

Analysis of Class Dimension of Students: A Study of a Sarvodaya School of Munirka, New Delhi

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ABSTRACT: Certain schools like the Sarvodaya school that has been studied presently cater to students from underprivileged family backgrounds, such as from the working class or the lower middle class. The upper middle class shuns such schools. The underprivileged family backgrounds of the students in this study indicate that they possess inadequate forms of capital – be it economic capital or social capital or cultural capital or emotional capital. Such lack of various forms of capital affect their school education which in turn is influenced by their socialization. The habitus of the students borne out of such socialization is characterised by a sense of constraint rather than entitlement in their negotiation with everyday life, particularly in the school. Such negotiation in school between the habitus inherited at home and the habitus that schooling demands varies from student to student individually. While most have habitus that is influenced by lower subjective expectations typical of their lower class position, a few try to negotiate and transcend such habitus. The teachers' perception of the students is also important as such perception is influenced by their respective class background of belonging to the upper middle class and presence of adequate forms of capital.

INTRODUCTION

Sarvodaya Co-ed Senior Secondary School of Munirka in Delhi is under the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). This is one of the 237 Sarvodaya school run by the Delhi Government. The term 'Sarvodaya' means "uplift of all". The word 'Sarvodaya' we find especially in Gandhian philosophy, which conveys to strive for the good of all the individuals, to make an effort for the good of all, and relies on the goodness of man borne out of

continuous striving for moral perfection. According to the ideal of Sarvodaya, the last and the most backward, the downtrodden comes first (Ghosal, '59). The aim of these schools is to educate children from the most backward sections of the society. This Sarvodaya school is located in south-west Delhi's Munirka village. It covers large area, and part of the Munirka village is occupied by urban structures, which can be divided into different segments with areas having DDA flats, and other segments named as Munirka Vihar, Munirka Enclave and the Munirka Village. The Munirka area has a long history as it was established in 15th century as part of the *mansab* of Munir Khan. In the 1970's it was once a suburb of the metropolitan city of Delhi but today its very much part of it because of the expansion of

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the city limit. Today the well-developed areas of Vasant Vihar lie on the north-west of the Munirka village while, R. K. Puram lies on its northern side apart from IIT Delhi and Ber Sarai lying on its south-east and Jawaharlal Nehru University Campus on its southern side respectively. Various communities such as Jats, Muslims, Christians, Harijans inhabit this area apart from a large number migrant workers and students from different parts of India, and also students from abroad, such as Nigeria. A large population especially of the Jat community, are the rentiers who have established large buildings with multiple flats to give on hire to the migrant population and to the students mostly of JNU on lease in this area. The lanes connecting to the inner side of this village are often *kutchas* and are usually very narrow. Government offices are not found in this area but a number of small shops can be found catering to the needs of the local inhabitants residing there.

The school that has been presently studied was established in 1986. The school level was up to class X till 2006 but was later extended up to class XII by the years 2014-2015. Up to class X standard now it has approximately 800 students. The role of State government bodies like Municipal Corporation of Delhi and Delhi Nagar Nigam have been instrumental in providing the school with buildings and funds. The school provides the students money for uniforms, books and geometry box sets. The daily routine classes are divided into 10 periods of Mathematics-doubts, Hindi, Mathematics, Sanskrit, Science, Drawing, Newspaper theme and English.

The school has been doing a good job of educating the poor students from the nearby areas. Apart from the regular government teachers, this school also has a number of 'Teach for India' fellows who are doing internships here. The classes of VI, VII and VIII are such standards where 'Teach for India' fellows teach the students for the subjects like science, mathematics and social science.

This study viewing the social reality through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's work has aimed to study these pre-adolescent and adolescent students in relation to the social conditions of which they are the product and within which they negotiate. In spite of not having what the school system implicitly demands of these students and their constraining class habitus

these students lack no enthusiasm to participate in the school and try to be better learners. Thus they negotiate with their habitus daily. The teacher's definition is also taken into account as a tool to understand this negotiation.

