various other factors in the context. Therefore, in real-life utilisation of knowledge, more than one dimension is in play. The current examination format in Indian schools is not conducive to assessing the student's ability to apply knowledge to real life contexts.

MODEL QUESTION PAPER
Higher Secondary – Second Year – Physics

Time : 3 hrs.

Mark : 150

PART – I

Note : (i) Answer all the questions.

30 x 1 = 30

(ii) Choose and write the correct answer.

(iii) Each question carries one mark.

1. A dipole is placed in a uniform electric field with its axis parallel to the field. It experiences
 - (a) only a net force
 - (b) only a torque
 - (c) both a net force and torque
 - (d) neither a net force nor a torque
2. The unit of permittivity is
 - (a) $\text{NC}^{-2}\text{m}^{-2}$
 - (b) Hm^{-1}
 - (c) $\text{C}^2\text{N}^{-1}\text{m}^{-2}$
 - (d) Nm^2C^{-2}
3. The number of lines of force that radiate outwards from one coulomb charge is
 - (a) 1.13×10^{11}
 - (b) 8.85×10^{-11}
 - (c) 9×10^9
 - (d) infinite
4. On moving a charge of 20 C by 2 cm, 2J of work is done, then the potential difference between the points is
 - (a) 0.5 V
 - (b) 0.1 V
 - (c) 8 V
 - (d) 2 V
5. In the case of insulators, as the temperature decreases, resistivity
 - (a) increases
 - (b) decreases
 - (c) becomes zero
 - (d) remains constant
6. In a tangent galvanometer, for a constant current, the deflection is 30° . The plane of the coil is rotated through 90° . Now, for the same current, the deflection will be
 - (a) 0°
 - (b) 30°
 - (c) 60°
 - (d) 90°
7. In a thermocouple, the temperature of the cold junction is 20°C , the temperature of inversion is 520°C . The neutral temperature is
 - (a) 500°C
 - (b) 540°C
 - (c) 270°C
 - (d) 510°C

Figure 1: Questions from Grade 12 Physics Exams

(Adapted from <https://schools.aglasem.com/10336> , 2017)

For instance, look at the questions in Grade 12 board examination for Physics in 2017 in Fig 1. If you look at the questions above, it only tests the domain knowledge of students. Heubert & Hauser (1998) suggest that the use of a single indicator like textbook knowledge to assess learning and to make decisions about tracking, promotion, and graduation violates the ethics of teaching. Assessments have a powerful influence on students and hence the messages it sends

out to students is extremely important. Examinations used in Indian secondary schools send out a message that rote learning and memorisation is important for success in life. Choosing or having a right answer happens very rarely in real life.

Examinations test thin knowledge

Another conceptual challenge with the Indian school examination format is the kind of knowledge that it tests. Davis (2006) in his article “High stake testing and the Structure of the Mind- A reply to Randell Curren” explains the difference between rich knowledge and thin knowledge. Rich knowledge is knowledge that is appropriately connected to other related knowledge in the mind of the learner. Only in these connections does it become knowledge. Thin knowledge, in contrast, lacks those connections. In addition, thinnest knowledge, of course, would hardly be knowledge, it means that the fact stands alone, not connected to anything else. The argument here is that examinations in India tests thin knowledge with multiple choice questions and short answers without allowing students to establish connections in a particular topic, which is real conceptual knowledge. This knowledge is important to make sense in real life, establish connections and make decisions, which our current examination system fails to address. Therefore, an examination system, which assigns a mark for knowing the date of Gandhi’s Salt Satyagrahah movement forcing the student to memorise it as a random fact, will be of limited use and is referred to as thin knowledge. However, if the assessment tests the connected knowledge of why this event was important and how it is connected to the other historical events in the Indian independence movement, then it becomes rich knowledge and the basis of historical understanding. Large-scale assessments used in India have this atomistic view of knowledge and they do not intend to test their connectedness. Thus, the kind of knowledge, which is testable through the examination format followed in India, is very thin knowledge as its relationship with further learning and life is rather thin.

If you look at the sequence of questions in Fig 1, the questions lack connectedness and appear like random facts. Most of the questions, they test one or two facts. Even if connections are made to a series of more than one question, they will still be very limited. This pushes the students to use raw rehearsals and mnemonics when memorising these facts. The argument is

that memorising random facts without establishing connections makes it thin knowledge, which cannot be utilised by students in further learning, problem solving or decision-making.

Examinations: A prescriptive mode of assessment

A major issue with the examination format is that it is a very prescriptive mode of assessment where there are pre-determined answers that again lead to rote learning and memorisation of random facts. Experts argue that the right or wrong scenario does not facilitate expression testing of real knowledge (Darling Hammond, 2016; Scott, 2015; Boud, 2016). For example, to the question, ‘Who is the Prime Minister of India?’ the answer given is, ‘Narendra Modi’, who is also the president of the BJP. When a learner gives the right answer, he/ she also gives an answer to a question you did not ask, which tells you that the answer he gave was formally correct but lacks validity. In this format, it is quite possible that the student gives the desired answer at that moment but still does not have rich knowledge on the topic

The right/wrong scenario in exams makes examinations impersonal, as there is no space for personal feedback. Every aspect of education is standardised. The only aspect of education, which can be personalised, is feedback, which can offer a unique experience for the learner.

Large-scale paper-pencil testing requires that there must be standard answers that wastes the teacher’s time on marking the answers right or wrong which softwares can do today. Connected knowledge and understanding can be assessed only through an expansive mode of assessment. In an expansive mode of assessment, the kind of questions that could be asked can never be exhausted in advance and will depend on the situation in which the answer is given. It enables a feedback loop to be established between the teacher and the learner where the assessor (teacher) evaluates the answer and questions the learner based on the answer to establish linkages to other knowledge. This kind of assessment helps assess the authenticity of the learner’s knowledge offering a personalised learning experience to the learner.

Thus, the conceptual issues in the examination format used in Indian schools is that it only measures the textbook knowledge without any consideration of real life application of knowledge. Large scale, high stake examinations are prescriptive in nature with the right/wrong format, which leaves little room for feedback or critique making the process highly impersonal. Another issue with examinations is that it tests thin knowledge which is not connected to other knowledge, thereby pushing the students to use raw rehearsals and mnemonics to memorise

random facts which is of limited use in future life and learning. The discussion highlights how the examination format is not conducive to the development of the 21st century skills like critical thinking, problem solving and creativity that are in high demand in the economy and society.

5.6 High Stake Tests and Private tuitions

Another significant challenge with the high stake examination model followed in India is the indisputable rise in the private tutoring industry which severely disadvantages the marginalised and students from low socio economic backgrounds. India has a limited number of top ranked, higher education institutions, hugely sought after by parents and students. The seven Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and six Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) are at the top of this list owing to international placements and high salary prospects. Entry into many other medical, engineering, and management institutions is just as difficult. Because of strong linkages between admission to these institutions and later life opportunities, these institutions have high-stakes entrance exams. Board Examinations in grade 10 and 11 are also high stake exams as these decide the stream of education that a student will specialise in and the higher education institute or University that he/she will study. Herman & Golan (1991), suggest that the higher the stakes for testing, the greater focus teachers place on test preparation and teaching to the test as opposed to innovative and authentic learning. Therefore, students and parents are prepared to do anything to gain entry to these institutions.

These high stake exams have stimulated a rapid growth of private tutoring in India. While home-based private tutoring has been in practice for a long time in India where the teacher tutored a group of 10 to 15 students after school, it has now become a booming industry after the introduction of high stake exams. This form of tutoring initially provided remedial classes for academically weak students, but the high stakes attached with the board exams and entrance exams has transformed the tutoring business, which even top students feel the need to attend. Now, there are prime commercial addresses with spacious classrooms accommodating hundreds of students with discipline specific teachers. They offer customised packages and promote their business with glossy brochures, billboards and in media. Media reports suggest that cost of private tuitions are much higher than regular school fees. Private tuitions and commercial coaching centres is not just an urban phenomenon, but have navigated to the rural

areas as well. While there are some forms of tutoring, commonly referred to as shadow education on the grounds that their curricula mimic the provision in schooling, there are some forms of tutoring that actually supplants schooling (Aurini et al., 2013; Bray, 1999 ; Bray, 2009).

India is reported as one of the countries with significant prevalence of private tuitions (Aslam & Atherton, 2013; Azam, 2015; Majumdar, 2018 & Salovaara, 2017). A 2014 survey by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO, 2016) in the state of Maharashtra reported enrolment rates of 37.8% boys and 34.7% girls at higher secondary level. Another survey report done on 12 cities across the state with a small sample in each state, suggests that in 2013, up to 95% students in high schools were receiving some form of private tutoring (ASSOCHAM, 2013). While no systematic study has studied the influence of private tutoring on student performance, the fact that nearly 60 percent of students who qualified for admission to the reputed IITs in 2004 had received some form of private tutoring suggest possible positive outcomes. However, media and survey reports suggest that the rise in private tutoring poses many challenges to the Indian school education system. A significant challenge of this trend is that it severely disadvantaged children from marginalised and low economic backgrounds who cannot afford to take private tuitions, which I have discussed in detail, in the next section. The other challenges are that private tuitions lead to excessive focus on examination techniques and teaching to the test. The high stake tests and the rise of private tutoring has also led to reduced momentum and responsibility among teachers and school management both in government and private schools to improve learner outcomes. In some instances, students absent themselves from mainstream schools to perform well in the mock tests at private tuitions. The prevalence of absenteeism from mainstream schools to attend tuitions has been reported not just in India but also in countries like China, Egypt, Myanmar and Turkey although the issue has not been studied in detail (Silova and Kazimzade, 2006; Tansel and Bircan, 2008). Such absenteeism has grave repercussions on mainstream schooling; and as private tutoring participation rates grow, absenteeism tends to rise further. While these private tutoring centres, support and sometimes supplant mainstream schools, there are a number of coaching centres, which function as recognised schools. One of the most popular coaching hubs in India is located in Kota, Rajasthan where 150,000 to 200,000 students across the country gather annually to compete for limited seats in the country's most prestigious colleges. These schools are residential, have 18-hour study schedules per day and parents pay substantial fees for tuition and accommodation.

Another significant challenge is that private tutoring has become a significant portion of household spending. The market potential of organised coaching in India for competitive high stake exams is estimated to be US \$ 1.6 billion annually, which is nearly half of what the Government spends on tertiary education annually (Azam, 2015; Majumdar, 2018 & Salovaara, 2017). Spending levels for private tuitions is much higher than in mainstream schools. According to a nationwide survey, nearly 70% of the respondents said that coaching centres were popular owing to the the poor quality of education in mainstream schools; and around 85% percent of the teachers said that even the top students feel the need for systematic coaching outside school. The survey also highlighted that around 90% percent of parents were prepared to pay the exorbitant fees for private tuitions, since they felt that this would be an essential investment for their child's future. Thus, private tutoring in India has become one of the most important, yet unacknowledged, factors in children's performance on the high-stakes entry tests.

5.7 Disadvantaging the marginalised

The inability of lower income families to spend on private tutoring results in inequalities in academic competitiveness, particularly in rural areas. This situation skews the class-mix in higher education, particularly in institutions with competitive entrance exams. Moreover, research suggests that extensive private tutoring has led to the undermining of students' self-directed learning capabilities, students' low engagement in classroom teaching, and causes undue financial and mental pressures on parents as well as students (Agrawal, 2015; Times of India, 2017). Private tutoring also increases inequalities in access to the reputed higher education institutions as discussed in the section above.

According to the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report published by UNESCO in 2016, high stake exams and the rise in the private tutoring industry is making education in Indian schools a unidimensional exam-oriented activity. It inhibits students from receiving a holistic education, pushing them to memorise the textbook content to score high marks. The GEM report has criticized the two popular practices of education in India and elsewhere in Asia, the 'high-stakes' tests and 'private tuitions' as being harmful to students and to the goals of education.

“There is extensive evidence showing that high-stakes tests based on narrow performance measures can encourage efforts to 'game the system', negatively impacting on learning and disproportionately punishing the marginalized "(GEM Report, UNESCO, 2016).

Thus high stake tests and the rise in private tuitions and shadow coaching centres are reported to increase the academic burden and stress of students. While remedial or individualized help may benefit students, the time and money allocated to tutoring can undermine student well-being and strain household budgets. Private tuitions has worsened the inequality in education as better-educated households with children attending private schools in cities were more likely to pay for private tutoring (Agrawal, 2015; Times of India, Oct 2017; GEM Report, UNESCO, 2016).

5.8 Examinations and mental health

As discussed in the previous sections, the high-stakes attached with the tests are a great source of stress for students, taking a serious toll on their mental and physical health. According to the Indian National Crime Records Bureau statistics, 2,672 students committed suicide in India in 2015 because of failure in exams. This is one of the very significant problems with the examination oriented secondary school system of India.

Academic Stress

Secondary students' mental health has become a serious public health issue among researchers, policy makers and authorities of educational institutions worldwide (China Youth Social Service Center, 2008; Lei et al., 2007; Liu and Tein, 2005; Zhao et al., 2009). A number of research articles suggest that academic stress and the fear of examinations is a major source of stress among school students worldwide (Brown et al., 2006; Christie and MacMullin, 1998; Dodds and Lin, 1991; Gallagher and Millar, 1996; Huan et al., 2008; Tang and Westwood, 2007). Verma and Gupta (1990) define academic stress as the mental distress and anxiety that typically arises from anticipated potential academic failure which in India is failure in the high stake board examinations. Academic stress and failure to meet parental expectations are linked with mental health problems such as depression, anxiety and suicidal tendencies (Anderman,

2002; Ang and Huan, 2006; Bjorkman, 2007; Field et al., 2001; Kouzma and Kennedy, 2000). Recent evidence worldwide indicates that more students in Asian countries such as India, China, Singapore, Korea, Japan and Chinese Taiwan are subjected to more academic stress when compared with their western counterparts (Ang et al., 2007; Crystal et al., 1994; Deb et al., 2011; Lee and Larson, 2000; Lei et al., 2007; Mitra and Deb, 2011; Zhao et al., 2009). This could be attributed to the focus on academic achievement, assessment modes, demographic, socio-economic variables and perceived cultural value and the high stakes attached with education.

Two major reasons of academic stress in India are examinations and parental pressure. Arun and Chavan (2009) in their survey report on academic stress, reported that out of 2,402 secondary school students in an Indian city, 45.8 % had psychological issues owing to academic stress; 8.82% students reported that life was a burden and 6 percent of students reported suicidal tendencies with 8 students saying that they have attempted suicides owing to academic stress. Similarly, Verma et al. (2002) suggests that there is a correlation between school demands on the daily time use and the negative emotional states of Indian secondary school students. Academic stress and anxiety in Indian secondary school students are associated with an increased risk of maladaptive behaviors such as suicidal ideation, substance abuse and other behavioral addictions (Manna and Nigesh, 2011; Arun & Chavan, 2009; Deb et al, 2011; Deb and Bhattacharya, 2013). Thus examinations is a major contributor of academic stress in Indian school students which might suppress their creativity or interest to explore new ideas and make creative mistakes.

Parental pressure

The other major cause of academic stress in India is parental pressure and expectations placed on the child to score high in examinations (Deb et al., 2010). This often results in parents encouraging their child to study for a long periods in order to attain high grades or percentages in examinations. Students preparing for their board exams or entrance exams are encouraged only to focus on their exam scores for those years. In many households, they are actively discouraged from pursuing sports, singing, dancing or any such after school activities (Ganesh & Magdalin, 2007). Parents establish curfews on TV viewing or internet usage and there are some households where parents disconnect their TV and wifi connections completely to make

home free of any distractions. All these practices coupled with the societal pressure where friends and relatives are constantly enquiring about their performance, puts undue pressure on the student (Mukherjee, 2010 a; Mukherjee, 2010 b; Ganesh & Magdalin, 2007). A Kolkata-based study on grade 11 and 12 students revealed that nearly two-thirds (63.5 percent) of the students reported stress because of academic pressure from their parents and over 80 percent reported examination-related anxiety (Deb et al., 2011). Fathers possessing a lower education level (non-graduates) were more likely to pressurize their children for better academic performance (Patel et al, 2007; Patel & Kleinman, 2003; Goodman et al, 2005). Parental pressure for better academic performance caused high stress among the adolescents and had negative effects on emotional adjustment, self-concept and self-confidence (Deb and Bhattacharya, 2013). A number of research reports suggest a prominent relationship between emotional problems in Indian secondary school students and parental expectations for academic success. The results indicated that parental expectations varied with gender and school popularity, with expectations higher on male children and children graduating from popular private schools with more fees (Weiss & Last, 2001; Deb et al, 2010; Verma & Gupa, 1990; Mukherjee, 2010 a; Mukherjee, 2010 b; Ganesh & Magdalin, 2007). This can be related to the patriarchal societal set up in India where the men are expected to be the sole providers for their families. Since academic performance is always correlated with later success and wealth in life in the society, boys are subjected to undue pressure and stress when they fail to meet their family expectations.

Media reports of 2017 have thrown up several cases across the country, where exam-related stress has caused students to take the extreme step. A 18 year old student Aman Kumar Gupta who was studying in one of the major coaching hubs in India to crack the medical entrance exams, committed suicide owing to exam failure. In a video message recovered after his death, he apologized to his parents for failing to live up to their expectations "Everyone at the coaching institute and my friends helped me but I am not been able to do it right," he said in the 11 minute long video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dI6g79DB6v8>). In addition to the above problems, students also go through psychosomatic issues induced by exam stress. Many students have reportedly showed symptoms of nausea, dizziness, loss of appetite and insomnia while preparing and writing their board exams. Thus the high stake examinations and the indisputable focus on marks in Indian secondary schools, causes physical and mental stress in students and in worst scenarios lead them to take the extreme step.

5.9 Significance of the discourse in the state of TamilNadu

The state of Tamil Nadu is characterised by the prevalence of all the discourses related to examinations as discussed in this chapter. Tamil Nadu has its own state board curriculum and is responsible for the 10th and 12th board examinations within the state. Owing to the high stakes attached to the board examinations, there is a rise in the private tutoring industry in TamilNadu. As discussed above, the students in private schools are subjected to tougher curriculum until Grade 10 and then enter the much easier state board syllabus to score more in the qualifying, high stake 12th board examinations. This by itself, disadvantages the marginalised and poor students who study in government schools from the start with very limited support.

A recent casualty where a Dalit (oppressed caste) student Anita committed suicide when she could not enter medical college even after scoring 98% in her 12th board examination has led to a number of protests and debates in TamilNadu (NDTV.com, 2017; Siddiqui, 2017; Hindustan times, 2017). In 2016, the Supreme Court of India ordered that medical colleges across the country should use the scores obtained in the NEET (National Eligibility-cum-Entrance Test) to decide admissions. This would disadvantage the majority of students in TamilNadu who have studied under the state board syllabus since the syllabus for NEET will be based on the CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) curriculum. A number of students like Anita protested against NEET and requested the Central Government of India to ban NEET in TamilNadu until the syllabus is changed. They said that this will severely punish the rural, marginalised and poor students who cannot afford private tuitions required to score in these national entrance exams such as NEET and JEE. Anita, a daughter of a daily wage labourer from a village was found hanging in her house when the Supreme Court announced its verdict that NEET will be the sole criterion for medical admissions on 11th September 2017(NDTV.com, 2017; Siddiqui, 2017; Hindustan times, 2017).



Figure 2: Protests to ban NEET (National Eligibility cum Entrance Test)

Adapted from <http://thewire.in/>, 11th September, 2017

The discourse of merit and quality in the Indian secondary school system through the use of these high stake entrance examinations renders injustice to both the idea of merit and the Indian constitutional aims of social justice. This dominant discourse, which locates intelligence in an individual, tends to ignore the role of socio-economic privileges in being able to access support systems which can be nutritional, educational, economical, or social.

Centum ‘Madness’ in TamilNadu

In March 2017, about 893,000 students in TamilNadu wrote their 12th board examinations. The results published in May 2017, showed an overall pass percentage of 92.1 percentage of students (Kumaran, 2017). 12,000 students have scored between 95% to 98% and thousands of students have score full marks (100/100) which is referred to as centum in ‘various’ subjects barring language studies. For instance, about 8301 students have scored centum in Commerce and around 2551 students have scored centum in business mathematics (Kumaran, 2017). This raises questions on the messages that are sent out to the society with these results and how useful are these scores for students in their future learning. If you look at the result above, a student who has scored 95% is in the 12000th rank in the examination race. I have discussed in my previous chapter, “Learning by heart” of how students who have scored full marks in

their 12th board exams struggle to pass their engineering college exams. A news report quoted an educationist saying,

“Nowadays, the question papers for the examinations are not based on concepts, any student who is good at memorizing can get good marks. The papers should be based on concepts so that it is useful for the students in future as well” (Mathew, 2016).

In the same news article, a school principal, while he appreciated the students who scored full marks, commented that the schools and the government should look at improving the quality of their assessments and pedagogy instead of encouraging students to score full marks. He opines that most of the toppers are from private schools, hence support systems needs to be improved in Government schools where the state’s poor, and marginalised children attend. Reports also suggest although 1000s of students in TamilNadu score full marks in their board examinations, only 5 students from TamilNadu were selected in the IIT entrance examinations in 2017. The IIT entrance examinations, a nationwide entrance test that qualifies students for the country’s best colleges are not memory based and test students’ critical thinking and conceptual understanding.

Educationist Murugan in a media report criticized the type of questions that are asked in TamilNadu board examinations. He said,

”The question papers should be more descriptive where students can put in their ideas or more concepts of the subject ...The question papers are objective type, with less number of descriptive questions and for those questions also, they are made to memorize the answers” (Mathew, 2016).

For instance, look at the following questions from Botany that were asked in the 12th TamilNadu board examination in 2017.

43. சியாடின் என்றால் என்ன ?
What is Zeatin ?
44. சுழல் ஒளிபாஸ்பரி கரணம் எந்த சூழ்நிலைகளில் நடைபெறுகிறது ?
State the conditions underwhich cyclic photophosphorylation occurs.
45. அப்போஎன்ஸைம் என்றால் என்ன ?
What is Apoenzyme ?
46. காற்றில்லா சுவாசம் என்றால் என்ன ?
What is anaerobic respiration ?
47. பெண்டோஸ் பாஸ்பேட் வழித்தடத்தின் முக்கியத்துவங்கள் மூன்று குறிப்பிடுக.
Mention three significances of pentose phosphate pathway.

Fig 3: Examinations test thin knowledge

(Adapted from <https://files.aglasem.com/schools/>, 2018).

If you look at the questions above, the questions are just based on the textbook knowledge, as discussed in the section on conceptual challenges. The questions test thin knowledge that lacks connections and the nature of these assessments are impersonal. The questions prescriptive with predetermined right answers which happens very rarely in real life.

TamilNadu records highest number of adolescent suicides in India

In addition to the challenges above, media reports have highlighted the need for prioritising mental health of school students in TamilNadu as a number of students commit suicide owing to exam stress and failure (Vijayakumar et al, 2013; NCRB, 2013; Rao, 2008; Ann Mary et al, 2014; Times of India, 2013). The latest report by the National Crime Records Bureau has positioned Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra as 2 Indian states with the highest suicide rate (NCRB, 2013). A number of suicide cases are reported in the media every year when the board examination results are released. While it is common occurrence that students who fail or fear examination failure commit suicide, there are a number of cases where students have ended

their lives even after scoring more than 70% (Vijayakumar et al, 2013; NCRB, 2013; Rao, 2008; Ann Mary et al, 2014; Times of India, 2013). The reasons reported for this are failure to meet their own & parent's expectations, scoring lesser than their peers or not scoring enough to gain entry into medical or reputed professional institutes. Thus examination or academic failure is one of the major reasons of adolescent suicide in TamilNadu along with unrequited love or relationship breakups. In response to the increasing number of student suicides, the TamilNadu Government has appointed psychologists/counsellors in Government schools in Chennai and Coimbatore and has stopped advertising the state and school toppers names in the media (Ann Mary et al, 2014). While these interventions might be some help, the Government needs to rethink the current assessment structure, which is memory based, summative, and impersonal with high stakes attached to it.

5.10 Conclusion

Thus, based on the discussion above, there is an imperative need for policy makers and educators to rethink the current examination model followed in Indian schools. The key conceptual challenge of these examinations is that it is impersonal and unidimensional just testing the textbook knowledge of students. Memory based examinations cannot prepare students for the complex 21st century future where they will be using knowledge that has not been discovered yet and technologies that have not been invented yet to solve complex problems that we do not know yet will arise (Schleicher, 2018). Hence, educators are pressured to implement effective 21st century assessments, which articulate a clear philosophy of education grounded on the vision of the kind of character, dispositions and virtues that 21st century schoolteachers and students need to have. More specifically, the challenge is how India can develop its own brand of 21st century pedagogy and assessments not merely copying the strategies of the west but one that is derived from the voices of its own scholars and educators and that takes into account its situatedness in multicultural and Asian contexts.

The mental health issues that students face and the increasing number of suicides owing to examination stress highlight the need for not just counsellors and mental health professionals but an urgent need for a critical review of the Indian education system and the social structures that have failed to protect and nurture the youth of the country. Emerging models of assessments for primary and secondary schools like project work where students identify a

specific problem faced by the community in which the school is situated, research the problem and generate possible solutions have proved effective in countries such as Singapore and Japan. Graduate Portfolio systems for secondary schools, which takes the stress away from year-end examinations and are holistic, and formative involving self-assessment rubrics, collection of completed work, feedback from peers and teachers, drafts of individual work, test scores, reflection and journal writing have reportedly worked well in alternate models of schools in India. The current examination format which just tests thin knowledge can be revised by incorporating thinking skills such as remembering, comparing and contrasting, classifying and categorising, inferring and predicting, analysing, interpreting, generating ideas, drawing conclusions, opinion and judgement, evaluating, synthesising, making decisions, and solving problems both in the syllabus and in the assessment questions. For instance, in addition to multiple choice questions and structured questions there can be questions that are more open-ended, source-based questions, unseen text questions, coursework and oral and listening assessment tasks.

The transition from an industry oriented education model towards 21st century pedagogy and assessments is not a straightforward or linear journey for any education system, whether at the district, state or national level. The social economist Carlotta Perez in her paper titled ‘Technological revolutions and techno-economic paradigms’, says that it often takes two to three decades for policy reforms to result in observable shifts in socio-institutional “common sense” and cultural spheres of practice (Perez, 2009). Similarly , curriculum and assessment reforms in India and TamilNadu which includes teacher preparation and a strong dialog between research and practice, often take on complex and nonlinear trajectories and therefore require ample time, patience, and commitment to the cause, before systemic shifts may be witnessed in the pedagogical and learning landscapes in Indian schools, classrooms, communities, and society at large. However, to annihilate discourses of exclusion and inequality in educational opportunities for the marginalised and oppressed students, we need to challenge the gatekeeping examinations and the discourse of merit that continue to undermine the Indian constitutional ideals of social justice.

CHAPTER 6- ONLY IN ENGLISH!

The Discourse of English as the Medium of Instruction



Figure 4: English Education in Indian schools

Adapted from <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20500312>, 2012

6.1. Introduction to the Discourse of English as the Medium of Instruction (EMI):

The use of English as the medium of instruction is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. This chapter will analyse the discourse of English education prevalent in Indian schools and its significance and how it leads to the creation of utilitarian student subjects. This contradicts with the India's requirement of producing high skilled, creative and knowledge workers. The majority of the private and public schools, which follow English as the medium of instruction, however have inadequately trained teachers who are not competent and fluent to deliver the subjects in English. This could potentially lead to the danger of the student learning neither the language nor the content. This failure leads to a larger social divide. In this research I have

chosen to explicitly examine the present and link the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. Foucault's analysis is used to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using English as the medium of instruction and this chapter will include a brief genealogical analysis of the historical matrices that have contributed to the emergence and continuation of this discourse which will be further elaborated in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The chapter will cover how the discourse of English education disadvantages the marginalised and widens the inequality gap. The chapter will discuss the challenges and the consequences of the discourse to the Indian education system, thereby providing some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts.

English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in Indian schools has been widely debated across the country both in professional forums and in the media. Currently, there are two positions on the use of EMI that operate in the Indian context and neither can be easily dismissed. The first position is that there is a huge demand for English at the grassroots level in almost every state of India particularly among the socially and economically marginalised groups. The NCERT data indicates that 25 out of 28 states of India teach English from class 1 and all the Indian States introduce English at some stage of primary education. The Annual Status of Education (ASER) Reports (2010, 2013, 2014, 2016) and the Public Report on Basic Education in India (PROBE, 2011) suggest that an ever increasing number of parents are choosing to put their children in fee paying private English medium schools rather than Government schools. The use of English appears to be the critical factor in this choice. Kingdon (2007) suggests that there is a tendency of parents even with very low incomes to send their children to English medium schools with the hope of better employment prospects for their children later in life. Interviews with Government school teachers in a research report suggests that the primary reason, they send their own children to private schools is the non-availability of English as the medium of instruction in Government schools (Ramachandran, 2014). David Graddol in his book, "English Next India: The Future of English in India" suggests that the three main drivers for English in India are education, employment, and social mobility. Many educationalists and researchers (Martin Davidson (Chief Executive, British Council); Abhai Maurya (Vice Chancellor, EFL University, Hyderabad); Hall & Cook, 2015; Clement & Murugavel, 2015; Marlina, 2014) consider Graddol's work as a seminal document that has shaped a lot of discussion on EMI. One of his main conclusions in the book is as follows

“There are three main drivers in India towards the greater use of English: education (increasing demand for English-medium schools, widening access to higher education, incorporation of English training in vocational education); employment (many jobs in the organised sector now require good English skills); social mobility (English is seen as an access route to the middle classes and geographical mobility within India and beyond)” (Graddol, 2010, p 14).

There is a strong demand for English in the employment context in India in the urban areas but that demand is not restricted only to the elite. The status of English is changing in India from a bureaucratic and elite language to the language of the masses particularly among the poorer sectors. For instance, the Dalit (untouchables/ low caste) movements see English as a language that unites the Dalit movement across India allowing them to fight a common political cause. Dalit activists argue that English is a key to Dalit emancipation, because it allows escape from the traditional caste positioning which is encoded into the regional languages themselves along with the opportunities for social mobility, the English language provides (Kandaswamy, 2009).

