IT IS ABOUT TIME: TEACHER STORIES OF ENACTING INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN INDIA

By

Tanushree Sarkar

Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Community Research and Action
May 12, 2023
Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:
David Diehl, Ph.D.
Marybeth Shinn, Ph.D.
Brian Christens, Ph.D.
Xiu Cravens, Ph.D.

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To all the teachers raging against time.

Acknowledgments

It is an impossible task to thank everyone who supported and nourished me in writing this dissertation. This is a feeble attempt. I want to thank Anjali Forber-Pratt and David Diehl for serving as my advisors at different points in my doctoral journey. Anjali helped me start on this path, and David made sure I got to the end. Thank you both for your kindness, guidance, and support. I want to acknowledge members of my dissertation committee: Brian Christens and Beth Shinn for their encouragement, and Xiu Cravens, for being part of this journey from the beginning. I want to thank Paul Speer for making my time in India possible. I want to express my gratitude to the faculty who supported and influenced my intellectual journey in numerous ways: Sara Safransky, Elizabeth Self, Sarah Suiter, Jyoti Gupta, and Hasina Mohyuddin. I want to thank Maya Kalyanpur, Christopher Johnstone, and Nidhi Singal for their mentorship and timely advice in navigating fieldwork when everything seemed to be falling apart during the pandemic. I want to acknowledge the Margaret McNamara Education Grant for supporting fieldwork for this dissertation.

The doctoral journey is made so much more bearable because of friends. To the (erstwhile) Sony Gang (Jonathan, Reha, Ashley, Katy, Molly, Leah, and Dominique): thank you for your friendship. A big thank you to Molly, Leah, and Dominique for the love and for always being there. To the desi gang: Eeshan, Shashwat, Dipanjan, Rashi, and Ipshita (+ Madhumita + Anupam), thank you for the food, laughter, and trips to Patel Brothers that sustained me. Rashi and Ipshita: thank you for being the best cheerleaders. To Rho (and Nino and Thea), for our mad, crip house. Thank you to my CRA friends: Rachel, Mariah, KT, Jordan, Julie, Marlena, Sara, and Tessa for your kindness, wisdom, and company. And to Carlyn: thank you for being my 3 AM mentor. A big shoutout to Blue Tokai Coffee Roasters, where I wrote all my Ph.D. applications and significant chunks of this dissertation.

Immense gratitude to my family for making this journey possible. My parents for making sure I have always had everything I needed to succeed, thank you, Ma, and Baba. My in-laws, bhaiya, bhabhi, and Abeer for being so supportive and loving. And to Saransh, my partner, for creating a new model of marriage with me. Thank you for being my champion.

This dissertation exists because of the teachers, school leaders, and NGO staff who were so patient, trusting, and forthcoming with their stories and their time. Thank you for doing what you do. Your devotion and tenacity keep me going.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments IV

List of tables VI

List of figures VII

1 Introduction: It is about time 1

2 Time, temporality, and inclusive education 14

3 Methodology 40

4 Becoming out of time: Dis/ability in schools and classrooms 71

5 *Dhyāna* and dilemmas of inclusive classroom times 111

6 Intervening for inclusion: Past, present, and future 150

7 Discussion: other times in inclusive education 196

References 205

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: School characteristics across the two sites 51
Table 2: Data gathered across the school-NGO partnership sites.. 54
Table 3: Differences and similarities in ability categorization at the two schools 86
Table 4:Differences and similarities between the two school-NGO partnerships...................... 158

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Representation of the comparative case study approach used in this study 43

CHAPTER 1

1 Introduction: It is about time

Inclusive education is often examined as a traveling theory, circulating internationally from first-generation, global North countries to countries in the global South, changing and evolving in its meaning (Artiles et al., 2011; Slee, 2008). This dissertation interrogates: what does inclusive education 'do' when it travels to schools through non-governmental organizations (NGOs)? How is inclusive education done in schools? What are the processes and actions instituted for inclusive education to occur? How are these processes and actions legitimized? How do teachers enact and interpret inclusion and disability within school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education? How do NGOs engage with, represent, and enact inclusive education? And what are the dilemmas, tensions, and contradictions experienced by teachers in enacting inclusion? Through this dissertation, I focus on how teachers, schools, and NGOs enact inclusive education. The theory of policy enactment allows for the study of how local actors interpret and translate policies within particular contexts. The theory provides tools to examine how contradictions within and across inclusive policies, and how material and discursive resources facilitate or inhibit certain responses to policies (Ball et al., 2011). In this dissertation, I argue that questions of enacting inclusive education benefit from a perspective of "doing time in the sociology of education" (Lingard & Thompson, 2017) by examining dis/ability, teaching, and reform from a temporal perspective.

Inclusive education examines the ways in which educational policies and practices construct and respond to difference. In this dissertation, I study the construction of and response to difference through a temporal lens. This dissertation contributes to the literature on inclusive

education by examining the ways in which time and temporality contribute to the exclusion of children and the enactment of inclusive practices by teachers in India. I engage with what happens to inclusive education as it travels to schools in India through school-NGO partnerships, how teachers enact and interpret inclusion and disability within school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education, and how NGOs engage with, represent, and enact inclusive education through participant observations, interviews, and teacher workshops at two school-NGO sites in Mumbai and Ahmedabad.

Crucial to this dissertation are the ways in which temporal regimes of schools contribute to the construction of difference and the exclusion of children who do not conform to the temporal norms of the school (Edling, 2022; Saul, 2020). In this context of temporal exclusion and othering, I engage with how teachers, working in schools that partner with inclusive education NGOs, enact inclusion in their classrooms. Within disability studies in education and critical disability studies perspectives, inclusive education is viewed as a means to challenge notions of achievement and ability that disadvantage and exclude children within educational systems. (Annamma & Morrison, 2018; Danforth & Naraian, 2015; Erevelles, 2000) Such perspectives emphasize vigilance towards exclusion, “to detect, understand and dismantle exclusion as it presents itself in education” (Slee, 2013, p. 11).

This dissertation focuses on teachers and how their practice and sense-making of inclusive education benefit from examining the construction of dis/ability in conjunction with time and temporality in schools, classrooms, and policies. I use the term dis/ability to denote the mutual constitution of disability and ability (Goodley, 2018). Teachers’ judgments and beliefs about student ability have important consequences for student success and inclusion in the classroom (Florian, 2009; Horn, 2007). Yet, while it is essential to examine the time pressures

teachers experience in enacting inclusive education, I argue that it is crucial to examine how exclusion occurs through the operations of time and temporality in schools and education policies.

Overall, I emphasize the need to engage with teachers' perspectives, stories, and knowledge on inclusive education, such that teachers are “viewed as partners in the inclusive education agenda” (Singal, 2019, p. 837). Although classrooms are the primary site of inclusion for teachers, there are few narratives from teachers within inclusive education theory (Naraian, 2017). This perpetuates a gap between inclusive education theory and practice, as the complexities and contradictions underlying inclusion as a practice are not considered (Naraian, 2017). In the Indian context, stories about teachers are stories of deficit and despair – teachers are absent (Kremer et al., 2005), unmotivated (Ramachandran et al., 2005), deprofessionalized (Kumar, 2011), and responsible for poor learning outcomes (Azam & Kingdon, 2014). By examining how teachers enact inclusive education within conflicting and complex theoretical and policy terrains in low-fee private and public-private partnership schools in India, this dissertation challenges the deficit perspectives towards teachers (Tuck & Yang, 2014).

The findings of this dissertation are located in multiple temporalities: the times occupied by children in schools and classrooms (Chapter 4), the times of the curriculum and the classroom traversed by teachers (Chapter 5), and the pasts, futures, and presents of the school and the NGO (Chapter 6). I demonstrate how children are identified as becoming “out of time” in classroom spaces through their relationships with the structures and expectations of classroom times and curriculum times (Chapter 4). Teachers are tasked with resolving complex dilemmas: do I ensure that all children achieve the age-grade level outcomes and complete the curriculum, or do I focus on the learning and development of individual children (Thompson & Cook, 2017)?

Do I teach in service of the curriculum, focusing on rote memorization and teaching to the test, the way things have always been, or do I incorporate children's voices, needs, preferences, and activities, the demands of the future? Is inclusion about uniformity and taking everyone along together or is it about focusing on individuals characterized as having needs within normative systems? Is it achieving the times dictated by the curriculum or respecting the time and pace of individual children? I examine teachers' dilemmas of enacting inclusion through a temporal lens (Chapter 5). Further, I highlight ways in which teachers' responses to the dilemma of difference are constructed in time through the notion of *dhyāna* (Chapter 5). The normative expectations of attention and parental responsibility, *dhyāna,* indicate to teachers who needs care, or *dhyāna*.

I examine the ways in which the school-NGO partnerships create and exacerbate the dilemma between individual time and curriculum time for teachers (Chapter 6). The NGOs work with teachers to implement forms of child-centered pedagogy in their classrooms, which requires teachers to develop practices that cater to the needs, interests, and capacities of individual children in the classroom, to follow individual times. The pedagogical approaches and processes introduced by the NGO enable the identification of children with disabilities in the schools. I argue that the future orientation of the school-NGO partnership neglects teachers' past experiences and the present circumstances within which teachers enact inclusion.

In future research, there is a need to examine the kinds of futures teachers and schools are engaging with in building schools that seek to produce English-speaking, middle-class, professional Muslim children in a neoliberal, majoritarian India. Further research is also required to investigate how religion interacts with other axes of differences in the enactment of inclusive education.

Thinking about the futures of inclusive education in the global South, researchers can consider how the colonial operations of time shape the enactment of inclusive education in colonized contexts (Banerjee, 2006; Hunfeld, 2022; Mills, 2020). Recognizing that North/South binaries are tenuous, I invoke the global South to refer to countries and contexts that share histories of colonization (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014). The global South, also described as the majority world, is where a significant percentage of the disabled population lives (Grech, 2011). Scholars of disability and inclusive education in the global South critique the transfer of theories and practices of inclusive education from the global North to the global South without consideration for historical, cultural, material, and sociopolitical contexts in countries of the global South.

1.1 Inclusive education and the need for a temporal perspective

As a form of globalized policy (Kendall, 2007), inclusive education circulated from first-generation, global North countries to countries in the global South. Through its travels over space and time, inclusive education changed, evolved, and for some, became a vacant term that lost meaning (Slee, 2018). The literature on inclusive education comprises a diversity of definitions and perspectives on the purpose and focus on inclusion: whom does it seek to include? Include into what? Include how? Include to what end?

