

Research Article

Deepika K Singh

Influencing Social Inclusion and Exclusion of Students from Socially and Economically Weaker Sections of Society in a Private School - Role of School Leadership and other Actors

<https://doi.org/10.2478/ijtr-2024-0002>

received 9th September 2024; accepted 5th November 2024

Abstract: The paper is based on a qualitative study of a private school based in Ahmedabad, India. The research aimed to understand the practicalities of social inclusion. I argue 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' are processes and not a condition of being or an event. These processes unfold every moment through interaction of learners and other stakeholders in school. The interaction amongst a particular set of stakeholders is also different in different contexts. The presence and absence of a particular stakeholder/ power/position holder influences the interaction. The larger policies are interpreted at multiple levels and converted into systems, processes and structures which further are expected to exhibit certain mindset and behaviour by the key actors. However, the key actors' behaviour is influenced by presence and absence of 'others' who are perceived with power.

The study finds that the implementation of Section 12 (1) (c) of Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009) in the school has been interpreted, and executed by the actors ensuring hitherto excluded groups to access certain spaces, participate in process, voice opinion and views thereby creating conditions of egalitarian change. However, if the larger purpose of education is not contested it could reproduce the same hierarchies that exist in the current education system.

Key Words: Social Inclusion, Social Exclusion, School Leadership, Education Policy and Practice, Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (RTE), School Case Study

1 Introduction

Globally, experiences with educational institutions that attempt to include students from economically disadvantaged sections (EWS) of society suggest that even when the excluded do have access, they can be excluded from good quality learning. This can occur in various forms, including curricular structure that does not take EWS contexts into consideration, language barriers that are left unchecked, inherent biases on the part of the teachers, behavioural norms mandated by the institution, and so on. Economically poorer communities generally only have access to poorer quality education. Even if geographical differences are overcome the dominant cultures at schools may continue to alienate certain groups of learners (Sayed et al., 2007).

In essence, social inclusion is a much larger issue in education which needs to be approached for a more holistic perspective. For instance, in Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, which show high attendance rates of Dalit children, the diverse factors that have encouraged the spread of education include effective policy interventions, expanding economic opportunities, functioning of schools, public participation and community organisation for educational advancement (Nambissan, 2006). Nambissan's (2020) recent research is one of the few studies that points out that there are spaces within the context of the school and the larger city as a whole that provide opportunities for equitable inclusion. The study also draws attention towards the agency of teachers and school administration in addressing and confronting and addressing discriminatory practice. Yet it finds that very few teachers confronted discrimination in their school, especially when directed against students from the Dalit community.

One of the crucial aspects that the Nambissan study (2020) draws attention to is the scope for practice of

*Corresponding author: Deepika K Singh, Independent Consultant.
Affiliation: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, India.
Email: mswdeepika@gmail.com

inclusion and confronting deep seeded discriminatory practices since schools are the only spaces providing opportunities for sharing of food and day-to-day interaction. Another crucial finding of the study is about Dalit youth who assert agency by contesting and resisting discrimination from peers and teachers. This study, along with the one conducted in 2010 by Nambissan, are some of the very few that focus on classroom processes, day-to-day experiences of students and teachers, and offers an amalgamation of both micro and macro perspectives on discrimination. The approach of these studies, wherein school is considered as a unit and classroom and school practices are studied as spatio-temporal opportunities for inclusion, creates a scope for understanding the possibilities of inclusive practices that teachers, students and schools experience and go through.

Policy frameworks in India, such as The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE), address issues of exclusion and inclusion by providing directions for ensuring access, exclusion in school processes, issues of alienating curriculum, classroom processes and language of education, school governance as well as certain measures on overall school environment. While it is a very feeble attempt, it could lead to creation of schools with, 'diverse learners'; it creates a scope for ensuring inclusion and participation of children from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds in private schools. The larger picture that emerges from the analysis of the implementation of policies, points to the fact that education has led to the reproduction of dominant culture and structures in India. Nevertheless efforts to resist this trend have been made by civil society organisations and individuals who espoused the vision of education as a means to create a new social order based on justice and equality. The Nayi Talim schools, a group of alternate schools, and schools set up by Christian missionaries have experimented with pedagogy and curriculum and have also resisted the trend of a hierarchy of schools, where children from a particular class get access to a particular kind of school, and have resisted the curriculum and pedagogy that reproduces dominant culture.

The State, being the main provider of education, cannot be absolved of its responsibilities, while the efforts of non-state institutions or individuals cannot be ignored. If schools are to play an important part in the life of a rapidly changing nation, not just pedagogically but also socially (Beteille, 2005), we will need to find pioneers and exemplars that are already making that happen. It is critical that we identify, study, and share the efforts of schools and teachers who have managed to practise and promote inclusion and equity. Such case studies will

provide practices that others may follow. The study of these schools may provide initial fuel to ignite a discourse on social inclusion in schools.

1.1 Research Questions

The core research question that is driving this study is as follows:

Ensuring representation by creating access could be considered the first step but what does it mean to ensure representation in curriculum and pedagogy? The study attempts to dissect this core question by considering the following sub-questions:

- What does it mean to truly transform into a socially inclusive school or adopt a transformational approach to social inclusion rather than just adhering to the RTE Act's basic requirements?
- What does it mean to be a student of an inclusive school and what does it mean to be a parent of an inclusive school?
- How do teachers who become part of an inclusive school engage with the ideology and struggle with its practice?

2 Theoretical Framework

This section focuses on the theoretical foundations of the research with specific emphasis on studies that have explored inclusion and exclusion practices within the school space and contextualised the same in terms of processes, mechanisms and systems. The theoretical framework specifically derives from studies that contextualise the educational institution as a place where social actors drive inclusion and exclusion both through their actions and decisions. The distribution of material and symbolic resources within an institution, along with the rules that govern the same, will be considered as the foundations that dictate membership and access. In essence, the section considers the full spectrum of faculties and elements involved in the proliferation and reinforcement of social inclusion and exclusion-based practices in the institution, from the explicit to the implicit.

According to Kabeer (2000), social disadvantage leads to social exclusion when the various institutional mechanisms which allocate resources and valued assign function in such a way that they systematically deny specific groups of people the resources and recognition that would allow them to fully participate in the life of that society. She further elaborates that institutions distribute

material as well as symbolic resources and hence, the rules governing any institution are also the rules that govern norms of access, membership and degree of certainty to membership and access. In this context, these principles of access and membership are not to be confused with the legally enforceable entitlements in marketplaces, public institutions and civil society. Nor can they be attributed to the claims of the 'moral economy' as is the case with memberships of kinship and community. These are vastly different from rights which are guaranteed and justifiable if not enforced to that particular institution and thus, tend to be fundamental factors that define aspects of inclusion and exclusion. In simpler terms, the right to attend school might be legally binding and enforceable, but the right to being included socially within the scope of the institution's framework is not a legally enforceable freedom. This is because social inclusion and exclusion lies outside the domain of law and morality where unwritten social norms and cultural perspectives lie. This realm, where the individual interfaces with the community, is a liminal space where any legally binding enforcement might be seen as an encroachment of individual freedoms. Hence, it is the institution itself and the cultural zeitgeist that tends to influence and mandate the dynamics of such a space.