Thus 'habitus' is a key term in this work and will recur again and again. The word '*habitus*' is the Latin version of the Greek word '*hexis*'. In simple it means having (or what in Greek amounts to *habere*) which in simple words means having certain dispositions that helps one to deal with particular situations or objects. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is closely associated with the use of this word in his work and he was in turn influenced by Irwin Panofsky who while studying Gothic Cathedral's architecture had examined them in terms of being influenced by habits of thought and learning that were inculcated through medieval scholastic institutions. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* (Gordon, '94) habitus are the set of acquired patterns of thought, behaviour and taste that allow us to understand the link between the social structure and social practice. Habitus is therefore not only something that is influenced by socialization which sees to its inculcation but it keeps on growing and evolving with the environment or social condition that one may meet throughout one's life.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework that has been used here is Pierre Bourdieu's cultural-reproduction model. In Pierre Bourdieu's framework of study the school is a conservative force because it projects as natural gift what is actually a social gift. Students have differential level of acquiring academic success that is in close relationship to their family's possession of differential volume of capital — be it economic, cultural, social symbolic or emotional. In spite of the democratization in education the disadvantaged of the society have discovered the conservative functions of the liberal school system through the fact that access to secondary education do not guarantee academic success or academic success do not ensure access to social positions (Bourdieu and Champagne, '93). Therefore, the product of educational action for different classes have differential value in the economic and symbolic markets.

This inculcation of the social gift as natural gift takes place through what Max Weber has called the “arousing pedagogy”, which is, the “stimulating the gifts hidden in certain exceptional individuals with certain incantory techniques such as verbal skills and the powers of the teacher” (Bourdieu, '74). Here the word ‘exceptional’ student refers to one who has the requisite amount of cultural capital and other forms of capital demanded by the educational field. Here the educational field is a space of struggle. We try to extend this theme that is also one of the core themes in Pierre Bourdieu’s work and see whether it is applicable at the level of the school especially in the context of a Sarvodaya Co-ed Senior Secondary School. Even in a school like Sarvodaya where one would expect that a “rational and universalist pedagogy” would exist that takes “nothing for granted or acquired and would do all things for all and would provide all with means to acquire” (Bourdieu, '74), what is not given by the educational system to certain classes even here, we see the invisible hand of the ‘arousing pedagogy’.

Research Problem: In the Class VII standard of Sarvodaya Co-ed Senior Secondary School at Munirka village the students are from working class families where they are engaged in occupations like driver, nurse, leather worker, auto-driver, household helper and security guard. Most of them either coming from the interior areas of Munirka village or Ber Sarai or from inner side of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) Campus. When it comes to the Class VIII standard or higher classes, we find that very few students are coming from the lower middle class to attend this school. This school which is being run under the Delhi government thus consist of children who are considered ragged and poor as their parents are not having the requisite amount of capital that proper education system demands. It is thus a reflection of “segregation of children into types of schools that allow the education system protect its inner logic” (Bourdieu, '74) of elitism and favouritism.

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

The following research questions were developed for the present study of Sarvodaya Co-ed Senior Secondary School of Munirka in New Delhi, during the fieldwork conducted in April 2016.

- a) How working class students negotiate school in terms of habitus developed in their home.
- b) How is the definition of a good learner intertwined with the students’ social class and possession of capital.

This study is based on general social survey methods. According to Bourdieu ('99) this method is based on a reflex, reflexivity based on a craft, on a sociological feel or eye which allows one to perceive and monitor on the spot as the study takes place the effects of the social structure. This study of the Sarvodaya school tries to conduct its observations in this manner. It is based on methods such as participant observation based on the role of the observer as participant. An observer as participant, participation in almost all the periods of class VII that had taken place in a day. Unstructured and loosely framed interview schedule have been used for this study. With regard to sampling, out of the total of 60 students of class VII standard only 24 students had been selected using random sampling technique. On the other hand, 5 teachers have also been interviewed based on convenience sampling for this study.

OBSERVATIONS

The Students and the Teachers

The study is based on 60 students of class VII standard some of whom have already gone back home to their native villages in anticipation of the holidays that would soon to start, and 2 students have dropped out, one due to his alcoholic father, and another one whose parents have shifted to Dwarka area of the city. The following are some of the definitions given by the teachers when interviewed.

- When it comes to the definition of the good learner different teachers have given different views. These definitions range from — ‘someone who understands and is able to give expression to what he understands’ (as stated by a Sanskrit teacher), or ‘someone who is responsive and take advantage of the teacher’ (a Mathematics teacher), or ‘who is disciplined, regular and understands questions’ (as stated by a senior teacher). The teachers have even identified by naming the student whom they consider good students.

Two teachers have stated that they think nutritional status of the child is affecting the learning capabilities of the students. The opposite of these definition of good learners would be someone unfocused, having personality problems and inability to take benefit of the teacher. Categorization of good learners could be seen on a board hung beside the blackboard, and that have the following categories like — ‘Not yet started’, ‘Ready for takeoff’, ‘Ready to fly’, ‘Flying’, and ‘Flying high’. On the walls there are cardboards hung by strings that categorized students into particular groups in case of English, Mathematics and Science subjects.