However, opposed to this preference for leaning and teaching in English is an entirely contrary viewpoint that suggests mother tongue instruction in the early years of literacy is the bedrock of good learning outcomes particularly for the marginalised children for whom the local language is the only language spoken at home (UNESCO, 2008a; 2008b; 2005; 2003 and 1953). The reports argue that these children whose primary language is not the language of instruction in school are more likely to drop out of school or fail in early grades. The problem here is that, the growing parental demand for English has led to an increasing number of schools in India, which insist, on the exclusive use of English to the point of excluding mother tongue instruction. Arnold et al (2006) suggest that instruction only in a foreign language might create confusion in the child leading to his/her inability to engage actively in learning tasks; teachers feeling overwhelmed by the child's inability to participate; low self-esteem; reduced motivation and early experiences of school failure (Arnold, Bartlett, Gowani, & Merali, 2006). While some children continue to develop proficiency in their mother tongue while succeeding in English at school, it is not a common occurrence, which happens automatically. Educationists and researchers argue that this extensive focus on English can lead to other negative effects whereby children fail to become linguistically competent members of their families and communities and loose the connection with their cultural heritage. Failing to educate the young generation in their mother tongue, has wider social consequences leading to

a rapid depletion of the world's repository of languages and dialects along with the cultural knowledge that are carried through them.

These ambivalent attitudes towards English as the Medium of Instruction were reflected in the 'State of the Nation' poll conducted by the Indian television channel CNN-IBN in August 2009. In the opinion poll, around 87% of the people surveyed, felt that knowledge of English is important to succeed in life and around 54% felt that those who can speak English fluently are superior. However, the same opinion poll also reported that around 82% felt that knowing the state language is very important, 57% felt that English was making them forget their mother tongue and 63% feel jobs should be reserved for those who spoke the state language. While we discuss the contrary attitudes that exist in India on English as the Medium of Instruction, it is also important to understand how many people actually know and speak English in India.

The introductory sentence in Graddol's book, 'English Next India', reads, "India speaks English. At least that is what most of the world imagines" (Graddol, 2010, p 9). He acknowledges that India does have some speakers of English with near native fluency but he also adds that they are restricted to certain pockets of the country, the preserve of the elite. While English has been widely spoken in India since the British Rule, there is no credible or reliable estimate as to how many Indians know and speak English. According to a demographic study published in a popular digital news magazine in 2018, around 400,000 households which accounts for 1.4 million people can speak English fluently that is, just 1% of the total 126 million Indians who claim to speak or know English according to the 2001 census published in late 2009 (Rai, 2018). This 1% (1.4 million people out of 126 million people) corresponds to the report by the National Knowledge Commission (2009) which suggested that, "even now, no more than one percent of our people use English as a second language, let alone a first language". The Indian Retirement Earnings and Savings (IRES) survey of wage earners in India conducted in 2005, indicated that around one third of the participants (35%) claimed to be able to read English but only half (16.5%) of them said that they can speak English. English has long been used in India as a 'library language' used for writing examinations and reading textbooks but not for conversations. The rote learning methods and the written examination format used in Indian classrooms as discussed in the previous chapters have created asymmetric proficiency levels across the four language skills. Thus, English proficiency is very unevenly distributed across the various socio economic groups in India.

Considering that the percentage of people who actually speak fluent English in India is quite small, they form an exclusive class of people that spoke English fluently. This aligns with what Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of independent India observed in 1963.

“In the old days, we produced a relatively small, though numerically fairly large class of people who knew English and who formed a kind of English-knowing caste in India. In this land of caste, everything turns into caste. And people who knew English, even though they may not have known it very well, considered themselves superior to those who did not”(cited by Graddol, 2010, p 7).

Thus based on the above analysis, the position of English in 21st century India is divergent across different groups of people. For some it is a **‘library language’** used for writing examinations and reading books while for some it is a **‘link language’** which enables social and geographical mobility. Some groups consider English as **‘a language of enslavement’** or the **‘language of the ‘new’ Brahmins’** leading to a caste divide while some groups including Dalit movements consider it as **‘a language of liberation and liberalism’** and **‘a language of modernity and development’**. The South Indian states where English is more widely spoken compared with the rest of India use English as **‘a defence against imposition of Hindi’** and for many in India, English is **‘the language that brings in the money’**.

6.2 The story of English in India (Post colonialism) and the creation of utilitarian and compliant subjects

The term ‘postcolonial’ refers not just to the historical period that marks the end of colonisation and the start of political autonomy in a former colony such as India, but it seeks to study the extent of influence that began with the start of colonisation. According to Gupta, it is a research paradigm that seeks to situate contemporary issues in the context of underlying colonial experiences (Gupta, 2013). The theory brings out the differences between the dominant and the marginalised discourses and hence provides a platform to critically examine the past in order to bring to light the marginalised experiences of the colonial era (Gandhi, 1998). The following definitions of the term post-colonialism will be used in the study. It is a powerful interdependence or a two-way dialogue between the coloniser and the colonised. According to Bhabha (1994), the colonised condition can be explained as a phenomenon of cultural hybridity where there is an intercultural negotiation between the ideas of the colonizer and the colonised.

It is defined as the continuing contest between the dominance of the colonisers and the consequent legacies that were created.

The process of colonisation in India began with the physical conquest of territories followed by the conquest of mind, selves and cultures. Nandy (1983) in his article 'The intimate enemy: Loss and Recovery of self under colonialism,' argues that for Europe to be established as the site of civilization, the colonised world had to be emptied of its own knowledge and values and thus the West had to be established not only in structures but also in minds. In British India, this required the implementation of a system of education that would bureaucratically control the way natives would be educated. India's education system has had continuous historical influences for over 4000 years but the new education policy established by the British Raj in India by 1835 was considered the most far reaching single measure as without this, the present Indian nation, we know today could not have existed.

One of those lasting legacies of the British, which continues to linger in the Indian education context is English, which had become the medium of instruction and communication. To establish control, the coloniser had to become the educator claiming that the only way that colonised Indians could be properly educated was through the language and canon of the educator. The (in)famous Macaulay's minutes (1835) which declared English language as the medium of instruction in schools in India marked the beginning of an education system in India which would tend to forsake its own history and philosophy and become Western.

“... The effect of training ... is to give an entirely new turn to the native mind. The young men educated in this way cease to strive after independence according to the original Native model, and aim at, improving the institutions of the country according to the English model, with the ultimate result of establishing constitutional self-government. They cease to regard us as enemies and usurpers, and they look upon us as friends and patrons, and powerful beneficent persons, under whose protection the regeneration of their country will gradually be worked out. . .” (Macaulay, 1835 in National Archives of India, 1965).

Macaulay's minutes of 1835 is the most quoted piece of civil service documentation in the history of the empire. He categorically announced

“It is impossible for us, with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people....We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and

colour, but English in opinions, in morals and in intellect” (Macaulay, 1835 in National Archives of India, 1965).

Macaulay started this debate conceiving English as the medium of instruction about 180 years ago I can relate to as a part of me, my history and my thesis. He suggested the use of English as a vehicular language to teach subject content such as science, geography and mathematics.

“To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western Nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of population”(Macaulay ,1835 in National Archives of India, 1965).

This influenced the passing of the English Education Act in 1835, which required the native Indians to submit to the study of English (Viswanathan, 1995). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis explores the prominent role language plays in the construction of meaning by studying how our society is being shaped by language, which in turn reflects existing power relationships. By introducing English as a language of instruction and communication in India, the meaning-making processes by which a post-colonial Indian developed a complex understanding of the world was built both on Indian and Western ideas (Gupta, 2013). This legacy of English Education had a lasting impact on the modern urban Indian psyche.

6.3 Foucault's Governmentality and creation of governable and compliant subjects

Governmentality as a theme was first introduced by Foucault in the series of lectures he delivered in 1978 and 1979. Foucault argued that the government was not a sovereign or singular power, but an assemblage of multiple practices entailing governance of oneself, governance within social institutions, communities and government of the state. Foucault defined governmentality as the “conduct of conduct” suggesting that power and governance can take place from a distance to influence the actions of others. Foucault interprets governmentality as:

“The ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument” (Foucault, 1991, p. 102).

During the British rule in India, English replaced Persian as the language of the literary and secretarial classes and it was established that the government jobs should go to the people who had benefited by this new course of education (Spear, 1958). The British introduced English as a medium of instruction in the private schools and colleges with the motive of producing clerks and translators who would be able to handle the British commercial and administrative functions in the country. The language went on to become one of the most important prerequisites for high paying jobs particularly to secure jobs in the British East India Company. Hence, the knowledge of English would enable entry into a social class for those candidates who did not belong to the literary castes by birth (Spear, 1981). Since employers preferred employees (subjects) who obeyed and blindly followed the policies and rules, the same discipline and control methods were adopted in the private schools and colleges. The mastery of the English language gave young Indians access to governmental appointments and the Indian youth were influenced by western philosophy and literature. It is possible to see the process Foucault talks about in Governmentality whereby assemblages/persons adopt parallel ways of thinking which render the subject/person more governable. Discourse plays a major role in the development of Governmentality.

Rose and Miller (1990) suggest that institutions like schools or hospitals even in democratic governments can become “key resources for modern forms of government [that] have established some crucial conditions for governing in a liberal democratic way” (Rose & Miller, 1990, p. 2). Hence governmentality, does not necessarily take an autocratic or dictatorial approach but rather originates from a general consensus or more exactly from the use of a common language.

“Governmentality should not be thought of as a top-down process, in which the elites at the top of the government coerce others into doing their bidding. Instead... governmentality emerges from an alignment of the administrative apparatus of the state with the knowledge being produced in other institutions, such as universities and hospitals (Flores, 2013, p. 5).

As a theoretical construct, governmentality not only focuses on the governing of the state apparatuses, but also addresses the governing of the individuals

“Government designates the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the

sick... to govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others” (Foucault 1982, p. 790).

The old middle class of India had played a subordinate role in the affairs of India as they were segregated based on caste, occupation, language and distance and hence they were hugely dependant on the intellectual aristocracy of the Brahmins and the landed aristocracy of sardars and zamindars. Hence, the first step that the British government deployed, to utilise this untapped potential was to remove and set aside the upper classes through their political encroachment measures and new land settlements. The upper classes refused to learn a foreign language just for employment. This paved the way for the middle class Indians although, initially only merchants and financiers to benefit from these measures. The educational reforms in the 1850s led to the introduction of the official teaching of English in schools, which popularised western knowledge, and science in the schools that were spread throughout the country. This led to new professions and opportunities, which included teachers, professional lawyers and doctors of western medicine (Iman Commission, 1854). There were more openings in administration, the enterprising railways established in 1856, the public work departments, the engineering, forest and other services, which were open to young Indians trained in English in the western education system. The British succeeded in creating a new class of young Indians who shared a common language and stock of western knowledge and ideas. These bureaucratic flavours of the British Raj continue to linger in different aspects of the Indian society even today. Thus, the concept of Governmentality allows us to understand the shaping of individual and group language behaviour enacted through these techniques and practices of politicians, bureaucrats, educators and other authorities.

Drawing on the concept of governmentality, this chapter investigates the extent to which the the EMI policies and practices that teachers and school authorities enact in Indian schools lead to the creation of a particular kind of a student subject who is docile, compliant and governable. This framework may also help to explore how educators in schools use “techniques of power” to enact “the conduct of conduct” (Foucault 2009).

6.4 Challenges of the discourse to the Indian Education System

The discourse we explore in this chapter is termed, ‘English as ‘the’ medium of instruction’ indicating definite singularity as opposed to ‘English as ‘a’ medium of instruction’ indicating

indefinite plurality. It is important how we term or name things, as language is not neutral, language is power as knowledge is expressed through language. We had discussed earlier that power creates knowledge and once established, the discourse tends to reinforce and continually re-establish networks of power.

English as a language of intrusion vs inclusion

Research suggests that Indian parents value English medium education as the best. This is the reason behind the growth of private schools where English is used as the only language for teaching and learning subject content. Some state governments have succumbed to the public pressure and introduced English medium streams in their schools. Very few elite private schools have managed to maintain their exclusivity by being well-resourced and employing proficient teachers who are fluent in English. These schools maintain their exclusivity by using the education level of parents as an admission criterion and insist on ‘donation’, which only the rich and the affluent could afford. The majority of the private and public schools, which follow English as the medium of instruction, however have inadequately trained teachers who are not competent and fluent to deliver the subjects in English. This could potentially lead to the danger of the student learning neither the language nor the content. This failure leads to a larger social divide. This is the design which was conceived by the British administration in the 19th century, by the likes of Macaulay and Bentinck. Lord Curzon, in an educational review in 1905, identified the same problem:

“As regards the vernaculars, which must for long be the sole instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among all except a small minority of the Indian people, we found them in danger of being neglected and degraded in the pursuit of English, and in many cases very bad English, for the sake of its mercantile value. By all means let English be taught to those who are qualified to learn it; but let it rest upon a solid foundation of the indigenous languages, for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease” (Graddol, 2010, p 82).

Content Language and Integrated Learning (CLIL) and its pedagogic challenges

The approach of using a foreign language to deliver the subject content so that the learners can learn both the language and the content is known as Content Language and Integrated Learning (CLIL). CLIL can be implemented in two ways; it can be extensive instruction through the vehicular language or partial instruction through the vehicular language. The first style refers to the exclusive use of the second language (English) to introduce, explain, summarise, and revise topics with very limited switches to the first language. The second style refers to bilingual blended instruction involving code switching between languages. In the Indian English medium school context and the higher education context, the first style which is the extensive use of the second language to explain and assess content is employed. According to a number of studies, this practice leads to pedagogic challenges and difficulties. Marsh et al (2000) conducted a study in 1200 secondary schools in Hong Kong to study student's achievement in science, geography and history in both the English medium (EMI) stream and the Chinese medium (CMI). The three year study suggested that the students from the English medium stream could not perform as well as the students from the Chinese medium in the content subjects as both the teachers and the students were not sufficiently competent in English to cope with the materials presented in their content subject. A number of studies (Kirkgoz, 2009; Byun et al, 2011; Klaasen & De Graaff, 2001) published similar results with using CLIL. The most common challenges that institutions using CLIL or EMI face are related to the inadequate language proficiency of the subject teachers and students; lack of extra support and training available for those programs which are delivered in English and the difficulty in finding subject matter specialists who have the required level of fluency in English. Hence worldwide research on the effectiveness of English medium content teaching shows the impact by language issues in which the language used seems to limit teaching and instructional methods (Floris, 2014; Hellekjer & Westergaard, 2003; Kirkgoz, 2009; Byun et al, 2011; Klaasen & De Graaff, 2001). According to Coyle et al (2010), the greatest challenge of using English as the medium of instruction concerns the relationship between the learner's language levels and their cognitive levels because it is highly unlikely that the learner's cognitive levels match with the learner's language level when the content is delivered in a language that is unfamiliar. If the language level is too high for the students, then effective learning cannot take place and similarly if the cognitive level is lowered to match the low level of language

competence in students, then learning can be restricted. Hence it is important to rethink and review the assumption that CLIL or teaching subject courses in English would improve both the subject knowledge of learners while improving their fluency and competence in the English Language. Research suggests that there is a potential danger that they might neither learn the subject nor develop their competence in the language.

Introducing English as the medium of instruction in primary school:

A related issue in the Indian school education context is the early and sudden introduction of EMI at the end of lower primary school, giving insufficient time to the learner to acquire the necessary cognitive and academic language proficiency in English. It takes around six to eight years for learners to develop the required level of proficiency to support learning of different subjects in the language (Dickins et al, 2009). The Early grade reading assessments (EGRA) across numerous South Asian countries including India suggest that many children struggle to read a short, simple text in English in upper primary school. This definitely does not bode well with the task of them having to learn their entire curriculum in English. The transition from mother tongue based instruction to EMI needs to be carefully planned and well undertaken, assessing whether the learners are ready to receive instruction in English. However, what happens in most public and private primary schools in India, is a sudden and abrupt switch from one medium of instruction to another, with little support given to learners or guidance offered to teachers on using specialist pedagogies and code-switching for a smooth transition. The lack of evidence for adoption of a phased approach to this transition in many schools underlines the need for raising awareness of this necessity. Mahatma Gandhi talked about this problem of the 1000 lost years of Indian education.

“My argument is that there may be some justification for the retention of English as a medium of instruction. However, the question raised is whether English or any other non-mother tongue language should be the medium of instruction at the primary level of education.

I had the privilege of a close conversation with some Poona Professors. They assured me that every Indian youth, because he reached his knowledge through the English language, lost at least six precious years of life, Multiply that by the number of students turned out by our schools and colleges and find out for yourselves how many thousand

years have been lost to the nation” (The speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi, 1916, p.318-320).

Challenges for first generation learners

The success of the Indian Government’s attempt to take English to the masses depends largely to what extent the first-generation learners can acquire the language successfully. Providing high-quality English teaching for these learners is the most significant challenge. Almost 25% of children in lower primary schools in India are first-generation learners who have little support from the family and community, and must rely on teachers and school for their learning. However, most of such learners attend schools where teachers themselves have little English.

If these children from low to middle-income families attend English medium schools, it is often because of sacrifices made by their family, which proves to be an additional stress for learners. The child may also find it challenging to deal with the divergent environments at home and school. Faust and Nagar (2001) explain how the English-medium school represents modernity, whilst the home and neighbourhood represents tradition and cultural beliefs, which causes an alienation between the child and their families and communities:

“Gendered, class-based, and generational: mothers, aunts, grandparents, and members of lower castes and classes become more distanced from the students, who increasingly come to identify with the culture of English speakers. It is their keen familiarity with the benefits bestowed by an English-medium education and with the economic marginalisation and social indignity suffered by those who cannot speak fluent English, that compels middle class families to enrol their children in English-medium schools” (Graddol, 2010, p 88).

If India remains committed to English as the medium of instruction then It is important for schools and policymakers to recognise this gap among the first generation learners and create a conducive learning environment through school interventions and community outreach activities.

6.5 Personal Reflection and Significance of the Discourse in TamilNadu

While growing up, I attended all-Girls, Catholic, Anglo- Indian School in a small city in TamilNadu, South India right from kindergarten until A Levels (1991-2004). On my way to school in a crowded auto Rickshaw with several other kids, we would experience a speedy, bumpy ride on unlevelled roads with holes, where we would come across women in bright coloured saris, men and women in their two wheelers to work, monsoon rains, scorching heat, a lot of noise from vehicle horns, and bold smells which come from dirty streets, food outlets and so on. But in contrast, inside the red bricked building of my school constructed by the British, I was exposed to a Euro- centric curriculum where I studied about the battle of social classes through Shylock by Shakespeare, read tales of love by Jane Austen, memorised the poem “Stopping by the woods on a snowy evening” by Robert Frost and calculated the distance between Manchester and Birmingham by train. What we were studying in our textbooks was quite dissonant to our everyday realities and practices. This could be one of the reasons as to why we ended up memorising text and relied on rote learning to get high grades. Hence, the discourse of British colonialism was highly evident in the content of our rigidly structured textbooks.

Punishments and penalties are common in English medium private schools in TamilNadu where students are punished for talking in Tamil. I was once asked to write, “I will not speak in Tamil” 100 times by the teacher for talking loudly to my friends in Tamil during a class break. These discourses, make students feel inferior speaking in their own language and the worth of learning the mother tongue was thrown into doubt. We, at secondary school, had a perception, that acquiring proficiency in Tamil was not useful for professional development, employment and social mobility. Therefore, almost 90% of us in the class opted to study basic French instead of advanced Tamil for our A Levels. I still regret that decision, as I could have gained advanced proficiency in Tamil and ended up not gaining much knowledge of French either.

In Tamil Nadu, there is a growing desire among parents from marginalised and poor families to send their children to English medium schools, as they believe it would help them get out of poverty. A number of Government schools all over TamilNadu have closed down owing to lack of pupils as more and more students drift towards private schools. The Tamil Nadu State Government and the Chennai Corporation responded to this by opening their own English

medium classes in selected schools in 2009. A mother who works as a domestic help in Chennai said

“I work at three houses, and it is difficult for me to afford a private English-medium school for my child. Still I send my daughter there because I want to hear her speak English. If Chennai Corporation is starting English-medium schools, I will definitely consider enrolling my child there” (The Times of India, 22 February 2009).

As more parents and students opted for these English medium classes, more English medium sections were introduced in the government schools in both rural and urban areas of Tamil Nadu. Currently there are around 660,000 students who are enrolled in English medium classes in Government schools (Times of India, July 26, 2018). While this initiative of the state government opening up English language education to the masses is commendable, policies should be put in place to ensure there are adequately trained teachers, resources and infrastructure to support the same. The Annual Status of Education report (ASER, 2010) reports that almost 50% of the Class 8 students in the rural government schools in TamilNadu were not able to read or understand simple sentences in English. It is important to reflect on the ethics of these measures by the Government, as though it seems utilitarian and pragmatic, it poses a danger of depletion of indigenous language and knowledge.

In a recent debate in a Tamil television (Vijay TV, 25/11/2018), a number of young graduates of TamilNadu who cannot read or write in their mother tongue (Tamil) as they opted to learn other languages in school were asked how they felt not being proficient in their own language. Most of them responded saying that they never felt the need to learn to read and write in Tamil nor they were embarrassed as English is the only language used in their education and employment context. They demonstrated a lack of interest in the Tamil literary works or the traditional values that were inculcated through the ancient Tamil literature. This poses questions on their notion of self-determination and identity and how enforcing a standard language plays an important role in maintaining colonial structures and reproducing neo colonial structures (Philipson, 1992; Bambgose, 1991). Education through a colonial language as the medium of instruction has been a powerful method of controlling ordinary people and in the homogenisation of student subjects (Illich, 1981). This relates to Foucault's concept of governmentality of how the enforcement of the EMI policies and practices in schools in TamilNadu has led to the creation of a homogenised student subject who is docile, compliant and governable.

6.6 EMI and notions of self- determination

An intractable problem arises when the mass media and educational discourses around the importance of learning the dominant language (English) in India usually **glorify** English along with its associated culture, norms, ideologies and institutions, **stigmatizing** the local or the indigenous languages along with its cultures, norms, ideologies and institutions. By rationalising the advantages that English proficiency can bring to an individual in comparison to mother tongue proficiency, the rulers or the dominant groups have socially manufactured and negotiated consent among the dominated or the ordinary population. In this way the learning of English or other majority languages, at the expense of the one's own language or mother tongue, in a subtractive way, instead of in addition to it, is presented as being in the best interest of the dominated/colonised. The result is monolingualism or high degree of dominance in English is presented as normal, desirable and inevitable at the expense of local languages in Indian English medium schools, especially in the state of TamilNadu. (Churchill, 1985; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, 1988, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1989a, Wong Fillmore 1991). Considerable evidence from socio linguistic and education studies suggest that if one's own language or minority languages are not learned, or learnt less well or just orally only, the alternative messages of counter hegemonies which questions/critique the existing status quo have less chances of being both created and heard (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984). Thus, it becomes extremely arduous to start the much-needed decolonisation of the mind.

The importance of learning the mother tongue or the local language along with its associated culture, norms and ideologies is crucial for individuals and groups seeking self-determination at various levels, psychologically, educationally and politically. Acquiring proficiency in one's own language is important for seeing, interpreting, understanding and changing the world and to define how one sees oneself and the rest of the world. Control over the destiny of one's own language and maximizing its official use is of primary concern to groups seeking self-determination or more cultural rights, before or after decolonisation (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994; Kashmiri & Mateene, 1980).

6.7 Conclusion

As discussed in the previous chapters, there is an urgent need to improve the quality of Education in India at all levels and to broaden the access to quality education for the poorer sectors. Promoting fluency in the English language as the only hallmark of good education, which is historically connected to the development of elite classes, is a common practice in India. The desirability of achieving English language proficiency is widespread more so among the first generation learners and the marginalised students as they see it as the only way to better employment prospects and social mobility. This has become a problem as it distracts or misleads policy makers, schools and students from more serious underlying issues in the education system. It also throws the importance and worth of learning the local and indigenous languages into doubt while there is considerable educational evidence that learning in your own language is the bedrock of good learning outcomes in the early years of education. While the chapter has addressed the importance of learning the English language, as there is an increasing demand for it in the employment context, it has also acknowledged the importance of developing a multilingual robust curriculum helping learners acquire linguistic skills, traditional community values and indigenous knowledge.

The use of English as the medium of instruction and the glorification of English as the only way to attain employment and achieve social status in the Indian media has influenced the consciousness of the Indian population for decades. The concept of Governmentality as discussed earlier in this chapter is where the rulers or people in power use subtle, remunerative and ideological techniques such as bargaining, co-optation, rewards and persuasion to control the ordinary population. These techniques lead to the dominated or the oppressed group give consent to stay dominated and the colonizer's language becomes the main means of domination. Hence, the modern version of domination or power is colonising the minds and consciousness of young Indians by promoting English as the medium of communication and instruction in education and employment settings.

CHAPTER 7-BRAHMIN, BUDDHIST AND MUSLIM EDUCATION (2000 BC TO 17TH CENTURY AD)

This chapter will conduct a genealogical enquiry of the Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim systems of education, where the work of Foucault's biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental power on these systems will be examined and studied. In each of the systems which include Brahmin (Hindu), Buddhist and Muslim systems of education, how the conceptions of a good teacher will influence the conceptions of a good obedient student will be explored. This chapter through its genealogical analysis will aim to establish links between the current practices and the historical practices such as rote learning, worship and blind obedience to the teacher and rigorous discipline & punishments in the Indian school education context.

7.1 Genealogy as a research practice

Foucault's ability to locate discourses and identify their productive nature with regard to the creation and maintenance of subjectivities and everyday actions was underpinned by his theoretical concepts of order, history, truth, power and ethics (O' Farrell, 2005). Foucault's theoretical concept were developed through his research topics of madness, prisons, sexuality and French life in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Although these topics are fascinating by themselves, it is the processes used and the ideas behind the exploration of these topics that have altered my thinking and informed the doing of my research.

One significant Foucauldian theme is 'history'/genealogy which features in all of Foucault's work. Foucault demonstrates the situatedness of knowledge and truth by using artefacts from and of history. Outwardly, Foucault's 'use of genealogy might look similar to traditional historical research (and therefore so does this chapter), with the use of artefacts from history to explain what was taking place (Hook, 2001; O'Farrell,2005). The major difference between Foucault's work and that of the traditional historians is that historians focus on a time period for its own sake and of power, and the philosophical position on the progression of knowledge development (Hook, 2001). Historians explain what happened and speculate why, linking cause and effect together and usually reflecting a progressive continuity perspective (O'Farrell,

2005). On the contrary, Foucault's work explores the history of the present, focuses on the complex relations between events, the forms of subjectivity and how these combined influences shape knowledge and therefore practices in the specific time period leaving out history altogether (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1994/2002f; Hook, 2001).

Foucault's focus on the ordering of knowledge as transient and truth being historically situated provides a useful backdrop to his notion of power and the relationship between knowledge and power (Foucault, 1972). As he studied the history of conceptions of sexuality and also the histories of criminality, military discipline, and pedagogy, Foucault found that conceiving of power as a tool under the ownership of a controlling subject simply did not work. He realized it would be necessary to rethink the entire concept, construing it not as a tool-thing or a commodity, as he claims it is construed in classical liberalism, (Foucault, 1980, 88), but rather as a set of events or relations. Foucault explores the tension between what is deemed truthful, what is seen as legitimate knowledge and how this productively shapes everyday practices. Foucault, as discussed earlier in the methodology chapter, combines the concepts of knowledge and power together to demonstrate their intertwined relationship. Foucault describes power not as a capacity but as "a certain type of relation between individuals" (Foucault 2002d, p 324) which exists when it is being exercised. Power is seen as productive by Foucault (1990) and it produces specific types of knowledge and social order. Knowledge and social order in turn produce specific types of power. Foucault was mainly concerned with the "microphysics of power, where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1975, p 39). Foucault examines three kinds of power, disciplinary power (power exercised through an impersonal and invisible gaze), biopower (an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of a population) and lastly governmental power (which shapes, guides and governs people's conduct (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1988; O'Farrell, 2005). Following are the definitions of Biopower, Disciplinary power and Governmental power (Governmentality) and its relationship of each to the Indian school education context.

Biopower

Foucault (1990/1976) defines biopower as the power that attempts to control the bodies of a population otherwise considered a threat to the dominant race/norms. McWhorter (2004) in her

genealogy of race and sex explains how, by the 19th century, human bodies were no longer thought of as machines, a collections of parts that interacted in space but as organisms with functions and temporal processes that developed over time. She suggested that this time period established ‘the idea that bodies were essentially developmental which was having a huge impact on all sorts of disciplines, practices, and institutions’ (McWhorter, 2004, p44). It completely changed the way, people thought about their work and their own selves. Human bodies were seen as spots where developmental forces play out in response to the environmental stimuli. If the stimuli were managed in certain ways, that developmental process could be controlled, channelled, and used to produce, very obedient, docile and functioning students, teachers, soldiers, labourers, or whatever the situation called for. The invention of calculus in the late seventeenth century was put to use to create measurement and statistical analysis of a large population which in turn established ‘norms’ of human development. Individuals could then be observed or tested against these established norms and classified as normal, ahead of the curve, deviant or at risk. This means of identifying and classifying people was in the service of training them to perform certain tasks was a way of acting on bodies to effect behaviour. Biopower works then to control the ‘deviant’ or the ‘abnormal’ population and makes them perform certain actions. Foucault maintains (Foucault 2000) that power is action upon action, and the anchor points for exercises of power are always bodies.

Disciplinary Power

Disciplinary power works specifically at the site of the individual while biopower seeks to control a population. I have discussed disciplinary power and the three forms of modern societal control, normalising judgement, hierarchical observation and examination in detail in the theoretical framework chapter. Foucault (1979) explains how techniques and institutions developed for various, often non disciplinary purposes were combined in order to create the modern system of disciplinary power with schools, factories and hospitals all modelled on the modern prison. This type of power “centres on the body, produces individualizing effects, and manipulates the body as a source of forces that have to be rendered both useful and docile”(Foucault, 2003/1976, p. 249). Discipline as a function of power “makes possible the operation of a relational power that sustains itself by its own mechanism and which ... substitutes the uninterrupted play of calculated gazes” (Foucault, 1979/1975, p. 177). The gaze normalizes the individual through comparison, and disciplines anyone outside of the norm. For

instance, King (1995) elucidates how the conception of a good teacher is established through the work of disciplinary power. He identifies techniques used to regulate the body, time, and space, resulting in disciplined teachers who conform to norms and assure the proper transfer of knowledge to students.

Governmental Power

Foucault refers to governmental power and its replication in individual mentalities as ‘governmentality’, a theme he examined in a series of lectures he delivered in 1978 and 1979. The normalisation of both biopower and disciplinary power function at the macro-level by passing and enforcing educational policies whose aim is to influence the statistical norms of the population. Governmentality is defined as being ‘conduct of conducts’ by Foucault, where the behaviour and conduct of both individuals and groups are influenced and directed by the government through political or economic tactics and subjection (Foucault, 2000c). I have discussed the concept of Governmentality in detail in my theoretical framework chapter. Governmental Power cannot be viewed as a singular or sovereign power but an assemblage of multiple practices entailing governance of oneself, governance within social institutions, communities and government of the state (Foucault, 1991). For example, The norm of English language Fluency in the Indian school education context to succeed in employment is exercised through educational policies, teacher job descriptions and every day practices that enforce the use of English in school sites.