According to Kabeer (2000), exclusion and denial of access to a particular institution can be further deepened or countered by inclusion or exclusion in other institutional spaces. The discourse of inclusion in elementary education is largely in the realm of education of children with disability and special educational needs. In India the use of term 'inclusion' in various policies targeting poverty has now found way in educational reports such as the Status of Education in India National Report prepared by the National University of Education Planning and Administration which focuses on inclusion in education encompassing issues concerning education of children from Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe the Muslim community, of girls and children with disability.

Scholars differentiate between 'integration and inclusion' by arguing that inclusion is not a static state like integration but a dynamic process that implies changes in school ethos to create a community that accepts and values difference (Oliver 1996, cited in Tanmoy Bhattacharya, 2010). Whereas 'integration' is argued to be based on the philosophy that the child should fit into the school whereas the school remains largely unchanged.

Researching the issue of inclusion and exclusion in India and South Africa, Sayed et al. (2007) use an 'interlocking framework' proposed by McCarthy (1999) where race, gender, class, religion and language, all intersect in ways that recognise an individual or group's

unique and particular experiences. The researchers note that "central in this analysis is recognising how dominant forms of oppression and exclusion articulate and mobilise other forms of these phenomena to reconstitute constantly the experience of exclusion" (Sayed et al., 2007, p. 21). For the purpose of their research 'Education Exclusion and Inclusion: Policy and Implementation in South Africa and India' the researchers have applied the interlocking framework to institutional contexts, using three domains —

1. *Institutional setting and ethos*: Researchers confer that the institutions may continue to subtly exclude the learners even after formally including the learner.
2. *The curriculum*: The curriculum according to the researchers is by the focus of power. According to them the curriculum should address not only the diverse needs of various learners but also those aspects that reinforce inequality.
3. *Institutional setting and policy*: The researchers recognise that relations between institutions and wider social context have to be considered, further they note that the policies related to access and institutional cultures have to be understood in terms of how they are implemented.

2.1.1 Advantaged and Disadvantaged Groups

The overlapping nature of inclusion and exclusion leads to segmentation of society and creates various clusters of advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Kabeer, 2000). The various segments that emerge due to such process can be characterised in different ways. Kabeer (2000) utilises expressions such as *privileged inclusion* — those who occupy prime positions in the mainstream institutions of society and have an influence on shaping the rules and norms of decision making, *secondary inclusion*—those who occupy a peripheral position compared to the privileged group but do enjoy certain privileges, *adverse incorporation or problematic inclusion* — those who are included but on adverse terms and while it creates access to certain resources it may be problematic since it does not address the issue of social recognition and valuing their identity, and the *self excluded* — while they may be devalued by dominant social groups they prefer outsider status in order to define their own values and norms. Kabeer argues that a simple insider and outsider model cannot capture the situation of self-exclusion. The other form of exclusion that Kabeer provides — '*hardcore exclusion* occurs when principles of unequal access in different institutions reinforce, rather than offset, each other, creating situations of radical disadvantage' (Kabeer, 2000, p. 88).

2.1.2 Dimensions and Practices of Social Inclusion and Exclusion

Sen (2000) also makes distinctions between various dimensions of the notion of social exclusion, in situations where people are kept out under unfavourable exclusion and when people are included on unfavourable terms or included forcefully. Unfavourable inclusion could have similar consequences to unfavourable exclusion.

According to Kabeer (2000, p. 89) “institutional rules and norms can spell out particular patterns of inclusion and exclusion, they cannot cause them to happen. It is the social actors who make up these institutions, the collectivities they form and the interactions between them, which provide agency behind patterns”. Kabeer also points out that social exclusion is not an individual phenomenon but a group phenomenon and while discussing social exclusion we are distinguishing between those who are able to access resources and respect and those who are not able to.

While social exclusion occurs as a result of institutional rules of membership and access, we need to understand practices through which group behaviour generates patterns of social inclusion and exclusion. Four categories of such practices are identified by Kabeer (2000); first mobilisation of institutional bias (Lukes 1994 cited in Kabeer 2000), when persons and groups gain advantages and benefits at cost of others due to a set of institutional norms, values, rules, beliefs (those who represent the status quo could be preserving their position without even making any conscious decision about it and hence institutional bias operates even without their conscious awareness). The second being ‘social closure’ groups that deliberately restrict access to resources and opportunities to a certain circle of eligibles. “Unruly practices” (Fraser 1989, Gore 1993 as cited in Kabeer, 2000, p. 92) is a third mechanism through which exclusion occurs and refers to the gap between rules and their implementation. Unruly practices occur largely in the public sector since the official rules dictate otherwise. The fourth category is unconscious bias, which specifically stems from the implicit proliferation of stereotypical perspectives towards marginalized groups which impacts decisions on the level of the teacher and the institution. Authors like Blank, Houkamau & Kingi (2016) have explored this among Maori and African American communities. The practices that result from unconscious bias, such as biases in critical grading and validation of exclusive choices by teachers, sharply reflect the condition of marginalized communities in India.

Second social closure and third unruly practices are used consciously or unconsciously, with or without intention and in an explicit or informal way to include and exclude (Kabeer, 2000).

2.1.3 The Role of Teachers

Connel (1994, p.138) in his article *Poverty and Education* elaborates on absence of discussion about the role of teachers from policy discourse. He argues

‘But teachers are the front line workers in schools. If exclusion is accomplished by schools it is certainly in large measures through what teachers do. Their work is in an arena where the great contradictions around education and social justice condense’.

According to Connel (1994, p. 140) “The concept of distributive justice applies to material resources for education such as funds and equipment. But we need something more to deal with the content and process of education: a concept of curricular justice”.

He argues that distributing a similar kind and amount of hegemonic curriculum to students from different economic backgrounds as well as amongst boys and girls would not do the same thing to them. In his words – ‘In education the “how much” and the “who” cannot be separated from “what”’.

In the Indian context according to Thorat and Newman (2010) exclusion revolves around societal institutions that exclude on the basis of group identities such as caste, ethnicity, religion and gender. Discrimination according to them can be defined as — “complete exclusion or denial of certain social groups such as the lower caste selective inclusion but with differential treatment to excluded groups....unfavourable inclusion (often forced) bound by caste obligations and duties reflected....exclusion in certain categories of jobs and services” (p. 6). While they have defined economic discrimination some of the aspects of it are also reflected in educational institutions and schools. We also see unruly practices within school institutions, as elaborated in the previous section. Teachers are found discriminating with children from Dalit and tribal communities. Further, while children from these communities are included in schools their voices do not form part of either the curriculum or discussions and school practices.

