Chapter 10

Decolonising Christian Education in India? Navigating the Complexities of Hindu Nationalism and BJP Education Policy

Sally Elton-Chalcraft (University of Cumbria, UK) and David J. Chalcraft (Liverpool John Moores, UK)

Abstract
This chapters explores the nature of Christian-based values education in five Indian States, and considers how a sample of Christian foundation schools, with Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian intakes, navigate the tensions created by Hindutva, the secular education system, the Religious Freedom Laws, and the school's Christian context. Data were collected to provide phenomenological insight into how a sample of Principals, teachers, Pastors, lecturers, educational workers, parents and children from the diverse Indian states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Mizoram narrated their perspectives. While acknowledging our opportunistic sampling strategy, and data collection by a white western agnostic, findings show that some teachers staunchly reject Hindutva in favour of a Christian ethos, paying lip service to the non-proselytising legislation, whilst some other teachers promote a more pluralistic outlook. However other teachers, mainly in the North Eastern states, synthesise Christian values with their tribal heritage.

Introduction

The chapter addresses three questions:

1. Is there a move in post-colonial India to decolonise the curriculum by stripping away Christian values-led education to replace it with a Hindutva ethos within a secular education system?
2. What is the nature of the Christian values-led education in a sample of Indian states? And how do a sample of Christian foundation schools navigate the tensions found in their context?
3. What are the benefits for Indian children (particularly in Special educational needs schools), of maintaining the role of Christian foundation schools? On what grounds and in what ways can a Christian foundation school contribute to the contemporary Indian education system?

To answer the three questions the chapter is structured as follows: The first section introduces some necessary background to aid understanding of the wider cultural, political and cultural setting in which the interviews/research took place. In the second section the 'move to decolonize the curriculum and/or de-Christianize schools' is considered from four angles. First, the relation between addressing social inequalities and decolonizing the Christian schools is reviewed. The second angle concerns the academic debates about the need to decolonize the curriculum. The third angle draws on the educational policies of the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevek Sangh) and the BJP (Bharatiya Janata party) as carriers of Hindutva, and considers their potential implications for minority schools, including Christian foundation schools. Finally, the fourth angle is to provide a

brief illustration of some cases that have been reported in the mass media in India and Asia where groups have challenged Christian schools. These are the contours of the context in which Christian schools and teachers navigate the tensions in their environment, and form the immediate backdrop to the interviews.

Once this context is established, the third (methodology) section outlines the research design, sample and data collection tools with reflection on our position as white Western, non-Christian researchers. The fourth section discusses the findings (Question B). We critically analyse empirical data that were gathered to explore how Christian foundation schools, including special education schools, are indeed navigating their way through the context and reveal how our sample of participants and their schools could be plotted on a continuum, ranging from Distinctively Christian to Pluralist. The final section provides the conclusions.

Section 1: The Context of Christian Foundation Schools in India Today

Decolonization

India's education system faces many challenges in serving the needs of a diverse population; it is a geographically, culturally, religiously, ethnically and economically diverse country with a land mass the size of Europe and home to 1.35 billion Indians (50% of whom are under the age of 25). As the British Council notes, 'India, with over 1.5 million schools, over 8.7 million primary and secondary teachers and more than 260 million enrolments is home to the largest and most complex system in the world' (2019:6).

Legacies of both a paternalistic colonial and also philanthropic Christian mission are in evidence, with contemporary Indian Christian missionaries endeavouring to maintain a Christian values system amidst a growing nationalistic feeling which pushes for decolonization (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019; Webster 2016). A strong right wing form of Hindu nationalism, namely Hindutva (see below), is the most pervasive and persuasive ideology in the country, closely linked to the elected BJP government. It is important to consider how the BJP led educational policy and legislation (The Right to Education Act, 2010 (RTE 2010)), National Curriculum Framework 2005, and National Education Policy (2020), might create difficulties moving forward for Christian teachers in Christian foundation schools whilst it simultaneously seeks to improve the Indian education system. The data for this study were collected just after the coming to power of Narendra Modi (1950-), leader of the BJP, in 2014, and there has been a consequent Saffronisation of the curriculum in schools, whereby 'being Indian means being Hindu' (Price, 2014, Nag 2014, Flaten 2017; Guha 2017).

In terms of the social structure, Hindtuva represents for Dalit (lower caste) intellectuals a continuation of a Hindutva Brahmin (higher caste) ethos and perpetuation of the marginalisation of lower caste Indians in post-colonial India (Ilaiah 2012). Indeed, in the May 2019 election, Narendra Modi increased his majority and thus his Hindtuva-driven policies are set to continue for a further five years at least (Crabtree 2019, cf.). It is important however to keep in mind the aspects of recent policy that attempt to integrate non-Brahmin castes into the education system, through for example the RTE (2010), and school admission policies of certain types of school in the system. From a Hindutva point of view, the unity of the nation relies on assimilation, and co-opting of all peoples in India and their commitment to the (Hindu) nation (Longkumer, 2017).

In India, many academics, educationalists and politicians have been arguing for some time that an overhaul of the Indian education system is necessary given the need to unify the country and to meet the needs of a diverse population riven by difference and inequality, and given the competing ideals of Hindutva and its opponents. In this context, debates about whether and how

to decolonise the curriculum take on their significance (Lakshimi 2009; Mangla 2018). Whether decolonising the curriculum will also profoundly address caste inequality in India is a moot point, but the RTE (2010) is meant as an inclusive piece of legislation for all India. Stratification and Christian foundation schools are not unrelated in the Indian context, so whilst there may be forces that see decolonisation as involving the dissolution of Christian foundation schools and the presence of Christian (purportedly Western) values in the curriculum, many elite Indians are still supportive of Christian foundations schools, having studied in them themselves. Hence decolonising the curriculum and achieving equality of access to education do not necessarily go hand-in-hand. Such (colonial) schooling persists, but it is increasingly coming under pressure from the Hindutva movement (Guha 2017). However, ambivalence might persist given the perceived benefits (which we evaluate in Section Four below) of Christian values education in the Indian system overall as identified by our participants, many of whom are Christian.

Equally, the non –pluralist dimensions of Hindutva mean that for some intellectuals, such as Amartya Sen (2005), decolonising the curriculum (de-Westernising) would be not only to Sanskritize the curriculum/nation (Srinivas 1966), but also to defeat the pluralist ethos of Indian culture. It is in this contested terrain that an assessment of the value of decolonising the curriculum and the 'stripping away' of Christian based values education has to be made. Indeed, similar arguments could be made for the negative impact of 'stripping away' of Islamic or Sikh based values in education, although our argument focuses on Christian based values education - the context in which our data were collected. Moreover, given the association of Christian schooling with past British rule, debates about the decolonisation of Christian schools are of a qualitatively different nature.

India's Secular Education System and Faith/Minority Schools
Christian Foundation Schools find their mandate, as do all private faith schools, in the secular Constitution of India. The meaning of 'secular' in the constitution is one where all religions/faiths are to be treated with the same distance. For Hindutva, this form of secularism is a 'pseudo-secularism' (Patrick 2011:46-7; cf. Singh 2005) since it supports minority faiths but does not protect or promote Hinduism, the faith and culture of the majority in the nation. It is as minority schools that the notion of 'faith schools' should be considered. The constitution guarantees the right of minorities to found and administer their own schools. According to Article 30 of the Constitution, 'All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice'. The provisions about instruction in religion in schools revolves around the degree of state funding that is provided for the School. The constitution says, in Article 28, that 'No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution *wholly maintained* out of state funds' (our italics). Christian foundation schools, Muslim Madrassas (Borker 2020; Sanyal and Farah 2019; Alam 2008, Jeffrey, Jefferey and Jefferey 2008), Sikh schools (Ozaane 2010; Agarwal 2020), and Hindu Gurukuls, for example, can be found. The far right Hindutva movement is also able to run one of the largest private school networks, namely the Vidya Bharati (lit: Education for India) under the system (Froerer 2007).

Hindutva and BJP Educational Policies
Hindutva, literally 'Hinduness', is the name given to a right wing form of Indian nationalism which is now dominant in the political and cultural realms of Indian society. It is a form of nationalism that goes beyond the nationalism of the Congress Party, of Gandhi and Nehru, whose commitment to the Indian nation was one envisaged as a religiously plural society (Kanungo, 2016:255). Indeed,

it was followers of Hindutva who instigated the assassination of Gandhi in 1948, on account of his supposed betrayal of India to the demands of the Muslims for a separate state, namely Pakistan. The context of Hindutva is the one that Christian foundation schools and practising Christians in India find themselves, as do all minorities including the Muslims (Mukherjee 2013). The ruling political party, the Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), is the political wing of Hindutva, and together with the Rashtriya Swayamsevek Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925, and the Vishwa Hindu Parisad (VHP, Universal Hindu Council) form the Sangh Parivar- the family of organisations-that constitute Hindutva. The leading intellectual force at the beginning of the movement was Savarkar who wrote, *Who is a Hindu?* in 1923. For Savarkar, a Hindu is any person who regards India as their Fatherland (pitrbhumi) and as their Holyland (punyabhumi)- (Kunungo 2016: 250). Since for Muslims and Christians (and Jews), their Holy Lands lie outside of India, 'the only solution for them would be to abandon their allegiances and adopt the religion, culture and language of the Hindu nation' (Kunungo 2016: 250). Sikhs, Buddhist and Jains are all rendered 'Hindu', whether they want to be or not, since for Savarkar their religion originated in India. The aim of Hindutva is to create a Hindu nation or State (Rashtra) - 'a nation that excludes all those who are non-Hindus, not least Muslims and Christians' (Kanungo, 2016:245).