- Students who come from poor working class backgrounds and whose parents are engaged in occupations like driver, nursing, leather worker, auto driver, security guard, etc are of lower middle class economic background. Only 4 students are from lower middle class background. Most of these families are migrant workers from the nearby States of Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar, and even from Nepal, and most of them are second generation migrants. While most of the students in this class are from the same school, only 2 students are from other school, namely G. D. Tytler school and an NGO run private school.
- On the aspirations of the students, only one girl student aspire to become a doctor, and another girl student like to become a teacher. Among the boys only one student like to be a teacher or a badminton player. And the rest of the students have not yet decided about what they like to be in future.
- While most of the students did not receive help in completing their homework with the help of their parents, a few of them about 5 students, did get help from their parents. It was found that three students go for tuitions. Majority of the students do the study work at home by themselves and prepare themselves by their own initiative to come to the school. Some of them even have to do the household chores before coming to school, and one girl student has do household chores after going

back from school in her house.

- Most of the teachers prefer a bookish knowledge of a student. However the teachers doing internships under ‘Teach for India’ try to relate the classroom teaching with the wider social life outside the school.
- Only two teachers try to make their class inclusive in the social science subject yet they find that only two students take interest and are able to answer to the questions.
- There is difficulty in forming sentences in English and expressing themselves in English by majority of the students, excepting a few, about 3 or 4 students.
- Cultural activities are being arranged by the school authorities and sometimes the parents take initiative in such cultural activities of their children. The school authorities arrange participation of the students in competitions organized by Delhi Sanskrit Academy. Sometime the school authorities engage the students in environment and science based individual programmes organized by Prakriti Kitchen Garden. And also in ‘Stand Out Loud’ poetry sessions, and also arrange visit to the National Museum of Forestry. Some students are individually taking initiative in learning painting, dancing, and attending to Judo classes.
- An apathetic attitude to their children’s schooling by the parents has been pointed out by a senior teacher who had said that ‘parents are only interested in monetary benefits that the school is giving to the children’ in terms of scholarships and money to buy uniform and books. And that monetary help is also diverted by the parents elsewhere sometimes. Also she raised concern that parents neglect their duty by not coming to the parent-teacher meetings, and only come to the school at the end of class XII examination or earlier when their children are going to leave the school.

DISCUSSION

The students in this school come from what Pierre Bourdieu (’77a) calls the lower positions occupied

by workers, small tradesman and agricultural professions. The 60 students within which some 12 of them whom we studied comes from working class families where parents work as mess workers in JNU, drivers, auto-drivers, workers in food factory, leather workers, medicine stampers and small sweet shop owners. Most of them are residing near the school either in Ber Sarai or Munirka, or inside the JNU campus. For the working class the average income is approximately within Rs.7000/- per month, while for the lower middle class income group it may be slightly higher but within a range of Rs.15000/- per month. The volume of economic capital that the students family own is important as to why these students attend this particular school. Economic capital as Bourdieu ('86) has defined is something that is "immediately and directly convertible to money". This economic capital is also connected and is the base of other forms of capital. Most of the students prefer this school due to its nearby location to their houses, as it is at a walking distance, and thus save the cost of transportation. And further because, they cannot provide the fees of the private schools located around their area. This is also the case with two students who left their previous schools to come over to this school. Long distance (geography) is a constraint for these working class students because of lack of economic capital which is reflected in many of the working class students' families for the preference of this school. Therefore, as Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron ('79) have argued geographical factors and social factors with regard to social inequality are not independent. Also according to Pierre Bourdieu ('97) the lower regions of social space is characterized by extreme brutality of economic constraint, uncertainty and economic and political necessity. Such unequal distribution of different types and subtypes of capital governs the set of constraints at a given moment of time (Bourdieu,'86). This is true for majority or rather all of the students whom I have observed and interviewed in this school. Therefore, what Pierre Bourdieu ('74) terms as parental choice with regards to their children's schooling is actually restricted choice governed by the objective conditions in the social structure.