In my genealogical inquiry, I explore these three kinds of power.

Foucault’s work on power and the notion of ethics addressed the productive nature of the ideal subject in detail (Foucault, 1983). Foucault’s conception of power and subjectivity is therefore relevant to my genealogical inquiry of the Indian school education system as it provides a way to consider the development of various discourses that influence the ideas behind current practices in Indian secondary schools. These ideas and practices impact on the formation of subjectivity.

7.2 Brahmin Education (2000 BC)

Contemporary Indian practices and beliefs in education regarding the nature of the teacher, discipline, and sacrifice owe much to the Brahmin traditions in education. The formation of the caste system based on the division of labour is the starting point of influence of the Brahmin Education. One needs to understand the background of the caste system to understand the story of education and pedagogy in India. The Aryans were a tall, fair, straight-nosed and long headed people who broke off from their Iranian kinsmen who lived in the highlands between the Gaxartes and Oxus Rivers. They entered Punjab in northern India through the north-western passes, about 2000 BC. In their journey towards the east, they had to fight with the earlier inhabitants who are now known as aboriginal or Dravidians, whom they called 'slaves' or 'dasses'. The Aryans conquered these natives and hence they established themselves and their language as supreme in India. Aryans attempted to eliminate racial conflicts, either by eliminating the defeated, or by absorbing them until the races were blended or by enslaving the original inhabitants of the land. They developed the caste system that classified people under four categories. Those who were educated and engaged in teaching were called as Brahmins, the top most caste in the hierarchy. The Keshatriyas who protected the society from internal and external wars occupied the second position. The agriculturalists, artisans and merchants who were referred to as Vaishyas occupied the third position and the last position was given to the unskilled labourers who were called Sudras. These four castes were compared to the four main parts of the human body –the head, arm, thighs and foot respectively and just as these four parts are interdependent, so were the four castes for a strong and healthy society (Rawlinson, 1937). Indians emphasised the importance of spiritual values over military power through this caste system. The formation of caste system where the behaviour and conduct of both individuals and groups were influenced and directed by the government through political or economic tactics and subjection can be seen as a system which governed the conduct of conduct as described by Foucault.

The Brahmins, who were at the top position in the caste hierarchy lived a simple and austere life. They worked as teachers and priests and drew no salary and depended on the gifts from other castes for their survival. Their learning consisted only of the Vedas, a collection of their sacred hymns. The Brahmins had the sole responsibility of education and they passed on the knowledge of the Vedas from the father to son and thus on to the future generations. Utmost

care was taken to ensure that this knowledge of the hymns were retained only within certain families in this caste and was deliberately prevented from reaching profane ears.

This style of teaching involved rigorous discipline for the pupil who was placed under the “Guru” (teacher) at the age of eight. A student was initiated to education between the ages of 8-11 by performing a thread ceremony. The student stayed in the Guru’s house and worked in his house and field, looked after his cattle and even begged for him. He accompanied his guru to different ceremonies and considered it a sacred duty to blindly obey his orders.

“In the leisure time the Vedas were studied. This period usually extended to twelve years and was looked upon not only as a period of learning but also a period of rigorous discipline. This was known as the period of studentship or Brahmacharya” (Rawlinson, 1937, p442).

The importance of discipline and devotion to the guru during this period is apparent: “There was no love for Alma Mater, but for the guru, whose feet must be kissed every morning and every afternoon” (Zuhuruddin, 1935). The very goal of education is the internalisation of acceptable behaviours of the ‘good obedient student’ and hence the work of disciplinary power is prominent in the Brahmin system of education.

During this time, imparting moral values and intellectual welfare were given equal importance. In order to foster the values of hard work, self-control and obedience, the disciplinary actions were very severe and rigorous. The child was forced to arise before sunrise and after having his breakfast, he was made to recite the Gayatri formula. He had to wear the simplest clothes and he refrained from using scents or cosmetics. He had to eat only plain food without any spices or condiments. He was not permitted to gamble, quarrel or be selfish. He had to live a life with complete continence. Biopower functioned in the Brahmin system of education through these tactics/ rules that attempted to control the bodies of the student.

The students who misbehaved were given punishments like fasting, expulsion from classrooms and immersion in freezing water. Being thrown out of class or corporal punishment was the ultimate punishment given. Students had to touch the teacher’s feet before the class began, as a custom. The learning method was only oral as there were no text books. The students had to repeat what the teacher said. However, the teacher treated the students with utmost care and affection in the same way as he treated his own children. It was an adoption by the teacher for the purpose of education. The teacher focussed on developing or inculcating moral, spiritual and intellectual values to the students as he had the same kind of education in his childhood.

Foucault's Biopower where individuals are observed against established norms and those who don't adhere to the norms are classified as 'deviant' or 'abnormal' can be seen in this practice of enforcing compliance and discipline. The work of biopower then is to control the 'deviant' and 'abnormal' individuals through punishments and other subjection tactics.

The teachers and priests before taking up their respective positions had to memorize Vedas to perform teaching and religious duties. This needed tremendous memory and practice and students were encouraged to be inspired by their gurus and a good disciple was someone who spends hours memorising the religious texts and could recite it word by word. This practice is common in modern India, where people can recite spiritual texts with great memory. Gill (1954) in his thesis on the story of teacher education in India, suggests that in most cases, the students memorised the Vedas without understanding the meaning of the text. I have discussed this practice of memorising information in detail in my chapter on the discourse of rote learning.

Formal training institutions for Brahmin teachers did not exist in that period. So the Brahmin teachers passed their knowledge to their descendants and they became teachers eventually. This cycle followed for many years and education became the monopoly of Brahmins. Initially the system was flexible providing upward and downward movement but as time went by, the Brahmins overpowered all the other caste systems and the supremacy of education lay totally in the hands of Brahmins. There were no training institutions for teachers which provided professional training in the art and technique of teaching; however there were institutions for higher learning at various places. Hartog (1939, p.3) points out that,

“It is known that even in the fourth century B.C., at the time of Alexander, Taxila in the northwest was a great centre of learning and much later, from the fifth century on, Nalanda near Patna in the northeast and other places became centres of learning which have been called universities”

Higher education training was given in the above mentioned centres but it was only given to some students. This absence of training institutions made the training of teachers rely on the hands of the individuals. But there was no dearth of teachers in places of great learning like Benares and Nadyia. The teachers considered their teaching as generous imparting of wisdom to the students with sense of devotion and duty associated with a spiritual zeal, sustained by the student's deep respect for his teacher. “To the Brahman Guru, teaching was no lucrative profession but its own reward” (Hartog, 1939).

The Brahman guru was trained not to work for money, he lived a simple life and helped students who needed financial support. As teaching was a part of his religion, it was to be treated with a spiritual zeal. The Brahmin teacher was supposed to teach and model Vedic knowledge and moral values to his pupils which was not based on the fees/ the gifts the students gave. They believed that the payment of fees by the students should not be a feature for educating them. It can be understood that the teacher should not take this profession for satisfying his financial needs. The Brahmin teacher chose teaching with great devotion and respect for a noble cause of propagating the spiritual knowledge and producing future spiritual Gurus. The most significant characteristic of the Gurukula (Brahmin) system of education was the personal relationship shared by the student and the teacher. The teacher should be an ideal example of perfection. He had to serve as a role model by virtue of his conduct and behaviour, not by words or mouth alone. The goal of teacher training is the internalization of acceptable behaviours of an 'ideal' or a 'good' Brahmin teacher (Guru) and the acculturation of the candidate into the dominant culture of the Brahmin system of education. Hence the work of disciplinary power is, therefore, manifested through the type of training the future Brahmin teachers received. In the next section, we will explore how the conceptions of a 'good' Brahmin teacher influence the conception of 'good' Brahmin student.

Conceptions of a 'good' Brahmin teacher

The Brahmins were at the top of the caste hierarchy in the Indian society. They claimed honour as their birth right. The great Kashatriya princes and the rich people of the other castes willingly paid their reverence to the Brahmin. A Brahmin never paid homage to others, fellow Brahmins exempted. The Brahmins claimed such respect and honour that members of another caste could not refuse to bow to him. The power of the Brahmin had been authorized even by ancient legal and moral codes of the Hindus, which gave a very eminent place to the Vedic teachers.

“Of him who gives natural birth, and him who gives knowledge of the whole Veda, the giver of the sacred knowledge of the whole Veda, the giver of the sacred knowledge is the more venerable father, since the second or divine birth ensures life to the twice-born, both in this world and hereafter eternally” (Bhattacharya, 1896, p.27).

An ancient Greek ambassador named Megasthenes, describes the Brahmins as follows:

“Brahmins have the greatest prestige, since they have a more dogmatic system. As soon as they are conceived in the womb, men of learning take charge of them.... After birth, boys pass from one set of teachers to another in succession, the standard of teachers rising with the age of the boy. The philosophers spend their days in a grove near the city, under the cover of an enclosure of due size, on beds of leaves and skins, living sparsely, practicing celibacy and abstinence from fleshy food, listening to grave discourses, and admitting such others as may wish to take part. He who listens is forbidden to speak, or even clear his throat or spit, on the pain of being ejected from the company as incontinent. When each Brahmin has lived in this fashion for thirty-seven years, he departs, his own property, and lives now in great freedom and luxury, wearing muslin robes and some decent ornaments on his hands and ears, and eating flesh, as long as it is not the flesh of domestic animals” (Rawlinson, 1937, p442).

Education was very prominent at that time but teaching and religious leadership were the sole possession of the Brahmins. This was the cause for the great influence of the Brahmins in the Indian society. Furthermore, the royal domestic priest used to be a Brahmin, and a Brahmin poet went with the king and recorded the deeds of valour in ballads which were family records of honour and were passed from family to family to future generations (Gill, 1954).

A true Brahmin teacher was supposed to be a person of righteous thoughts and habits

“who with sword of wisdom has lopped off all the branches and torn out all the roots of sin, and who has dispersed, with the light of reason, the thick shadows in which sin is shrouded; who though seated on the mountain of sins, yet confronts their attacks with a heart as hard as a diamond; who behaves with dignity and independence; who has feelings of a father for all his disciples; who makes no difference in his conduct between his friends and his enemies, but shows equal kindness to both; who looks on gold and precious stones with the same indifference as on pieces of iron or potsherd, and values the one as highly as other; whose chief care is to enlighten the ignorance in which the rest of mankind is plunged; who shines like the sun amid dark clouds of ignorance which surround him” (Abbe, 1906, p.123).

Also, he should be a person who is well aware of the trappings of sin and knows how to keep away from it. He should be fully fluent in Vedanta. He should have toured to pilgrimages and sacred places which means he had to have travelled extensively. It was considered as superiority and an act of piety to visit the temples, because they were the places of immense

learning where normally great Indian Scholars well versed in religion and philosophy, gathered collectively and exchanged opinions (Gill, 1954; Abbe, 1906).

From the descriptions above of a model Brahmin teacher (Guru), one can understand that a Brahmin teacher was expected be like God who modelled selflessness, service, spirituality and abstinence from any kind of worldly desires. This discourse of a ‘good’ Brahmin teacher works to shape the identity of a ‘good’ obedient disciple. The discourse positions a good Brahmin student as someone who has to exercise rigorous self-discipline, sacrifice, blind obedience and surrender to the teachings of the Guru who is positioned as the role model who cannot make any mistakes. An examination of how biopower, disciplinary power and governmental power work within the context of the Brahmin system of Education, institutions and the society illustrates how identity of a good Brahmin (Guru) teacher and a good Brahmin student were normalised and rewarded. Foucault (1988, p 11) wrote, “The practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group”

Decline of the Brahmin Monopoly of Education

Initially, before the subsequent invasions of the Mughals and the British, the Brahmins enjoyed great respect and glory as they were considered the first group of people in the Indian nation and they had the monopoly of education which was only imparted hereditarily. However by the 17th century, times had changed from the period of the Hindu Kings or Emperors where the entire state affairs were handed over to Brahmins. The respect and power that the Brahmin Gurus demanded earlier started fading as the Indian education gradually transformed to a secular system of education during the time of the British.

Abbe(1906) in his book on ‘Hindu Manner, Customs and Ceremonies’ described of how the image of the modern Brahmin Guru in 1906 was far from the image of an ideal Brahmin Guru who was selfless, abstained from worldly desires and had high spiritual and moral values.

“This is what the Hindu (Guru) ought to be but is not.....Times have changed; the Gurus are not what they used to be. Their magnificence and esteem is gone, and they are at present simple hangers-on of rich disciples. They have some power on the uneducated and

economically backward individuals, but their influence on the rich and on the educated class has decreased to a huge degree” (Abbe, 1906, p 125, 126).

In modern India, the role of the Brahmin has evolved into that of temple priests who perform religious ceremonies and conduct weddings, funerals and other religious events. The institutions which train these Brahmin gurus and priests follow the norms of the original Brahmin (Gurukula) system of education.

“At this day, Brahmin colleges, called tols, are carried on without fees, on the old model, at Nadiya in Bengal and elsewhere. I can testify, from personal visits, to the stringent self-discipline, and to the devotion to learning, for its own sake, often protracted till past middle life, and sometimes by grey haired students, in these retreats” (Hunter, 1882, p 106).

Thus, during the Hindu regime, the Brahmin Guru acquired a prominent place in society. Along with being scholars and teachers, they were also the law makers and administrators as religion was fused with politics during those times. The above analysis of the genealogy of the Brahmin education system, shows how the subjectivities of the Brahmin teacher and student are defined by biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental Power. The discussion also shows how these powers construct a normalised and legitimized identity for the ‘good’ Brahmin Guru and ‘good’ Brahmin student.

History of the Present

Foucault’s idea of ‘the history of the present’ although it sounds paradoxical is an approach which explicitly and self-consciously begins with the diagnosis of the current situation. It has a clear and an unabashed contemporary orientation as Foucault explained to an interviewer in 1984. He said, “I set out from a problem expressed in the terms current today and I try to work out its genealogy. Genealogy means that I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present” (Kritzman, 1988: 262). The current practices of the Indian school education context that I have discussed in the previous chapters such as Inequality, punishments, rote learning, discipline & blind obedience to the teacher have origins from the Brahmin system of education.

The Brahmin system of education was inequitable. Education was provided for the chosen few; it was the monopoly of the Brahmin, who prevented it from reaching other castes. In the Brahmin schools, girls were not usually admitted. Education was the privilege of the male child. The male child was considered to be responsible for his father’s salvation and for the

performance of religious rites. The girl's place was thought to be in the home in order that she might devote herself to her husband and children. The Brahmin Guru commanded great respect from his pupil. The pupil kissed his feet every morning and evening and performed all the duties that his teacher commanded. "This excessive respect for the teacher degenerated into Guru-worship" (Zuhuruddin, 1935, p 25). In the Brahmin system of education, the student almost exchanged his own family for that of his teacher. He became a member of his Guru's household where he lived until he completed his education. This even led him to lose ties with his real family.

The caste system which formerly was based upon division of labour, gave the Brahmins unlimited authority and power over other castes. The Brahmins, in order to perpetuate their power, froze the caste lines (Rawlinson, 1937). The system widened the gulf of social cleavage creating a lot of discrimination and economic inequality. Initially, the system did not have classes conducted in regular school buildings. Classes were taught under the trees, although later the Brahmins shifted their schools into temples.

The system of imparting education was based upon learning everything by rote, which prolonged the course of study indefinitely. The other features of this education was that there was no regular plan of instruction, no public institutions devoted to education training although it was reported that in some large towns and temples, Brahmins who were outstandingly learned and scholarly imparted knowledge and instruction to future teachers. But there was no regular mandate or scheduling involved in this. This system did not have examinations, assessments or grades, the only thing that motivated the pupils in this system was their desire for the knowledge of sacred Vedas and the respect and prestige they got in the society for being educated (Zuhuruddin, 1835).

7.3 Buddhist Education (257 B.C)

Up to 257 B.C., Buddhism was only one of the Hindu sections, but then it became a state religion, because King Asoka, who was the grandson of Chandra Gupta, embraced Buddhism. H.G. Wells, in an English magazine dealing with the six greatest men in history described "Asoka among all the thousands of kings, emperors, and majesties, great and little, as shining almost above a star" (Samdar, 1924, p.57). Asoka formed general principles of morality and ordered them to be observed. The rules to be followed were "proper treatment of slaves and

servants, honour to teachers, gentleness towards all living creatures and liberality towards ascetics and Brahmins” (Rawlinson, 1937, p.448). He issued edicts which were engraved on the pillars and stoned in conspicuous places. These edicts are still found in many parts of India. They were not in Sanskrit but in the language spoken by the people. This illustrates the fact that education was widespread in India at that time (Rawlinson, 1937).

In the Buddhist system, every youth is required to spend a part of his adolescent life in the monastery. For this reason, literacy is higher in Myanmar (Formerly Burma) than in India. In 1937 the male and female literacy rate in Burma was 51 percent and 11.2 percent respectively, against 14.4 percent and 2 percent in India. This general widening of educational opportunities also affected the Brahmin system. They too began to teach the other castes. The education of the three upper classes now came under the Brahmins, though they still excluded the Sudras who belong to the lowermost caste in the hierarchy. The work of Governmental power defined as ‘conduct of conduct’ by Foucault is apparent in this system of excluding the lower castes from education where the behaviour and conduct of both individuals and groups were influenced and directed by the government through political or economic tactics and subjection

In the Buddhist as well as the Brahmin system, the function of the Buddhist monk/ priest (Bhikhsu) was that of a teacher (Zuhuruddin, 1927). The only difference was that Buddhist teachers had to undergo a more severe discipline than the Brahmin teachers. The Buddhist educational system followed the same general pattern as the Brahmin with the exception that it involved a more rigorous and longer training. Teaching was carried on in the Buddhist temples and in the monasteries attached to them. These monasteries initiated the young people into the office of priesthood (Devids, 1911). The Buddhist system of teaching in monasteries influenced the Brahmins, who until now had taught their pupils under the trees. They, too, shifted their pupils into temples. Sometimes the patrons of the Brahmins provided Kutchas (huts made of mud) where the priests carried on their teaching. This system of patronage was extensively adopted by the Buddhist princes and rulers, who, in the mission of propagating their faith, extended this system to Buddhist monasteries, which became the central places of learning and places of religious inculcation. The goal of teacher training is the internalization of acceptable behaviors of an ‘ideal’ or a ‘good’ Buddhist teacher (Acharya) and the acculturation of the candidate into the dominant culture of the Buddhist system of education. Hence the work of disciplinary power is, therefore, manifested through these training centres and institutions.

The activities of the Buddhist monks were essentially those of proselytizing and teaching. It was King Asoka who encouraged this missionary enterprise, and Buddhism spread all over the Deccan plateau, civilizing the people of the south. The life of a pupil in the Buddhist monastery did not differ very much from that of the Brahmin ashram (school). The trainee did most of the menial work, as the Brahmin trainee did for his teacher. He served the senior monks and accompanied them on excursions. The very goal of education is the internalization of acceptable behaviors of the 'good obedient student' and hence the work of disciplinary power is prominent in the Buddhist system of education. The following is a description of life in a Burmese monastery, a century ago, which represents an accurate pattern of life in a Buddhist monastery in ancient India:

"The priests were the school teachers. They taught selflessly and took up teaching as a part of their religion. The parents kept their children at home. If any pupil was found to be exceptionally intelligent, his parents were persuaded to make him a priest. There was no compulsion; if he desired to pursue a secular life, he was allowed to do so. A boy of five years was admitted in the Buddhist seminaries as a student. After his initiation to the monastery a feast followed for three or four days. At the end of this feast. The boy, clothed on costly garments and ornaments, followed by a large retinue, was led to his preceptor's college on horseback. On his arrival, he was stripped of his attire and his head was shaved. He was required to wear yellow robes and was given a beggar's dish. In this manner he was placed under the charge of his teacher" (Rawlinson, 1937, p.449).

The student was to observe the following rules; abstaining from murder, theft, evil desires, falsehood, ardent spirits, food after noonday, dancing, music, elegant accommodation, and the use of gold and silver (Rawlinson, 1937). These prohibitions were to be observed by each student, as he who failed to keep to his standards was disqualified from further advancement. After twenty years of such training the pupil was admitted to the order of priests and was given two hundred and twenty precepts. If he observed them for ten years he was promoted to the rank of priest of the first order, which enabled him to have colleges and disciples under him. The premise here is biopower where individuals are observed against established norms and are those who don't adhere to the norms are classified as deviant or abnormal. The work of biopower then is to control the deviant and abnormal population through punishments and other subjection tactics. It is important to note that only those persons who were found exceptionally intelligent, with necessary aptitude and interest were selected as possible teachers. They had to lead a very virtuous and austere life. Thirty years of long, hard training were required before

they became recognized as qualified teachers. This stratification, according to Foucault (1991), is one of the ways disciplinary power pervades into the society to establish control through the creation of knowledge. This knowledge is used by the predominant power structure to exert control and form the basis of the categories, norms and averages used by the societal power institutions to structure, stratify and legitimise the knowledge used for further normalising judgement.

A student went to school at the age of eight, and began learning letters by the multiplication tables. After mastering these skills, he/ she read a book called Siddhirashta, an arrangement of forty-nine letters, in 300 couplets and Panini's grammar, which was thought of as the foundation of all learning. At the age of twenty, the pupil went to one of the monastic colleges, if he intended to become a monk and a teacher (Zuhuruddin, 1927, p.20). The curriculum consisted of five courses: grammar, technical subjects, medicine, logic and metaphysics, besides the detailed books of ritual. Although the curriculum was not very extensive, and the books on philosophy, logic, and medicine used as text books were borrowed from the Brahmins, nevertheless it popularised education to a great extent. In Buddhist times the teachers who were eminent in learning were honoured by having their images painted on the walls of the university. Thus it can be said that the modern system of placing the busts of great scholars in the halls of universities in India is of Buddhist origin (Zuhuruddin, 1935).

There was a great similarity in the Brahmin and the Buddhist methods of teaching. Both were tutorial, and both laid considerable emphasis on the personal influence of the teacher on the taught. One main difference in the Buddhist educational system was that the education of the teacher did not consist of the Vedas and its teachers were not the Brahmins. The Buddhist education was open to all except for the lowermost castes. It broke caste distinctions in education to some extent, while the Brahmin education was monopolized by the Brahmins. This was a significant milestone of the Buddhist system of education. (Samdar, 1924, p.140).

The Buddhist system brought girls into education and teaching. Buddha's aunt, Mahaprajapati, was the first to join the order. This had a great influence on the Brahmins, who now began to send their young daughters to the priests for instruction. In Aryan society a girl was not given formal education. She usually helped her mother in the house with spinning, weaving, grinding core, and preparing meals. One also hears about learned women in Vedic times, who were well educated in philosophy and took part in discussions. In the Kshatriya caste she had the right to choose her own husband (Zuhuruddin, 1927).

In the Brahmin system a pupil was virtually cut off from his family, because he/she was required to stay with his/her Guru until the end of his education. In the Buddhist system, however, his education continued while he/she stayed with his parents, allowing him to maintain a close relationship with them. The Buddhists popularized the common language of the people, because early Buddhist literature was produced in Prakrit, which was the vernacular of everyone. The same language was used in the edicts of Asoka, and other early inscriptions. (Rawlinson, 1937).

The relationship between the Buddhist teacher and student was that of a father and student. A good Buddhist teacher was expected to seek these ideals

“Say what is true; do thy duty; do not sever from the truth; do not swerve from duty; do not neglect greatness; do not neglect what is useful. Whatever is given should be given by faith, not without faith; with joy, with modesty, with fear and with kindness” (Samdar, 1924, p.141).

The Acharya (teacher) was to treat his pupil as his son while a pupil was expected to consider his teacher as a father. The purpose was to unite both with the ties of mutual reverence, trust and confidence. The teacher was not only to guide in educational matters but also those concerning moral and spiritual problems.

“Meaningless and trivial as many of these regulations seem to us, they were no doubt regarded as of great value by those who used them in those far off days. They must have been intended to emphasize the great solemnity of the work in which pupil and teacher were engaged, and to improve upon the pupil the mysterious sacredness which was supposed to characterize the knowledge which was being passed on to him by his teacher” (Samdar, 1924, p.140).

From the descriptions above of a model Buddhist teacher (Acharya), one can understand that a Buddhist teacher was expected to be like God who modelled selflessness, service, spirituality and abstinence from any kind of worldly desires. This discourse of a ‘good’ Buddhist teacher works to shape the identity of a ‘good’ obedient disciple. The discourse positions a good Buddhist student as someone who has to exercise rigorous self-discipline, sacrifice, blind obedience and surrender to the teachings of the Acharya who is positioned as the role model who cannot make any mistakes. An examination of how biopower, disciplinary power and governmental power work within the context of the Buddhist system of education, institutions and the society

illustrates how identities of a good Buddhist (Acharya) teacher and a good Buddhist student were normalised and rewarded.

In summary, the Buddhist education broke caste discrimination in education to some extent although it still did not involve the lower castes/ Sudras to be educated. It was very similar to the Brahmin system of education in practices such as blind obedience to the teacher, rote learning and rigorous discipline. The system brought girls into education, tried to popularize the common language, and represented the first attempt to make education popular. The above analysis of the genealogy of the Buddhist education system, shows how the subjectivities of the Buddhist teacher and student are defined by biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental Power. The discussion also shows how these powers construct a normalised and legitimized identity for the 'good' Buddhist teacher (Acharya) and 'good' Buddhist student. Just as the Brahmin system was disrupted by the Buddhist system of education with enduring consequences for Indian education, so was the Buddhist system of education interrupted by the Muslim system of education.

7.4 Muslim Education (12th century AD)

The religion of Islam was founded by the Arabian prophet Mohammed, when he was forty years, six centuries after the death of Christ. Muslims believe that the mission of prophet Mohammed was divine, revealed to him by God. The Quran is the holy book, considered to be revealed to the prophet by Allah, and is the basis of all Muslim thought, which includes spiritual, political, commercial, societal, and ethical. Each devotee of Islam is hence required to follow the teaching of the Qurans. India was conquered by the Muslims (Mughal) in twelfth century A.D. and by the end of that century, the entire Indian nation was under the power of the Muslim rulers from central Asia. They were fanatical and intolerant of other religions and looked upon India as a land for loot. Together with the predisposition for plunder and the keenness for religious dissemination, they destroyed the Hindu temples, or converted them into mosques. Idols were smashed, monasteries were ruined, and monks were murdered (Rawlinson, 1937).

In Islam, the Quran is the motivation of all thought. It is impossible to detach Islamic teaching and instruction from the Quranic laws, based as it is on Quranic orders. Education spread amongst the Muslims through the teaching of the Quran. It was ordained that in all festivals,

rituals, holy rites and sacrifices, verses of the Quran should be recited and sung. The reading and the teaching of the Quran was fortified by rewards in this world, as well as in the next. The learning of Quran was the degree of one's capability, and this was the criterion used in appointing governors and other high officials in the newly invaded provinces. The governors who are employed were made to fulfil their duty by spreading the word and encouraging people to pursue the study of Quran. Their political success depended on the measure of their success in this respect. In this way, the study of Quran and the Arabic language achieved a great impetus. The early Arab Conquerors had great passion for spreading Quranic teaching and they tried to make the Arabic language popular wherever they went (Zuhuruddin, 1927). Here we can see the work of governmental Power which is not just a singular or sovereign power but an assemblage of multiple practices entailing governance of oneself, governance within social institutions, communities and government of the state (Foucault, 1991)

From the very origin of Islam to the present day, the mosque has played a very significant role in the religious and educational life of Muslims. It was not only a place of worship, but also a centre of learning. The Friday ceremony, required of every Muslim, was devoted to the correction of conduct and showed the way of righteousness. In a way it was an ethical education. Besides this, actual teaching was done in the Mosque. The Quran was the foremost subject of learning because it acquainted the student with Quranic traditions and modes of Islamic conduct. The pupils sat in a circle around the teacher, who read the Quran and explained its meaning. Both student and teacher were required to learn the verses of the Quran by heart; the teachers were required to have a thorough knowledge of the traditions and folklore of Quran, while students had to follow the verses as they were recited. The goal of teacher training is the internalization of acceptable behaviours of an 'ideal' or a 'good' Muslim teacher and the acculturation of the candidate into the dominant culture of the Muslim system of education. Hence the work of disciplinary power is, therefore, manifested through the type of training the future Muslim teachers received. This created both a devotional and disciplinary effect upon the pupil, creating noble feelings of moral well-being. Al-Ghazah, a great philosopher and theologian wrote

“In reading the sacred book heart and intelligence must work together; lips only utter the words, but intelligence helps in the due appreciation of the meaning, the heart in paying obedience to the dictation of duty” (Meguib, 195, p 218).

The mosque was the centre of moral education and the teacher was to be an example before the pupil, because he was more in the capacity of a spiritual leader than a teacher. He was responsible for the moral and spiritual welfare of the child as well as his academic career. The teacher would be with the pupils while at prayer and would instruct them in faith and conduct. Up to the seventeenth year of the Muslim rule, the teachers, well-educated in the Quran, were sent into many countries to teach people, the holy Quranic traditions. From the very beginning the mosque aimed at teaching people a life of righteousness and ethical behaviour. The interpretation of the Quran involved training in the habit of ethical behaviour (Meguib, 1951).

It was Akbar (A.D..1556-1605) who made significant efforts to popularize the education of that time, under the influence of remarkable teachers such as Sheik Mubarak and his two sons, Faizi and Abul Fazl, who were followers of Sufi doctrines. Akbar was very tolerant in educational matters and made arrangements for the admission of a Hindu body in the Madrassas. His views on education were expressed in Abul Fazl's *Ain-I-Akbare*.

“He ordered that every school boy first learns to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He should learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write joined letters. They may be practiced for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memorise some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care should be taken that he learns to understand everything himself, but the teacher may assist him a little. He should practise every day writing a hemistich or a verse; and will soon acquire a current hand. If this method of teaching is adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished. Every boy ought to study books on morals, arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, agriculture, house-hold matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the tabii, riyazi and Ilahi, sciences and history; all of which may be gradually acquired” (Rawlinson, 1937, p457).

