

Chapter 6

PRESENTATION OF QUALITATIVE INFORMATION

6.0.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the qualitative information gathered to answer the second and third research questions that the present study started out with. These research questions are:

What are the relevant processes and interactions in the social-environmental context of the first standard urban child of the lower middle class which influence her response to the demands made by her entry into formal school?

How do the various human and physical elements in the urban, lower middle class home environment influence the first standard child's performance at school?

The qualitative information collected has two aspects: first is the description of the classroom procedures, and the second is the presentation of case studies of six children from the cluster sample under study. As was mentioned in chapter 3, the six cases selected involved children from the two sexes as well as two distinct categories of school performance.

There was a definite purpose for selecting children for the case studies from two distinct categories in terms of their school performance. The idea was to try and describe the background elements and processes of children markedly different in their extent of adjustment and conformity to the school norms and expectations. Thus, when background information concerning children who

drastically vary in their school performance are presented in a comparative perspective, one may hope to derive a few useful insights into those processes and elements in the social-environmental context which support the child's response to the demands of a formal school. The research questions addressed here sought to identify the relevant processes and interactions in the social-environmental contexts which influence the response of the child to the demands of the school, and to find out how the various human and physical elements in her home environment influence her performance at school. Answers to these questions, therefore, would include description of the home processes and interactions of children found to be performing differentially at school and interpreting these details in a comparative reference frame, so as to bring about the predominant configurations of home elements and processes, and their relational dimensions with the child's school performance.

6.1.0 The typical classroom interactions

Hardly a week must have had elapsed after the session had commenced. This was a mid-week day. The following is an anecdotal record based on observation of the first standard class during the first two periods after the morning rituals of prayer and attendance. After that is presented, an anecdotal record based on observation of the mid-term test conducted after four months of commencement of the session.

6.1.1 Anecdotal record based on classroom observation:

The teacher shouted loudly 'No noise' startling children out of their conversations. They stopped talking and looked up expectantly at the teacher; some were still engrossed in their activities. The teacher shouted once more drawing everybody's attention. She told the class to fold their arms and put their fingers on

the lips. She then instructed them to take out their Gujarati note-books, turned to the black-board and wrote the subject, date and other details on the black-board. The children in the meanwhile were fumbling in their bags for the Gujarati note-books, they probably were not sure which was the Gujarati note-book. Having taken out the note-books they started hunting for their pencils. Some were ready with both their pencils and note-books, while others were still hunting for one or the other. In the meanwhile one or two children found that their pencils did not have a point and not having a sharpener they tried to chew out the hard wooden portion with their teeth. A few children did not have pencils at all. The result was that there was noise again. The teacher rapped the ruler on the desk making a loud noise, for a moment everything was still, the teacher shouted again "No noise, have you taken out your note-books?" The children chorused back, some "Yes teacher", and some "No teacher". She paused for a minute and said "O.K. please hurry", and continued "which class is this?" One smart boy quipped "Gujarati". "That's right, now recite these words after me" and she spoke a few simple words, simultaneously writing them on the black-board. The children loudly repeated the words after her, all involved in the recitation, thoroughly enjoying the opportunity to exercise their vocal chords.

The teacher then drew out columns for the words on the black-board. She then instructed the children that the words should be written 8 times in their note-books in columns like those on the black-board. She further said that she would help them to draw out the columns and proceeded to do so. In the meanwhile some of the children proceeded to draw out the columns on their own, either using a ruler, a compass box, a lunch box or simply folded their papers. Some children waited for the teacher to ^{come to} them, talking to each other in the meanwhile. A boy approached the teacher with his note-book. The teacher looked into his note-book and started laughing, "Goodness, look what Nitin has done," she said and held out the note-book showing it to all the children. "See how dirty he has made

it, do not draw the lines on your own, wait for me to come to you" she said. She flipped the page drew out the columns again. Children who had drawn lines on their own started inspecting each others note-books, generally talking if theirs was O.K. and whether teacher would be angry with them. Two of them finding their note-books a little too dirty quietly tore the page and stuffed it in their bags. The teacher continued with her task, looking into children's note-books, drawing out columns, correcting mistakes if any, praising if they had done well, or scolding harshly or slapping them if they had done poorly. Children who were waiting for their turns continued to talk, fight or giggle.

After about ten minutes, when about half the children had been attended to, the bell for the change of period rang. The teacher immediately said "Keep your note-books away, those who have not completed the work finish it at home". She walked towards the black-board saying "Now it is arithmetic class. We shall now study arithmetic". She went to the black-board erased it and neatly wrote out the details of the arithmetic class. She turned around to the class which was in utter confusion - some children were still writing the Gujarati words wanting to finish the task, some had just begun to write, some were simply talking away and giggling, others who had talked away the whole of the Gujarati class waiting for the teacher to draw on the columns looked at each others blank pages, happy that the teacher had not noticed them, shut their note-books looking at each other conspiringly and smiled. A couple of children tired of sitting, stood up, went to the water pot, drank water, and stood around aimlessly for a while. On the way back one of the boys hit a boy on the head and bounded back to his seat while the other boy threatened to take his revenge some time. The teacher shouted once more "No noise" and rapped the ruler on the desk. Knowing probably that teacher meant business, the children settled down in their seats. Once again the teacher began the class, arithmetic this time. The teacher said "You have learnt $1 \times 1 = 1$ in K.G., have you not?" The

children chorused back loudly "YES TEACHER", happy at the response, she further said, "So come let us see how much you know, now recite $1 \times 1 = 1$ all together". The children began to recite the multiplication table loudly. $1 \times 1 = 1$, $1 \times 2 = 2$, $1 \times 3 = 3$...however not finding a lead and some of the children not being very confident the recitation started going haywire and the children stared looking up at the few clever ones for the lead, The teacher stopped them and said "hmmmm... you have forgotten everything in the holidays, now who will give everybody the lead?" Two or three of them promptly raised their hands. "Okay Ashish, why don't you do it? Now, everyone be quiet! Sit properly and repeat after Ashish" said the teacher. Ashish came in front of the class and facing the class with folded hands began to recite '1 x 1' multiplication table confidently. The rest of the children picked up the cue and recited after him. The teacher observed them for a minute and then left the classroom to talk with the teacher from the opposite classroom. Children continued with their recitation. Soon, Ashish had finished the multiplication table and not knowing what to do, he looked at the teacher in the corridor. The rest of the children turned around to watch the teachers talking. Both the teachers cut short their conversation and returned to their respective classes. On entering the classroom the teacher said, "Finished? Good! Ashish, go and sit in your place. Now, everybody take out your Arithmetic note-books and write down the '1x1' table that I write on the blackboard". Once again, the children looked confused and reacted as they had done earlier: they consulted each other as to which was the Arithmetic book, some started talking and some fighting; a few opened their lunch boxes stealthily showing each other what they had brought, slyly eating something and giggling. Some sat morosely with their noses running looking pretty miserable. Sensing some confusion among the children, the teacher looked up and shouted "No noise!" once more and then added, "The one with the squares is the Arithmetic note-book. Now, take it out quickly and write '1x1' table five times!" After finishing the blackboard work, the teacher started moving around in the

classroom. Children who were writing neatly were praised while those who were not were given a nice box on the ear or pinch on the cheek. In the meanwhile, one of the children came up to ask permission to go to the toilet. The teacher nodded her permission. The child ran out of the classroom. After a few minutes, another boy came up with a similar request, and then another. Sensing some amount of mischief, the teacher firmly announced, "No more toilet now. Come on, begin your work!" Assuming an air of seriousness, quite a few began to write. However, as usual a few had problems either with their books, pencils or erasers.

A gentleman hovered around the doorway, and the teacher went to see who it was. The two talked for about five minutes and then the teacher returned. In another five minutes, it was recess time.

6.1.2 Anecdotal record of observation of evaluation procedures:

The first mid-term test was conducted by the school in the last week of October 1984. The evaluation was essentially done through a series of oral and written tests in the different subjects taught - Gujarati, Arithmetic, English, Environmental Education and Science. The questions were based on the content taught in the class on the basis of the text books. The tests comprised written and oral testing of the children.

The orals:

The teacher called three children according to their alphabetical order (boys and girls are listed separately). All the three would then be asked to either recite a poem, read a passage, recite an arithmetic table according to the subject of the test. These children were also asked small questions which they had to answer orally. The questions asked were based on the content taught in the class. All the three children started to recite or answer

together, the child who finished first was graded and then allowed to go back. The child who was unable to recite or answer was asked the question all over again. The teacher then tried to prompt this child with a word or two. When the child failed to respond the teacher tried different measures like scolding the child or threatening to take off her/his clothes, pinching, boxing ears etc; to make the child speak. Sometimes these measures did work in making the child speak but more often it appeared to scare the child. The teacher however did consider even the few words or sentences the child had mumbled while grading the children. This process of testing was repeated till all the children were tested, calling three children every time. The class monitors, Ashish and Archisa supervised the other children during the oral tests.

The Written Tests:

The written tests comprised cyclostyled sheets of 'Question Papers' to be answered by the children. The question papers were distributed amongst the children. (Home assignments on the lines of the question papers were previously given to the children for all the subjects. These assignments were to be done with the help of parents at home). The question paper consisted, small questions, fill in the blanks, match the following, multiple choice items or writing neatly a few words or a passage. The question papers were given out without any prior instructions. The question paper was as a routine to be read out to the children, however, by the time the teacher finished distributing the papers to sixty odd children and had attended to the official details half an hour had elapsed by. The sudden confrontation with a cyclostyled question paper coupled with absence of any prior instructions and the delay in reading out the paper created a lot of confusion amongst the children. Especially for those who had been unable to get guidance at home for the home assignments. As such quite a few of the children were unable to decipher the requirements of the question paper and answer it sys-

tematically.