Not only do these students who mostly come from working class lack economic capital but they also lack

the cultural capital that school system demands from the student and which it requires to pass on its logic of disguised inheritance. One has to understand as Pierre Bourdieu has argued that every material inheritance is a cultural inheritance whereby family heirlooms are transferred thereby leading to continuity of lineage through transmission of values, virtues and competence. Cultural capital as Bourdieu ('86) has described exists in three forms – embodied form (e.g. habitus), objectified form (through habitus like books, school buildings), or institutionalised form (in terms of educational qualifications).

Before one goes into a detail understanding of the school one needs to examine the issue of the "cultural arbitrary". According to Pierre Bourdieu ('76) education sets apart those whose culture is the academic culture from those whose training has been through their work and their social contacts with people of their own kind in terms of perception, language, thought and appreciation. Culturally unfavoured classes often suffer from self depreciation, devaluation of the school and its sanctions and resigned attitude to failure and exclusion (Bourdieu, '77b). Nowhere is this issue relevant but with regard to the working class students in relation to the school they attend. It is evident even in the school that I have studied and will be evident when I elaborate on the definition of the good learner. School thus is responsible for handing out an academic culture with common code and meaning for words that is behind the cultural consensus and commonsense that is required for communication. This commonsense is the master pattern of a given period and it is the school that inculcates it through its practice of inculcating a particular kind of habitus. According to Pierre Bourdieu habitus is a system of categories of perception, language, thought and appreciation. In simpler terms school provides a certain general disposition and a master pattern that is of the dominant middle class and which is applicable to diverse areas of thought and action and is called the cultured habitus (Bourdieu,'76). For example , when I have interviewed the teachers about the definition of the good learner the above aspect is reflected when they have replied as someone who can express, responsive, comfortable with the teacher, disciplined, regular and critical. All of this reflect the master pattern valued

by the school system and can be cultivated through, what Annette Laureau (2003) calls as “concerted cultivation”. By ‘concerted cultivation’ one refers to an active part played by parents in influencing their children’s talents, skills, opinions, reasoning through monitoring their schooling and engaging them in organized (often cultural) activities after school that gives them exposure and which in turn gave the latter a “sense of entitlement” (Laureau, 2003). Such sense of entitlement is in contrast to the “sense of constraint” of the working class whom I have studied.

The notion of habitus is important if we are to deal with the experiences of these working class students in the Sarvodaya Secondary School. Habitus is “a system of durable, transposable dispositions” with a large sense of constraint borne out of the “homogenous conditions of class existence” (Bourdieu, ’77b). It is the habitus that defines the impossible, the possible, the probable and causes one group to experience something as reasonable practice / aspiration which for another group is unthinkable (Bourdieu, ’77b). These members of the working class, who are also not rich in cultural capital are not able to invest in their children’s education and either maintain or increase their rarity. They stand in opposition to the system of education. For these working class students their lack of economic capital is a constraint. So is the lack of cultural capital, be it in institutionalised form or embodied form or objective form. Except for a few children like that of Anamika, Muskan, and a few others most of the parents are not educated. However even if these handful of parents are educated they are either educated up to class V or class VIII, in one case the father has been educated up to class X. Thus, these parents are school dropouts. It is very likely that they had and tried to continue to, in case of their children, what Pierre Bourdieu (’74) has said as having “internalised the collective fate by a working class agent as reflected either in the statistics or the teacher’s perception” who unconsciously or consciously “takes in the students social origin” or in this case even through their own experiences. Also, Bourdieu and Passeron (’79) have observed that students for lower working class regard themselves as simple products of who they are and this brings on a fore brooding in relation to their social destiny and in the long run

increases their chances of failure and thus making them consenting victims of essentialist definition. Therefore, their subjective expectations are lower than the objective chances (Bourdieu, ’79). Thus this constraining habitus is what the students inherit from his home which is nothing but internalisation of existing objective conditions in the social world.

The effects of such a collective habitus have led to a number of issues. In case of students as like Masood, Ragini, Sadiya, Ravi, and or Sooraj ,their parents do not take interest in their studies and education. For one student as Masood, his father is the security guard in the building where he lives. This student is mature enough at his age and replies to our question by saying that he does his own homework himself. Both Sadiya (whose mother is a nurse) and Sooraj (whose mother is a lone parent and who works as house helper) do self-study and engage themselves with studies after they return from the school hours. Therefore, the lack of parental involvement on the education of their children also stem from a lack of emotional capital on the part of parents and the inability to invest time for their children. This aspect can be extended to Annette Laureaus’s (2003) idea of the working class whereby the working class families are seen as favouring the natural growth of their children by leaving time at home after school to them and are not interested in developing their children’s opinions, judgments and observations. However, for Ragini her case seem to be a different case and yet in a way the same. Ragini does her own home-work as well as the housework especially when her mother visits the native village. Yet after interviewing her I get a feeling that in her family, the parents have favoured those who can get along in education without discriminating in terms of gender. Her elder sister is studying science in a college while her elder brother works in a food packaging factory. However this too is a trait for many a working class family to let the child get along as long as he/she can go through her own effort at the cost of educating her other siblings. Apart from this the parents see no or very little justification to invest on the children’s cultural capital in the objectified form in the form of books. Books are part of what Pierre Bourdieu calls the habitus too. One of the teachers has reflected in her interview that parents of the students are hardly bothered with their