Researchers and scholars have pointed towards the complex nature of inclusion and the way it manifests in the institutional setting, policies and curriculum as well as interactions (Nambissan, 2006; Kabeer, 2000; Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2008). Further, concern is raised

by Sharada Balgopalan in her paper ‘Understanding “inclusion” in Indian schools’, who notes that Educational inclusion requires careful consideration of every aspect of schooling and the social context in which it finds itself. Innovative approaches to educational inclusion will need to address issues at macro, micro, personal and interpersonal levels.

Thus it becomes essential to study the day to day interactions between various actors of the school and especially the teachers, students and parents. There is a need for developing theory about how schools create inclusive and equitable education in modern India. This will require identifying and studying successful teachers and schools.

Few key approaches have been thus utilised for the study in this paper:

a) The model of interaction outlined by Anderson (2003)

Micro interpretive approaches to understand different kinds of roles played by teachers and students. Anderson (2003) defined student-teacher interaction as the least scalable approach towards learning, specifically due to the biases that tend to exert themselves due to traditional approaches towards teaching in general. The author also notes that the learning environment plays a fundamental role in the outcome of the interaction, which in turn is defined as the ability of a student to convert the words, facial expressions and perspectives of the teacher into long-term knowledge.

b) The models outlined by Goffman (1959, 2002)

- **idea of back and front stage regions** – this sociological model states that social actors are exactly that, “actors” and hence, their actions tend to be defined as per whether they are acting in front of the world (front stage wherein the world is a stage), or are behind the curtain (back stage) or not on the stage at all (perspective of the audience watching the drama/ interaction). The model helps in contextualising how social actors like teachers behave in different settings within and outside the classroom, and how these reveal the frameworks behind inherent biases and prejudices.
- **interaction tension** – this model allowed Erving Goffman to contextualise the way interactions tend to be defined by states like boredom and enjoyment, as well as unconscious states (un-self consciousness) that are not just a result of the immediate interaction but also of larger processes of emotional involvement, attention, and both spontaneous and normative alignment of the interaction at hand.

While the above framework informs the research design, it also responds to the questions of ‘what needs to be studied’ to develop an understanding about social inclusion in schools along with ‘how it needs to be studied’.

3 Research Methodology

The research at hand explores key facets of school life and interactions in a socially inclusive school to develop insights about the processes set up for creating an adequate environment for children from various cultural, social and economic backgrounds to interact and grow with each other. Specific focus was placed upon the academic and social environmental practices in the school and the experiences of various actors viz teachers, parents and the principal of the school in question. The methodology utilised for the study at hand was the case study approach, which involved considering the school/institution as a macro-level location for the case-based inquiry that consolidated the interpersonal experiences of various actors involved within same. As per the definition laid out by Ragin & Becker (1992), the unit of focus in the case study at hand, namely the academic institution chosen for the study, is treated as an empirical unit, indicating that the research objectives under which the inquiry is conducted are discoverable and hence are not to be constructed as is reminiscent of a theoretical unit of study. Moreover, due to the high degree of variability and diversity within the scope of social phenomenon within the constructs of an empirical unit such as a school, the generality of the case is viewed as being specific and “found” rather than general and given.

3.1 Sampling and Site Selection

Purposive sampling was used for selecting the empirical unit of the case study, depending on the openness of schools to be part of the study. This form of sampling technique, also known as judgmental sampling, is a selection process that involves a deliberate choice on the part of the researcher based on underlying criteria that have been constructed via prior research and understanding (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). In other words, instead of focusing on random selection, the choice of the population and empirical site of the study under the context of purposive sampling is done via the judgement of the researcher based on their investigation into the viability

of the chosen site for the study. Purposive sampling, in simple terms, is the selection of a population or site of study by volition of the researcher based on the consideration of obtaining necessary information from a resource-rich, knowledgeable, articulate and expressive source that best fits the nature of the study and its objectives.

For the purpose of study, schools run by private organisations including Non-Government organisations which have an explicit vision of promoting equality and inclusion were identified. Three such schools were initially identified and approached for the study. Out of the three thus selected, a final single school (RS) was chosen as the site of the study based on specific criteria as outlined below.

Criteria for selection of RS School

Some of the key criteria for selection of the school include

- The school practises social inclusion as a dedicated paradigm of academic function, in part due to the impetus from RTE Section 12(1)(c)
- The school must be open to allowing its premises and social environment to be a focal point for research
- The school must have instituted social inclusion practices within the realm of ECCE or pre-primary education in terms of pedagogy, social environment and overarching elements of management and access

3.2 Data Collection

The data collection at RS school was initiated from August 2014 and continued until June 2015. The core methods of data collection used for the study during this time include:

a) Observation

- The research concentrated on the perceptions and practices of five key actors - the students themselves, their peers, their teachers, and the school management with regard to inclusion of students enrolled under the RTE section 12 (1) (c).
- Observation of the students belonging to Pre-K, K-1, K-2 and grade 1 classrooms was conducted over the course of a week each. The focus was on the students enrolled under social inclusion programmes or intentions, both before and after the enforcement of RTE section 12 (1) (c), with a view to compare how they were treated relative to other students.
- A Dictaphone was used to record the classroom conversations and extensive notes were made of any observations about the students as well as the teacher.

Observations included a focus on the following:

- seating arrangements in the classroom;
- interactions with peer group both inside and outside the classroom;
- participation levels and types/patterns among different children in the classrooms
- whether teachers gave their attention equally to all children in the class
- whether and how teachers motivated and provided support to all children
- instances of discrimination, segregation, punishment, or differential behaviour
- issues surrounding classroom lessons, in terms of what supportive teaching and learning practices are adopted

b) In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted for teachers and parents. Teachers teaching in classes which had EWS children enrolled under RtE were interviewed. The founder of the school and administrator were also interviewed. A broad set of questions were created for interview of the founder and principal, administrator, teachers and special teacher for supporting children from EWS. The interviewees included the founder, two administrative staff members, seven pre-primary teachers and sixteen EWS parents.

These interviews with the teachers, principal and administrator included the following aspects:

- how the school provided a welcoming environment and facilities for all children to learn well
- their views on enrolment of children from EWS under RtE, equity and inclusion, and their meanings and impact on education processes and outcomes
- their views about the relationship that EWS students share with other students
- the way in which they have adapted the classroom processes to include all the children

The interviews with parents included the following aspects:

- awareness about the reason for providing admission to their child
- the process that they underwent for admission
- their perceptions towards the school based on continued experience with faculty and the processes
- the kind of relationship that they enjoy with other parents
- their experience of inclusion and exclusion of their child in the school

In addition, participation in school events like sports day, parent teacher meetings, cultural festivals, events with other schools, training of teachers, visits to teachers'

home, and visits to the childrens' homes were undertaken to get an in-depth understanding about the participants and the ways in which social inclusion and exclusion plays out in informal spaces.