6.1.3 Discussion:

Class after class, everyday, the classroom interaction assumed more or less the same pattern. The teacher usually began the lesson with recitation, be it words, multiplication tables, alphabets, numbers or statements. What was recited was then written meticulously on the blackboard by the teacher. The children were then supposed to copy this in their note-books five to eight times. In case something new had to be taught, the teacher would either explain the new topic in a very dry tone or would read out the new lesson from the textbook. The teacher rigidly adhered to the set curriculum prescribed in the textbooks. Topics other than those prescribed were not discussed; neither were the children encouraged to raise questions or make observations on them. The teacher's main preoccupation was to maintain discipline in the classroom. Discipline meant silence; this was maintained through whatever measures the teacher could resort to - chiding, scolding loudly, pinching, slapping, boxing ears, hitting with foot-rulers, etc.

A lot of the teacher's time was taken up in finishing the official chores - maintaining attendance records, collecting fees, taking down names or making lists of names, etc. In fact, the school had stipulated no particular day when the fees could be paid; neither was there any arrangement of collecting it centrally. There was no restriction for parents and other outsiders to enter the classrooms during school hours. As such, parents kept coming at their will disturbing the class often.

Blackboard was the only teaching aid used. In fact, the teacher gave meticulous attention to the details on the blackboard, both to the course content being written as well as to the other details like date, subject, number of students present and absent,

total number of students of students, etc.

For the children too, the routine remained the same class after class. They listened to what the teacher said, recited the content taught in a group, and took down the written work on the blackboard in their note-books eight to ten times in some sort of a drill. The home work assigned also involved drills of writing down words, sentences, numbers and arithmetic tables. The emphasis was on rote learning of the content.

The testing procedures were not very systematic; the children were often bewildered and totally at a loss as to what was happening. The underlying message was loud and clear: what was spoon fed in the class had to be reproduced verbatim; there was no 'elbow space' allowed for the children's initiative, not to mention creativity. That the written examination was based on the home assignments meant that help and support at home directly aided the children's performance in it.

6.2.0 Case Studies

Six cases were selected from among the children in the cluster sample on the basis of their performance at school. As was mentioned in chapter 3, three of the cases selected belonged to the category of high performers and three belonged to the category of low performers. Their performance was assessed on the basis of their achievement scores and their general adjustability in the class as was revealed through the classroom observation. In the sub-sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.6, the reports of these six case studies are presented. The procedural details of conducting the case studies have already been presented in chapter 4.

6.2.1 Case 1: Archisa Gandhi (5years, 4 months)

Profile:

Scale	HIP	EEH	CD	SC	AS	AA
Archisa's						
Score	12	60	2	88	20	81
Class						
Mean	5.73	49.32	1.98	72.57	13.5	61.06

In the early days of the researcher's involvement in the class under study, Archisa was the first child in the class who had boldly approached the researcher on her own. She had then proceeded to ask such details as who the researcher was. Was she a teacher? What was it that she kept writing down? What will she do with all those written material? Archisa was full of such questions, confident of herself and very cheerful. She answered the teacher's or the researcher's queries very boldly, the answers mostly being correct. Be it at home or at school, Archisa did not hesitate in her social interactions. In fact, her Social Competence Score was as high as 88, much above the class average (72.57). Archisa's Academic Achievement (81%) was also much above the mean Academic Achievement of her class (61.06%). Archisa was also the class monitor for girls. In spite of her being the monitor, Archisa was very popular in the class. In the classroom, one would often find her organizing small little games and activities among her classmates. The game could be an *Antakshari* of sort telling names of boys and girls starting with various alphabets. It could also be a game of synchronizing claps with a song.

She was also the 'official story-teller' of the class. Many a time when the teacher was busy, Archisa was called upon to tell

the class a story, which she did most willingly and with a flair. She did have a collection of stories, and many times they were interspersed with rhymes and songs in which Archisa engaged the other children. Apart from stories, Archisa loved singing and dancing; she was a very good *garba* (a community dance very popular in Gujarat) dancer. During the *Navaratri* days, Archisa even used to sing for the *garba* of her *pole* (neighbourhood).

At home too, Archisa was very popular with the children in the neighbourhood. Her flair for story-telling, dramatics and organising activities among her age-mates virtually made her the leader of the group. Her leadership qualities were very much evident when she assembled the children of the neighbourhood in a cohesive group, organised a doll wedding, assigning various tasks to different members of her group, and carried out the whole affair without much adult help. The surprising aspect was that even amongst a group of six to seven girls, Archisa's word was the most respected one. During one of the home visits made by the researcher, the group had assembled for the play mentioned above. The researcher asked one of the girls what they did when Archisa did not come to play for some reason. The girl answered, "It's no fun without Archisa; then, we do not play for long, but, we go back home".

However, sometimes it was Archisa's enthusiasm and her penchant for planning out things that got her into trouble at home. According to her mother, many a time, to carry out some of her ideas Archisa did the naughtiest things like taking the mother's best sari for her doll play, taking her father's pen and losing it while playing "Teacher-Teacher" or distributing amongst her friends the whole of the sweet-meat her mother had just made. Also, her involvement in play, stories, dance, etc., made her careless with her school work. Although good at studies and in spite of her knowing the correct answers, Archisa made careless errors in her hurry to go back to play.

For her age, Archisa was a very independent girl. She did most of her tasks by herself - cleaning her teeth, bathing, looking after her belongings, packing her school bag, etc. She even walked her way to school alone. She also ran errands for the family, getting things from the shop nearby. At home too Archisa helped in small little jobs like folding the clothes, putting away the utensils, or cleaning vegetables. Archisa had also a lot of curiosity about things around her; she would, for instance go into the kitchen when the mother was cooking and ask how different things were cooked, how the various ingredients looked, how much quantity was used, etc. Similarly, her grand mother aged seventy-five was pestered about facts like what she wore as a young girl, what she did then, how Vadodara looked those days, when the cars came to Vadodara and so on. Her father too had to answer her query on aeroplanes, mountains, sea, etc.

The home: Archisa's was a two roomed house on the first floor of an old fashioned building. The house overlooked the main bazaar. There were separate facilities for toilet and bath. It was also one of the few well-ventilated houses in the locality. The house had amenities like the gas stove, radio and furniture like bed, almirah, a few chairs and a table. The house was well kept, especially so the kitchen area. The front room, however, was cluttered with the play things of Archisa's and her younger sister's. Household routine functioned in an organised manner with the meal time, work and play hours strictly followed. Archisa stayed in this house with her father, mother, younger sister and her aged grand mother.

The father: He was twenty-eight year old and worked as a clerk in one of the well-established industries in Vadodara. He had completed his secondary schooling. Archisa's father liked to play Carom. He was a member of the sports club in the factory he worked. He also liked to keep himself informed about the current political and sports events. He read periodicals that his club subscribed. At home

Archisa's father shared a few household responsibilities like purchasing provisions and vegetables, looking after both the daughters in the evening which involved supervising Archisa's school work as well. He spent most of his evenings playing with his children, telling them stories or helping Archisa with her home assignments. Also, he believed in doing his personal tasks himself; for instance, he washed his own clothes and dishes.

Archisa's father was an active participant in bringing up the children. He was to a great extent responsible for creating the 'home climate'. He had laid down definite norms for the household like - no one sulks at meal times, everybody should do their personal chores themselves. He also believed that home environment should be cheerful and that work and play should have a definite proportion and time. Again, he firmly believed that children should be provided enough of stimulating activities "to keep them out of mischief" and that they should not be restricted unnecessarily; yet, disciplining the child was a necessity though harsh punitive measures could well be avoided. Archisa's father resorted to disciplining the children on his own, unlike the many households where the fathers wanted to keep out of these "headaches", and where they disciplined the children only when the wives brought in complaints about them. In fact, the maximum punishment quite a few children in other households are threatened with was the standard "I will report you to your father".

Archisa's father had a different approach to the problems Archisa created. Once during the interview session, Archisa discovered a play whereby she was trying to throw her grand mother's string of beads as far as possible. Her father noticed this. Instead of scolding her, he gently teased her saying "Archisa is going to participate in the next Olympics with a poor old lady's beads". He then suggested that she must be tired after all the practising and that she should go and make some lemonade for the researcher and

herself. Archisa stopped her play at once, and went to the kitchen enthusiastically to fetch lemonade.

The mother: Archisa's mother was twenty-six year old and had studied upto class nine. She was a full time housewife; yet, since the whole family shared in the household work, housekeeping was not a burden to her. She was able to find time for her interests and hobbies. She went to stitching and embroidery classes every afternoon. She was also an active member of the neighbourhood ladies' club. At the club, activities like demonstration of recipes, various kinds of crafts, talks on health, hygiene and law, celebration of festivals, competitions of various kinds (cooking, hairstyles, *mehndi*, games, embroidery) were organised. Archisa's mother found it easier to involve in all those activities as either the mother in law or the husband would be with the children at home.