Anti-Conversion Laws/Freedom of Religion Acts
The Freedom of Religion Acts are 'anti-conversion' laws that are 'state level statutes that have been enacted to regulate religious conversions' (Ahmad, 2018) and exist in 8 states but whose effect is pervasive. As Ahmad writes, 'the laws create a hostile, and on occasion violent environment for religious minorities because they do not require any evidence to support accusations of wrong doing'. These Freedom of Religion Acts motivate action against Muslims and Christians who have sought, it is accused, mass conversions of Hindus and others to their own faiths. The conversion of Muslims and Christians to Hinduism is not considered of similar ilk: on the contrary, from the perspective of Hindutva, since all Indians were originally Hindu any 'conversion' to Hinduism is in effect a reestablishment of an original identity, and hence is seen as a return home, called Ghar Wapsi (Rajeshwar and Amore 2019).

The non-Western nature of Indian Christianity
The extent to which the continuance of a Christian based values education is at the same time to perpetuate colonial values in the Indian education system depends on the degree to which the Christianity one has in mind is seen as a foreign import that is seen as disadvantageous to Indian culture as a Western and neo-colonial presence. Clearly, from a Hindutva perspective, if the fatherland and the holy land of the faith in question is not India, then Christianity is not an Indian religion. However, from the perspective of Christians in India, their Indian identity is not in doubt- 'we are Indians too' is often stated by Christian campaigners (Pachuau, 2019). Their Christianity is fully indigenized, and the movement to indigenise Christianity corresponded with growing Indian nationalism (Harper 2000; Chelliah 2016), and culminated after Independence with the formation, first, within Protestantism, of the Church of South India (1947), and later in the Church of North India (1970) respectively. Where Christian attitudes to Hinduism are coloured by fundamentalist and evangelical positions on the practice of what is seen as the worship of images ('idolatry'), for example, the similarity to older missionary positions in the colonial era is striking and the contemporary ideas of mission are far from decolonised. However, such commitments to 'one path to God' are not the mainstream view amongst the Christian churches in India with their commitment to working in multi-faith environments. It is clear though that in some quarters

Christianity, despite the long history of the faith in India which stretches back it is thought to the time of the apostle St. Thomas, is viewed as a dangerous foreign import rather than 'an Eastern religion' (Malhorta and Neelakandan, 2011).

Section 2:   Is there a move to decolonise Christian Schools?
We argue below, from four angles, that there are indeed moves to decolonise and de-Christianise the curriculum and the education system, but these 'moves' are not necessarily coordinated and moreover are pursued by different groups and individuals in a variety of contexts.

Angle 1: Right to Education 2010 policy arguments and the Two –Tier System in India as a legacy of Colonialism
The qualitative research reported in Section Four is set within the context of post-colonialism, since India gained Independence in 1947. The problem facing post-colonial states such as India is to build an effective unity while avoiding the oppression of minorities, whose language, religion, culture and practices might clash with the dominant national mythology (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2000:175). Christianity, the third largest represented religion after Hinduism and Islam, is a minority religion, and whilst it has large numbers, over 28 million, it represents only 2.3% of the population. The dominant national mythology in India's case is Hindutva.   The achievement of unity in India is not only problematic on ideological grounds, but also on account of the persistence of caste, class and extreme social inequality (Ambedkar, 1936, Gupta 2017; Jodhka 2012, Makwana and Pais 2011; Shah 2019).

Some sectors of post-colonial states display a legacy of 'mimicry' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2000). The Indian elite's mobilization could be described as an adaptation of powerful British parliamentary institutions with their classist and patriarchal ethos, and this might be expected to be reflected in education policy and school practice, as we argue elsewhere (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). The lower castes, on the other hand, are described by both Varma (2004) and Young (2003) in hegemonic terms, whether in colonial or post-colonial India, because of their supposed accepting attitude towards their own subjugation. Similarly, attitudes towards children with special educational needs can sometimes reflect attitudes which reproduce the prevailing attitudes to power (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2016). However, Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack (2019) note the rising popularity of post-colonial anti-Hindutva critiques (Ilaiah 2012), which have illuminated the continued invisibility of the Dalits (lower castes) in the Hindutva Brahmin (upper caste) Indian education system. In a call to fight this oppression, Ilaiah (2012), appeals to upper class Brahmins, whose culture dominates the education system, to celebrate the ways of life of the Dalit and to include them more comprehensively in all aspects of education. Ramachandran (2016:91) challenges the two-tier 'warped' education system in India because, on the one hand the poor, lower caste and marginalised children are required, since recent legislation, to attend government schools while the wealthy middle classes and elite no longer send their children to government schools, preferring the fee-paying English medium schools (often historically with a Christian foundation). Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack (2019) explain that such privileged education is criticised by many such as Ilaiah (who was born into the lower Sudra caste), because the high caste Hindu system, seen as haughty and callous, fails to acknowledge or value the voices of the marginalised (2012). The legislation was designed to open up education to the marginalised but predominantly resulted in a tick box activity to fulfil international UN legislation protecting the Rights of the Child (UN 1990) for all countries to provide free education for all

children. However, in India, Das et al argue, there is little accountability processes to judge if the provision is meeting the needs of all children, especially those from marginalised communities (Das et al 2012; Srivastava and Noronha 2016).

There is a tension between on the one hand, viewing fee-paying Christian-foundation schools, which provide appropriate provision particularly for the elite and also for SEND (Special Educational Needs and those with a Disability) children as part of the cultural diversity of India, and on the other hand, viewing such institutions as being part of an undesirable legacy of colonial exploitation and higher caste manipulation, and as part of the Indian attempt to perpetuate a two tier system, a system which has been criticised by Ramachandran (2016) as being divisive.

The Indian Education system has to serve the needs of a diverse community, represented by different castes, religions and ethnic groups (British Council 2014; Prabhakar 2006; Thapan 2014). Prabhakar celebrates Indian religiosity's plural nature as "a multifarious web of interlocking layers and strands….. Indian culture can be said to be a carpet woven from all these threads" of different "shades" of Christian, Islam and Hindu traditions (2006, 51). So too there are also different Christian denominations in India. Despite being a minority religion, Christianity has had, and continues to have, a significant impact on the Indian education system. For example, Christian missionaries and other philanthropic individuals of the 19th and early 20th century endeavoured to meet the needs of marginalised children by setting up numerous Christian foundation schools (Jones 2012, Gilmour 2018). To be sure, some Christian English educationalists also wanted to introduce their perceived superior education system on the impoverished Indian population, and many elite Indians continue to be educated in Christian foundation schools where Western values are transmitted, consciously or implicitly (Bhandari 2014).

Batra (2016) argues that India's education system has developed for the better since the RTE. We would agree that RTE (2010) has forced educational practitioners to take account of issues of equality and betterment, with a desire for teachers to transform the lives of their pupils. Since the RTE Act of 2010, equality and social progress have become more readily accepted as universal values (Mangla 2018), whereas in the past arguably such moral commitments were found most prominently in Christian foundation schools, where Biblical norms were seen as democratic and progressive. However, the high ideals of the legislation are not always matched in practice, particularly in government schools. Many of India's Christian foundation schools today continue to promote ethical guidelines rooted in the Bible because they share the vision of the missionaries, who founded Christian schools, and who sought to mould, to varying degrees, the child's character and to nurture Christian virtues (Gilmour 2018; Webster 2018).

The RTE (2010) guarantees free education to all, irrespective of class and caste, and seeks to fulfil the promise in the Constitution from its foundation to achieve this goal. Free education is now available in theory to all (originally up to the age 14, but now also up to 16). To achieve this end, private schools are required to offer at least 25% free places to children to enact the Act. Originally, this provision would include minority/faith schools, but rulings by the Supreme Court in 2014 have upheld the right of minority schools not to have to admit the free quota of places on the grounds that it constitutes an interference in their rights of autonomy, as guaranteed by the Constitution. What this means however is that all provisions of the RTE Act do not apply to minority schools (Kothari and Ravi 2016; Iyer and Counihan 2018). In such a situation the relationship between the de-colonialization of Christian education and addressing issues of social inequality is made more complex. From the perspective of Christian schools, and especially of those specialising in SEND, the right to education coheres with their long standing values and is not to be undermined. These sentiments are brought out by our research participants as analysed

below (in Section 4); however, it remains to be seen how Christian schools will maintain their commitment to social justice as the RTE Act is further enacted and embedded.

Angle 2: Academic/Cultural Arguments for Decolonising Christian Education
Prabhakar (2006) argues that India should celebrate her diverse religious heritage (including Christianity), while others, including Paranjape (2009), believe that the colonial influence, and especially use of the English language, should be stripped away. Paranjape (2010) calls for the Indian nation to regain its cultural roots in his carefully argued book *Altered Destinations: Self, Society and Nation in India*. He argues that India as a nation should alter its destination, and head instead towards 'Hind Swarj' (2010: xii) redefined, (after Gandhi, 1910/2009) throughout the book as 'a struggle for academic freedom and autonomy, an attempt to free ourselves from both Western and Indian forms of colonisation' (2010: xiii).