Debates, dilemmas, and contradictions characterize the enactment of inclusive education. The distinction between the medical and social models of disability is one such debate. The medical model views disability as a within-child pathology that requires cure while the social model views disability as a form of oppression. Positioned as viewpoints in tension, their co-

existence in educational systems contributes to dilemmas in practice (Naraian, 2019; Naraian & Schlessinger, 2018). Another example of contradictions is the tension between assessments and inclusion (Hamre et al., 2018). Assessments, as sorting mechanisms, exist in contrast to the acceptance of diversity embedded within the idea of inclusion. Yet, educational systems demand both. Scholars have questioned the application of theories, policies, and practices from the global North without consideration for historical, cultural, and material contexts in the global South (Kalyanpur, 2020; Muthukrishna & Engelbrecht, 2018; Walton, 2018a). Yet, questions of disability are central to the project of inclusive education (Schuelka et al., 2019). Following Kafer (2013), I examine the dilemmas, debates, and contradictions associated with inclusive education to "anticipate presents and to imagine futures that include all of us" and to "explore disability in time" (Kafer, 2013, p. 46).

Time is a socially constructed, political force that masquerades as neutral and objective. The role of power in the structuring of time has consequences for justice and democratic participation (Cohen, 2018). Theories of international policy and inclusive education increasingly emphasize a spatial orientation (Waitoller & Annamma, 2017). As an "apprenticeship in democracy" (Slee, 2013, p. 11) or rooted in democratic values, inclusive education is a means to ensure children with and without disabilities are in the same school and the same classroom. However, theorists of temporality aim to balance the spatial turn to consider the relationship between the spatial and the temporal. A key insight in this dissertation is that "the sharing of space does not guarantee the sharing of time" (Sharma, 2014, p. 22).

The organization of time within educational systems has differential effects, such that those able to conform to the 'normative temporal order' are viewed as achieving (Edling, 2022; Saul, 2020). That is, achievement is not a neutral or objective condition, but what is valued is

achievement within a pre-determined time. This 'normative temporal order' contributes to the creation of an embodied, temporal Other (Edling, 2022) such that schools and educational systems discriminate against students who do not conform temporally (Saul, 2020).

Teaching as a temporal experience requires teachers to bring together individual histories and futures in the present and the here and now (Adam, 1995; Roth, 2002). Further, the temporal order restricts student and teacher agency within schools and classrooms (Roth et al., 2008). The scholarship on time and education emphasizes temporality as crucial to understanding intersectionality (Saul, 2020), exclusion (Edling, 2022; Thomas & Whitburn, 2019), and teaching (Adam, 1995, 2003; Decuypere & Vanden Broeck, 2020; Roth et al., 2008) as affect, materiality, and space (McLeod, 2017). By engaging with teacher narratives of enacting inclusive education in India, this dissertation aims to address how time and temporality interact with teachers' understanding and practice of inclusive education. Following Whitburn and Thomas (2021b), I carry out a "critical analysis of the temporal politics of inclusive education" (2021b, p. 104).

1.2 Temporality, exclusion, and the construction of difference in classrooms

Schools categorize dis/ability through measurement, competition, and performance. Within this context, disability is understood as a consequence of policy and institutional arrangements. This dissertation expands this work by demonstrating how temporal regimes operate as institutional arrangements underlying exclusion (Chapter 4). Schools exclude children who do not conform to the temporal norms (Edling, 2022; Saul, 2020). A key project of this dissertation is to "unravel the dominant representations of time" (Adam, 1995, p. 103) that characterize inclusive education. There is an assumption that all students progress towards a

uniform and unified timeline of progress (Edling, 2022; Saul, 2020). I argue that temporal exclusion – and the ways in which students become 'out of time' in the classroom – determines sites for intervention. I identify three ways in which schools and teachers construct children as 'out of time' – that is, how children are characterized as problems when they do not conform to the temporal norms of classrooms, schools, and policy.

Out-of-pace children, or those who drag, are characterized by their inability to keep pace with their peers in everyday tasks in the classroom. The ways in which achievement is tied to speed (Saul, 2020), being slow has dire consequences. The assumption of uniform time disadvantages children whose parents cannot provide out-of-school support to facilitate children's learning (Saul, 2020).

The second way children become out of time is by becoming out of sync with the collective temporality of the classroom. Children are marked this way when they disrupt, defy, and disobey the norms and practices that constitute classroom times (Adam, 1995). Classroom time operates as a means to discipline students to behave in normative ways. Once out-of-sync children are identified, through their defiant and 'unruly bodies' (Erevelles, 2000) that do not follow classroom norms and habits that disrupt collective temporalities of the classroom, strategies are put in place to eliminate "temporal diversity."

The third way children become out of time is by becoming 'out of age.' Children do not display appropriate age-grade-related behaviors or academic outcomes. There is an emphasis on future-oriented, developmental understandings of childhood. This focus on future 'becoming' precludes an uncertain 'becoming' that allows space for diverse bodies, abilities, and learners to emerge in the classroom. (Gabel, 2002; Goodley, 2007; Saul, 2020).

Thus, children are identified as deficient based on what is considered appropriate within the norms of curriculum and classroom time. Children existing outside or beyond normative time are marked as becoming out of time in three distinct but related ways: out of pace, out of sync, and out of age. I argue that in making kinds of people, 'out of time' becomes the site of doing inclusion. Schools surveil, regulate, and reform bodies considered outside of normative experiences. Time disciplines teachers and students by controlling the sequence, pace, rhythm, and order of individuals, activities, and institutions (Saul, 2020).

1.3 Teacher dilemmas of enacting inclusion

Inclusive education requires teachers to "give meaning to the concept of inclusion" (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012, p. 571) in the classroom. I explore how the construction of classroom times contributes to teacher dilemmas around enacting inclusion (Chapter 5). Time and temporality serve as a context for and influence teacher experiences and resolutions to the dilemma of difference. Dilemmas provide an important perspective to understanding how schools and teachers respond to contradictory demands within educational systems (Clark et al., 1999). The dilemma of difference is concerned with whether treating people differently stigmatizes difference or whether ignoring difference undermines needs. It is important to consider the context within which the dilemma of difference becomes pertinent (Artiles, 1998). Teachers wrestle with competing pressures of recognizing the diverse times that children operate in while ensuring collective times that guarantee equal participation and achievement. While time poverty is a key constraint to inclusive practice (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020), it is crucial to examine the temporal foundations of need and difference. I argue that creating classroom times,

that is, the joining of personal times, histories, and futures into the classroom present, serves as a key site for the dilemma of difference.

I identify two approaches to inclusion and highlight the ways in which teachers identify and address need – changing the temporally deviant through assimilation into rigid, normative classroom times or by focusing on the needs of those rendered temporally deviant. The first way emphasizes uniformity. In this version of inclusion, curriculum time is paramount. The role of the teacher is to ensure temporal uniformity. The second approach emphasizes individual pace and potential. The two approaches correspond to distinct temporal orientations: the former aligns with the pace of curriculum while the latter seeks to preserve the pace of the individual.

I find that teachers construct the normative order of the classroom in the relationships between curriculum time, classroom time, the teacher, and children. I explain this using the notion of *dhyāna*, a Hindi term used by teachers to describe their practices of enacting care and attention in classroom times. Teachers use *dhyāna* in three ways: (i) norms about attention, established by controlling children's bodies in the classroom; (ii) standards of care expected from parents; and (iii) teachers' actions to ensure children's engagement and participation in the classroom. The three meanings of *dhyāna* constitute both the temporal foundations of normativity in classrooms and caring relationships established in classroom times. The different meanings associated with *dhyāna* allow an examination of how local knowledge (Canagarajah, 2002) can encompass both the "myth of the normal child" (Baglieri et al., 2011) that dominates educational policies and practices and the possibilities of caring relationships that recognize diversity in classroom times (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020).

Further, I examine the relationship between the teachers and the NGO (Chapter 6). I highlight the limitations of the notion of teachers as agents of inclusion by emphasizing the

temporal aspects of education reforms (Thompson & Cook, 2017). I argue that NGOs fail to engage with teachers' location in the "larger economy of temporal worth" (Sharma, 2014, p. 8). It is important to note that I am not simply arguing for teachers to have more time or free time. Instead, there is a need for "awareness of power relations as they play out in time" (Sharma, 2014, p. 4) and its consequences for the enactment of inclusion and social justice in schools.

A temporal perspective aids our understanding of the ways in which teachers respond to changes brought about by school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education. The two NGOs enter the schools with a particular vision of what inclusion is and should be and donors require NGOs to make projections about the future (Davidov & Nelson, 2016). Teachers across the two sites highlight a temporal distinction between teaching practices, between the pedagogy of teachers' past and the pedagogy of the NGO's future, and how teachers navigate the two in their present. Teacher actions for inclusive education represent how multiple temporalities: past, present, future, classroom time, curriculum time, calendar and clock times shape teacher practices for inclusive education (Adam, 1995; Leaton Gray, 2017; Roth, 2002). Overall, I highlight the importance of engaging with the temporal, material, and structural contexts within which teachers enact inclusion.

1.4 Conclusion

In this dissertation, I engage with the tensions embedded within theories and policies for inclusive education through the perspectives of time and teachers. I locate this investigation within school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education in India.

The education system in India is marked by exclusion and oppression along lines of caste, class, gender, religion, indigeneity, and dis/ability. This exclusion expresses itself in differential rates of school enrollment, classroom experiences of discrimination, omission from the curriculum, rates of school completion, and educational outcomes. Policy reforms such as the Right to Education Act 2009 and the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan 2001 (Education for All Mission) have contributed towards universal elementary enrollment in India. Yet, historical inequities experienced by girls, Dalits[1], Adivasis[2], Muslims, and disabled children persist. The increased privatization of education, neoliberal education policies, and right-wing majoritarianism are likely to exacerbate educational exclusion for children from historically marginalized communities.

Further, NGOs have a considerable and growing networked influence on education policymaking and practice in India. While scholars have examined the role of NGOs within inclusive education and provisions for disabled children (Johnstone et al., 2019, 2022; Naraian & Natarajan, 2013), the implications of school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education are less examined (Sleegers, 2019). The schools in the study are low-fee private schools and public-partnership schools. Not only do these two models of schooling represent the increasing privatization of education (Ashley, 2013; Ohara, 2012; Srivastava, 2010), but the perspectives and experiences of teachers from such schools are also currently missing from the literature. In Chapter 3, I elaborate on the importance of my field sites and my research questions.