The family interactions: To a great extent the tone of the family interactions had been set by the father. He strongly felt (he said so) about maintaining a cheerful and relaxed atmosphere at home, and was against using harsh punitive measures against children; he tried to put his convictions to practice also. The interactions within the family during the interview sessions were characterised by a friendly banter with each other. The conversation ranged from Archisa's school friends and play, the mother's club activities, a letter they received that day, to the shopkeeper who had charged more for the detergent. The conversations were friendly, free of barbed responses to one another and other signs of tension. A lot of lighthearted teasing was very much part of the interactions. For instance, Archisa's old grand mother was in the habit of asking a lot of questions and generally keeping on talking. At such points during the session, she would be gently teased by her son for carrying on a with a monologue and generally commenting that next time the researcher would bring a tape recorder and then she could really talk and get her voice taped. This kind of ribbing was not a one-way af

fair. Even Archisa and her mother would tease the father about his obsession with sports activities.

The family members were observed to be quite encouraging to each other. For instance, when the researcher asked about the mother's interest and hobbies, it was the father who talked about her club activities and embroidery work. He then asked her to show her work to the researcher. He also told how she had won one of the embroidery competitions conducted by the ladies' club. A similar encouraging attitude was shown towards the children; Archisa was encouraged to learn and master the intricate *garba* steps. Also, she was encouraged to learn the *garba* songs with the family singing along with her.

In matters of school work too, the family was very encouraging to Archisa. Encouragement was given by listening to Archisa talk about her school activities, teacher and friends. Comments were made about the good and the bad; Archisa was praised if she had done well or mildly rebuked if she had defaulted over something. Reinforcement in terms of a small toy or a book was made to Archisa as a reward for her academic achievement.

For Archisa, outings were not a novelty. At least twice a month, the family went out mainly to a nearby park or zoo. Archisa was also taken to a circus or a fair whenever it was in town. A trip by train to a religious place nearby was also made once or twice in a year. This was the family's idea of a picnic, as the temple they visited was near a river.

In terms of autonomy, although Archisa was not restricted too much, she had to follow certain rules and regulations. For instance, she was allowed to go down and play in the neighbourhood; but, for one, she had to tell home with whom and where she was playing and two, she had to be back by six in the evening. Again, she

was allowed to go to the bazaar below for some small purchases; but, she was not to venture out of the neighbourhood limit.

When it came to the their aspirations regarding Archisa's education, the parental response began with a characteristic "as much as she wants". However, when the researcher asked in terms of a specific stage, the minimum they wanted Archisa to do was her higher secondary schooling followed by a diploma in teaching or stitching. They added that it would be nice if she became a doctor or a lawyer (since she talked too much!) or did a degree in home science.

6.2.2 Case 2: Ashish Shah (5 years, 5 months)

Profile:

Scale	HIP	EEH	CD	SC	AS	AA

Ashish's						
Score	8	70	3	92	17	90
Class						
Mean	5.73	49.32	1.98	72.57	13.5	61.06

Ashish Shah was a boy who came to school very neat and tidy. He always had his pencil and note-book ready on his table at school. His school bag had all the books and note-books required for the day. They were covered with brown paper, were neat, and without any 'dog-ears' at the edges. Neither was there any scribbling anywhere in the books. What struck one most about Ashish was the serious religiosity with which he approached his school tasks. He did each of the school tasks, be it singing, reading, writing, or answering the teacher with utmost sincerity. Ashish was the monitor of the class.

He had been so ever since his preschool days. He was the top ranker in the class. His academic achievement score was 90%. Ashish was one of the few in the class who was a conserver on the Piagetian tasks conducted by the researcher. He was one child who had answered the varied cognitive tasks of conservation and classification with correct and precise answers even when the researcher had put the questions differently, Ashish's answers had remained logical and unflinching. In the class too, Ashish was always ready with the answers. His hand was always the first to shoot up whenever the teacher asked any question. Ashish did his school tasks with diligence and perseverance, the end product unfailingly being correct, neat and tidy. The teachers who had taught him in preschool were all praise for Ashish. Ashish, they said, had been the first ranker from his preschool days.

Apart from the academic achievement, Ashish's behaviour in the classroom too was exemplary. He rarely was abusive towards others, hardly ever screamed or shouted, which was not very unusual in the classroom. He also had been active in other activities like recitation and drawing competition. He was the teacher's idea of an ideal student. However, with all his achievements, Ashish had very few friends. On investigation, it was found that the teacher invariably cited Ashish's example to other children. This bred resentment towards Ashish among the other students. Also, Ashish had been the class monitor since last two years and he worked as the teacher's watch-dog in this role. If the teacher was busy, Ashish watched over the class along with Archisa. If the children were naughty, Ashish was supposed to report the names to the teacher. Sometimes, the teacher even told Ashish to hit the naughty ones like she did, though Ashish did not seem to enjoy this role very much. May be because of these reasons, Ashish was not very popular with his peers. His school adjustment score perhaps reflected this; he got a positive score on each of the school activities and interactions with teacher dimension, but he failed to score on the peer in

teraction dimension.

The home and the family: Ashish stayed in a concrete roofed three-roomed apartment with his father, mother, younger brother, paternal grand parents, a paternal aunt and a paternal uncle. The apartment was on the first floor of a building of comparatively recent construction right on the main road. Behind the house was a predominantly Muslim locality. Although small, the house had quite a few amenities. It was well-furnished, the living room had a divan and a sofa. The bed-room had beds and almirah. The kitchen too had a gas stove, cabinets and a refrigerator. Also, they had a television, radio and a cassette player. The house was well-kept and clean.

Household activities were run smoothly and efficiently at the Shah household, meals and routine affairs like bathing, washing, and cleaning were all on time. Ashish too followed a strict routine, he had fixed timings for work and play. Ashish was one of the few privileged ones, he had a separate corner in the house for himself, a drawer where he kept his things and a board to sit and write on.

During the home visits it was observed that the family interactions were easy going with respect towards each other being maintained. The daughter-in-law (Ashish's mother) too was very much a part of the family. Although the grandparents contributed to the conversation, the daughter-in-law fully participated in the interview session. The interview session was conducted smoothly, the family members providing the information precisely and honestly. Moreover it appeared to be one of the few families who had taken active part in the child rearing. Not only the parents but the other family members also knew about Ashish's positive and negative points. They were able to tell about Ashish's interest and hobbies. They knew what questions he asked or what games he played. They were very much aware of Ashish as an individual member of the family. In fact the two children in the family appeared to be getting a lot of

attention from the different family members.

The father: The father was 32 year old. He was an arts graduate with a B.A. honours, he worked as a data collector with Municipal office. His office hours were from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. In the evening he was back at home at about six o'clock. He spent the evening hours with the family. He sometimes helped Ashish with his school work. Many a times he took out Ashish and his younger brother out for a walk. Ashish's father was a quiet man, he liked playing carom and reading. Apart from being interested in current events he liked reading Gujarati literature. The family subscribed Gujarati periodicals for adults as well as children.

The mother: She was twenty-seven years old and had done her P.T.C. diploma (preschool teaching) after her S.S.C. The mother was a full time housewife. Apart from the household work, the mother liked to read, embroider and watch films. She read Gujarati periodicals brought home. She was duly assisted by her father-in-law and mother-in-law as well as the sister-in-law in the household work. Ashish's grand parents and his uncle and aunt took care of Ashish and his brother a great deal. As such, she was less burdened with the household routine.

The significant others: Coincidentally, Ashish's grand fathers on both the mother's and the father's sides were retired school teachers. As such the family seemed to value education a great deal. The grand father stressed the all round development of the child. Time and again, he stressed the importance of good habits in matters of food, hygiene and studies. It was the grand father who insisted that Ashish had a wash in the evenings, said his prayers and recited his multiplication tables every day. He was the one who taught Ashish some prayers and hymns in Sanskrit and corrected his diction and pronunciation.

It was not that Ashish was all "goody-goody"; he too like other children had his share of tantrums and boisterousness, and he too like other children was spanked and punished. However, the family's response to him was gentle and restrained. The family members devoted a lot of time to Ashish. They not only talked to him, but also listened to what he had to say. The grand father had many stories to tell him and helped him with his school work sometimes. Ashish's uncle who was an engineer and his aunt who was doing her postgraduation in languages at the university spent a lot of time with Ashish and his younger brother. Both the uncle and aunt brought quite a few books and toys for Ashish. They also played with him with these toys. For instance, the uncle helped him build structures with the blocks introducing Ashish to the rudiments of building those structures. Ashish was also taken out regularly to movies, and parks by his family. With all the supportive family members, Ashish's horizons were far more wider than many of his classmates. Ashish on his part listened to all the stories and the talk in the family with concentration. He also played with toys and books with patience and interest. According to his family members, Ashish was always full of questions. He asked questions about very many different things - how do the aeroplanes work, where do the different animals live, how is electricity produced, etc. His questions were met with gentle indulgence and the family members usually tried to answer them.

However, at home too Ashish had few friends of his own age group. The house being in a predominantly Muslim locality, and on the main road, where there was heavy flow of traffic, Ashish was not allowed to go and play outside. Therefore, Ashish's participation in physical activities and his interaction with his peers was extremely limited. Thus, at school and at home, Ashish had very few friends. Another drawback was that since there were several adult members in the family, Ashish hardly ever got to do those household tasks normally assigned to children of his age. Even packing his school

bag and fetching his own shoes and socks were done by others. Thus, when it came to independence in doing tasks, Ashish failed miserably.

6.2.3 Case 3: Mahendra Sinh Parmar (5 years, 6 months)

Profile:

Scale	HIP	EEH	CD	SC	AS	AA
Mahendra's						
Score	00	35	1	58	12	68
Class						
Mean	5.73	49.32	1.98	72.57	13.5	61.06

It had been a few days since the researcher had begun her data collection; she had spent about a week or so getting the names and addresses of the children, familiarising with the classroom routines, etc. As such, by then she had become a familiar figure in the classroom. It was during these days that the following incident occurred.

