Chapter V
Analysis and Interpretation

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter III, the data has been collected using a variety of tools. During the data collection, the data analysis was carried out (ongoing data analysis) which provided direction for answering the research questions raised. Through these activities, the entire fieldwork was carried out for a final round of data analysis (at-end data analysis).

From the data, the codes and categories were generated in order to draw themes that would help in understanding social capital with regard to its manifestation, sustenance, and effect, in the school context. The categories were then identified based on the nature of information, pattern, and context to generate three themes that formed the basis of the analysis and its subsequent interpretation. The three themes namely were:

5.2 Individual Dimension of Social Capital

5.3 Interpersonal Dimension of Social Capital

5.4 Institutional Dimension of Social Capital

The data pertaining to each of these dimensions were elaborated and discussed in the form of different subsections. This was followed by the interpretations which were presented under the heading 'Contextual Interpretive Insights' after each dimension, wherein the conversations, interactions, and experiences were analysed and presented from the lens of social capital. This was done to understand the manifestation and wherewithal of social capital at each level in a school. This comprehensive yet critical reflection on the significance of the words, context, and setting contributed to extending the understanding of social capital in a school context.

5.2 INDIVIDUAL DIMENSION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

The Individual dimension of social capital has talked about the characteristics, abilities, and attributes of actors within the school community that influence the collective knowledge and information-sharing processes within the school community. It involved recognizing how individuals' cognitive and social engagement beyond the school would

impact their participation in knowledge-building, knowledge-sharing, and its contributions to the school's social capital.

To understand social capital about its manifestation, sustenance, and effect, in the context of SFS school, the section has been divided into six sub-sections. These six sub-sections as shown in Figure 11.
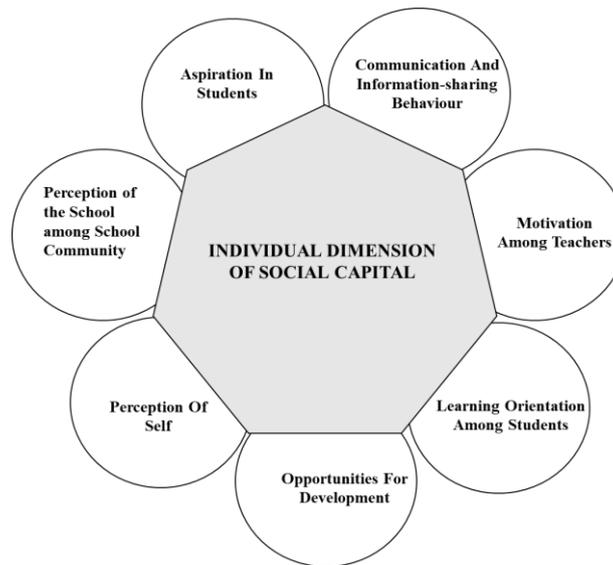

Figure 11. Representation of Individual Dimension of Social Capital

A detailed description of the individual dimension of social capital in terms of its perception of the self among students and teachers, perception of the school among students and teachers, learning orientation among students, aspirations in students, motivation among teachers, and opportunities for development by the school has been presented to develop an understanding of the Individual dimension of social capital. These sub-sections are then followed by constructing meaning under 'Contextual Interpretive Insights'.

5.2.1 Aspiration in Students

Aspirations in elementary students encompassed their educational goals, their careers, hopes, and goals for the future. Moreover, aspirations were believed to help students not only to develop a sense of purpose but also to strengthen their identity. The principal and teachers during our interactions had shared that students in the school come "*from modest and humble backgrounds*" and were motivated to excel and prove themselves, which stemmed from their family background. The students, as per the teachers and principal, seemed to possess "*fire in the belly*" that helped them to overcome obstacles

by driving them to work hard. Hence, when their students succeed it makes the teacher and the principal apparently proud of their achievements. The principal shared that whenever they would witness their students' achievements, they had a sense of fulfilment for making a difference to the community at large. This was observed in the interviews and informal conversations with the students, where they shared their career goals and motivations.

In most of the cases, when asked what they aspire to be when they grow up, most of the students expressed a desire to be a teacher. When asked the reasons, most of the students replied that they admired their teachers for working hard to teach them and hence showed signs of inclination to model their teachers' behaviour *"अगर मैं बड़ी हो कर बनी teacher तो मुझे भी ऐसे ही पढ़ाना है जैसे मेरे teachers मुझे पढ़ाते है।"*. However, for a few students being a teacher meant *"मुझे बचपन से blackboard पर लिखना पसंद है इसलिए teacher बन ना है"* and for others being a teacher meant being the one who has power in the classroom because *"Teacher किसी को भी क्लास में चुप करके बैठा सकता है"*, suggesting the existence of hierarchy in the classroom and its awareness among the students.

The contributions of Rajasthan in the defence services of India seemed to have percolated the career choices of SFS school students as well. A lot of students also expressed their aspiration to join the defence services. For this, two students (S4 and S21) even shared that *"हम दोनों उसी स्कूल में जाएंगे जहाँ NCC हो क्यूंकि हम दोनों को फ़ौज में जाना है।"*. There were few students who were inspired by the members of their family and were interested to join the defence as one of the students said *"मेरे काकोसा फ़ौज में थे। तो उन्हें देख कर और वो life देख कर मुझे है कि फ़ौज में जाऊं।"*. Apart from prominent career aspirations of being a teacher or joining the army, there were students who said that they wanted to be *"Doctor बनना है"* when they grew up.

Many students of SFS schools came from a joint family wherein their parents and family members were not educated. In a few cases such as S1, S7, S19, S21, and S30 cited that their parents were illiterate. Furthermore, most of the students being motivated and able to pursue a career such as a teacher, doctor, and defense meant that *"मेरा future बहुत matter करता है। मैं अपने पापा और मम्मी को proud feel करना चाहती हूँ (pause) और अपने भाई-बहन को भी।"*, this indicated that the student apparently had a sense of responsibility for their family.

5.2.2 Perception of the School Among School Community

As the leader of the school, the principal shared that "*when you talk about small school*" such as SFS school, which is a low-fee private recognized primary school "*the tag itself is discouraging.*" This was because as a small school, it "*doesn't have a financial backing, we are not funded by anyone. We are trying to exist just by whatever we have and make.*" But as an institution, the principal opined that "*you don't have to have a huge building and playgrounds to impart good education*" rather it is the "*teacher who will impart education,*" hence emphasizing the primordial role of the teacher, which is to teach the content, inculcate values and character.

Most students viewed their school as a place of study, "*स्कूल में तो हम पढ़ाई करने आते है।*". However, few students described their school as a 'temple' as "*we get knowledge.*" This knowledge is important for students because "*अगर knowledge नहीं होगी तो हम कुछ नहीं बन पाएंगे।*". The students believed that the school is the only place where "*हम पढ़ने आते है और education लेने आते है।*". Most students did not differentiate between the words like teaching, education, knowledge, and study (*पढ़ाई*). This indicated that the students had yet not been able to make a clear distinction between the role of the teacher and the educational experience provided by the school. Hence, reflecting their perspective of seeing their school as a place "*जहाँ विद्यार्थी सिर्फ अध्ययन के लिए आता है।*".

Even when I spoke to the teachers, they described it as a "*temple of knowledge*", and "*place of learning*" suggesting their perception about the school. But T2 seemed to insist that "*देखो, स्कूल को कैसे भी मान लें, मन में आती पढ़ाई ही है।*", thereby reiterating that the primary functional role of the school is to ensure that teaching-learning processes are done appropriately since a school is "*एक ऐसी संस्थान जिसका संचालन ही अध्ययन के लिए होता है।*". Thus, reinforcing the point that a school operates and functions solely for the benefit of providing a conducive space for the learners to learn. Furthermore, the focal point of the school's existence rests on facilitating the teaching-learning process.

The teachers opined that their focus was not limited to the teaching of the curriculum, but was also extended to moral and character building as they shared "*हम संस्कार भी देते है*" which would help the students to face problems in life. In addition to this, through proper character and moral building, the students would garner inner strength which is important when they grow up and become adults. During the interactions with different

teachers, I observed that teachers found it challenging to recall and discuss specific achievements of their students. They opined that success comes in many forms. Many of their former students have pursued careers in engineering, medicine, and others. However, not all students might not have pursued or achieved success in a competitive career, but they found meaning and success in their lives. Hence, the teachers underscored that success is not limited to a specific career, rather it is an interplay of different aspects. The principal on one occasion shared that one of her former students is a professional derby player and once invited students to visit the stables as a part of a field trip. This made the principal believe that such show that even though the student might have studied here till class VIII, the impact was so profound that *"there are parents who follow us because of what we give them and how we teach the child."* This created a sense of fulfilment among the members of the school community.

Most students viewed their school as a place of study, *"स्कूल में तो हम पढ़ाई करने आते है।"*. However, few students described their school as a 'temple' as *"we get knowledge."* This knowledge was believed to be important for students because *"अगर knowledge नहीं होगी तो हम कुछ नहीं बन पाएंगे।"*. The students considered that the school was the only place where *"हम पढ़ने आते है और education लेने आते है।"*. When asked to elaborate on their perception of education, the students did not seem to understand the difference between teaching, and education. In most of the cases, these words were interchangeably used by the student during our conversations.

The family background of the students highlighted that in some cases they were first-generation learners. The conversations with the students, revealed that they viewed education as a strong agent of social mobility as *"स्कूल कि ज़रिये से ही तो हम आगे पहुंचेंगे।"*. This was to such an extent that few of them opined that *"कॉलेज की पढ़ाई काम नहीं आती है आगे जाके, स्कूल की काम आती है।"*. Furthermore, they shared the idea that *"आपको English नहीं आएगी और लोग आपकी इज़्ज़त नहीं करेंगे"* and seemed to acknowledge the importance and contribution of English language *"मैं English में अच्छी होंगी तो मेरी पढ़ाई भी अच्छी होगी और आगे चलकर मैं अच्छी जगह admission भी ले सकती हूँ"* which could point out towards the persistent emphasis on knowing the language and its relation with the extent of success one would attain.

Most of the students experienced a positive school climate and support because "*जो समझ नहीं आता है वो यहाँ पर teachers मुझे तब तक समझाती है जब तक मुझे समझ में नहीं आ जाता।*". Moreover, the teachers were observed to be active in ensuring that all the students were engaged whether they would attend online or offline classes. Most of the students informed that their teachers were accessible and available on the phone "*यहाँ सब अपने बच्चे की तरह पढ़ाते है*" as they illustrated the efforts of their teachers. In addition to this, one of the students shared that when she was ill along with her family, the principal and teachers supported her by taking extra classes after school hours.

A few students shared the ridicule they often faced in their neighbourhoods in the form of name-calling or criticism for school uniforms or the type of school "*वो बोलते है कि तू तो गंदे स्कूल में पढ़ती है। इतनी छोटी classroom है, uniform भी अच्छी नहीं है*" which they reported did not happen to them in school. Rather most of the students reported "*मुझे वो यहाँ मेरे दोस्त नहीं बोलते है। तो वो चीज़ मुझे अच्छी लगती है,*" which indicated that the students received support from their peers within the school, thus attributing to the formation of a safe, secure, and conducive school environment.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the lockdown hurt the teaching-learning process at the global level. However, the school being closed and open between the second and third lockdown created a problem for students in SFS school who had difficulty in accessing the online classes. The school became an important setting for expressing themselves along with knowledge and information-sharing, as students shared "*School जब आते है ना तो समझ में ठीक से आता है की क्या क्या होता है*" because "*Teachers से discussion भी कर सकता है।*". Many students shared that they do not like the constant transition between the school and online classes as one of the students shared "*अब ऐसा सोचती हूँ "अरे स्कूल जाना पड़ेगा" तो ये सोचकर ही ज़ोर आता है।*". This indicated that while the students understood the importance of attending the school, they also seemed to grow tired of the switch that they were forced to make due to the pandemic situation. Thus, had affected their motivation, and determination thereby leading to a generation of negative perceptions of school.

The students also shared their concerns such as "*Financially मुझे लगता है कि स्कूल strong नहीं है,*" apart from the low classroom strength, changing buildings, absence of playground, which seemed to affect their interests in coming to the school. The students

felt and shared that "सब जानते थे कि SFS School नाम का एक अच्छा School है इस area में। लेकिन अब तो बहुत कम लोगों को पता है, और अब यहाँ पर students भी बहुत कम है तो कोई आना नहीं चाहता है।". The students seemed to experience an institutional identity crisis because the school kept shifting, which apparently affected their affinity towards the institution. They added that they had to tell people the names of the nearby schools and places whenever they tried to talk about the location of their school. The students shared that irrespective of the status of their school, the school should make efforts to advertise and publicize itself to gain more visibility to the extent that "मुझे मेरे स्कूल address से सब मुझे जाने ना की सामने वाले स्कूल के नाम या address से", highlighting the need to have an identity of being associated with a school that is known by its name rather than its surroundings.

The presence of stability within the school also seemed to have affected the 'respect of school property' in students. During one of the interviews, I sat on a rickety chair which student S4 informed me "आप जिस chair पर बैठे हो ना वो मैंने तोड़ दी थी एक दिन। तो मैंने अगले दिन fevikwik ले कर चिपका दिया और एक जगह रख दिया।". Even though the student requested not to tell, at times I observed instances of disrespect in terms of students standing on a plastic chair and dancing when teachers were not around.

However, the principal believed that the parents "*don't appreciate the effort,*" rather "*the parents bargain*" about everything. The parents often were observed to confront the teachers and the principal citing "इतने छोटे से स्कूल का क्या खर्चा है?" The conversations with the principal also revealed that managing a small school such as theirs is a challenge because the duty of teaching well and giving good results is equal to other schools. The parents were criticized for not supporting and cooperating with the school but were perceived to be ready to "*exploit and extract whatever you have.*" Despite working hard, the teachers "*often feel cheated when the children left without saying thank you or paying their dues.*" which made them wonder if the teaching has become "*a thankless job.*"

The teachers and principal seemed melancholic about the school, with one teacher, T1, even saying that "कोरोना के बाद भी हमारा स्कूल run-up कर रहा है, *that is a big thing.*" Yet the students of SFS school argued "मेरा स्कूल छोटा भले ही है। मैं इस स्कूल में आकर बहुत कुछ सीखा है", and also added that it does not matter to them "यहाँ canteen नहीं है, playground नहीं है" because "पढ़ाई ही है जो किसी भी स्कूल में most important है।". This showed that the

students knew that the primary aim of the school was to manoeuvre the teaching-learning process in such a way that it led to the cognitive engagement, hence a priority. However, the students recognized and acknowledged the contributions of the school towards their development and therefore seemed to be ready to adjust to whatever the infrastructural problems the school had.

5.2.3 Perception of Self

The perception of the self speaks about an individual's understanding, beliefs, and feelings about his own identity, abilities, roles, self-worth, self-esteem, self-concept, and self-awareness about their profession, roles, and responsibilities.

When I spoke to the principal of SFS school before the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, she reiterated her vision of providing "*quality education with affordable fees*" behind opening the school and would share that with the deterioration of the values prominent, therefore if "*I bring out 80 students with good values and morals, I would at least have contributed something to society, even if it's a drop in the ocean. I have at least paid a little bit of debt to society. I have made a positive contribution.*" This underscored the belief of the principal that if they could instil a positive mindset, and inculcate values by educating and guiding their students, they would feel satisfied as it was symbolic of paying a debt to society. Even if it might seem like a small thing amidst the grand scheme of things, nurturing students with values and morals would be significant to their role as educators.

However, the principal has added that people always questioned her for running a school that catered to low socio-economic group. When I asked her the reason why, she replied "*as teacher we should remember that our duty is to teach those who needs to be taught something. You are trying to bring up somebody who needs to be brought up. This is the role of the teacher.*" Thus, it was emphasized that for education to become an agent of social mobility, the teacher must ascribe to the role of the facilitator of that social mobility. The principal informed that as a teacher herself she practices and advocates "*bring herself down to each one's level and try to move with the child rather than moving with the class as whole.*" This was suggestive of the teachers' teaching approach which was tailored around valuing individualisation of students. Furthermore, by understanding the individual needs, strengths, learning style and issues towards learning

the teacher seemed to establish personal connections. Ultimately, focusing on the well-being and progress of each student.