Education under Mughal rulers was carried out in two Institutions, ‘Muktab’ and ‘Madrasah’. They were similar to the schools and colleges of today. There were Muktabs in every town, attached to the mosque or held in the house of the leader or the headman. The teacher who taught in the mosque was paid a fixed salary, raised out of subscriptions for his salary on the voluntary contributions of parents of the pupils. In the private Muktab he was paid by the leader or the headman, in whose house the Muktab was opened, though everybody could join

the Muktab with the permission of the leader, who never refused anybody, because providing education to other people was regarded as an act of grace and charity (Zuhuruddin, 1927).

The curriculum consisted of the study of the Quran (Zuhuruddin, 1927). The Mullah (the teacher in charge of a mosque or Muktab) taught the boys to repeat the verses by heart and such chapters of the Quran which were necessary for daily prayers. The writing was done on a wooden board, and the reading material consisted of the textbook and one or two Persian books. The discipline in the Muktabs was very strict. The teacher was responsible for morals, regularity in prayers, and for inculcation of social etiquette, such as adab (respect for elders). Those students who were interested were taught the whole Quran. Simple arithmetic was also taught after the Quran classes. Biopower functioned in the Muslim system of education through these tactics/ rules that attempted to control the bodies of the student. The second institution was the Madrasah, a seat of higher learning, where great many subjects such as mathematics, ethics, physiognomy, medicine, principles of government, logic, physics, theology, history and prose were taught, though all Madrasahs did not provide every course, because of the limited availability of teachers. (Meguib, p 451).

Thus, the functioning of these institutions depended on the ability and the quality of the teachers available. The teacher had to qualify himself in all these subjects in order to teach. Because of the dearth of scholarly teachers, the pupils had to migrate from one place to another in to study specific subjects from scholarly teachers. The Madrasahs were run by well-qualified teachers' right from the beginning. Owing to the damage caused by the Mongols, many great scholars from Europe, Iran, Japan and China had migrated to India where they carried on their learning often in the Madrasahs. The largest of these Madrasahs were found at the seat of government, and the pupils who received their education from these institutions became teachers in the Muktabs and in the Mosque schools (Houtsma, 1927). Some girls also attended the Muktabs. Girls of high family were provided with education in their homes, by private tutors (Zuhuruddin, 1927). The Mohammedan religion does not give the right to girls to attend public schools, but girls of the upper classes received a good education in Arabic, Persian, Music, Calligraphy and in other accomplishments of the harem (Saiyidain, 1952). The above analysis of the genealogy of the Muslim education system, shows how the subjectivities of the Muslim teacher and student are defined by biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental Power. The discussion also shows how these powers construct a normalised and legitimized identity for the 'good' Muslim teacher and 'good' Muslim student.

History of the Present

The current practices of the Indian school education context that I have discussed in the previous chapters such as inequality in access to education for girls and the marginalised, punishments, rote learning and memorisation, discipline & blind obedience to the teacher have origins from the Muslim system of education. The Muslim education was similar to the Brahmin and the Buddhist system in many ways. As in Brahmin and the Buddhist educational systems, there were no systematic training institutions in the technique and art of teaching. The same holds true in the case of Muslim teachers. The essential qualification of a teacher in the Brahmin system was the knowledge of the Vedas; while for a Muslim teacher, the knowledge of the Quran was essential. These were the basic requirements for teaching in both systems. For a Muslim teacher the knowledge of Persian was also essential, because Persian was the court language in India and was compulsory in schools.

Teaching under the system was tutorial and usually the mosques were centres of learning. The main features of this system were the intimate personal relationships between the teacher and the taught. The Muslim student stayed in his own home, differing from the Brahmin system where the pupil stayed in the family of his Guru. The teacher was responsible for the moral and social manners of his pupils, and also had to set high standards for his pupils by actual conduct (Mukerjee, 1937). In the Brahmin system the teacher was paid out of the gifts of his pupils and from the presents given by other castes, and also by rich patrons who were responsible for the school. The Muslim teacher was sometimes paid out of the mosque contributions of the people, and sometimes by the rich patrons who were responsible for the school.

The Muslim education was characterised by making students memorise huge texts, they did not understand, a practice which was debated by scholars during that time as being ineffective. According to a report of the Indian association, Lahore, “The Mullas (Mohammedan teachers) in the great majority of (Quranic) schools, teach the boys to recite the Quran, which is almost the first book they take up and of which they do not understand a word” (Hartog, 1939, p.95).

7.5 Conclusion

Thus in this chapter which conducts a genealogical enquiry of the Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim systems of education, the work of Foucault’s biopower, disciplinary power and

Governmental power on these systems have been examined and studies. It is important to note, on how in each of these systems, the conceptions of a good teacher have influenced the conceptions of a good, obedient student. The genealogical analysis has enabled the identification and exploration of prominent links between the current practices and the historical practices such as rote learning, worship and blind obedience to the teacher and rigorous discipline & punishments in the Indian school education context.

CHAPTER 8: BRITISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (1765-1947)

The genealogical analysis of the British system of education will be critically examined using Post-Colonial theory which I have discussed in detail in the theoretical framework chapter. Postcolonial perspectives contribute to social change through shaping intellectual and attitudinal tools that may provide a framework for redressing inequities and inequalities intensifying social injustices (Van der Westhuizen, 2013). Similarly, Shimpi and Nicholson (2014) argue that selecting a discourse to imply the production of knowledge and truths is inherently a moral and political act. Every discourse, through its language and assumptions, makes particular understandings significant while leaving others invisible and unexamined, thus making certain assumptions and power relationships more concrete and real over others. Thus Post-colonial theory is “instructive for critically inviting a revision of inequitable historical accounts to reclaim the stories, voices and experiences of those who have been traditionally silenced” (Shimpi and Nicholson, 2014, p. 727).

The use of a postcolonial conceptual lens in this study may help create space for transforming one’s epistemological inconspicuousness, within hegemonic practices, through a commitment to, “the ethical stance of making discursive room for the ‘Other’ to exist” (Spivak, 1988, p. 6). According to Spivak (1996), empowerment, leading to the prospect of social justice, “is not realised in terms of subject positions determined by the other; rather it is a posture of autonomy adopted in the desire to create new spaces to self-identify and self-represent within the hegemony of structural and systemic realities” (Spivak, 1996, p. 289).

The term ‘postcolonial’ refers not just to the historical period that marks the end of colonisation and the start of political autonomy in a former colony such as India, but it seeks to study the extent of influence that began with the start of colonisation. According to Gupta, it is a research paradigm that seeks to situate contemporary issues in the context of underlying colonial experiences (Gupta, 2013). The theory brings out the differences between the dominant and the marginalised discourses and hence provides a platform to critically examine the past in order to bring to light the marginalised experiences of the colonial era (Gandhi, 1998).

The process of British colonisation in India began with the physical conquest of territories followed by the conquest of mind, selves and cultures (Gupta, 2013). Nandy (1983) in 'The intimate enemy: Loss and Recovery of self under colonialism,' suggests that for Europe to be established as the site of civilization, the colonised world had to be emptied of its own knowledge and values and thus the West had to fill the vacuum and be established not only in structures but also in minds. In British India, this required the implementation of a system of education that would control the way natives would be educated. As discussed in the previous chapter, India's education system has had continuous historical influences for over 4000 years but the new education policy established by the British Raj in India by 1835 was considered the most far reaching single measure as without this, the present Indian nation, we know today could not have existed. In this chapter, through my genealogical inquiry of the British Education in India, I explore the work of three kinds of power, Governmental Power (which shapes, guides and governs people's conduct (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1988; O'Farrell, 2005)., disciplinary power (power exercised through an impersonal and invisible gaze), and bio power (an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of a population) to establish societal control and create compliant people subjects.

8.1 History of the present

As discussed in the background to the Indian school education context chapter, Indian schools in the present can be classified into three main types, the government run state board schools; the private schools which can be recognised or unrecognised, mostly affiliated to either the Matriculation, Anglo-Indian, or the CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education) boards, and the elite International schools affiliated to the ICSE (Indian Certificate of Secondary Education), International Baccalaureate Programme (IB) or the Cambridge International Examinations (CIE). All these systems are products of different historical evolution processes and have origins from the British system of education. The following discussion will focus on the genealogical inquiry of these three different types of schools and is aimed at inviting discussion and revision of inequitable historical accounts to reclaim the stories, voices and experiences of those groups who have been traditionally silenced.

Government Schools

18th Century and 19th Century

The British Raj introduced the state run education system in India.

The new education policy established by Macaulay in India by 1835 was considered the most far reaching single measure in the whole of nineteenth century in imperial India, as without this, the present Indian nation, we know today could not have existed. Although the focus of the policy continued to instil western learning as the main content of official education, Lord Auckland in 1840 removed most of the harsh and the rigid aspects of the policy offering some kind of government patronage to Eastern learning. Another significant landmark was reached when Lord Dalhousie, enthusiastically implemented Sir Charles Wood's educational dispatch of 1854. The object of this dispatch was the wide extension and the rapid expansion of the means of acquiring European knowledge and it led to the foundation of the first three universities of British India established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857(Spear, 1981). These were based on the London examining model though not with the London University standards. Government schools and colleges were established at important points as model institutions and the grant in aid system encouraged the founding of numerous private institutions to supplement the government institutions. Hence the British government succeeded in its aim of popularising education.

This system was conveniently designed by the British to establish their hegemony over the colonized subjects. However, the system faced serious issues, as the primary vernacular education tended to be ignored as all the attention was given to high schools and colleges and hence the ratio of the boys who went from schools to undergraduate colleges dropped to 390:1 and the education of girl children still lagged behind that of boys owing to public apathy and social oppression. Another important setback was that, in these extensive attempts of popularising western education, the standards had to be relaxed and the syllabus made easier as it was determined that high standard restricted entry to an extreme degree. It was reported that in 1857, only 2 candidates obtained degrees out of 13 entrants and only 111 candidates were admitted out of 464 applicants to these universities (Spear, 1958). These standards did not match the overall purpose of the system which was, "passing every student of ordinary ability who had fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he had passed through" (Spear, 1981, p. 719).

As a result, the lowering of education standards became difficult to stop and kept continuing as there was no educational yardstick or benchmark available to measure the Indian standards since the London standards have been abandoned. Hence, in order to popularise western education in India, the government created an education system that had much lower standards than London, in which there was no distinction made between pass and honours candidates, and to increase the number of passes, quality was compromised. In other words, quality was substituted by quantity and Indian education came to acquire a second rate reputation as it seemed mandatory to go to Britain for real quality education. Evidently, the British Government succeeded in its attempt of spreading western knowledge widely but failed intentionally or unintentionally to produce, on its own merits a new intellectual class of Indians. The candidates who came out of this system included the failed B.As; the barely passed and exceptionally few men of real distinction who were not properly utilised by the Government and the best candidates were not attracted by the pay, the Government jobs offered (Spear, 1981). The whole system was biased down by bureaucracy and red tape in its direction. This could be related to the Bell and Lancaster's monitorial schools, a specific technology invented by the British and the foreign societies at the end of the 18th century that could provide cheap education for the poor. Jones (1990) identifies this stage of educational discourse in which the monitorial schools were viewed as a new 'engine of instruction' and machinery through which the Government could scientifically inculcate habits of morality and manufacture a disciplinary society. The system was highly utilitarian in its philosophies where one teacher educated 1000 pupils through the judicious use of monitors and the system is characterised by the polyvalent panopticon technology used in prisons which was mediated by a system of rewards and punishments. The education system adopted in India placed reliance on formal mass lectures to overcrowded classes mainly due to financial reasons and there was a lack of any moral content or personal contact in the new system (Spear, 1981). It was through impersonal examination and degradation that the school was able to inculcate a utilitarian form of morality where each pupil would be taught to calculate the extent of rewards or punishments consequent of their examination scores where each student is competing to occupy the highest rank (Jones, 1990). The certificates and the degrees awarded signified a modicum of knowledge gained by rote memorisation, cramming and copying the text book notes.

In this pedagogic science, the role of the teacher was minimal and the same system of examination and surveillance applied to the teacher as well as they were regularly monitored

and examined by an inspectorate. The new educational service provided by the British in India sought efficiency, adherence to the rules, and departmental convenience in the teachers.

“Everywhere departmental convenience was preferred, until very recent times, to educational interests; and the sort of man whom the departments really liked was one who was willing to be transferred from the teaching of history to the teaching of physics and from that to the inspection of schools.”(Dodwell, 1858-1918, p 205).

Hence it was this technology of examination and surveillance which was used by the British to popularise western influence and education in the Indian minds in order to inculcate the principle of utility and form a useful and compliant population.

The Hunter Commission (1882) established by Lord Ripon was the next important step of this education movement which surveyed the whole field of education and pointed out the significant limitations of the system to be addressed. (Spear, 1958). Emphasis was placed on primary education and the education of girl children and the encouragement of science and moral instruction were also insisted. This resulted in the reorganisation of the educational service which now consisted of three branches, the all India educational service, the provincial services and the subordinate services. The all India educational service attracted better type of British graduates while to the provincial services, an increasing number of Indians were appointed. The responsibility of fostering primary education however was confided to the care of the new municipal and district boards which did not make any progress owing to limited resources and inadequate competence. Even the efforts to introduce moral instruction failed due to official objections and the efforts to encourage science and mathematics did not succeed owing to the popular preference for literary studies. This was the general state of education at the end of the eighteenth century where higher education which was given undue importance was undifferentiated in kind and gained popularity at the expense of quality and primary education was ineffective and ignored. Hence the age old tradition that education was for the few was largely maintained. However, a huge impact had been made on the people throughout the country and a new class was fast rising which shared a common language and stock of western knowledge and ideas.

Low fee paying Private Schools

The concept of private schools in India was also initiated by the British rule. The educational dispatch of 1854 in its attempts to popularise western education established a network of government and private schools and colleges throughout the country. Lord Dalhousie established the grant in aid system which enabled and encouraged private institutions to be organised all over the country by providing grants for maintenance if certain standards were maintained. Initially private institutions were established both to supplement the Government institutions in the larger centres and also secure their positions in small towns.

“We must...do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste and opinions, in morals, and in intellect” (Macaulay, 1835 in National Archives of India, 1965).

Persian, the language of the literary and secretarial classes was replaced by English and the British rule established that the government jobs should go to the subjects benefitted by this new course of education. (Spear, 1958). The British introduced English as a medium of instruction in the private schools and colleges with the motive of producing clerks and translators who would be able to handle the British commercial and administrative functions in the country. The language went on to become one of the most important prerequisites for high paying jobs and secure jobs in the British East India Company. Hence the knowledge of English would enable entry into a social class for those candidates who did not belong to the literary castes by birth (Spear, 1981). Since they preferred subjects who obeyed and blindly followed the policies and rules, the same discipline and control methods were adopted in the private schools and colleges but the mastery of the English language gave the young Indians access to governmental appointments and the young Indians were influenced by western philosophy and literature.

8.1.2.1 The Rise of the Middle Classes

The old middle class of India played a very subordinate role in the affairs of India as they were segregated based on caste, occupation, language and distance and hence they were hugely dependant on the intellectual aristocracy of the Brahmins and the landed aristocracy of sardars

and zamindars. Hence, the first step that the British government deployed, to utilise this untapped potential was to remove and set aside the upper classes through their political encroachment measures and new land settlements and the upper classes refused to learn a foreign language just for a decent employment and retired to poverty basking in their past glories. This paved the way for the middle class Indians although, initially only merchants and financiers profited from these measures but the educational reforms in the 1850s led to the introduction of the official teaching of English in schools which popularised western knowledge and science in the schools that were spread throughout the country. This led to new professions and opportunities which included teachers, professional lawyers, profession of western medicine introduced by Lord Bentinck's Calcutta Medical College (Iman Commission, 1854). There were more openings in administration, the enterprising railways established in 1856, the public work departments, the engineering, forest and other services which were open to young Indians trained in English in the western education system. The upper classes continued to remain aloof from these opportunities as they found it demeaning to work in subordinate posts but the middle classes utilised the opportunities and prospered and expanded (Spear, 1981). Even the statutory civil services did not attract the upper classes. The new education gave the middle classes, a common language and a common set of ideas and knowledge which drew them together to stand equal and side by side with the traditional upper classes.

Elite International Schools:

In India, the history of the international schools can be traced back to when the British established two kinds of elitist schools in India: those for the hereditary aristocracy, called the chiefs' colleges; and those for the children of the personnel of the British East India Company and the British diplomats, called the European or English schools. These institutions served political and social purposes because the chiefs' colleges were meant to anglicise young rulers. However the internationalisation of these schools happened in the latter part of the 19th century. The Kodaikanal International School established in 1973 in Southern India was the first international school in India to adopt the International Baccalaureate (IB) Middle years and Diploma program

8.2 Governmental Power: Education at the beginning of the British Period (1765-1813)

In a study of this kind, the author is very dependent on the lens of various historical authors. I have endeavoured to see past to critically examine the discourses of the present. British rule in India began with the grant of administration of Bengal to the East India Company in 1765. At that time there were three kinds of educational institutions: the Pathshalas, the Muktabs and the Madrasahs, which were all indigenous, based upon the native systems of education. These institutions were under the control of teachers who generally looked upon the teaching profession as being closely connected with religion and thought of it as a spiritual and philanthropic undertaking. During the second half of the nineteenth century, most of these schools were replaced by modern schools and the rest of the schools were closed down. The reason for the closing down of these schools was the disruption in the economic life of the villagers, which led to the disappearance of patrons and ultimately affected the financial position of school teachers. Thus, a large number of indigenous schools had no financial backing and ultimately had to close down (Zuhuruddin, 1927). The work of Governmental power defined as 'conduct of conduct' by Foucault is apparent in the decline of indigenous institutions where the behaviour and conduct of both individuals and groups were influenced and directed by the government through political or economic tactics and subjection

Education was private and self-sufficient, and in the hands of individual teachers. The elementary schools were very common and were conducted by the teachers whose income was dependant on the number of students present and on the voluntary contributions of other people. Then there were family schools, where the fathers taught their sons. These fathers mostly did not object to giving lessons to the sons of their neighbours; and sometimes if a rich family engaged a teacher for their children they did not mind if the sons of other people from the same social class obtained their lessons with their own son. All these schools were in the hands of teachers who were neither formally trained nor qualified, their knowledge hardly extending beyond that of the grades they were teaching. Since modern teacher training institutions did not exist, the teachers were unaware of educational methodology and educational psychology. Furthermore, the methods of teaching were crude and sometimes harsh punishments were inflicted. Punishment was more or less an accepted part of education, and the negative effects of punishment and abuse on the mental health of the pupil were not recognized. Classes

sometimes continued from sunrise to sunset and there were no rest periods provided (Hartog, 1939).

The system, however, was extremely flexible: a student usually joined between the ages of four and six, but he could join school at any age at any time. He was free to leave it as soon as he had mastered the requirements. The system had no classes or grades, and a pupil could be promoted to another class at any time, so that it was possible for him to complete his course at his own pace. Because classes were relatively small it was possible to deal with each student as an individual. There were no school buildings as we have them today; classes were conducted in the Mosques and Temples, or in the house of the teachers or the families who engaged them. Indeed, it was not unusual to hold classes in the open. The school equipment was very simple; not only were modern teaching aids unknown, but books were scarce, even the manuscript books were expensive and hard to obtain (Saiyidin et al, 1952).

There was a second type of school which could be termed as the school of higher learning where instruction, mainly in religion was obtained. The primary objective of this school was to preserve the ancient culture. These institutions trained professional men, such as priests, doctors, and lawyers, to meet the requirements of society, but they were very few in number as the system was unattainable for lower castes, socially excluded and economically marginalised. Despite having a number of these institutions, approximately 1 school for every 400 of the population, a lot of people remained uneducated and attendance in these schools was quite limited. A large percentage of the pupils did not receive any education at all, and women were wholly uneducated, though according to official reports, a few girls from the upper class families attended the indigenous schools in Madras now Chennai of Tamil Nadu. Girls of very affluent families received domestic instruction in reading and writing in Bombay, and there were even some women teachers in Punjab (Zellner & Aubrey, 1951).

Administrators, educators and social reformers advised the Government from time to time, to build up Indian school systems on indigenous lines, but the Government failed to respond to their requests and not a single cent was spent to help the indigenous system of education (Wardah, 1938). The indigenous institutions met the needs of upper and middle class families, giving formal instruction to their children in reading, writing and account keeping. The schools were flexible in nature and the teachers always adapted their instruction to the local needs of the people.

The modern school system which was introduced as a counter to the indigenous schools failed miserably in solving the problem of universal education in India. The state saw the system of education in India crumbling but did nothing to establish a universal one in its place. The postcolonial conceptual lens that we use in the study helps us critically examine inequitable historical accounts where access has been denied to the socially excluded groups like women and economically marginalised inviting more critical discussion and debate on the topic.

Rupture/ Discontinuity: 1781-1813

Warren Hastings, the governor general of Bengal had a great influence in encouraging the study of Indian culture in India. He wrote the introduction to the English translation of the Hindu spiritual text, ‘Bhagavad Gita’, by Charles Wilkins in 1784. Sir William Jones was one of the two men responsible for the origin of the scientific study of Sanskrit. In 1781 Hastings established the first government institution, the Calcutta Mohammedan College at Madrasa, to encourage Muslims into education, and to qualify them for government service. The Asiatic society for oriental learning was opened by James Mill in 1784 and the Bengal Sanskrit College was established at Benares in 1791 by Jonathan Duncan (Hartog, 1939). These institutions were aligned with ancient Indian history. This period can be termed as a period of ‘rupture’ or ‘discontinuity’ which Foucault explains, “that in a transition from one historical era into another, things are no longer perceived, described, expressed, characterized, classified and known in the same way” (Foucault, 1973b, p 217). But this rupture was not so radical that it had negated everything that has preceded it as according to Foucault ‘rupture’ does not mean absolute change but a redistribution of prior episteme. This research intends to explore the alternate conditions of possibilities that might have contributed to a balance of the eastern and the western principles of education in the present Indian school education context.

Warren Hastings who was a believer in the value of oriental learning did not accept the proposals of Sir Charles Grant who later came to be known as the Father of Modern Education. Unlike Hastings, the successors of Hastings and other administrators of the East India Company, were keen on popularising western education in India.

8.3 Power and Knowledge: The Period of Preparation from 1813 to 1854

As discussed in the methodology chapter, Foucault's discussion of power/knowledge suggests that power and knowledge are interrelated. Foucault observed that if a social situation is underlined by a power imbalance, it is the institutions of the more powerful that control and regulate knowledge and its discursive manifestation. Therefore the kinds of discourse that are prevalent in any give situation largely depends on the institutions that regulate and ratify the production and dissemination of knowledge. Christian teachers did much to popularize English education in India. Though they were chiefly concerned with proselytizing they popularized English education across the nation. Sir Charles Wilkins was the first missionary teacher to set up an oriental printing press in India. The modern system of education started with the Charter of 1813, according to which the British Government allotted a sum of a lakh of rupees (then equal to 10,000 £) yearly on education. This money was meant to be spent for two purposes: the revival and improvement of literature, and encouragement of Indian scholarship; and the promotion of science among natives. The Document of 1814, from the Directors of the East India Company, was the first to speak for the teachers. It stated that village teachers should be encouraged and endowed, so that they might render good service to the community (Hartog, 1935).

Sir Thomas Munroe addressed the existing educational issues during that period, and in his minute dated May 10, 1826, he wrote that the education then being imparted left much to be desired. Mr. A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, gives an account of conditions in schools of his own district. He reveals that schools were in a deplorable condition. Teaching was very inefficient; and what was taught was not understood. Schoolwork was all memory work, and the books used as textbooks were unrelated to the spoken language and business of the day. Few teachers could explain the books read by the pupils. Sir Thomas Munroe in his Minutes pointed out the same defects, saying that no progress could be made without having better qualified teachers than they had at present. He proposed two measures to address this. First, there must be a training school established for teachers; and second, there must be two primary schools in each collectorate, one for the Mohammedans and the other for the Hindus, in each Tehsil Dari. This was, however, at a time when the need for trained teachers was beginning to be felt and stressed by the officials. Thereupon, a committee of pubic instructions was appointed by the government of Madras in 1926. By the end of the same year the Committee started a central school for the training of teachers. The following year ten candidates were

admitted for training. Sir Thomas Munroe thus laid emphasis on two courses of action, without which, he said, western education would not be popularized: the proper training of teachers, and the imparting of education to all classes. Both these proposals were accepted by the East India Company in the Dispatch of April 16th, 1828 (Meston, 1936). Foucault suggests that governmental power emerges from an alignment of the administrative apparatus of the state with the knowledge being produced in other institutions like schools which is apparent through these measures.

William Adam's report, submitted in January 1835, is a significant document in the history of British Education in India. The conclusion of the report states that the existing native institutions are the most suitable means of educating the people. Adam advocated that the school system should consist of (1) a Government School for every district; (2) Pergunah (division of a county) schools; (3) village schools. He recommended payment of teachers according to results. He advocated that the teachers should be evaluated first before the students. The teachers and the students should be examined in four useful school books of increasing difficulty written in the vernacular and English. The Examiner would be appointed by the government, and would possess both European and Indian education. They would fix dates and establish centers for the examinations and would distribute rewards as well. He recommended that rewards should not exist in money, but rather a teacher might be given a few annas (cents) a day for travelling expenses incurred while coming to the examination centers, and gifts of books for himself and his pupils. This would lead to an improvement in instruction, for which parents would be willing to pay more. Further, the teacher would be rewarded on the basis of his sending a number of boys for examination. Pupils who passed the examinations would become eligible for appointment as teachers in the English schools of the district. Besides receiving the copies of the books, the teachers would receive a certificate of distinction: and above all, they would become eligible to enter a normal school where training would entitle some to become Inspectors and Examiners. A piece of land should be set apart as an endowment for the livelihood of teachers. The conditions governing such land should be upheld by the village association. Finally, the schools should be inspected by a Government inspector (Hartog, 1939) However, the Council of Education in Calcutta did not approve this scheme proposed by William Adam (1835), considering it impractical. Eventually the indigenous system of education suffered continuous set-backs that it finally died out. The result was that the great mass of people in India remained illiterate, in spite of the long reign of British people. When the English introduced the English system in India, there were two problems

facing the government; namely, the proper training of teachers and the financing of education (Hartog, 1939). India today is facing still these same two profound educational problems.

In this study, using Foucault's institutional ratification from his essays, the Order of Discourse (Foucault, 1970) and the Archaeology of Knowledge (Foucault, 1972) to understand how in a society that is characterised by a power imbalance, it is the discourses of the more powerful institutions that regulate and control knowledge and its discursive manifestation. Through my genealogical analysis, I have attempted to explain how during the British Rule, the powerful institutions of British India have regulated and ratified the production and dissemination of knowledge that have governed the formation of student subjectivity. One such powerful institution of that time was the Madras Presidency which governed the south Indian states.

The Madras Presidency, or the Presidency of Fort St. George was an administrative subdivision (presidency) of British India (Hunter, 1908). The presidency included most of southern India which comprised of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Telangana, Odisha and the union territory of Lakshadweep. The city of Madras was the winter capital of the Presidency and Ooty, the summer capital (Hunter, 1882). The first set of schools offering English education in the presidency were established in Madras during the 18th century. In 1822, a Board of Public Instruction was created based on the recommendations of Sir Thomas Munro, after which vernacular medium schools were established. A central training school was set up in Madras as per Munro's scheme. However, after Macaulay's minutes in 1835, the policy was modified in order to promote European literature and science (Hunter, 1908).

The genealogical analysis of the British system of education has enabled a more nuanced understanding of the historical reasons behind the glorification of English as the only way to attain employment and achieve social status using the concept of Orientalism (Said, 1993). If the Occident's language and way of life symbolised the pinnacle of civilisation, then the Orient's language and way of life represented barbarism and moral and cultural depravity.

Institutional Ratification – Macaulay's Minutes

Macaulay's Minutes of 1835 is a landmark in the history of education. The educational philosophy that was behind the system has been apparently voiced by Macaulay in a speech he delivered to the Committee of Public Instruction in 1835 (National Archives of India, 1965).

“... The effect of training ... is to give an entirely new turn to the native mind. The young men educated in this way cease to strive after independence according to the original Native model, and aim at, improving the institutions of the country according to the English model, with the ultimate result of establishing constitutional self-government. They cease to regard us as enemies and usurpers, and they look upon us as friends and patrons, and powerful beneficent persons, under whose protection the regeneration of their country will gradually be worked out. . .” (Macaulay, 1835 in National Archives of India, 1965).

It is always the institutions of the more powerful that get to regulate knowledge and its discursive manifestation. Let us consider the following statement:

“I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But [...] I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. [...] I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.” (Macaulay (1835), p 242-43).

The author of this document is Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859). During this time, Macaulay was employed as a member of the Governor General's Council which was a body that was responsible for the East India Company's affairs in India. Hence he was a part of that institution. The above statement by Macaulay, which denigrates the rich tradition of Indian and Arabic literature and compares the whole of it with just a single library shelf of European books is seen as “at best a thoroughly biased statement” (Chattopadhyay, 2017) which many of us would agree with. Despite the strong opposition from orientalists, the Minutes was accepted by the government. The resulting government resolution reads as follows:

“His Lordship in Council is of the opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among natives of India: and all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would best be employed on English education alone” (Meston, 1936, p 32).

Thus the system of education that was based upon the ethics of the East, which stressed an intimate relationship between teacher and pupil and which conceived of knowledge as religious duty, was rooted out. The western traditions of education seriously modified the religion, which had hitherto been the spiritual aspect of education. The Dispatch of 1854 ends the preparation period, because after this began the era in which definite educational policy was followed by the government. This can be seen as a work of governmental Power where the government designates the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children and of communities. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others (Foucault 1982).

With the Dispatch of 1854 the preparatory period was ended, because the State declared her educational policy openly. It is to be noted that the period of preparation was so long, and that it was so indefinite. According to Gill (1954), it might be because the Directors of the East India Company were more concerned with their dividends than with the education of their colonised subjects. One scheme after another was framed and dropped, or was reluctantly put into action. It was suspected that the government was not ready to take the responsibility of educating their subjects. Thus education as well as the training of teachers were unorganized and unregulated for a long time (Gill, 1954). It was in 1854 that the Directors of the East India Company stated the general principles of Indian education in the Dispatch of July 19, 1854. These general principles of Indian educational policy were re-affirmed in 1857 when the Crown took the place of the Company, but still the fuller statement of the policy was not made until thirty years later, in the report of the Indian Educational Commission published in 1883 (Gill, 1954). Thus one can see the work of Governmental power where the behaviour and conduct of both individuals and groups were influenced and directed by the government through political or economic tactics and subjection or subtly through other agencies.