Quite a few parents came to fetch the children at the end of the school hours. A mother had come to fetch her son. The son was a bit slow in writing and was one of the remaining few who were trying to take down the written material from the blackboard. The mother kept nagging him to write faster. She then suddenly noticed that the pencil he was writing with was not his, and asked the son as to what had happened to his. The boy looked really scared, and in a really frightened voice told that he had lost his and that this was his old pencil. The mother was furious and kicked the boy in his back right

there in the classroom. Not quite satisfied, she hunted for the pencil in the entire classroom and found a pencil which did not quite belong to her son. However, she put it in his bag and dragged him away home. This boy was Mahendra. A thin boy usually quiet and timid in the class. He did not much mingle with the other children and his communications in the classroom were restricted to the boy sitting next to him. Mahendra perpetually looked as if he was scared of something. He reacted to the teacher's query in a frightened. He would mumble something in reply without opening his mouth, avoiding looking directly at the teacher. Time and again, he would be facing the teacher's wrath too. The teacher did not have any restraint in the punitive measures she used. The retributive measures involved, screaming, shouting, slapping, pinching, whacking with a ruler, or else making them stand. During the oral examinations, Mahendra would take a long time in understanding the questions. Usually, the teacher repeated her question twice. She then would threaten Mahendra with a zero mark. The threat worked and Mahendra would mumble out an answer. In the classroom, Mahendra was not one of the active, outgoing ones; he kept to himself rarely raised his hand or answered the teacher's queries enthusiastically. Yet, despite his subdued nature, Mahendra's academic achievement did not lag. His achievement score was above the class average.

Mahendra's home and family: Mahendra's was a three-roomed house, part of a *chawl* with three more households. The four households shared a common toilet. Bathing was done in the kitchen itself in a small area in the kitchen where the vessels also were washed - this area was called the *chokdi*. The entire *chawl* was made of mud and bamboo with a cow dung finish. The interior of the house did not have much of ventilation. The house did not have much in the name of furniture; a couple of *charpois* and one rickety table were all that were there. The kitchen had rows of gleaming brass-pots, a firewood *chulla* and a small kerosene stove. Much of the interviews was conducted with the researcher sitting on one of the *charpois* while the

grand parents of Mahendra's sat on the other. Most of the questions the researcher asked were answered by the grandfather no matter whom they were addressed. Attempts by the researcher to elicit response from the mother were thwarted by the grandfather. This probably was due to the family's traditional way of thinking whereby the ladies of the house were not supposed ^{to talk} in front of their elders. Apart from the gender dominance, the hierarchy of age was strictly observed. This was evident from the fact that Mahendra's mother was always found with her *ghunghat* on in front of her father-in-law, whereas she did not have the *ghunghat* when she came to the school. Also evident in the grandfather's attitude was a distinct mistrust towards the daughter-in-law, as if he feared that she might talk away about the family. The researcher finally interview^{ed} the mother at school.

Mahendra's family belonged to the *mali* community. The grandfather had worked as a gardener with one of the erstwhile royal families of the city. He consequently carried along with him the code of behaviour normally expected of servants in aristocratic families. He expected Mahendra and his brothers to be extremely obedient and submissive. Also, the grandfather showed more interest in the neighbours who were better off, and not in the families sharing the *chawl* with his. He was extremely proud that Mahendra and his brothers ^{played} with the children from those well-to-do families and not with the other children in the *chawl*. He also told that these neighbours, particularly one Maharashtrian family where the grandfather was an eminent practising lawyer helped Mahendra with his school work, allowed him to watch their television and to play with their children's toys and books. According to him, Mahendra had learnt quite a lot from these neighbours, especially "virtues like obedience and manners"; even his achievement at school was partly due to the neighbours.

Father: Mahendra's father, aged thirty-two, a youngish looking man, he worked as a painter of hoardings in one of the local industries.

He had passed his tenth class. He went to work at 7.30 am and returned at about 6.30 pm. After a wash and a cup of tea, he went out again. He generally returned at dinner time which was at about 7.30 or 8 in the evening. After dinner, he spent time time chatting with his parents on the *charpoi*. He did not have any particular interests or hobbies. He did not have any reading habits too. The long hours of work usually tired him out. His interactions with the children were extremely limited. He was usually called upon as a last resort when it came to "disciplining" the children.

Mother: Mahendra's mother was twenty-six years old and belonged to a nearby village. She had her schooling till class 5 in the village. She was fully occupied with the household chores - washing clothes and utensils, cooking, cleaning the house, cleaning the grains, looking after the children and so on. The load of the household chores left her tired and snappy. Her old mother-in-law assisted her in some of the more sedentary work. The husband or the father-in-law did the marketing for the household. Mahendra's mother did not have any interests or hobbies. Neither did she have any reading habit. Given her condition, low income and endless domestic responsibilities, she had perhaps very little time, money or energy to pursue any other interest. The locality in which they lived had no social service organisations or women's organisation which provided opportunities for women to pursue development of skills and interests. However, even if such facilities existed, it was doubtful whether Mahendra's mother would have been permitted to avail of them. Mahendra's grand parents were such orthodox people who did not like their daughter-in-law going out of the house "unnecessarily". For them, "she had enough work at home; why should she go out?" The only entertainment of Mahendra's mother were the festivals, attending weddings of immediate relatives or a very rare visit to a cinema. In the three home-visits the researcher made, she usually found the mother looking harassed. She would be quite abrupt and non-communicative with the researcher. Her interaction with the

children was quite harsh and punitive. Her response to any of the three children's queries would be a harsh tone and scathing answer.

The family interaction: In general, the family atmosphere seemed tense with the family members talking with each other in a brusque, rude tone. The grandfather sat on his *charpoi* throughout the day commenting on the children or the daughter-in-law. For instance, while cleaning the utensils if the daughter-in-law placed the vessel in a certain way, the old man immediately advised her to place it in some other way. The daughter-in-law in turn expressed her rebellion by banging the pot in its place. The family interaction more or less continued in this fashion - the grand parents and the father nagging the mother, and the mother in turn nagging the children. The family did not generally show much of harmony or cohesion amongst themselves. The interactions appeared quite curt and abrupt, the members edgy and snappy towards each other. The immediate evidence of this was that the children ^{came} in and out of the house as unobtrusively as possible. They tried to avoid the attention of the adult members, because invariably the reaction of the adults would be to either scold or hit them. Apart from this, the family conversations were limited to the day-to-day domestic problems or the neighbourhood goings on.

In the matters of household routine, the household followed the routine in a clockwork precision. All the family members were early risers. The mother especially rose early in the morning, finished the household chores, got the children ready for school and packed the husband's lunch. By the time the children returned from school, lunch would be ready. She also fetched Mahendra from the school. In the afternoons, the mother usually attended to chores like cleaning of the grains, mending old clothes, repairing the house walls and floors with cowdung, etc. The children after lunch would play for an hour or so, after which they were made to study for almost an hour and a half or even more. The family members did

not guide or supervise the children with the school work. The children were provided some kind of assistance in the school work by their neighbouring household. Although there was no active participation by the family members in Mahendra's school work, they were extremely particular about his study hours. This they did even if they had to resort to harsh punitive approaches. When it came to additional guidance and encouragement, the family had its limitations. Praise or verbal encouragement was totally missing. Due to obvious financial constraints, the family was unable to provide the child with any additional books or toys. Apart from an occasional visit to the zoo, there were no stimulating experiences that the family provided to the child. It should be appreciated that the family, was making a considerable financial sacrifice by choosing to send the children to a private school paying fees, especially when free primary education was available through the municipal schools. This, in fact, indicates the family's aspirations attached to the education of the children.

Lack of finance, limited parental education, and limited interest in the family made the interaction within it very restrictive. The encouragement Mahendra received in pursuing any hobby or interest was nil. As regards academic progress, parental interest was confined merely to the progress card brought home. The progress card merely showed the marks secured in the periodical tests conducted. Failure in any of the subjects was strongly disapproved and the child was punished. The family was unconcerned about Mahendra's participation in other school activities, his adjustment at school and relationship with peers. Regarding their aspirations for Mahendra, they sincerely wanted him to do his SSC, but were not very keen on university education. They were more interested in his pursuing some kind of technical courses, but they were quite vague about such courses.

6.2.4 Case 4: Tina Patni (5 years, 3months)

Profile:

Scale	HIP	EEH	CD	SC	AS	AA
Tina's						
Scores	1	30	1	52	3	35
Class						
Mean	5.73	49.32	1.98	72.57	13.5	61.06

Tina was a pretty looking girl with lovely sparkling eyes. She was like a beautiful butterfly flitting around in the classroom. She was here one moment, and there the next. She hardly sat in a place for long. Even when the rest of the class was engaged in one task or the other, Tina would be found moving around in the classroom disturbing other children. During the initial days, the teacher tried to make Tina participate in the classroom activity. Tina was scolded, pinched, punished and reported about to the parents. But, there was no improvement. When Tina continued the way she was, the teacher stopped telling her anything. With almost sixty children on her hand, the teacher was unable to concentrate on the likes of Tina. Tina followed no school or classroom norms or rules. One day, she came to school without her uniform; the next day she had no pencil; and the third day she would come without her school bag. This was almost a regular feature with her. She hardly ever did the home assignment assigned to the children. Her note-books and textbooks were in tatters. She brought in eatables like *chewda* or *mamra* stuffed all over the school bag. Her low school adjustment score was very much indicative of her inability to settle down with the school routine. Her academic score was also very low. According to the class teacher, Tina should never have been promoted to class

one; but because of the government stipulations, it was imperative to promote all children till class seven. Therefore, even when some of the children did not answer a thing in the achievement tests of different subjects, they had to be assigned 35% marks which was the minimum required for promotion to the next class. Tina's 35% achievement score was due to this rule alone. The teacher felt that Tina was "simply not interested in school, and moreover she was not afraid of anything". Hence, no threats of punishment worked with her. The teacher also felt that Tina's home was responsible for her absolute indifference to school.