The conversations with the teacher revealed that most of them considered themselves to be multi-talented "*Actually मैं सब पढ़ा सकती हूँ। तो वक़्त के साथ सब आ गया*", suggesting that they juggled different roles in the school. For a few of the teachers, working in SFS school was the beginning of their journey to be a teacher "*इस स्कूल ने जब मुझे इस लायक समझा कि मैं टीचर बन सकती हूँ*" and gave an identity "*इस स्कूल ने मुझे एक पहचान दी है।*". They further added that "*Teacher अभी सब नहीं बन ना पसंद करते है पर Teacher के बिना भी समाज आगे नहीं बढ़ पाएगा।*". Therefore, becoming a teacher may not be a choice of everyone, but the role of a teacher towards the development of society cannot be denied. To highlight the importance of a teacher, the teachers such as T6 informed that they restrained themselves from scolding the students and rather puts in effort in the form of conversing with them about the reasons for not doing homework or missing out the school. This was done to mitigate the lack of support from the homes of the students.

Moreover, the students of SFS school had a strong sense of the importance of speaking the English language and success in life. The students insisted that "*English में अच्छी होंगी तो मेरी पढ़ाई भी अच्छी होगी और आगे चलकर मैं अच्छी जगह admission भी ले सकती हूँ*" thus associating the significance of understanding one language to that of success in life. In addition to this, the students shared that they want to prove to their classmates and parents about how much success they can achieve in their lives.

5.2.4 Opportunities for Development

The school provided an arena of opportunities for its members to discover and engage their interests in the areas of sports, art, and culture. By providing such opportunities, the school showed its commitment to nurturing the growth of the lives and future of its members. Furthermore, the school also served as a platform for the community members to harness engagement, and resilience and empowered them to be productive contributors to society.

As a principal of the school, it was shared that "*we can provide opportunities to our children, if not the same but to an extent that could help them nurture their talent and build up confidence when they go to other schools and even in life.*" This showed that despite catering to the section of underprivileged, the school underscores the equality of

opportunities in its practice. This also showed that despite perceiving the school as "*low-budget*" and "*the small school*", the school seemed to have confidence that it could make the best use of the available resources.

During the COVID-19 lockdown, the students informed me that before the pandemic they were engaged in activities such as poem recitations, festival celebrations, plays, and dances. Apart from cultural and artistic activities, the students also participated in sports such as cricket and football. Thus, indicating that the school provided the students to explore the opportunities, develop their talents including participating in sports, thereby leading to a holistic development of the students. Furthermore, through these activities not only did the students seem to develop a sense of appreciation for art and aesthetics but it fostered sportsmanship, teamwork, cooperation, and an overall fitness of health among the students.

Picture 1. Festivals Celebration in school after the COVID-19 pandemic

The students during the COVID-19 lockdown were observed to participate in Christmas and Basant Panchami celebration. From Picture 1, various points during the fieldwork were observed where the students participated in different festivals as per the norms imposed after the COVID-19 pandemic. During the conversations, the teachers and the principal often became nostalgic about an "*all-city exhibition*," in which the SFS school also participated. They informed that in this event the students performed a dance that "*received a standing ovation and was even featured in the next day's newspaper.*" In another event, the students performed a play written by William Shakespeare at the Birla

Auditorium, where "w*e got such a rave response and were spoken very highly.*" The teachers and principal believed that as a school they try their best to provide these kinds of opportunities for its students but "*parents resist for reasons like money or family function*" which made it difficult for them to put their whole heart in.

5.2.5 Learning Orientation Among Students

The learning orientation of the students was focused on their approach and mindset towards learning. This resulted in the fixation of students' learning orientation that moulded their beliefs, attitudes, and actions, thus promoting knowledge and skills.

Before the COVID-19 lockdown, I observed that students did not loiter but rather stayed in their classrooms when their classes were idle. The students of class V at that time shared that since they would be appearing for the board examination they need to study and secure good marks. The students during their conversations agreed on the importance of education. They opined that the education has a transformative power to improve their participation in the world because "*बिना पढ़ाई के तो हम दुनिया में रह ही नहीं सकते है क्यूंकि कोई भी बुद्धु बना कर चला जाएगा।*". Furthermore, the students also seemed to realize that "*अगर मुझे पढ़ाई नहीं आती होगी तो मैं बड़ी होकर कैसे पैसे कमाऊंगी?*", thereby highlighted the importance of education towards positive financial freedom.

The teachers supported their students' interest in learning. They added that their students were motivated and responded positively to their teaching-learning processes. The teachers believed that as a student, it was one's duty to obey the instructions given by the teachers because only a teacher has the best interest at heart for students. The zeal of students in pursuit of their education motivated the teachers to work harder for their lessons and make efforts during the COVID-19 lockdown.

With the COVID-19 pandemic and the lockdown, the students themselves reported that they experienced a decline in their interest to study. The students perceived the lockdown as "*हम लोग lockdown को छुट्टियां ही छुट्टियां समझते थे। हम तो मज़े करते थे।*". Most of the students seemingly felt ecstatic because "*पूरी life में इतनी छुट्टिया नहीं मिली जितनी उस lockdown में मिली थी।*". One of the students, S27 shared her experience that "*Starting में अच्छा नहीं लगता था क्यूंकि स्कूल बंद हो रहे थे। पर फिर धीरे-धीरे देर से उठते थे, घर पर भी कोई बोलता नहीं था पढ़ने के लिए तो पढ़ाई कब ख़राब हो गयी पता ही नहीं चला।*". This feeling of lethargy was experienced by other students who shared that "*online class हुआ वैसे starting starting में*

तो पढ़ाई भी करी और *homework* भी किया पर उसके बाद जो है सब जाने दिया।''. The teachers observed behavioural changes among students since the COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown such as the students would stand suddenly, roam around the classroom, and seemed less interested in sitting at one place for a longer time. Furthermore, the concentration among the students seemed to be impacted as well. This has resulted in a reduced inclination to receive and process information being given in the school.

Moreover, the students experienced a profound impact on their social lives during the COVID-19 lockdown as they missed their friends from school and would wait for their online classes to start "*उस में कभी-कभी camera on कर देते थे ताकि सबका face दिख सके।*". Still, the students and teachers experienced a change in classroom behaviour in online classes such as "*वहां बात नहीं कर सकते थे जैसा क्लास में करते थे,*" which was a radical shift from their offline classroom behaviour of students where "*बच्चा उठता है, पानी पीता है, इधर-उधर जाता है, बात करता है, rubber नीचे गिराता है, उठाता है उसे, so many actions that a child does.*" This was not possible in the online class as the students were expected to sit and "*staring at the screen wide-eyed.*" This was observed as a deterioration in the form of interest in studies among students, which culminated in low classroom attendance, switched-off cameras, and unfinished assignments. However, few of the students enjoyed attending online classes as compared to offline classes because "*online में टीचर ने कुछ पूछा, अगर नहीं आता है तो चुपके से book से देख कर जवाब दे दिया तो कई बार तो teacher को पता ही नहीं चलता था। offline में तो मैडम डांट देते है और ज़्यादा मेहनत भी करनी पड़ती थी।*". This was suggestive of the issue of monitoring the actions of students and correcting it in online classes as compared to offline classes. However, punctuated attempts to return to normal lives were made that resulted in the constant opening and closing of schools, but the students told "*जब भी स्कूल खुलते तो मुझे अच्छा लगता और फिर बंद हो जाते थे तो भी मुझसे अच्छा नहीं लगता था क्यूंकि मैं फिर पढ़ाई करना बंद कर देती थी, आलस करती थी।*". The student, thus, seemed to believe that the online classes did have some benefits as "*Online classes थी तो lockdown में पढ़ाई हो गयी वरना exams में 1 नंबर भी नहीं ला पाते*" but with the persistent access issue of the online classes, there was a decline in the learning orientation among students which have also affected their school participation.

5.2.6 Communication and Information-sharing behaviour in the school
Communication and information-sharing behaviour involve the ways individuals or groups in school transmit information, ideas, and messages. By understanding the

nuances of communication and channels, patterns and dynamics were understood which essentially led to the building of relationships in professional settings that transcend to the personal level as well.

Since the school constantly shifted from one place to the other, I was informed that they had "*hired a person*" who ensured that all the information regarding the school was properly updated at the UDISE+ portal. Furthermore, this alleviated the issue of not being able to come under the RTE portal every time they shifted the building. However, with the technological advancements I was informed the process has become faster and smoother. When I asked to meet the person who handled it, I was not given an affirmative response.

The school was run under the single leadership of the principal, the teachers would directly talk to her and discuss the problems, issues, and challenges. Apart from this, the school had a WhatsApp group for teachers where information about absences, holidays, and other administrative issues was discussed. Even though I was not allowed to be a member of the group, I was told by a teacher that the school group of teachers was used as a single source of information from the principal's end. This meant that the information by the principal on the WhatsApp group was the only source of authentic information. This was done so that miscommunication and duplication of information were avoided.

The information channel between the students and teachers was largely limited to the teaching-learning process. This became challenging during the COVID-19 lockdown as "*कुछ parents है वो गाँव चले गए क्यूंकि यहाँ पर सब बंद था तो घर कैसे चलाये*" and "*इस टाइम में survive करना ज़्यादा ठीक समझा बजाये बच्चों की पढ़ाई के।*". Therefore, taking classes with all the students at the same time became a challenge. It was further told that the teachers made serious attempts to track the parents of the students who left the city in the light of the pandemic and informed them about the online classes and WhatsApp audios and videos that were given to the students who had "*एक ही smartphone है और कोई और साधन नहीं है*", thus attempts were made so that the communication with the students was maintained by seeking help and support from their parents. The teachers added that they insisted during their classroom teaching that "*कि जब तक बेटा आप पूरी तरह से clear नहीं होंगे तब मैं आगे नहीं बढ़ूंगी।*". The teachers acknowledged the need to be efficient in teaching

young children in online classes since their focus was to ensure that the students had minimum exposure to the screen and maximum learning. Therefore, the assignments were given that would require minimal computer assistance. This was done to ensure that students became more aware and connected to their surroundings and learned to use offline resources which was beneficial to the students' development. Thus, an attempt was made constantly to improvise teaching methods and assessment styles so that the students did not lose out on their studies.

5.2.7 Motivation Among Teachers

Motivation steers the energy, direction, and persistence to work towards the goal which could be career, personal, academic, or any other. This motivation within an individual is aroused from within or from external factors such as rewards, and recognition. In SFS school, the initial source of motivation seemed to be getting validation from the principal. Most of the actions of the teachers were directed to showcase their skills to their colleagues and the principal of the school. The teachers shared that as a teacher they must teach their students and maintain discipline in class. Few of the teachers had prior experience in teaching at other schools, where they observed "*principal नहीं रहती है to teachers नहीं पढ़ाती है । घूमती रहती है या स्टाफ रूम में गप्पें लगाती है । But here, we all working on our work, working on it all the time. हमारी खुद की responsibility है कि हमें पढ़ाना है बच्चों को अच्छे से।*" This denoted that the teachers understood their duty as teachers and exhibited a deep-seated professional responsibility towards the students and by extension to the school.

Picture 2. Teacher teaching in a multigrade classroom (classes IV and V)

For a few teachers teaching was a hobby that gave them a sense of self-satisfaction. Others, such as T6 as shown in Picture 2 was teaching in a multigrade classroom of IV and V, opined that teaching was a responsibility, and some deemed it as a God's gift "*Shikshak word is not for everyone. हर कोई नहीं बन सकता है।*". The teachers believed that being a teacher was not merely an occupation. It was the calling that required a commitment to selfless dedication. Therefore, it cannot be pursued by anyone. However, there was one teacher, T4, who said that even though she loved children, choosing to be a teacher came out of her turmoil, "*It was my (pause) like (pause) circumstantial process था मेरा (pause) तो मुझे (pause) I too (pause) I had to come to this profession.*" It was later informed to me by several teachers that T4 has been associated as a teacher since the inception of the school wherein irrespective of her tribulations she was one of the good teachers of the school.

Few teachers had been associated with the school for more than a decade. These teachers shared that given the area in which the school has been operative, they were being compensated well in the initial days. However, now the school has been suffering from financial and other issues because of which their compensation has not increased as much as they would expect. In fact, with the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, their salaries were not paid for nearly ten months. Yet, the teachers felt obligated as the school supported them during their crises and therefore despite so many issues, they preferred working in the school rather than shifting to other schools.

The classroom observations and the observations during the celebration of festivals showed that teachers of all the classes would involve all the students in different activities. For instance, during the celebration of Christmas, a student of class VIII was instructed to become Santa Claus. The teachers rented the costume, another teacher brought in three cushions which the student wore under the dress to look like a real Santa Claus. The principal brought the snacks and cakes which were distributed among the students and teachers. The students were encouraged to eat and ask for a second round, which all the students did. After this event, I spoke to a teacher, T3, who shared that "*एक ऐसी टीचर बनूँ कि मेरे students मुझे पूरी ज़िन्दगी याद रखे कि एक टीचर थी जो हमें इतना अच्छा पढ़ाती थी कि आज हम यहाँ पहुंचे है।*". This demonstrated the aspiration of the teacher itself to leave a positive yet lasting impact on the students' lives. Thus, the desire to be an inspiration to the students seemed to be a strong driving force among the teachers.

The teacher recognized the negative impact on students' learning due to the COVID-19 lockdown, yet displayed a commitment "*मेरे सारे students अब एक अच्छे level पर आये ताकि आगे चल कर उन्हें कोई दिक्कत नहीं हो।*". This was done by the teachers through conducting extra classes, teaching the students basics, and repeatedly asking parents to send their children to school. The teachers showed grit and determination "*इतना confidence मुझे मेरे बच्चों पर वापस लाना है की जैसे पहले खुद से मेहनत करके अपना सारा काम time से करते थे वैसे ही अभी करे, और जब तक नहीं करेंगे मैं effort लगा कर उनसे कराती रहूंगी।*". Hence, shedding light on the teachers' desires to rebuild and restore confidence among their students. This also showed the nurturing character of the teachers which could have an impact on student's self-assurance. Hence, by guiding and supporting appropriately students the teachers display a strong ethical inclination to their work.

5.2.8 Contextual Interpretive Insights

The principal perceived education as a strong medium to instil good values and morals among the students. This strengthened their belief and trust in their roles as educators and mentors which led to the creation of a positive and supportive school culture. Yet the "small-school" label was professed as demotivating. This could be because the school lacked the physical resources which are an integral part of larger educational institutions. Yet there were instances where resilience and determination were displayed by the members of the school community despite the presence of financial constraints and inadequate infrastructure. Thus, the students and teachers have shown instances of the shared value system, trust, and collective perception of the school.

Most of the individuals including the students shared the concept of school as a "temple of knowledge" and "place of learning," which not only stressed the importance of school as a center of knowledge acquisition. But also indicated that the collective value system within the school community was aware of the transformative capacity of education, thus highlighting the impact of social capital. This was further supported by the principal's vision of giving "quality education with affordable fees," which was supported by teachers as a collective purpose. However, for a few students, the absence of a playground or canteen mattered. This could indicate that the absence of the resources might have had some impact on the school's reputation, which might have a negative impact on the generation and usage of social capital by the school from the community. However, the resilience of the teachers, students, and principal in the form

of being committed to the core mission of the school: education, suggests the presence of social capital among teachers, students, and principal.