To understand the operations of time and temporality within inclusive education, I draw on a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives: sociology of education, critical disability studies, disability studies in education, childhood studies, cultural studies, care theory,

[1] Dalit refers to marginalized caste groups; included in the constitution as Scheduled Castes
[2] Adivasi refers to tribal and indigenous communities; included in the constitution as Scheduled Tribes

inclusive education, and comparative education. In the next chapter, I explain how these perspectives contribute to addressing the central questions of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

2 Time, temporality, and inclusive education

Schools are spaces where the temporal structure of everyday life is perhaps most visible. The two schools where I conducted research have a routine, a daily rhythm. In Mumbai, the *aapas,* older women hired as school caretakers, sit out in the corridor to make sure the school bell is rung at the designated hour. Their work is paramount and demands perfection, to be aligned with the timetable that principals create, and the teachers and students beautifully decorate in their notebooks. The work of the *aapas* was rarely perfect, and often the site of much frustration to the teachers. The timing of the school assembly determines who is late, who is scolded for their tardiness, and whose parents will be chastised for poor parenting. In Ahmedabad, the biometric scanner at the school doorway logs the timings of teachers' ins and outs from the school. Teachers in Ahmedabad also plan their lessons by the minute. Influenced by the Teach for India (TFI) fellows that have been stationed at the school for over 5 years, the school requires all teachers to create 'minute-wise lesson plans' causing some teachers to wonder what they should do when student questions derail their timed lesson. During online teaching of the pandemic times, the Zoom countdown timer popped up 10 minutes before each class ended. Classes would invariably end in the middle of a sentence at the end of the free 40-minute Zoom meeting.

At the same time, schools, as competitive institutions, are where ideas of dis/ability are contested, understood, constructed, performed, and acquired (Lundqvist 2019). Success and failure are categories identified in schools through the measurement of performance (Varenne & McDermott, 1999). Failure, in particular, is a "dangerous category" – with failure comes the question of who is responsible for those identified as failures. Identified failures require action –

explanation, evaluation, and remediation when delays are noticed and observed (Varenne & McDermott, 1999). A particular focus of this dissertation is examining how time and temporality feature in the enactment of inclusive education.

The literature on the social construction of dis/ability argues that ability and disability are not properties inherent to children's minds and bodies but are constructed through and within classroom discourses (Lundqvist, 2019), teacher conversations (Horn, 2007), institutions, and cultures (Varenne and McDermott 1999; McDermott and Varenne 1995), circumscribed by the ideological foundations of individualism, Whiteness, and neoliberalism (Dudley-Marling 2004; Sleeter 2010; Sleeter 1986; Leonardo and Broderick 2011; Sengupta-Irving 2021). This body of work implicitly acknowledges how temporal regimes shape the construction of ability.

In this chapter, I make these connections explicit to "unravel the dominant representations of time" (Adam, 1999, p. 103). Explaining the tensions within the field of inclusive education, I highlight the need for a temporal perspective to inclusive education by connecting the literature on time and temporality in education and disability theory with research on the social construction of dis/ability. Lastly, I address the relevance of this work to examining inclusive education in India and the global South.

2.1 Inclusive education as a reform in tension

Inclusive education, as a set of theories and policy reforms developed in countries of the global North, traveled to the global South as an internationalized policy (Armstrong et al., 2010). In countries of the global North, often described as first-generation countries of inclusive education (Artiles et al., 2011; Kozleski et al., 2014), the reforms were established through social

movements against the institutionalization of disabled children. In the Global South, inclusive education arrived through the direct or indirect influence of international agencies and donor organizations. Sarkar, Mueller, and Forber-Pratt (2022) identified three challenges within global North theories of inclusive education that traveled to the global South: frictions between special and inclusive education, the tensions within the social models of disability, and the neoliberal challenges to social justice. These tensions and challenges contribute to ambiguities in the field of inclusive education about what inclusive education is, whom it seeks to include, and what does it seek to include children into? (Graham & Slee, 2008; Slee & Allan, 2001). Further, this travel is said to have "diluted, tamed, and domesticated" (Waitoller and Annamma, 2017, p. 8) the radical agenda of inclusive education to challenge normativity within educational systems. Instead, inclusive education is now used as means to assimilate into normativity.

Inclusive education exists in a tenuous relationship with special education. Special education responds to difference through individualized interventions, while inclusive education challenges structures that marginalize and exclude children from education systems (Florian, 2019; Schuelka et al., 2019). Inclusive education critiques the emphasis on deficit-based, within-child explanations that target treatment and identification of disability through segregation (Naraian, 2016). Yet, policies and practices of inclusive education continue to be intertwined with special education such that inclusive education transformed into a "new iteration of special education" (Schuelka et al., 2019, p. xxxvii). For instance, special and inclusive education are tied together in the 1994 Salamanca Statement and the 1990 Jomtien Education for All conference (Florian, 2019). Yet, special education is considered to be in tension with the social justice goals of inclusive education (Artiles et al., 2011; Schuelka et al., 2019). In the global North, this debate is rooted in questions of the over-representation of minoritized children in

special education settings, calling scholars to recognize disability, race, class, and gender as intersecting forms of difference (Annamma et al., 2013; Artiles, 1998). The debate between special and inclusive education led to the development of new theoretical foundations for inclusive education in the global North. Danforth and Naraian (2015) develop four transnational foundational principles for inclusive education: democracy, care, political consciousness, and situated agency. Siuty (2019) describes critical inclusion as a means to challenge ableism and the construction of normativity in schools and classrooms. Waitoller and colleagues (Waitoller & Annamma, 2017; Waitoller & Artiles, 2013) draw on the work of Nancy Fraser to reorient inclusive education through social justice, understood as redistribution of access and participation, recognition of difference in assessments, pedagogy, and curriculum, and increased representation by creating opportunities for historically marginalized groups.

Further, special education is located within the medical model of disability. The medical model emphasizes the assessment, identification, and treatment of within-child pathologies. Inclusive education aligns itself with a social model of disability (Naraian, 2016), which views challenges experienced by disabled children in schools as a result of socially constructed barriers (Schuelka et al., 2019). However, as Sarkar, Mueller, and Forber-Pratt (2022) argue and I further demonstrate in this chapter, to theorize disability as an entirely medicalized individual problem or an entirely socially constructed "draws hard boundaries around disability itself; these boundaries make it difficult for inclusive education as a field to theorize exclusion in a way that can address social justice" (p. 82).

Lastly, the tension between the values of standardization and performance management that underlie large-scale assessment and ranking regimes and the radical goals of inclusive education (Kozleski et al., 2014; Slee, 2013) demonstrates the impact of neoliberalism on

inclusion and social justice in the Global North. Neoliberal logics in education emphasize performance, standardization, competition, individual choice, and market-based reforms (Waitoller, 2020). There is an increasing influence of international policy actors on education policy and practice in India (Ball, 2016; Nambissan & Ball, 2010). NGOs and philanthropies are important actors in the education system (Subramanian, 2018) and the reduced role of the state in public education through neoliberal policy reforms delegated the responsibility of education policymaking and service provision to networked NGOs with considerable influence (Ball, 2016; Srivastava, 2016). The influence of such organizations has furthered advocacy for market-based education policies (Nambissan & Ball, 2010).

The debates and tension around inclusive education translate into questions in the classroom. Special education and inclusive education discourses circulate simultaneously within schools and policies, asking us to consider how teachers navigate the tensions between these approaches (Naraian & Schlessinger, 2017). Teachers navigate contradictory demands: must special and inclusive education co-exist to support disabled children (Florian, 2019) or are special education practices incompatible with structural social justice approaches (Schuelka et al., 2019)? Teachers are tasked with the responsibility of navigating these contradictory goals and values and practicing inclusion and social justice in the classroom (Done & Murphy, 2018).

In this dissertation, I examine how temporality is obfuscated in the spatial orientation or the spatial turn within inclusive education. The conceptualization of inclusive education focuses on access to space: for children with and without disabilities to be located in the same schools and classrooms, to challenge the spatial segregation of disability (Waitoller & Annamma, 2017). In response to this spatial orientation, scholars in inclusive education have called for an explicit examination of spatial justice and educational exclusion, and the construction of normativity

(Beneke, 2021; Siuty, 2019; Waitoller & Annamma, 2017). That is, "foregrounding spatiality in inclusive education provides opportunities to reexamine the familiar to ignite new understandings that can destabilize taken-for-granted assumptions about the role that space plays in the work around inclusive education" (Siuty, 2019, p. 1034). The imagination of inclusive education as an "apprenticeship in democracy" rests on the notion of a collective public sphere (Slee, 2013, p. 11). Yet, time and temporality shape access to the democratic public sphere (Cohen, 2018; Sharma, 2014). In the rest of this chapter, I examine how time and temporality are important to understanding inclusion and exclusion in educational systems.

2.2 Temporal exclusion and the question of inclusive education

The temporal structure of schools has differential impacts on students. Those who do not conform come to constitute the Other (Edling, 2022). One way to understand how time acts as a differentiator between students is through temporal assumptions that underlie educational systems. Saul (2020) outlines four temporal assumptions that the dominant culture of schooling "differentiate, order, and discriminate in ways that benefit some students over others" (p. 2). The four biases are neutrality (time is objective), uniformity (time is experienced by everyone in the same way), spatial (emphasizing space over time in understanding inclusion), and developmental (linear, pre-determined models of child development and progress). That is, differences in schools are associated with temporal conformity, disciplining students who are out of sync with the dominant culture of time in schools.

Temporality as an aspect of intersectionality furthers how temporal biases preclude inclusion. On the whole, temporality constructs who is and is not considered normal within

school settings. Pillow (2015), focusing on "policy temporality", highlights how certain bodies are marked as deficient or lacking based on what are considered developmentally and socially appropriate timelines. Writing about policies on teenage pregnancies within education in the United States, she draws on the notion of queer temporalities to highlight how policies seek to surveil, regulate, and reform bodies considered outside of normative experiences (Pillow, 2015).

Teacher judgments of students are associated with the temporalities of schooling. Edling (2022) implicates two factors in the othering of students through time. The first is the "cult of efficiency." The focus on testing, achievement, measurement, and improvement "indirectly risks shaping teachers' conceptualizations of time in relation to their students" (p. 89). Within efficiency, the goal is to modify and discipline behavior to minimize costs and effort. The second is a focus on linear time – a unidirectional orientation to time. Within education, this manifests as "progress towards pre-defined goals" (p. 91) that assume a certain uniformity: "people share the same timeline" and therefore are "same and progress in the same way" (p. 96). Edling (2022) calls on teachers to be aware of temporal differences that lead to the creation of the temporal embodied Other. Linear time and efficiency lead to time being constructed as a "universal commodity that needs to be managed" to save money and work in ways that "overlook the presence of the embodied other" (p. 98). There is no place for the Other in linear time, instead, they are constructed as disruptions that need to conform to uniform time.

Thus, the temporal structures of schooling construct normative ways of being that contribute to exclusion. Queer studies scholar Elizabeth Freeman (2010) describes this as chronormativity, that is, using time to "organize individual human bodies toward maximum productivity" (p. 3). Chrononormativity naturalizes certain trajectories and ways of being through institutional and cultural structures.