Tina was a non-conserver on the cognitive tasks. During the clinical interview, Tina would sit on the chair swinging her legs. Initially, she would barely listen to what the researcher said; her attention would get diverted to something else. Later, she managed to sit and listen to the researcher. Her answer would then be unhesitant and bold. She would answer looking straight at the researcher. She did not in any way lack confidence; however, her approach to the cognitive tasks was very casual and careless.

Home and family: Visit to Tina's home was undoubtedly an experience. One afternoon, the researcher knocked Tina's door. Although she could hear a child crying inside, nobody came out to open the door. She knocked again and waited outside for quite some time. All this while, the child continued to wail inside the house. After about twenty minutes, a girl in her early twenties came from out somewhere with Tina in tow. She unlatched the door and walked into the house. That was Tina's mother who had left her eight month old baby inside the house and had gone over to the neighbour's place for a chat. Tina's was a four-roomed well-constructed house. It had exclusive toilet and bath facility. The house had amenities like gas stove, furniture, beds, tables, radio, etc. However, on all the three home visits, the house was in a state of total chaos. Clothes, tins and small vessels lay scattered on the floor; cushions or

chair lay in a toppled position. The young infant's soiled diapers and urine messed the floor. Alongwith all this, eatables like *mamra* remained scattered all over. The eight month old infant crawled around amidst all this, picking up the *mamra* grains and eating. Tina lived in this house with her father, mother and her younger brother.

The father: Tina's father was a thirty-five year old businessman. His business was doing rather well. Tina's father had completed his secondary schooling. He remained very busy with his work, which involved erratic working hours and lot of tensions. Tina's father looked very confident in his approach and interactions. His work consumed a lot of his time and energy. As such, he had little time for other interests and hobbies. Apart from his business, cricket was his main interest. He was an avid fan of the Indian cricket team. His involvement in the household matters was very limited. But for leaving and fetching Tina at school sometimes, he hardly undertook any household responsibility.

The mother: Tina's mother was just out of her teens, very young and pretty; she was just twenty-one. She had got married at the age of fifteen and had Tina her first child at sixteen. Now at twenty-one, she was a mother of two. Tina's mother had studied upto class six, after which she had stopped going to school. During the interview sessions, it was difficult getting information from Tina's mother. She would find the researcher's questions quite silly, and would burst into giggles every now and then. In the subsequent sessions, the researcher had to change the mode of asking questions. A long time was spent talking to Tina's mother about films and clothes. Apart from these subjects, her other interest was talking about her neighbours. During the talk, she told that she did not like doing the household work. In fact, she found it very difficult to manage the household, which involved shopping the household requirements like provisions and vegetables, cooking three meals a day, washing clothes and utensils, cleaning the house and looking

after the two children. Again, looking after the children meant cleaning and bathing them, feeding the younger one, looking after Tina's schoolwork, etc. She said, without any help, she was unable to tackle all the household tasks. Consequently, a lot of these chores remained unattended. Her main priorities amongst the household chores were getting the meals ready, looking after the young infant, cleaning the vessels and clothes and shopping. The chores that remained unattended to were cleaning the house and attending to Tina's needs - be it looking after her school work or cleaning and bathing her. But for a Gujarati film periodical, the house did not seem to have any book or magazine. Both Tina's parents were not very fond of reading as such.

Family interactions: Since the father remained very busy with his work, much of the family interactions were confined within the mother - child diad. Quite a few interesting facets of the mother - child interaction emerged during the interview sessions.

At one point during the conversation, the researcher wanted to know whether Tina had any toys, books, etc. Not wanting to lead the mother, the researcher asked whether they bought any kind of things for Tina. The mother replied, "Oh yes! Both Tina and I love good clothes and decking up. So we go out and bring a lot of trinkets - bangles, ear-rings, ribbons, talcum powder, *kajal*, nail polish, etc.". She then asked Tina to bring their latest acquisitions, which both of them proudly displayed to the researcher.

At another point, wanting to know about Tina's social competence, the researcher asked about Tina's conversations, whether she related events and incidents to the mother. The mother replied, "Oh yes, she does! She is so sharp and observant that she relates to me everything that happens at the neighbour's place. the other day..." She then turned to Tina and asked, "Isn't it?". The relationship between mother and daughter was more like friends. The

content of the conversation essentially revolved around topics of fashion, films, and neighbourhood goings on. The father - daughter interaction was very limited because of his erratic work hours. On days when he was free, the father would take the family out to parks, fun-fairs, cinemas or restaurants. The father also got for Tina toys and clothes; books however were hardly ever bought.

Tina was given a lot of freedom by the parents; she was hardly ever restricted in what she did. Similarly, her outings in the neighbourhood were hardly questioned. That she should report home in time for meals was the only regulation she had to follow. As such Tina did exactly what she wanted during the day. It was not that her mother did not discipline Tina at all; Tina too was scolded, spanked, bribed or tied to the window when she was being naughty. However, there was no consistency in the mother's disciplining. The disciplining depended more on the mother's mood rather than the requirement of the situation. For instance, once during the interview session Tina started taking out things from the kitchen and bringing them out into the living room. She was scolded for this by the mother. In the meanwhile a neighbour came over for a chat. Tina continued her activity of bringing out things from the kitchen. This time, Her mother being engrossed in her chat allowed Tina to continue with her activities. Also, dishonesty, answering back rudely and obstinacy which are normally punishable in families like Tina's, were not considered serious offences in Tina's family. the main issue for which Tina was punished was when she teased and disturbed her younger brother.

Regarding Tina's school work, Tina was sent for tuition twice a week to a woman in the neighbourhood who taught young children for an hour or so. But , at home neither of the parents supervised Tina's school work regularly. Sometimes, when the test approached, her father tried to teach her a little. The regular home work that the school assigned was left to Tina and her tuition

teacher. Also, Tina's requirements at school like books, pencils, eraser, etc. were hardly taken care of. According to the mother, "Whenever Tina requires anything she just has to ask for money, and go and get the things herself. We do not have to bother about anything at all". Things like packing the school bag and getting ready for school were left to Tina herself. The mother did not much concern herself with Tina's school requirements such as uniform, books, lunch, etc., nor did she concern about her academic work.

When asked about their aspirations about Tina's higher studies, the mother shrugged and said, "She can study as much as she wants; but, if she does not want to, Tina lacks neither beauty nor money to get a good husband".

6.2.5 Case 5: Zarna Shah (5 years, 2 months)

Profile:

Scale	HIP	EEH	CD	SC	AS	AA
Zarna's						
Scores	-2	27	1	56	3	38
Class						
Mean	5.73	49.32	1.98	72.57	13.5	61.06

Zarna was a plump babyish looking girl with large eyes. For a long time, almost two months after the school had reopened for the class one session, one would find Zarna sitting by herself in a corner bench and crying. From the moment she entered the classroom, till it was time to go home, Zarna sat on the bench, her bag slung over her shoulders and hands in her lap, and tears in her eyes. She

would not even participate in the singing sessions which most children seemed to enjoy. Reading and writing were tasks which sent her in a fresh spate of tears. After much threatening, a couple of hard pinches and slaps on the back from the teacher would she pick up her pencil, open her note-book and scribble a few letters. Talking about Zarna, the teacher strongly felt that Zarna too should not have been promoted to class one at all.

As Zarna refused to talk or move from her bench, she did not have a single friend at school. The other girls in the class did initially try to include Zarna in their play. However, a continued lack of response put them off. The teacher too, after the initial treatment of threats and punishments, left Zarna alone. Complaints to parents about Zarna were of no use. The parents did not even come to meet the teacher.

Zarna's score of school adjustment was very much indicative of her inability to come to terms with the school tasks or the peer group. For the conservation tasks, Zarna would not respond to any of the questions asked. Even when the researcher asked about her personal things as to where she stayed, how many brothers and sisters she had or where she got her pretty ribbon from, Zarna refused to respond. She would just look up at the researcher looking very scared. In fact before the actual administration of the cognitive tasks, the researcher had to befriend Zarna during the recess hours. Since she sat alone during the recess hours without moving around, getting her to listen to something was not difficult; but, respond she did not. In fact, she was tested for the cognitive tasks the last in the class. Only after many sessions and a number of small stories and jokes, did Zarna start responding with a slight smile and in small sentences. However, she seemed dull and disinterested. This was very evident during the cognitive testing. In general, it was observed that whether conservers or not, the children appeared very much interested in the conservation tasks, especially the ap

paratuses of two glasses, coloured water, clay, beads and the seriation sticks. They would want to make the clay ladoos or the clay chappatis themselves. Zarna, however did not show any interest in any of these things. Her response to the questions were soft murmurs.

At home, Zarna showed an unusual tenacity during play hours. She could create beautiful clay toys with perseverance and patience. Also, she could spend long hours outside the house playing independently with her peers. Her peer interaction at home was markedly better than at school. Here although shy and timid she participated in the group play, adjusted to the group norms and also shared things. Also according to the neighbours she was well behaved and polite to the neighbours. She loved hearing about things and stories if one of the neighbours happened to talk to her.

