A critical exploration of school education policy, using Foucaultian genealogy and discourse analysis, with regards to the construction *of the student* as a particular form of subjectivity in private schools in TamilNadu', India

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Abstract:

The research aims to critically analyse the discourses that are evident in the private and international schools in TamilNadu, India which affect the construction of student subjectivities, through the use of Foucaultian genealogy and discourse analysis. The schools in TamilNadu (TN) have been classified into three types, the state run schools, private schools and the International schools. The research methods chapter will explain the process of Foucauldian discourse analysis that will be employed in the research which involves data selection and data analysis. Data selection explains the most important sources of data that will be critically examined in this research which includes specific school documents of private schools including prospectus, websites, curriculum and education policy documents, survey reports and media sources which will be studied in relation to one another. Data analysis uses genealogy to document the historical conditions that tell us about the ideas that construct the current private school education system in TamilNadu, India. Foucault's concepts of discourse analysis and genealogy, which will be used in the analysis of data, will also be discussed. Based on reviewing the documents, the prominent links between the contemporary discourses and the historical discourses with regard to the government schools in TN are identified.

Research Questions:

1. What discourses are evident in the functioning of private schools in TamilNadu, India which affect the construction of student subjectivity?
2. What does a genealogical account of the development of these discourses tell us about the ideas that currently influence these policies

Rationale and Significance of Study:

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 exam 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 do 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). 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). 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 school education system that is followed currently given that India sets high academic standards but at the same time inhibits innovation and self-learning. 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).

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 is reported that 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 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.

TamilNadu (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). TN 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 TN, 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 any kind 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 the 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 the Education system of TamilNadu 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 different 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.

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 TN 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 TN 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.

The state of TamilNadu has a total of about 68 international schools. The term 'elite' is used to describe these schools because of the exorbitant fee structure and 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 (News Indian Express, 2013). Most of these schools are residential and co-educational and function with the aim of producing students compatible with the global standards predominantly catering to the affluent classes of the society, the expatriates, children of staff of international companies and the Non Resident Indian (NRI) population living abroad

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. Foucauldian discourse analysis will uncover the extent of the influence of Macaulay's system still operational in the current discourse. Debates about the relevance, utility and effects of the discipline and control methods followed in schools in TN include claims that current teaching methods lead to the constitution of compliant or docile subjects who do not resist the dominant political culture of the nation which is evident in recent media discussions. (Times of India, 2013; News Indian Express 2013; Contemporary TN debate, 2012). The research therefore aims to shed substantive light on this issue by the use of Foucault's discourse analysis which may be expected to identify both historical reasons, and contemporary reasons, for using these pedagogic strategies. By identifying the key concepts which drive these policies and practices (in the form of unthought assumptions), the research will provide some material that makes it easier for those who are anxious to challenge existing practices and policies based on inappropriate concepts. By exploring the notions of the student-as-subject, power relations, discipline and resistance, the dominative and normalising tendencies within the TN school education policies and practices will be illustrated in the research so that these tendencies may be resisted and challenged by staff and students alike in the future. The approach of discourse analysis used in the research will help bring out practices and experiences that may not be apparent when using other research methods, it provides an opportunity for identifying oppressive practises prevailing in TN schools and 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 Tamil Nadu school educational set- up might have been different.

Research Method and Methodology:

This thesis will use a qualitative research design as it enables the researcher to be interpretive and creative with their analysis (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). The main objective of social research is to uncover, understand and communicate the "truth" of situations. The chosen methodology is Discourse Analysis developed by Foucault. The Foucauldian Discourse Analysis has evolved into a 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). 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? " . This chapter covers the methodological process of data selection, data analysis and the ethical aspects of crystallisation, reflexivity and trustworthiness along with the limitations of research.

1. <u>Overview of the methodology:</u>

Discourses are defined as the spoken or written practises or visual representations which characterise a topic, an era or a cultural practise (Grbich, 2012). Discourse is everything we see and do; it includes practices, speech and text. Discourse constructs our reality and is how we interpret phenomenon 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 the notion that it is something broader. Foucault suggests that a discourse consists of a set of common assumptions which although, may be taken for granted so much as to be invisible, provides the basis for conscious knowledge (Cheek, 1999). Discourses enable us to understand the modern experience and how the phenomena we take for granted came into being (Parker, 2002). Foucault went on to describe discourses as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak (Foucault, 1972). By identifying the discourses and discursive practises of the school education policies 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 and discourses develop because of the social and cultural conditions prevalent at that particular time period (Foucault, 1972). The perception of my research is that, the current practises of discipline and control followed in most schools of TN favour compliance over imagination and critical thinking, hence putting the Indian graduates at a disadvantage in the global labour market which requires creative and adaptable workers.