Given the power of temporal regimes to exclude certain bodies and privilege others and extensive research on the role of time and temporality in the social sciences, it is surprising that few scholars have engaged with how time is associated with the policies and practices of inclusive education. The limited research in this domain argues that "modern temporality" (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, p. 196) places constraints that are antithetical to the development of inclusive education. That is, teacher practices are shaped by requirements of compliance (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, 2019).

Time operates as a neutral, commonsense background to life. Yet, there is a need for greater deliberation on the ways in which linear, fixed time constructs learning in particular ways. The extensive time pressure within schools transforms inclusion into a burden, an additional task to be completed (Thomas & Whitburn, 2019). That is, teachers do not have the time to develop relationships with students. Further, audit and performance regimes require students to be labeled and identified by teachers. Overall, learning is then transformed into "compartmentalised into sped up notions of demonstrated understanding" (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, p. 206), which precludes any relational pedagogy. Inclusion is thus forgotten when the focus is on producing outcomes that do not consider the requisite time for learning.

The unquestioned operations of time within education contribute to the marginalization of certain students from education (Adam, 1999). Time disciplines teachers and students by controlling the sequence, pace, rhythm, and order of individuals, activities, and institutions. Further, clock time produces temporal milestones that must be achieved by teachers and students. The construction of time as a commodity operates through policy mechanisms that associate funding and student achievement timelines. Once classified, achievement gaps require attention through identification, containment, or exclusion (Slee, 2018). The focus on efficiency

further promotes the classification of students and the assignment of time to particular activities or tasks signals what educational institutions consider valuable and valued (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a).

Thus, through this "critical analysis of the temporal politics of inclusive education" (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021b, p. 104), we can examine how exclusion is constructed as those unable to meet pre-determined temporal norms. Teachers cite lack of time as a reason to be unable to practice that support all learners in the classroom (Thomas & Whitburn, 2019). Inclusion is then predicated on compliance with linear normative time and those who require additional time from teachers are excluded.

2.3 Time and temporality in education

Social life operates across multiple temporalities. There is time dictated by the clock and the calendar, and there is the time of the past and present and the future (Adam, 1995). Leaton Gray (2017) provides a helpful typology to understand how time relates to the structure of schooling. There is clock time or measured time, but also biological or chronological time; social time, constituting decisions about the duration of a school term or the creation of weekly timetables; time as a commodity and the varying experiences of speed; and differences in the allotted time to the curriculum. The experience of time varies for children and teachers, often based on characteristics such as class, race, ability, and gender (Leaton Gray, 2017). McLeod (2017) addresses how time organizes curriculum and pedagogy. She defines temporality as the "messy moving relations between past, present, and future" (p. 13), arguing that the dominant orientation of education is towards the future. She introduces the notion of temporal regimes to

highlight how time is about power. Time regulates and controls movement and the pace and rhythm of activities. That is, how time is organized organizes, controls, and governs individuals.

Yasmin, a teacher in Mumbai, scolds her sixth graders to make sure they fully comprehend the gravity of their school-leaving examinations, four years from the present moment. A part of a lesson is dedicated to ensuring they understand how to take an exam – "don't waste your time copying the question! Write the question number in the margins and answer the question!" Time is a finite commodity that can be wasted – students learn this young. They are learning this now to be prepared for the future. Time is a scarce commodity – students must learn to use time efficiently and expediently.

Clock time, that is, measured time is quantitative, decontextualized, and universalized (Adam, 1994, 1995). This clock time is dominant within Western education in how teaching, learning, and teacher pay are enacted. Clock time is tied to speed, efficiency, and flexibility – all lending to maximize economic profit. In E.P Thompson's (1967) classic essay, clock time is described in contrast with task or event time. The former is associated with the advent of industrial capitalism, while the latter is associated with times of rural, agrarian societies. The control of clock time is thus considered central to the foundation of factories, and later, schools. Clock time appears in the timetable, age-grade association of the curriculum, dates, and duration of assessments (Adam, 1995). It is decontextualized in that time for activities is determined without wiggle room for "individual and local differences, special circumstances, and personal preferences" (p. 106). As finite time, it requires efficient allocation. Time as a finite commodity and a medium of exchange – associated with relations of power.

Beyond clock time are the more "implicit temporalities of educational practice" (p.109). The operations of 'classroom times' requires "the joining of personal times" to a "collective

temporality" (p.110). Classroom times are not only constructed by assigned clock time but also through norms, habits, and practices. These collective temporalities of classroom time require "all participants to suspend their extended, multiple time-worlds" to "enter collectively, with the guidance of the teacher" to join personal times. (p. 110). Further, the classification of student ability is an expression of the past performance projected into the future in the present moment – expectation to perform based on a particular pace, accumulated over a measured duration of time. Drawing on the phenomenological aspects of time, Adam (1995) asserts that "teachers experience the constitutive power of the past and future permeation on a daily basis" (p.120). That is, teachers merge and address their individual time worlds with those of their students and the curriculum to create a classroom culture. The past and the future permeate classroom time and how the past and the future appear in classroom time through record keeping and planning.

Further, temporal structures across different levels of the education system shape temporalities within the classroom (Roth et al., 2008). Through a seven-year ethnographic study at a school site, Roth and colleagues (2008) highlight the temporal structures that "truncate the agency of teachers and students" (p.139). For instance, Thompson and Cook (2017) demonstrate how standardized testing and regulations in the Australian context create "a new temporal politics" (p. 26). That is, teachers experience a feeling of running out of time or time poverty and a feeling of being out of rhythm vis a vis the expectations from them. Time politics in the era of reform is associated with the sense of time poverty within the existing operations of clock time, that is, the use of time as a disciplining mechanism, and the feeling of being out of sync with time in cultures of audit and performativity. Teachers struggle across two timelines, one wherein they value individual learning and unique development and the other where they are required to monitor progress through standardized testing over time. Time is then divided based on when

data is to be generated and collected. Thus, teachers are constantly held accountable for time – the control exercised on their teaching time and through the time they spend collecting data to monitor their work (Thompson and Cook, 2017).

2.4 The social construction of dis/ability

A key argument in this dissertation is to emphasize time and temporalities as a structure that contributes to educational exclusion. That is, time is an important aspect of the social construction of dis/ability. In this section, I provide an overview of the literature on the social construction of dis/ability.

Schools categorize dis/ability and this categorization is associated with the focus on measurement, competition, and performance. Dis/ability categorization is carried out in classroom discourses, teacher conversations, and reflects broader cultural and ideological arrangements such as individualism, whiteness, and neoliberalism. Overall, culture plays a crucial role in categorization. Deficit, difference, or dis/ability is not the property of individuals or resides within children, but is acquired through relationships, interactions, and institutions. Thus, the culture as disability approach argues that disability is a consequence of certain institutional arrangements such that "without schools, no learning disabilities" (McDermott and Varenne 1995, p. 338) This dissertation rests on these arguments, furthering our understanding of how temporal regimes function as crucial institutional arrangements underlying inclusion and exclusion. The scholarship on the social construction of dis/ability includes several implicit references to temporality. Examining the construction of learning disabilities, Dudley-Marling (2004) references age-grade synchronization and the pace of learning,

> Such practices as tracking and ability grouping, age-graded instruction, changing teachers every year in elementary schools, and the evaluation of student performance based largely on assessing differential rates of learning—with the underlying assumption that school achievement distributes more or less normally—are neither natural nor normal. (p. 484)

Further, McDermott (1993) asserts how competition and measurement are central to the categorization of student success and failure, "to the point that the rate of learning rather than the learning is the total measure of the learner" (McDermott, 1993, p. 272). Across these studies, time and the temporal structure of schooling are invoked – age-grade instruction, annual teacher changes, and rates of learning – all underlie a notion of the temporal life of schooling that is taken for granted. Making the operations of time in school explicit, Adam (2003) writes, "we know that not all children learn at the same pace. Yet, age-based classes, educational attainment targets and assessments apply the invariable norm as measure." (p. 63)

There is extensive research that examines the ways in which children acquire smartness/not-so-smartness in schools and classrooms. The work of Varenne and McDermott (2006; 1993; 1995; 1999) is considered a landmark in developing a new "science of people" that challenges individual or within-child explanations of learning and ability and emphasizes how children acquire certain labels within institutions and interactions (Lundqvist, 2019; Sengupta-Irving, 2021). Schools are sites of contestation around smartness and ability. Lundqvist (2019) through long-term ethnographic research offers how positions of success and failure are acquired in comparison with or in relation to peers within institutional notions of smartness. Drawing on positioning theory, Sengupta-Irving (2021) examines how children come to occupy success and failure within discourses of race, class, and gender outside the classroom. In particular, she

argues that students are constructed as deficient or undesirable by demonstrating the operations of neoliberal logics in schools and classrooms. By neoliberal logics, she refers to the impetus on individuals to maximize their value– a focus on productivity and future value in developing oneself for the labor market.

Schools ascribe smartness to some and position other students as inferior (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011). That is, the construction of smartness in school "requires its dialectical opposite and cannot exist without the cursed population of so-called low intellect" (p. 2222). As Lundqvist (2019) demonstrates, when teachers categorize or position one child in the classroom, they position everyone else. Positions assigned to individual children are dynamic and shifting while the categories are interdependent. That is, the dialectics of smart/not-so-smart, ability/disability, educable/ineducable, or desirable/undesirable must be discussed and understood together. Understanding and exposing these dialectics is crucial to enacting inclusive education, which seeks to disentangle the "myth of the normal child" (Baglieri et al., 2011) that underlies these categorizations and labels of ability in schools and classrooms.

Work linking disability studies, critical race theory, and whiteness studies (Annamma et al., 2013; Leonardo & Broderick, 2011), examines the ideological underpinnings of smartness as cultural capital or a form of property, constructed to uphold white supremacy. As Leonardo and Broderick (2011) argue, smartness is an ideology that supports the construction of normativity in schools. Smartness is not rooted in biology or cognition but is an identity position that has "material consequences" for access to support and cultural capital in schools. Similarly, a key tenet of DisCrit (Annamma et al., 2013) emphasizes the "social constructions of race and ability" (p. 57) emphasizing how acquiring the label "sets one outside of the western cultural norms" (p. 57). The association between race and disability is tied to the history of the creation of learning

disabilities as a special education category in the United States in the 1960s. A common thread across this research is that such categorizations are not facts of individual differences or biologically determined, but sociocultural and political constructions.

Varenne and McDermott (1995; 1999) describe learning disabilities as a cultural problem. That is, there is "there is no such thing as learning disability, only a social practice of displaying, noticing, documenting, remediating, and explaining it" (p. 272). Disability as a cultural fact or disability as culture asks, "when does a physical difference count, under what conditions and in what ways, and for what reasons?" (p. 138) That is, body/mind differences do not inherently constitute "problems" but are constructed to be problems within certain institutional and interactional arrangements. These arrangements could be at the level of the classroom, where success or failure might be acquired based on children's exchange of the "cultural currency" (39) of the classroom, and as a consequence of testing, competition, and measurement regimes aiming to ascertain causes of school failure. The culture as disability approach focuses on the contexts within which impairments acquire relevance. This is distinguished from prevailing approaches to school failure, such as the culture as poverty argument (some cultures are deficient) or culture as difference models (cultures are different, and schools are tasked with helping children acquire dominant cultures).