The home and family: Zarna stayed in one room plus kitchen apartment. The house is situated on the third floor of an old building. One had to climb a very rickety and dangerously straight staircase to her home. The apartment was extremely small it probably was used as an attic in the past. There was a separate toilet but no bathroom. Bathing was done in the kitchen itself. The room had one steel bed two chairs, the kitchen had a kerosene stove and a few utensils. The room and the kitchen were in a total disarray, clothes and vessels were scattered on the floor, water and food grains spilt on the floor had not been cleaned up. The chaos in the house was a common feature on the subsequent visits also. Zarna's family comprised her father, mother and two elder sisters aged thirteen and eleven.

The father: Zarna's father thirty-nine years old. He had completed class seven, and was working as an attendant in a local cloth shop. His working hours were quite long; he started from home at 8 am and returned at 8.30 pm. He did come home for a brief lunch break in the afternoons. Apart from his job at the shop, he also had a small

business of selling blouse pieces. His total income was Rs800 to Rs900 per month. Zarna's father never had, had a steady kind of job, though he begun working at seventeen. His present job paid him very little, and there was no arrangement of provident fund or pension. His job left him tired and irritable. A shop attendant's job in a cloth shop, he said, was a very tedious one; it required a great amount of effort in handling costumers, who after seeing several items would just walk out of the shop. The attendant then had to fold and keep away the pile of material left behind. He did not have any free time to spare; on his days off, he would go selling blouse pieces, or he would just sleep off at home. He had hardly any time to spare for his three daughters. His concern, he said, was to feed the family and to pay for the children's schooling. As for the daughters' future, he was worried about getting them married; he was not very particular about their education - a bit of primary education was good enough. In fact, he felt it would be good if his eldest daughter opted out of school in a year or two and helped supplement the family income by taking to stitching clothes or something similar. He felt that it was very difficult to support the long years of formal schooling. Even at the end of the ten years of schooling, there was not going to be any tangible returns in terms of a vocation for the girls. University education for the daughters was out of question. Also, there seemed no point in investing so much money on girls who once married would go to their husband's house and the parents would hardly benefit out of it.

The mother: She was thirty-six years old and had studied upto class seven. Zarna's mother contributed to the family income by stitching sari falls. She was in contract with a shop keeper who paid her Rs1.50 per sari. Although she did not have to go out to work, she remained busy throughout the day. The household work was mainly done by the older daughters. They managed the cooking, cleaning and washing everyday alongwith their school studies. Much of Zarna's chores like bathing her, looking into her school work, feed

ing her, etc. were all done by the elder sister. In fact, when asked about Zarna's likes and dislikes, her play and interests, the mother did not seem to know. When probed further, she said the eldest daughter would be able to say something about such things. Her reaction was that with all the work and tension she had, she did not have the energy or the inclination to be interested in such things. She was more worried about feeding, clothing and educating them and about their marriages. Zarna's mother sounded very irritable and snappy during all the home visits made. She would shout and scold the older girls incessantly. They were scolded for every trivial reason - for not getting water for the researcher, for not taking care of Zarna's school bag, for not making tea on time... on and on it would go. However, with all the irritation she opened up with the researcher eventually. She began by lamenting that they had no sons, and bringing up three daughters with their limited income was a difficult task. She was also worried about the future because they could hardly save any money under the circumstances. Another cause of her worry was her husband. His frequent change of jobs made his chances of increments impossible. Also, being in the unorganised sector, he was not entitled to the usual service benefits. And with his limited education and advanced age, it was difficult to get newer jobs. Zarna's father, she said, was an extremely short tempered man. He lost his temper frequently and beat his wife and older daughters. Added to this was the physical ailments that Zarna's mother had, like failing eye sight and severe backache that long hours of her work left her with. Plus there was some or the other housework to attend to always. The mother tearfully asked where did she have the time money or energy to look after her daughters? She further added that in spite of all the problems Zarna was the pet of the family. Even the father was more kinder to Zarna than other two daughters.

The family interactions : Being the youngest Zarna was the most pampered of the three sisters. While the older girls faced a

lot of hardships in terms of household work and parental nagging. Zarna was the protected one. She was the baby of the house, also called baby at home, she was treated like a small girl of two or three years. While both the older girls did a lot of household work, Zarna was exempted from any kind of household jobs. For the older girls looking after Zarna was also one of the jobs they had to do. This included bathing her, getting her dressed, packing her school bag, leaving to school, attending to her meals etc; Practically everything was attended to by the older sisters. Even small tasks like getting Zarna a glass of water to drink or picking up her plate after she had finished her meals were attended to by the older sisters. For everything Zarna was dependent on the older girls.

During the day, Zarna spent long hours playing downstairs in the *khadki* (*khadki* was small quadrangle formed by the old buildings on three sides, it was safe play space for children). The reason for Zarna being sent down for these long hours was that the mother could work undisturbed. Also, the mother was afraid that the expensive saris on which she worked would get damaged accidentally by Zarna. Zarna's day began early in the morning at 6, by 7 o'clock she was at school. She was back at about quarter to one at noon. After meals she would have a nap, by ^ufor in the afternoon she would go and play out till 7 o'clock in the evening. After a wash she was made to study for an hour or so, the sister supervised the school work while she cooked the evening meals. By nine or so in the evening Zarna would be fast asleep after her evening meals.

The family interactions as such appeared to be minimal. Conversations at home for Zarna were generally restricted to the functional tasks alone, interaction with the parents was very limited. Between the three sisters they did have small little games, jokes and stories. With both the parents busy earning a livelihood, their interaction with the children was very limited. Zarna being the youngest did get some attention, in the form a lot of cuddling

or sitting on the lap. In a way she was babied quite a bit. For instance, during the interview sessions, whenever Zarna was around in the house, she would come to her mother demanding attention. The mother would take her up in the lap and baby-talk to her. Asked about Zarna's school work, her mother promptly reacted, "What school? Poor baby, she's too small for all the work they impose on her". The mother was not very particular about Zarna doing the school work. Zarna's contact with her father was restricted to holidays. On these days too, her father being busy with his business, the interaction remained limited. He did not much like talking with the kids; but with Zarna, he was slightly affectionate.

For Zarna, visits to zoo, garden, cinema, etc. was extremely rare. Toys or books were never part of Zarna's life. The sisters sometimes went to see a television programme or a video film at the neighbours' place. At play, the researcher observed that Zarna invariably played "house-house". Her play group comprised two older girls aged approximately eight or nine years and a girl of her own age. In the "house-house" sessions, the older girls dominated the younger ones, invariably the younger girls playing the children and the older ones the parents. Here too Zarna was submissive giving in to the older girls' demands. The group sometimes played games like skipping, *langdi*, blindman's buff, running, etc. Zarna seemed to enjoy these games and participated in them without inhibitions. She seemed to be very friendly with the girl of her own age, talking and sharing everything with her. The neighbours said that Zarna was a very nice girl - that she was quiet, obedient, never fought with anybody. She would, they said, retreat from the situation in case of a confrontation. They also said, she would be in the *khadki* for long hours playing without any problem. Asked what she usually did or play, the neighbours told that apart from the usual games, Zarna and her play mates made a lot of things for their play, like mud toys, paper mobiles, toys out of match boxes, etc. Zarna really helped the older girls create these toys; she was very good at making the mud

toys. She would spend a lot of time making and fussing over these toys.

6.2.6 Case 6: Hiren Dave (5 years, 1 month)

Profile:

Scale	HIP	EEH	CD	SC	AS	AA
Hiren's Scores	-6	27	1	51	4	42
Class Mean	5.73	49.32	1.98	72.57	13.5	61.06

Next to Zarna and Tina, Hiren had the lowest score on the adjustment to school dimension. He scored only 4. His academic achievement was also on the lower side, 42%. An observer would not immediately notice Hiren as a deviant as one would notice Zarna or Tina. It was only after spending three or four days in the classroom, that one started noticing Hiren who was not fitting into the classroom norm. Hiren at first glance was like any other boy in the class, slightly naughty but nothing particularly unusual. However, as time went by, sitting at the back of the classroom, one heard Hiren's name from all sides. Some boy would complain, "Teacher, Hiren is pinching me". After a while, another one would complain, "Hiren has taken away my pencil". Then a third fellow would come up saying Hiren had torn up pages from his book. Hiren's activities seemed to go on and on like this. The teacher tried to curb him scolding him or making him stand in a corner, although she rarely ever slapped or beat him which she did to other children even on trivial matters.

Hiren was constantly on the move in the classroom, generally always teasing other children. His own work remained unfinished. Hiren appeared to be quite okay during the singing sessions. If not singing, he at least swung his legs to the rhythm of the song. But as soon as the teacher assigned to the class some written work, Hiren started his prowling around. The pattern of events invariably the same. After writing a line or two, he would feel like going to the toilet or sharpening his pencil or erasing something he had written, or suddenly he would feel his pencil was very small, and without any hesitation would grab someone else's pencil. Teacher's reprimands did not affect him at all; he would just sit there smiling slightly and swinging his feet all the while. His lack of concentration on the school tasks and his constant teasing of other children made him unable to settle either with the classroom tasks or the peer group. During the testing on the Piagetian tasks, Hiren would hardly listen to the researcher. He would keep glancing around here and there or try and clandestinely break the clay or take away a bead. Repeated efforts in making him participate did not prove to be very fruitful. Hiren would just look up at the researcher with a slight smile swinging his feet all the while.