Macaulay represented colonial authority that was backed by Britain's military and economic domination of India and the Middle East. The Governor General's Council, to which Macaulay belonged, characterized the institution of the powerful colonisers, gave the statements issued by one of its members an unquestioned truth value. If Sanskrit or Arabic scholars from India or the Middle East were asked to compare their literary traditions with the tradition of European literature they would have come up with an assessment that would be very different from Macaulay's assessment. Yet their status as representatives of a subjugated population meant that their statements never enjoyed the institutional backing that was given to the statement of Macaulay. Hence as Foucault argues, in any situation characterised by such an imbalance of

power, it is always the discourse of the powerful that gets circulated as true knowledge (Foucault, 1972).

8.4 Biopower: The Beginning of Systematic Training of Teachers, from 1854 to 1947

The Educational Dispatch of 1854 from the government of Great Britain is a significant milestone and can be termed the beginning of the systematic training of teachers because it dealt with many basic educational matters. Its recommendations included the establishment of a Department of Education in each presidency and in each province, with an adequate number of inspecting staff. It stressed the necessity of teacher training, which was the most urgent need of the time, with schools badly off for want of better instructors. The dispatch therefore recommended that teacher-training institutions be started for all classes of teachers. It recommended that normal schools be established in all provinces, and that some consideration be given to encourage those who had the necessary aptitude for the teaching profession. So far, the teachers as well as the educational services, had been recruited from England by means of engagement. By the opening of these training institutions it was hoped that in due time they would produce a number of native teachers sufficient to limit the recruitment of school masters from England, and perhaps to eliminate the practice altogether. The dispatch was also responsible for the introduction of a grant-in-aid system. The government schools were to be started as model schools, and gradually superseded by grant-in-aid schools. All schools were to be fee paying schools, but an exception was made regarding normal schools, which were to be free, to encourage people to become teachers. This dispatch also led to the establishment of three provincial universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. This genealogical analysis serves as an entry point into a Foucauldian critique of how biopower, disciplinary power and governmental power work to construct the ‘good’ teacher in the British Education context.

Foucault’s observation of the power knowledge interrelationship suggests that knowledge and its discursive manifestations also influence power and how power is enacted. Hence it is not just power that influences knowledge, knowledge and its discursive manifestations also influence power and its enactment. English education minutes by Macaulay enjoyed widespread circulation because of its relationship with colonial authority but it in turn influenced how colonial authority should function in India. The minutes were turned into a

legal act in 1835 and this act resulted in East India Company diverting all the funds allocated for the purpose of education in India to English education.

The dispatches of 1854 and 1857 were both concerned with training of teachers, which was undoubtedly the most important question. An Inspector's report describes the problem as follows: Under the original scheme no provision was made for the education of the Gurus (Teachers). The offer of money from time to time, as inducement and encouragement for the teachers was not enough and could not lead to the improvement of instruction in the schools. But in 1864 the Secretary of State for India approved a general plan for the training of teachers based on the lines devised in England (Mukherjee, 1951). The normalisation of both biopower and disciplinary power at the macro-level functions by passing and enforcing educational policies (Governmental power) whose aim is to influence the statistical norms of the population. Normalisation is next implemented at school sites through disciplinary power and is then enforced by teachers.

It recommended that the pupil-teachers under training should be helped financially while in training and provision was also made for the improvement of their salaries. Furthermore, books of improved type were distributed among the Gurus and small financial awards were also granted to those Gurus whose pupils did well in examination centers created for their improvement. The teachers who used better methods of instruction were also given small rewards (Mukherjee, 1951). British practices were imposed on the native culture; in education as also in other phases of national life. The premise here is biopower where individuals are observed against established norms and are those who don't adhere to the norms are classified as deviant or abnormal. The work of biopower then is to control the deviant and abnormal population through punishments and other subjection tactics.

So far the high schools had been under the control of the government or under European Management, but with the introduction of the grant-in-aid system many private high schools were started. They were typically English High Schools with English as the medium of instruction in the highest classes, and they prepared pupils for the matriculation examination (Mukherjee, 1951). The grant-in-aid system was used only in secondary high schools, and primary education was only the concern of the government. The Hunter Commission of 1882-83 recommended that the primary schools should have the exclusive control of local educational funds (Hartog, 1939). The work of disciplinary power is apparent in these practices as Foucault explains how within discourse, knowledge is created, is given an authority of truth,

and acquires power to establish its truth. This knowledge is then used to govern people through rules, regulations and other disciplinary processes

The Government of Bengal was the first to adopt the normal school system. In a dispatch in 1854, the circle system was utilized and it yielded few expected results. It consisted of grouping the village schools into circles, which are then coordinated and supervised by visiting inspectors. By 1862 the circle system was on the wane and was replaced by a normal school system, which provided training to the existing village schoolteachers. By 1872 it provided school staff for 2500 schools in Bengal, though it did not actually meet the needs of the province which required far more trained teachers. At first the schools in Bengal were aided on the basis of results, but later they were graded into lower primary and upper primary. Finally, the Chief Guru Systems were adopted, a system based somewhat on the lines of the circle school system. A Chief Guru had his school in an appointed village, and was head of the subsidiary Gurus or teachers (Zellner, 1951).

The Commission of 1882, also called the Hunter Commission, was appointed by the Lord Ripon:

”The main object of the dispatch (was) to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of higher classes, upon whom they had up to the time been exclusively directed, and to turn them to wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses”(Zellner, 1951, p73).

As far as the indigenous schools were concerned, the commission recommended that these schools, whether high or low, should be recognized if they served the purpose of English education. The commission wanted a steady improvement in these schools and in the training of the teachers. The secondary education was to be left in private hands and a liberal grant was to be provided (Mukherjee, 1951).

The Commission of 1882, while considering the question of the education of girls, realized that there were insurmountable obstacles against bringing girls into education. The child marriage practice was only one obstacle among many. Parents saw no merit in educating girls and were not prepared to pay the fee. Education for the Hindu girls was retarded, but it was still worse for Moslem girls for whom there was no education at all (Zellner, 1951).

The British Raj laid down rules that they should replace men with women in the profession of teaching; they were to be encouraged by providing them with liberal inducement. The real difficulty was, of course, that parents did not believe in education for girls. The idea of replacing men teachers with women was not very practical because it went against the Hindu custom and sentiment of not allowing a girl to teach outside the home, nor to be independent. In face of these considerations the education of girls and women teachers seemed only a remote possibility. Neither did the plan adopted for the training of teachers succeed to an appreciable degree. Mr. Bellet, the Inspector of Schools, said in 1880:

“It (teacher training) is not popular. Gurus of the existing schools do not flock to training classes. On the other hand, the Deputy Inspectors have to hunt for them and compel them to come in. It is not necessary.....The average Guru is capable of teaching his school the three “R’s” (Reading, Writing & Arithmetic), even though he may not be very brilliant” (Bellet cited in Zellner, 1951, p94).

So far, the training of secondary school teachers were almost completely neglected because most high school teachers and inspectors were hired from England. Though there were many normal schools, there were no secondary training colleges. However the systematic training of teachers finally got its impetus under British rule. The first training college was established in 1887 at Madras, a college organized on English lines and in due course emulated by training colleges started in all the provinces of India. Sir Phillips Hartog writes:

“The influence of better training colleges for secondary teachers has been marked. Theses training colleges give a one-year postgraduate training on lines, I think, not very dissimilar to those of our course for the teacher’s diploma” (Hartog, 1939, p.42).

The very goal of teacher education or ‘training’ is the internalization of acceptable behaviors of the ‘good teacher’ and the acculturation of the teacher-candidate into the dominant English system of schooling (Alsup, 2006; Britzman, 2003; Weber & Mitchel, 1995). Therefore the work of disciplinary power is prominent through the teacher education program initiated by the British in India

8.5 Colonial Discourse Analysis: Growth of secondary schools

This research involves the study of colonial discourse which refers to how the process of colonialism relates to the idea of discourse. Here we can see the interplay between Foucault’s

conception of power/knowledge and Post-colonial theory. The most important conception of Foucault which informs the study of colonial discourse is that power and knowledge are interrelated, and in the colonial situation underlined by a power imbalance it is the discourse generated, circulated and ratified by the institutions of the powerful colonizers that gains acceptance as the truth. This concept can be used to analyse the massive growth of secondary schools in all the provinces. The secondary education introduced by the British claimed that the aim was exercising the high faculties of thought of students. The British Raj argued that there was a need to introduce rationality in the Indian population which is based on the assumption that the traditional Indian system of education was irrational. This style of thinking about the 'Orient' as the dark, backward, and the barbaric 'other' of the Occident continued to underpin the British education policies in India and it informed the systematic enquiry of the Orient (Said, 1993). This is evident in the article of Karl Marx titled "The British rule in India" published in 1853. Marx(1853) considered the British rule in India to be a boon in disguise which helped India evolve into a modern and civilized society, although he was fully aware of the destruction of the traditional, economic and social structures caused by the British Colonisation. The policies and practices of the British which will be analyzed below has had a massive influence on the modern education system of India which was originally designed to form an intermediary class of useful Indian subjects between the British Government and the Indian population.

The secondary schools were of two types: the upper secondary school or High School, and the lower secondary school or Middle school. The former prepared students for the matriculation school-leaving certificate, which is a university entrance examination. The latter prepared students for a Middle School Departmental examination which may be in English or Vernacular, or a combination of both. This order of classification was not the same all over India. The middle school started from grade five and ended at grade eight, but the high school education ranged from grade five to grade ten (McCully, 1940). Biopower functioned in the British system of education through these tactics/ rules that attempted to control the bodies of the student.

The private sector in education became prominent under the British regime. By the early eighties, there were about 207 private high schools in Bengal, 451 in Bombay, 132 in Western Provinces and 21 in Punjab (McCully, 1940). Under unrestrained private enterprise the number of private schools swelled. Thousands of children flocked to high schools, because knowledge of English ensured them clerical jobs, which were then easily available (Mukherjee, 1951).

In modern India the secondary schools are under different management boards. There are government secondary schools; schools under local board and district boards; and finally schools under private management, including both aided and unaided schools. All these institutions function on the lines of the English secondary schools, especially the government secondary high schools.

“An Indian class-room in a secondary school does not look very different from an English class-room, except that it is not so bright. But great attempts have been made in recent years to give fresh colour and interest to life in the schools. In the Punjab ... most high schools possess admirable buildings; gardens and playing fields are cared for ... physical training and playing of games reach a high standard of efficiency; the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have brought life and happiness to the pupil” (Hartog, 1939, p 41-42).

The above quote of Hartog may only hold true in Government schools, however it was reported by Zellner (1951) that the privately managed high schools during the British rule had a number of issues. The following quote will show the state of affairs in the privately managed schools.

“Schools of money making type, ill-housed, ill-equipped, and run on the cheapest lines, have in certain cases gained recognition and eluded the control of inspection. Schools have sprung into existence in destructive competition with neighboring institutions. Physical health has been neglected and no provision has been made for suitable residential arrangements and playfields. Fee rates have been employed on rates of pay insufficient to their pupils.... A special inquiry showed that out of some 4,700 teachers in privately managed schools in these areas, about 4,200 were in receipt of less than Rs.50 (1. 09 NZ\$) a month, some 3,300 of less than Rs.30 (0.65 NZ\$) a month, while many teachers of English and Classical languages drew salaries that would not attract men to superior domestic service” (Zellner, 1951, p132-133).

It is found that in 1898 a Committee was set up to evaluate the teaching practices in Bengal, which resulted in the Vernacular Education Scheme of 1901, based upon Froebelian methods of object lessons of every experience. It was shaped by two familiar languages, and that it should be imparted in a natural setting. The scheme was tried, but there were many teachers who were unfamiliar with the subject they were required to teach. Therefore, training schools were set up and teachers as well as inspectors and Sub-inspectors were required to attend classes for six weeks in order to gain some insight into how to handle classes, and a knowledge

of nature studies. Although the plan was not very successful, partly because the officials of the training school regarded the newcomers as intruders, it eventually gave birth to the big training college of Calcutta, Dacca and Bankipore (Zellner, 1951).

The government was aware of these problems. The educational policy issued by the British government in 1913 claims that it was concerned, among other things, with the problems of better teaching and tried to remedy them. The new policy regarding secondary schools included the following: only graduate or trained teachers should be employed in secondary schools; there should be a graded system of pay for teachers in service, with a minimum salary of Rs.40 per month (1\$) and the maximum of Rs.400 (10\$) per month; the teachers should be provided with hostel accommodation; a school course complete in itself should be introduced, with efficient staff to inculcate an historical and geographical outlook among the teachers. Furthermore, the policy laid down that manual training be introduced and that the teaching of science should be improved. As far as the aided schools were concerned, it was recommended that the grant-in-aid be increased, to enable the aided institutions to keep pace with the government institutions and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions. The training colleges, were to be multiplied and improved, so that public and private schools might obtain a sufficient number of trained teachers (Zellner, 1951).

According to the Quinquennial review of progress of education, 1907-1912, there were in India 18,831 high school teachers, 24,493 middle school teachers, and 171,359 primary school teachers, out of which 5,435 high school teachers, 19,038 middle school teachers, and 42,554 primary school teachers were trained. The percentage of trained personnel was 29% for high schools, 37% for middle schools and 25% for primary schools, respectively. A significant issue during that time was the insufficient number of training schools and training colleges (Sixth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1907-12). This problem exists still in contemporary India.

In Bengal, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, for example, the number of English middle schools were 1537 out of a total of 2464, yet there was not a single secondary teacher training college. In 1907 there were six training colleges: Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Central Training College Lahore, Gubbulpore. The sixth training college at Rajahmundry had been closed. These colleges were mainly for the training of those who were already teachers in government schools and in other high schools, and also for those who intended to become teachers. To encourage candidates to train, the government provided stipends, and all universities except Bombay

provided degrees for those who completed their training in these colleges (Sixth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1907-12).

The courses leading to degrees in teaching varied from place to place. In Bengal the course for the B. T. degree included the theory and practice of teaching, methods of teaching specific subjects, school management, the history of educational ideas, and selected educational classics. Not only did the courses vary in different training colleges, but so also did the duration of training. The methods of training in the colleges were by lecture and essays. The model criticism lessons were provided for in the attached high school. The course aimed “to give the teacher an all-round preparation for work both from the theoretical and practical point of view” (Sixth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1907-12, p 193). This discourse of a ‘good’ teacher in the British context works to shape the identity of a ‘good’ obedient student during the colonial rule. The discourse positions a good student in the British system as someone who studies English, does well in exams and sincerely works towards getting a clerical job in the British administration. An examination of how biopower, disciplinary power and governmental power work within the context of the British system of Education, institutions and the society illustrates how the identity of a good teacher and a good student were normalised and rewarded during the colonial regime.

The secondary training institutions of the lower grade existed because there were not enough graduates to meet the requirements of the high school staff. It was, therefore, necessary to provide training for intermediates and also for some matriculants to work as assistant teachers in the secondary schools. Some of them worked as headmasters of the Anglo-vernacular middle schools. The course of training was two years, but was later reduced to one year. The training provided was on the same lines as that provided for the graduate teacher (Sixth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1907-12).

The training of vernacular teachers was like that of secondary school teachers; that is, based upon two grades. Normal schools trained those who had passed the middle Vernacular standard, and they then became assistant vernacular teachers in the secondary schools, or headmasters of upper primary schools. Those candidates who had passed the primary standard were trained as lower primary teachers in smaller schools. The courses in vernacular training schools were radically different from those of secondary training schools. Instruction was given in the vernacular because the teachers themselves would be instructing in that language. At the same time the general knowledge of the pupils was of a much lower level and curriculum was

very simple when compared with that of secondary schools (Sixth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1907-12). Critically examining these practices through a post-colonial lens helps us explore the social exclusion and marginalisation of certain groups of people. The postcolonial principles for inclusive education practice: 1) authenticates and legitimises the voice and visibility of marginalised groups of people through democratic and participatory processes and; 2) acknowledges different individual's agency as embedded in and evolving through forms of collective action, that activate differences, in order to transform historically situated discursive practices of inequality (Tikly, 2010, Chopra, 2017).

The following discussion will focus on the work of governmental Power which is not just a singular or sovereign power but an assemblage of multiple practices entailing governance of oneself, governance within social institutions, communities and government of the state (Foucault, 1991). The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) regarding teacher training are very important and far reaching because these were the main lines on which teacher-training in India eventually developed. The commission recommended the establishment of a Department of Education in the University of Calcutta and Decca, and desired that

“the aim of these departments would be to promote the systematic and practical study of the science and art of education; to provide increased opportunities for professional training of teachers; and to arouse among the students a deeper interest in the work of the teaching profession ” (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919, p 71).

Furthermore, the Commission emphasised that:

“It would be the center of new investigation in the science and art of education, for the comparative study of educational systems and for researchers in the history of education in India and elsewhere. The practical training, on the excellence of which the department should chiefly pride itself, would be raised from any narrowness of outlook by this close association with scientific studies” (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919, p 8).

The Commission recommended that a systematic study of educational matters should be arrived at, because it thought that “conditions are favorable for setting such inquiries on foot and instituting experiments in new methods of teaching and of school organization” (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919, p 74). The commission also felt the

need of starting independent centers of educational research in India. These centers should be closely in touch with other educational centers where research in the same subject is being carried out (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919).

The Education Department, as mentioned previously, should be under the control of the Professor of Education, who might be assisted by a number of assistant professors. There should be close collaboration between both Educational Departments at Calcutta and the Commission. Nonetheless, the Department should also maintain the cooperation of the Department of Science, phonetic teachers, and physical training instructors at Calcutta. The Departments should work in close contact with the Department of Experimental Psychology (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919).

The commission desired that there should be a demonstration school under the Education Professor where new educational methods could be tried. "It is a school of free experiment and as such is valuable as a stimulus and guide to students in training" (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919, p 75). Furthermore, there should be a good collection of books on educational research, as well as educational reports, which have been issued in India, England, United States of America, and Japan. The principal educational journals should also be available (Ibid).

The Commission desired that the essential emphasis of the Department of Education should be on its lectures and its seminars conducted in rooms which should be close to the library and at the center of the university work, together with a large model school for student practice and demonstration school for educational experiments. Regarding the employment of teachers, the commission made the following observations: Only those teachers should be called upon to teach who possess a thorough knowledge of the subject required. They should have some good practical training in a good reputable school. Their training should be efficient and in no case should it be hurried and superficial. The matriculants should no longer be allowed to teach in high schools, but those already in service should be allowed to continue (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919).

Furthermore, the Commission recommended that the course of training should be extended from a period of six months to one year. Emphasizing the importance of practice-teaching, it said that such practice should be provided regularly under careful supervision, and the examination for the teaching license should be held at the training college. The examination should be based upon a syllabus of instruction prepared by the training school and approved

by the university. The commission again stressed the necessity for an adequate amount of practice-teaching and sufficient knowledge of the subjects in which the teacher is qualified. Returning to the practical aspect of teaching, the Commission desired that at least half of the aggregate marks should be allotted to the practical part of the examination (Calcutta University Commission, Government of India, 1917-1919).

As regards the higher professional training, the Commissioners realized that the one-year training for the degree of Bachelor of Teaching, after a degree of Bachelor of Arts was too short; they felt that the syllabus was too ambitious for the time provided. Furthermore, the Commission felt that the requirements for practice-teaching under skilled supervisors were insufficiently exacting; also, some of the candidates had a very poor knowledge of English, history, and geography. The Commission recommended that the course should be extended throughout the whole year and that practical training should be provided under experienced supervision. The course of Bachelor of Teaching should remain a post-graduate course (Ibid).

The Montagu Chelmsford Report issued in 1918 was passed by the government in 1919. This Act established a system of Dyarchy, a division of government functions into responsible and non-responsible branches. Some departments such as education, health, and the like, were transferred to Indian Ministers, but the Act left the Minister without any control over the finance. It was the first time that Indian Ministers had faced the educational problems of the country (Zellner, 1951).

By 1922 the number of training colleges went up to thirteen, and in addition to these colleges there were training classes for Junior English teachers, both under government and private management. Some provinces had made great progress, such as Punjab where every teacher in the secondary high school was required to be trained; while in some other provinces such as Assam, there were no training institutions at all – at least for the training of high school teachers. In Bengal and Bombay, the number of trained teachers were very scarce (Eighth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1917-1922).

With the exception of a few provinces, there was all-round progress, as reported by the Quinquennial Review of Progress in India, 1927-1932. In the United Provinces, the Review declares,

“More and more trained teachers are becoming available, and men with good qualifications are joining aided schools. The younger teachers are certainly better and keener.... While there is an improvement, it is not sufficiently marked. There is little

professional pride in teachers generally. Teaching is still too little of a vocation and any work outside school hours is resented” (Tenth Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1927-1928, p 118).

The percentage of trained teachers all over India in 1927, was 49.9%, but in 1932, it had reached 56% of the total. The training of teachers was making progress; during 1931-32 there were seventeen training colleges for the secondary teachers, but five years later this number had not increased. However, the percentage of trained men teachers in secondary schools rose from 56.4% in 1932 to 57.3% in 1937. In Madras, trained teachers constituted 84.7% per cent of the total number of teachers employed in secondary schools. In Bombay the percentage rose from 17.6 to 22.8, but in Bengal the conditions were deplorable. The percentage of trained teachers in high schools in 1937 was 1.8%, of whom only 1.0% were trained graduates. One of the reasons for this condition was that the Bengalese teachers were paid very less. As far as Punjab was concerned, in 1926-1927, 70 per cent of the teachers employed in this area in secondary schools were certificated and trained; in 1931-1932 this rose to 87.6 per cent; and in 1936-1937 went up to 89.7 per cent. Most of the provinces made headway, though there was a regrettable fall in the percentage of trained teachers in Assam, Coorg, and Baluchistan (Eleventh Quinquennial Review, Government of India, 1932-1937).

By 1940-1941 there had been a sharp rise in the number of training colleges, which totaled twenty-seven, for both men and women (The Indian & Pakistan Year Book, 1944-1945). In 1944-1945 the total went up to thirty-six training colleges for both sexes; and in addition there were 378 training institutions for men and 193 training institutions for women (Ibid). By the end of British rule in 1946-1947 there were 64,680 teachers in high schools, 48,125 in middle schools, and 319,838 in primary schools, out of which 16,834 in high schools, 48,125 in middle schools and 319,838 in primary schools were untrained. The percentage of trained teachers works out as follows: High school, 74; middle school, 71.5; and primary, 76 (Mukherjee, 1951). August 15, 1947, saw the end of British rule in India, and India had reached its long cherished goal. From this date onward India was on its own and had to fight its battles on many fronts which has hitherto been neglected or had received very little attention. One of those significant areas of concern was education.

Thus the period of systematic training of teachers under British rule began approximately in 1854, and ended in 1947, when India was declared independent and British responsibility ceased. This period is unique and very important in giving a start for professional training. By

the end of this period the number of training colleges had gone up to thirty-three both for men and women: a striking contrast to the one training college in 1887. Besides this, there were 527 training schools, but despite this, the progress did not reach here was not as satisfactory as was desired, as these training colleges and schools could not adequately staff all the schools. All in all this progress does not seem so impressive when one notes that it was only a section of the population that was receiving education under the system.

The above analysis of the genealogy of the British education system which is considered as having the most influence on the current school education practice in India, shows how the subjectivities of the 'good' teacher and student are defined by biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental Power. The discussion also shows how these powers construct a normalised and legitimized identity for the 'good' teacher and 'good' student during the Colonial rule of the British

Thus the Indian secondary education under British colonial rule promoted education practice, pedagogy, language and curriculum that was divorced from the sociocultural and educational realities of diverse Indian people. The main priority was to develop civil administrators who would facilitate the implementation of governance informed by colonial values. The colonial administration maintained a rigid control over decisions regarding significant areas for the education system such as access, governance, pedagogical approaches, language choice, teacher education and curriculum (Kumar, 1988).

8.6 Conclusion

Thus in this chapter which conducts a genealogical enquiry of the British system of education, the work of Foucault's bio power, disciplinary power and Governmental power on the policies and practices of the British Raj have been examined and studied. It is important to note, on how in this system, the conceptions of a good teacher have influenced the conceptions of a good, obedient student. The genealogical analysis has enabled the identification and exploration of prominent links between the current practices and the historical practices such as English used as the medium of instruction, textbook centred learning, written examinations, inequality in access between private and public schools and rigorous discipline & punishments in the Indian school education context. Despite some measures taken by the British to involve women in education and teaching, it has to be noted that it was still made available for women

from the upper castes like Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Hence during the colonization, the inequity and inequalities intensified, social stratification also led to the exploitation and oppression of marginalised groups of people including women (Prosad Sil, 1997). Social stratification in India, during colonialism, was dominated by the Indian caste system. Placed at the top of the hierarchical caste system were the Brahmins (priests) and Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors). Next in the caste hierarchy were the caste groups Vaishyas (traders) and Shudras (labourers). Nomads, indigenous tribes, and Dalits (historically marginalised and disadvantaged groups of people) were treated as 'outcastes with less status, privileges and formidable barriers to education access (Betielle, 1996). Caste stratification maintained non-assimilation and socio-cultural barriers between and within different religious groups

CHAPTER 9: POST INDEPENDENT INDIA (1947-2019)

9.1 Introduction to the context

Diverse socio-economic, cultural, caste and religious groups live in India across vast linguistic and geographical variations as discussed in Chapter 1. Social stratification indicates inequalities in access, achievement and progression in education (Dhawan, 2005). This is also validated by the gross secondary education enrolment ratio of 47% (World Bank, 2009) and an estimated gross higher education enrolment ratio of 20.4% for students between 18-23 years of age (Government of India, 2013: ii). The secondary education enrolment rate and progression to higher education is sizably less than the national average for women, people with special educational needs and disability, marginalized socio-economic and caste based groups, religious minorities and for those who live in rural areas (Chopra, 2017). This is underlined in the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (Planning Commission, Government of India 2013, p. 48) which suggests

“The sharp drop-off in enrolment at the middle school level and the increasing enrolment gap from elementary to higher secondary suggests that the gains at the elementary level have not yet impacted the school sector as a whole. Dropout rates in secondary and higher education continue to be high, especially for socially excluded and economically marginalized groups of learners.”

Similar trends were also reported in the recent National education policy (2019) which was published in July 2019:

“This decline in enrolments is considerably more pronounced for many of these Under Represented Groups (URG). According to U-DISE 2016-17 data, about 19.6% of students belong to SC at the primary school level, but this fraction falls to 17.3% at the higher secondary level. These enrolment drop-offs are even more severe for ST students (10.6% to 6.8%), Muslim students (15% to 7.9%), and differently-abled children (1.1% to 0.25%), with even greater declines for female students within each of these URG. The declines in URGs enrolment in higher education is even steeper” (Draft National Education Policy, 2019, p 138).

The Indian education system has historically attempted to transform policy yet failed to transcend in practice the colonial legacy it inherited in 1947 (Nair, 1979; Chopra; 2017). As discussed in the previous chapter on British India, the main aim of the Indian secondary education envisioned by the British, was to enhance the accessibility of productive and useful employees for the British colonial administration in India. This study draws on Foucault's discourse analysis and Post-colonial principles to critically examine the key secondary education initiatives with the aim of deconstructing the colonial legacy which continues to challenge Indian Secondary Education provision.

This chapter will mainly examine key secondary education initiatives by the Indian Government after independence: the Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953); the Kothari Commission Report (1964-1966); the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017); and the National Education Policy (2019). The chapter will explore how perceptions of Power/knowledge and intervention may impact access, governance, pedagogical approaches, and curriculum reform. This may expose some of the challenges of inclusivity, equality, equity, achievement and progression in the current Indian secondary education.

In this chapter, the political context of India post 1947 will be addressed followed by the genealogical analysis of initiatives covering the time period from India's independence to the current context of secondary schools in India. Foucault's Governmental power and postcolonial principles as underpinning theoretical concepts will be used to analyze Indian secondary education policy and practice in terms of its transformative potential with regards to inclusive education practice, social exclusion and provision of social justice in education. It is important to explain the concepts of inclusive education practice, social exclusion and social justice which are rooted in Foucault's conception of power and Post-colonial principles which will be used in this analysis.

Inclusive Education Practice

Sayed (2002, pp. 53-54) rightly points out that the discourse of inclusion in policy must also inform principles for inclusive practice that can be made possible through access, governance, pedagogy, curriculum and a culture of inclusion. Postcolonial perspectives contribute to transformation in structures of understanding policy and research for inclusive education practice (Van der Westhuizen, 2013). A postcolonial conceptual lens helps create space for

transforming one's epistemological invisibility, within hegemonic practices, through a commitment to "the ethical stance of making discursive room for the other to exist" (Spivak, 1988, p. 6). As discussed in the theoretical methodology chapter, postcolonial principles for inclusive education practice: 1) validates and legitimizes the voice and visibility of marginalized groups of people through democratic and participatory processes and; 2) acknowledges different individual's agency as embedded in and evolving through forms of collective action and; 3) activate differences, in order to transform historically situated discursive practices of inequality (Chopra, 2017; Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia, 2006, Tikly, 2010).

Social exclusion

Social exclusion is a complex and layered process involving social, economic and political struggles, waged to replicate or challenge dominant relations of power (Sayed, 2002). Chopra (2017) suggests that the research on social inclusion should analyze the processes and rules through which discrimination and deprivation is made possible as the discourses of exclusion and inclusion are often vague and ambiguous and mask the agendas of cooperation and control. According to De Haan (200), a homogenized approach to equality without addressing the issues of equity when making policy decisions has been one of the major limitations in the initiatives to redress social exclusion.

"One size does not fit all because citizens do not arise from positions of social, economic and political equality. This approach also tends to lump inequalities together so that problems are dealt with in the same way" (Sayed, 2002, p. 12).

Hence social exclusion should move beyond the analysis of resource allocation mechanisms and Right to Education and should explore power relations, agency, culture and social identity.

Social Justice

The analysis undertaken in this study is aligned with the social justice approach (as a conceptual tool for understanding quality in education. Social Justice emphasizes that quality education recognizes the voice, visibility and agency of all participants, especially the marginalized groups (Tikky & Barrett, 2011; Nikel and Lowe, 2010). Education based on social justice,

through participatory and democratic processes, should represent effectiveness, efficiency, equity, relevance and sustainability, informed by context specific transformative strategies, addressing complex and multidimensional forms of universal inequalities (Kabeer, 2000).

Tikly and Barrett (2011) examine the significance of education provision that supports an equal and equitable distribution of resources to enable every individual's capability to be and to become, in ways that are valued in society. An analysis of Indian secondary education policy and practice examines whether, in such a diverse country, a context specific approach has been used to address the challenges of social exclusion and existing inequalities.