There was an element of aspiration among the students of SFS school in terms of career goals. Since many students were not from an educated family background, the students expressed a strong sense of responsibility towards their families. Most of them expressed their desire to become a teacher, thus indicating the inspiration they drew from their teachers who shaped their lives. This showed the respect and admiration the students have for their teachers. This could be viewed as a willingness of the students to trust and rely on their teachers to aid their understanding of the world academically, morally, and culturally. This notion was apparently reciprocated by the teachers who displayed a commitment to instil values and life skills among their students. In addition to this, choosing a career such as a teacher denoted the shared values of a commitment to better family life. Within the school community, the shared identity and presence of role models within the school fostered a sense of belonging among the students as well. Thus, individual perceptions shaped trust, and aspiration and led to a collective identity and shared values, which were essential to creating social capital which would contribute towards a cohesive and supportive school community.

The teachers shared their aspiration to be a good teacher to their students. The teachers opined that rather than referring to teaching as an occupation, it was a "calling", as it is a God's gift. This suggested that the teachers viewed teaching as a vocation that required a profound commitment to the education and well-being of the students. Therefore, teaching for them was a job that rested on a deep sense of commitment and selfless dedication. This also manifested as their aspirations to be remembered by their students for the quality of education they provide; seemingly helped them to go to extra mile to create memorable educational experiences for their students. The teachers showed their commitment to the school's vision to positively influence students' lives. There were certain internal and external factors that motivated the teachers. The validation the teachers desired from the principal served as an essential source of motivation. This also modulated their actions which focused on showcasing their skills to their colleagues and principal. Thereby, meaning that recognition was a powerful driver for teachers in the school community. Apart from this, the teachers were driven by their sense of commitment, professionalism, and responsibility towards the school. The teacher shared that the principal was not involved beyond the administration of the school in their

previous school experiences, however, in SFS school, they shared a commitment to foster a positive work environment, thus enhancing the social capital within the school.

The school was found to have multiple channels of information between the students, teachers, principal, and parents. Each of these channels served as a channel for sharing information, updates, and feedback, and was indicative of the existence of social capital within these relationships. For instance, the teacher's perseverance to ensure that the students understand the subject content before proceeding showcases their commitment to effective communication. This communication fostered trust between teachers and students which had a significant impact on the quality of education. The students displayed a willingness to obey the instructions given by their teachers, which showed that the students trusted their teachers to have their best interests at heart. Trust, therefore, emerged as a key influencer of social capital. In other words, the students were more likely to follow instructions, engage in their studies, and trust their school for their education was indicative of the presence of a strong notion of trust within the students for their school.

The use of technology, such as the UDISE+ portal showed that information sharing was streamlined to improve efficiency, thereby highlighting the importance of adapting to modern communication tools. While the portal catered to a wider administrative monitoring, locally the school employed WhatsApp as a communication channel to preserve the sanctity of the shared information, thus, improving the overall school social capital. Teachers and students shared an understanding of the significance of education in improving lives by preparing for the future. This indicated that through the guidance of the teachers the students in the form of cooperative problem-solving, could adapt to challenges and be more committed to the attainment of education.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the students shared their experiences of participating in various artistic, cultural, and sports events, thereby highlighting their involvement in school life. The school provided its students with varied opportunities through participation in citywide exhibitions, dance performances, and plays that received standing ovations and newspaper features. This exposure to ovations and applause instilled pride among the school community. The school at its capacity provided opportunities to its students and community members, which demonstrated the school's commitment to engage with the community. The school demonstrated its intention of

providing equality of opportunities despite being considered a 'low-budget.' This showed that the school was tenacious in developing a strong sense of trust in the potential of its members to make the best use of the available resources. In addition to this, the school community had confidence in its students to make the best of the given opportunities. This active engagement of students showcased a sense of belonging and cooperation among the students, teachers, and community at large. This fostered a shared sense of identity that enhanced individual growth and contributed to the collective school experience.

The COVID-19 pandemic brought in significant challenges globally and SFS school was no exception. As a small, low-fee private primary school, it faced challenges in the form of infrastructure and the absence of financial backing. The COVID-19 pandemic and the lockdown, added another layer of complexity to the school dynamics, accentuating the adaptability and resourcefulness of the school community. The transition to online learning was forced by the pandemic and therefore had mixed effects on students' motivation and perception of school. The students even though did recognize the importance of attending school, the persistent transition between the physical and online classes created its own challenges. The students longed to be in the physical presence of their friends and classmates during the lockdown pointed towards a sense of community and social connectedness that can be typically associated with social capital. This sense of community was the extension of the sense of belonging that helped the student to feel connected to peers and teachers, thereby hinting at the impact of social capital in the light of external factors, such as the pandemic.

Despite the salary delays and other financial challenges that were faced by the school during the COVID-19 lockdown, the teachers displayed grit and strong commitment to the school. The teachers reciprocated the obligations made by the school during their hours of need. This showed that their commitment ran deeper than the compensation and was rather a reflection of loyalty and dedication to the school's mission. The teacher displayed their commitment to the well-being of their students by taking extra classes, teaching students the basics again, and ensuring that the communication channels between the school and parents remain open. This determination to aid towards school success even in challenging circumstances reflected a string of shared beliefs and values that transpired into a strong sense of shared goals. Therefore, it became an instrumental

entity in shaping professional responsibility and a shared understanding of teaching as a vocation.

The lockdown restrictions disrupted the normal school routine, affecting the students' learning orientation. The shared beliefs towards education, trust between the school members, and a sense of safety lead to the development of a sense of community that positively contributes to students' motivation and interest in learning. The students and teachers observed a shift in their learning and participation behaviour which was marked by a decreased interest in learning and engagement, therefore highlighting the impact of external factors such as the pandemic on the students' learning experiences and by extension the school social capital. To support the changing learning orientations of the students, the teachers adapted their communication strategies by facilitating communication with the parents and students, adjusted their teaching methods, and demonstrated a collective effort to overcome the challenges and establish communication.

The principal's commitment however showed her intent to positively contribute to society through education and self-perception of being an agent of change. Teachers also saw themselves as multi-talented and essential in the upward social mobility of their students. These self-perceptions helped the teachers and principal to remain aligned with the school's shared values and vision. The students, on the other hand, had a strong belief in the connection between English language proficiency and success in life. Their shared perception of the power of the English language strengthened their belief of having better prospects and reflected the perceived influence that a language could have in their lives.

Therefore, individual engagement with studies, perception about self and education, and trust in the peers and members of the school community transcended towards a shared sense of belief, and shared values, tenacity in communication. This culminated in shaping the school's social capital as the individuals participated in the activities as a collective, which is the essence of the Interpersonal dimension of social capital which will now be discussed in the next section.

5.3 INTERPERSONAL DIMENSION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

The Interpersonal dimension of social capital provided information in the form of interactions that led to the formation of relationships among the members of the school community. This was understood through examination of the relationship between students and teachers, teachers and principal, teachers and parents and principal and parents, friendship among students and teachers, peer interaction, and community engagement. This section has been divided into five sub-sections, as shown in Figure 12, comprised of a detailed description of the interpersonal dimension of social capital in terms of general interaction, relationships between students, teachers, and principal, and community engagement. These sub-sections have culminated in a meaning construction under the sixth sub-section of 'Contextual Interpretive Insights.'
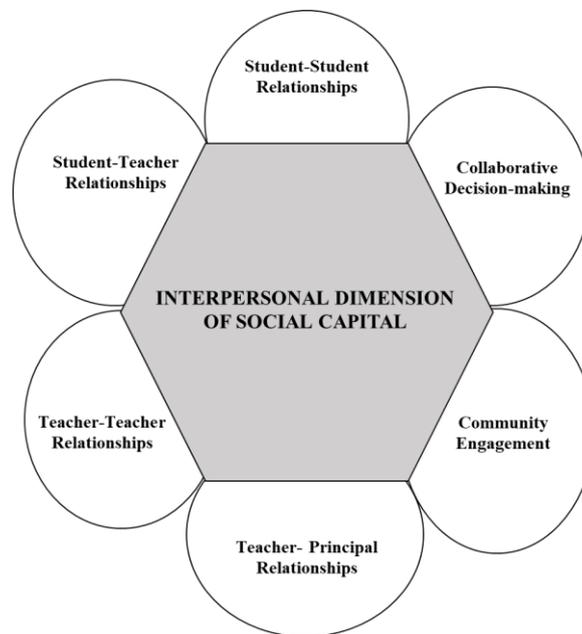

Figure 12. Representation of Interpersonal Dimension of Social Capital

5.3.1 Student-Student Relationship

The relationship between the students encompassed a plethora of experiences, that were analysed by drawing information and its meaning from interviews, interactions, and observations. The relationships between the students were observed before and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the classrooms in the school were separate for each class. I could not observe the interactions of the students within the classrooms because the teachers did not allow it. However, I did observe the students during morning

assembly and lunch break. During the morning assembly, it came to my attention that every day the students of classes VII and VIII would guide nursery and kindergarten students toward their classrooms. In a few instances, the older students were observed to carry the bags of nursery and kindergarten students. When I enquired from teachers, I did not receive a response. Later, I was told by the principal that making older students help the younger students instils a sense of empathy and care among the older students. At the same time, the younger students were taught to use words like 'thank you' as a form of appreciating the efforts of the older students. During the lunch break, it was observed routinely that in the presence of teachers, all students would pass their lunch boxes to their peers and each student would take a morsel from it. The principal informed that the mandatory sharing of lunch boxes was a practice unique to the school, done to build respect and cohesion among the students.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the lockdown, brought challenges for the school faced issues including a smaller building, and a financial crunch, and many students either left the school or resorted to attending the school through online classes. Hence, there were fewer rooms, and the classes were arranged in a multigrade setting. This multigrade setting was such that students from nursery to class I would sit separately in one classroom, the students of classes II to III were seated in one classroom, IV and V were seated in different classroom as one class, and the students of classes VI to VIII would sit in one classroom. The classroom relationships and dynamics in a multigrade classroom seating arrangement eventually became apparent. For instance, the observation of seating arrangement of class VIII students was observed as students S8 and S2 would frequently sit together. Similarly, two students from class VI, S10, and S19 would usually sit together. However, S19 was observed to sit on the last bench with the S1, a class VII student when the subject of mathematics was taught. When I enquired S19 about why she changed her seats, she replied "*S1 दीदी है वो सबसे अच्छी है क्यूंकि वो मुझे पढ़ा देती है अगर मुझे कहीं दिक्कत होती है।*". The multigrade classrooms apparently gave a platform to students of different classes to interact as one group in a single physical space and even seek help from other students, especially the ones who were older than them.

Apart from this, it was later brought to attention that a student, S1, would regularly come to the school because of the inaccessibility to online classes. This student of class VII, S1, initially told me "*Ma'am I have no classmate. They study in different class. But we*

sit together and they live near my house." On enquiring further, she mentioned that since she does not have a full-time access to the online classes as her classmates, she came to the school. When asked how she felt about it, she replied "*Ma'am बुरा तो लगता है क्यूंकि कभी कभी मैं अपनी मन की बात किस से करूँ ये समझ नहीं आता है।*". However, later I observed her playing with a few students, when I asked S1 shared "*Ma'am I have friends from other classes. S12, S10 and S8.*" Therefore, apart from giving a platform to students to help each other, the multigrade classroom seemed to alleviate the isolation and loneliness of a student by providing support through different groups.

There were a few students who did not mind sitting in a classroom that had a smaller number of students because "*लड़ाइयां काफी होती है ज़्यादा बच्चों में।*". Yet, the students were often seen engaging in physical fights on the school porch after the school was over for the day. These physical conflicts seemed to perpetuate in their relationships and interactions with students as once shared by S8 of class VIII "*जैसे मैं absent हूँ और S2 भी नहीं आया तो S4, S5, और S21 हमें नहीं बताते की क्या हुआ। तो फिर मैं teachers से पूछती हूँ, तो उन्हें डाँट लगा देते है*", thus implied that her classmates withhold information about the classroom activities, which would prompt to seek help from teachers, resulting in the scolding of the other three students.

To understand how such actions towards their peers affected the classroom dynamic, I enquired S4, S5, and S21, about subtleties with their classmates. While S4 did not answer, S21 informed "*कभी-कभार S8 हमें कुछ बताती नहीं। जैसे मैं, S4 और S5 तो एक दूसरे को बता देते है, लेकिन S8 नहीं बताती है। तो कई बार उसकी वजह से हमें डांट पड़ती है। वो हमारी बहुत चुगली खाती है। और S2 भी वैसा ही है। बहुत घमंड है उसे कि "मैं बहुत Intelligent hoon" तो कई बार answers खुद निकल लेगा और हमें नहीं बताएगा।*". The hindrances to access of information seemed mutual, which led to probable affinity for few and an apparent dislike for others. S5 shared an anecdote while we were having this conversation wherein "*एक बार letter writing थी, तो S4 पीछे से देख कर लिख रही थी। S2 ने मैडम को शिकायत कर दी कि S4 देख-देख कर लिख रही है। तो ma'am अच्छा नहीं लगता ना, अगर कुछ नहीं आता है तो कैसे भी करके कुछ भी लिख दे।*". This showed that the skirmishes between the students occurred due to the expectations of not reporting the occurrence of a seemingly undesirable behaviour. The occurrence of behaviour raised concerns on to what extent the students were expecting their peers to support certain behaviours which are deemed undesirable. I decided to

explore this avenue as to how and why students would either involve themselves or support behaviours that are considered undesirable in a school setting.

While exploring the aspect of support and involvement of students in undesirable school behaviours, I observed that students who were involved in instances such as cheating had like-mindedness for each other. It had to be noted that the students distinguished their behaviours depending on whether the person was their friend or best friend. The conversations with students revealed that they did not mind sharing their materials, innermost desires and secrets, and lunch with their best friends. It was during one of the interactions when S17 shared "*एक दूसरे की चीज़ें हम share करते है। जैसे मैं कुछ नहीं लायी तो वो मुझे दे देते है उसे use करने के लिए। मेरी मदद कर देते है, मैं उनकी कर देती हूँ, मस्ती-मज़ाक करते है। ज़रूरत पढ़ने पर एक दूसरे का साथ देते है। Exam पढ़ने पर answer भी बता देते है।*". The students believed that as a friend it was their duty to help their friend in need as "*आखिर दोस्त ही दोस्त के काम आते है*", even if it meant being involved in a moral issue such as cheating in examination. However, some students believed that if they would help and support their peers, they would also be assisted in their time of need. The students shared that they did not mind practicing behaviours which S3, a class VI student told "*अगर मैं पढ़ कर आयी और बाकी कोई नहीं पढ़ा है तो भी मैं नहीं बोलती हूँ कि मुझे आता है*", which seemingly based on the belief that "*जब मुझे कुछ नहीं आता है तब लोग support करेंगे और मुझे answer बता देंगे। मैंने अपने दोस्तों का ध्यान नहीं रखूंगी तो मेरा ध्यान भी कोई नहीं रखेगा।*". This indicated that regardless of the consequences of their actions, the students seemed to be driven by the need to be accepted by their peers. However, not all actions were an indication of untoward behaviours.

The conversations with a few students revealed that values and virtues such as honesty, openness in communication, intelligence, loyalty, empathy, and seriousness toward studies mattered to their friends. For students like S6 it seemingly was essential that "*मेरे friends को ये समझना चाहिए की पढ़ाई को लेकर मैं बहुत serious हूँ और उसे भी serious होना चाहिए।*". Hence, the expectation of behaviour and its fulfilment seemed to be mutual between the students. These expectations suggested that the interactions between the students were shaped by like-mindedness, readiness to help, and unconditional support to peers.

5.3.2 Student-Teacher Relationships

The relationship between the teachers and students hinged on the teaching-learning process within the classroom. In this deliberation even, the role of principal as a teacher was been talked about by the students. The interactions between teachers and students were described as a delicate relationship by a few teachers.