At home (the grand parents' place), the grand parents said that Hiren was usually very defiant; he rarely ever took cognizance of what they told him. For instance, Hiren was told to hang his school bag in a specific place. Hiren would however never comply; he would just throw his bag anywhere. Again, if the grandmother was to ask him to wash his hands and feet before his lunch, Hiren would simply proceed to take his *thali*, serve himself and proceed with his lunch. Hiren, his grandmother said, was fiercely independent. He preferred to do all his personal tasks like washing himself, serving himself, or packing his school bag without any assistance. Again, any overture from the grandmother in terms of any assistance or expression of affection was firmly rejected by Hiren. The grand

parents lamented that Hiren was more fond of his friends than them. After his lunch, instead of lingering around talking to his grand parents, he usually slipped away to his friends.

The home: Of all the 56 children in the class, Hiren's address was mentioned in the most sketchy manner in the register. When the researcher attempted to get Hiren's full address, the teachers were really shocked. And they did their utmost in dissuading the researcher from visiting Hiren's home. They told, Hiren's father who was a rickshaw driver was a *pukka gunda*. They said that he consumed liquor heavily, abused in the foulest language and was a *khatarnak* (dangerous) man. Incidents were narrated by the teachers as to how Hiren's father had once thundered into the school threatening a teacher who had punished Hiren with dire consequences. They also narrated his unsavoury behaviour whenever he visited the school for paying the fee or collecting the report card. He never ever waited for his turn in a queue. While collecting the report card, he would just look into it, and if there were any unfavourable remarks made about Hiren's misbehaviour, he would just walk upto Hiren and slap him on his face. He would then tell the teacher that he did beat up Hiren frequently, "But, this ____ does not improve; he is just like his mother". He would then walk out of the classroom. The teachers also said that the father did not like anybody talking to his wife and that she was almost kept locked up. She was not allowed to go out, speak to visitors or visit her parents. "He had a second wife in another part of the city", the teachers said. Evidently, this being a neighbourhood school, it did not take much time for detailed information about a child's home to circulate in the school staff-room. As Hiren's home address was not available, the researcher decided to visit his grand parents' home. Hiren's grand parents stayed a few lanes away from the school. Theirs was a very old three-roomed ground floor apartment, ill-ventilated and dingy. Hiren's mother aged twenty-six was their third daughter. All the three daughters were married. The son staying with them was their

last born. Hiren's grandfather used to work at a grain shop as an accountant-cum-attendant. His elder two daughters, he said, were happily married. However, he said, he had been most unfortunate regarding Hiren's mother. He too dissuaded the researcher from visiting Hiren's home. He said, even he had not seen the daughter since the past one and a half year. "You will be only putting *Bachi* (Hiren's mother) to trouble by going there". He volunteered to answer the researcher himself. Instead of dropping Hiren's case altogether, the researcher decided to utilize the information she could get from the sources available. The case study, therefore, was based on the information gathered from Hiren's maternal grandparents, his school teacher and his tuition teacher, in addition to the researcher's own observations of Hiren.

The home: The home Hiren lived with his parents and younger brother was very far from the school. It was one of the new suburbs coming up around Vadodara. They had shifted to the new house two years ago, before that they used to live near the school under study. This new house was a two-roomed tenement house. In the absence of a proper school in the new area, Hiren continued to come to the present school even from this distance. Every morning, Hiren was brought to the school by his father in the auto-rickshaw. After school, Hiren spent the rest of the day at his maternal grandparents' place. His father, after finishing the day's work, picked him up at seven in the evening on his way back home.

The father: Hiren's father had passed his ninth class. Hiren's father was related to one of Hiren's maternal aunt's husband. As such, when *Bachi's* marriage was arranged, not much inquiry about the boy and his family was made. After a year of their marriage the "actual facts" emerged. Hiren's father was a habitual alcoholic. He hit the bottle every evening. Also, he had a very volatile temper and an extremely suspicious mind. He would frequently pick up some quarrel with his wife and beat her up. He had imposed a lot of

restrictions on her. She was not supposed to go out of the house unless absolutely necessary. She was not supposed to visit her parents except on *diwali* day. She was not to talk to her neighbours. Hiren's grandfather said that for Hiren's father, however, there were no restrictions. He interacted with a set of friends who were not very decent, like bootleggers, blackmarketeers of cinema tickets and gamblers. The grandmother added that he also had a "mistress". Both the old people lamented that the son-in-law did not heed any advice given by relatives or friends. Hiren's mother had in fact come to the parental home twice determined not to go back. After mediation from relatives and friends, she had relented and gone back.

In terms of financial support, Hiren's father provided the basic amenities. His income as an autorickshaw driver was in itself limited out of which a substantial amount went towards his liquor expenses. Thus, maintaining the household was a difficult task for Hiren's mother. Hiren's father was very fond of Hiren. When asked Hiren, he had said that the father told him a lot of stories on his way up and down in the autorickshaw. The grandmother, however, expressed her doubts and reservations about the nature of their conversations. She felt that the major content of the father's talk was usually centred around the adventures of his friends in hoodwinking the police.

Hiren started from home early in the morning to reach school by 7.15 am. It was almost a forty minutes drive from his home to school. After school, as was mentioned earlier, he was deposited at his grand parents' place. After lunch, Hiren simply disappeared in the maze of the neighbourhood by-lanes. The grand parents had initially attempted to put a stop to this habit. Hiren however went and told his father some tale of his grand parents ill-treating him. Hiren's father had picked up a quarrel with his 'in-laws' on this account. He specifically told them not to bother themselves about Hiren since Hiren was a *sher ka bacha* and knew how to take care of

himself. The old couple, after this incident, had refrained themselves from trying to influence Hiren in any way. Generally Hiren spent most of his time with a gang of five to six boys a few lanes away. This gang comprised three older boys, ten to eleven year old, an eight year old and Hiren himself. Two observation sessions coupled with the grand parents observation revealed that mostly the boys spent their time playing cricket on the road. Hiren too participated in the game as an equal. The play is characterised with rough shoving around and quite a few swears. When not playing cricket, the friends would sit on the railings of the pavement teasing the hawkers and passers by. The old grand parents did not much like this because Hiren was acquiring bad habits like swearing, disobedience and rudeness. Hiren, they said, behaved with the same kind of arrogance like his father. He was simply not afraid of anything or anybody except his father. Even when they tried to tell him something in a loving manner, Hiren would not listen.

At about 4 pm, Hiren went to a tuition teacher. This tuition teacher taught the nursery class in Hiren's school itself. Hiren had been her student in the nursery class; also, she had been giving tuitions to Hiren during the previous two years. She knew Hiren's family well. She said, during the tuition hour too, Hiren troubled her a great deal. He would not concentrate on his work, keep bothering other children or act stubborn. The tuition teacher then had to resort to sterner measures of disciplining. Somehow, she did manage to make Hiren work a bit. Hiren's father seemed to have a great deal of faith in this teacher. She too knew how to "deal with" Hiren's father. Aware of Hiren's problems, the teacher used to make attempts to help him. She would make Hiren's father get Hiren things required at school, tell him about Hiren's misbehaviour, and try to talk to him. Her assessment of the situation was that Hiren's present condition was entirely due to his father's temperament. Family problems had made Hiren "almost directionless", she opined. Again, Hiren's father used very harsh measures like beating him with a belt or

kicking him; as such, the threats of the school teacher did not bother him even a little. Further, she added, that due to the family problems, Hiren had been left too alone by the parents. In the absence of any supportive and caring contact, Hiren had found his own avenues; his peer group and their activities seem to appeal to him a great deal. The teacher also said that emphasis on school work, play, stories, etc., seems to be totally absent in Hiren's home. For Hiren, no story books or toys were bought; outings to fairs or parks were just as rare. His interaction pattern with adults of the family were generally restricted to the day-to-day routine tasks.

There was a gap of information in Hiren's case. The researcher had been unable to visit his parents, and see his home. Therefore, it was difficult to visualize his day after he reached home in the evening. From the information available, it could be presumed that Hiren did not enjoy a happy family life and was a witness to frequent quarrels and drunken brawls at home, and also the ensuing violence of these.

6.3.0 Observations

The six cases, three of which were about low achievers and three about high achievers were studied in-depth to answer the research questions two and three. The different aspects of their home life were studied in detail to answer these research questions. Some similarity in home processes and interactions was observed in the case of the low achievers; similarly, a certain amount of similarity was seen in the home life of the high achievers. From the detailed descriptions of the six homes, a more or less clear pattern emerged. The cases of Archisa and Ashish were analysed together, for the two had a lot of similarity. At school, both were class monitors and both had high academic achievement scores. The two had a great deal of similarity in their home dimension too. First and foremost, it

was observed that both the children had relaxed and tension-free home life. The members in both the families were relaxed and contented. But for probable day-to-day problems, both the families did not exhibit or mention any serious crisis. Next and more importantly, the family members were very much aware of the young children as growing individuals who had their specific age-relevant needs. The families also believed that the children needed special attention in fulfilling these needs. Thus, in both the families, members had made special efforts to expose the children to the larger world and to create an interesting and stimulating environment for them. As such, stories, songs, toys and games, and communication with the child on various subjects formed important and daily occurrences in the lives of these children. The communication pattern in both the cases was not a one-way process, but a reciprocal one. The family members listened and responded to what Archisa or Ashish had to say. In fact, both were encouraged to communicate freely with everybody. Further, the importance of play for the child was acknowledged by both the families. Hence, both Archisa and Ashish were encouraged in play, albeit differently. Whereas Ashish was provided different kinds of play material, and adult guidance and participation while playing with them, Archisa was encouraged to play with her age-mates. Although Archisa did not have many toys, she had many innovative games with her age-mates. Since her family did not restrict her unduly, she utilised a lot of household accessories in her play. Similarly, she was encouraged in song and dance which she loved. For both the children, outings to parks, circus or museums or visits to friends' or relatives' homes were very much a part of their lives.