'Culture as disability' distinguishes between the physicality of impairment and the exclusion that results from institutional and political arrangements that exclude and isolate to create disability. In this way, learning disabilities are not an anomaly of development, but a category in a culture that acquires children because of the organization of schools. The construction of learning disabilities is ascribed to a cultural explanation of school failure that focuses on the child (Varenne & McDermott, 1999). Dudley-Marling (2004) argues that this

constitutes an “ideology of individualism” prevalent in American societies, “an institution that typically equates learning with the mastery of skills, learning disability will be defined in terms of skill deficits. In an institution that valorizes the individual, we can also expect that learning disability will be situated in the heads of individual students” (p. 484). Dudley-Marling (2004) provides a social constructivist lens that does not view problems within individuals, either the teacher or the student. Instead, individuals are in relationship with problems, encouraging teachers to examine contexts and structures that lead to challenges in learning.

Sleeter (1986, 2010) demonstrates how learning disabilities came to be a category during Cold War education reform efforts, focused on establishing international dominance of the United States economy. Five categories of school failure were constructed – slow learners, mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, culturally deprived, and learning disabled. The first two categories were determined based on IQ levels. The categories of emotionally disturbed and culturally deprived largely included poor, Black, and Brown families, considered to provide deficient environments for their children. Sleeter (1986, 2010) argues that the category of learning disability was produced to protect white middle-class families from “the stigma of failure” (Sleeter, 1986, p. 46) – this category was developed through the advocacy of parents – their children did not fit in definitions of intellectual disability yet required a special education category to access services to help with school failure. School categorizations of students have ideological underpinnings of the purpose of schooling in society, and what constitutes normal (Sleeter 2010). The “political purpose” for learning disabilities as a category to exist is to protect whiteness: “white middle-class students should not be failing…or suffer consequences of school failure” (p. 22)

Similarly, in the context of the United Kingdom, Tomlinson (2015) addresses how class and race interact with access to special education services and labels. Although learning disability labels have expanded beyond white middle-class groups since the 1980s, middle-class parents are more likely to demand their children have access to special education services. Further, she argues that neoliberal conditions that promote competition between schools and individuals bolster the special educational needs (SEN) industry as a means to manage the population of students labeled as low achieving. This is particularly true for schools serving working class and poor communities.

A crucial question is how these categorizations influence teacher actions in the classroom. Examining teacher conversations across two schools in the United States, Horn (2007) argues that teacher categorization of students relates to their understanding of their discipline and their teaching practices. She examines these conversational category systems in the context of the mismatch problem, a dilemma described as whether teachers teach to the rigor of the curriculum or the level of the student. Horn (2007) argues that these category systems play a role in addressing everyday problems of enacting the curriculum. If teachers understand success and failure based on variations in innate ability, it restricts teacher action. On the other hand, if teachers understand the discipline and their role in different ways, teachers can transform classroom discourses around ability and status to allow for those perceived as having low status to contribute to the classroom. Horn (2007) argues that these category systems, of fast kids, slow kids, lazy kids, and so forth become embedded within the school through the curriculum and classroom practices.

Most of the literature discussed so far is located in the United States, examining how classroom-level discourses, teacher conversational category systems, and ideological systems

contribute to the categorization of ability in schools and classrooms. Beyond the United States, Raveaud (2005) demonstrates how the construction of students and responses to individual differences varies across national contexts. National contexts imply both historical conditions within nation-states as well as cultural contexts associated with those historical conditions. The comparison of the social construction of students between France and England indicates how historical, cultural, and political differences can lead teachers to exhibit different constructions of and responses to ability differences in the classroom.

Teachers in England focus on the learning of individual children and the uniqueness of each child's characteristics and needs. Thus, the teachers seek to develop each child's learning potential, varying tasks by ability grouping as learning is considered a task to be accomplished by individuals. This is perhaps not different from Dudley-Marling's (2004) observation of the "ideology of individualism", supporting comparisons Tomlinson (2015) draws between the United States and the United Kingdom in the construction of learning disabilities as a category in highly individualized, competitive education systems. On the other hand, Raveaud (2005) observes that teachers in France view learning as a social activity, such that their goals were to ensure that all children had equal access to the same classroom experiences. Thus, teachers did not differentiate tasks – all children were expected to participate, but varied the means of learning, including providing extra time and support. Unlike English teachers, who practiced ability grouping and streaming to protect the self-esteem needs of each child, teachers in France did not want to engage in labeling or stigmatizing students by assigning categories of difference.

This is not to suggest that one system is superior to the other. Through children's testimonies and classroom observations, Raveaud (2005) highlights the shortcomings of both approaches: the English approach reinforces inequalities while the French system disregards

individual needs. However, this provides support to the ‘culture as disability’ argument - different institutional arrangements enable or disable individuals in particular ways (McDermott & Varenne, 1995). Below, I highlight the limitations of this approach to understanding the social construction of dis/ability.

2.5 Disability theory and temporal regimes

Through this dissertation, I seek to provide “alternative visions and approaches” (Adam, 1995, p. 199) to the prevailing constructions of time and dis/ability. I trouble the body/society distinction within the social construction of dis/ability literature. As demonstrated above, the culture as disability approach (McDermott and Varenne 1995) focuses on the contexts within which impairments acquire relevance. That is, body/mind differences become problems within specific institutional and interactional arrangements. The distinction between the body and world or impairment and disability is derived from the original social model of disability. I draw on critiques of the social model, from Southern theory (Connell, 2011; Meekosha, 2011) and disability studies (Kafer, 2013; Siebers, 2008). In particular, Kafer’s (2013) feminist disability studies approach to crip time serves as the foundation to provide an alternative vision of time and dis/ability within schools, classrooms, and policy (see Chapter 7).

The notion of culture as disability rests on a strong social model view of disability (Shakespeare & Watson, 2002). That is, it relies on a strict division between biology and society – impairments are not viewed as relevant in so far as they are constructed to be relevant by culture. The strong social model eschews individual and medical models of disability, arguing that disability is a result of societal oppression.

The strong social model has been critiqued widely, including by the early scholars of the theory (Shakespeare & Watson, 2002). The social model ignores the role that impairments and bodies play in the everyday experiences of disabled people. Denying the role of the body creates a strong binary between bodies and society. Connell (2011) argues that the distinction between the medical and social model of disability rests on a false distinction between the body and society and therefore between impairment and disability. Instead, they put forth the idea of social embodiment, which explores how bodies operate in social dynamics (disability) and social dynamics are enacted onto bodies (impairment). The binary distinction between disability and impairment views disability as a social or political concept, while impairment is viewed as a bodily, medical, or natural issue. This binary ignores the production of impairment through state and geopolitical violence, which Soldatic (2013) refers to as the "bio-politics of geopolitical power" (p. 747). That is, both bodies and societies are social (Kafer, 2013; Shakespeare & Watson, 2002)

Further, ignoring bodies neglects how disability can be a site of situated knowledge located within embodiment. That is, 'disability as culture' sits in tension with disability culture, which can be understood as "a set of artifacts, beliefs, [and] expressions created by disabled people ourselves to describe our own life experiences." (Brown, 2002, p. 50). By disability culture, I allude to disability pride and disability identity – which imply forms of solidarity and identification between disabled people (Putnam, 2005) and situated, embodied knowledge that allows for navigating the social world (Siebers, 2008). Disability pride and identity are further associated with an engagement with and investment in disabled futures (Kafer, 2013). To counter this separation between bodies and societies, Siebers (2008) proposes a theory of complex embodiment, which values disability as an aspect of human diversity. That is, the lived

experiences of disabled people are associated with both, the power of culture to disable (McDermott and Varenne 1995) and the conditions of the body, such as pain, neurodivergence, and aging.

Instead of engaging with the dichotomy between bodies and society, it may be more generative to understand 'culture as disability' through the ideology of ability (Siebers, 2008). The ideology of ability refers to a "preference for able-bodiedness" (p. 8) that contributes to disability exclusion by casting ways of being outside boundaries of ability, "the lesser the ability, the lesser the human being" (p.10). The ideology of ability can be understood in terms of compulsory able-bodiedness (McRuer, 2006) or ableism, which refers to "a network of beliefs, processes, and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as the perfect, species-typical, and therefore essential and fully human. Disability then is cast as a diminished state of being human" (Campbell, 2009, p. 5).

Overall, disability theorists are likely to agree with the notion of culture as disability to emphasize how societal structures exclude disabled people. Further, there is agreement that disability is not a medical or individual problem that requires cure or remediation, but instead, is "experienced in and through relationships. It does not occur in isolation." (Kafer, 2013, p. 8) The disagreement I am trying to highlight is the crucial role that embodiment plays in the lived experiences of disabled people and the construction of disability. That is, we cannot ignore embodiment in understanding how cultures enable or disable individuals.

Disability theory, in taking embodiment seriously, further helps us appreciate how the pace and rhythm of "the body are inseparable from human being, from well-being and from everyday social life" (Adam 1995, p. 77). The notion of crip time is particularly helpful in disrupting "normative understandings" of time and developmental trajectories (Ljuslinder et al.,

2020). Crip temporalities refer to “the way disability disrupts normative understandings of time” (Ljuslinder et al., 2020, p. 35) questioning the rigid capitalist temporalities that emphasize normative notions of productivity (Samuels, 2017; Samuels & Freeman, 2021). Crip time encapsulates both bodies and societies – crip time can refer to the extra time needed to perform tasks, both as a result of bodily pace and as a result of barriers to accessing the social world. Iqbal, a fifth grader with a mobility impairment in Mumbai, missed fifteen minutes of instructional time every day. His teachers and his parents decided he would leave school earlier than his peers, not only because it took him longer to walk down the stairs to exit the school but also because they were concerned for his safety when excited and excitable students ran down the corridors at home time. Iqbal’s loss of instructional time is associated with the pace of his body, the inaccessibility of school infrastructure, and the lack of imagination on part of adults to determine ways of ensuring equitable participation for Iqbal (Kafer, 2013).

2.6 Time and inclusive education in the global South

The literature on time I have examined thus far is drawn from countries of the global North. The dominance of clock time is associated with Western, modern, industrial societies (Adam, 1995). Across disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, researchers have studied cultural differences in interaction with, experiences of, and perspectives towards time (54 members of the International Time Perspective Research Project et al., 2015; Levine, 2006; Munn, 1992). Early anthropological literature, for instance, emphasized the past orientation of traditional societies (Munn, 1992). Levine (2006) suggests that western and non-western

societies differ in how people operate through time with differing ideas about punctuality – with the former emphasizing clock time and the latter event time to organize everyday life.