9.2 The political context (1947-1954)

India became an independent nation within the British Commonwealth on 15th August, 1947 and nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru became the first prime minister of Independent India guiding the destiny of this country for a little less than two decades. The Indian government under Nehru represented in many respects a continuation of British attitudes both in form and substance despite certain obvious outward changes in forms of governance or employment of new political personnel (Das, 2001). It was argued that like other post-colonial regimes the Indian state appeared 'overdeveloped' (Alavi, 1972). The British Raj had nurtured a repressive state apparatus which exceeded the needs of an underdeveloped and poor post-colonial state. Most third world states were artificial creations of the departing European powers and hence the ruling classes of these independent states have to be involved in the nation building process. However, the Congress government under Nehru chose not to develop an alternative state structure, but to uphold and maintain the police, paramilitary and other civil organizations inherited from the British after 1947 (Shepperdson & Simmons, 1998). Noted scholars like Bettelheim (1968) demonstrated, that the administrative system including the education system in independent India was renewed without being remodeled, thus retaining many of the imperfections of the colonial regime (Das, 2001). Although there was remarkable achievement in the field of science and technological education & research after independence, illiteracy rates were still high. The new constitution adopted by India did not change the overall administrative policy of the country. Education continued to be the prime responsibility of the state governments, and the union (central) government continued to assume responsibility for

the coordination of educational facilities and the maintenance of appropriate standards in higher education and research and in scientific and technical education.

In 1950 the government of India appointed the Planning Commission to prepare a blueprint for the development of different aspects of life, including education. Thereafter, successive plans (usually on a five-year basis) were drawn and implemented. The main goals of these plans were (1) to achieve universal elementary education, (2) to eradicate illiteracy, (3) to establish vocational and skill training programs, (4) to upgrade standards and modernize all stages of education, with special emphasis on technical education, science, and environmental education, on morality, and on the relationship between school and work, and (5) to provide facilities for high-quality education in every district of the country (NCERT, 2012).

There were striking similarities reported in the style of functioning of Government ministers to their preceding British officers which reflected their rightist orientation of establishing supremacy of the Congress party which was gradually turning them from agitated freedom fighters into responsible ministers.

“It was a momentous occasion when, in the month of April, we came under the rule of the party which had been agitating against the British Raj for more than twenty years. But, if anyone at the time expected dramatic and revolutionary changes, he was in for an anti-climax. Our new Government had enough sense and experience to realise that nine-tenths of its work would lie in the field of day-to-day administration, and that spectacular reform must be a fringe activity”(Hunt and Harrison, 1980, p.196).

Thus the basic education system introduced by the British which was characterized by crowded classrooms, impersonal examinations, a system of rewards and punishment, and relaxed standards is maintained and is still followed in India. This has been made possible by the political interest groups in power who were able to manipulate and exploit the education system to establish hegemony and domination of certain ideas and beliefs in the society. (Femia, 1975).A critic had summarized the situation of independent India in the 1950s in the following quote:

“.....The identification of the Congress with the status quo, even if the ultimate intention may be of using it as a spring-board for reform ... has made the organization unpopular ... The loss of ethical quality in the contemporary endeavors of the Congress in the reorganization of its party machinery, or in the matter of running an old administrative machinery without sufficient proof of desire or capability of reforming

the latter, has created a kind of frustration, and even of cynicism amongst those who had made the attainment of political freedom synonymous with the advent of social revolution or moral regeneration...”(Bose, 1958 in Das, 2001, p. 8).

9.3 History of the Present: Indian Secondary Education (Post 1947)

The key Indian secondary education policy initiatives; The Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953); the Kothari Commission Report (1964-1966) the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) and the Draft National Education Policy (2019) had suggested a series of reforms to deconstruct the colonial legacy of social exclusion in order to enhance inclusivity, equality, quality, equity, achievement and progression in Indian secondary education. However, the practice of prejudiced indifference towards marginalized students and the socially excluded remains a persistent reality within Indian education institutions.

The Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953)

The first general election in India was held in 1952. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, came into power. This period can be termed as a period of ‘rupture’ or ‘discontinuity’ which Foucault explains, “that in a transition from one historical era into another, things are no longer perceived, described, expressed, characterized, classified and known in the same way” (Foucault, 1973b, p 217). But this rupture was not so radical that it had negated everything that has preceded it as according to Foucault ‘rupture’ does not mean absolute change but a redistribution of prior episteme. It could have been a significant period of rupture for initiating radical social change to transform the legacy of colonialism and hierarchical social stratification reproducing injustices, inequalities and inequities in secondary education and the wider social context. This research intends to explore the alternate conditions of possibilities that might have contributed to social reform in the Indian secondary school education context.

As discussed earlier in the chapter on English Education, Mookerjee (1944) explains that Indian secondary education under British colonial rule promoted education practice, pedagogy, language and curriculum that was divorced from the sociocultural and educational realities of Indian people. The major mission was to produce civil administrators who would facilitate the

implementation of governance informed by colonial values. The colonial administration maintained a rigid control over decisions regarding significant areas for the education system such as access, governance, pedagogical approaches, language choice, teacher education and curriculum (Kumar, 1988).

.Post 1947 the expansion of secondary education was embraced to enable access to education for all. However, this approach was not without limitations as Nair (1970) argued:

“The country adopted a policy of expansion of all secondary education in the post-independence period. 40,000 secondary schools against about 5000 in 1947 with an enrolment of about 12 million against about 900,000 in 1947. This had several undesirable consequences on the quality of secondary and higher education and also on the numbers of educated unemployed.” (Nair, 1979, p 180)

The newly elected government dealt with the tensions that emerged between the drive for expansion and the need for good quality secondary education provision. The Education Minister at that time, Maulana Azad emphasized on the urgent need for secondary education reform as it presented one of the major challenges in terms of quality and responsiveness to the socio-economic requirements of the country (Aggarwal, 1993).

The Secondary Education Commission, established in 1952, highlighted six areas that required urgent reform in secondary education, 1) the widespread implementation of a rigid content-based curriculum divorced from the realities and lived experiences of learners; 2) the lack of a holistic development approach within the education process; 3) the exclusion created by education delivery in English; 4) the failure of pedagogical approaches to engage with the development of independent learning and critical thinking; 5) Large class sizes with a significant impact on teacher-learner ratios and 6) the final one was related to the practice of exam driven teaching-which promoted rote and mechanical learning at the expense of self-discovery and enquiry based education (Chopra, 2017; Mahanta, 1999). The policy development process was informed by surveys and interviews with principals and heads of education institutions, experts & practitioners, teachers and Observations conducted by the members of the commission in different parts of the country (Aggarwal, 1993). The Commission offered five core aims for the purpose of secondary education in India. These five aims emphasised on: 1) developing learners into accountable and responsible democratic citizens; 2) reforming the curriculum with, for instance, the inclusion of vocational education practice (learners were to be streamed to progress into academic higher education or technical

vocational development through a selective summative assessment process); 3) developing leadership and independent critical thinking in learners; 4) building a holistic approach to learner development and; 5) delivering education in regional languages (Chopra, 2017; Chaube, 1988).

The Mudaliar Commission attempted to recognize and prioritize some concerns for constructively restructuring secondary education. For instance, secondary education was extended to 17 years of age and specific improvements, in lieu with the five mentioned aims, were suggested for school infrastructure, resources, pedagogical approaches, curriculum, language choice and examination reform (Kabir, 1955). However, these continue to be the problems in secondary education in Modern India in 2019, which suggests that what the Indian secondary education system strived to transform in terms of policy, failed to transcend in practice the challenges presented by the colonial legacy it inherited.

The Kothari Commission Report (1964 -1966)

The socio-political context of India was marked by boundary disputes (Sino- Indian 1962 war) and violence on the basis of religious differences, caste oppression, class inequalities and regional separatist insurgencies during this period. The primary aim of the Indian National Congress, under leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, was to strengthen national socioeconomic cohesion and promote national development (Chopra, 2017; Aggarwal, 1993). The Kothari Commission (1964-66) was established a decade later under the leadership of Dr. Kothari, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission. The report intended to introduce secondary education reforms that would be responsive to national priorities for socioeconomic development and cohesion (Mahanta, 1999).

The Commission involved participation of members across the globe to incorporate best practice. There were members from the UK, the USA, Russia, France and Japan and the commission established seven problem-solving working groups. These working groups employed a mixed method research approach, over a period of approximately two years, to inform recommendations for secondary education reform. The mixed method approach consisted of questionnaires, interviews, document analysis and consultation with 9,000 research participants who were educators, scientists, industrialists, academics, teachers, administrators and students from different regions in the country. The research also involved

observations of practices for 3 months at different school sites, colleges and Universities (Madhusudhan, 2009).

The Kothari Commission Report recommended secondary education reform in five broad areas: 1) building stronger relationships between secondary education provision and national needs and requirements for socio-economic progress and development; 2) improving educational quality in order to become internationally competitive; 3) developing equal access to secondary education opportunities in order to build a more educated workforce in the country; 4) promoting social and national cohesion and integration and; 5) the removal of a streaming process in the secondary education system and the extension of secondary education till 18 years of age. The Kothari Commission also emphasised on the need for a more proactive role of the respective states and the central government in the implementation and regular monitoring of secondary education reforms (Chopra 2017; Bagulia, 2004).

One of the major limitations of the report according to education experts (Chopra, 2017; Biswal, 2011) is that though they address equity and inclusive education, the policy fails to guide and develop affirmative action contributing to transformative practice.

“Unlike elementary and higher education, the respective responsibilities of the Centre and States are not clearly defined for secondary education. This has seriously constrained the development of secondary education in the country” (Biswal, 2011, p 17).

The Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017)

The twelfth five- year plan extending on the recommendations of Kothari Commission, the National Policy on Education (NPE), in 1986 and then again in 1992, integrated democratic access to secondary education with greater focus on vocational curriculum provision. The report had some radical recommendations. Technology (ICT) and vocational education linked to national development priorities, shaped curriculum reform. Prominence was given to gender and caste based equity and equality in access to education opportunities. Policy implementation promoted decentralisation of governance to strengthen state level control and developing the autonomy of Boards of Secondary Education to facilitate quality driven changes (Chopra, 2017; Dhawan, 2005).

It is important to note that policy initiatives in Indian education mainly concentrated on primary education from 2002 to 2007. In 2005, the Working Group on Secondary Education for the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-2007) and the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) committee made recommendations for increasing resource allocation for universalisation of secondary education in India. The redistribution of resources were undertaken to facilitate the planning and implementation of reforms in secondary education for the enhanced provision of access, quality and the integration of ICT and vocational education in the curriculum (Pathak, 2007). Building on the Kothari Commission initiative, the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007-2012) attempted to develop international standards for secondary education responsive to the labour market requirements. Biswal (2011) argues on the the value of these policies beyond the rhetoric of social justice and social inclusiveness. He comments that

“One of the major challenges for education is to discover new ways of ‘knowing’ so as to make nations effectively participate in the globalisation process, while ensuring equitable economic and sociocultural diversity” (Biswal, 2011, p 2).

Inequalities in the achievement of equity and progress among the underrepresented groups and marginalised continue to prevail in the Indian secondary education system across and within different regions in the county (Kingdon, 2007). Some of the challenges for gender equality in secondary education are highlighted by Pande (1993) in his book titled ‘Drudgery of Hill Women’. He suggests that, “Schools for girls are few and far between in the rural areas of Kumaon. High schools are beyond 5 kilometres in 97 percent villages” (Pande, 1993, p 4). The physical distance creates challenging barriers in the education of girl child beyond middle school. These rural schools do not have systematic governance. Remoteness and fragmented habitations involve exorbitant administrative costs while the schools lack even the basic facilities like blackboards. Girls’ education is given lesser importance as far as the priorities of the parents are concerned girls are compelled to drop out from schools at initial stages (Chopra 2017; Kingdon, 2007; Pande 1993). The current context of Indian secondary education provision is explained by Kingdon (2007).

“In 2002, there were only one fifth as many secondary schools as the number of primary schools. Thus, it seems likely that secondary school enrolment rates are low partly because of the lack of supply of nearby secondary schools. However, despite supply constraints, demand for secondary education has risen and is likely to rise (partly

via increase in private schooling) because it is a lucrative level of education to acquire” (Kingdon, 2007, p. 6).

Indian secondary education has been marked by a series of policy initiatives and suggested reforms since independence, over a period of seventy years. The recent Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017) and even the current National Education Policy (2019) continue to struggle to deconstruct the colonial legacy of social exclusion in order to enhance quality and inclusivity in secondary education throughout the country. For instance, the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017) outlines the aims of the report as follows: a) Universalisation of secondary education by 2017 raising the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Higher Education to 20 percent by 2017; b) Focus on quality of education through faculty development and teachers’ training; and c) Significant reduction in social, gender and regional gaps in education” (Planning Commission Government of India, 2013, pp. 18-27). However the rhetoric of social inclusion and social justice addressed in the policies has not transformed into practice. Hence the practice of prejudiced indifference towards marginalised learners remains a persistent reality in the Indian secondary education context (Chopra, 2011; Krishnan, 2016).

Draft National Education Policy (2019):

The Draft National Education Policy 2019 under the leadership of Dr. Kasthurirangan was published in May 2019 and was open for consultation and proposals until July 31st 2019. The report proposes an education policy, which claims to address the challenges of: (i) access, (ii) equity, (iii) quality, (iv) affordability, and (v) accountability faced by the current education system. The draft Policy provides for reforms at all levels of education from school to higher education. It seeks to increase the focus on early childhood care, reform the current exam system, strengthen teacher training, and restructure the education regulatory framework. It also seeks to set up a National Education Commission, increase public investment in education, strengthen the use of technology and increase focus on vocational and adult education, among others (Government of India, 2019). However, education experts and social activists argue that the policy document has some major omissions and contradictions in terms of ensuring equal access, inclusiveness and equity for marginalised learners (Roy, 2019; Taneja, 2019 & Rajagopalan, 2019). While the policy document outlines some key provisions like the Right to Education to children under six and above 14, doubling of the overall financial allocation to

education and strengthening the teaching profession, critics of the policy argue that the policy is over ambitious which never gets implemented fully like the policies of the past. Anuja Taneja, the lead specialist of education and inequality at Oxfam, India comments that

“The sheer scale of changes expected, the rapid timeline, the absence of a strong mechanism for handholding states on this journey and the probable inadequate budget raises questions on the full implementation of this policy”(Taneja, 2019, p 4).

The key observations and recommendations of the draft Policy relevant to secondary education include the Right to Education Act from 3 to 18 years, Curriculum Reforms, School Exam Reforms, Development of School Complexes, Teacher Education & Management and Regulation of School. A summary of the policies are outlined below:

1. Currently, the Right to Education (RTE) Act provides for free and compulsory education to all children from the age of 6 to 14 years. The draft Policy 2019 recommends extending the domain of the RTE Act to include early-childhood education and secondary school education. This would extend the coverage of the Act to all children between the ages of 3 to 18 years. In addition, the draft Policy recommends that the recent amendments to the RTE Act on Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) and the no detention policy must be reviewed. It states that there should be no detention of children till class eight. Instead, schools must ensure that children are achieving age-appropriate learning levels (Government of India, 2019).

2. The current structure of school education must be restructured on the basis of the development needs of students. This would consist of a 5-3-3-4 design comprising: (i) five years of foundational stage (three years of pre-primary school and classes one and two), (ii) three years of preparatory stage (classes three to five), (iii) three years of middle stage (classes six to eight), and (iv) four years of secondary stage (classes nine to 12). The Committee noted that the current education system solely focuses on rote learning of facts and procedures. Hence, it recommends that the curriculum load in each subject should be reduced to its essential core content. This would make space for holistic, discussion and analysis-based learning (Government of India, 2019).

3. The Committee noted that the current board examinations: (i) force students to concentrate only on a few subjects, (ii) do not test learning in a formative manner, and (iii) cause stress among students. To track students' progress throughout their school experience, the draft Policy proposes State Census Examinations in classes three, five and eight. Further, it

recommends restructuring the board examinations to test only core concepts, skills and higher order capacities. These board examinations will be on a range of subjects. The students can choose their subjects, and the semester when they want to take these board exams. The in-school final examinations may be replaced by these board examinations (Government of India, 2019).

4. The Committee noted that establishing primary schools in every habitation across the country has helped increase access to education. However, it has led to the development of very small schools (having low number of students). The small size of schools makes it operationally complex to deploy teachers and critical physical resources. Therefore, the draft Policy recommends that multiple public schools should be brought together to form a school complex. A complex will consist of one secondary school (classes nine to twelve) and all the public schools in its neighbourhood that offer education from pre-primary till class eight (Government of India, 2019).

5. The school complexes will also include anganwadis (early childhood centres), vocational education facilities, and an adult education centre. Each school complex will be a semi-autonomous unit providing integrated education across all stages from early childhood to secondary education. This will ensure that resources such as infrastructure and trained teachers can be efficiently shared across a school complex (Government of India, 2019).

6. The Committee noted that there has been a steep rise in teacher shortage, lack of professionally qualified teachers, and deployment of teachers for non-educational purposes. The draft Policy recommends that teachers should be deployed with a particular school complex for at least five to seven years. Further, teachers will not be allowed to participate in any non-teaching activities (such as cooking mid-day meals or participating in vaccination campaigns) during school hours that could affect their teaching capacities. For teacher training, the existing B.Ed. programme will be replaced by a four-year integrated B.Ed. programme that combines high-quality content, pedagogy, and practical training. An integrated continuous professional development will also be developed for all subjects. Teachers will be required to complete a minimum of 50 hours of continuous professional development training every year (Government of India, 2019).

7. The draft Policy recommends separating the regulation of schools from aspects such as policymaking, school operations, and academic development. It suggests creating an independent State School Regulatory Authority for each state that will prescribe basic uniform

standards for public and private schools. The Department of Education of the State will formulate policy and conduct monitoring and supervision (Government of India, 2019).

8. The draft policy 2019 reintroduces the three-language formula. The policy states that state governments should adopt and implement study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking states, and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non-Hindi speaking states. The draft Policy recommended that this three language formula be continued and flexibility in the implementation of the formula should be provided (Government of India, 2019).

9.3.4.1 Limitations of the Draft National Education Policy 2019

The draft National Education Policy (NEP), 2019, is full of provisions that many in the education sector have been waiting for, but education experts and social activists who work on education reforms are sceptical owing to many of the policy's omissions and contradiction and the previous track record of platitudes and unrealistic policies which never translated into practice (Taneja, 2019; Rajagopalan, 2019).

While the policy addresses the need to bring under-represented groups into school and focus on academically lagging special education zones, it misses a critical opportunity of addressing inequalities within the education system. It fails to provide feasible recommendations to bridge the access and quality divide between the privileged and the marginalised children. The draft policy proposes to remove the expectations that all schools meet minimum infrastructure and facility standards, and that primary schools be within a stipulated distance from children's homes. This poses a challenge as India's schools already contrast across the scale, from single room structures without water and sanitation, to technology-enabled international schools. Not specifying stipulated minimum requirements below which schools cannot fall, creates conditions where quality of facilities in some schools will only sink lower, widening this gap. This is even more of an issue since it proposes a roll back of existing mechanisms of enforcement of private schools making parents "de-facto regulators" of private schools. Parents, and particularly poor and neo-literate parents, cannot hold the onus of ensuring that much more powerful and resourced schools comply with quality, safety and equity norms (Taneja, 2019).

While the policy places considerable emphasis on the strengthening of school complexes which are clusters of schools sharing joint resources and decentralized mechanisms for supporting

teachers, their everyday management appears to have been tasked to the head teacher of the secondary school in the cluster. Likewise, no separate funding appears to have been set aside for this. This is false economy, since this is a full time activity and needs to be staffed and resourced accordingly (Taneja, 2019).

The policy's implementation is based on the assumption that the education budget would be almost doubled in the next 10 years through consistent decade-long action by both the centre and states. However, the revenue is decentralized to the states and the resource allocation mechanisms to respective states remains ambiguous and unclear in the policy document. As per our previous discussion, India's history is marked by ambitious education policies that have not been fully implemented. The National Education Policy 2019 risks following this tradition, unless the government addresses the reasons behind the past policy-practice implementation gap and makes conscious efforts to bridge the gaps between the rhetoric and reality (Taneja, 2019).

As discussed in the chapters of Rote Learning and Examinations, the learning crisis is acknowledged in the draft policy multiple times but neither the causes nor specific strategies to address these issues are discussed. For instance the policy states

“Learning will move away from rote memorisation; if and when rote learning is used, it will always be pre-accompanied by context and motivation, and post-accompanied by analysis, discussion, and application” (Draft National Education Policy, GOI, 2019, p 76).

The policy is characterised by a number of platitudes or diktats like the above without identifying and analysing action points to achieve a curriculum that values critical thinking and application. The document does not attempt to identify reasons behind the widespread use of rote learning and written examinations used as the primary mode of assessment. The policy is characterised with more public or the board examinations which will now happen at the end of Grade 3, Grade 5 and Grade 8 in addition to the already existing Grade 10 and 12 examinations. But the policy states that the ‘Board Exams will be made ‘modular’ and ‘restructured to test only core concepts, principles, critical thinking, and other higher-order skills in each subject’ (Draft National Education Policy, GOI, 2019). Critics of the policy and the social reformers argue that the above statement is vague and does not analyse the kind of knowledge the examinations are testing and the impact of high stake tests and Private tuitions on widening the gap of inequality.

While the policy is quite explicit in its denouncement of for-profit schools, it does not address the prominence and growth of private schools which educate about 40% of the school going children in India based on statistics provided in Chapter 1. The policy states that private schools would have the right to fix their own fees but should not increase them arbitrarily. This is again an ambiguous and an unclear take which would lead to more widening of the inequality gap.

The policy reintroduces the 3 language formula but does not address adequately the increasing number of parents choosing to send their children to private schools owing to the English medium of instruction. This has led to many state governments to establish English medium of instruction in Government schools and allowing private schools owing to the demand. This is a significant discourse which is analysed in detail in the Chapter on English Education. The policy document does not provide clarity on these challenges and specific implementation advice. Therefore the rhetoric of social inclusion and social justice addressed in the policies has not transformed into practice. Hence it can be concluded that the practice of prejudiced indifference towards marginalised learners remains a persistent reality in the Indian secondary education context (Chopra, 2011; Krishnan, 2016).

9.4 Applying Foucault and Post-Colonial principles in Indian Secondary Education Policy and Practice

The persistent challenges defined in the Mudaliar and Kothari Commission reports and disparities outlined in the Twelfth Five-Year Plan and the current Draft National Education Policy 2019 suggest that social exclusion exists and that social justice and inclusive education embedded in postcolonial principles are maintained subtly in practice. Inequalities, injustice and inequitable socio-economic conditions continue to shape the experiences of marginalised learners within and outside the context of Indian secondary education provision today (Chopra 2017; Sayed, 2002; Madhusudhan, 2009).

Caste and patriarchy, as systems of stratification, are multidimensional influencing the way in which secondary education provision for marginalised learners are implemented at micro level. It is possible to reflect on the mechanisms through which micro level participation and ownership of secondary education processes can be facilitated by considering the diversity and hierarchies that exist at micro level (Kabeer, 2000).

Applying Foucault's genealogical analysis of policy in this study, traces ways in which the four key secondary education policy initiatives may/may not (re)define the relationship between marginalised learner identities and egalitarian discursive practices with the potential to transform learners' lived realities and education experiences. Significant number of learners who will be impacted by these initiatives analysed in this chapter belong to diverse marginalised and underrepresented groups. The marginalised group a learner belongs to influences his/her status and where s/he is situated in a number of ways and also influences the extent to which learners have control over tools for accessing resources and opportunities.

The discourse analysis of policy initiatives have considered the socio-cultural and economic inequalities created through divisions by introducing systemic changes in the structures through which secondary schools operate. Affirmative action such as positive discrimination, in government legislation, aims to increase marginalised learners' participation in secondary schools and wider society. Such policies and regulations have been deliberately put in place to open routes for accessing information, resources and opportunities for the economically and socially disadvantaged. The detailed analysis of four policy initiatives, spanning over more than 70 years, may contribute positively in reducing isolation and dependency on those who have maintained privileged control and hegemony over information, opportunities and resources. However, ironically, it may also perpetuate dependency and isolation if the visibility, voice and agency of marginalised learners is not represented and recognised within decision-making processes (Spivak, 1988, 1996).

Descriptions that are created through a history of discursive practices permeate any mechanisms for change with structural continuities (Rizvi et al, 2006; Tikly, 2010). For instance, Indian government's emphasis on positive discrimination for marginalised learners in secondary education is both a consequence and a continuation of changes in the genealogy of discursive practices. As analysed in this chapter, being inclusive of marginalised learners, at policy level, does not necessarily translate into practice incorporating the inequality and exclusion that exists for marginalised learners at a range of levels.

“Inclusion and exclusion operated (and continue to operate) at all levels and the exclusion...from certain important activities, areas, and facilities cannot therefore be interpreted as evidence of their not being a part of the community, it ought not to be difficult to conceive of communities, which are non-egalitarian, their people playing interdependent roles and all of them having a common interest in survival. The

argument that only “egalitarian” societies can have local communities has to be proved. Nor can an implicit assumption that “egalitarian” communities do not have significant differences in property, income, and status be accepted as a “sociological reality” (Srinivas, 1998, p35-37).

Chopra (2017) highlights that the consultation process of the Mudaliar Commission report was not inclusive of the underrepresented groups of learners and the socially and economically marginalised. Similarly, the representation of marginalised and underrepresented learner groups in the working groups and consultation processes of the Kothari Commission report was minimal (Sharma and Sikarwar, 2016). The current Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi has placed an emphasis on a more centralised government national agenda marking the end of the Planning Commission and the Twelfth Five-Year Plan initiatives in 2017 and the introduction of the Draft National Education Policy in 2019. However, there is only minimal participation or representation of marginalised student groups with a Vice Chancellor of a Tribal University being in the draft Committee.

A democratic process of participation, the representation and recognition of the voice, visibility and agency of all participants, especially the marginalised groups of learners in the decision making and implementation may have contributed to the development of enhanced social justice and equitable provision in education (Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Nikel and Lowe, 2010).

The Mudaliar and Kothari Commission reports failed to move beyond the rhetoric of rights, ethics and efficacy discourses in order to develop and guide affirmative action, not transformative practice with regard to the principles of postcolonial inclusive education practice. Postcolonial principles of inclusive practice that address challenges in access, governance, pedagogy for the marginalised and creating a culture of inclusion still remain substantially unaddressed in current Indian secondary education context (Chopra, 2017). Biswal (2011, p. 1) argues that in the current context:

“There is a large deficit in policy planning for secondary education development, which not only goes against the principle of inclusive development and the service led growth strategy but also affects India’s capacity to connect effectively to globalisation. The broad development approach pursued by the country needs a clearer framework for change with more focus on decentralisation and governance issues and quality improvement” (Biswal, 2011, p1).

Thus, applying Foucault and Post-colonial theory of inclusive practice in this chapter, it could be argued that it is important to improve access to democratic and inclusive spaces enabling the diverse and marginalised learners to participate in all levels of decision making processes which may contribute to developing transformative potential against the existing barriers to equitable, inclusive education system characterised by social justice.

9.5 Conclusion

Thus, a genealogical analysis of four policy events: the Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953); the Kothari Commission Report (1964-1966); the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017); and the draft National Education Policy (2019) has enabled a critical examination of the policy context and content using Foucault's discourse analysis that draws on the historical and the political context. The analysis has helped analyze how the perceptions of Power/knowledge and intervention may impact access, governance, pedagogical approaches, and curriculum reform. The chapter has addressed some of the challenges of inclusivity, equality, equity, achievement and progression in the current Indian secondary education. Through contextualising policy, issues of inclusivity, equality, quality, equity, achievement and progression are explored within the broad themes of social exclusion, social justice and inclusive education rooted in the postcolonial principles for secondary education practice.

Thus an analysis of the key Indian secondary education policy initiatives suggests that the introduction of participatory and collaborative decision making processes inclusive of the voice, visibility and agency of socially and economically marginalised learners may improve the effectiveness of the policy decisions and its transformative potential. This may facilitate the development of context specific intervention strategies that are rooted in democratic leadership processes and practices that aspire to transform, empower and enable equity and equality in the provision of a socially inclusive secondary education. Hence the chapter can be concluded that the democratic participation of diverse groups, especially the marginalised, in decision-making processes and practices is significant for ensuring an equitable secondary education, especially in socioeconomic and cultural contexts where disparities in access, achievement and progression remain evident

CHAPTER 10: REFLECTION AND CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter in the thesis aims to consolidate and reflect on the analysis that has been developed by explicitly examining the present and the histories of the present of the current secondary school education practices and policies of TamilNadu, India in the last seven chapters and then discuss possible implications and opportunities for continuing the inquiry that this research initiates. The chapter will discuss and reflect on my experience of using Foucault's thinking and how it had permanently changed my perception of the world. Following the Foucauldian idea that genealogy examines a problem of the present, I have looked at the current discourses which lead to practices such as Punishments; Rote Learning; Examinations and English as the medium of instruction in the Indian secondary school education context. These discourses affect the construction of student subjectivity. The issues defined as the problems of the present will be followed by the genealogical analysis that has established links between the historical analysis and present day discourses and their consequences. The limitations of the research and implications of the findings of the research for policy will be discussed.

Limitations

It is important to acknowledge there were some necessary limitations to the number of lines of enquiry that can be addressed in the context of a thesis, hence the scale of my research focused on the secondary school education context in a particular state in India. This allowed for the analysis to focus on addressing the research questions while acknowledging that this will be partial and incomplete with regard to the practices of different states across India and other levels of education such as early childhood, primary education and adult education. There are some constructs like teacher education, the discourse of caste and the discourse of girl education that although identified in the thesis as contributing to the present, are not extensively discussed. I intend to investigate these constructs further extending on this analysis in the future using the work of other authors in this area.

A criticism of the approach of discourse analysis is its incapacity or very limited capacity to do anything much beyond recording the dominance of powerful discourses unless action research is undertaken to reinstitute the ideas that have emanated from the research (Grbrich, 2012). However in my judgement, Foucauldian discourse analysis can provide a coherent, insightful, dynamic basis for potential action which this research aims to provide.