However, this interest in the child should not be mistaken for indulgence. Both for Archisa and Ashish, a set of rules and regulations were well laid out. Misbehaviour were duly reprimanded or punished. However, both the families used only milder forms of disciplining. Another significant feature was that both the homes

had very systematic and routinised work and play schedule. Intrusions in these routines because of parental preoccupations, guests, etc. were rare. The children too followed a fixed routine of work, play and rest.

The third case was of Mahendra. Although not amongst the top rankers, he certainly had a high achievement score. In this case, there were none of the privileges that Archisa and Ashish enjoyed. His family environment was hardly congenial, the interactions were harsh and curt, and disciplining measures punitive. There were none of the child centred orientations in his home. The family members, be it father, mother or grand parents, were abrupt in their interactions with children; stories or informative talks were rare. The parental level of education or interests in various things being limited, the general interaction at home too were restricted to the day-to-day matters and the goings on in the neighbourhood. Also, Mahendra's father's financial conditions did not allow any luxury of additional books or toys for Mahendra. Similarly, any family support or encouragement for pursuing any other interests were missing. Yet, despite these drawbacks, Mahendra's school achievement was commendable. On a close observation of the home environment revealed three important reasons for Mahendra's commendable school performance. One, Mahendra's home too strictly adhered to the routine of work and play. All the household activities and those of the children were carried out with unfailing regularity. This forced Mahendra to devote a fixed amount of time to school work everyday. Secondly, although the parents or other family members did not actively guide or supervise Mahendra in his school work, they were very rigid and concerned about his assigned school work, his teacher's comments, and his academic achievement scores. Even by resorting to harsh punitive measures, they saw to it that Mahendra did his school work. Thirdly, although Mahendra's home lacked those elements associated with stimulating exploratory behaviour in the children, like books, toys, visits to parks or museums, his intimacy with the neighbouring

household provided him with these experiences. As such, he had the access to their toys, books, television, as well as stories and information communicated by adults in that household. Thus, although highly punitive, even a minimum level of attention by the family members in getting Mahendra to study every day, plus the support from the neighbouring family helped Mahendra's academic achievement at school.

An analysis of the three cases of low achievers showed that, complete negligence of the child's needs by parents due to whatever reason, stood out to be the single most important factor that affected the child both in academic achievement as well as personality characteristics. This was clearly observed in all the three cases. Zarna, did not get the deserved attention since her parents remained worried about the meagre family income and were preoccupied for lengthy hours in trying to supplement the income. Added to this, the parents were unhappy and discontented at having three daughters. These worries and unhappiness, got reflected in their interactions with the children.

In Hiren's case the father's temperament and alcoholism affected his family life. Unlike the rest of the children, Hiren was deprived of his mother's attention as he was at his grandparents' house all day long. At the grandparent's place too, his father's prejudices, quarrels and arrogance alienated Hiren from his grandparents. For Hiren too the grandparents advances did not matter, as such Hire was practically on his own the whole day long. Adult guidance and support required at his age were missing. Not only were there no toys and books, outings and stories for him but the emotional security too was missing. And although he was close to his father and his father did talk to him and guide him, the whole orientation of the talk or the values put forth by the father were seemingly inappropriate ^{for} a boy of Hiren's age. A similar situation was found in Tina's case too; Tina's young mother's preoc

cupation with herself, her beauty care and the neighbour's gossip were hardly the orientation for a girl of Tina's age. Thus although Tina was close to her mother and her mother did spend time talking to her the areas of interest were well beyond what was wholesome for Tina's age. This was in contrast to what treatment Zarna got at home where she was treated as a 'baby', thereby de-accelerating or regressing her growth. Thus in these three cases two aspects of the home environment emerged as affecting their adjustment to and performance at school. One, the parental negligence and the consequent unsuitable interaction patterns at home. Two, in all the three cases the home environment did not support the needs of a five year old, in congruence to the areas of interest suitable to them. Before proceeding it would be worthwhile if the aspect of parental preoccupation and the negligence of the child is explicated further. The parental preoccupation (whatever the reason) showed their effects in different aspects and spheres of home life. For example, if mother was preoccupied the entire work schedule at home got disturbed, timing for meals or the child's school work or sleep tended to be most erratic, thereby affecting the work and leisure time habits of the child. Again due to their personal preoccupation but for the minimum attention of personal hygiene and food the children were largely left on their own. On their own, the children did not seem to get appropriate stimulation, and there was no value orientation to guide them. A third aspect quite common to all the three situations was the matter of disciplining there was no clear cut policy of do's and don't's laid out for the three, parental disciplinary actions oscillated from indulgence on one hand to harsh punitive measures like kicking, hitting etc; on the other hand. The nature of action was very much dependent on the parental moods; there was no consistency in the disciplining methods nor the issues on which they were disciplined. A fourth feature that seemed pertinent was the lack of emphasis on routine by the three or at least by two families, that of Zarna and Tina. Both the households were disorganized in the matter of the household routine. Tina's mother

being disinterested and unable to cope with household duties usually did not adhere to any systematic schedule. Zarna's mother too found it difficult to maintain an organised household. Thus, the minimum which Mahendra's parents did of making their child study daily for a given time was not done by Tina's and Zarna's families. This also in away reflected the importance attached to education in the three families. Education was not seen to be very important for children by both the families. Moreover, in both the cases the parents admitted that for girls education was hardly of any consequence. These features do not emerge as significant features in the low achiever's home environment.

6.4.0 Conclusion

To put it more precisely, the whole exercise of discerning the 'relevant process and interactions' and the way the 'human and physical processes' from the 'social environmental matrix of the lower middle class influence the first standard child's response to school demands has yielded the following observations:

The human element of significance here is the parental personality, this refers to the type of persons they are, their temperament, their values and their personal problems, frustrations or achievements. This human element in the family affects a great deal of the family life, practically most of its aspects. An understanding and balanced parent is sensitive to the requirements and capacities of the child at that particular age and he/she creates an environment that caters to the needs of the young child. An environment which is conducive for the child's growth and development. In fact tension free, relaxed and contented family elders working in unison seem to be bringing out the best in the child. On the other hand a parent preoccupied with his/her own problems barely does the minimum for the child, and is unable to provide a supportive and orderly household. So also, he/she is unable to provide the child with a clear cut guidelines of do's and dont's or of the right kind of

interests and values. Thereby allowing the child to grow aimlessly, getting into habits and interests most unsuitable for her age. The household routines, the child's routines, the aspirations and aims, the values, the rules and regulations at home are all the result of parental orientation.

This particular human factor casts its influence in the interaction and processes occurring at home, in that the day to day communication patterns amongst the family members to which the growing child is greatly sensitive, are affected greatly. Again, the values the parents have get reflected in the support and guidance (or the lack of it) they provide to the child. A availability of a stimulating environment in congruence to their age requirements (here the five year olds) in terms of a regular routine that ensures adequate time for school work and play, adult guidance for school work, adult-child talk on various subjects, stories songs, books, outings and play all do contribute contribute to the positive child characteristics, proper adjustment to school and academic achievement. A child is greatly sensitive to the tensions at home, and many a time in such situations is unable to tackle ~~the~~ tasks set before her. The internal conflicts get manifested in terms of regression, rebellion or stubbornness. This then becomes a vicious cycle for the child: the tensions at home and lack of a conducive and caring home breeds a certain negative characteristics in the child, the child is unable to adjust to school demands or peer group. This in turn makes them more withdrawn and lonely, they are unable to perform well in the school tests which in turn upsets them as well as the parents. Thus, the whole turn of events continue to deteriorate.

However, this unsuitable and negative family situation could be greatly redeemed if an anchor of some sort in the guise of a friendly neighbour or a concerned teacher or a grand parent is there for the child. Probably, a therapeutic counsellor or a more congenial school atmosphere would help these children a great deal. In

fact, caution is needed in interpreting the data of the present study. Caution essentially should be exercised in highlighting the importance of school adjustment. The school adjustment variable was essentially an indicator of the child's compliance to the demands of the school however unreasonable they may be. In fact the teaching-learning processes as well as the evaluation procedures adopted by the school are much against the desirable learning strategies advocated by child psychologists and educationists for the present age group. In the present circumstances therefore it is not surprising that a boy Mahendrasinh coming from an autocratic household does well at school, for at home he is forcibly taught to comply which he therefore does at school also. If one could indulge in a bit of subjective observations one could say that Mahendrasinh (and so many others) are mere puppet like in their behaviour at school. They seldom show normal curiosity, exuberance and creativity which theoretically the five to seven year olds are supposed to exhibit. A popular write up on Indian education in a daily newspaper by an leading Indian educationist succinctly sums up the scenario of the Indian primary education. According to him "Indian primary school is a recipe for intellectual genocide. Centered in textbooks (and those too remarkably bad) as it is, its deadly burden and indifference to children's personality gets combined with insensitive teaching in ill equipped classrooms." (Krishna Kumar, 1990). Therefore any interpretations made of the academic achievement or adjustment to school should essentially be made keeping in consideration the prevailing classroom condition.

REFERENCE

Krishna Kumar (1990) 'School system needs drastic reforms', *Times of India*, March 20, 1990, Ahmedabad.