children's education and only come to collect the report cards when their children are leaving the school, apart from that they often divert the funds that school gives for the students books and dress material for their utilization. All of these reflect the low subjective expectations borne out of the objective conditions that parents of the students have towards the educational field. Therefore, family attitude to the school is the function of objective hopes of success at school that defines each social category (Bourdieu,'74).

Also these students from disadvantaged sections are more vulnerable to essentialism, because being young they are in search of what they are and what they do is seen as concerning their whole being (Bourdieu and Passeron,'79). This may be true in case of students like Vasu or Karan or Anu who hardly do anything to get along in the classes especially social science classes. Apart from this the constraining habitus that these students inherit at home and where the school does nothing to change it is seen in the fact that except for Ashutosh, Masood and Savita all the other students have not thought what they would like to do in life. This maybe a reflection of the fact that they have kept their subjective expectations low in light of the objective conditions. Objective conditions here would be the ability to engage in practice in the educational field whereby practice is guided by habitus, field and forms of capital possessed. Neither the working class nor their parents fit in terms of what is demanded here.

However, in spite of the fact that a student's attitude to this educational institution is influenced by the habitus that he inherits from his family, which is nothing but an internalized unconscious collective (class VIII) habitus, some of the students aim to succeed and acquire a sense of entitlement through their own hard work and tenacity. In the process their own individual habitus may get changed. Such is the case with Masood, Ragini, Vineeta and Meenu who aim to succeed in the competitive school environment. The habitus of these students are compatible, amenable, docile and malleable and capable of being converted into the required habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron,'79) and have either a greater adaptability or more favourable family environment. However this effort to "get along" with the school or "work of acquisition on oneself (self-improvement) may have

personal cost and an investment of time and socially constituted libido with all the privation, renunciation and sacrifice that it entails" (Bourdieu,'86). It is evident when asking Ragini and Masood I have realized that they hardly did have some leisure time or friends to play with at home after school and the time was instead spent of self-improvement through self-study. In a way these children are engaging with "concerted cultivation " by themselves without the support of their family .It is yet to be seen as Pierre Bourdieu ('90) has argued whether these cases lead to a discrepancy between the value set by the individual on himself and the value officially and tacitly granted in school.

Next we come to the habitus that arise in the school through the definition of a good learner as reflected in the teacher's perception. Different pedagogic practices be it those practiced by the family, or those in the school, are all carried within a social structure that sees to it that a cultural heritage is passed on that is the undivided property of the whole society (Bourdieu,'77a). Teachers as "pedagogic transmitters transmit the cultural arbitrary and impose its reception, transmission and test its inculcation" (Bourdieu,'77a) through various modes of evaluation. According to Pierre Bourdieu ('77b) pedagogic power can be described as a power which manages to impose meaning by describing them as legitimate is a symbolic force that contributes to the power relations. Different teachers have different definitions of a good learner. The Sanskrit teacher defines good learner as "someone who understands and is able to give expression to what he understands". On the other hand, the mathematics teacher defines the good learner as someone who is responsive and takes advantage of the teacher and what she teaches while, another teacher defines a good learner as one who is disciplined, regular and understands questions. Also the classification of good learners is brought into attention in the formation of ability groups especially in the science classes (laboratory work) and doubt sessions in mathematics and English where certain students say like Vineeta, Massod, Vikas, Yogita form the good learners, around whom the weak / bad learners could be arranged. While analyzing all of these definitions we realize that such definition of the "good learner" is rooted in each of these teacher's