3.3 Data Analysis

Hand-written notes during observations formed the basis of the thematic coding process that was utilised for analysis of the data. The notes developed via the observations, which involved documenting any relevant and noteworthy insights during the physical machinations of the social environment where the researcher was embedded, were eventually converted into completed Word documents.

The interviews were recorded in real-time and transcribed into Word documents, word-by-word for the initial phase of data collection. The first step in the transcription process involved the retention of the local language of the interviewees, which were subsequently translated into English. In the case of both the interviews as well as the classroom observations, the Word documents underwent a series of summarisation steps which involved identifying overlapping associations and overarching categories of said associations. This

process resulted in the emergence of specific categories under which multiple paragraphs and insights could be grouped. The process was repeated until a series of about 30 codes remained, which were culminations of abstract associations between previously ungrouped and seemingly disparate and distinct information. Further development of associations and overlapping meaning structures between the codes were used to finalise about 5 categories in total, which were the foundational themes upon which the findings of the current study are based, which in turn were also derived from the core research objectives driving the inquiry forward.

The categories/codes that were assigned to the content of interviews and observations were mostly attributed inductively to the data, but some were derived from earlier literature, e.g access to various learning resources and spaces. In the final phase of analysis, salient themes were identified in relation to the research questions. The figure below outlines this process.

4 Results and Findings

The findings of the research included school processes, practices, experiences of students, experiences of teachers,

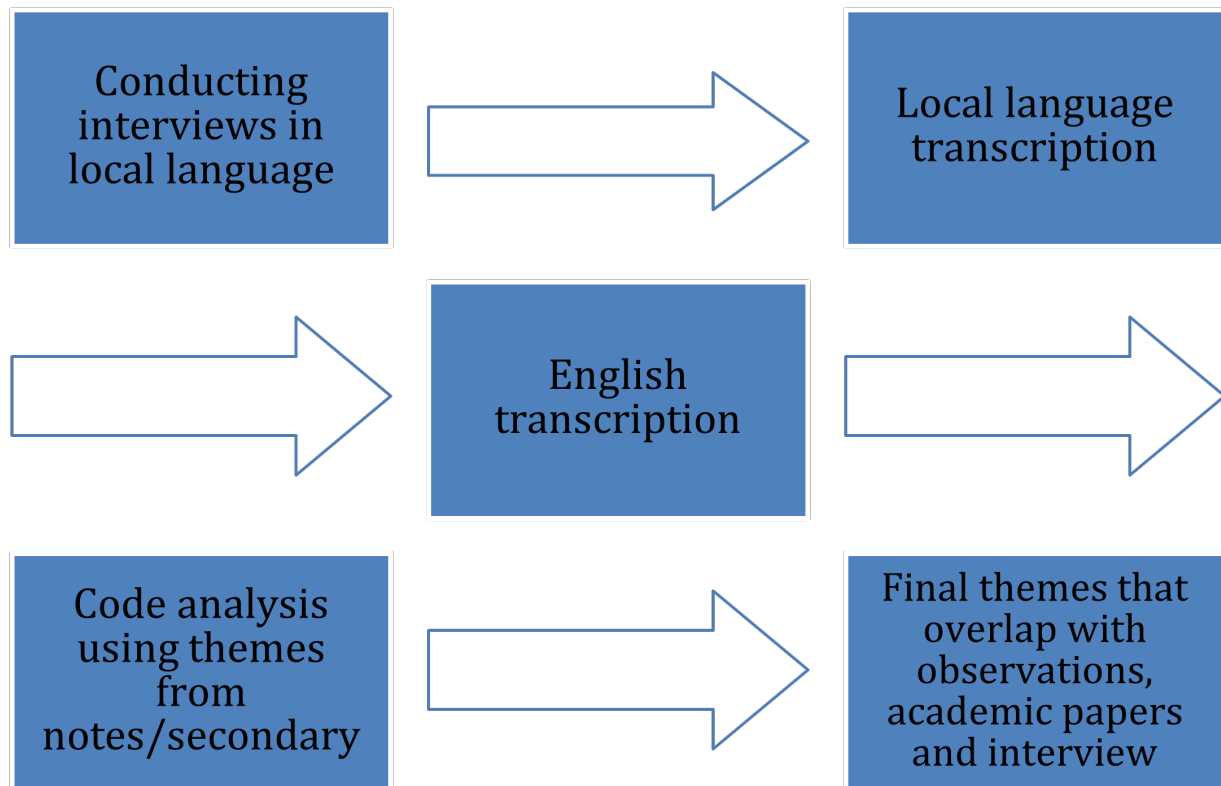


Figure 1: Interview process and final coding steps

experiences of parents and school leadership. Key episodes and findings from the larger research, that speaks to the focus of the current paper, are presented in this section.

Episode 1: The Kolar Bear - Polar Bear Experience

Grade: pre-primary

The incident elaborated below was mentioned by one teacher who has been with the school for a year and teaches in the grade in which the student was studying during the data collection period. The other three teachers who mentioned the incident were teaching the pre-primary grades. The academic coordinator and school administrator also shared the same incident during the interview and while responding to the question about change in grade specific curriculum or content. Thus, from the ten school teaching staff, administrative staff and founder who were interviewed seven of them shared the incident. This is specifically why it has been considered an important incident.

Many students from the EWS category live within walking distance of the school and could be seen playing in the school playground after school hours. The founder and Principal KS's residence is on the school campus and some of the students also go to her house and play. One such evening, Sunandini was playing in KS's house. She was going through some books or sheets kept in the house. During their interaction, the founder asked about what she was learning in school at that time, to which Sunandini replied that she was learning about the kolar bear. KS then asked her a few more questions, such as what kind of they live in. KS knew that the class had recently been on a visit to a cold storage unit to understand about extreme cold weather. Sunandini was not able to relate to it. KS then showed her the activity sheet in which clip art was used to depict a bear. Sunandini identified it as a '*dhingli*' meaning a doll and not a bear. The next thing that teachers say was that KS called for a teachers meeting; some of the discussion details mentioned by teachers include:

KS asked why a Polar Bear was chosen to introduce the lesson on adaptations. She also mentioned that not all children would have seen a polar bear even in videos or pictures. They may not be able to relate to it. Also, she raised the point that students may not have related the cold storage experience with the habitation and adaptations of the Polar Bear. Teachers also realised that using cartoon pictures in activity sheets was also confusing for students, since Sunandini did identify the bear picture as that of a doll.

Some of the changes that followed after the discussion were as follows:

- Use of clip art and cartoon pictures in activity sheets was stopped.
- Teachers were encouraged to choose examples which all children could relate to.
- The polar bear was removed from the unit for habitations and adaptations and instead, the camel was chosen so that students could see, feel and touch the animal and learn through experience.