The teachers did not view themselves as merely teachers but rather extended themselves as "*guardian*" which meant ensuring the safety and well-being of their students in the school. Most of the teachers concurred on the importance of "*personal interaction*", which involved sharing information about themselves with the students, telling students anecdotes, asking students to share about themselves, and if required, "*unwanted issues को confront करो*", which helped the teachers understand the students social and economic background, hence eased in manuvering their teaching-learning process. This underscored the importance of being sensitive and open to the students' concerns, which potentially influenced the happenings within the classroom. A few teachers drew from their own experiences as students and believed that apart from teaching, it was essential to be empathetic and considerate to the students, as it potentially could change the life course. One of the teachers T6 shared that her teachers were motivated when she was a student that she aimed to become a teacher just like them. She further informed that she was a former student of SFS school and her motivation was the principal of the school, who taught the subject of English to her. This highlighted that there was a significant and long-lasting impact of a teacher on her students.

Picture 3. Classroom teaching

This seemingly profound impact of teachers on their students was explored by interacting with both teachers and students. The students learn and model the behaviour of their teachers through observation. T1 noted this "*स्कूल जब बच्चा आता है तो टीचर को*

बहुत नोट करता है। टीचर के बात करने के तरीके को, हाव-भाव को, हर चीज़ को नोट करता है और उसे अपने जीवन में ढालने कि कोशिश करता है*", hence implying a long-lasting effect of teacher's behaviour over their students. The teachers believed that as a teacher, they were not limited to teaching content to the students, but through their own actions, behaviours, words, and explanations "*हम directly-indirectly उन्हें pinch करते है ताकि वो एक अच्छा इंसान बने!*". Thus, an awareness among teachers about their extension of role from teaching-learning to moral and character building was apparent.

Most of the teachers concurred that it was important to "*capture the behaviour and temperament of the children*" before beginning their classroom instruction as seen in Picture 3. This was seen as an important step by most of the teachers, as they opined that recognising the individual differences of the students in their class is like a half-battle won. Most of the teachers agreed that none of the students are comparable, rather "*children are different. Some are introvert, some are extrovert, some are brave, some are outspoken, some are hesitant.*" Teachers like T2, T3, and T6 were observed to spend time with students and would regularly ask their opinions about how they want to be taught. The teachers believed that the inception of hesitation in students to share problems or concerns or any other aspect with teachers is an indication of the communication gap; an attribution of the teacher's strictness. Therefore, by involving students in the probable planning of the lesson, the teachers shared they attempted to bridge the conversational gap with their students, leading to seemingly much better planning and execution of lessons. The teachers believed that due to the knowledge explosion, there is a wave of information at our finger tips. This meant that even the students could be exposed to many things which are often beyond the control of the teachers and school. The teachers opined that the seemingly uncensored exposure to the internet has created problems that they sometimes face situations in their classrooms, which T4 regarded as "*इतने absurd होते है कि समझ नहीं आता की react कैसे करूँ?*"

During the interactions with the students, on the other hand, I observed that most of the students I interacted with were studying in SFS school since nursery, kindergarten, and preparatory classes. The class VIII was the last class of the school, after which the students would have to leave the school. It was important to note here that while student's description of their camaraderie was limited to the quality of teaching of their teachers, the hard work they put in, accessibility of teachers, adjusting their time-tables

during COVID-19, ensuring that they learn and understand and secure admissions in good schools of Jaipur city. During these interactions, while the students would share their excitement to study ahead, there were a few students who seemed uncertain about how they would be treated. One of the students S5 of class VIII shared "*यहाँ आठ साल से हूँ तो teachers भी जानते है और समझते है तो कुछ explain करने में अड़चन नहीं होती है। दूसरे स्कूल में क्या होगा पता नहीं।*". Hence, while it seemed to convey a sense of familiarity and comfort that students shared with their current teachers, there seemed to be an undercurrent of anxiety among the students to form fresh associations with teachers in another school.

The students when asked to describe amity with their teachers, used words like kind, helpful, and good, to describe the principal, and teachers T2, T3, T5, and T6. The students described T4 as short-tempered and mercurial. There were few students in class VI, who described T4's behaviour like that of a mother. When I asked them to draw the similarity between T4 and their mother, they said that just like their mothers T4 scolded them only when they did not answer a question, wore dirty clothes, came late to school, or misbehaved in class. However, regarding T1's behaviour, the students seemed to show an aversion and were observed to loiter frequently during her class. Whenever I would pass by the class of T1, I noticed that she would always come out and stand by the door to talk to me. Her interactions with me about the students were first to ensure I was not recording and then were often marked with the usage of words like 'weak students', '*कुछ नहीं आता है*', '*माँ-बाप का पैसा बर्बाद कर रहे हैं*' to describe her students. My aloofness and choice of not engaging in this kind of banter about the students was not appreciated by T1, who after February 2022, would occasionally say "आपका काम अभी तक खत्म नहीं हुआ? अब तो हमें बक्श दो।"

The students of class IV shared that T1 was their class teacher and not only did she stop teaching them, but would use the mobile phone in the classroom, when the principal would come, she would hide and start teaching. Hence, they disliked the duality of behaviour in T1. When I probed about why they did not complain, the students would ask me to talk to the principal. I chose not to intervene in this matter for the sake of the researcher's ethics. However, I faced a dilemma during my observation of the organisation and execution of a three-day summer camp, as shown in Picture 4 wherein T1 called the mother of S26, a class IV student, and asked her why she did not send the ingredients. All the while her phone was kept on loudspeaker. Her voice was loud and

could be heard in the adjacent staffroom. The principal and other teachers entered and asked the reason for the ruckus. T1 was asked to go home. The students requested that they would like to go home as they no longer were interested in participating. Later, when I spoke to students, they said that they disliked T1 because of her behaviour. This incident resulted in the cancellation of the summer camp. The principal informed that this was an attempt to mitigate the damage done by T1. I was drawn to the exhibition of perceived disruptive behaviour by a teacher in a matter that required empathy and sensitivity. However, the escalation of it apparently dented the relationship between the students and T1, which might in the long-run could affect an interest in a subject taught by T1.

Picture 4. Summer camp organised by the school

The experiences of student-teacher relationships also involved my formal interaction with class VIII students when I began teaching Mathematics. The students of class VIII, especially S4 and S5 insisted on telling my surname. While I refused, I noticed a disinclination towards answering the questions while I was teaching even after several probing. I had to succumb to their demands and reluctantly told my surname. The students said "ब्राह्मण हो आप", and shared that the need to know the surname was the basis on which they would decide how and in what way would they treat me as a teacher. While, the teaching resumed and the students seemed to wholly participate. But this incident kept pinching me and raised a few concerns, such as probable indoctrination of biases based on surname which apparently would be a basis for judging background, identity, and capability as a teacher. Furthermore, while I held back, the seemingly collective choice of students not participating in the learning activity seemed to create a

hindrance to the teaching-learning process in the classroom. I implicitly at different phases of my interaction asked teachers if they had come across any incidence of bias in their experience as a teacher. I received no response from the teachers, as they would brush me aside or would change the direction of the conversation. The students of class VIII, particularly S4 and S5 later insisted that they asked out of curiosity. Since these students went on preparatory leave for the board examination, I had no alternative but to rest my concerns as it seemed difficult to reach a conclusion.

When it comes to biases, a few female students illustrated the incidences of gender bias in their families; favouring brothers over them regardless of the issues, not allowed to play outside, being forced to take care of young siblings while their parents work, and not allowing to attend online class because the parents said that the internet is expensive and only brothers were allowed to attend theirs and there was one smart device made the female students inferior. These female students said that their teachers do not practice such behaviours and rather encouraged them to study and aim for careers, and play games like kabbadi, and kho-kho, without worrying about the sun and scratches, which made them fond of their teachers, hence looked forward to coming to the school. The appreciation from the students was acknowledged as a sign of reciprocation and gratitude as the principal said that the alumni of the school often came or called or shared their success stories. This indicated that the students of SFS school received support from their teachers and principal that contributed to their good, fulfilled, and successful lives.

5.3.3 Teacher-Teacher Relationships

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, my presence was not appreciated by the teachers of SFS school, as one of the teachers, Rambha told me that since I was not a member of the "*SFS family*", I was not allowed to enter the staffroom. My access to teachers during this time was further limited by the requests of the teachers to the principal to ask me to leave whenever they came to discuss something. My initial reflections in the field, therefore, were limited to the thoughts of the display of power by the teachers between the teachers to me, as a researcher. However, on closer observation, I realised that the teachers' apparent reluctance to share information could perhaps be attributed to my identity as a researcher or an outsider or it could be due to any other reason which might not be even associated with me.

However, between the second and third COVID-19 lockdowns, as the schools slowly reopened, I was informed that teachers would come to school for a few hours. Gradually, as time passed, most of the teachers except T7 opened about their experiences and opinions about other teachers. The teachers believed that the relationship between them rested through fostering a collaborative, innovative, and supportive work environment. Except for two, all the interviewed teachers had a school experience. Most of the teachers shared that they did not feel supported by their peers in their previous schools. On the other hand, the teachers shared that the senior teachers who were working in SFS school for more time supported them "*कोई नया teacher आता है तो उसे एक दम से साथ में ले लेते*", helped them to understand the norms, rules, regulations, and supported them to understand their roles and responsibilities. The teachers opined that despite having experience in teaching at other schools, the process of joining a new school always marked the beginning as a fresh recruit. Few teachers like T1 reminisced about their early days and shared "*जब मैं इस स्कूल में आयी थी तब करुणा मैडम ने मुझे मदद की और सिखाया की अपना काम ईमानदारी से करो और स्कूल को समर्पित रहो।*" Hence, being able to assimilate and establish an equilibrium between self-identity and that of school by the help of senior teachers seemed to be a critical step of amalgamating teachers to school community.

Most of the teachers such as T2 shared that when they joined, they went upfront and introduced themselves to their colleagues, and "*यहाँ पर उठने बैठने के तरीके को सीखा*", which showed that the senior members of the school ensured that they had a conducive and accommodating environment for the new teachers. Apart from this, as the newly joined teachers, they probably were willing to adapt, learn, and integrate the elements of the school. Since most of the senior teachers left, there were few who have been teaching in SFS for more than fifteen years, who shared that they have attempted to transmit the lessons of their senior teachers to new teachers. This showed the willingness among the teachers to mentor and support the new teachers so that they understand their role within the school community.

During our conversations, all the teachers repeatedly stressed that the school atmosphere at SFS school is homely and family-like. When I asked to elaborate, the teachers would emphasize that relationships with their colleagues were equivalent to that with a member of the family, which was suggestive of having emotional bonds with colleagues in their

professional realm. The teachers considered their interactions to be positive devoid of any sort of discrimination, as T2 shared "*ऐसा नहीं है के कोई दूसरा पुरुष होता तो कुछ बदलता। ऐसा बिलकुल भी नहीं है। सारे teachers से हमारा interaction अच्छा ही है और professional है।*". Hence, regardless of gender differences, the interactions between the teachers bore similarities to the ones in the family, which fomented positive relationships within the school.

The teachers described their colleagues as truthful, honest, straightforward, and someone who does not manipulate information or details. I observed that T3, T5, and T6 seemed to form a clique as they were observed to eat their lunch together frequently, and helped each other with the workload including distributing it among themselves. When I inquired about their dynamics, T3 informed me that she and T6 joined around the same time and have remained close since then. She further added in confidence that she would work in SFS school as long as T6 was there, as she has been her companion and confidant in the school. She described her relationship with T5 as cordial but did not like her inclination towards T7, as T7 was alleged to distribute her work to others via T5. This made me think that there was more to SFS school than meets the eye.

In one of the T4's seemingly expressive interactions, she shared her perception about the unwillingness of the new teachers to learn. She believed that instead of focusing on the teaching and welfare of the school and its students, the teachers focused their attention on pulling her down in front of the principal. She added that she has gotten used to it and often was observed to use humour to brush the concerns and criticisms aside during the interactions with teachers. T2 joined the school around the same time as T4 and shared that he knew the communication style, preferences, and sensitivities of T4 since there was a degree of familiarity. It had made easier for him to convey his thoughts to T4, because of the essence of familiarity that has emerged from being colleagues for nearly two decades. The teachers such as T3, T5, and T6 did not share their views about T4, even after persistence. They appreciated her as a teacher but seemed unsure about her behaviour towards them.

Hence, in my quest to understand the dynamic between teachers of SFS school, I stumbled upon an instance of professional rivalry between T1 and T4. T4 was observed to openly criticise T1's behaviour. In one of the interactions, T4 used a derogatory word in the local dialect, whose closest English meaning is 'a witch'. T1 was also found to be

blaming T4 for the deterioration of the school during interviews. T1 alleged that in 2019, T4 used regional slurs in her scoldings of a class VI boy. When the father of the boy confronted and sought an apology, T4 refused to apologize and fought with the parent. T1 alleged that because of T4's behaviour within 15 days not only that one student, but even others who were from the same background as the boy left the school. She shared her observation that most students who studied in the school were from the dominant community of the area, but not a single student was from the same region as the boy who was scolded. Thus, this was an alleged incidence of a regional boycott as per the view of T1 because of the regionalist behaviour of T4. I initially tried talking to other teachers and principal about this incident, but did not receive any response except a comment or a few that I was too focused on knowing about the school instead of minding my own work.

I, then, tried to engage with teachers to understand their views about the incidences of conflict in the school and how did they resolve it. Most of the teachers insisted that there was no conflict among them. They said that every person carries their own culture, background, family, social status, and economic status even when they come to school. In such cases, there could be disagreements between the teachers but the school never faced an incidence of conflict because "*मनभेद नहीं होता है*" among the colleagues. The teachers such as T2 opined that "*मनभेद से समस्या आती है और एक संस्थान में काम करते हुए ये पूरे संस्थान के लिए एक परेशानी का विषय बन सकता है।*". Thus, while teachers seemed to show an inclination to address the issues of disagreement, they insisted that their workplace dynamic would never go from disagreements to conflicts. Since, as a member of an organisation, it is important to remember that conflict should not occur in the first place, as it would spoil the organizational work environment.

During my observations and interactions, I often came across teachers engaged in a heated discussion, which they would stop when they would see me passing by. During the monthly meeting of the school, I was asked by the principal to stay back. This was the first time; I had a chance to attend the teachers' meeting. The teachers T7 and T5 informed the principal about T1's classroom behaviour which involved using the phone in the classroom and informed that due to T1's frequent leaves, they have been put under pressure. Furthermore, T7 said that T1 was observed giving unnecessary breaks to students because of which the syllabus is left to be completed, and even students loiter on the school premises which did not send a good signal to parents. In another such

monthly meeting, T1, T2, and T4 alleged that T7 was coercing others to issue a fee receipt. Through these incidences, one might have to concur that there was conflict, which took place among the teachers of the SFS school. In both cases, I observed that T3 and T6 did not participate and continued to do their work. The resolution of these problems was limited to reminding of the duty and instruction to follow as been told.

Therefore, while there seemed to be hegemonic attempts to present a picture of ideal colleague relationships, there were incidences of conflicts among the teachers of SFS school. The relationships among the teachers of SFS school were supportive, accommodating, and helpful, on the other hand, it had divisive insulations in the form of regional biases, and unprofessionalism.

5.3.4 Teacher-Principal Relationship

The relationship between the principal and the teachers is hierarchical but was a pivotal factor in understanding the success of the school. In SFS school, most of the teachers have known the principal for a considerable amount of time. One of the teachers shared being an alumnus of SFS school and wanted to be a teacher like the principal of SFS school. Other teachers cited that they share "family-like relations" with the principal.

The teachers mentioned having a deep sense of respect and affection for the principal because of her behaviour. Unlike their previous school experiences, the teachers observed that the principal in SFS school did not force authority onto them. The principal seemed to have an inspirational effect on her teachers, as nearly in every conversation the teachers shared aspiration to become a teacher like the principal. The teachers credited the principal for the presence of a conducive work and school environment. This was fostered through engaging teachers in decision-making, collaborating for different activities, and autonomy and resources to conduct their classes with ease.