It is unclear whether the critiques associated with the dominance of clock time within educational systems and their effects on teacher agency (Roth et al., 2008) and educational exclusion (Saul, 2020) apply to contexts of the global South, where neoliberal globalization, modernity, and capitalism have differential effects (Connell & Dados, 2014). Much of the research on Western clock time in education uses Adam's research as a starting point. However, the spread of clock time and calendar time to contexts outside the global North is largely understudied (Postill, 2002; Shahjahan et al., 2022). Shahjahan and colleagues (2022) highlight the importance of relationality and the collective in examining temporal experiences in the global South, questioning "the assumption that one has agency and control over one's time" (p. 6) central to modern ideas about individuality.

There is also the question of how research on dis/ability categorization applies to inclusive education in the global South. The international spread of inclusive education (Armstrong et al., 2010) leads to questions about the 'post-colonial exertion of power' through policy and practice. Scholars in the global South view the advent of inclusive education in the global South as an imposition that furthered the colonial project by neglecting the knowledge, history, expertise, and political economy of the Global South. (Grech, 2015; Muthukrishna & Engelbrecht, 2018; Rao & Kalyanpur, 2020; Walton, 2018a) Inclusive education in the global North developed within a specific set of circumstances: existing theories and practices from special education, established mass and public education systems, strong legislative frameworks for disability rights, economic resources and expertise, and parental participation. In contrast, the

global South face challenges of economic deprivation and colonized ways of being (Walton, 2018a).

Efforts to translate global inclusive education discourses in the global South are complicated by the assistance provided by international organizations (Le Fanu, 2013). In Papua New Guinea, curricula developed using American or Australian do not translate to inclusive practices in the classrooms. Aid organizations failed to account for the lack of professional development opportunities, restricted access to technology, large class sizes, and poor teaching materials. Such challenges are documented in countries across sub-Saharan Africa, Vietnam, and China.

The failure of such efforts furthered parallel systems of education for children with disabilities in the South (Duke et al., 2016; Kalyanpur, 2016). Kalyanpur (2016) finds that “the concepts of inclusive education as envisioned in the North become distorted versions of the original intention” (p. 20) when applied without adequate consideration of local contexts of disability and education by international agencies. Language and terminology are also key barriers in this process (Rao & Kalyanpur, 2020; Singal, 2010). Such examples support the need to engage local knowledge and practices for inclusive education (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014).

Yet, the ‘local’ is complex: it is not immune to discriminatory beliefs and practices that target and produce differences based on dis/ability, caste, class, religion, tribe, and gender. The increased violence against and disabling of minoritized groups by a majoritarian regime (Misri, 2022) highlights the ways in which exclusionary tendencies are contained within the local (Walton, 2018a)

Further, neoliberal globalization and a Western orientation have meant that American ideas of learning disabilities traveled across national contexts. Kalyanpur (2022) demonstrates

how learning disabilities emerged as a new disability category in India following the global Education for All agenda. She cites how the definition of learning disabilities in Indian law is nearly identical to the United States Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. In a multi-lingual country like India, the assessment of learning disabilities is challenging. There is an over-reliance on American diagnostic tools to assess learning disabilities. This diagnosis has drastically increased in India. Kalyanpur (2022) posits that this could be associated with the policy measures towards universal primary enrollment in India, the increased proliferation of and enrollment in English medium private schools, leading to a competitive school environment such that struggling students, largely English language learners belonging minoritized caste and class backgrounds, are labeled as having a learning disability. This is not endemic to private schools but also occurs in public schools, where increased teacher accountability mechanisms have led teachers to label more and more students as unsuccessful or ineducable (Mukhopadhyay & Sriprakash, 2013; Taneja-Johansson et al., 2021). Kalyanpur (2022) highlights the role of two distinct but related phenomena. One, the emergence of learning disabilities as a category in India is associated with class, caste, and language, mirroring the emergence of race and class roots of learning disabilities in the United States. Two, the inclusive aims of Education for All created new forms of marginalization through neoliberal forms of international development that imposed universal templates of education development that do not align with the resource availability or cultural contexts of countries in the global South (Kalyanpur, 2020, 2022; Rao & Kalyanpur, 2020). Through this dissertation, I explore how these two phenomena are tied to the organization of time and temporality within international and national inclusive education policy and practice.

2.7 Conclusion

By engaging with teacher narratives of enacting inclusive education in India, this dissertation addresses how time and temporality interact with teachers' understanding and practice of inclusive education in the global South. In Chapter 3, I outline the methodological approaches undertaken in this dissertation. The findings of this dissertation are divided into three chapters. In Chapter 4, I elucidate how temporal tensions led to the creation of dis/ability categorizations that render some students 'out of time.' The 'out of time' students become the objects or sites for inclusion. That is, excluded by the temporal regimes of educational systems, these students stick out as problems – problems of time, problems in time. In Chapter 5, I explore how teachers practice inclusion. I highlight teacher dilemmas in addressing difference in the classroom. I argue that these dilemmas are rooted in the dominant temporal regimes of schools. In Chapter 6, I examine how past, present, and futures within school-NGO partnerships shape teacher dilemmas of enacting inclusion.

CHAPTER 3

3 Methodology

To understand teacher stories of enacting inclusive education, I carried out participant observations, interviews, and teacher workshops for a school term as ethnographic case studies at two school-NGO sites (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). Ethnographic case studies or ethno-case studies involve thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) and engagement to examine how things are done (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). Using a comparative case study approach, I examined the layers of context through which schools and teachers enact inclusive education policies, such as school history and location, teacher experiences, school buildings, budgets, and infrastructure, and national and local policy contexts. The objective was to examine the relationship between the micro and the macro – between the classroom, culture, and policy (Alexander, 2001) and between teachers, the NGO, and the state (Ball, 1993a) in the enactment of inclusive education.

3.1 Comparative case study of enacting inclusion in India

I adopted the comparative case study approach (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) to examine how the teachers enact and interpret inclusion and disability within school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education in the Indian context. This research examines two urban field sites in India – one located in Ahmedabad, and another in Mumbai. In examining school-NGO partnerships across the two sites through a comparative case study, I observe the global and local tensions involved in inclusive education as a practice (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). As I describe below, the

case emerged and evolved through the process of conducting this research, largely due to the constraints and challenges brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The comparative case study approach involves studying processes through three axes of comparisons – the horizontal, the vertical, and the transversal comparisons (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) (Figure 1). The horizontal comparison contrasts cases while studying the relationships and connections across cases, the vertical comparison examines levels of influence from international to the local, and the transversal comparison focuses on the phenomenon over time.

The horizontal axes emphasize the local production of policy. I focused on the role of teachers as actors within education policy. From a policy enactment perspective, the horizontal axis represents the notion of policy as text (Ball, 1993b, 2015)– the creative translations and interpretations of policy carried out by teachers in schools and classrooms. Through interviews and observations, I focused on the perspectives of the teachers and the everyday realities of the school context.

Vertical comparison focuses on policy across micro, meso, and macro levels, following the phenomenon across scales and sites. This form of comparison examines mutual influences across different levels and scales. In this dissertation, the multi-scalar and multi-level vertical analysis compared the NGO interventions across the school sites while connecting the school-NGO partnership with influences across regional, national, and global sites of action. The comparative case study approach emphasized multi-sited and multi-scalar examinations of phenomena. The 'case' is not bound to particular teachers or schools or NGOs. Instead, I am interested in the processes enabled and enacted through networks and actors in enacting inclusive education. Through a comparative case study, I examined the processes through which inclusive education occurs at these sites and connect these local acts of doing inclusion across scales of

influence and layers of context, highlighting how scales of actions mutually influence each other. The transversal axis pays attention to the historical conditions underlying the processes observed at the sites. The transversal analysis of the discourses, processes, and practices identified across the two sites in India are situated within broader debates around temporality and inclusive education.

Following the comparative case study approach, different sampling strategies were adopted for distinct parts of the study. The NGOs were selected because of their networked nature (see section below) and their interventions on inclusive education with primary school teachers – as an operational construct case (Patton, 1990). On the other hand, the school sites were both convenient cases – in that they were the sites of NGO operations. However, as privatized schools serving Muslim students with young female Muslim teachers, the schools were homogenous cases as they allowed study within a population that is increasingly the site of exclusionary politics of the state.

The figure below depicts how comparisons were conducted across classrooms, between the public-private partnership (PPP) school in Mumbai and the unrecognized low-fee private school in Ahmedabad, the two NGO sites, at the level of national policies such as the 2009 Right to Education Act (RTE), the 2020 National Education Policy (NEP), and the 2016 Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act (RPWD). At the global level, I consider the influence of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the World Bank over discourses and policies for inclusive education (Figure 1).