This particular episode highlights one of the fundamental ways in which institutional bias spreads and solidifies over time through the curriculum. The use of the polar bear indicates that the creation of the curricular structure was based on the pre-supposition that this animal would be a good frame of reference for the children. This is a part of the cultural homogenisation that authors like Tawil (2002) have associated with schools. According to Tawil (2002), most educational institutions are involved in the homogenisation of cultural references owing to the fact that no matter what background a student comes from, they tend to be subjected to the same overarching curriculum. This, in turn, is validated by the institution as a way of achieving social cohesion with an exceedingly unequal society where individual lives tend to be vastly different from each other. The curriculum becomes the common culture of the children, which in turn may or may not (depending upon the disposition of the student) take the place of the local culture that the student's upbringing and domestic life is associated with. The fact that a polar bear was utilized instead of a more locally relevant species of animal, like the camel, shows that the common culture the school intended to create for students was biased towards those who had the means to either watch this animal on television/digital media or came from families with the economic capability to expose their children to foreign animals.

The rectification of the curriculum by the founder and the acceptance of a more locally-focused experience-based learning modality shows the institution's inherent openness towards rethinking and redefining the common culture that they want to create for their students. Moreover, the fact that the change was initiated via direct interaction with a student from a marginalised and impoverished background clearly shows that the bias was a very real one that went unchecked by educators and parents alike.

Episode 2: Teaching after Class

Grade – K1

Language and its various manifestations in pedagogy and curriculum structure is yet another

fundamental point of observation when it comes to analysing social inclusion within educational institutions. According to Sarangapani (2018), schools that cater to lower income families and economically disadvantaged pupils tend to include dialogic pedagogy, often involving lessons being conducted in the mother tongue of the children to ensure a more conducive learning environment. As per the author's observations, teachers in schools where dialogic pedagogy is practised focus on a learning method that does not encourage rote learning but rather is dedicated to the enabling of critical thinking and self-assessment in children. Due to poverty and other disadvantages on socio-cultural levels faced by the children in these schools and their families, the teachers are observed to view their conditions with empathy and therefore, do not shy away from native- language teaching methods. This in turn further allows them to nurture discussions and engage the children in such a way so as to ensure that they feel included within the process of learning and interpreting new concepts.

Teachers from the respective class conduct after school hour-long sessions for providing support to students enrolled under the EWS category and other students who are identified by the teachers as needing academic support. In all after class sessions that were observed during the study, the sessions were largely conducted by the coordinator of RTE in the school or by the 'junior' (one who is new to the class) teacher of the class. In one such session conducted by the teacher for K-1 class the teacher was teaching the 'r' sound using the phonics method. This session had three students from the EWS category and one from the non EWS category. The teacher had used a story and dramatisation of a story which included words such as rock, rabbit, rope, race and many others. During her session she created a word cloud with all the words beginning with the 'r' sound. In the after- hour-long session, the teacher sat with students around the table. She had got a few objects including a rope, (coconut rope), chalk, a duster, some books, an eraser, a ring and a red crayon.

She showed and kept each of these objects on the table whilst speaking the name of each object out loud and having the students repeat it. She asked students to pick up objects which began with the 'r' sound in the beginning. One of the students picked up a ring and similarly other students picked up a red crayon and a rubber but no one picked up the rope. She asked again, if there was anything else on the table that had 'r' sound in the beginning. None of the students picked up the rope. The teacher held the rope in her hand and said

rope, she then placed it back on the table along with other objects were also kept on the table. She again asked students to pick up the objects that began with the 'r' and to speak the name of these objects out loud. None of the students was able to say rope although they picked it up. The teacher asked each one of them what it was but they did not respond. One of them said 'sutli' (a Gujarati word for a specific kind of rope). The teacher looked exasperated, her facial expression was tense. She asked the other teacher who was in the class, 'what should I do, they don't understand such simple words' the other teacher only smiled. English is not the first language of all the EWS category children and many Non-EWS category children. The word rope was definitely not part of their vocabulary and they were not able to remember it easily. The teacher's frustration was visible to students; they also heard her speak 'they don't understand'.

When discussing the separation of language used for academic instruction from the language of everyday interactions, Le Grange (2016) says that linguistics were a foundational means by which the minds of indigenous individuals were colonised by imperial powers in countries like India, South Africa and others. The contradictions evident in these episodes and the way in which the educator reacted to the children's inability to make semantic associations with English words show that the linguistic basis of bias is deeply ingrained in education. The inability to express oneself or understand English is often accepted in institutions to be a sign of cognitive immaturity and learning difficulties, which completely negates the rich knowledge, understanding and intuition that children have within the scope of their local languages.

Native language-based teaching methodologies, according to Sarangapani (2018) tend to be limited mostly to the educational institutions catering to the "poorest of the poor", which essentially tend to include government schools. In private schools, the native language is usually shunned instead of the more widely accepted institutional norm of English medium pedagogy, which in turn does cause several issues with regards to social inclusion for EWS category children, as is evident from the episode outlined above. Even though there are teachers in private institutions who are interested in ensuring that a dialogic pedagogy is maintained and that rote learning is discouraged, the inability to functionally use native language in the classroom due to institutional boundaries tends to limit social inclusion in terms of learning outcomes and potential development of the child on conceptual and empirical levels.

Episode 3: Ignoring a Parent

In a quarterly parent meeting for the pre-K class, once the role-play, singing and dancing activities and the teacher presentation had been completed, the parents were having a discussion with two of the teachers.. Parents of children enrolled under the EWS category were on one side of the teacher and parents of children enrolled under the Non-EWS category were on the other side. The teacher was interacting with parents of the Non-EWS category when a parent from the EWS category stepped forward to enter the conversation. As the parent stepped forward, the teacher turned slightly towards the Non-EWS category parents. As the EWS parents bent forward to speak, the teacher turned even more towards the Non-EWS parents. The parents from Non-EWS category said:

‘They too want to speak to you’ to which the teacher responded ‘oh, we meet them every fifteen days and update them about everything.’ This is an example of an episode where an EWS parent, Non-EWS parents and a teacher were all present and where parents from both categories wanted to interact with the teacher. The teacher gave importance to the Non-EWS parents and was about to turn her back on the parents of the EWS category.

The episode points towards teachers **‘attempted – exclusion or ignoring’** of parents of EWS category when other parents are around. The same teacher takes an hour to explain about a child’s learning to EWS parents in fortnightly meetings and during the home visits. But, in presence of the other parents she gave more attention to the Non-EWS category parent.

During the same quarterly event the academic coordinator of the primary section facilitated activities of role play, singing and dance by designating groups that had a mix of both EWS and non-EWS category parents. She also went around in each group and in one of the groups she pointed out that Jagabhai (pseudonym), an EWS category parent, is very good with old Hindi songs and that he should lead the group activity. He was seen presenting the parody that the group created during the activity.

The act of inclusion, making EWS and non-EWS parents acquainted with each other and facilitating communication among each other, along with an ‘attempted-exclusion or ignoring’ episode, both occurred in a span of three hours in the same physical space with the same set of people and the same teachers who were facilitating the overall process.