middle class habitus. Such definition of the good learner largely projects the image of the middle class or in this case the lower middle class child. Annette Laureau (2003) has said that middle class children are socialized into being comfortable with professionals like teachers while the working class child is often uncomfortable, deferent and anxious around such professionals. Teachers are products of the same system that transmits this aristocratic culture and are likely to adopt its values in proportion they own their own academic success to it and thus bring in their own teaching the milieu to which they belong (Bourdieu, '74). According to Bourdieu and Passeron ('77) all forms of pedagogic action is objectively a symbolic violence as its imposition of the cultural arbitrary and has arbitrary power in social setting and the symbolic strength of a pedagogic agency is defined by its weight in the structure of the power relations and symbolic relations between the agencies exerting an action of symbolic violence and those on which it is imposed. In a way this is what is happening in the classroom. Thus one can see that teachers as pedagogical transmitters are able to impose a legitimate way of conduct and classify. These classification according to Pierre Bourdieu ('90) is an important stake in the class struggle in the society as they contribute to the existence of the social class and ensure its reproduction. Thus such symbolic struggles that take place in the classroom reflects in the teachers classification of the learner are effective in the long run for "the distribution and representations that are vital stakes in the struggle between those trying to misrecognise it and those trying to subvert it" (Bourdieu, '90).

Also, teachers expect that they share a common language and values with their students all of which are influenced by the amount of cultural capital they possessed. Education recognizes its elites through their mastery over language. Various signifiers of social status such as speech, dressing and the manner one does their work in the classroom all allow as Pierre Bourdieu (1974) says to form a judgment on the part of the teacher. Therefore, even where the schooling system appear as rational and universalist at the first glance, yet on closer examination one realizes that there is present certain elements of arousing pedagogy that may creep in even unconsciously. For example,

even when the science teacher of the class and a 'Teach for India' fellow, tries to be inclusive of all in her science classroom, yet only certain students are answering the questions. They are the students who could transform their thought into language / speech to answer their questions. Deepanshi, one of the middle class child is one of them and the other one is Vineeta. Vineeta is not from middle class background but her parents see to it that she undertakes concerted cultivation of educational and other organized activities at home (that is more typical of the middle class) as reflected in the fact that she takes tuition and takes private lessons for dancing. Thus it is likely that her family's habitus is favourable to education. Apart from this one teacher is seen losing patience with a student, one of the 'plodders' of the classroom who comes from one of the poorest families of the class. Sumit could neither frame not answer any of the questions and often misses his classes as he has to do household work. Even though, certain students, like Ravi, to them conception are clear but are not able to express it in English, the language through which the lessons are taught and the books written. Therefore one can say here that different pedagogic communication in the schools are often trusted to transmit the code of works of high culture (Bourdieu, '77b). In this context one can observe that the textbooks written in an alien language for these students is also the imposition of an objective form of cultural arbitrary since it has no link with the students' life. The lack of linguistic capital as part of the cultural capital is also reflected in the classroom with relation to the pedagogic action and a particular relationship to culture and language that assumes affluence, elegance, naturalness and distinction is necessary for acquiring the academic culture too. The academic culture thus divides the descriptive language of the working class from the analytical language that is more conducive to elaboration and abstract thought of the middle class (Bourdieu, '90). In our case it would be the lower middle class. Relationship of a student with the language, be it – natural ease of expression, fluency, lack of constraint or forced ease, anxiety to impress (Bourdieu, '74) all allow the teachers to form judgement about their students. Schools thus perpetuate and legitimate inequalities. One teacher while doing an experiment related to

phenophtheline deals with the test tube containing a magenta coloured liquid. The students are not able to comprehend the difference between the colours of magenta or pink and white and transparent due to their lack of particular embodied form of cultural capital and had difficulty in picking up the words. Also going by their middle class habitus two teachers, Bandana and Sonali, chose ability of group's through names like Machupichu. The students on being asked what Machupichu is, – they are clueless as they do not have the habitus to perceive this. Here more inclusive group names would be given according to the students' liking. Thus, often the school neglects those having less than the requisite volume of capital in its teaching methods and techniques and in the criterion to make academic judgement. Even in the Sarvodaya school this is true. Therefore, the formal equality in pedagogical practice here is a cloak for justification of this indifference to the real inequities in relation to knowledge that is taught or demanded (Bourdieu, '74).

Thus the findings mentioned above from the study of a Sarvodaya School of New Delhi, though based on a small sample, have been tried to place in the context of Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. However, due to the lack of adequate time it has not been possible to take up a more detailed study considering the dimensions like caste and gender and other aspects in relation to 'habitus'. Further such study also needs to explore the creative changes in the habitus and an element of resistance in the individual agents through a longitudinal study that might help to capture the nuances of Pierre Bourdieu's fame work.

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