Paranjape rails against colonial education as epitomised by Thomas Babington Macaulay, who imposed what Paranjape (2010) describes as the racist imperialist modern Indian education system. Paranjape (2010:114) claims that this system is rooted in a colonial past 'being solely mental,' producing 'diseased minds, unhealthy bodies, corrupted senses and underdeveloped senses.' He claims that the education system is 'contrary to our cultural traditions, even opposed to our national culture'. He accuses Macaulay of instilling in the Indian psyche the ideas that the Hindu tradition and Indian ways of learning are 'false'. Paranjape cites Macaulay's 'Minute on Indian Education' speech, which includes an attack on Indian knowledge systems with his infamous claim that 'a single shelf of good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.' (2010:115). Paranjape goes on to say that Macaulay's speech contains not just 'statements of colonial arrogance,' but of 'civilizational aggression, coupled with a proselytising mission' (2010:115). He does admit that the aim to destroy the 'native culture of India was not the sole prerogative of religious missionaries, but also of modern secular thought' (Paranjape 2010:116).

The rationalisation legacy of the eighteenth century, coupled with English Christian missionaries, was appealing to the Indian elite, many of whom abandoned their Indian cultural heritage for a modern, secular, British Christian education, following Macaulay's colonial aim to create 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect' (Sharp 1920: X) . Paranjape states that British rulers 'imposed upon us an alien and alienating system of knowledge,' which led to a 'schizophrenia in the psyche of our elites' (2010:117). Paranjape wishes to revisit the pre-imperialistic pre-colonial education system and learn from the native Indian culture to inform an overhaul of the current Indian education system, which (he states) is currently at odds with the Indian values system. He accuses the Abrahamic faiths of being non-*santani*, or of being exclusive, and intolerant of dissent or plurality (2010:120). Thus India, and in particular India's education policy makers, need to forget the traumas of the past and move on to a brighter future. Paranjape proclaims that Indians are at a 'crucial juncture' (2010:121) because they have the necessary political stability and economic resources to 'begin the process of recovery' or of decolonising the curriculum.

Paranjape calls for Indian educators to discover what the state of the native knowledge system was on the eve of colonialism by drawing on the 'Sanskrit Knowledge Systems Project' led by Sheldon Pollock (2010:122). Paranjape (2010: 123) highlights the 'lost' knowledge of the Sanskrit intellectuals, including astral science and life science. He writes that it is ironic that this search for the 'lost national knowledge of India' is being searched for by US scholars, and Paranjape comments that India needs to investigate this from within. While optimistic that India's

nationalism was and is a glorious thing, Paranjape is scathing in his account of the education system, which he writes is crippled, deformed, and in severe need of 'detoxification' 'from toxins which include self –hatred, shame, a sense of inferiority' . Thus Paranjape is in no doubt that India's education system needs to cease being a 'second-rate copy of the dominant West' (Paranjape 2010:124).

Paranjape's ideas, as will be seen below, have an affinity with the educational policies of Hindutva whilst he himself would not identity as a member of the BJP or of the RSS or of Hindutva. When Modi was re-elected in 2019, Paranjape wrote a short article where he welcomed the victory and talked about 'an inclusive Hindutva,' perhaps seeing a new stage in cultural politics where a strong Hindu nation, and a strong Indian education system, need not be as exclusive as many have found recent educational policies to be (Paranjape 2019).   From the perspective of a plural education system, with the rights of minorities and minorities protected, the arguments of Prabakhar and Sen would provide a needed corrective to the perceived exclusive Hindutva that has the upper hand in Indian politics at the current time.

Angle 3:   The Educational Policies of Hindutva RSS Schools and The National Education Policy (2020)

The kind of educational policies pursued by the RSS and the BJP can be gathered, in the first instance, from the network of private schools run by the RSS; namely, the Vidya Bharati (Education for India) (Sarkar 1996; Froerer 2007) These schools, known as Saraswati Shishu Mandirs, inculcate Hindutuva. In 2018, it was estimated that there were some 25,000 schools in the network, with 45 million students. As Manjrekar writes, 'Education is central to the creation of a Hindu nationalist consciousness, and through the Vidya Bharati's large number of schools across India it has been possible for the RSS to spread its ideology through a curriculum that emphasizes the supremacy of Hindu culture and defines citizenship through allegiance to an idea of India that is exclusively Hindu' (Manjrekar, 2011:350-1). She continues to relate how through VB literature and school textbooks, there is continuous reference to attacks on such foundational moral values of the imagined Hindu nation by the 'Sons of Macaulay' (Macaulayputra) and Muslim invaders (Manjrekar 2011:352). 'Marx, Macaulay, Madarsa [Madrassa]' has been a rallying slogan of the Sangh Parivar against the perceived onslaught of communist, colonialist/Western and Islamic threats to 'Hinduness'. A booklet published by VB against English language teaching in the first grade in schools is titled 'What do we want: Macaulayputra (sons of Macaulay) or Maharishiputra (sons of great sages)?' Christian teachers in Christian foundation schools are clearly viewed as anti-Indian, anti-India and anti-Hindu, since they must be Macaulayutra, sons of Macaulay.

In a context of decolonisation, any attempt to reduce a curriculum to a single heritage from the wide range of heritages that constitute Indian history, including the Muslim, Sikh and the Christian, is, however by our definitions, to (re-) colonise the curriculum and to silence the voices of minorities. The publication of The National Educational Policy (2020) lies outside the time frame when we were conducting our interviews. However, the ideas that are found within it show a continuity with other policies, including the National Curriculum Framework of 2005, and can be taken as representative of the ways in which, for example, Hindutva presents history and heritage (Lall 2005; Flaten 2017; Kim 2017). Only a few examples can be provided. In the Introduction to the NEP 2020 it says that,

The rich heritage of ancient and eternal Indian knowledge and thought has been a guiding light for this Policy. The pursuit of knowledge (Jnan), wisdom (Pragyaa), and truth (Satya) was always considered in Indian thought and philosophy as the highest human goal (p.4).

After this a list of 'great scholars' produced by the 'Indian education system' is provided, followed by a list of the 'seminal contributions to world knowledge' that have been made by Indian culture and philosophy. It argues for the continued relevance and practical application of these ideas, many of which go back to the first and second centuries of the Common Era, and include 'diverse fields' including astronomy and yoga (p. 4). In this 'rich heritage' there is little or no acknowledgement of the contributions of Islam to the history, culture and knowledge of India, and no reference to the long history of Christianity in the country, including the educational institutions, at all levels, that were founded by either Christians or Muslims. The political aim is to make India great and for it to be able to compete as a global superpower. The areas of ethics and values education is not forgotten (p. 16, paragraph 4.28). What is striking is that alongside a list of values that are of universal understanding (e.g.; tolerance, diversity, gender sensitivity) and capable of being supported by all faiths, the list begins with a number of values given in their Sanskrit forms, and which clearly take their meaning from the Hindu tradition. Namely, 'seva, ahimsa, swachchhata, satya, nishkam karma, and shanti' (sacrifice, tolerance, diversity, pluralism, righteous conduct, gender sensitivity) . Such values education would be appropriate that it is to say, in the light of the Indian constitution, in a faith school, but not as a national curriculum that all pupils study for examinations in all schools, whether public or private.

Angle 4: Decolonising the Education System: Cases of 'Attacks' on Christian Schools
It would be quite a task to monitor all the reported cases of where schools have been vandalised and school staff intimated. A few examples must thus suffice. Asia News reported on 17th December 2018, that Mount Carmel school, one of the most important Christian schools in Delhi which had 3,000 pupils, was to have its recognition overturned and hence would be forced to close and its pupils placed in government schools (Asia News. 2018). The School board and Asia News suggested that this move to close the school was motivated by anti-Christian sentiment since the case rested on the fact that the School had apparently raised school fees without due notice or consultation with the regulatory body, whereas in fact the school has completely autonomy to raise fees. This right of self-government they felt was guaranteed by the constitution. What is significant here is the perception on the part of the school board that the State wanted to close the School and was finding an excuse to do so. Asia News also reported on April 26th, 2019, how a Catholic school in Manipur, St Joseph's Higher Secondary school in Sugnu, was set on fire and how another school, Christ Primary School in Palgar, in Maharashtra was 'attacked by Hindu radicals'- namely by members of the AHP (Antarrashtriya Hindu Parishad), who are affiliated with the VHP. Asia News reported, 'The attackers smashed the windows of classrooms and unfolded a banner that urged parents not to send their children to school. Their anger was triggered by false accusations against 14 teachers of trying to convert pupils to Christianity' (Asia News. 2018). The Anti-Conversion laws, incidentally, are not State law in Maharashtra. From the point of view of the Christian teacher perhaps no other evidence is required that there is move afoot in India, sanctioned, promoted and channelled by Hindutva, to decolonize and de-Christianize not only the education system but society itself (Masih 2020).

Section 3: Research methodology

Context of the Empirical Data

The examination of Christian Values (CV) education in the Indian educational context draws on data collected during two funded projects. Both authors spent two summers over two consecutive years in various locations in India at the time of the coming to power of Modi (2014 - 2015). Ethical approval was gained from both authors' institutions, and ethical procedures were adhered to throughout the research process, including informed consent and permission for observations. Given that we used an opportunistic sampling strategy (Savin-Baden and Major 2013), and were limited by cultural and logistical constraints, it was challenging at times to ensure that gatekeepers and principals were allowed the obtaining of written consent from all teachers, parents and children; however, verbal consent was gained from all participants. Observations were undertaken at all schools, apart from School D in Karnataka, and the mainstream school in Mizoram (owing to logistical challenges). The lead author's project investigated the impact of faith, values and culture on both the organisation of schools and the day-to-day lives of teachers, parents and children, with supplementary data from educationalists, university professors and intending pastors to build up a picture of the nature and function of CV education in the Indian context. The interplay of Indian identity with adherence to the Christian faith on the one hand, and the Hindutva context in the secular education system, on the other, was a recurrent theme. Whilst not claiming to be a systematic objective and comprehensive list, the 'snap shot' observational data provided sufficient evidence to contextualise the interviews and focus groups undertaken and inform the findings (Savin-Baden and Major 2013).