10.2 Theoretical Experience and Philosophical Position

This section reflects on my experience of using Foucault's thinking and using other conceptual tools such as Post-Colonial Theory, Colonial Discourse Analysis and Orientalism which draw from Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge. Initially, I have at times found Foucault's writing difficult to understand and apply, however some Foucauldian concepts have resonated and have permanently changed my perception of the world. I am grateful to my Supervisors who had pointed me towards Foucault as a theoretical influence. The other key factor which helped me understand Foucault was reading other people's work and their interpretations of how they apply and understand Foucault's ideas. The works of Hook (2001) and Nicholl (2009) were helpful in conducting my genealogical analysis. The work of Rainbow and Rose (2003) helped me understand the Foucauldian philosophical position with regard to discourse, subjectivity and power-knowledge nexus. The works of other researchers such as Tamboukou & Ball (2003) and O' Farrell (2005) helped in the analysis stage facilitating the theoretical understanding of the Foucauldian themes that I have chosen for this research and in realizing the difference between implications of technologies of government and technologies of self. With the use of many such commentaries, I was able to reengage with Foucault's original writings such as, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Clinic* (1977), *The Subject and Power* (1977/2002c) and *Technologies of Self* (1997/2000f) and understand the framework of his thinking. My background has been International Business and Human Resource Management and hence I had not engaged in any formal learning that had exposed me to Foucault's ideas before I started my PHD. Hence a significant part of my learning journey has been understanding Foucault and his way of thinking.

Foucault's insightful 'histories of the present led to works that discursively explored not only how some of the key structures in societies had been made possible but also the conditions of possibility for some of the most fundamental, taken for granted notions of the society which

have massive and wider ranging consequences. Hence I chose Foucault's genealogical analysis that seeks to problematize the present by making visible the contingencies that have made possible our ways of thinking and acting with regard to particular present day structures and experiences to analyse the most fundamental discourses of the present Indian school education system. Foucault's work has enabled analysis of very specific aspects of different societies that arguably would not be possible with other methods owing to the wide ranging applicability and relevance of Foucault's techniques. I have used Foucault's analysis as a foundation which enabled me to conduct a genealogy of much more specific discourses and recently emerging aspects of the society in a context foreign to him.

10.3 Current Discourses that affect the construction of student subjectivities

Contributions of the research in relation to the research aims

The major aim for my research is to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using the pedagogic strategies of punishments, rote learning, examinations and English education. Using Foucault's genealogical analysis and post-colonial theory, the spirit of which is strongly informed by the desire to critique, question or dismantle whatever is established as mainstream or hegemonic or dominant, this research has attempted to question/ critique the dominant discourses of the Indian secondary school education practices.

The dominant discourses that affect student subjectivity are Normalisation of punishments; Rote Learning; Examinations and English Fluency as the only hallmark of quality education. The consequences and challenges of these discourses to the Indian education system have been examined following the Foucauldian idea that genealogy examines a problem of the present. My argument is that all these practices lead to the creation of a particular kind of a student subject who is docile and compliant. This is a problem because these practices perpetuate or increase inequality. In addition to disadvantaging marginalised learners, it is at odds with India's aspiration for high skilled, creative and knowledge workers with critical thinking, problem solving and other 21st century skills. Analysing the past and finding the relevant historical traditions allows the researcher to identify and explore the dominative and normalising tendencies within the Indian secondary school education practices so that these tendencies may be resisted and challenged by staff and students alike in the future. I have

summarised each of these dominant discourses and the consequences and its challenges to the Indian education system in the following paragraphs.

The Discourse of Normalization of Physical Punishments

The discourse of punishments prevalent in Indian schools leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. Foucault (1995) called this as ‘dynamic normalization’ where people end up acting, thinking and being the same for fear of being punished. He suggests that this process is fundamentally undemocratic because it effaces agency and independent thinking, creating a society of compliant and automated subjects. Awareness that non-compliance or any kind of deviation from the established norms would lead to punishment stifles individuality and creative thinking. In many media reports and research studies conducted throughout different states across India, physical punishment stands out as a common and recurring theme despite the legal ban.

The fear of corporal punishment may make students compliant but does not ensure real learning. In fact, when the anxiety level is raised by fear, it inhibits learning and is a deterrent to creativity and critical thinking, the key 21st century skills graduates need to successfully navigate this rapidly changing world.

The first-generation learners, for whom schools are a new cultural and life experience, are more vulnerable than any other section of the student community to the effects of corporal punishment, and consequently more likely to feel alienated from the educational system. To tackle the problem of increased school dropout rates, absenteeism and to increase student retention and progress, there is need to construct inclusive and participatory educational experiences for these first generation learners.

Punishment as a dominating pedagogical practice has roots from the indigenous systems of education which included education by Brahmins, Buddhists and Muslims, was characterized by intimate personal relationships between the teacher and the student. This was when the teachers (Guru) were the only adults in the student’s (sishya) life and abrogated to themselves parental rights.

The Discourse of Rote learning and Memorisation

Learning by Rote which is defined as the practice of memorizing information without understanding is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. The practice of rote learning leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. Freire (1996) argues that the narrative method where the teacher leads the students to memorise the narrated content mechanically turns students into empty containers to be filled by the teacher. This according to Freire mirrors an oppressive society as a whole.

The research acknowledges the importance of having factual knowledge such as numeric tables and grammatical structures well established in the long-term memory. However, memorization, which involves learning an isolated fact through deliberate effort, is found to be ineffective as a lot of evidence suggests. Overreliance on memorization is like most problems in education: systemic. Evidence indicate that the learning outcomes of school children across the country has declined after the introduction of the Right to Education act in 2009.

Rote Learning leads to poor learning outcomes for the marginalised. The ASER reports (2004-2014) suggest that more than half of rural India's fifth-year students cannot read a simple story from a year two textbook fluently. Around 75 per cent of third year students cannot do two-digit subtraction, while nearly 20 per cent of second year students cannot recognise numbers up to 9. The CEO of Pratham, Mahesh estimates over the past decade, 100 million children completed primary school without attaining basic reading and maths skills (ASER Report, 2014). Media reports across India in the last 5 years suggest that a substantial number of students who graduate from schools with very high marks struggle to barely pass in their respective qualifications at University.

Rote learning as a dominating pedagogical practice has roots both in indigenous education of ancient India and the British system of education. In indigenous education, the major textbooks that pupils studied were the spiritual scriptures, which include the Vedic literature and the Quran where they had to memorise the slogans and the verses and recite them word by word. Evidence suggests that rote learning or memorisation is a deeply embedded in the Indian philosophy and values of blind obedience to elders and teachers. Tan (2011) argues that when memorisation is a culturally ingrained approach, students tend to use it for lifelong learning.

The British introduced textbook centred education to popularize western education in order to form a useful population. So the current discourse of rote learning that is prevalent in India is a fusion of older cultural values of blind obedience and textbook centred education introduced by the British. Memorisation of textbook information assumed a lot of importance in colonial India and is very much a part of both of Government and private schools today as students are promoted from one grade to the other only if they passed the examination that tested them on the content of the textbooks they had studied (Gupta, 2013).

Government data shows that the gross enrolment rate in primary schools in India is 99% and in TamilNadu is 100% in 2017. This means that almost all the children start school. Herein exists the underlying opportunity, of providing quality education to the second-largest set of school going children in the world, empowering them with the skills required to navigate through this rapidly changing economy and society.

The Discourse of Examinations as the only mode of assessment

The use of examinations as the only mode of assessment is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. The discourse of examinations prevalent in Indian schools leads to the creation of compliant and student subjects. Examinations are the most significant of all techniques of societal control and domination as in examinations, power and knowledge come together in a particularly potent and visible way. Of this procedure, Foucault says: “It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them” (Foucault, 1991, p. 184). Through these ubiquitous practices in Indian secondary schools, students are constituted as governable subjects. This contradicts with the India’s requirement of producing high skilled, creative and knowledge workers.

There is an imperative need for policy makers and educators to rethink the current examination model followed in Indian schools. The key conceptual challenge of these examinations is that it is impersonal and unidimensional just testing the textbook knowledge of students. Memory based examinations cannot prepare students for the complex 21st century future where they will be using knowledge that has not been discovered yet and technologies that have not been invented yet to solve complex problems that we do not know yet will arise.

The current examination format which just tests thin knowledge can be revised by incorporating thinking skills such as remembering, comparing and contrasting, classifying and categorizing, inferring and predicting, analyzing, interpreting, generating ideas, drawing conclusions, opinion and judgement, evaluating, synthesizing, making decisions, and solving problems both in the syllabus and in the assessment questions.

This practice was introduced by the British with the motive of producing clerks and translators who would be able to handle the British commercial and administrative functions in the country. Since they preferred subjects who obeyed and blindly followed the policies and rules, written examinations were adopted in the educational institute. Textbook centered pedagogy and the examination oriented learning continues to dominate the Indian school education context, the higher education and largely the teacher education context.

To minimise discourses of exclusion and inequality in educational opportunities for the marginalized and oppressed students, we need to challenge the gatekeeping examinations and the discourse of merit that continue to undermine the Indian constitutional ideals of social justice.

The Discourse of English as the Medium of Instruction

The use of English as the medium of instruction is one of the prominent contemporary practices that exist in Indian secondary schools which is often debated and written about in the media. Given the rigidity of the discourse, the discourse of English education, prevalent in Indian school, leads to the creation of utilitarian student subjects.

An intractable problem arises when the mass media and educational discourses around the importance of learning the dominant language (English) in India usually glorify English along with its associated culture, norms, ideologies and institutions, stigmatizing the local or the indigenous languages along with its cultures, norms, ideologies and institutions. By rationalizing the advantages that English proficiency can bring to an individual in comparison to mother tongue proficiency, the rulers or the dominant groups have socially manufactured and negotiated consent among the dominated or the ordinary population.

The greatest challenge of using English as the medium of instruction concerns the relationship between the learner's language levels and their cognitive levels because it is highly unlikely

that the learner's cognitive levels match with the learner's language level when the content is delivered in a language that is unfamiliar (Coyle et al , 2010). If the language level is too high for the students, then effective learning cannot take place and similarly if the cognitive level is lowered to match the low level of language competence in students, then learning can be restricted. Research suggests that there is a potential danger that they might neither learn the subject nor develop their competence in the language.

The importance of learning the mother tongue or the local language along with its associated culture, norms and ideologies is crucial for individuals and groups seeking self-determination at various levels, psychologically, educationally and politically. Acquiring proficiency in one's own language is important for seeing, interpreting, understanding and changing the world and to define how one sees oneself and the rest of the world.

The promotion of fluency in English Language as the only hallmark of good education as a dominating pedagogical practice has roots from the British introduced system of education. The British introduced English as a medium of instruction in the private schools and colleges with the motive of producing clerks and translators who would be able to handle the British commercial and administrative functions in the country. The British rule established that the government jobs should go to the subjects benefitted by this new course of education (Spear, 1958).

The English education system introduced by the British claimed that the aim was exercising the high faculties of thought for Indian students. The British Raj argued that there was a need to introduce rationality in the Indian population which is based on the assumption that the traditional Indian system of education was irrational. The policies and practices of the British has had a massive influence on the modern education system of India which was originally designed to form an intermediary class of useful Indian subjects between the British Government and the Indian population.

10.4 Historical Matrices enabling the emergence and continuation of discourses

Contributions of the research in relation to the research aims

This section focusses on the historical reasons enabling the emergence and continuation of the dominant discourses that govern student subjectivity in Indian secondary schools. Through my genealogical analysis, the research has explored how in the three significant historical periods (Pre- Colonial Era, British rule and Post Independent India) the powerful institutions of each era have regulated and ratified the production and dissemination of knowledge that have governed the formation of student subjectivity and have tried to explain the imbalances in the relationship between the discourses of the dominant/ marginalised or the coloniser/colonised. I have summarised each of these historical periods and the powerful institutions that have enabled the emergence and continuation of the dominant discourses in the following paragraphs.

Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim Education (2000 BC to 17th Century AD)

A genealogical enquiry of the Brahmin, Buddhist and Muslim systems of education has been conducted in the chapter, where the work of Foucault's biopower, disciplinary power and Governmental power on these systems has enabled the examination of the extent to which In each of the systems, the conceptions of a good teacher had influenced the conceptions of a good obedient student has been explored in detail. This chapter through its genealogical analysis has established links between the current practices and the historical practices such as rote learning, worship and blind obedience to the teacher and rigorous discipline & punishments in the Indian school education context.

British System of Education (1765- 1947):

India's education system has had continuous historical influences for over 4000 years but the new education policy established by the British Raj in India by 1835 was considered the most far reaching single measure as without this, the present Indian nation, we know today could not have existed. The genealogical analysis has enabled the identification and exploration of prominent links between the current practices and the historical practices such as English used

as the medium of instruction, textbook centred learning, written examinations, inequality in access between private and public schools and rigorous discipline & punishments in the Indian school education context.

During colonization, the inequity and inequalities intensified, social stratification also led to the exploitation and oppression of marginalized groups of people including women (Prosad Sil, 1997). Social stratification in India, during colonialism, was dominated by the Indian caste system. Placed at the top of the hierarchical caste system were the Brahmins (priests) and Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors). Next in the caste hierarchy were the caste groups Vaishyas (traders) and Shudras (labourers). Nomads, indigenous tribes, and Dalits (historically marginalised and disadvantaged groups of people) were treated as ‘outcastes with less status, privileges and formidable barriers to education access (Betienne, 1996). Caste stratification maintained non-assimilation and socio-cultural barriers between and within different religious groups. Foucauldian discourse analysis has been used in the research to study the extent of influence of Macaulay’s system still operational in the current discourse.

Education in Post Independent India (1947-2019)

The key secondary education initiatives by the Indian Government after independence were the: the Mudaliar Commission Report (1952-1953); the Kothari Commission Report (1964-1966); the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017); and the Draft National Education Policy (2019). The analysis involved the extent to which the initiatives have impacted on the access, governance, pedagogical approaches, and curriculum reform in post Independent India. This has exposed some of the challenges of inclusivity, equality, equity, achievement and progression in the current Indian secondary education.

The key Indian secondary education policies have failed to move beyond the rhetoric of rights, ethics and efficacy discourses in order to develop and guide affirmative action with regard to the principles of postcolonial inclusive education practice. Postcolonial principles of inclusive practice that address challenges in access, governance, pedagogy for the marginalized and creating a culture of inclusion still remain substantially unaddressed in current Indian secondary education context. A democratic process of participation, the representation and recognition of the voice, visibility and agency of all participants, especially the marginalised

groups of learners in the decision making and implementation may have contributed to the development of enhanced social justice and equitable provision in education.

10.5 Implications for Policy

According to a survey report by UNESCO, despite a 96% enrolment at the primary level, India's education system fails to capitalise on providing quality education to these students. Learning outcomes are low and this has led to around 50 % of students dropping out at lower secondary level (before class 8). The World Bank report (2012) suggests that out of this 50%, only 18% make it to tertiary level. The low learning outcomes at the primary schools indicate an overestimation of the literacy rate. A study reported that only 26% of the people categorized as literate by the Government census could actually read (Sharma & Haub, 2008). These dropouts are predominantly engaged in unskilled labour and continue to live in poverty as their previous generation who never went to school. This situation is likely to continue if efforts are not taken to improve the learning outcomes for the marginalised children whose only hope for a better future is through education. Winthorp and her team (2013) in their report titled 'Investments in Global Education: A Strategic Imperative of Business' estimate that the opportunity cost of two-thirds of India's children not completing primary education accounts to about \$100 billion per year.

India's growth depends on its ability to develop a well-educated and skilled workforce. Evidence reported earlier in this chapter suggest that a large number of Indian graduates are not employable and lack the 21st century skills. Therefore, it can be argued that even the 18% who make it to tertiary level of education are not equipped with the kind of skills and attributes to function as useful members of the society. The median age of the Indian population is 25.1, which is amongst the youngest in the world. As indicated earlier, the Former President of India in one of his most popular speeches said, that if we fail to channelize this demographic dividend in the right direction, it would turn into a demographic burden to the Indian economy resulting in unrest in the society.

The Right to Education (RTE) act has made education a fundamental right and has increased access to schools but not learning. Learning outcomes of students in government schools should be improved if the RTE is to be implemented in its true spirit. The poor learning levels have resulted in a largely under-employed population with large-scale prevalence of 'disguised' unemployment (Vyas, 2014). If this situation is not reversed, India will have a

large youth population but not enough workers with the proficiency to meet the emerging requirement of our industrial and other sectors. Of the 186 million students in India, only 12.4 percent are enrolled in higher education, one of the lowest ratios in the world. Even these students who graduate have a traditional body of knowledge that they have gained through rote learning but lack the skills required to gain, succeed and sustain meaningful employment.

The rest of the 88.6% of students who drop out, do not pick up even the basic literacy or numeracy skills, which leaves them incapable of joining vocational education (ASER report, 2014). This is specified by the fact that only 3% of the age appropriate population in India is involved in any form of vocational training, as opposed to China, where 20% of its higher education age group enrolled in vocational training (KPMG-China, 2011). Reports suggests that this is possible owing to China's impressive learning outcomes at a primary level, which provides its students with strong fundamentals that enables them to apply what they have learnt.

The MHRD Annual Report 201-2013 reports that India needs to develop 500 million skilled workers by 2022. The key word here is skilled because the low learning outcomes at primary and secondary level suggest that even those who have cleared secondary education and tertiary education might not necessarily be skilled. This clearly indicates the need for fundamental reforms across primary, secondary and higher education.

10.6 Scope for Future Research

The research has attempted to identify the concepts that drive the contemporary practices in the current Indian school education context and thereby provided material to those that are anxious to challenge the existing norms and practices based on inappropriate concepts.

The Discourse of Teacher Education and Management; The Discourse of Girl Education and The Discourse of Caste in Education can be further examined and analysed with regards to the creation of a particular kind of student subject in the Indian school education context. This research focusses mainly on Indian secondary education policies and practices, however there is scope in examining and analysing the discourses apparent in the Indian early childhood education, adult education and vocational education provision.

The Draft National Education Policy (2019) which was published in May 2019 has outlined drastic reforms in many aspects of education and doubling the education budget for the next 5

years. But education experts and social activists who work on education reforms are skeptical owing to many of the policy's omissions and contradictions and the previous track record of platitudes and unrealistic policies which never translated into practice. Tracking the Draft National Education Policy will provide huge scope for research in analysing the results and contributing concepts.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter has consolidated and reflected on the findings and the arguments of this research by summarizing the analysis of the current discourses and the historical matrices that have enabled the emergence and continuation of these discourses in the secondary school education context of TamilNadu, India. The chapter has also discussed possible implications and opportunities for continuing the inquiry that this research initiates. I have also reflected on my experience of using Foucault's thinking and how it had permanently changed my perception of the world.

Thus it can be concluded that the approach of discourse analysis used in the research has helped bring out practices and experiences that may not have been apparent when using other research methods. The research using Foucault's discourse analysis has identified oppressive practices prevailing in Indian schools, providing material for facilitating more enabling ones. The effects of the discourse analysis done in the study can then be examined to question how these prevailing, taken for granted, practices or truths that exists in the Indian secondary school context might have been different.

REFERENCES

- Abbe, J. A. (1906). *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Agarwal, P. (2015). Private tutoring in India. *International Higher Education*. 45, 21–23.
- Aggarwal, J. (1993). *Landmarks in the History of Modern Indian Education*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Alavi, H. (1974). The State in Post-colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh. *New Left Review*. 74(1). 59-81.
- Alexander, K., Entwisle, D., & Dauber, S. (1993). First-grade classroom behavior: Its short- and long-term consequences for school performance. *Child Development*, 64, 801–814.
- Althusser, L. (1972). *Ideology and State Ideological Apparatuses -Notes toward an Investigation*. *Education Structure and Society*: Selected Readings.
- American Council on Education (1944) *Teachers for our time, a statement of purposes by the Commission on Teacher Education*, Washington, p. 19.
- Anderson, G. (1938). *A Survey of Aspects of Education in India*. The year book of Education, 1938, London University, Institute of Education. 621-637.
- Arnold, C., Bartlett, K., Gowani, S., & Merali, R. (2006). *Is everybody ready? Readiness, transition and continuity: Reflections and moving forward*. Background paper for EFA Global Monitoring Report 2007.
- Arsenault, N., and Anderson, G. (1998). *Qualitative research*. In *Fundamentals of Educational Research* (2nd ed). London: The Falmer Press.
- ASER (2012) Annual Status of Education Report (Rural). Retrieved from http://img.asercentre.org/docs/Publications/ASER%20Reports/ASER_2012/fullaser2012report.pdf
- ASER Report (2005, 2006, 2007, 2012, 2013, & 2014). Annual Status of Education Report. Pratham: New Delhi. Retrieved from <http://www.asercentre.org/Keywords/p/234.html>
- ASER. (2010). Inside Primary Schools: Teaching and Learning in Rural India. Key Findings. Policy Brief. Retrieved from http://img.asercentre.org/docs/Publications/Inside_Primary_School/Policy%20brief/tl_study_policy_brief_oct25.pdf
- Ashita, R. (2013). Beyond Testing and Grading: Using Assessment to Improve Teaching-Learning. *Research Journal of Educational Sciences*. 1(1), p 2-7.

- Aula, S. (2014, Nov 6). The Problem with the English Language in India. Forbes. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2014/11/06/the-problem-with-the-english-language-in-india/#2ff4fea0403e>
- Bagulia, A. (2004). *Kothari Commission*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
- Balakrishnan, S. (2014, February 1). Education Policy: Where is it in the elections 2014 debate? *Economic Times, India*. Retrieved from http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-02-01/news/46897971_1_higher-education-primary-education-system-education-report
- Ball, S. (Ed). (1990). *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Basic National Education (1949) Sevagram, Wardha, Hindustani Talimi Sangh.
- Benson, C. (2002). Real and potential benefits of bilingual programmes in developing countries. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 5 (6), 303-317.
- Benson, C., & Kosonen, K. (Eds.) (2013). *Language issues in comparative education: Inclusive teaching and learning in non-dominant languages and cultures*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Betielle, A. (1996). *Caste. Class and Power*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bettelheim, C. (1968). *India Independent-Translated by W.A. Caswell*. London: Mac Gibbon& Kee.
- Bhattacharya, J.N. (1896). *Hindu Castes and Sects*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Company.
- Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in development: Language, literacy, and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biswal, K. (2011). Secondary Education in India: Development Policies, Programmes and Challenges. CREATE Pathways to Access Series, Research Monograph Number 63, 1- 57.
- Blum, N., Diwan, R. (2007). Small, Multigrade schools and increasing access to primary education in India: National Contexts and NGO Initiatives. Create Pathways to Access, Research Monograph No 17. Retrieved from <http://dise.in/Downloads/Use%20of%20Dise%20Data/Nicole%20Blum,Rashmi%20Diwan.pdf>
- Board of Education (1944) Teachers and youth leaders Report of the Committee Appointed by the President of Board of Education, to consider the supply, recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders, London.
- Bose, N.K. (1958). *Social and Cultural Life in Calcutta*. Delhi: Geographical Review.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Bowering M. (2003). *Challenging students with the use of English in the mathematics and science classrooms*. Paper presented at the International Conference 2003 Mastering English for Science and Technology (HELP), 27–28 September 2003, Kuala Lumpur.
- Brennan, T. (2000). *The Illusion of a Future: Orientalism as Travelling Theory*. in Lazarus, N (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 120-138.
- Brumfit, C. J. (2004). Language and higher education: Two current challenges. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 3, 163–173.
- Byun, K., Chu, H., Kim, M., Park, I., Kim, S., & Jung, J. (2011). English-medium teaching in Korean higher education: Policy debates and reality. *Higher Education*, 62, 431–449.
- Carspecken, P. F. (1996). *Critical ethnography in educational research*. New York: Routledge
- Census of India (2011). 15Th National Census Survey. Census organisation of India. Retrieved from <http://www.census2011.co.in/>
- Center for Effective Discipline (2010). *Paddling Versus ACT Scores - A Retrospective Analysis*. Ohio: Center for Effective Discipline
- Chattopadhyay, S (Dec 17, 2017). Postcolonial Literature: Edward Said. NPTEL. IIT Kanpur.
- Chaube, S. (1988). *History and Problems of Indian. Education*. Agra: Vinod Pustak Mandirde
- Cheek, J. (1999). *Postmodern and post structural approaches to nursing research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Chopra, P. (2017). Deconstructing a Colonial Legacy: An Analysis of Indian Secondary Education Policy. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 9(2), 88-103. doi: 10.14658/pupj-ijse-2017-2-5
- Choudhury, I. & Jabeen, S.F. (2008), Perception of Children on Parenting Practices, Save the Children Sweden, Regional Office for South and Central Asia.
- Christodoulou, D. (2014), *Seven Myths about Education*. London: Routledge.
- Clegg, J (2015). Developing readable English-medium textbooks in Rwanda. Paper presented at the 49th Annual International IATEFL Conference and Exhibition, Manchester, UK, 11–14 April 2015.
- Coleman, J. A. (2006). English-medium teaching in European Higher Education. *Language Teaching*. 39, 1–14.
- Contreras, M. et al (2012). Bridges to Adulthood: Understanding the Lifelong Influence of Men's Childhood Experiences of Violence, Analyzing Data from the International Men and

- Gender Equality Survey, Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo
- Coyle, D., Hood, P., & Marsh, D. (2010). *CLIL: Content and language integrated learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cresswell, J. (2011). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research. (4th ed.)*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*. 56, 18–36.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cunningham, K.S. (1947) *Children Need Teachers, A study of Supply and Recruitment of Teachers in Australia and Overseas*. Melbourne: University press.
- Das, S. (2001). The Nehru Years in Indian politics. *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian studies* 16(1), 1-35.
- Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London: Sage.
- Deb, S., Chatterjee, P., & Walsh, K. M. (2010). Anxiety among high school students in India: comparisons across gender, school type, social strata, and perceptions of quality time with parents. *Australian Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology*, 10(1), 18-31.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). (2001). *The Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed)*. London: Sage.
- Devids, T.W. (1911). *Buddhist India, London, T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace*.
- Deleuze, G. (1988). *Foucault*. (S. Hands. Trans). London, U.K: Routledge.
- Dhawan, M. (2005). *Issues in Indian Education*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing.
- District Information System of Education, DISE (2013). *Elementary Education in India: Analytical Report 2013*. District Information System for Education, NUEPA: New Delhi.
- Dodwell, H.H. (1925). *Sketch of the History of India, 1815-1918*. Cambridge: Longman Green & Co.
- Dodwell, H.H. (1932). *The Cambridge History of India. Vol -VI The Indian Empire 1815-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Douglas, E. M. (2006). Familial Violence Socialization in Childhood and Later Life Approval of Corporal Punishment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 76(1). 23-30.

- Draft Report Summary (2019) Retrieved from <https://www.prsindia.org/report-summaries/draft-national-education-policy-2019>
- Dutt, K. A. (1951) "Wanted, three hundred million literates," United Nations World, vol.5 (January, 1951), p. 62-63.
- Education and Training of Teachers (1949) Paris, UNESCO. Education in China. Retrieved from <http://www.kpmg.de/docs/Education-in-China-201011.pdf>
- Educational Reconstruction (1938) Sevagram, Wardha, Hindustani Talimi Sangh.
- Evans, S., & Green, C. (2007). Why EAP is necessary: A survey of Hong Kong tertiary students. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 6, 3–17.
- F.D. Floris Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative and mix methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Femia, J (1975) Hegemony and consciousness in the thought of Antonio Gramsci. *Political Studies*, 23(1), 29-48.
- Floris, F.D. (2014). Learning subject matter through English as the medium of instruction: students' and teachers' perspectives, *Asian Englishes*, 16:1, 47-59,
- Foucault, M. (1971). Orders of discourse. *Social Science Information*, 10(2), 7.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980a). *The eye of power*. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (p.p. 146-165). Hemel Hempstead, England: The Harvester Press Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777–795.
- Foucault, M. (1986). *The subject and power*, in: B. WALLIS (Ed.) *Art after Modernism: rethinking representation* (New York, New Museum of Contemporary Art).
- Foucault, M. (1988). *The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom*. In J. Bernauer & G. Rasmussen (Eds.), *The final Foucault* (pp. 1-20). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Foucault, M. (1990/1976). *The history of sexuality* (T. R. Hurley, Trans. Vol. 1). Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (1991). *Questions of method*. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality* (pp. 73-86). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (1994). *The birth of the clinic*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House.
- Foucault, M. (1997). *Ethics: subjectivity and truth. Essential works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984 (Vol. 1)*. New York: New Press.
- Foucault, M. (2000a). *Governmentality*. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power. The essential works of Foucault 1954-1984* (p.p 176-200). New York, NY: The New Press
- Foucault, M. (2000c). *The subject and power*. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.), *Power. The essential works of Foucault 1954-1984, Volume Three* (p.p 298-326). New York, NY: The New Press
- Foucault, M. (2003/1976). *Society must be defended: Lectures at the college de France 1975–1976*. New York: Picador.
- Fox, N.A. and Shonkoff, J.P. (2011). How persistent fear and anxiety can affect young children's learning, behaviour and health. *Early Childhood Matters* 116: 8–14. Retrieved from <http://www.bernardvanleer.org/Hidden-violence-Protectingyoung-children-at-home>
- Frantz, R. & Simon, H. (2003). Artificial intelligence as a framework for understanding intuition. *Journal of Economic Psychology*. 24, 265–277.
- Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: Penguin.
- Gandhi, L. (1998). *Postcolonial theory: A Critical Introduction*. U.S: Columbia University Press.
- Ganesh, M. P., & Magdalin, S. (2007). Perceived problems and academic stress in children of disrupted and non-disrupted families. *Journal of the Indian Academy of Applied Psychology*, 33(1), 53-59.
- Garg, N. (2017, April 22). Tamil Nadu State Board Class 12 Model Question Paper – Physics. Retrieved from <https://schools.aglasem.com/10336>
- Gershoff, E. T. (2016), School Corporal Punishment in Global Perspective: Prevalence, Outcomes, and Efforts at Intervention, Report submitted to the Know Violence in Childhood Initiative, Violence in Schools Learning Group
- Gershoff, E. T., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016). Spanking and child outcomes: Old controversies and new meta-analyses. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 30(4), 453-469.