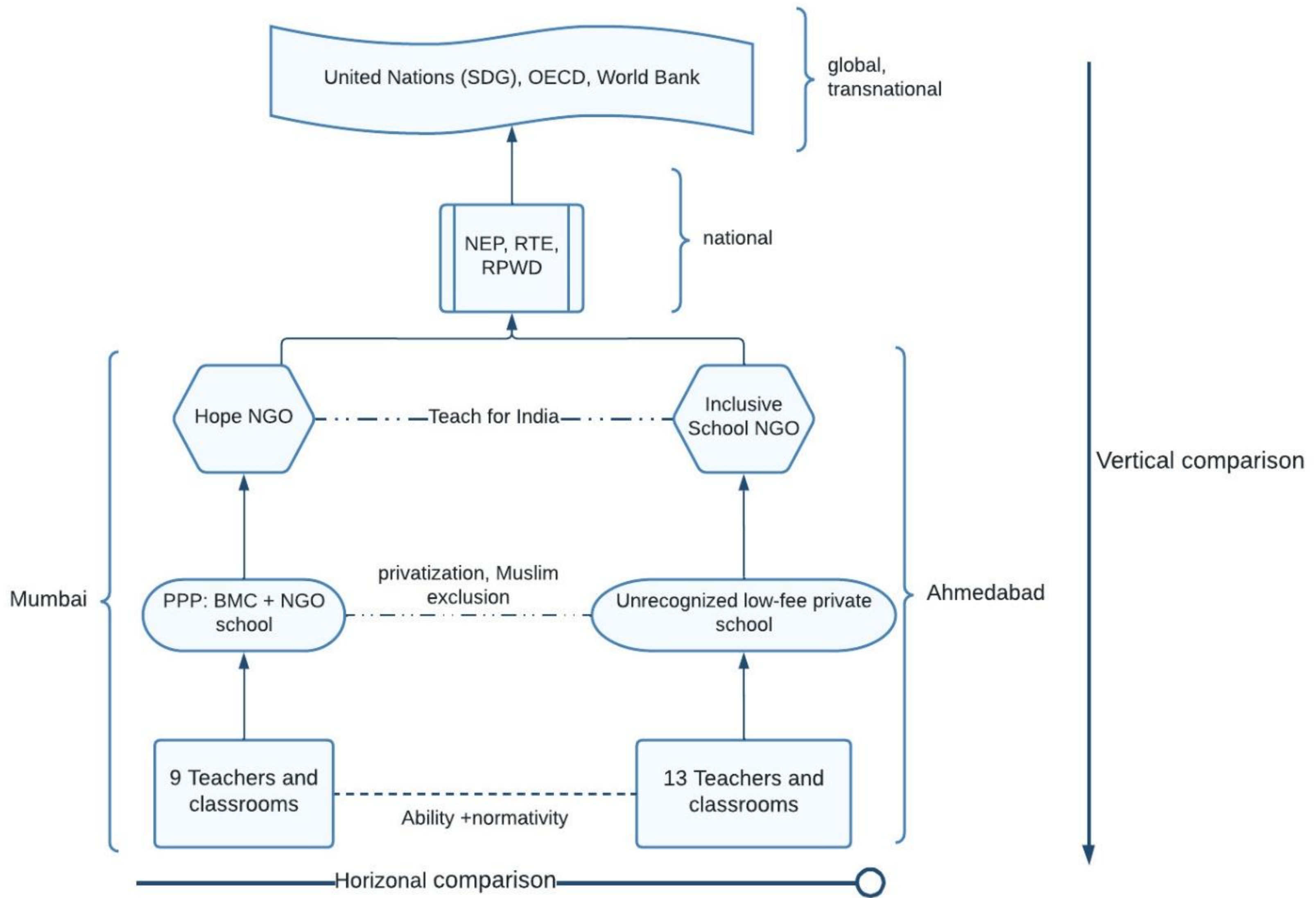

Figure 1: Representation of the comparative case study approach used in this study

3.2 Doing research in a global pandemic

Schools in India were rapidly shifting from online to on-site instruction during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. This rendered long-term onsite fieldwork untenable. Fieldwork was carried out between July 2021 and April 2022, that is, in the immediate aftermath of the devastating second wave of the pandemic in India and during the third wave. Fieldwork in Ahmedabad was carried out between July and November 2021. I visited Ahmedabad between 29th September 2021 and 11th October 2021, after which fieldwork continued online through weekly teacher workshops that culminated in the middle of November.

Unlike Ahmedabad, where research began online and remained largely online, in Mumbai, fieldwork began and was largely in person. The NGO program in Mumbai was in its first year of implementation, the teachers were required to be in school every day, and students were attending school in hybrid mode. However, fieldwork was interrupted by the third wave of the pandemic, which led to school closures during the month of January. During this time, I carried out interviews and classroom observations online. Teachers were required to be in school, but students were not. There was little adherence to masking, so it felt unsafe to carry out data collection in person. During this round of fieldwork, I, along with several teachers, contracted COVID-19.

I resumed in-person fieldwork in Mumbai in the first week of February. Although schools reopened for students on the 24th of January, I needed more time to recover from the infection. During the second round of in-person fieldwork, the school schedule kept changing – initially, students were called to the school in two batches for two hours at a time. For a few weeks, students were called as one batch together for the entire day. During the centralized state school leaving examinations in March, all students attended school for only two hours a day. The

schedule changed again during April, for Ramzan or Ramadan, a month of fasting and prayer marked by Muslims. Each time, teachers only received a day's notice from the school and the state.

Drawing on patchwork ethnography (Günel et al., 2020), I adopted "short-term field visits, using fragmentary yet rigorous data." Patchwork ethnography builds on feminist, decolonial approaches to challenge traditional distinctions between the field and home. The method allows for greater flexibility and care given the difficult balance of responsibilities that teachers and I undertook– cooking, caregiving, and working. Most pertinently, this involved negotiating times in the day when teachers and I could speak, alone and undisturbed.

Using approaches from digital ethnography (Howlett, 2021), my research approach emphasized flexibility and remote embeddedness. Fieldwork extended into online spaces used by the schools and NGOs, such as Google Classrooms and WhatsApp groups (Góralska, 2020). I established online co-presence with participants (Howlett, 2021) by conducting telephone, Zoom, and WhatsApp interviews, observing online classrooms, and attending school meetings, held in-person or online, via Zoom. Online interactions did not simply extend or replicate the field on-screen. Instead, the digital space transformed sites of interactions and relations of power between the researcher and the participants. Interviews and observations were inhabited and occupied by children, power outages, network issues, phone calls, caretaking responsibilities, calls for prayer, and calls to make meals for the family.

Because of the online nature of my relationship with teachers, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Snapchat also became field sites. WhatsApp was the site to coordinate all interviews and observations. Teachers' WhatsApp statuses became sites of first impressions and small talk – a joke, a meme, a prayer, a celebration, a function – I learned about what they wanted to share with

their world about their every day through WhatsApp. Interviews were carried out for two teachers in Ahmedabad entirely through WhatsApp chats and voice notes. Due to caregiving responsibilities, the two could not find undisrupted time for Zoom or phone calls. Teachers would search for me and find me on Instagram, adding new layers of intimacy and information. For instance, teachers in Mumbai discovered I was married through Instagram, which led to several subsequent staffroom conversations about balancing career and home after marriage.

3.3 Identifying sites of inclusive education in India

3.3.1 Identifying the field: networked NGOs

In March 2019, I posted on a Facebook group created to connect professionals with mentors and collaborators in India to "connect with and learn from" organizations working on inclusive education in India. The initial idea was to reach out to NGOs to access schools and teachers enacting inclusive education. However, the focus shifted towards school-NGO partnerships as this study evolved through the course of the pandemic.

Kartik, the founder of Inclusive Schools[3] NGO, responded to my post. In June 2019, I visited the schools and conducted two sessions for teachers of two branches of a low-cost private school – one on creating growth mindset classrooms and another on belonging and inclusion in classrooms. In September 2020, Kartik introduced me to Sana, who was working to establish the Hope Fellowship[4]. Kartik and Sana are former Teach for India fellows (TFI) connected through the Teach for India network. Sana was selected as a TFIx entrepreneur, a one-year incubation

[3] This is a pseudonym.
[4] This is a pseudonym.

program offered to TFI alumna to "build a movement of leaders working collectively towards a safe, excellent, and equitable education for ALL children" (*Incubation Program*, n.d.) Given their common interests, the TFI network connected Sana and Kartik. Kartik invited the team at the Hope Fellowship to conduct sessions with teachers in Ahmedabad on identifying developmental disabilities.

My work with the Hope Fellowship started in December 2020 as a volunteer, helping develop a monitoring and evaluation framework for the fellowship. Between December and February 2021, I spent approximately two hours a week understanding how the organization sought to measure and evaluate the impact of the pilot Hope fellowship. I also helped organize readings and a curriculum for the fellows on disability and inclusion in India.

The relationships between the two NGOs highlight the "organizations and actors, and their relations, activities, and histories" (Ball, 2016, p. 4) that underlies the local and global policy networks enacting inclusive education in India. Locating myself in this network, my credibility with both organizations was established by my position as a doctoral researcher in the United States and because of my prior work in the education sector NGOs in India. In many ways, I was embedded in the set of relationships I was trying to examine.

This raised an ethical challenge: I needed the NGOs to vouch for me with the school management and leadership. I needed connections to get a foot in the door, but I had to make sure that the schools still had the power to shut the door in my face if needed. That is, I did not want the schools to participate in a research project because the NGO operating in the school required them to. In Ahmedabad, Kartik helped set up meetings with the school principal and the school management. The Ahmedabad school was a fee-paying client of the NGO. In Mumbai, Sana took charge of introducing my research to the school management. Undeniably, it was the

relationship between the NGO and the school that helped me obtain permission to carry out research at the sites.

3.3.2 Going to school, recruiting teachers

Gaining entry to the school was not without challenges. In Mumbai, while the foundation running the school granted permission, the school leaders were not consulted by the foundation. The Hope Fellows and Sana accompanied me to meet the two school leaders and to vouch for me,

> The government principal informs me that researchers usually have permission from the state. My face gives away that we probably don't have one. She adds that one from the NGO running the school would do. We have that. I assumed the NGO had informed the principals that such a study would be taking place when they signed the letter for the IRB paperwork. The Hope NGO staff and I quickly scroll through our phones to WhatsApp the letter to the school leaders. Sana steps in to dissipate some of the tension, she makes conversation, describing how the research will help champion the cause of inclusion. As they peruse the letter, I mention classroom observations – I want to ensure that leaders are aware of what I will be doing in school. The state-appointed principal steps in again, "why will you observe the lessons too? The fellows already do it." She wants to understand how my work is different from the fellows. She tells me that the fellows do "parent sessions" and "identify slow learners and weaker children", inquiring whether I will do the same. I tell her I won't be working with children at all, only with teachers and school leaders. They seem reluctant to have another person in school. I tell them, with the biggest smile I can muster, that they can "kick me out of

school whenever they'd like. Once it appeared that I had access, I discuss teacher recruitment. I offer the principals two options – either they select the teachers, or I present the study to teachers to volunteer. I want the latter. On Sana's advice, I present options. The two principals are divided, the government principal is convinced no one will volunteer, and the NGO principal would prefer if only those interested participate. They discuss this back and forth between themselves. It is decided that I will meet all the teachers and present the study. Those interested will volunteer. I am to submit a list of participants to the principals. I must also submit an extra printed copy of all the documents – my CV, the research proposal, and the site permission letter, for "the file."

In Ahmedabad, Kartik arranged a meeting with the school leader. I presented my research proposal to the principal and school leaders on a Zoom call. After answering their questions, I shared a template site permission letter. In July 2021, the principal set up a meeting with all teachers at the school over Zoom. I presented the study, and the teachers conveyed their interest in participating to the principal. A WhatsApp group was created to coordinate efforts.

Teachers volunteered to participate in the study. The teacher sessions explained that the study was designed to learn from their experiences of enacting inclusion in the classroom as a way to inform policy and practice in India. Teachers acknowledged that the research process – interviews, observations, and classrooms, were sites of mutual learning - the researcher could learn from the teacher, and the teachers could learn from the researcher.

Teachers were informed that they could exit the study at any point – or ask for any section of interview or observations to be deleted. In both schools, at least one teacher opted to leave during the study because of time constraints. Classroom observations were conducted when teachers invited me into their classrooms to circumvent any sense of inspection that is tied

to observations. Teachers exercised refusal (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Two teachers requested observations were scrapped when they felt that a class period did not go according to plan – either due to internet and electricity issues or incorrect information conveyed in the classroom. Further, participants in the study were offered the chance to select their pseudonyms for the project. This relationship dynamic was established to challenge the deficit and damage-centered perspectives that prevail towards teachers in India and to share power with teachers within the research process (Tuck & Yang, 2014).