The project adopted a qualitative research design and interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith and Osborn 2003) was used to analyse interviews with over seventy people, including schoolteachers, parents, pastors, university professors, educational workers, former and current students. Table 1 lists the schools, contexts and states where interviews and observations took place to demonstrate the range of participants and educational contexts in the opportunistic sampling strategy. This current chapter draws on some of the data from thirty-four adults and forty-two children (aged 9 years to 17 years) who spoke about Christian values in Christian foundation schools, and their own identity and religion, all within the context of their own geographical setting. We use the data to investigate the interplay between Hindutva, the secular education system and its policies, and the participants' Christian context in order to understand the colonial missionary legacies and the 'institutional body language' (Dadzie 2000) of the Christian foundation schools.

Table 1: Data collection settings/ participants

School /participants	Context	Indian State
School A SEND (very well resourced)	Christian foundation special needs school Bangalore	Karnataka
School B SEND (poorly resourced)	Christian foundation special needs school Bangalore	Karnataka
School C mainstream (medium resourced)	Christian foundation mainstream school with resource unit Bangalore	Karnataka
School D mainstream (medium resourced)	Christian foundation mainstream school with resource unit Bangalore	Karnataka
University Professor of Education Studies M	Bangalore University	Karnataka
Theology Professor N	Pastor training theological college in Hyderabad	Telangana
Chennai school E	Christian foundation mainstream school	Tamil Nadu
Village school X (very poorly resourced)	Government school in Guntur district	Andhra Pradesh,
Village school Z (poorly resourced)	Government school in Guntur district	Andhra Pradesh,
Assam Catholic School F (medium resourced)	Christian foundation Catholic mainstream school	Assam
Assam Nursery G (medium resourced)	Christian foundation Baptist nursery school	Assam
Mizoram Tribal Christian teacher H	Mainstream school	Mizoram
Intending Pastor J	Bishop's college Theological seminary	West Bengal

Kolkata University Professor of English L	Kolkata University	West Bengal

Through their connections in the Theological Colleges, Christian gatekeepers provided access to participants and schools as identified in Table 1. Research visits were made to a sample of Christian foundation special and mainstream schools, and two village government schools in the five Indian states which are very different politically, culturally, and economically (British Council 2014).

Our study explores, through listening to participants' narratives, how Christian values are played out in Christian foundation schools, where the majority of children, in the states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Assam and Andhra Pradesh , are Hindu with some Muslims and Sikh pupils, whilst most of the teachers and nearly all the head teachers at these schools are Christian. However, in the North Eastern state of Mizoram, Christianity is the majority religion with only a small percentage of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh children. We held focus groups and interviews with a range of teachers and children both Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh.

This project adds to the insights of a range of scholars, some of whom adopt a critical realist stance such as Webster (2018) while others, for example a Christian Indian researcher such as Longkumar (2014), adopt a more 'insider' stance. Longkumar (2014) argues that teachers enact their beliefs and embody Biblical virtues to show the love of God to the children in their care and nurture. She claims that although Christian teachers are not allowed to proselytise in schools, nevertheless they can show by example that the teachers espouse Christian values through behaviour. Thus, Longkumar seems to align herself with a post-structuralist approach, and encourages a particular practice. On the other hand, Thapan's edited book, *Ethnographies of schooling in contemporary India* (2014), presents a set of ethnographic case studies, some of which are based in Indian Christian foundation schools. While some chapters adopt a critical realist approach, others are more phenomenological, such as Bhandari's chapter, which unravels the dynamics between the Christian identity of the school and its attempt to impart citizenship education. Here she notes a 'muted' secular citizenship education, in contrast with the 'loud' citizenship education which was Christian based (2014). This brief overview of other scholars' positionalities contextualises the phenomenological approach adopted, where the lead researcher acted as 'self-aware translator'. This is explained more fully below in first person style (Savin-Baden and Major (2013:65).

Lead researcher's account of the Data Collection and analysis
As the lead researcher I collected the data and adopted a 'self-aware translator' stance, and hence this section is written in the first person to more accurately capture positionality and reflexivity (Savin-Baden and Major (2013:65). Firstly, I discuss how I located myself in relation to the subject of Christian values education in India. Secondly, I discuss my role in relation to the participants. Finally, I discuss my role in relation to the research context in diverse India.

I acknowledge that as a white, British, non-Christian, female teacher educator and former Religious Education specialist teacher of 4 to 14 year olds, my particular expertise and interest in social justice defined the boundaries of the investigation (Savin-Baden and Major 2013). Initially, I wanted to explore how a range of participants narrated their experiences in mainstream and special needs Christian foundation and also government schools to evaluate how social justice is played out in practice. However, through snowballing sampling (Savin-Baden and Major 2013) I was able to interview a range of Principals, teachers, parents, children, other educationists (for example a speech therapist), intending pastors and university professors over the course of the two summers in five Indian states. This resulted thus far in two publications (Elton-Chalcraft,

Cammack and Harrison 2016; Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). The project facilitated a wider interest in how Christian values education is negotiated, leading to the formulation of this chapter's second research question: What is the nature of the Christian -based values-led education in a sample of Indian states? And how do a sample of Christian foundation schools navigate the tensions of Hindutva, the secular education system, and their Christian context? However, endeavouring to answer this question, given my identity, is not simple.

So I acknowledge that my identity impacted on the way my Christian, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu participants viewed and interacted with me. I got to know a series of gatekeepers in each Indian state. I discussed with each gatekeeper how best to undertake the interviews and focus groups and how my identity as a white Western, female teacher educator and mother might impact on the recruitment and openness of the participants. In Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019 I describe how an interview with the Assam Catholic Priest and Headteacher was shaped by his relationship with my gatekeeper who was a father of one child and his attitude towards me as a mother of three. I would argue that being accompanied by my children during some of the data collection was advantageous because in many interviews the parents, teachers and children related to me as a mother and 'insider,' rather than a detached and objective 'outsider' researcher as discussed by McNess, Arthur and Crossley (2016). I gathered richer data when the child participants in particular viewed me as a familiar 'auntie,' rather than formal researcher. I would argue that the interview with Cheshta at the special educational needs school was frank because of the presence of the gatekeeper, who she trusted, and my elder daughter, who had spent time chatting to her during observations at the school. I sought to gain a rapport and empathize with the participants, considering the extent to which I was an 'outsider' and attempting to draw closer to their 'insider' context (Elton-Chalcraft 2011; McNess, Arthur and Crossley 2016). The display of Christian texts, quality and quantity of school resources, the attire of both pupils and teachers, and the interaction between them provided evidence of the 'institutional body language' (Dadzie 2000) of the Christian foundation schools.

The research context and process is impacted by my interest in how the data inform an understanding of the bigger picture of Indian education. Our answers to the three research questions we set for ourselves are thus informed by the way we interpret the larger picture of Indian educational policy and practice. So our stance is that of white British 'self-aware translators' (Savin-Baden and Major 2013) who aim to sympathetically present a variety of standpoints and suggest beneficial solutions to preserve variety and diversity within a secular education system, in which minority/faith schools have a degree of relative autonomy. Therefore, we are not acting as colonial judges nor indigenous sympathisers, but rather acting to maintain a middle ground as 'self-aware translators' (Savin-Baden and Major 2013).

I adopted an IPA (Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis) approach (Smith and Osborn 2003). As argued above, the aim was not to produce an objective statement about Christian foundation schools' ethos, but rather each participant's perspective of how the Christian foundation and their own faith impacted practice, whether they be Christian, Muslim or Sikh (see Table 1). I asked teachers and Principals about how the Christian values impacted on their professional practice, and I asked the children how the Christian values impacted on their learning and day to day life. I asked all participants including the intending pastors and university professors about negative and positive experiences of Indian education, particularly in meeting the needs of marginalized children (such as lower castes and SEND learners). Given time and logistical constraints and the age and interest of the participants, some interviews took fifteen minutes (for example, with the SEND learners in school B), while some lasted eighty minutes (for example,

Cheshta's at the SEND school A in Karnataka). There was an examination of the participant's 'life world' (Smith and Osborn 2003:51) with a 'Double hermeneutic', following Osborn and Smith (2003) description; 'the participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world (2003:51). 'Empathetic hermeneutics'; namely, what it is like to be in participants' shoes, whether adult or child, (and to a certain degree taking their side) was combined with a 'questioning hermeneutics,' or a critical questioning of the data, whether they were a university professor, a SEND learner, a tribal Christian teacher or an intending pastor (see Table 1). Throughout the data analysis, I tried to uncover what the participant was trying to achieve by saying what they said; that is, I attempted to gauge whether something was 'leaking out that wasn't intended' (Osborn and Smith 2003:51). In my stance as 'self-aware translator,' I tried to assess whether there were things said by the participants of which maybe the participants themselves were not aware (Savin-Baden and Major 2013). So the data analysis tried to incorporate both aspects – seeing the world from the participants' perspective, but also being critical, 'warts and all' (Smith and Osborn 2003:52). IPA emphasizes sense making by both participant and researcher, where cognition is a central analytical concern, and I tried to work out the mental processes of the participants. I took Osborn and Smith's advice, and adapted IPA to suit my own research design (2003). Such an approach necessarily resulted in diverse accounts, but this echoed the stance we held of India being a diverse nation with not only diverse religious groups, but also competing philosophical educational contexts. In the following section we endeavour to capture this diversity in the presentation of the findings.