There were instances of disagreement and concerns that teachers had towards the administrative decisions of the principal. Initially, the teachers acknowledged that they were made part of taking decision, and consent of all the members was usually taken. But in one instance, the decision of the shifting the school was taken unilaterally. The teachers expressed that when they shifted to the by-lanes of Khirni Phatak, their consent was not taken. Hence, the relocation seemed like a rude surprise. Furthermore, the

relocated building was that of one of the subordinates, which essentially generated a tenant-landlord relationship between the school and the subordinate. The teachers alleged that this relocation shifted the power dynamic within the school as well, as the subordinate in question assumed having more power and authority over the principal and others. A few teachers like T1 and T4 opined that since then, they began showing their assertiveness and disdain towards the principal's behaviour. As an authority in the school, it is essential to maintain the boundaries between the personal and professional lives. By renting an employee's building, the principal herself initiated the shift of the power dynamics and thus blurred the personal and professional boundaries. When I asked the principal about the school building in Khirni Phatak, she concurred that renting her subordinate's house to run the school was a huge mistake. She said while it did more damage than good. It further reduced the visibility of the school in the landscape of Khatipura. She labelled this as a bitter experience because it soured even her personal relationship with one of the former teachers, Rambha, who left the school by citing ailing health.

During COVID-19, when the school was relocated, the principal informed that she asked all her teachers' opinions, just to be safe. Despite their differences, the teachers showed a sense of responsibility. To get the school back on its feet, teachers like T3 and T6 visited the neighbourhood of Hanuman Nagar Extension for the propaganda of the school for nearly a fortnight. The principal acknowledged the contribution and support of the teachers as "*they chose to stay here work for me.*" Furthermore, the principal and teachers were observed to share guidance and feedback to establish a firmer stand on situations. The teachers shared that they did not mind being scolded by the principal as she had the best interest in her heart. The elements such as leadership, support, collaboration, and communication thrive, helping teachers to grow professionally. The principal seemed to appreciate the respect that the teachers accord to suggestions and advice which have also made some of them successful in other schools. This showed that as a leader of an organization the principal was not only committed to the growth and welfare of the school but also that of her teachers, which underlines a positive relationship founded on a supportive school climate.

5.3.5 Community Engagement

The principal of SFS school noted that the parents from low socio-economic backgrounds "*are as ambitious as the affluent parents*." Regardless of their economic background, the parents associated with SFS school seemed to be deeply committed to providing quality education and opportunities for success. This was apparent as the parents were labelled as "*brand-conscious*" by the principal and teachers as even when would choose the school for admitting their children, it would be because of its name and grandeur. The optimism among the parents apparently contributed to helping their children to avoid making the same mistakes. But, despite being motivated and driven to see their children excel, the link of cooperation seemed to be missing between the SFS school and parents. The teachers and the principal of the school believed that educating children is a bipartite contribution of both parents and the school. However, most of the parents who were part of SFS school were criticised for not giving ample attention to their children and expecting the school to single-handedly bear the burden. As the principal of the school, it was conveyed that cooperation from parents was their only expectation as a school. These expectations were elaborated as buying the books, ensuring the children attend their classes, completing their homework, wearing clean uniforms, paying fees on time, letting children participate in different school events, and attending parent-teacher meetings.

The teachers and the principal would often draw a comparative analogy of the difference between shopping in a mall and in a grocery shop. While one may not be able to bargain in a mall and buy things at their selling price, it is not the same in a grocery store. The principal and teachers seemed to be annoyed with the bargaining that they had to face. This seemed to have increased in occurrence during the COVID-19 pandemic. The teachers shared that there were parents who wanted to shift their children from high-cost schools to their school because of their low fees. During one of my conversations with the principal, a parent intervened and asked to admit his son until April 2022, post which they would shift him to another school. The father at first seemed to pacify the principal to reduce the fees and later asked why he had to pay a particular amount as fees when the school had no facilities like a playground, assembly hall, and air-conditioned classrooms. The principal asserted that this was as per the school policy and asked him not to bargain his child's future.

While I was not allowed to speak to the parents, my presence in the school seemed to generate curiosity as they would come and ask teachers about me. It was much later I was told by the principal that I was presented as the new Mathematics teacher of the school. This was done because being part of the study was a new experience for the school itself and she could not predict how the parents would have reacted had they known that there was a stranger lurking in the school. This was done as a proactive mitigation of any issue that could arise due to my presence. My engagement with parents was thus limited and most of the ideas I gathered about community engagement were through the experiences of the teachers and principal.

In the limited conversations with the parents, I observed that even if they were unable to send their children to big schools, it did not mean that they had accepted the school's inability to provide basic facilities such as a playground. The parents said that they did not mind pinching the school for providing basic facilities. They argued that it was pointless to send children to school if they had to help them in doing homework. For them, paying the fees meant that the school was solely responsible for the education of their children. The teachers and principal incessantly lamented this form lack of support and pointed out that "*parents का योगदान बहुत ज़रूरी है। parents जो है वो सारी चीज़ें teachers, administration और स्कूल पर impose करते है।*". Hence, highlighting the vital role of parents towards the educational process of their children. The education of children is, therefore, a collaborative effort of both parents and the school. However, the school members felt that the parents imposed their expectations and responsibilities on the school without shouldering responsibility on their own.

During my fieldwork, I observed that the school organised a Parent-Teacher Meeting (PTM) after the examination of the students. During the observation of one PTM, I observed that most of the parents came with their children, collected the report cards, and left. There were parents who came with their children and sat with the teachers for some time. When I asked a few teachers what those parents who sat would talk about; they shared that very few parents take time to attend PTM as most of them collect the report card and do not ask about the progress of their children. The parents who sat would ask about the progress of their children, subject-wise performance, and information about any upcoming event and sought guidance from the teachers to

improve their children in the coming times. Thus, based on the teachers' experience, one may infer that there existed a spectrum of parental involvement in the SFS school.

Another instance happened wherein as I was leaving a parent came and questioned me about the behaviour of a school teacher. Before I could respond, she insinuated that T4 had used casteist slurs while scolding her son and threatened to issue a TC to her child. The principal seemed flabbergasted and made attempts to pacify the parent. An emergency meeting was convened, and I was asked not to come for a few days as it was something they did not want to bring to light. After a few days when I came back, nobody spoke about it nor answered any questions pertaining to it. I did see T4 teaching students of class VIII but she avoided talking to me. Hence, a conclusive remark or observation could not be wholly drawn.

The teachers and principal also highlighted the inconsistencies in the behaviour of the parents who on one hand "*तारीफ करते है की हमारे relatives में सब बोलते है के बच्चे तो SFS school के अच्छे है। rhymes भी आती है, poem भी सुना देते है, सब कुछ learn होता है*" but "*They don't like when we poke them with the accountability needle.*" The principal shared instances of a parent who was their school driver. She informed me that the school did not ask for fees and rather gave uniforms and books for free to the driver's daughters. However, later it was observed that the daughters were no longer sent. Another instance of a student was observed wherein the student was readmitted to the same class and the conversation with the parents revealed that financial constraints experienced due to COVID-19 seemingly led to not sending the child to the school. Hence, she was readmitted to the same class, the parents added that they were prepared to make their child jump into the class in the future. These instances indicated there was a disconnect between the expectations of the school and the apparent reluctance of parents to take accountability for their children's education. However, not all instances could be deemed as ignorance of the parents. There were parents who seemed to choose survival over education due to external factors, such as COVID-19. But they also seemed prepared to take actions for the betterment of their child which may seem extreme steps such as jumping the academic class.

The teachers and principal opined that familial factors such as home environment, education of parents, and type of family affect the education and interest in the education of the student. They shared an anecdote of a girl, S32, a class I student, who whenever

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was scolded by the teachers apparently would constantly threaten to harm herself. The teachers called in the parents, in which only the father came. The teachers informed that the father cited the behavioural problem of the mother that seemed to have affected the child's psyche, which manifested as a threat of self-harm in the school. This incident culminated in the withdrawal of admission of S32 from the school.

Since the incidence of COVID-19 declined, the school attempted to return to normal. It organised a sports-cum-grandparents day in the Picture 5. The teachers and principal would stay back after school to plan the date of the event, which games, and sports to play, preparation, assigning the workload. The principal informed me that it was their collective decision to involve me in the compering of the event and therefore she asked me to come by the school. This showed that despite being an outsider, a collective decision was made to give me an active role in a school event. As seen in the picture, not many grandparents attended it. Since I was asked to compere, I had an opportunity to interact with them. The grandparents seemed happy as they saw their grandchildren participating in different events and some even won prizes. Furthermore, the teachers also organised games like needle the thread for grandmothers and segregation of shirt buttons for grandfathers. This was followed by the distribution of food to everyone. The grandparents appreciated the efforts of the school and agreed to participate more in the future.

Picture 5. Celebration of Sports-cum-Grandparents' Day

The principal and teachers from their experiences seemed to draw an understanding that there existed a lack of awareness among the parents about the educational process. This seemed to hamper parental understanding of the importance of being involved in their

children's education. While the school adjudged itself as being proactive towards the education of the students and informing parents about their child's academic performance, there seemed to be resistance towards the feedback about the students. The dissonance over the nature of the feedback between the parents and the school and the unwillingness of the parents to heed the school's advice and concern seemed to create frustration among the teachers and principal. However, there was a hint of agreeable participation in activities such as Grandparents' Day, as compared to the PTMs. Hence, to have an effective community engagement seemed to be a challenge for the community of SFS school.

5.3.6 Collaborative Decision-making

The school was observed to present opportunities for teachers to come together and share responsibility, accountability, and authority to arrive at a consensus. This involved sharing and negotiation of inputs and vantage points leading to cooperation, shared agreement, and communication. Therefore, the act of decision-making in SFS school seemed to be a versatile administrative process that significantly engaged teachers, which moulded the entire educational journey of the school. Hence, monthly meetings were conducted at the end of each month. T3 pertinently shared that "*सारे टीचर्स को involve किया जाता है। उनसे सलाह ले कर ही काम किया जाता है।*". The inclusivity of the teachers in the decision-making process seemed to be an attempt to promote a sense of equity. Hence, instead of unilaterally making decisions, the willingness of the administration to make it a collective input, fosters a participatory culture among the teachers.

While the teachers felt encouraged to participate in the decision-making, resulting an onus that led to a sense of duty among them, which T2 expressed as "*सीधी बात है जब हम decision में होते है तो मानते है कि स्कूल को हम पर विश्वास है तो हमें भी स्कूल ने जो भरोसा किया है उस पर पूरा उतरना चाहिए।*". This indicated that the process of collaborative decision-making is perceived as a reciprocal relationship. Hence, the onus to be responsible and sensible while making decisions rests on the teachers as the school puts trust in their wisdom. The teachers accepted the accountability that came along with being a part of the decision-making. Involving the teachers in the decision-making, the principal opined would help in aligning their expectations to those of the school. This would lead to a more cohesive and conducive school environment.

However, the teachers shared that it does not happen that every time, the decision made is in their favour or goes as per their expectations. Therefore, the teachers were found to be accepting the consequences of their choices. The teachers and principal shared that many a time they have taken steps that seemed right at the given moment. When I asked to elaborate on this by sharing an incident, the teachers chose not to share. But the principal on the other hand shared that a collective decision was made to assign duties during the lockdown, when the schools were allowed to open. During this time, the teachers decided that they would take turns to come to the school and attend to queries of the parents or students. This ensured the safeguarding of all teachers. But did not happen with every decision. The principal did not share whether the decision made by the collective did not meet the expectation and to what extent the teachers or other involved stakeholders took accountability. This seemed to create a setback to understanding the complexities and challenges that accompanied a collaborative decision-making process.

After the third lockdown, efforts were made by the school to go back to normal. It was shared that the parents were persistently being asked to pay the fees and clear their dues. The teachers informed me that T7 was responsible for collecting the fees and issuing the receipt. In one of the monthly meetings, it was discussed that T7 was not doing as told. T1 alleged that T7 had been coercing other teachers to issue receipts on their own. During the meeting, it was also observed that while T1, T2, and T4 voiced their concerns on the one hand, T3, T5, and T6 remained silent with their heads down. The principal intervened, as she was "*forced to put my foot down*" and told T7 not to be "*कामचोर*" and to do as instructed rather than coercing others to share the workload. T7 seemed to be reluctant to agree to this. When I asked T3, T5 and T6 the reason for their silence, T3 replied that "*एक बात मैं ध्यान में रखती हूँ कि फैसला कैसा भी हो adjustment तो करना ही पड़ेगा । हमें अच्छा लगे या ना लगे।*". Thus, indicating that the teachers were ready to adapt and adjust irrespective of their own opinions.

5.3.7 Contextual Interpretive Insights

In the case of the SFS school community, different scenarios and vivid accounts involving the engagement of students, teachers, principal, and parents, exemplified the interpersonal dimension of social capital. The relationships between the students,

teachers, principal, and parents were perceived as delicate, and pivotal, that often extended beyond the conventional role of each group member.

The initial resistance encountered by the researcher when attempts were made to establish relationships with the teacher, reflected the concept of social capital, where the network of relationships is dense enough that access and acceptance of outsiders into the group is not easily given. However, with time, the development of social capital between the school members and researcher was evident as the teachers and principal became more open to sharing their experiences and relationships. Hence, the longevity of association could be a predictor of when and to what extent social capital can manifest and withstand in a relationship.

Prior to the pandemic, the morning assembly and lunch breaks emerged as sites for simmering social capital. The actions of students such as willingness to help others, and sharing of lunch boxes indicated the fostering of a sense of trust, reciprocity, cooperation, sense of belonging, and resource-sharing, which contributed to inculcating social capital between the students. Furthermore, this could be seen as purported attempts by the school to foster respect, gratitude, and cohesion among the students, through which a sense of community would develop, leading to the accumulation of social capital.

The COVID-19 pandemic brought significant changes in the school layout as constraints in the form of smaller building and fewer students were experienced. However, the school seemingly displayed adaptability by arranging the students in multigrade classrooms. The arrangement of classrooms such as this demonstrated impacts on students' dynamics. Since the students from different classes were seated together, this resulted in the sharing of a physical space for their learning. Hence, students of varying age groups were observed to interact more closely than before.

The interactions between the students were a complex interplay of friendship, loyalty, and competition. The seating arrangement indicated the presence of group dynamics in the classroom. These interactions were observed to be so intense that they affected the flow of information, sharing of information, and mutual assistance among the students. The cross-age interactions, particularly, seemed to enable the students to seek help in subject-related matters. This could be said to enhance social capital through cooperation and support. In addition to this, a multigrade classroom setting seemed to provide

emotional support to students and contributed towards alleviating isolation and loneliness. Hence, bringing forth the importance of social capital in the form of companionship from peers in a school environment.

The students displayed the notion of distinguishing between a friend and a best friend. The best friend, according to the students was the one to whom one can express and share innermost thoughts and concerns. This accentuated the significance of trust within the friendship. However, in a few cases, the expectations within the friendships led to the showcasing of undesirable behaviours in the classroom, including feeling compelled to support their friends even if it meant not disclosing their own abilities and knowledge to the teachers. These acts of concealing information and behaviour could contribute to the erosion of trust and cooperation within the school community. This seemed to point out the need within the students to be accepted by their peers even if it meant being engaged in morally questionable acts. This highlighted the complexities that exist within our interactions and social relationships, ultimately influencing the social capital within the group. Hence, condoning such behaviours, as a group norm by the members could discourage the students from imbibing these seemingly immoral values. While there were students who encouraged values such as honesty in their friends, most of the students seemed to be inclined to unethical practices as they expected mutual support. The mutual expectations, therefore, could be said to contribute to the generation and sustenance of social capital. This showed that the students would gravitate effortlessly towards people and relationships that are aligned with their values, fulfil their needs and desires, thus shedding light on the multi-faceted nature of social capital in the school, depending on the multiple factors and circumstances.

The biases and challenges in the form of prejudices and stereotypes were reported by the female students within their families. The teachers, on the other hand, were perceived to encourage and support female students, highlighting the school's role in extenuating biases and enhancing inclusivity, leading to the development of social capital in the school.