As an observer, I sensed that the act of inclusion is very conscious and the administrator was doing what

she was doing very deliberately. The act of ‘attempted – exclusion or ignoring’ points towards two possibilities

i) The teacher did it consciously to communicate that the non-EWS parents are more important.

ii) Possibly it was an interaction in which the teacher was not very conscious of how her act was being interpreted and did not consciously make an attempt to ignore or exclude the EWS category parents.

Graham et al. (2019) have shed light on similar episodes in terms of attempted exclusion on the part of teachers towards parents. According to them, social class of the parent plays a fundamental role in shaping the perceptions of teachers, with the working class often being perceived as the least effective when it comes to confronting challenging situations regarding their children. This perceived flaw in judging the ability of EWS parents is further exacerbated by the exceedingly positive stereotypes associated with non-EWS parents, which were fuelled by “their accent, assumed knowledge of the education system and the ability to seek redress” (Graham et al., 2019, p. 17).

Episode 4: Moments of Crisis

One of the episodes shared by a class teacher of nursery grade stood out and can be considered as a moment of crisis faced by the school. While the school creates opportunities in the form of meetings and events for interaction amongst parents of all the categories of students, parents tend to form their own cliques to interact with each other. The cliques are formed with and among parents from the same class and with technology, the interaction is facilitated and eased; it is not bound by time and space. Whatsapp groups amongst parents, apart from the formal communication from school, are common. These cannot be regulated or monitored by teachers or school administration.

According to the teacher in one such group, the mother of one student, a girl, discussed a particular incident with the other parents and they all decided that they needed to talk to another parent whose child was involved in this particular incident. This child, a boy, was from the EWS category and the mother discussing the incident in the Whatsapp group was from the non-EWS category. The mother of the non-EWS category student shared that the boy-student was touching the genitals of the girl-child. This boy-student is very active, he likes to touch and feel everything that is displayed in the classroom. Teachers at times are overwhelmed by his activeness and movement in the class. The boy-student also has poor eyesight and his speech is not very clear. The teachers at times struggle

to make him sit in a circle, to pay attention to the activity at hand and to listen, he is usually smiling and chatting with those around him. Parents began to discuss these aspects of the boy -student and to comment on how he was not well groomed for school and on how his parents needed to discipline him. This group of parents could have met the mother of the EWS category students in the sports meet.

In the sports meet, the mother of the girl-student reached out to the mother of boy-student and told her that the boy is not well behaved and that he needs to be disciplined. The mother of the boy-student said that he was very naughty and active. Other mothers present told her that she should threaten him and lock him in the toilet if he did not obey. Afterwards, the mother of the boy-student came to the class teacher and reported the entire incident. The teacher consoled the mother that no parent could talk to her and about her child in this manner and that it was inappropriate. The issue was discussed with the coordinator of the primary section who called the mothers involved in the incident and told them that the school did not allow for such interaction with other parents. If an incident occurs then it needs to be brought to notice of the teachers, rather than the parents trying to directly reach out and resolve it. The school said it would mediate in such instances. The mother of the girl-student (Non-EWS) apologised to the mother of the boy-student (EWS). The mother of the girl-student further reached out by going to the home of the boy-student's mother to help her prepare for appearing on the Senior Secondary Certificate Exams, which she was undertaking after encouragement from the school. She was pregnant and was not able to attend the weekly sessions conducted for the mothers of EWS category children.

I was present during this incident and while I did not observe anything myself, the tension was palpable.

The parents had asked for my phone number. One could see the tension on the parents' faces as they went in for discussions. Later during the interview, the teacher narrated the entire incident. As a follow-up, the school conducted a session on child-development and discussed how children explore their bodies as a part of growing up. Parents talked about the news flashing constantly on the Nirbhaya rape case and how children asked parents about it.

A few parents said that such incidents make parents very vigilant. The teacher also mentioned that she had observed the student touch his own genitals. She said that the entire incident had made everyone very conscious.

Even though it is easy to dismiss these incidents as being superficially motivated by the fundamental urge to protect one's child from abuse or hostility or misdemeanour, it is necessary for the sake of the current study to consider one further level of perceptual dynamic that prompts parents to take such an action. Talib (1992) and Dalal (2015) point out that middle-class stereotypes regarding poorer families tend to be responsible for such incidents, specifically because the boundaries between these two economic classes on a social hierarchy is responsible in several instances for the expression of hostility towards the "other". In other words, the middle- class stereotypes about poorer families tend to propagate via a fundamental belief in the requirement of cultural capital as being a necessary aspect when it comes to academic success and refinement of behaviour, which when unmet or reinforced such as in the above episode, results in hostility and confrontation that goes beyond the confines of the academic institution and the avenues defined by it for parent-to-parent or parent-to-teacher interactions.

Episode 5: Conscious and Unconscious Acts of Inclusion and Exclusion by the Teachers

Teacher C shared in her interview how her reflections and practice has made her question her own assumptions about the children enrolled under the EWS category. The teacher was also observed conducting five home visits where she interacted respectfully with parents in all the visits. The teacher had water, tea and snacks offered by the families during these visits and discussed the students' journey and performance with their parents. The same teacher also attempted to ignore the parent of an EWS category student during a parent teacher meeting. Arman (pseudonym), who was enrolled under the RTE category and who also has speech and hearing problems , eagerly moved out of his queue, maybe to join the other students. There was noise and commotion in the assembly area. The teacher who was standing just behind the group spoke in Gujarati language '*turehva de*' meaning '*you leave it*' or '*you let it be*'. I was also standing nearby and heard it. It is difficult to know if it was a deliberate attempt at preventing the EWS category student from participating in the activity or if the teacher was merely concerned about him. The voice and gestures used by the teacher leaned more towards the possibilities of preventing the student from participating.

Yet, the teachers consciously pair up EWS and non-EWS category students during annual day, sports

day, group work and other regular activities of the school. The teachers are conscious to an extent that they pair up students who are friendly with each other and not students who may not want to be together.

On another day one of the EWS category students was resting her head in the teacher's lap during a dance session as she was not feeling well and the teacher was seen patting her forehead.

Thus, the same teachers who are considerate and caring can also behave in a way that could impede the participation of a EWS student and make such a student feel insulted. The way in which a teacher interacts with an EWS student, or any student for that matter, is heavily derived from the belief systems that they have developed with regard to both inclusion as well as teaching in general (Jordan et al., 2009). These belief systems either tend to be associated with the perceived ability of a student, with one end of the spectrum being the perception of a student as a fixed, unchanging entity who is just "built" a specific way and hence has flaws and strengths that tend to remain largely the same over time. The other end of the spectrum of belief regarding student ability among teachers, according to Jordan et al. (2009), is that students learn incrementally and are malleable. In both contexts, the way a teacher perceives a student will in turn impact the way that they teach the student. In the case of the above episode, the teacher might see Arman as a malleable child who learns incrementally but is not yet at a stage where he can participate fully in a dance recital. However, considering that these are pre-primary students and the dance was meant to be spontaneous and fun for the child rather than a rigid and rigorous routine, it is more likely that the teacher sees Arman as someone who is just incapable of dancing due to his disabilities. This is also an example of how teachers navigate the post-inclusion educational system, where they have to juggle between ensuring that everyone has equal opportunities for growth but at the same time, do not feel excluded due to their own disabilities or imperfections.