Section 4: Christianity and Indian education in a pluralist context

In this section we answer the second research question. Through an interpretative phenomenological analysis of the data described in the previous section, two positions on a continuum were identified, which encapsulated the varying nature of CV education. At one extreme of the continuum, a 'Distinctive Christianity' stance, as advocated by Karnataka SEND school A (see Table 1), identified an exclusive attitude towards Christian belief and action, with a rejection of Hindutva. At the other end of the continuum is a 'Pluralism' stance, as expressed by several principals and teachers from the Chennai school E, the Karnataka SEND school B and the Assam nursery G, in terms of inclusive practise, which tolerated or sometimes celebrated for example Hindu Nationalism, and yogic or tribal culture alongside Christian belief and action. While schools and teachers' attitudes could be plotted on this continuum, the majority of teachers acquiesced that adherence to the secular education system and its stipulations concerning minority/faith schools and religious instruction, had to be observed, while in practice this was followed to varying degrees of strictness.

The discussion reveals that faith-based education in India's schools is not supposed to be overtly confessional to those who are not of the faith of the school itself. However, in practice in some Christian foundation schools the values and ethos of the school appeared to explicitly promote Christian ideals and a Christian mind-set at all times. In some cases, these espoused Christian values seem to promote Western, and sometimes colonial attitudes, and arguably staff epitomise stances reminiscent of the missionaries who first founded the schools. In other Christian foundation schools, the staff hold a more pluralistic or indigenously Indian stance (for example Tribal Christianity), often redolent of their geographic context, and teachers seem comfortable synthesising Christian and non – Christian values, such as Hindu values and practices. In the sections which follow, examples from a select number of schools and interviews are provided (see

Table 1). The examples show various points along the continuum, and illustrate the complexities of faith-based education in Christian foundation schools in several Indian states.

Distinctive Christianity
This first stance was exemplified in data collected in school A, a well-resourced SEND school in Bangalore, Karnataka. Here, many of the teachers appeared to subscribe to a 'distinctive' Christianity stance which was Biblically based and contrasted with the pluralism stance to be discussed in the next section.

> *(a) Biblically inspired 'Institutional body language' in Bangalore well-resourced SEND school A*

Through observations of displays, texts on walls, and the way teachers interacted with each other, their learners, parents and visitors, I was able to assess the 'institutional body language' (Dadzie 2000) of each school. The Bangalore well-resourced school was full of large beautiful well-mounted and laminated posters displaying Biblical texts. Examples of such texts included:

> Jesus gives new life?
> Children obey your parents in the Lord
> Blessed are the pure in heart for they will see God?
> We are God's workmanship created in Christ Jesus to do good works

However, non-religious inspirational and informative texts were also displayed, such as a poster saying 'Knock the 'T' off the CAN'T" and additional posters explaining the meaning of terms such as 'Autism', 'Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder, as well as Maps of India. The Principal (Ai) was a formidable woman (so described by her vice principal and supported by my own observations), whose conversion from the Hindu tradition to Christianity informed her every decision. She explained that she had been brought up as a Hindu, but rejected this when she converted to Christianity. She underwent this conversion while studying at a Christian foundation school founded by two English missionaries whose message had been 'Gospel first then education'. The Principal seemed to be promoting such a distinctively Biblical message in her own school, despite the fact that 'not all the staff and students are Christian'. She explained that because her school was financially independent it did not have to adhere so strongly to government directives and yet it also benefitted from government 'stamps of approval'. So despite legal requirements to 'not proselytise,' this SEND school was 'permitted to communicate its strong Biblical message,' and the Principal impressed upon me during the interview that this was non-negotiable:

> Here children can be refused. Parents come and read the testimonial [about Biblically inspired education] and if they question 'why do you teach the Bible?' and if they say 'No India's a democratic country' then they can leave (Principal school Ai).

The Principal was also strict about not allowing Hindu or Muslim scriptures in the school:

> They can teach that at home but not bring into school, otherwise they must leave.

The children whose parents were willing to tolerate Biblically inspired education were 'allowed to stay' and parents 'could' teach those scriptures at home. She was keen to explain, quite forcefully:

[This is] what we do and why we do it. We teach with the heart. We don't want Hindu and Muslim teaching. The Bible is the life book (Principal school Ai).

On a visit to England to raise funds for her school, the Principal said she was shocked to see Ganesh (a Hindu deity statue) on display in a Church of England Christian school in England. (In Church of England schools in England it is not uncommon to have displays of artefacts from a variety of Religions which supports children learning about other faiths and is not seen as undermining the Anglican character of the school). The Principal was vociferous in her rejection of Hindu religion, which she described as being totally ritualistic, in comparison to Biblical faith which, according to her, sprang from the heart. The Principal seems to be echoing the sentiments of Raghunathan and Eswaran (2012), who are scathing about educated modern Indians who they claim are 'unscientific' in their daily lives, believing for example that by having a Ganesha on the dashboard (the title of their book) somehow removes the need to wear seatbelts. Thus the Principal is not willing to tolerate any image of Ganesh because it undermines the Biblical ethos of her school. So despite governmental secular education policy to not proselytise, she managed to retain her strong Biblical ethos in the school because she gained governmental validation while retaining her autonomy to explicitly demonstrate the Christian foundation of the school.

The Principal of this school was described as a very intelligent and powerful woman (vice Principal interview school Aii). The authoritative Principal was respected, revered and arguably slightly feared by the teachers, parents and learners. Yet the data from children parents and teachers evidenced that the school provided not only a safe haven for the 'rejects' of Indian society, but went further in equipping them with a Biblically informed education (vice principal Aii). Data also evidenced an emphasis on equality and the rights of SEND children to a place in society on equal terms with their peers, (see Elton-Chalcraft, Cammack and Harrison 2016; Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). The SEND school A had a unit for school leavers staffed by volunteer parents who worked with these late teens and early twenties young people to gain suitable employment. So the Biblically based education at this SEND school is distinctively Biblical, with no hint of pluralism allowed, in contrast to the schools described in the second section of this chapter. The Principal constantly used the word 'Biblical' to describe her school's *raison d'etre*, ethos, and message, avoiding the word 'Christian,' which she explained is considered derogatory in Indian culture:

When they [Indians] hear the word 'Christian', they think of a vulgar society – women wearing short dresses – Western society. We want people [to understand] we know the Bible, follow the Bible and the teachings of Christ (Principal School Ai).

Throughout the interview, the Principal distanced herself from Hindu tradition while emphasising the traditional Biblical ethos of the school which she hoped her SEND learners would imbibe, as she had done when she rejected her Hindu upbringing. She described feeling 'uncomfortable in my own [Hindu parents] home,' which was full of Hindu shrines and artefacts 'while still loving my family' who remained Hindu. She was constantly on guard to root out any simulation to ritualistic Hindu practice. When the morning prayers which had begun in response to one challenging pupil became a daily feature, she suddenly halted the practice after two years fearing the staff were adopting a Hindu ritualistic practice. However, this strong minded woman did listen to her staff, who felt the morning Biblically based prayers really helped prepare them for the challenges of the day ahead. And so the morning prayers were reinstated. Similarly, students gathered together with staff to listen to Biblically based assembles twice a week, where either the

Principal or an invited group would tell a Biblical story, bring out the Christian meaning, and invite all the children and teachers (regardless of whether they were Christian, Hindu, Muslim or other) to pray to Jesus to follow the imparted guidance.

An assembly I observed involved a group of young lively Christian workers employed by the Church of South India (CSI) to inspire young people at Christian foundation schools to draw on the Bible for moral guidance. They told via drama the story of the feeding of the five thousand, and how Jesus selected a poor boy to perform this miracle and thus each child in the hall should feel valued and special and worthy to fulfil their place in the world. This contrasted with what I was told was the view of the majority of Indian schools, which appear to display a less meritocratic philosophy, arguably a legacy of the caste system which kept everyone in their place and did not allow for social mobility. Thus, the Biblical education at this SEND school A in Karnataka can be seen to reject the stigma of disability which Varma (2004) writes is inherent in Hindu culture, with its emphasis on the intellectually and physically 'perfect' man and woman who are rich and powerful. Rather this school's institutional body language and Christian ethos aims to validate, liberate, and inspire the SEND and poor children as Iliaih called for in his rejection of Hindutua and desire to recognise the marginalised and rejected (Iliaih 2012).

The six young people (school A, Karnataka), we spoke with all attested to this picture of staff at A school being 'kind, not angry and no fighting,' all of which contrasted with their experiences of mainstream schools which seemed less meritocratic and not inclusive. One 17 year old boy (school A 17, Karnataka) said 'other children snatch food off my little brother at mainstream school'. While she did 'Hindu things at home' a 14 year old Hindu girl (school A 14, Karnataka) did not seem adversely or positively affected by the Christian ethos of the school. Thus she did not see a conflict between her Hindu home rituals and the Biblical ethos in school. A 16 year old boy Christian (school A 16, Karnataka) was very appreciative of the Biblical teaching and despite having severe learning difficulties felt he would nevertheless be able to successfully assist his Church pastor father in his ministry on completing his education at the Bangalore SEND School. He appreciated the 'no beating or hitting by teachers or pupils 'at the SEND school because bullying and corporal punishment seem to be commonplace in many schools in India.