The principal emerged as the focal point in the teachers' professional lives. The principal not only assumed the role of being an administrator, but also acquired the role of mentor, and a teacher, which seemed to add another layer of social capital within the school community. Since most of the teachers have known the principal for a long time, there

has been a sense of deep familiarity and mutual trust. One of the teachers was a former student of the principal showed the impact of the longevity and personal connections. Personal histories and associations such as these were apparently built on mutual respect and shared experiences thereby potentially contributing to the social capital within the school.

The process of decision-making was an intricate synergy between the willingness of the authority and the extent of teachers' involvement. Thus, when the principal decided to include teachers in decision-making, it reflected that irrespective of the hierarchy in the school, the authority trusted the stakeholders' wisdom to make decisions for the welfare of the school. This showed that the principal rather than limiting oneself to an embodiment of authority, was someone who shared a rather close, intimate, and personal bond with the subordinates.

In the process of being included in making decisions, the teachers felt valued and responsible for the trust placed in them by the school. The teachers shared that while they believed that they were part of the decision-making processes, they felt left out and were surprised and dejected when they found that the school was relocated to one of the subordinate's house. This indicated some concerns about the power dynamics and professional boundaries within the school when one of the teachers confronted the decision to relocate by highlighting that the subordinate in question had potentially become the landlord. While the principal acknowledged her mistake, she appreciated the contributions of the teachers, which strengthened the school's social capital. The acceptance of criticisms and suggestions between the teachers and principal shows high receptivity which is built on trust, respect, and mutual understanding. The teachers accepted that not all the time did the decisions have to yield a positive outcome. This reflected the maturity and commitment of teachers which was to recognize the challenges yet be prepared to accept the consequences. This indicated the adaptive nature of social capital which is often required to sustain in difficult situations.

The teachers portrayed themselves as guardians apart from being teachers, as they ensured the safety and well-being of the students. Social capital is built on trust and shared values, hence, this role expansion underscored trust and the importance of personal relationships within the school. The teachers displayed awareness of individual differences that existed within the classroom. They seemed to empathise with students

as they displayed cognizance about the social and economic background of the students. This seemed to aid them in catering to their need, improving the quality of relationships which would consequently affect the school environment. The teachers shared stories and encouraged the students to talk about themselves and the apparent disposition to address sensitive issues showed the teachers' readiness to establish open communication and understanding, thus fostering social capital in the classrooms. Moreover, the teachers' efforts to engage students in the planning of their lessons, bring forth conscious hard work to reduce communication gaps and foster shared accountability and ownership of their learning. This is essential to foster social capital in the form of collaboration and engagement.

Teachers underscored the aspects of social capital in the form of institutional information, norms, trust, and shared values. The teachers highlighted the support and mentoring by the colleagues, and transmission of the culture and values. Hence, the notion of family-like relationships between the teachers could be suggestive of the presence of emotional bonds and social capital. However, the existence of cliques pointed out the existence of presence of informal groups within the formal school organization. This somehow brought light to the unequal distribution and availability of social capital within the school. However, the allegations and criticisms raised by the two teachers for each other showed that even in a close-knit school community, conflicts exist. Most of the time, these conflicts were handled discreetly. However, the description of the behaviour and interactions of these teachers indicated that the interpersonal dimension of social capital can be challenged due to the exhibition of disruptive behaviour of group members.

The incidences such as one that involved a parent who despite getting aid and support from the school discontinued his children's education showed that there are people who are not yet ready to embrace an opportunity where they receive help. The incidents such as this perhaps contributed to the teachers' and principal perceived lack of gratitude from the parents of their students. Hence it was important to understand that gratitude had the potential to be a strong social glue that is capable of fostering benevolence through relationships. It may seem to be a mundane aspect, but for the teachers and principal of SFS school, it seemed to become a medium of acknowledgment of their contribution and a nod to their interconnectedness to the school community.

Hence, social capital can be understood as a dynamic concept that involves the evolution of a network of relationships. Through multi-faceted aspects of interactions and relationships, social capital was observed to develop through trust, support, norms, a sense of belonging, shared values, empathy, recognition of differences, access to resources, peer influence, and expectations. However, the instances that showcased conflicts, and rivalries, due to biases and challenges, both inside and outside the school, showed the capability of social capital to exert a negative influence on the group. This could lead to a decrease in social capital in the group.

The school community took pride in perpetuating the idea of maintaining a conflict-free, harmonious environment, yet instances of conflict have surfaced. The others have suggested that the issues should be promptly addressed before they become detrimental to the school's reputation. Thus, by identifying and maintaining the quality of interactions, the school ensured safeguarding its harmonious environment, which could affect the institutional dimension of social capital, which has been explained in the next section.

5.4 INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

The Institutional dimension of social capital provided information in the form of a structural framework about the school. This was also understood through examination of the physical structure of the school, school culture, leadership, and teaching-learning process and practices of the school. The deliberation is divided into six sub-sections, as shown in Figure 13.
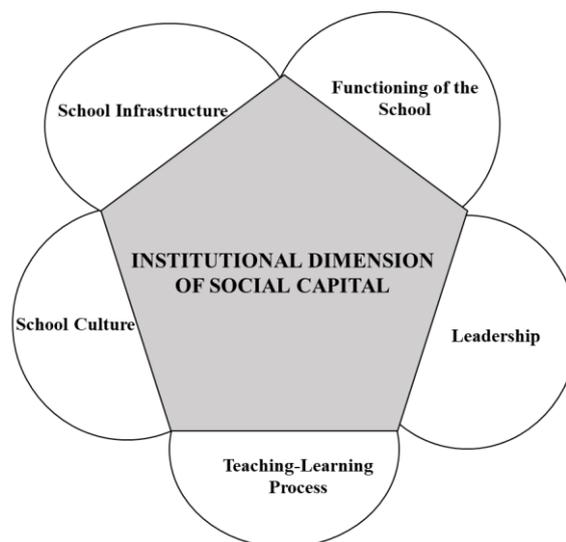

Figure 13. Representation of Institutional Dimension of Social Capital

Hence, in the upcoming sub-sections, a detailed description of the institutional dimension of the school in terms of its infrastructure, policy, culture, leadership, and teaching-learning process has been presented. These sub-sections are then elaborated under the section of 'Contextual Interpretive Insights' for deeper understanding.

5.4.1 School Infrastructure

This sub-section of school infrastructure presents details about the school location, school building, and school office which were collected through observation, semi-structured interviews, and informal conversations with the principal, teachers, students, and non-teaching staff of the school.

5.4.1.1 School Location

When I first visited SFS school it was in the Khirni Phatak area in one of the by-lanes near Lal Mandir. The SFS School is in Hanuman Nagar Extension of Jaipur city. The school was difficult to locate as it shifts within 2-3 years. Therefore, one often must rely on the nearby landmarks. During the time of data collection which happened just after the second COVID-19 lockdown, the school relocated itself to Hanuman Nagar Extension, which is in the south of Jaipur city. The school was located near the Khatipura railway station which is nearly 15 km from the heritage "Walled City" of Jaipur. There was another school opposite SFS school named LBSS School, which was a senior secondary school that had classes from classes I to XII (Commerce and Arts). Adjacent to the school was a Brahma Kumari center and a holiday home.

5.4.1.2 School Building

The informal conversations revealed that SFS school first began in a farmhouse at Maharana Pratap Nagar. Since it was a rented place, a few years later the school was shifted to different places within the same area. Just before the COVID-19 lockdown, the school building was a residential bungalow that had many (12) rooms. The staff room and principal room were different. There were separate rooms for different classes. There was a playground in the backside of the school where there were swings and slides. Apart from this, there was a separate toilet for students (boys and girls), teachers (male and female), and principal. There was a porch at the entrance which was converted as a waiting area for the school. The by-lanes of Khirni Phatak were so narrow that there was no space to park a four-wheeler. The teachers would park their two-wheelers outside

the boundary of the school. The building being a residential complex did not seem to be different as compared to the surroundings.

After the COVID-19 lockdown, the school shifted to another residential building as shown in Picture 6 with fewer (07) rooms. The building was dilapidated with broken windows, non-functional toilets, bushy garden. The principal in one of the interviews remarked "*As you can see that we run our school in a rented space. This means that we have to jump from one place to another. This has been for 20 years.*" Due to this constant shifting of the school, has been surmised that of "*lost our credibility*" and "*dwindling numbers of students.*" However, slowly as time progressed the principal tried to repair the doors and windows, replaced fans and tube lights, and even got the building painted during the Christmas vacation.

Picture 6. School Building

With the location now being on the main road, there was an ample parking space in a nearby empty plot. There was an iron board with the school's name on it, that was placed right in front of the school. Later, it was replaced by a bigger billboard, that hung from the terrace towards the road. Since there were fewer rooms as compared to before, the principal office, staffroom, and school office were operative in a single room. However, the toilets for boys, girls, and staff members were later made functional and were separate. There was a make-shift kitchen, for the preparation of food for students, celebration of festivals, or serving tea to the teachers. In the kitchen, there was a water cooler for students. There was no waiting area and parents would come directly to the office. The entrance of the school was towards the North, near Guddu ka Chauraha. The

Playground was non-existent, instead, it was a small lawn of nearly 10x10 sq. feet in size. The school had a parking space, where children would park their bicycles. The teachers would come by school van.

5.4.1.3 School Office

When I first visited the school, there was a separate principal office and a school office. The principal room was spacious and another table and chair were kept for me as I was expected to be a regular in the school. The principal room had a statue of Goddess Saraswati which was worshiped every day by the principal and teachers. The staffroom was right next to the principal's office. It had a large table with metal chairs. The teachers were given individual lockers to keep their belongings. The staffroom also had a small almirah, which was considered as the library for issuing the books to the students.

During the COVID-19 lockdown, the school shifted to another building where due to a smaller number of rooms the office, the principal office, and the staffroom were merged. Picture 6 shows that there were two tables kept on the opposite ends in one room. On one table, the principal would sit and on the other table, the teachers would sit. The office had a display board that had pictures of annual functions and other events from past years. There was a quote by Rahim Das- *गुरू गोविन्द दोऊ खड़े, काके लागूं पांय। बलिहारी गुरू अपने गोविन्द दियो बताय।।* - that illustrated the role of a teacher in reaching the divine. There was a bust of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. In addition to this, there was a statue of Goddess Saraswati and a picture of Guru Nanak. The office also had cabinets that were labelled with different names based on the content inside the cabinets. The library of the school was not separate, hence one of the cabinets was labelled as books, from where the teacher would issue books to the students for one week.

Picture 7. School Office

5.4.1.4 Classroom

Before the COVID-19 lockdown, the classes from nursery to class III were on one side of the building, whereas the rest of the classes were on the other side of the building. Each class had a separate classroom, with display boards which had different charts, and a timetable of that class. The classes mostly had colourful desks and chairs. However, the classes VII and VIII had brown benches. For teachers, there were plastic chairs.

After the COVID-19 lockdown, as shown in Picture 8, the nursery and kindergarten along with classes I to III were on the ground floor. During the data collection, the classes VI to VIII were arranged in a multigrade setting. This was done due to a smaller number of rooms and students. Each classroom had a chair, table, and benches. The blackboard in the classroom was wooden and removable. The windows of the classroom were broken and of which pigeons would fly into the room.

Picture 8. Classroom

5.4.2 Functioning of the Case Study School

The functioning of the school entails details about the school policy, school uniform, distribution of workload, school culture, teaching-learning process, and school support system.

5.4.2.1 School Policy

During formal conversations with the principal on separate occasions, before and after the COVID-19 lockdown, I asked about her vision behind starting SFS school. The principal of the school considered herself privileged due to her educational and social background. Belonging to a family of defence personnel, she had the opportunity and resources to send her children to one of the good public schools in India. She said that

this was not possible for everyone. Therefore, her vision behind opening SFS school was "*To prove that it is possible to provide quality education at affordable fees.*" She further elaborated that to achieve this it was important to understand that they hire good teachers which she pointed out "*It took a lot of courage and lots of search to get good teachers and pay them well compared to the other schools.*" In addition to this, she wanted her school to be a space where "*personalized attention*" is given to students and that is supported by the community of the area. Through SFS School, the principal wanted to prove that school alone can lead to "*actual learning and achievement of their child and even personality.*"

There were a few teachers who believed in their determination, resolution, "*जो हमारे मन की दृढ़ता है, बहुत जोस है हमारे अंदर और बच्चों की लिए, उनके future के लिए हम पूरी तरह समर्पित है*", which to them seemed sufficient. The principal and teachers opined that the parents have a misconception about a quality education as they are "*awestruck by the grandeur and superficiality*" and do not "*appreciate the effort*" that was made by the school, which made her felt often that as a principal and owner of the school she was "*far from my vision.*"

However, during interviews and informal conversations, a detachment between the vision and teachers' perceptions was observed when a few teachers such as T4 seemed to show signs of vexation. The teachers appreciated the intent of the principal behind the opening of the school. However, a few of the teachers argued that the absence of a financial mindset had affected the functioning of the school. This highlighted a seeming disconnect between the vision of the principal as an owner and the teachers. The teachers would frequently question the relevance of the school's vision since the school has been struggling financially. A few teachers like T4 believed that the way of working of the principal showed that she was no longer dedicated to the school's vision and mission. The principal accepted the financial issues related to the school. She called her teachers '*good souls*' for being '*supportive*' despite "*they know that salary is not regular still they are with me.*" The non-payment of the salary was also shared in one of the conversations by T2, who revealed that they had not been paid for the last 10 months. This added trouble in the personal lives of a few teachers. T6 informed that her family rebuked her for continuing to work in SFS school because of non-payment of salary.

The principal would distribute the workload and assign duties to the teachers. Since the school is an Upper Primary School, the students of classes VII and VIII were assigned the duty of arranging assemblies and keeping a check on students during morning assemblies and exercises. While teachers ensured that these activities were conducted with ease, they would ask students to check the nails, hair, and uniforms of their peers. The teachers would lament about the parent's inaction if a student would not be properly dressed. The teachers pointed out this was done as the school was undergoing a financial crisis due to COVID-19 pandemic and non-payment of fees by the parents.

As per the information provided by the principal, the admission process of the school involved appearing in an interview of students from classes VI to VIII. The students from nursery to class V are admitted directly without any interview. Furthermore, some students who previously studied in different RBSE-affiliated schools were admitted to class VI based on their class V board examination results. However, after the COVID-19 lockdown, the admission process was more of a verbal agreement between the school and the parents. The students were admitted without any interview or any other selection procedure. With the COVID-19 lockdown, there was an advent of online classes. Therefore, attendance in offline classes was limited to those who could not attend an online class. The school did not share links to their online classes with me because of which I cannot give insight on the attendance of the students in the online classes.

While the teachers and principal argued that their school was open to all and reported that there exist no malpractices such as bullying, there were students of certain nationality who complained that other students "*मेरी आँखों का मज़ाक उड़ाते हैं क्लास में (pause) कि छोटी-छोटी आँखें हैं (pause) ये तो Chinese है। अभी जैसे COVID में (pause) आप बताना मत (pause) अभी COVID में मुझे S4 बोली कि तू Chinese है, तू COVID लायी है, तू वापस जा जहाँ से आयी है।*". This indicated that certain racial stereotypes that might seemed harmless to the students were perceived as hurtful for the speaker. Hence, suggesting the damage that prejudices and stereotypes could cause.

One of the school's aims that was shared was to provide a safe environment for the students and the teachers. While some students were escorted either by their mothers or would come by bicycles, most of them relied on the school van. The teachers would take turns every day to ensure that all the students were dropped off safely. Since there was only one school van the students had to wait for their turns. The principal and T3 were

always observed to be the last to leave and another teacher, T6, would be the first teacher to come to the school every day. During my field investigation, as I entered the school, I noticed a few students were playing outside the school boundary. As I walked inside, all the students ran inside like a flock of birds. I turned to see that T4 was coming. She came towards me and before I could greet her, she lectured me, "*I understand…you are here to do your work, but you are also answerable to the school as we have given you permission. So, it is your duty to not allow children to play outside. आप ऐसा कैसे होने दे सकती है? कुछ हो गया तो…आपको आपके काम की पड़ी है बस!*". She walked away without listening to me. This was apparently said because even though I was an outsider, my intention was to understand the students and teachers and their lives. Hence this can be a teacher's to conveying expectations that I should contribute to school in some form, even if it meant overriding my purpose over the students' well-being.