5 Reflection

The following key findings emerge applying the categorisation for inclusion provided by Kabeer (2000).

- The school has been able to put into practice some basic principles of transparency, inclusion and freedom in certain ways. Children from the EWS category and those from the Non-EWS category voice themselves in different ways; children from the EWS

category do not exercise the kind of power that a child of the Non-EWS category exercises on a teacher. Hence, it is clear that the school has been unable to transform holistically into an inclusive institution, an act that will take more effort and time as compared to just admitting students from EWS backgrounds into its halls and classrooms.

- Putting certain decisions of the school into practice is a day to day endeavour and teachers' efforts are most important. While teachers are not directly excluding students or discriminating against them, they are finding it frustrating to walk the extra mile to include the students from the EWS category in the teaching and learning process. There are several instances of implicit bias and discrimination against both EWS parents and students, indicating that the experience of being an EWS student or parent is one that is fraught with regular feelings of exclusion as well as inclusion. In other words, the institution is yet not at the point where it can allow students and parents from EWS communities to feel fully included, even though it appears to be on the way to achieving this level of transformation.
- Formal interactions through interviews amongst teachers reveal that they appreciate the founder and her efforts for inclusion. However, informal interactions amongst themselves reveal that they do challenge some of the views of the founder and question the system. In one of the instances, teachers were also found trying to find ways to circumvent the said system which would point towards specific behaviour and skills of teachers to create inclusive teaching and learning spaces. These indicate a lack of adequate preparation for teachers in managing EWS students and the unique socio-cultural environment that forms through their inclusion with upper and middle-class students. Moreover, it also shows that the institution itself has been unable to reinforce and transform its core pedagogical frameworks in light of the admission of EWS students, revealing gaps in curriculum, process-level discrepancies, and a lack of foresight into the potential challenges that could come from the attempt of becoming, or rather, transforming into an inclusive school.

Thus, what Kabeer mentioned as institutional bias does get confirmed through this study. The study of inclusion or exclusion in elite private schools may reveal very few stark forms of exclusion such as having a separate classroom for the EWS category students, having

a separate school time for EWS category students, and having different teachers for the EWS category students. However, finer and subtle forms of exclusion may appear in the form of:

- Discouragement in participation
- Unequal/differential attention to the students
- Specific kind of behaviours exhibited by teachers, other students and parents

Social inclusion is a process which can be made possible in schools by creating processes and systems in school that promote inclusion. The role of teachers, administrators and school leadership are crucial since they would implement the processes and systems for inclusion. The attitude of teachers is of utmost importance since teachers interact most closely with the students during school hours.

The interactions depicted in the episode of crisis and attempted exclusion both can be understood through Goffman's idea of 'interaction tension' where the actor's actions are a result of the state of being of the actor. In the case of all these episodes, it was apparent that the actions and decisions of the social actors involved were influenced by unconscious or unintended aspects, such as larger processes of emotional involvement, attention, and both spontaneous and normative alignment of the interaction at hand. However, a core component of such unconscious processes was that they were independent and even adversarial to the overarching institutional frameworks of conduct and policies of inclusion.

The teachers and parents of the Non-EWS category students had a more or less harmonised back and front stage behaviour. It was observed that the presence and intervention of another powerful actor, especially one they considered to be on equal social footing themselves (or higher) made a difference to the 'act' performed by the teacher. At the same time, this harmony allowed for the moulding of front stage behaviour among Non-EWS parents. This was observable in the case when Non-EWS category parents made a deliberate attempt to connect with an apology to the EWS category parent after the intervention of the school coordinator. Goffman's model of back and front stage regions was especially at work during observations where the teachers challenged the founder's views on inclusion in the meeting spaces and informal discussions, the literal "back stage" of an education institution. In essence, the model does contextualise how such social back and front stage socio-dynamics are at play in institutions and how deeply they can influence everyday activities.

The role of parents is significant and providing support to parents to create a learning environment

at home is required to sustain and amplify the school efforts at home. It may not be possible to label a school as having achieved social inclusion but only as striving for social inclusion. Also despite teachers' willingness, school processes and a strong school leadership there would always be moments of exclusion, moments of silence and lower participation. The process of inclusion is continually unfolding with each interaction between the various actors involved, which impacts the student. Hence it has to be put into practice consciously every single day.

Transformation: Transforming into a 'truly' inclusive school

The study at hand acts as a framework for institutions that are willing to go beyond mere implementation of the RTE Act and confront the intricate challenges that are involved in the process of transforming into a truly inclusive school at all levels. The experiences through which the study's findings have been extracted are actual physical events that were documented through direct interactions with the key stakeholders – teachers, administrative staff, founder and parents. During the process of the data collection through interviews and observations of informal discussions, several teachers mentioned how the questions posed for the study were persuading them to rethink their approach to tutelage in the light of social inclusion. In fact, during the course of the study, the mere fact that the researcher was present and that an observation on social inclusion practices was underway allowed teachers to re-imagine their pedagogical frameworks in a new light, as evidenced by their own reflections to the researcher. These can be considered as transformative aspects associated with the study, but they were unintended and passive in nature.

The true transformative potential of the study lies rather in the implications that it puts forward for further research. On a fundamental level, the study examined that liminal space within classrooms where legally enforceable rights are not valid and neither are morally enforced norms pliable. Such liminal spaces exist everywhere in institutions, specifically due to the fact that laws tend to be overtly generic and do not penetrate into the realm of face-to-face interactions on a daily basis. For instance, the RTE Act puts forth the need for admitting EWS children into educational institutions and also specifies that they should not be discriminated against, which is essentially the scope of legally binding modicum that it is. However, the Act doesn't put forth a tangible practicable framework through which institutions can methodically ensure that discrimination does not occur within its spatial, temporal and functional confines. Hence, unconscious bias, everyday

exclusionary practices that have been normalised, and deep-rooted curricular and pedagogical biases continue to co-exist with overarching laws such as the RTE.

The transformation of a school to an inclusive one would require teachers and parents to be conscious of the inherent biases and prejudices and to deal with the tension thus created; i.e. to adapt to the ‘new norms of social inclusion’ both internally and externally. This would require much deeper inner work for the actors to align with the norms of non-discrimination and inclusion as propagated by the Education Policies and RTE Act in India. The study provides actors prompts for reflection and an experiential frame of reference for becoming aware of their own prejudices and biases. Anderson (2003) notes that student-teacher interactions are the least scalable approach towards learning, specifically due to the biases that tend to exert themselves due to traditional approaches towards teaching in general. According to Anderson (2003) the learning environment plays a fundamental role in the outcome of the interaction. Thus, the processes and systems established by the school to be socially inclusive play a crucial role in influencing the mindset and behaviour of students, teachers and parents. Further the vision of the founders, leadership and other actors in power shapes the teaching and learning approach as well as actors’ intentional practices, perspective and behaviour.