- Ghosh, A. & Pasupathi, M. (2016). Perceptions of Students and Parents on the Use of Corporal Punishment at Schools in India. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2840613> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2840613>
- Giam, D. (1992). *Indexes to major changes in education in Singapore from 1979 to 1992*. Singapore Ministry of Education: Library and Information Centre.
- Goodman, E., Ewen, B. S., Dolan, L. M., Schafer-Kalkhoff, T., & Adler, N. A. (2005). Social disadvantage and adolescent stress. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 37(6), 494-492.
- Gopal, S. (Ed). (1975) Jawaharlal Nehru: Selected Works, 8(1), 388- 393. Delhi.
- Government of Great Britain (September, 1929) Indian Statutory Commission, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office).
- Government of India (1949). Constitution of India. New Delhi : Government Press.
- Government of India (1951) Bureau of Education, Education in India, a graphic presentation, New Delhi.
- Government of India (January, 1944) Bureau of Education, Post-war Educational Development in India, New Delhi, Pamphlet No. 24.
- Government of India, Bureau of Education (1952-1953) A Review of Education in India, 1952-1953, publication No. 135.
- Government of India, Bureau of Education, Report of the Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education appointed to consider the Question of training, Recruitment and Conditions of Service of Teachers, together with decisions of the Board thereon, 1946, pamphlet no.19.
- Government of India (2013). *All India Survey on Higher Education 2011-2012*. New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development.
- Government of India, Quinquennial Review of Progress in India, 1907-1912, Calcutta, vol. 1.
- Government of India, Quinquennial Review of Progress in India, 1917-1922, Calcutta, vol. 1.
- Government of India, Quinquennial Review of Progress in India, 1927-1928, Calcutta, vol. 1.
- Government of India, Quinquennial Review of Progress in India, 1932-1937, Calcutta, vol. 1.
- Government of India, The Calcutta University Commission 1917-1919, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, vol. III.
- Government of India, The Calcutta University Commission 1917-1919, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, vol. V.
- Government of TamilNadu (2014). School Education policy Documents (2013, 2014). Retrieved from https://tnschools.gov.in/images/stories/pdf/policy/policy_note_2013-14.pdf

- Govinda, R. & Josephine, Y. (2004). *Para Teachers in India: A Review*. UNESCO draft report.
- Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English?* London: British Council.
- Graddol, D. (2010). *English Next India. The future of English in India*. London, UK; British Council.
- Grant, B. (1997) Disciplining Students: the construction of student subjectivities. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 18:1, 101-114, DOI: 10.1080/0142569970180106
- Grant, B.M., and Giddings, L.S. (2002). Making Sense of methodologies: a paradigm framework for the novice researcher. *Contemporary Nurse*, 13 (1), 10-28.
- Grbich, C. (2012). *Qualitative data analysis: An introduction*. London, England: Sage Publications.
- Greig, A., Taylor, J. and MacKay, T. (2007). *Doing Research with Children (2nd Ed.)*. London: Sage.
- Gupta, A. (2013). *Early Childhood Education, Postcolonial Theory, Teaching Practices and Policies in India: Balancing Vygotsky and the Veda*. (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gupta, D., & Gupta, N. (2012). Higher education in India: structure, statistics and challenges. *Journal of education and Practice*, 3(2).
- Haan, A. (2000). Debates on social exclusion in the south: what have they contributed to our understanding of deprivation? Draft for Uppingham Conference, 2001. Retrieved from <http://www.uppinghamseminars.com/responses2001.pdf> (May 18, 2016).
- Hajer, M. (2003). Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void. *Policy Sciences*, 36, 175-195.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S., Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., & Yates, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Foucault: power, knowledge and discourse*. London: Sage.
- Hamilton, L & Corbett-Whittier, C.(2012). *Using Case study in Education Research*. London: Sage.
- Hampton, H.V. (1938). *English Education and Indian Culture, The Year Book of Education*. London University, Institute of Education, pp. 638-652.
- Hartog, M (1950). Plans for education in India. *The Journal of Education*. 82, p. 214.
- Hartog, P (1939). *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present*. London : University Press.

- Heckler, T., Hermenau, K., Isele, D., & Elbert, T. (2014). Corporal punishment and children's externalizing problems: A cross-sectional study of Tanzanian primary school aged children, *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 38, 884-892
- Hellekjær, G. O., & Westergaard, M. R. (2003). *An exploratory survey of content learning through English at Nordic universities*. In Van Leeuwen, C & Wilkinson, R (Eds.), *Multi-lingual approaches in university education: Challenges and practices* (pp. 65–80). Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers.
- Hodgson, A., & Spours, K. (2006). An analytical framework for policy engagement: the contested case of 14-19 reforms in England. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(6), 679-696.
- Houstsma, M. T. (1927). *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. vol. II, p. 492.
- Hovens, M. (2002). Bilingual education in West Africa: Does it work? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 5 (5), 249-266.
- <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13488678.2014.884879?needAccess=true>
- Hughes, R. (2008). Internationalisation of higher education and language policy. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, 20, 1–18.
- Hunt, J. and Harrison, J. (1980). *The District Officer in India 1930-1947*. London. p196 -198.
- Hunter, W.W. (1882). *The Indian Empire*. London : Trubner and Company, Ludgate Hill
- Hunter, W. W. (1908). *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. London: Clarendon Press.
- Imtiaz, S. (2016). *The Tyranny of Rote Learning in Pakistan*. <https://psmag.com/the-tyranny-of-rota-learning-in-pakistan-bbf80eedf320#.x0ea6oeiy> retrieved on 1/23/2017
- India and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who (The), 1952-53, Bombay, Times of India Press.
- India Year Book and Who's Who (The), 1944-45, Bombay, Times of India Press.
- Jacobs, C. A. (1953, October). Integrity in Education. *The North Central Association Quarterly*. XXVII, pp. 187-196.
- Jones, E.E. (1990). *Interpersonal Perception*. New York: W. H. Freeman and Co.
- Kumar, K. (1988). Origins of India's Textbook Culture. *Comparative Education Review*, 32(4), 452-464.
- Madhusudhan, S. (2009). *Quality in Education: reflections on its history and contemporary concerns*. Paper Presented in a National Seminar on Education. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/251309/Quality_in_Education_reflections_on_its_history_and_contemporary_concerns

- Kabeer, N. (2000). Social exclusion, poverty and discrimination: towards an analytical framework. *IDS Bulletin*, 31(4), 83-97.
- Kabir, H. (1955). Secondary Education in India: An Overview. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 28(5), 194-199.
- Kacker, L. et al (2007). *Study on Child Abuse: India 2007*. New Delhi: Ministry of Women and Child Development
- Kandasamy, M. (2008). The struggle to annihilate caste will be victorious. Meena Kandasamy in conversation with Ujjwal Jana. *Postcolonial Text*, Vol 4, No 4. (Published October 2009)
- Kenner, C., Gregory, E., Ruby, M., & Al-Zami, S. (2008). Bilingual learning for second and third generation children. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 21, 120–137.
- King, K., & Mackey, A. (2007). *The bilingual edge: Why, when, and how to teach your child a second language*. New York: Collins.
- Kingdon, G. (2006). *Private and Public Schooling: The Indian Experience*. Program on Education Policy and Governance. Harvard University, Oct 2005.
- Kingdon, G. (2007). The Progress of School Education in India. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 23(2), 168-195.
- Kingdon, G. (2007). The progress of School Education in India. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*. 23(2), 168-195.
- Kırkgöz, Y. (2009). Students' and lecturers' perceptions of the effectiveness of foreign language instruction in an English-medium university in Turkey. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 14, 81–93.
- Klaassen, R. G., & De Graaff, E. (2001). Facing innovation: Preparing lecturers for English medium instruction in a non-native context. *European Journal of Engineering Education*, 26, 281–289.
- Klor de Alva, J. (1995). *The postcolonization of the (Latin) American experience: a reconsideration of "colonialism", "postcolonialism" and "mestizaje"*. In G. Prakash (ed.) *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 241–75.
- Kosonen, K. (2005). *Education in local languages: Policy and practice in Southeast Asia*. First languages first: Community-based literacy programmes for minority language contexts in Asia. Bangkok: UNESCO Bangkok.
- Koteswaran, M. S. (1953). *Indian Union: The Year Book of Education*. London University, Institute of Education, pp. 473-483.
- Kouzma, N. M., & Kennedy, G. A. (2004). Self-reported sources of stress in senior high school students. *Psychological Reports*, 94, 314-316.

- Kremer, M., Muralidharan, K., Chaudhury, N., Hammer, J., Rogers, F.H. (2005). Teacher Absence in India: A snapshot. *Journal of the European Economic Association*. April–May 2005 3(2–3):658–667. Retrieved from http://www.teindia.nic.in/Files/Articles/Articles_23feb12/jeea_teacher_absence_in_india.pdf
- Kremer, M.N.C., Rogers, F. H., Muralidharan, K. & Hammer, J. (2005). Teacher Absence in India: A Snapshot. *Journal of the European Economic Association*. 3(2), 658-667.
- Krishnan, P. (2016). Dalit Suicides: Socio-historical facts and remedial and corrective measures. *The Indian Express*. New Delhi. Kumar,
- Kyeyune, R. (2004). *Challenges of using English as a medium of instruction in multilingual contexts: A view from Ugandan classrooms*. Boston, MA: Multilingual Matters.
- Lahiri, D (2012, October 9), The PISA shocker. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/edit-page/The-PISA-shocker/articleshow/16728855.cms>
- Larsen-Freeman, D. (2000). *Techniques and principles in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemberger, N. (2002). Russian bilingual science learning: Perspectives from secondary students. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 5, 58–71. Lecture.
- Lee, M., & Larson, R.,(2000). Impact of the Korean examination hell on adolescent's daily experience and depression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 29(1), 249-272.
- Lewis, H. R. (1946). *Guidance in Secondary Schools*. Toronto: Ryerson Press.
- Lucas, S. B. (1943). Training the Teachers. *Journal of Education*, London, The Oxford University, 75, 375-376.
- Maadhyam. (2017, October 10). No Detention Policy for Schools: Is the No Fail System Hurting Our Students? Retrieved from <https://www.thebetterindia.com/117644/no-detention-policy-right-education-failing-school/>
- Macaulay, T. (1835) *Minutes on Indian Education (1835)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Mahanta, N. (1999) Secondary Education Issue and Problems Guwahati. Kashyap Publishing House. Mookerjee, P. S. (1944). Education in British India. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 233, 30-38.
- Mahapatra, A. (2009). Mainstreaming Child Centred Learning: Activity Based Learning in TamilNadu, India. Retrieved from http://www.ashanet.org/siliconvalley/asha20/pdfs/d2_abl_d3.pdf

- Malone, D. L. (2003). Developing curriculum materials for endangered language education: Lessons from the field. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(5), 332.
- Marchman, V., & Knudsen, S. L. (2014, May). From rote learning to system building: acquiring verb morphology in children and connectionist nets. In *Connectionist Models: Proceedings of the 1990 Summer School* (p. 201). Morgan Kaufmann
- Marsh, H. W., Hau, K. T., & Kong, C. K. (2000). Late immersion and language of instruction (English vs. Chinese) in Hong Kong high schools: Achievement growth in language and non-language subjects. *Harvard Educational Review*, 70, 302–346.
- Marshal, M. V. (1950). Guidance Courses for Teachers in Training. *The Educational Records*. vol. LXIX (October-December, 1950), 238-240.
- Marshall, J.D. (1989). *Foucault's Technologies of Power: implications for education*. The University of Auckland, unpublished paper.
- Marshall, J.D. (1990). *Foucault and educational research* in: S J. BALL (Ed.) *Foucault and Education: disciplines and knowledge*. London : Routledge.
- Marx, K. (1972). *The British rule in India*. The Marx-Engels Reader. Ed. Robert C. Tucker.
- Masani, Z. (2012, 27 Nov). English or Hinglish - which will India choose. *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20500312>
- McCorduck, P. (2004). *Machines Who Think: A Personal Inquiry into the History and Prospects of Artificial Intelligence*. 2nd edn. Natick: AK Peters.
- McCully, B. T. (1940). *English Education and the origins of Indian Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McHoul, A., & Grace, W. (1993). *A Foucault primer. Discourse, power and the subject*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press.
- McWhorter, L. (2004). Sex, race, and biopower: A Foucauldian genealogy. *Hypatia*, 19(3), 38–62
- Mehisto, P., Frigols, M., & Marsh, D. (2008). *Uncovering CLIL*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Menon, J. (Jan 7, 2007-The Indian Express), Broken stick: Tamil Nadu bans corporal punishment. Retrieved from <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/broken-stick-tamil-nadu-bans-corporal-punishment/21096>
- Mertus, J. & Rawls, K. (2008), *Crossing the line: Insights from Foucault on the United States and torture*. In: Leatherman J (ed.) *Discipline and Punishment in Global Politics: Illusions of Control*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 27–40.

- Meston, W. (1936). *Indian Educational Policy, its Principles and Problems*. Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India.
- Mill, J. (1817). *The History of British India*. London: Baldwin.
- Ministry of Human Development, Government of India (2012-13) Annual Report. Retrieved from http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/AR_2012-13.pdf
- Missen, L. R. (1950). The Mysore Conference. *The Journal of Education*, 82, p. 496.
- Mohan, B. A. (1990). *LEP students and the integration of language and content: knowledge structures and tasks*. Paper presented at the First Research Symposium on Limited English Proficient Student Issues. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/ncbepubs/>
- Moreland, W. H. (1953). *A Short History of India*. London: Longman's Green and Company.
- Morgan, A. E. (1930). *The rural University*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company.
- Morrow, V. & Singh, R. (2014). *Corporal Punishment in Schools in Andhra Pradesh, India: Children's and Parents' Views*. Oxford: Young Lives
- Mukerjee, S. N. (1951). *Education in India, Today and Tomorrow*. Baroda: Acharya Book Depot,
- Mukerjee, S. N. (1951). *History of Education in India*. Baroda : Acharya Book Depot.
- Mukherjee, P, J. (2010 c, July 10). *Schools Junk Ranks in Pre-board Tests*. The Times of India, Kolkata.
- Mukherjee, P, J.(2010 b, July 12). *Kids driven to breaking point. Pushed by parents to be all-rounders, the perform-or-perish pressure on school kids is turning them into nervous wrecks*. The Times of India, Kolkata.
- Mukhopadhyay, M. (2001). *Secondary Education: The Challenge Ahead*. In M. Mukhopadhyay, M. Narula (Eds.), *Secondary Education: The Challenge Ahead*. New Delhi: NIEPA.
- Muralidharan, K. (2012). Priorities for Primary Education Policy in India's 12th Five year Plan. India Policy Forum 2012. Retrieved from Educational Initiatives, Wipro. (2011) Quality Education Survey. Retrieved from <http://www.teindia.nic.in/e9-tm/Files/QES-Executive-Summary-High-Resolution.pdf>
- Muralidharan, K., & Kremer, M. (2006). *Private and Public Schools in Rural India*. Mimeo: Harvard University.
- Nair, J. (1979). Equality, Quality and Quantity: The elusive triangle in Indi-an Education. *International review of education (Hamburg)*, 25(2-3), 167-85.
- National Commision for Protection of Child Rights (2015). Annual Report 2014-15. Retrieved from http://delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dcpcr/DCPCR/Home/Annual+Report

- Naz, A., Khan, W., Daraz, U., Hussain, M., & Khan, Q. (2012). The impacts of corporal punishment on students' academic performance/career and personality development up-to secondary level education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*. 2, 130-140.
- NCERT (2013). National Council of Educational Research and Training. Retrieved from <http://www.ncert.nic.in>
- NCERT (2013). National Council of Educational Research and Training. Retrieved from <http://www.ncert.nic.in>.
- NCERT, (2012). National Policy on Education (with modifications undertaken in 1992) Retrieved from http://www.ncert.nic.in/oth_anoun/npe86.pdf
- Nehru, J. (1936). *An Autobiography with musings on the present events in India*. London; New York: Norton. p 658-62.
- Nikel, J., & Lowe, J. (2010). Talking of fabric: A multi-dimensional model of quality in Education. Compare: *A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40(5), 589-605.
- Nisar, M.A (2010). Education, Religion and the Creation of Subject: Different Educational Systems of Pakistan. *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, 2(1), 46-61.
- O'Malley, L. S. S (1941) *Modern India and the West*. Oxford University Press.
- OECD (2011) Education at a Glance 2011: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2011-en> ISBN 978-92-64-11705-1
- Orientalism (1991) .*Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Pai, S. (Feb, 5 2018). India has a new caste for native English speakers only. QZ. Retrieved from <https://qz.com/1198086/india-has-a-new-caste-for-native-english-speakers-only/>
- Pande, P. (1996). *Drudgery of the Hill Women*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing. Planning Commission Government of India (2013). *Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017)*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse Dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology*. London: Routledge.
- Parker, I. (2002). *Critical discursive psychology*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave: Macmillan.
- Patel, G. (2017, June 13). India can overcome chronic low learning outcomes in private and public schools by innovating. *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20500312>
- Patel, V., & Kleinman, A. (2003). *Poverty and common mental disorders in developing countries*. Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 81(8), 609-615.

- Patel, V., Flisher, A., Sarah, H., & McGorry, P (2007). Mental health of young people: A global public-health challenge. *Lancet*, 369, 1302-1313.
- Pathak, R. (2007). *Education in the emerging India*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.
- Pearce, F. G. (1948). *Plans for Education, a descriptive and critical Commentary on Post-war Educational Development in India*, Oxford : University Press.
- Pednekar, P. (2017, July). After corporal punishment was banned, 50% Mumbai teachers resorted to shaming students: Survey. Hindustan Times. Retrieved from <http://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai-news/after-corporal-punishment-was-banned-50-mumbai-teachers-resorted-to-shaming-students-survey/story-15ShqJLSOQfKBkkoJSg8EI.html>
- Pinheiro, P. S. (2006). *World Report on Violence against Children*. Geneva: United Nations
- PISA report (2012). *Programme for International student Assessment*. OECD: Paris.
- Plan International [India], May (2006), Impact of Corporal Punishment on School Children: A Research Study. Retrieved From <https://planindia.org/?q=download/file/fid/177%20>
- Planning Commission Government of India (2008). Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007-2012). New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Prosad Sil, N. (1997). Swami Vivekananda: A Reassessment PA. Susque-hanna University Press.
- Planning Commission. (2010) Evaluation Report on Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. Retrieved from http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/peoreport/peoevalu/peo_ssa2106.pdf
- Popkewitz, T., & Brennan, M. (Eds). (1998) Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education, New York: Teachers College.
- Portela, O. M. J. & Pells, K. (2015). *Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam*. Innocenti Discussion Paper No. 2015-02, Florence, Italy: UNICEF Office of Research
- Powers, P. (Ed.). (1996). Discourse analysis as a methodology for nursing inquiry. *Nursing Inquiry*, 3, 207-217.
- PROBE (2009). School education: struggling to learn. *The Hindu*, 20 February. Retrieved from www.hindu.com/2009/02/20/stories/2009022052911000.htm
- Probe Team (1999). *Public Report on Basic Education in India*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi.
- Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, The Superintendent of Education, Seventy-fourth Annual Report, 1944-45.
- Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, The Superintendent of Education, Seventy-sixth Annual Report, 1946-47.

- Punj, D. (2013, July 07). The Great Indian Education debate. News Indian Express. Retrieved from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/magazine/The-great-Indian-education-debate/2013/07/07/article1666702.ece>.
- Rai, S (June 1, 2012) .India's New 'English Only' Generation. Retrieved from <https://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/06/01/indias-new-english-only-generation/>
- Rainbow, P. & Rose, N. (2003). Thoughts on the concept of biopower today. Retrieved from <http://www.lse.ac.uk/sociology/pdf/RabinowandRoseBiopowerToday03.pdf>, 25 January 2017
- Rajagopalan, S. (July 18, 2019). National Education Policy 2019 Draft – Some Thoughts. Retrieved from: <http://blog.ei-india.com/2019/07/18/national-education-policy-2019-draft-some-thoughts/print/>
- Ramachandran, V. (2014). Can we fix the persisting crisis of learning? ASER Report 2014. p 13-15.
- Ramanathan (March 04, 2012- The Hindu), No place for fear in classroom Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/open-page/no-place-for-fear-in-classroom/article2932688.ece>
- Ramasubramanyam, N. (2012, September 28). CCE: A critical analysis. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-in-school/cce-a-critical-analysis/article3943644.ece>
- Ramyal, T. (2012). Rote learning an evil in education system, national survey reveals. Times of India, Dec 11 Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/education/news/Rote-learning-an-evil-in-education-system-national-survey-reveals/articleshow/17564012.cms>
- Rawlinson, H. G. (1935) "Cultural Background of Indian Education," The Year Book of Education, London University, Institute of Education, pp. 439-466.
- Rea-Dickins, P, Yu, G and Afitska, O. (2009). The consequences of examining through an unfamiliar language of instruction and its impact for school-age learners in sub-Saharan African school systems in Taylor, L and Weir, C (eds) Language Testing Matters: the social and educational impact of language assessment. *Cambridge University Press*, 190–214.
- Revised Syllabus for the Training of Teachers (1952) Sevagram, Wardha, Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
- Rousseau, J.J. (1921). *Emile, or Education*. Translated by Barbara Foxley. London: Dent.
- Rowe, K. (2003). *The Importance of Teacher Quality as a Key Determinant of Students' Experiences and Outcomes of Schooling*. Background paper to keynote address presented at the ACER Research Conference 2003. Retrieved from https://www.det.nsw.edu.au/proflearn/docs/pdf/Rowe_2003_Paper.pdf

- Roy, K. (19 June, 2019). Examining the Draft National Education Policy, 2019
<https://www.epw.in/engage/article/examining-draft-national-education-policy-2019>
- Said, E (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage.
- Saiyidain, K. G. (1937). Training of Secondary School Teachers, The Year Book of Education. 1937, London University, Institute of Education, pp. 485-498.
- Saiyidain, K. G. (1952). *Compulsory Education in India*. Paris, UNESCO.
- Schleicher, A. (2018). The case for 21st-century learning. OECD Education Directorate. <https://www.oecd.org/general/thecasefor21st-centurylearning.htm>
- Schoen, L., & Fusarelli, L. D. (2008). Innovation, NCLB, and the fear factor. *Educational Policy*, 22, 181-203. doi:10.1177/0895904807311291
- Scott, J. (1994). (Ed). *Power: Critical Concepts of Sociology*. New York: Routledge.
- Sharma, O.P & Haub, C (2008). Examining Literacy Using India's Census, Population Reference Bureau. Retrieved from
<http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2008/censusliteracyindia.aspx> 14. KPMG (2011).
- Sharp. H (Ed). (1920) Bureau of Education. Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839). National Archives of India, 1965. Delhi: Government Printing. 107-117
- Shepperdson, M., & Simmons, C. (Eds). (1998) .The Indian National Congress and the Political Economy of India, 1885-1947. Aldershot
- Sidhanta, N. K. (1938). School Reconstruction in the United Provinces, The Year Book of Education in India, 1938, London University, Institute of Education, 662-668.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T and Phillipson, R (1986a). Denial of linguistic rights: the new mental slavery, in Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1986c, 416-465.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Bucak, S. (1994). Killing a mother tongue - how the Kurds are deprived of linguistic human rights, in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (eds.), 347-370.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Cummins, J. (eds.) (1988). Minority education. From shame to struggle, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. (1986b). The legitimacy of the arguments for the spread of English, in Phillipson, R. and Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1986a, 378-415.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., Holmen, A and Phillipson, R. (eds.) (1993). Uddannelse af minoriteter. Copenhagen: Danmarks Lærerhøjskole.
- Slater, J. (2005). Drill-and-kill spells death to lifelong learning. Times Educational Supplement.

- Spanos, G., Rhodes, N.C., Dale, T.C., & Crandall, J.A. (1988). Linguistic features of mathematical problem solving: Insights and applications. In Mestre & R.Cocking (Eds.), *The influences of language and culture on learning mathematics: The psychology of education and instruction* (pp. 221–240). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Spear, P. (Ed). (1958). *The Oxford History of India*. (3rd ed). London: Oxford University Press.
- Spear, P. (Ed). (1981). *The Oxford History of India*. (4th ed). London, New York, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Srinivasan, M. (2011, September 28). CCE system for all schools. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-tamilnadu/cce-system-for-all-schools/article2492113.ece>
- SSA (2010). Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan: Effectiveness of ABL under SSA. Retrieved from <http://www.ssa.tn.nic.in/Docu/Effectiveness%20of%20ABL%20under%20SSA.pdf>
- Stedman, E. C. (1895). *A Victorian Anthology, 1837–1895*. Cambridge: Riverside.
- Storch, N., & Wigglesworth, G. (2003). Is there a role for the use of the L1 in an L2 setting? *TESOL Quarterly*, 37, 760–769.
- Straus, M. A. & Gimpel, H. S. (1992), “Corporal Punishment by Parents and Economic Achievement: A Theoretical Model and Some Preliminary Empirical Data”, paper presented at the 1992 meeting of the American Sociological Association
- Straus, M. A. & Mathur, A.K. (1995). "Corporal punishment of adolescents and academic achievement". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association. California, San Francisco
- Straus, M.A. & Paschall, M.J. (2009) Corporal Punishment by Mothers and Development of Children's Cognitive Ability: A Longitudinal Study of Two Nationally Representative Age Cohorts, *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 18:5, 459-483, DOI: 10.1080/10926770903035168
- Straus, M.A. (2001). *Beating the devil out of them: Corporal punishment in American families and its effects on children*. New Brunswick, NJ, US: Transaction Publishers.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Sundaram, R. (2018, July 26). Tamil Nadu govt allows aided schools to begin English medium. *Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/govt-allows-aided-schools-to-begin-english-medium-sections/articleshow/65140621.cms>
- Sundarami, R. (2018, January 23). Tamil Nadu may scrap no-detention policy up to Class VIII Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/education/tamil-nadu-may-scrap-no-detention-policy-up-to-class-viii/articleshow/62611627.cms>

- Susskind, R. E., & Susskind, D. (2015). *The future of the professions: How technology will transform the work of human experts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sykes, M.(1950). *Basic Education, its Principles and Practice*. Madras: The Superintendent Government Press.
- Tamil Nadu boosts of best school enrolment figures. (2008, March 27). India Edu News. Retrieved from http://www.indiaedunews.net/tamil_nadu/tamil_nadu_boosts_of_best_school_enrolment_figures/
- Tamboukou, M., & Ball, S.J. (2003). *Dangerous encounters: Genealogy and ethnography, eruptions*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Taneja, A (12 Jun, 2019).New education policy misses a critical chance to address inequalities in system. Retrieved from <https://www.livemint.com/opinion/online-views/new-education-policy-misses-a-critical-chance-to-address-inequalities-in-system-1560282262183.html>
- Taylor, C.A. Jennifer, A. M., Shawna J. L., Janet C. R. (2010). Mothers’ spanking of 3-year-old children and subsequent risk of children’s aggressive behaviour. *Paediatrics*. 125, 1087–1065.
- The Indian Express. (2016, October 27). Only 2% of teachers know purpose of CBSE's CCE evaluation system. Retrieved from <http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2016/oct/27/only-2-pc-teachers-know-purpose-of-cce-finds-study-1532266.html>
- TIC Teachers International Consultancy (2008) The Quiet Crisis in Recruitment. Retrieved from <http://www.ticrecruitment.com/newsdetails.php?newsid=16>
- Times of India, (March 14, 2010). India speak: English is our 2nd language. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Indiaspeak-English-is-our-2nd-language/articleshow/5680962.cms>
- Timothy, M. (1988). *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tomoda A. et al (2009), “Reduced prefrontal cortical gray matter volume in young adults exposed to harsh corporal punishment”, *Neuroimage*, 47, 66-71
- UNESCO (1953). *The use of the vernacular languages in education*. Monographs on Foundations of Education, No. 8. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2003). *Education in a multilingual world*. UNESCO Education Position Paper. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2007). *Strong foundations: Early childhood care and education*. Paris: Author.

- UNESCO (2008a). *Mother Tongue Matters: Local Language as a Key to Effective Learning*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2008b). *Mother tongue instruction in early childhood education: A selected bibliography*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO Bangkok (2005). *Advocacy brief on mother tongue-based teaching and education for girls*. Bangkok: UNESCO.
- UNICEF (2013) Indian Literacy Rate, Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/india_statistics.html
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). *Critical discourse analysis*. In D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352-371). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Verma, S. Sharma, D., & Larson, R. W. (2002). School stress in India: Effects on time and daily emotions. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*, 26(6), 500-508.
- Verma, S., & Gupta, J. (1990). Some aspects of high academic stress and symptoms. *Journal of Personality and Clinical Studies*, 6, 7-12.
- Vinayashree, J. (2016, December 22). Schools, parents say goodbye to CCE. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/schools-parents-say-goodbye-to-cce/articleshow/56113125.cms>
- Vyas, A. (2014, Jan 2). Low learning outcomes in primary schools in India. *The Indian Economist*, Retrieved at <http://theindianeconomist.com/low-learning-outcomes-inprimary-schools-in-india/>
- Ward, H. (2012). Rote learning equals maths confusion. *Times Educational Supplement*
- Weiss, D. D., & Last, C. G. (Eds.). (2001). *Developmental variations in the prevalence and manifestations of anxiety disorders. The developmental psychopathology of anxiety* (pp. 27-42).
- Wellock, W. (1949). *Nai Talim and the Social Order*. Wardha, Sevagram : Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S., & Yates, S. (2001). *Discourse as Data: a guide for analysis*. London: Sage.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Qualitative research in psychology: A practical guide to theory and method*. Buckingham, PA: Open University Press
- Willig, C. (2008). Discourse analysis. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 160-185). London, England: Sage.

- Winstok, Z. (2013). Israeli Mothers' Willingness to Use Corporal Punishment to Correct the Misbehavior of Their Elementary School Children. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 29 (1). 44-65. doi: 10.1177/0886260513504647.
- Wheeler, S. (2015). *Learning with 'e's: Educational Theory and Practice in the Digital Age*. Crown House Publishing: U.K.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis (2nd ed.)*. London: Sage.
- Wright, S.P., Horn, S.P. and Sanders, W.L.(1997). Teacher and Classroom context effects on student achievement: Implications for Teacher Evaluation. *Journal of Personnel Evaluation in Education*, 11, 57-67. Retrieved from http://www.sas.com/govedu/edu/teacher_eval.pdf
- Xanthou, M. (2008). Learning subject matter through the medium of a foreign language (CLIL): On its effects on primary school learners' L2 vocabulary development and content knowledge. Retrieved February 1, 2013, from http://conferences.ncl.ac.uk/pglinguistics/2008/presentation_documents/Xanthou.pdf
- Yiakoumetti, A. (Ed.) Harnessing linguistic variation to improve education. *Rethinking Education*, 5. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Youssef, R. M., Salah-El-Din Attia, M. & Kamel, M.I. (1998). Children experiencing violence II: Prevalence and determinants of corporal punishment in schools. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 22, 975-985
- Zellner, A. A. (1951). *Education in India*. New York:Bookman Associates.
- Zhou, J. (2003) When the Presence of Creative Coworkers Is Related to Creativity: Role of Supervisor Close Monitoring, Developmental Feedback, and Creative Personality. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 88, 413-422.
- Zolotor, A. J., Theodore, A. D., Chang, J., & Laskey, A. L. (2011). Corporal punishment and physical abuse: Population-based trends for three-to-11-year-old children in the United States. *Child Abuse Review*, 20, 5766.
- Zuhuruddin, M. M. (1935). *Present Day Problems of Indian Education*. Bombay.