5.4.2.2 School Uniform

The school uniform was a white shirt, skirt (for girls), and shorts or trousers (for boys) for Wednesdays; a light blue shirt and dark grey skirt (for girls) and trousers (for boys), with a red cloth belt for the rest of the days as shown in Picture 9. The students also had a sweater and coat with the school emblem in the winter. However, due to financial constraints, the school did not order new uniforms because of which for 2 years post-lockdown the students were coming to school wearing civil clothes.

Picture 9. Students with the Principal in their School uniform

In one instance, two brothers would come wearing the old school uniform. The clothes seemed to be never washed as the colour of the white shirt changed to greyish-black. Additionally, the shirt seemed worn out to the extent that it was torn on the back. When

asked about them, I was told by teachers that their parents were daily-wage workers and therefore they do not pay attention to them. Despite several requests from the teachers and principal to send them wearing a civil dress instead of a torn uniform, they continued wearing the torn uniform. The principal finally bought two pairs of shirts and shorts and asked the brothers to wear them the next day. The teachers shared that most of the families of the students were not from a good economic background. Hence, when asked to purchase school uniforms due to reasons such as a change in a uniform pattern, a child seems to outgrow the uniform, or the uniform is damaged, often putting a financial burden on the parents. The teachers lamented that instead of buying new uniforms, the parents continued sending their children in old uniforms regardless of their condition. Since, the students tend to compare themselves to their peers, wearing an old or torn uniform could embarrass them, hence potentially impacting their self-esteem, confidence, and behaviour in the classroom.

5.4.2.3 Curriculum and Workload

The SFS School was affiliated with the Board of Secondary Education (RBSE) and therefore would follow its curriculum. The District Education Office (DEO), Jaipur issued a plan of work, which the school was expected to follow. The medium of instruction was English. However, the conversational language among teachers and students was the Rajasthani and Hindi language.

The students of different classes were taught subjects including Mathematics, Science, Social Science, English, Hindi, Sanskrit, Computer, and Drawing. The teachers would teach different subjects and often had an overlap of subjects. After the COVID-19 lockdown, there were two teachers, who took turns to be the class teacher of nursery to class I. However, from class II, the class teacher for each class was changed as a particular class progressed. For instance, one of the teachers (T2) would teach both Hindi and Sanskrit only from class VI to class VIII.

The principal and other teachers shared an incidence of their former computer teacher who "*had the minimum work*" yet she said that she would teach all the students in a one-hour class once a week. The teachers informed that they "*objected that how can she cover up all the classes in just one session*" in front of the principal. This resulted in an action by the principal that involved clearing her salary and "*let her go*." This resulted in an extra workload that was "*shared the load to teach the computer and we managed*

it beautifully" by the rest of the teachers and the principal. The teachers concurred that they did not feel burdened by the extra workload that was given to them during the lockdown as it was distributed between all the teachers who have been shown in Picture 10.

Picture 10. The Principal (in the middle) with the staff

5.4.2.4 Academic Year

At SFS school, the academic year was divided into two terms. The first term usually begins on 1st July and ends just before Christmas for 10 to 15 days of winter break. It would reopen for the second term in 1st or 2nd week of January depending on the intensity of winter and would close for final examination in March (for classes V and VIII) and April (for the rest of the school).

5.4.2.5 Time-Table

During the pre-COVID-19 pandemic, I did not get a chance to talk about the timetable and its related facets. But between the second and third COVID-19 lockdowns, when I revisited the school. During my meeting with the principal, I discussed the feasibility and their availability. There were two teachers, T3 and T7, who were sitting at the other end of the room. T7 informed the principal that since all the teachers would be busy, they would not have time to talk to me. The principal asked her to first prepare the timetable and not to worry about my visits. Later, as time passed, I asked T3, who informed me that she and T7 were responsible for making the timetable. The timetable was sent through WhatsApp to parents, but it was found to be missing from the classroom display board. The principal table had a master timetable under the glass slab. The teachers were observed to adjust their timetables and classes by negotiating with their colleagues.

5.4.3 School Culture

The school timings of SFS school were usually from 7:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., it would change depending on the weather conditions and the order by the District Collector. During the transitory period of COVID-19 lockdown, between the second and third lockdown, the schools were slowly reopened with only 3-4 hours of teaching. In SFS school, to avoid too much contact, the school functioned for only 3 hours wherein the students and staff members were regularly wearing masks. The classes were sanitized every day, twice. During the initial days of the school reopening, there were no morning assemblies, lunch breaks, or any other activities apart from teaching-learning. The teachers recalled the activities such as morning assemblies, where the students would sing a prayer, take the pledge, and present news and thought of the day which was followed by the principal's speech or a story as a morning ritual. With the social distancing norms, the teachers expressed their concern over the absence of such activities which contribute to enhancing the confidence in students, removing their stage fright, and improving their personality.

The classes nursery to kindergarten, preparatory to class I, classes II and III, classes IV and V, and lastly classes VI to VIII sat in a multigrade arrangement as the number of rooms was less. It was my first experience to see how a teacher teaches in a multigrade classroom. I observed the classes and noticed that since the number of students was less, each class was made to sit in a separate row in the class. On each bench, only two students were allowed to sit. They kept their bags on the floor. For instance, in the multigrade setting of classes VI to VIII, the teaching of all three classes was not done simultaneously, rather while the teacher taught one class, the other two classes were given some work or were asked to revise or prepare for a surprise test. After 30 minutes, the teacher would teach another class, and then repeat the same instruction. This was repeated after 30 minutes. In between teaching, the teachers would engage students from class VIII and class VII by asking questions from the textbook of class VI. They were appreciated when they answered otherwise, and they were asked to pay attention to the teaching. The students would sit in the class as per the class in which they study but the teacher would not tell them where to sit.

The students informed me that the teacher taught them to be disciplined, speak politely to the elders, and avoid being rude to others. The students recollected that before the COVID-19 lockdown, they would bring a mat and a napkin with them to the school and

use it during their lunch break so that their surroundings do not get dirty. Few of the students were observed to continue this practice during their lunch breaks.

The teachers were allowed to wear *Poshak* in school. The teachers would wear mehndi and colourful *lehariya* saris during festivals of such as Teej, and Ganguar. One of the teachers (T5) would cover her face whenever students were dropped by their grandparents. When she was asked for a reason, T5 replied "*वो मेरे पड़ोसी है (pause) घर में सिर ढक कर रखती हूँ तो यहाँ वो अपने पोते को छोड़ने आये है तो अच्छा नहीं लगता है ना। Respect देने का तरीका है और कुछ नहीं।*". When further enquired about how this action impacts the students who see her, she dismissed by citing pending work. I asked other teachers who said that even though they do not cover their heads in school, they must cover their heads at home. The principal shared that the upper and upper-middle-class of their community had certain privileges that made them feel less constrained by the norms of the society and their community. She would often share stories of people who were prominent figures in their community and in what ways they broke their community norms and became an outlier. However, this was not the case for those who belonged to the members of the low economic background as they felt more ingrained in the societal norms due to the fear of being judged and ostracised. She recollected an incident before the COVID-19 pandemic struck about a class V boy who about his parents who were taking him forcefully to the village to participate in the temple restoration. The principal, along with a few senior teachers tried to pacify the parents but I was told that the parents said that renovation is more important as it is related to their image in society rather than education. The parent allegedly commented "*समाज में नाक कट जाएगी अगर परिवार की तरफ से नहीं जाएंगे।*". Hence, apparently underscored the interplay of caste, social class, education, privilege, and societal pressure in shaping the behaviour of the families.

The teachers and principal primarily held the parents accountable for not understanding the value of education, and going to school. They would emphasize that the parents are mainly responsible for the upbringing of their children. Since parents were the primary figures in transmitting cultural and social traditions, it was important for them to realize this. The teachers and principal criticized parents for "*twisting my arm for the sake of these rituals and customs*", which seemed as an insinuation on the parents, who would apparently frequently go to any extent to compel the school to give in to their demands, especially pertaining to their participation in the social rituals.

5.4.4 Leadership

In SFS school, there was no separate administration. The owner of SFS school was also its principal. The principal informed me that the school was founded by the efforts of her and her husband to open a school where "*good and quality education is provided at an affordable fee.*" While talking about herself, she said that she has completed her Master of Arts (M.A.) in English and has a degree in Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.). She has teaching experience of more than 25 years in schools such as Kendriya Vidyalayas and Missionary schools.

The Principal of SFS school credited learnings from her days as a student-teacher, where she learned that as a headmaster or headmistress one "*should not think of himself/herself as a superior to everyone, rather he/she should think that he is one among the rest.*" This lesson seemed to stay with her and contributed to her leadership, which was "*leading with example*" that apparently rests on the instance to follow the same moralities as they want others to follow. She further explained it "*Leading with example means that if I expect them to finish syllabus on time, I should finish myself on time. If I expect then to maintain discipline in the classroom, I must ensure that I do it myself. I feel that the role of principal is leadership with example. She has to do everything herself first which she expects from teachers. Then only you can call a principal a principal.*" This showed that the principal seemed to be aware of her role as a leader in promoting a culture of veracity and responsibility in the school community. Therefore, as a principal of SFS school, her roles included managing the salaries of staff in the school and associated expenditures of the building, being responsible for uploading the data of students on the U-DISE+ database, issuing transfer certificates, representing the school at the DEO, Jaipur. Furthermore, she was also involved in teaching English from class II to class VIII.

She was noticed to observe teachers while they taught in class. As an administrator, she said that it was important to convey the school's expectations to the teachers. This becomes important in times when "*I come across things which I don't want to see like a teacher teaching a wrong concept.*" She did not prefer to "*correct the teachers in front of the students*" rather she preferred to "*call her aside and tell them what they are doing wrong. It becomes little awkward and a delicate situation.*" This showed that while it was essential to maintain the quality of the teaching-learning process in the school, it

was apparently done with care, caution, respect, and sensitivity. Furthermore, she was observed as mentioned in one of her interviews that "*I also ask students to bring their notebooks once a month and I try to check it and see if the teachers are teaching correctly, whether the information given is right or not.*" An incident was shared by the principal wherein during one of her interactions in the classroom "*I saw the children's notebook and asked them questions. They were blank. I said how is it possible for you to written everything and not know a single answer. The children said he gives us the manual and asks us to learn. He didn't even bother to check the notebook. So, while he was sick, I took over the classes, had extra classes so that the children can atleast learn something and write answers based on their understanding. When he came back, I cleared off his dues and told him that I don't want him in the school.*" This indicated that when a teacher demonstrated a lack of answerability by not performing duties such as notebook corrections or ensuring that the students understood the content, the principal not only stepped in as a teacher but also asserted her authority by dismissing the teacher from the school. Therefore, making decisions for the sake of the school was "*nasty part of the job that I have to do and nobody I expect to do it for me.*" This reflected a sense of responsibility and commitment to perform duties which does not always turn out to be an easy aspect of being a leader.

When asked about the leadership of the principal to the teachers, all the teachers on record described the principal as a nice, generous, knowledgeable, brilliant, cooperative, supportive, understanding, and motherly figure but did not speak about her leadership explicitly. The teachers, for instance, T2 acknowledged the principal's demeanour as he said "*उनके अंदर ये नहीं है कि मैं अधिकारी हूँ, senior हूँ, ऊँचे पद पर हूँ, ये सब तो मेरे सिर्फ employees ही है। ऐसा बिल्कुल नहीं है।*". Hence, indicated that the principal seemed to not follow the notion of hierarchy and rather promoted a more collaborative and inclusive working approach with the colleagues. The teachers credited the principal for making them a part of the decision-making process. They said, "*हमारे यहाँ कोई भी decison लेना होता है तो Principal madam हम सब के साथ मीटिंग रखती है। बातें सुनती है, और फिर कोई फैसला लेती है।*". This suggested that while as a leader the principal relied on teachers by engaging them in the decision making.

The teachers opined that the school environment was congenial as compared to other schools. They opined that as a principal one has a greater responsibility in the school.

However, the principal in a larger institution becomes inaccessible as a teacher must follow formal procedures to meet and interact. This approach becomes a constraint when a teacher faces a personal crisis that requires sensitivity, understanding, and flexibility from the school. The teachers shared that the principal of SFS school accommodated their personal problems which provided them a more flexible and understanding work culture. Similar statements in different contexts were given by other teachers who would appreciate the principal as a person but in what was apparent as subdued voices spoke about the lack of firmness and business-mind due to which the school has suffered a lot. But there was one teacher, T4, who has been associated with the school since 2000 critiqued the leadership of the principal by asserting herself to be firmer and more authoritative. She further added that the reason of instability that school has been experiencing was due to lack of firmness within the principal, which a leader should have. Hence, bringing forth the expectation from a leader is to be resolute and unwavering.

When I further asked about the challenges she faced as a principal, she seemed to accept her lack of business acumen, but would often question the need to charge for everything after an annual charge has been taken from the students at the beginning of the year. She seemed to empathize with parents and their financial conditions as she shared her reluctance to unnecessarily charge parents. She agreed that this might be one of the reasons why her school or expansion plan did not materialize as expected.

The students were also asked about the leadership of the principal who did not comment on her leadership but they deemed her as a good teacher who taught them to speak English. I met a tea stall owner who would send his child to the SFS school, he appreciated the understanding that the principal displayed during the COVID-19 lockdown, but criticized the teachers for not behaving like the principal which is now making him think about leaving the school. He added that the teachers would complain about the non-payment of the fees but his son has never attended school during the lockdown, hence there was no point in giving fees.

5.4.5 Teaching-Learning Process

The teaching-learning process was an important aspect of the school. Its understanding helped to decipher the steps between the conception of educational objectives to the achievement of the learning outcomes. It was a dynamic interaction between the

teachers and students. Here teacher aimed to understand students, impart knowledge, and inculcate skills, and attitudes. In the upcoming section, the teaching-learning process has been understood through planning and preparation of the lecture, classroom instructions, institutional support, assessment of the students, penalty for the students, and support.

5.4.5.1 Planning and Preparation

The teachers said when it comes to school, the lesson plans are not made as they did during B.Ed. Prior to the COVID-19 lockdown, the teachers shared "*पहले हमें डायरी दी जाती थी जिसमें हमें हफ्ते के प्लान बनाने होते थे।*". The teachers on separate occasion informed that there used to be a monthly meeting based on their planning wherein the principal "*हमसे बात करती थी कि क्या तकलीफ है।*"

However, since the advent of COVID-19 and the subsequent lockdowns "*स्कूल में बच्चे कम हुए है तो आमदनी भी कम हुई है*" because of which "lesson plan *वाली डायरी नहीं मिल रही है।*". This resulted in using old lesson plan diaries or notebooks as planners. Even though they would not show the diary to me when asked, they would say that they made changes and updated the information and even the style of teaching and revision. Doing this, according to them ensured that the teaching was not repetitive as the classes were sitting in a multigrade setting.

5.4.5.2 Classroom Instruction

The classroom instruction was observed to be conducted in English and Hindi language. Prior to the COVID-19 lockdown, the school timing was from 7:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., although it was observed to change in winter. The duration of the school timings was reduced to 3 hours after the COVID-19 lockdown where the focus of the teachers was to teach. The duration of the classes was 30 minutes. The teachers added that since students are now coming back to school, they have observed changes in students' overall personalities. The engagement and interest in learning were reported to have decreased during the pandemic. The teachers used phrases like "*बच्चे बिल्कुल dull हो गए है*", "*एक दम से switch off हो गए थे*", which indicated lack of active participation in their online classes.