This study is an attempt to enter into this “lawless” liminal space and examine the numerous challenges, concerns and potential areas of improvement that exist within a school that, for all intents and purposes, can be called an “inclusive” school from the perspective of RTE. A deep examination of the goings-on within the classrooms and halls of this school clearly lays bare the immense need for overarching, holistic and deep-reaching transformation that institutions must commit to if they truly want to become inclusive. Hence, the transformative potential of the study lies in the fact that it offers a chance for educators, teachers and parents to consider what the demands of being truly inclusive might look like and the efforts that will be needed to embrace this form of change. Being qualitative in nature and deriving from actual experiences and direct participation of social actors who are directly responsible for both exclusionary and inclusionary practices at the school, the study can act as a framework for all educational institutions irrespective of language, cultural or social norms and backgrounds. The study, in essence, can help institutions consider what true transformation into an inclusive entity might entail, including the various opportunities that are available for same and the obstacles that need to be surpassed to

achieve same. However, fundamentally, the study serves as a reminder that in the social spaces where laws and morals do not help in the upkeep of rights, there are definitive signs that inclusion demands a deeper, more pervasive and constantly evolving approach on the part of institutions.

References

- Anderson, T. (2003). Getting the mix right again: An updated and theoretical rationale for interaction. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, 4(2).
- Balogopalan, S. (2003). Neither suited for the home nor for the fields: inclusion, formal schooling and the Adivasi child. *IDS Bulletin*, 34/1, 55-62.
- Balogopalan, S. (2004). Understanding “inclusion” in Indian schools. *Reflections on school integration*, 125-146.
- Bêteille, A. (2005). Universities as public institutions. *Economic and Political weekly*, 3377-3381.
- Bhattacharya, T. (2010). Re-examining issue of inclusion in education. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 18-25.
- Blank, A., Houkamau, C., & Kingi, H. (2016). Unconscious bias and education. *A comparative study of Māori and African American students. Analysis & Policy Observatory: Oranui Diversity Leadership*.
- Connell, R. (1994). Poverty and education. *Harvard educational review*, 64(2), 125-150.
- Dalal, J. (2015). The Indelible Class Identity: Ethnographic Examination of a School. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(8), 36-39.
- Goffman, E. (2002). The presentation of self in everyday life. 1959. *Garden City, NY*, 259.
- Govinda, R., & Bandyopadhyay, M. (2008). *Access to Elementary Education in India. Country Analytical Review*.
- Govinda, R., & Josephine, Y. (2004). Para teachers in India. *New Delhi: NIEPA*.
- Graham, B., White, C., Edwards, A., Potter, S., & Street, C. (2019). School exclusion: a literature review on the continued disproportionate exclusion of certain. *Department for Education*.
- Jordan, A., Schwartz, E., and McGhie-Richmond, D. (2009). Preparing teachers for inclusive classrooms. *Teach. Teach. Educ.* 25, 535-542.
- Kabeer, N. (2000). Social Exclusion, Poverty and Discrimination: Towards an Analytical Framework. *IDS bulletin*, 31(4), 83-97.
- Le Grange, L. (2016). “Decolonising the university curriculum.” *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 30 (2), 1-12.
- McCarthy, C. (1997). Nonsynchrony and social difference: An alternative to current radical accounts of race and schooling. In H.A.H. Lauder, H. Brown, P. Stuart & A.Wells (eds), *Education, Culture, Economy, Society* (pp. 541-556). London: Oxford University Press.
- Nambissan, G. B. (2006). TERMS OF INCLUSION. *The Crisis of Elementary Education in India*, 224.
- Nambissan, G. B. (2020). Caste and the politics of the early ‘public’ in schooling: Dalit struggle for an equitable education. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 17(2), 126-154.
- Nambissan, G. B. (2021). *The changing urban and education in Delhi: Privilege and exclusion in a megacity*. Max-Weber-Stiftung-Deutsche Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland.

- Nambissan, G. B., and Lal, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Education and Social Justice in the Era of Globalisation - Perspectives from India and UK*. Routledge.
- Puri, K., Garg, M., Kaur, K., & Kaur, S. P. (2017). Educational Exclusion at Secondary Stage: Perspectives of Parents and Teachers. *EDITORIAL BOARD: Prof. Neeru*, 81.
- Ragin, C. C., & Becker, H. (1992). *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sarangapani, P. M. (2018). Hyderabad's Education Market. In M. Jain, A. Mehendale, R. Mukhopadhyay, P. M. Sarangapani, & C. Winch, *School education in India: Market, state and quality* (pp. 161-190). Taylor & Francis.
- Sarangapani, P. M. (2018). Notes on Quality in Education . In M. Jain, A. Mehendale, R. Mukhopadhyay, P. M. Sarangapani, & C. Winch, *School education in India: Market, state and quality* (pp. 139-158). Taylor & Francis.
- Sarangapani, P. M., & Jain, M. (2018). Formation of Pedagogy. In M. Jain, A. Mehendale, R. Mukhopadhyay, P. M. Sarangapani, & C. Winch, *School education in India: Market, state and quality* (pp. 218-226). Taylor & Francis.
- Sarangapani, P. M., Mukhopadhyay, R., Jain, P., & Jain, M. (2018). Recovering the practice and profession of teaching. In M. Jain, A. Mehendale, R. Mukhopadhyay, P. M. Sarangapani, & C. Winch, *School education in India: Market, state and quality* (pp. 123-137). Taylor & Francis.
- Sayed, Y., Soudien, C., & Carrim, N. (2004). Discourses of exclusion and inclusion in the South: Limits and Possibilities. *Journal of Educational Change*, 4(3) , 231-248.
- Sayed, Y., Subrahmanian, R., Soudien, C., Carrim, N., Balgopalan, S., Nekhwevha, F., & Samuel, M. (2007). *Education exclusion and inclusion: Policy and implementation in South Africa and India*. London: Department for International Development.
- Sen, A. K. (2000). *Social exclusion: Concept, application, and scrutiny* (No. 1). Manila: Office of Environment and Social Development, Asian Development Bank.
- Talib, M. (1992). Ideology, Curriculum and Class Construction: Observations from a School in a Working-Class Settlement in Delhi. *Sociological Bulletin*, 41(1 & 2) , 81-95.
- Tawil, S. (2002). Responding to social exclusion through curriculum change. *CURRICULUM CHANGE AND SOCIAL INCLUSION*, 6.
- Thorat, S., & Neuman, K. S. (2010). Blocked by caste: economic discrimination in modern India. Oxford, pp. 1- 23