A Muslim parent (school A mp, Karnataka) informed me that the school was supportive of her daughter who had learning difficulties and 'she didn't like the other [mainstream] school but she is happy here. Despite being Muslim, reciting the Qur'an and praying five times a day, this mother's outlook very much aligned with the school's Biblical ethos of valuing everyone; 'I felt blessed to have a special child ….[but] Indian people gaze at her', thus distancing herself from the Hindu majority who traditionally malign those with a disability. The school (school A, Karnataka) also had a boarding wing, where boys from families who lived further afield could benefit from a Biblically based education which was not available near where they lived. I spoke with a 9 year old boy (school A, Karnataka) who lived in the boarding wing of the school, returning home for the weekend once a month. This Christian boy spoke to me about his love for school because the teachers were kind:

> We learn about God, pray to God when we are in trouble. ….. [God] gives us food to eat and friends to play with (9 year old boy school A 9, Karnataka).

He suggested that the school's faith-based education not only met his needs, where a local school would not, but raised his aspirations to see a real possibility of achieving an office job like his father despite his learning difficulties (9 year old boy school A, Karnataka). He was one of the few children who said they read the wall displays and felt inspired by the Biblical messages. This

contrasted with my observations and interviews at the government funded village school Z in Andhra Pradesh. Here a girl of a similar age who appeared to have similar learning difficulties to the nine year old boy at school A was left lying on the floor outside a poorly resourced classroom in a door-less governmental school with little attempt to meet her needs during my visit and interviews with the Senior leaders at school Z. Obviously more detailed and comprehensive empirical research is needed to justify these reactions, but I deduced that SEND school A provided a Biblically inspired supportive education which enabled this nine year old boy to flourish and aspire to play a full role in society, which contrasted with the nine year old girl at school Z who seemed to have been forgotten.

Research is abundant which demonstrates that despite the Indian education system's policy RTE Act 2010 there are still many SEND children who are not served well by a predominantly non-meritocratic system (Das, Sharma and Singh 2012; Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). Despite the fact that the majority of evidence I gained painted a positive picture of the marginalised being supported and inspired by the Biblically based ethos of the Bangalore SEND School, one story I investigated with a pupil at school A contradicted this image. A sixteen year old boy (school A, Karnataka) described how he had been bullied at his mainstream school, and while enjoying the benefits of the inclusive ethos of the Bangalore SEND school, nevertheless told me the Principal had shouted at his parents, demanding they make him attend every day even though he was expected to work in his father's business. The Principal had strict rules and would not tolerate any deviance. This non-negotiable stance turned the boy against the school, despite my gatekeeper's keen defence of the Principal's action. From ten interviews with teachers, a speech therapist and Autism support teacher who both visited the school, there was agreement that the faith-based learning was an advantage for these societally marginalised learners. The speech therapist who visited the school regularly to support various learners said:

> I am Christian and I like the devotional times which happen before class begins. This doesn't happen at other places where I visit children. I feel part of this community – other places [schools] are just work and the discussions are just professional…… [The devotions] help me overcome difficult times [give me] inner strength. There are no Bible passages [on the walls] in other schools, but Hindu statues at the entrance and parents bow down as they enter even though it is a secular education system (Speech therapist School Aiii Karnataka).

Thus the speech therapist is acknowledging the lip service paid to the secular education policy's non-proselytising. Religion is such a part of Indian life that it cannot help but seep into educational establishments.

(b) Cheshta the SEND teacher Aiv

Cheshta (pseudonym), a 12 to 16 years teacher at the distinctively Biblically-based SEND school A, narrated her conversion and the impact this had on her life and subsequent teaching career. In order to understand the complexities of how teachers navigate the complexities of Hindutva, Christian ethos and the secular education system in their teaching it is important to understand how a teacher's life experiences impact their beliefs and inform their actions (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). Cheshta is a teacher in her early thirties whose lessons and interactions with the young SEND people in her care I judged to be very open and supportive, and yet clear boundaries were adhered to.

Cheshta was brought up a Hindu and was very devout. Her father 'was lovely but had a drinking problem' and she was the eldest of eight children and found life increasingly challenging. One of her friends tried to tell her about Jesus, and she rejected this even though she was very depressed. But after a suicide attempt, she converted to Christianity and worked in Calcutta with slum children before taking up a position in the Bangalore SEND School:

> I think that's the only one reason why I am here; it's cos of God, yeah. And I feel God's presence here, very much…And I know it's not easy; it is challenging, you know, it's really challenging to understand these children sometimes…and the parents…and their expectation umm but though we do all other things but behind the scene it's just God- who helps us to keep moving forward every day (Cheshta SEN teacher school Aiv Karnataka).

All interviewed staff at the school explained that they act as role models contributing to the Biblical ethos of the SEND school. Cheshta explained how her constant saying of prayers had rubbed off on the children:

> I want everybody to know who God is. And because they are special people and God loves them. And impact: definitely yes. Err, some of their lives I have seen. You know, like even making a prayer, you know, it's sometimes really touching because some of them- when we teach them how to pray- I think they are the one who keeps reminding us: okay pray. Like before a snack; if I forget to pray you know one of them will be reminding me to pray (Cheshta SEN teacher school A iv Karnataka).

Pluralism

In contrast to the narratives above, which reveal a distinctively Christian, Biblically based ethos, this section exemplifies narratives from Chennai, Mizoram, Kolkata and Assam (see Table 1) which all have a pluralistic outlook.

(a) Citizenship – the Chennai Principal E

The Chennai Principal (Table 1) talked a great deal about policies and initiatives which encouraged children to prioritise their education and thus increase their life chances. The school's website stated that the school is 'like a society built around ethics and human values,' but there was little mention of explicit Christian or Biblically based values, in contrast to the well-resourced SEND Bangalore school's website which was liberally punctuated by Bible texts and Christian values. In the interview he described 10 virtues which are taken in turn as a focus for a month through the values education programme:

> This month is a virtue about cleanliness, how to keep the classroom clean. Last month it was discipline. So for example we told the staff keep the classroom clean, and children [are encouraged to keep it clean] that is one way we do it [Christian values] (Chennai school Ei Principal).

In the National Educational Policy of 2020 cleanliness is one of the moral virtues to be taught, but the Sanskrit word for cleanliness is utilised, perhaps showing how the policy reflects the educational thinking of Hindtuva. The Chennai Principal felt that these values, whilst rooted in Christian doctrine, were relevant for all his learners. He admitted that while the majority of the teachers were Christian, the student population was not:

> 95% of the teachers are Christian but …. The students, about 20% are Christian and 80% are Hindu and other religions…..Caring for the children is a big thing, [and] commitment to the call of God. The third thing is serving the community at large at different levels looking at the personal needs of children, emotionally, physically- all that becomes a part of all that is what Christ wants is to do the concept of love   (Chennai school Ei Principal).

The Chennai Principal school E emphasised how his faith motivated a relentless commitment to furthering the life chances of the learners in his care. Everything he said and showed to us demonstrated a focus on the individual and meeting their needs, whether they were Christian or from another faith. Ethics were prioritised:

> We have a moral science class we allow the non-Christians to attend ….how to be a responsible citizen … and many of them like to come to the Christian values education…. we make the children know that the values of this Christian school are more important (Chennai school Ei Principal).

The Chennai Principal told us how his policies were played out in school:

> We have scripture union classes for the students. We teach them the scripture, we have an hour of teaching scripture also. The teachers have Christian devotion. In the last Friday we have fellowship and every year we organise a Christian retreat for teachers held in our school auditorium. And the boys are taken on a retreat and to scripture union camps (Chennai school Ei Principal).

The Chennai Principal outlined that his drive for communicating Christian values was not limited to the school but he played a leading role in his local church community also. His espoused vision for his school promoted inclusionary practice, and his staff provided a nurturing but also disciplined context for effective learning to take place which was underpinned by Christian values. Of course I was only a visitor for a limited time in each school, and only gained a snapshot of espoused vision as articulated by each Principal. Nevertheless, as an educationalist my interpretation was that the Chennai Principal's pluralist vision was more focussed on providing life chances for each learner, underpinned by Christian principles, compared with the Bangalore SEND school Principal's vision to further the Christian lifestyle and distinctively Christian values through her Christian teachers as role models. A male teacher at the Chennai School Eii however seemed to straddle both a pluralist and distinctively Christian stance:

I was really happy when I got appointed here firstly because it is a Christian institution. I prefer this to the Hindu institutions because they have their own practices and I don't want to partake ……The whole atmosphere is different in a Christian school. There are a lot of festivals in the Hindu religion especially in Tamil Nadu, every month you have something special. And my [Christian teacher] friend very reluctantly takes part in these [Hindu school] celebrations they are forced to take part in that worship and they don't really want to

In the Christian foundation school E he said most children attend the scripture union classes after lunch, the whole school, 70% of the students, are there. While he said the children did not convert to Christianity, he felt the children were sympathetic to the values espoused in the school. However, he was unsure about the extent of the impact on them. But he felt that the Scottish missionary who founded the school intended the education to be accessible to all - high caste, low caste, rich, and poor, Hindu, Muslim or Christian:

We are open to all – for all castes all creeds, all religion, all economic class, all castes. Education for all (Male teacher Chennai school E.)

(b) Mizoram tribal Christian teacher H

Mizoram is one of the North Eastern states of India which is predominantly Presbyterian Christian and whose inhabitants wear western clothes, short haircuts, and, stemming from their tribal culture are meat eating, all in contrast to the Southern states (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019).

The Mizoram teacher (tribal Christian H), explained that all children in her school 'attend morning devotion, even Hindu children who are in the minority'. She also spoke of the former tribal practice of hunting animals, which was banned by the government because India is predominantly Hindu and vegetarian (H). This echoes Ilaiah's (2012) argument that Brahmin Hindutva have a disregard for culture which is not their own, especially the meat eating tribal Indians. Mizo Christians eat meat because of both their tribal heritage and also their distancing from Brahmin vegetarianism with its strict laws on pollution and purity (Ilaiah 2012). (see above on Hindutva support of 'Cow Protection').