The teachers along with the principal shared their experiences on the shift from offline classroom teaching to online classes. Almost all of them said that "*हमारे यहाँ बच्चों के पास*

मोबाइल फ़ोन नहीं थे। बहुत कम थे जिनके पास ये facilty थी कि वो online classes attend कर सके तो हमने उन्हें audio भेजी।". One of the teachers, T3, was a teacher of the subject of science from classes VI to VIII. She shared that she would initially send audio, the unresponsiveness of the students, led to the change in her teaching. She held a meeting with the parents and convinced them to conduct the teaching at a specific time. She elaborated "*अपने husband से कह कर मैंने JIO FIBER लगवाया, इस दौरान मेरे husband ने भी बहुत support किया। तो मुझे ऑनलाइन क्लास लेना हर किसी के लिए possible था नहीं तो मुझे ऐसा कोई तरीका सोचना था के हर बच्चे को लाइव पढ़ा सकूँ। तो मैंने parents से बात करी और एक टाइम रखा जहाँ सारे बच्चे online live आ सके। और आप मानोगे नहीं पर live क्लास में बच्चे आते थे और जवाब देते थे, काम अपना टाइम से करते थे। और यहाँ तक कि बाकी subjects में क्या problem है वो भी वो बताते थे और मैं मैडम से discuss भी करती थी*', which suggested that the efforts of teachers going an extra mile was reciprocated by the active participation of students.

While neither the principal nor teachers shared the links to the online classes, I observed a few online classes in Picture 11 that the teachers during the third lockdown as they were conducted by the teachers within the school. Since I developed a good rapport with some of the teachers, they allowed me to sit with them.

Picture 11. Teachers taking online classes

In those classes, I observed that despite the instructions to switch on the camera, the students would keep their cameras off. Apart from this, at one time, I observed a boy from class V in the subject of Hindi all huddled in the comforter, lying down, going away from the camera, and members of the family coming into the focus of the camera

and going away. The teacher at first asked him to sit properly and then later asked his parents to make sure that he attended the classes properly.

As compared to the online classes, it was shared by the teachers and the principal that in a physical classroom, a student does not merely sit and stare. Rather it involved multiple activities such as in-person interaction with the teacher, peer learning, and clearance of doubt of other students who listen and learn when their classmate asks a question, which leads to a collective understanding. However, in online classes, the students were observed to turn off their videos or there might be an intervention of the family, which hindered the flow of teaching, learning, and communication. Hence, it became difficult to engage and monitor students in the online classes. Moreover, the interactions which a student would have with their peers in the form of learning, sharing lunch, or exchanging materials was also reported to be absent in online classes; affecting their social skills and behaviours.

Furthermore, for effective classroom instruction, the teachers and principal expected parental support but in a few interactions with parents it was revealed that the financial situation in terms of money and employability has been a problem for them. They said that since they have already paid the fees despite their children not going to school, the members of the schools like teachers and principal should focus on educating rather than troubling them with the complaints of their children.

5.4.5.3 Assessment of Students

The school would conduct monthly exams, half-yearly examinations, and annual examinations across all the classes. However, the annual examination of class V and class VIII was conducted by RBSE, as it is the board class in the state of Rajasthan. The assessment of nursery and kindergarten was through oral examinations where they would be asked to recite the alphabet in English and Hindi and count of numbers. The written examination begins in class I, where students in addition to reciting, were asked to write a few lines to essays depending upon the class. The half-yearly and annual examinations were conducted in December and March respectively.

With the COVID-19 lockdown, since many students did not have the facility to attend online classes, the issue of assessing the progress of the students was a critical issue. The teachers shared that since the teaching was done by sending WhatsApp videos and

the doubts were clarified on the phone or by sending individual voice notes, assessing students in terms of their understanding, and remembering the material became a challenge. Hence, the teachers had to come up with ways through which they would be able to assess the progress of the children. The tactics of the teachers involved taking support of morality in assessing students. This way the teachers also seemed to foster honesty in the teaching-learning process. However, the teachers alleged that many a time they observed that the students were receiving external help which they noted through videos. Hence, highlighted the probable off-screen guidance given to students by their families.

However, the principal and teachers had voiced their concerns about the decision to give mass promotion to the students in the direction of the government. They believed that it has caused a serious dent in education as it has made both parents and students become less engaged with their studies.

5.4.5.4 Penalty in School

I did not witness any act of physical beating or corporal punishment in the school. But the students were reprimanded verbally by teachers for reasons such as being unhygienic (not cutting nails, not trimming hair, not making proper plaits), misbehaviours, not bringing their classwork or textbook to school, poor performance in examinations, and failing to answer questions in the classroom.

5.4.5.5 Support System by School

Most of the teachers opined that in many schools it was expected that they make the school "*as lifeline*." But this was not possible as school was one of the many parts of their identity. The teachers believed that how the administration of a school interacts with its teachers would point out the school culture and institutional priorities. The teachers opined that the schools do not focus on teaching humility neither to their teachers nor to their students, which is critical as a value. The teachers shared their experiences of going to other schools and assessing the school's attitude towards parents. The teachers would share that many times it happened that they felt coerced to visit their child's school and meet the teachers. However, they pointed out that the school culture in most of the schools involves long hours of waiting. The school practice of making parents wait for a long time and making them go through different levels of meetings before meeting the teacher shows the extent of inaccessibility in schools. The

teachers shared that as a guardian of the child, they often had to intervene and ask the school administration to be sensitive to them.

However, the teachers and the principal have informed me that this was not the case in SFS school. They would often talk about the ease of access to them as compared to other schools. The teachers shared that they as a school do not practice inaccessibility because their job involves teaching the students and interacting with the parents. They said they were available on the phone and were ready to help the parents. This was concurred by the students who shared that during the lockdown they often received guidance from their teachers about how to continue their studies as long the online classes were not either feasible or they had difficulty in understanding the concepts. The teachers opined that their readiness to be accessible as compared to other schools was seen as " *बहुत बड़ा difference है बड़ी स्कूलों में और हमारी जैसी noble स्कूलों में।*".

The teachers were also asked about the support they received from the school during the COVID-19 lockdown. While most of the teachers did not speak about it and gave a generalized affirmative response, T3 recounted a disagreement between the parents and the school over the online classes. The principal tried explaining to a few parents about the issue of access to most of the students because of which conducting it throughout the day was not feasible. This showed that many times it happens in the educational process that the stakeholders will have different expectations. Meanwhile, her colleagues questioned T3 about her teaching method. However, T3 shared that she felt acknowledged as she received the support of the principal along with the parents, which indicated the recognition received even in the light of disagreements.

5.4.5.6 Contextual Interpretive Insight

The historical relocations since the inception of the SFS school in Hanuman Nagar Extension highlighted the instability in its physical presence, which posed challenges in the establishment of strong connections with the local community. This resulted in the increased reliance on nearby landmarks to locate the geographical location of the school.

The vision of the principal to provide quality education at affordable fees reflected the commitment to building trust within the school community. This was translated as shared commitment, norms, and value through the appointment of hiring proficient teachers who provide personalized attention to the students. The teachers showcased

their belief in the school's vision and mission irrespective of their salary delays. This highlighted the presence of trust and its role in the sustenance of social capital through the survival of the school as an institution. Yet salary issues and financial concerns were raised by the teachers which led to the doubting of alignment of the vision and current circumstances of the school. This indicated a conflict between the individual and collective values within the school.

Prior to the COVID-19 lockdown, the school building was well-equipped, with social spaces such as a waiting area and playground. These areas emerged as potential budding sites for the informal interactions between the researcher, students, parents, and teachers. In addition to this, the spatial arrangement indicated a hierarchical structure as there was a separation between the principal's office, school office, and staffroom. This arrangement seemed to allow a distinction of roles and responsibilities of the members of the school community. Moreover, the separation of classes and provision of individual rooms according to the grade level, with each class having its display board suggested an organized and structured environment.

Nevertheless, due to the COVID-19 lockdown, the school relocated to the main road area which could be deemed as a good strategy, since it offered more visibility as compared to the by-lanes. This relocation led to major changes in its structural layout. The building was smaller, less equipped, dilapidated, and lacked social spaces. Thus, the principal's office and staffroom were merged. Apart from the merged office spaces, the classes also were merged and a multigrade classroom setting at various levels came to fruition. Moreover, the efforts to transform the building indicated the readiness of the school community to adapt itself to the available resources. These structural adaptations due to the absence of sufficient resources were apparent in the teaching-learning behaviour of students, teachers, and principal. The presence of statues and pictures of Goddess Saraswati, Guru Nanak, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Mahatma Gandhi along with the couplets of Rahim Das seemed to be an intentional effort to harness social capital through the cultural capital. This also indicated the probable profound influence of tangible objects such as the physical infrastructure of the school over intangible entities, such as the school environment.

The school uniform provided a sense of equality among the students. Due to the financial restraints experienced by the school, maintaining the uniform policy seemed

to be in trouble. This was evident when instead of ordering the new uniforms, the schools allowed to wear civilian clothes for two years. The instance of two brothers who continued to wear old, worn-out uniforms pointed out the interconnectedness between the uniform policy and socioeconomic factors that emerged post-COVID-19 lockdown. The mitigation of the issue by the principal's action of buying them new clothes exemplified the role of social capital through the school's commitment to the well-being of its students. The teachers' observation of parents prioritizing their financial needs over buying new uniforms pointed out the complex interplay of the school's uniform policy and the economic condition of the parents.

The admission process for the school seemed to transform post-COVID-19 lockdown as the interviews became informal. This indicated that the school's responsiveness could have been the attempts to survive the issues looming. The academic calendar of the school was divided into two terms which were contingent on external factors such as the weather conditions. This allowed the school to plan and organize its educational activities in advance. The school timetable was an extension of the academic calendar, which the school prepared as per their wisdom. The involvement of the teachers in the preparation of timetables underlined the collaborative nature of the school's organizational structure. At the same time, the presence of a master timetable under the principal's desk indicated a centralized scheduling system. In addition to this, the teachers adjusted their timetables and classes was another hint of adaptability that underscored the presence of social capital within their interactions and relationships. The integration of technology into the working of the school was illustrated by instances like sending the timetable through WhatsApp to parents, which showed the school's readiness to adapt to retain the benefits of its social capital.

The medium of instruction in SFS school was both in English and Hindi, which reflects the bilingual nature of the school environment. The COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent lockdown had a significant effect on the daily schedule of the school. The school duration was reduced to 3 hours, with classes being conducted for 30 minutes each. This change in schedule stressed the necessity to accommodate teaching and prioritize instructional practices over other activities such as lunch breaks.

The COVID-19 pandemic brought many changes in the working of the school including reduced school hours, mandatory mask-wearing, sanitation routines, absence of

morning assemblies and other activities. This illustrated the school's sense of security and intention to provide a safe environment to its members. The absence of activity was practiced with the intention of the well-being of the members of the school, it did leave a sense of incompleteness. This sense of incompleteness was indicative of the influence that the school activities had on the school culture as well as on the learning environment of the school. The multigrade classroom became a site of inclusivity and resourcefulness due to its collaborative nature where students and teachers would come together and share responsibility within the school culture. The teaching staff of SFS school employed verbal reprimands over physical punishment as a negative reinforcement. This indicated that the teachers were willing to openly communicate with the students which could result in building positive teacher-student relationships. The students described their school experience with a focus on values such as cleanliness, discipline, respect for others, and honesty.

The teachers wore traditional dress and would cover their faces bringing forth the influence of cultural practices on the behaviour of the school staff. The principal explained a subdued clash when education tries to be prioritized over rituals and customs. This highlighted the complexity of cultural practices and education. The instances of parents prioritizing a temple restoration over their child's education followed by a discussion with teachers showed the importance of payment of fees and stressed the dynamics that emerged out of these encounters that the school.

In SFS school, the owner of the institution served as the role of the principal. Her academic qualification as well as her teaching experience lent credibility to her role as the principal. Her philosophy was centered around leading by example. She emphasized that a leader should be a team player rather than thinking of oneself as a superior. Due to this approach, she expected her teachers to model her behaviour and values. In addition to the administrative roles, she was actively engaged in teaching of English language from class II to class VIII. This showed her commitment to her philosophy of hands-on leadership. As a leader, quality control and accountability are of paramount importance. This was ensured by regular observations of teachers and checking of students' notebooks to see the extent to which teachers were teaching accurately and effectively. The instance of removing teachers who did not match the school's expectations and standards further emphasized her proactive stance as a leader. While the teachers at SFS school held high regard for the principal, they had expressed

concerns about her leadership style, and the apparent absence of business acumen and firmness in the decision-making process. From the parental perspective, the principal was appreciated because of her understanding of the COVID-19 pandemic, but the teachers were criticized for not being in sync with the principal's behaviour.

The principal acknowledged lack of financial acumen due to her reluctance to charge unnecessary fees. This reflected and reaffirmed her vision of providing access to a quality education. In addition to this, it suggested self-awareness about herself as a leader. However, her empathetic demeanour was highlighted by teachers during their personal challenges. The teachers pointed out the ease of accessibility and a cooperative attitude as compared to other schools. One of the teachers shared her experience of conducting online classes, where she faced opposition from other teachers. She commended the support and intervention of the principal in the whole experience. This form of institutional support could be understood as an essential conduit for fostering a sense of belonging among the teachers and other members of the school community.

The teachers highlighted that prior to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, they were provided a lesson plan diary in which they would plan their lessons weekly. These diaries served as a footing for planning, organizing, and conducting their lesson. Furthermore, monthly meetings were conducted where the principal engaged with the teachers to discuss challenges and give inputs on their lesson plan and subsequently teaching. This fostered an unhindered flow of information that provided a scope of feedback and collaboration. Thus, leading to a sense of shared understanding and collective decision-making.

With the arrival of COVID-19, there was a reduction in the number of students which resulted in decreased revenue for the school. The school adapted to this by utilizing old lesson planners and notebooks as makeshift planners. The changes in lesson plans were done by keeping the multigrade classroom in mind, where the teacher had to cater to the learning needs of all the groups and ensure that repetition was avoided.

The transition from offline to online classes was accompanied by challenges and issues for all the members of the school community, especially, the teachers and students. The teachers observed behavioural change and reduced academic performance among the students. They highlighted their observation which entailed a negative effect on students' writing habits, concentration levels, and academic engagement. These

challenges were further aggravated by limited access to mobile phones and internet connectivity making the quality of conducting online classes not feasible. One of the teachers shared her attempt to facilitate online classes by establishing a fixed teaching-learning schedule that she communicated with the parents to garner support. The teachers shared that the online classes showed signs of ignoring teachers' instructions, and reduced engagement which led to issues of monitoring the activities and behavioural problems among the students. On the other hand, offline teaching, according to the teachers, not only fostered real-time interaction but was more effective in clarifying doubts and creating a more interactive and engaging learning environment. The school members believed that parental support was crucial for an effective online education, which they could not cater to due to the financial and employment constraints faced by the parents.

The school followed a structured assessment pattern across all classes. There was a distinction in the assessment process for classes V and VIII, where the annual examinations were organized and conducted by RBSE, due to their board class status in the state of Rajasthan. The examination pattern was different for each level.

With the COVID-19 lockdown, the assessment of students emerged as a challenge. The teachers shared novel attempts to assess their students such as by integrating morality and values in completing assignments and assessments. The government's decision to give mass promotion to the students was met with concern over the actual achieved level of learning by the teachers and principal. The policy played a deteriorating role in education as it led to reduced cognitive engagement among the students and parents.

Therefore, as an institution, the school demonstrated a shared commitment including adapting to external factors such as COVID-19 to fulfil their resolution of providing quality education. The collective resolution led to the instilling of shared norms and values and, a sense of belonging which seemingly affected the engagement of the school community.

5.5 Final Thoughts

In the school context, elements like trust, networks, connections, norms, institutional support, information-sharing, reciprocity, and a sense of belonging have emerged which have been affected by physical infrastructure, motivation, friendship, and many more. These collectively contributed to the school community's cohesion and empowerment

even in challenging times. The palpable emergence of social capital was identified through the instances that indicated its manifestation and sustenance in the form of prioritizing the collective well-being of the school community. This brief about the interpretation has formed the underpinning for the findings and implications of the current study, presented in the next chapter.