The focus of this thesis is to identify the constructions of particular forms of student subjectivity that are evident in discourses of the school education policies of TamilNadu, India and its relationship with the elements of discourse examined by the use of the genealogical approach by Foucault. 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).

Focault's work on discourse analysis considered how historically and culturally located systems of power / knowledge construct subjects and their worlds, emphasising the concept of power in specific human contexts (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001). There are other themes of Foucault's view of discourse that are significant to this research. These include 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/ truths is created within and by the discourse. Foucault claimed that subjects such as madness, punishment and sexuality exist meaningfully within the discourses about them (Hall, 1997). This view would similarly be true for the topic to be studied in this thesis. Through the contemporary discourses and genealogical study knowledge or meaning from the current set of school educational policies in TN and the notions of construction of

student subjectivity embedded in those policies will become apparent from within the discourses about them.

2. Data Selection:

Discourse Analysis is different from other research methods because of how 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 in language use and use of dominant phrases in contemporary and historical documents. This methodology seeks to identify connections between language and other elements in social life suggesting that language helps create reality and there is no single social truth to be discovered (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001). In this research, the analysis will be confined to the discourses that are constructed rather than the people who produced the talk or the documents.

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

The first data source that was 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 second set of data that was 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 third 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.

3. Data Analysis:

Data analysis will involve a thematic analysis of the discourse which emphasises on the organisation and rich description of the data set which helps in identifying implicit and explicit ideas with the data collected by coding important moments in the data. The analysis uses a genealogy to document the historical conditions that tell us about the ideas that construct the current school education policies 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)

The most important themes of Foucault 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.

3.1 Genealogy:

A significant component of Foucault's discourse analysis is the concept of genealogy which forms a substantial part of this research. This is based on the acknowledged notion 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 mankind. This research will focus on the history of the contemporary school education policies prevalent in the state of TamilNadu, India with an emphasis on colonial rule as the present school education system followed in India is a product of the British colonisation. 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 (Rabinbow, 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 is included in the literature review which traces the history of the different kinds of schools in TamilNadu, with a belief that it will uncover the discursive practices that has led to the current educational and pedagogic policies followed in the state.

3.2 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.

3.3 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 as it is an inherent part of the Indian education system.

Foucault by adopting a genealogical approach demonstrated his social criticism in *Discipline and Punish* where he 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 modelled on Bentham's prison of Panapticon 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 Panapticon 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' 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).

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 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.

3.4 Governmentality:

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). The above concept of power is used in the research which aims to study how people's conduct were directed and controlled through the tactics and techniques of the state to establish and maintain power, domination and inequality in the society.

Research Findings:

This chapter which is an important part of Foucault's genealogical analysis will analyse the notions of student subjectivity embedded in the contemporary discourses and the historical discourses with regards to the different school types in TN, India.

Foucault's view of student subjectivity : A school as a disciplinary block

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).

Private Schools (CBSE, Anglo –Indian and Matriculation Boards):

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. 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. Between 2007-2013, the enrolment in private schools went up by 27 million in India (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.

3.1 Contemporary discourses

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 TN, 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 Panapticon 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.

3.2 Historical Discourses:

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.

3.2.1 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.

4. Elite International Schools: (Cambridge curriculum or IB -International Baccalaureate or ICSE)

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.

4.1 Contemporary discourses

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).

4.2 Historical Discourses:

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.

Links between the Contemporary and the Historical Discourses:

Based on reviewing a range of documents starting from school education policy docs, Survey reports, current media debates, newspaper articles to historical documents, prominent links between historical discourses and the contemporary discourses were established. India's education system has had various historical influences for over 4000 years but the new education policy established by the British in 1845 is considered as a single most far reaching measure as without that, the current Indian nation we have today could not have existed. The significant legacies of the British that are still very much a part of the Indian private school education context today, is English being established as a medium of instruction and communication, the utilitarian value of education and how fluency in the English Language raises your employment prospects and is an absolute necessity in the service sector. The text book centred pedagogy, examination oriented learning is a significant part of the private schools even in primary schools where rote learning and memorisation of facts is the norm to score well in the exams. Thus the education in the private schools coincide with Lord Macaulay, the architect of the Indian school education system during the British era who insisted on the creation of an elite middle class who according to Macaulay would be interpreters between the British rulers and the millions of whom they govern, a class of people who would be Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, morals and opinions and intellect.

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