(c) Pluralist stance of Intending Pastors visiting schools

As another example of a Pluralist stance in addition to the three above, my discussion with intending pastors revealed a pluralist stance. At a Kolkata theological seminary, one particular intending pastor was from a tribal/Adivasi background similar to the teacher from Mizoram in the narrative above. This intending pastor explained that in preparation for teaching in Christian foundation schools they were taught to be inclusive and pluralist when they visited schools in order to gain rapport with all the children at the school, many of whom would be Hindu, with some Muslim and Sikh children as well. He said:

> We are told to avoid saying Hindu tradition is wrong and Christian is right, rather there are different ways to God. All religions are right. The pastor's work in schools [should be] non prejudicial. At our College [in Kolkata] there are lots of intending pastors from [a variety of] religious traditions – Baptist, tribal, environmental – close to nature, caring for the world. There is lots of diversity within India.

A lecturer from a Theological college in Hyderabad for training pastors told me that when Christian missionaries came to India they tended to convert whole communities to their denomination, resulting in villages/ towns or suburbs converting *en masse*. Often lower castes converted to the Baptist religion, whereas the Catholic missionaries tended to convert the higher castes. However, at the pastor training Theological colleges, particularly the ones in Kolkata, Hyderabad, Assam, and Bangalore which we visited, there was a mix of denominations which may have led to this more pluralistic outlook. However, the Kolkata intending pastor did confide to me that despite the pluralistic stance there was an '*unspoken hierarchy,*' where his own tribal Christianity was definitely at the bottom.

(d) Assam Pluralist Early years

Another in depth interview with the Principal of an early year's unit affiliated to the Theological College in the North East state of Assam also revealed a pluralist stance (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). The Principal told me that the Baptist foundation nursery was very popular, not only amongst the theological college staff and students, but also among Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist

and Jain parents from the wider city, as well as rural communities (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019).

The Principal (Assam nursery G i) was proud of her nursery's history narrating during her interview, and that it had been founded in 1986 by the Baptist missionary. My observational evidence showed close resemblance to many British Early year's settings in terms of the structure of the learning, resources, teacher philosophy and practice. The teachers were mostly Christian, and the songs were a mixture of traditional British nursery rhymes and Christian songs and prayers, and traditional English public school style uniform providing the 'institutional body language' of a preparatory school in England.

The early year's principal, was keen to demonstrate her pluralist philosophy, which I saw enacted in practice in my observations in several classrooms in the school (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019):

> If they know about the love of God, they will know about Good and Bad. Everyone has a different religion, I cannot say Hindu is bad. We all worship the same God…. We don't want to force them [to convert to Christianity]   (The Principal Assam nursery G i).

This stance (which arguably enacts what the Constitution had in mind with regard to the manner in which faith schools are to treat pupils that are not from the minority faith) contrasts considerably to that of the Bangalore SEND school A, which in a similar vein to Ilaiah (2012), are keen to reject and subvert the Hindu Nationalist ethos and religion (Elton-Chalcraft and Cammack 2019). The early year's principal (G i), like the Chennai principal (Ei), seemed to consider education and imparting Christian values as of equal importance. Hence the principal's aim in the early year's nursery (Gi) was to provide the best foundation for learning, built on a disciplined approach that was pluralistic rather than exclusively Christian.

Section 5: Stripping away Christian values in the decolonised Indian curriculum: Benefits and drawbacks

To address the third question posed at the outset of our discussion: While acknowledging that we are drawing on an opportunistic sample of qualitative narratives, the data drawn on in this chapter identifies that some Christian foundation schools, in spite of government directives to not proselytise, nevertheless encourage their school community to imbibe a distinctive Christian ethos, whether they be Hindu, Muslim, or other religion. In one case, there is a further direct rejection of Hindu doctrine and ritual considered dangerous in the context of the Biblically based ethos. However, the four schools discussed above advocated a more pluralistic stance, thus adhering to the secular education system's directives for the running of minority faith schools as per the Constitution of non-proselytising, and seeing all religions as different pathways to the same set of truths, beliefs and values. In fact, SEND school B encouraged yoga, of Hindu origin, to support the children's wellbeing.

So, in discussing the benefits of Christian values-led education in Indian schools we would agree with Prabhakar (2006) that India should celebrate her diversity, which would include a Christian heritage as well as a Muslim and Hindu one. In four cases, those which exhibited a pluralist perspective (SEND school B, Chennai E, Assam Nursery G and the tribal teacher H) , this diversity seemed to be celebrated. However in the distinctively Biblically Christian SEND school A there seemed to be less tolerance of diversity, but this did not necessarily mean the school was adopting the type of colonial ethos as derided by Paranjape (2009).

However while distancing ourselves from any colonial superiority, which Paranjape (2009) rightly criticises, we do however believe that a decolonising of the curriculum via a thorough stripping away of Christian based values-led Indian education would result in more being lost than can be gained. Reflection on our findings suggests that the Christian foundation schools we visited provide a safe, learning environment for many marginalised children – particularly those with special educational needs or from poorer, lower caste and Dalit backgrounds and those from marginalised religious backgrounds – i.e. Christians, who are able to attend the schools. For all these children, the Christian-based and values led curriculum provides opportunities for social and economic advancement. Many interviewees in our research spoke of the advantages a good education afforded to disadvantaged, particularly lower caste children in terms of social mobility.

Findings reveal how some teachers staunchly reject Hindutva in favour of a Christian ethos, paying lip service to the non-proselytising legislation, whilst some other teachers promote a more pluralistic outlook, while still other teachers, mainly in the North Eastern states, synthesise Christian values (Baptist or Presbyterian) with their tribal heritage. The analysis and discussion adds to an understanding of how Christian ethos and values are communicated by Christian teachers, and experienced by a sample of children and adults in one single, but vast and diverse, country in the Global South.

In addition to the argument that more would be lost than gained by 'stripping away' Christian based education through a 'programme' of decolonisation, the argument that Christian foundation schools should remain as part of the secular education system which allows for minority/faith schools also needs to be reiterated. The grounds for the argument emerge from the analysis of the secular constitution, the existence of faith schools, and analysis of recent educational policies influenced by Hindutva. In an effort to maintain the pluralism of Indian society, and to respect minority faiths and traditions, it is necessary to resist the re-colonising tendencies of the educational and cultural policies pursued by Hindutva.

Conclusion
With reference to the literature and our findings, we have tried to answer our three questions throughout this chapter. We would argue that there has been a move in post-colonial India to decolonise the curriculum by stripping away Christian -based values-led education so as to replace it with a Hindutva ethos within a secular education system. This has been the case particularly since the rise of the BJP party in the late 1990's and again in 2014 and 2019, and the political, educational and legislative changes described in Section 1. We have discussed the nature of the Christian -based values-led education in a sample of Indian states ranging from distinctively Biblical to pluralistic in their outlook. While adopting an 'outsider' or possibly 'inbetweener' stance, we have presented our interpretation of how a sample of Christian foundation schools navigate the tensions of Hindutva, the secular education system, social inequality, and their Christian context (McNess, Arthur and Crossley 2016; Milligan 2016). And, from our stance as White, British, non-Christian researchers who are committed to education for social justice we have evaluated the benefits and drawbacks, for Indian children (particularly in Special educational needs schools), of decolonising the curriculum in terms of stripping away Christian values. From the perspective of the good of the secular education system overall, it is important for there to be continued support of all minority faith schools, including Christian foundation schools.

If anything it is the Hindutva ethos of developments in curriculum and policy that seeks to colonise the past, present and future of Indian education. The recolonizing of the curriculum is from the perspective of an ideology that seeks for a unity above diversity that values India, but an

India that does not have space for faith minorities like the Muslims and the Christians and hence does not value diversity itself.

Acknowledgements

References

Agarwal, Yamini (2020) 'Teaching Identity in schools: Learning to be Sikh in India'. *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*.

Ahmad, Tariq (2018) State *Anti-Conversion Laws in India*. Washington DC.: The Law Library of Congress (available on line).

Alam, Arshad (2008) 'The Enemy Within: Madrassa and Muslim Identity in North India'. *Modern Asian Studies* 42, 2/3: 605-627

Ambedkar, B.R. (1936, 2014) *Annihilation of Caste. The Annotated critical edition* New Delhi: Navayana

Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen (2000) *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts* Abingdon: Routledge

Asia News- http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Persecution-against-Christian-schools-in-India-continues-46858.html. Accessed August 20th, 2020

Asia News- http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Government-targets-Delhi%E2%80%99s-biggest-Christian-school-45760.html. Accessed August 20th, 2020

Batra, Poonam (2016) *Education in Conflict: Redefining the contours of Change.* Keynote Presentation at BERA (British Educational Research Association) annual conference, Leeds University, September 2016.

Bhandari, Parul (2014) "In quest of identity: student culture in a religious minority institution." Chapter 5 in *Ethnographies of schooling in contemporary India,* edited by Thapan, Meenakshi, 182 – 224. New Delhi: Sage.

Borker, H. (2020) 'Journey from a Madrassa Student to Teacher: An Ethnographic Portrait'. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*. 17.2: 268-277

British Council. 2019. *Indian School Education system: an overview.* British Council. https://www.britishcouncil.in/sites/default/files/school_education_system_in_india_report_2019_final_web.pdf. Accessed 3 March 2020.

Chelliah, A. R. (2016) Bishop *Vedanayagam Samuel Aziariah: A Life in Indigenisation.* Delhi ISPCK.

Crabtree, James (2019*) Modi increases Majority* Sunday Times, pg. 22 May 26th, 2019

Dadzie, Stella (2000) *Toolkit for Tackling Racism in Schools.* Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Das, Ajay Kumar, Sushama Sharma, and Ninay Kumar Singh. 2012. "Inclusive Education in India: A Paradigm Shift in Roles, Responsibilities and Competencies of Regular School Teachers". *Journal of Indian Education* 12(1): 1-16.

Educational Survey Division (ESD) (2016), *Eighth All India School Education Survey (As on 30 September 2009): A Concise Report* New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training (ESD of NCERT)

Elton-Chalcraft, Sally, Cammack, Paul, J. and Harrison, Liz (2016) "Segregation, integration, inclusion and effective provision: a case study of perspectives from special educational needs

children, parents and teachers from Bangalore, India" *International Journal of Special Education* 31 (1): 2-9.

Elton-Chalcraft, Sally and Cammack, Paul, J. (2019) Teacher's views, from five Indian states, about their own faith and their school's Christian foundation: Cultivating understanding of an Indian context. *Journal of Beliefs and Values* available at https://doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2019.1647674

Flaten, Lars Tore (2017) 'Spreading Hindutva through education: Still a priority for the BJP?' *Indian Review* 16.4:377-400

Froerer, Peggy (2007) 'Disciplining the Saffron Way: A Moral Education and the Hindu Rashtra'. *Modern Asian Studies*. 45.5: 1033-71

Gilmour, David (2018) *The British in India: Three centuries of Ambition and Experience* London: Penguin Random House

Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development 2020 *National Education Policy* (download

at: https://static.pib.gov.in/WriteReadData/userfiles/NEP_Final_English_0.pdf)

Guha, Ramachandra (2017) *India after Gandhi* 2nd edition London: Macmillan

Gupta, Dipankar (2004) Social Stratification, in Das, Veena ed. (2004) *Oxford Handbook of Indian Sociology*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp. 120-141

Harper, Susan Billington (2000) *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V.S. Azariah and the travails of Christianity in British India*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans.

Iliaih, K. (2012) 2nd edition *Why I am not a Hindu: A Sudra critique of Hindutva Philosophy, Culture and Political Economy* Samya: Kolkata

Iyer, Gopalkrishnan and Chris Counihan (2018) 'When a right goes wrong: the unintended consequences of India's Right to Education Act'. *Economic Affairs* 38.3.

Jeffrey, Craig, Jefferey, Roger and Jeffery Patricia 2008. 'School and Madrasah education: gender and the strategies of Muslim young men in rural North India'. *Compare* 83.5:581-593

Jodhka, Surinder S (2012) *Caste.* Oxford India Short Introductions. 2012. New Delhi: Oxford.

Jones, Arun., (2012) Christianity in South Asia: Negotiating Religious Pluralism pgs 93-107 in Farhadian, Charles, (ed) *Introducing World Christianity* Oxford Wiley-Blackwell

Khair, Tabish (2001) *Babu Fictions. Alienation in Contemporary Indian English Novels*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kim, Heewon (2017) 'Understanding Modi and minorities: The BJP led NDA Government's India and religious minorities'. *India Review* 16.4:357-76

Kothari, Jayna and Aparna Ravi (2016) 'A Battle of Rights: the right to education of children verses rights of minority schools'. *Oxford University Commonwealth Law Journal*, 16.2: 195-281

Lakshimi, Chitra (2009) 'Value Education: An Indian Perspective on the need for Moral Education in a time of Rapid Social Change'. *Journal of College and Character*, 90:3

Lall, Marie (2005) 'Indian educational policy under the NDA', in Adeney and Saez (eds.), *Coalition Politics and Hindu Nationalism.* New York: Routledge,

Longkumer, Arkotong (2017) The Power of Persuasion: Hindutva, Christianity and the discourse of religion and culture in North East India. *Religion* 47,2: 203-27

Longkumer, Limatula. (2014) The need of paradigm shifting Christian Education for Holistic Child development *Indian Journal of Theology* vol 56 no 2 pg. 50 – 64

Makwana. M. and Pais, R. (2011) *Backward Classes and Social Justice* Jaipur: Rawat Publications

Malhorta, Rajiv and Aravidan Neelakandan, 2011 *Breaking India: Western Interventions in Dravidan and Dalit Faultlines*. New Delhi: Amarylis.

Mangla, Akshay (2018) 'Elite Strategies and incremental policy change: The expansion of primary education in India' *Governance* 31: 381-399

Masih, Shalini (2020) 'A sustained note of disquiet: On being a Christian in a predominantly Hindu India'. *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society* 25.2:254-262

Milligan, L. (2016) Insider-Outsider-Inbetweener? Researcher Positioning, Participative Methods and Cross-cultural Educational Research ch 7 pgs 131- 143 in Crossley, M., Arthur, L. and McNess E. Revisiting Insider-Outsider Research in Comparative and International Education Didcot: Symposium Books

Mukherjee, Kunal, (2013) 'Is Hindu Nationalism a threat to Religious Minorities in Eastern India? *The Round Table* 102.5: 445-57

Open Doors (n.d.) *We're Indians Too: An Analysis of escalating human rights violations against religious minority communities in India* (https://www.opendoors.org.za/). Accessed August 20th, 2020

Ozanne, W.I. (2010) 'Religious Identity and Governmental Education Policies. The case of the Sikh Community'. *Comparative Education* 46.3:339-58

Pachuau, Lalsangkima (2019) *Indian and Christian: Historical Accounts of Christianity and Theological Reflections in India*. Delhi: ISPCK Kanungo.

Pralay2016 Public Hinduism and Hindutva, pp. 245-56, in Brain A Hatcher (ed.) Hinduism *in the Modern World*. London: Routledge.

Paranjape, Makarand (2010). *Altered destinations: Self, Society and Nation in India*. New Delhi: Anthem Press.

Paranjape, Makarand (2019) 'Indian and the Indian: New nationalisam has put inclusive
Hindutva on Offer', First Post, June 2019. Available at https://www.firstpost.com/india/india-and-the-indian-new-nationalism-has-put-inclusive-hindutva-on-offer-writes-makarand-paranjape-6845781.html   Accessed August 24th 2020

Patrick, Gnana. (2011) Making of Secular Society in India: Finding a Subaltern Path through the woods in Kalliath, A. and Irudaya, R (eds) *Indian Secularism: A theological Response* Bangalore: Indian Theological Association pp.32- 67

Prabhakar, Samson (2006) "Religious Education in Indian Contexts." *Studies in World Christianity* 12 (1): 50-58.

Price, Lance (2015)   *The Modi Effect: Inside Narendra Modi's Campaign to Transform India*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Raghunathan, V. and Eswaran, M. (2012) *Ganesha on the Dashboard* New Delhi: Penguin

Rajeshwar, Yashaovini (2019) 'Coming Home (Ghar Wapsi) and Going Away in India'. *Religions,* 10. 313-

Ramachandran, Vimala, (2016) Equity, quantity and quality: the precarious balancing act in India's schools pgs 78-98, in Jacobson, K. (ed) *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary India* Abingdon: Routledge

Sanyal, Usha and Sumbal Farah (2019) 'Discipline and Nuture. Living in a girls' madrasa, living in community. *Modern Asian Studies* 53.2: 411-50

Sarkar T (1996) 'Educating the children of the Hindu Rashtra: Notes on RSS schools'. In: Bidwai P, Mukhia H and Vanaik A (eds*) Religion, Religiosity and Communalism*. New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 237–247.

Savin-Baden, Maggi and Claire Howell Major (eds.) (2013) *Qualitative Research: the essential guide to theory and practice.* London: Routledge.

Sen, Amartya. (2005) *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian Culture, History and Identity* London: Penguin

Singal, Nidhi (2019) Challenges and opportunities in efforts towards inclusive education: reflections from India, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 23:7-8, pp. 827-840, DOI:10.1080/13603116.2019.1624845

Singh, Pritam 2005 'Hindu Bias in India's "Secular" Constitution: probing flaws in the instruments of governance'. *Third World Quarterly* 26.6:909-926

Shah, A.H. (2019) 2nd edition, The Structure of Indian Society then and now. Abingdon: Routledge,

Sharp, Henry (1920) *Macaulay's Minute 2nd February 1835* Bureau of Education. Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839). Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920. Reprint. Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965, 107-117. Accessed 18 October 2016. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html

Smith, Jonathan A and Mike Osborn (2004) "Interpretative phenomenological analysis." Chap. 3 in *Qualitative Psychology: a practical guide to research methods* edited by Jonathan A Smith, 25-52. London: Sage.

Srivastava, Prachi and Novonha, Claire (2016) 'The Myth of free and barrier-free access: India's Right to Education Act –private schooling costs and household experiences'. *Oxford Review of Education* 42.5:561-78

Srinivas, M. N. (1966) *Social Change in Modern India* (pp. 67-68). Berkeley, CA California University

United Nations (1990) Convention on the Rights of the child available at https://downloads.unicef.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/UNCRC_united_nations_convention_on_the_rights_of_the_child.pdf?_ga=2.229761311.244906796.1595075747-1802810281.1595075747 accessed 3rd March 2020

Varma, Pavan. (2004) *Being India: The truth about why the 21st Century will be India's* New Delhi: Penguin Books

Webster, John. (2018) Christians in India: living on the margins with a diverse and controversial past ch 28 pg. 414 -426 in Jacobsen, Knut (ed) *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary India* Abingdon: Routledge

Young, Robert (2003) *Post colonialism: A very short introduction,* Oxford: Oxford University Press