One might suggest that allowing teachers to delete unfavorable observations skews the observations. However, teachers were willing to discuss why they wanted these observations removed, what went wrong, and what they did to correct it. Further, this strategy pushes back on the extractive nature of ethnographic research, allowing participants to refuse access and embarrassment (Tuck & Yang, 2014). In addition, the teachers and I engaged in dialogue through interviews, member checking sessions, and workshops towards critical reflectivity (Paris & Alim, 2017), examining aspects of the school and classroom culture that are worth sustaining and aspects that require critique, care, and consideration.

3.4 Field sites

Two school-NGO partnership sites were identified as sites of data gathering (Table 1).

	Ahmedabad	**Mumbai**
School type	Unrecognized low-fee private school	Public-private partnership school
Stated medium of instruction	English	English
Class size range	27-80 students	50-120 students
School enrollment	900	700
Grades served	Pre-primary to twelfth	Pre-primary to sixth

School fee	~ 850 INR/month (10$) (most parents pay 450 INR (5$), many do not pay); within the average for low-fee private schools in India (Acholla, 2021)	No fee; school provides uniforms, books, and one meal
Student characteristics	Muslim girls	Neighborhood children (predominantly Muslim)
Teachers (in study)	13	9
Teachers (in school)	~25	~15
Average age of teachers	23	23
Teacher wages	10,000 INR per month	10,000 to 12,000 INR
Years since established	10	3
NGO	Inclusive Schools	Hope Fellowship
NGO model	Teacher professional development, instructional leadership	similar to Teach for America; 2 fellows at 1 school, whole school reform
NGO years of operation	3+ years	0-1 years

Table 1: School characteristics across the two sites

3.4.1 Ahmedabad School

Established in 2012, the school is an unrecognized low-cost private school. Formerly a diverse neighborhood, the area is now a predominantly Muslim neighborhood. The school is run by a private trust instituted in 2002, after the Gujarat pogrom. The school aims to provide education to Muslim girls across class and caste backgrounds in ways that balance religious and secular knowledge. This is a matter of great pride and conviction across the school. Teachers proudly proclaim that they are a school run by Muslim women for Muslim women. The school runs pre-primary to grade 12, with an enrolment of approximately 900 students. As an unrecognized school, it is not affiliated with any state-recognized board of school certification. The school is outside the ambit of the state; it is missing from any publicly available school database such as the Unified District Information System for Education (U-DISE).

A total of thirteen teachers volunteered to participate in the study. All teachers are Muslim women, between the ages of 20 and 32. Teachers have three to twelve years of teaching experience and have been at this school for three to ten years. None of the teachers have professional teaching qualifications and six of them were pursuing their undergraduate degrees during the data-gathering process. They teach a range of subjects across pre-primary to grade 12. Subjects include English, Mathematics, Urdu, Arabic, Quran, Islamic Studies, and Environmental Studies. Class strength ranges from 27 (in higher grades) to 81 (in pre-primary grades). Teachers earn around 10,000 INR per month, which is close to the minimum wage in the state.

3.4.2 Mumbai School

The Mumbai school is located in a crowded neighborhood that became increasingly segregated in the last two decades and is now predominantly a Muslim neighborhood, described by a national daily as "one of Mumbai's largest Muslim ghettos." The school building houses four public schools, of which the NGO site is the only school with English as the medium of instruction. The other schools in the compound have Urdu as their medium of instruction. The neighborhood contains more than 15 public and private schools, some governed by the state, some low-fee private schools, and some Christian elite private schools.

In 2019, the public school at the site was handed over to a private foundation in a public-private partnership model. The school was then renovated and converted into an English-medium school. In the public-private partnership model, the school has two school leaders – one appointed by the state and another appointed by the foundation. The foundation runs the school in consultation with an established elite Christian private school in the neighborhood. As quoted

in a national daily, this was done to have a "non-Muslim in-charge principal who speaks English fluently." The state provides the land and the entitlements and benefits to students under the Right to Education Act, including free meals, books, and uniforms. The foundation hires the teachers and pays their salaries. The school caters to working-class Muslim parents in the area, many previously enrolled their children in fee-paying Christian schools in the area. The school aims to provide 'free and quality education to the area children.' The school enrolls approximately 700 children, from pre-primary grades till grade 6.

Nine teachers volunteered to participate in the study. All participants were 20- to 30-year-old Muslim women. Out of the nine teachers, two teachers had four years of teaching experience, two had three years of experience, and one had two years of experience. Four teachers were in their first year of teaching. Most teachers were newly recruited to the school. All teachers had professional teaching qualifications. Most teachers taught English, Mathematics, and Environmental Studies. One teacher taught Urdu to grade six. Class size ranged from 40 (grade 4) to 120 (pre-primary). Teachers earned between 10,000 to 12,000 INR in a month, which is less than the minimum wage for unskilled labor in the state. During fieldwork, teachers complained about delays in teachers receiving their monthly wages.

3.5 Data gathering

Data was gathered through interviews, classroom observations, participant observations in school and the NGO, and documents (Table 2).

Participant	Ahmedabad	Mumbai
Teachers	Zoom, WhatsApp, and telephone interviews (3 rounds) (38)	In-person and Zoom interviews (~4-6 rounds) (40)

	Zoom classroom observations (36)	Zoom + in-person classroom observations (39)
	6 workshops	3 workshops (with NGO)
School leaders and management	Zoom and in-person interviews (6) Timetables, lesson plans	In-person interviews (5) Timetables, lesson plans, data collection formats
NGO	In-person and Zoom interviews with NGO staff (6) Observation of online school-NGO meetings (10) NGO documents	In-person and Zoom interviews with NGO staff (10) Observation of in-person school-NGO meetings (10) Observation of weekly NGO meetings (18) NGO documents

Table 2: Data gathered across the school-NGO partnership sites.

3.5.1 Teacher interviews and classroom observations

Several rounds of interviews were carried out with each teacher. The first round of interviews included open-ended questions about teachers' beliefs about learning, achievement, ability, inclusion, disability, and difference (Lalvani, 2013), questions about their teaching philosophy (Ladson-Billings, 1990, 1995), and teachers' beliefs, values, and histories within education and inclusion (Naraian, 2017). Subsequent rounds of interviews were conducted after classroom observations. Classroom observations focused on identifying inclusive teacher practices, addressed in the interviews to center teachers' expert knowledge about inclusive practice, understood as the interaction between what teachers know, what they do, and what they believe (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012). Interviews following the observations were conducted with a particular focus on how teachers articulate their inclusive practices. The set of open-ended questions focused on explanations of why and how teachers do things in the classroom, particularly drawing on specific aspects of their lessons (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012). The semi-structured interviews and classroom observations served as an opportunity to understand

how teachers conceptualize disability and inclusion, how they construct their classroom practices, and how they engage with and are shaped by institutional and cultural narratives of inclusion and disability.

Each teacher's classroom was observed at least once and up to seven times. The frequency of classroom observations varied based on the researcher and teacher schedules. In Ahmedabad, each teacher's classroom was observed at least twice with three rounds of interviews carried out with every teacher. In Mumbai, one teacher's classroom was observed only once. Other teachers' classrooms were observed at least twice. During in-person fieldwork in Mumbai, I shifted my focus toward primary teachers as on-site classrooms had commenced for grades one to five. Thus, classrooms for primary school teachers were observed up to four times, depending on teacher schedules and willingness to be observed. I never entered a classroom uninvited – classroom observations were scheduled in advance, either over WhatsApp the night before or during informal chats in the staff room before students arrived. This was done to establish trust with the teachers. Several teachers mentioned feeling nervous when leaders or external visitors attended their classrooms. Further, classroom observations are often seen as a form of inspection or surveillance. Teachers were repeatedly reassured and informed that the observations served as an opportunity for the researcher to learn from the teachers and to invite me to their classrooms when teachers were excited about a particular lesson they would be teaching.

Additional classroom observations in Mumbai led to additional interviews. While all teachers were interviewed at least three times, the six primary teachers were interviewed up to six times. These interviews were sometimes sought and requested by the teachers to either get feedback on their classes, clarify incidents, or share their feelings with the participants. As a

relative outsider (Kelchtermans, 2005), I served as a confidant to several teachers, who felt safe to share their opinions and feelings about everyday happenings of the school with me.

I carried out a total of 38 interviews and 36 classroom observations with thirteen teachers in Ahmedabad. In Mumbai, I conducted 40 interviews and 39 classroom observations. All classroom observations in Ahmedabad were conducted in Zoom classrooms. I conducted one round of observations on-site while the teacher taught over Zoom. Classroom observations in Mumbai were a mix of in-person and Zoom classrooms. Overall, 78 interviews and 75 classrooms observed were carried out.

3.5.2 Teacher workshops

Workshops were designed as a site for collaborative inquiry and a community of practice for teachers to collectively reflect on their inclusive practices (Bjørnsrud & Nilsen, 2019; Khoja-Moolji, 2017). Collective reflection and discussion on teacher practices are crucial to critically examine teacher knowledge articulated by individual teachers (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Leinhardt, 1990). A criticism leveled against teacher knowledge and teacher narratives is that this may glorify teacher practices and may not be sufficiently critical (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007). The workshops served as a site wherein the teachers and I undertook a critical inquiry to highlight, analyze, and interpret tensions between policy and pedagogy (Khoja-Moolji, 2017; Naraian, 2017) through a participatory research process (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990; Nind, 2014). Further, the emancipatory and critical potential of policy enactment research and critical analysis of discourse is unfulfilled without "a brush with solidarity" (Berlant, 2011 as cited in Heimans et al., 2017) wherein researchers and participants co-construct knowledge (Heimans et al., 2017).

The workshop process emphasized dialogue (Freire, 2005; Shor & Freire, 1987), situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988), and critical reflexivity (Paris & Alim, 2017). Further, the facilitation process focused on critical questioning and probing of themes around inclusion, disability, and differences that teachers bring into the space (Freire, 2005; Souto-Manning, 2014b). Activities during the workshop included sessions on participatory norms (Applebaum, 2007; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2014) and constructing shared values, educational journey mapping (Annamma, 2016; Siuty & Beneke, 2020), and readings (Lalvani, 2015). I presented my findings from interviews, observations, and field notes to teachers as a way to enhance the rigor of qualitative analysis through member-checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Overall, the workshops served as a site for teachers to analyze, interpret, and reflect on their own and their colleagues' inclusive practices.

Teachers who participated in interviews were invited to participate in the workshops. In Ahmedabad, six workshop sessions were conducted between October 2021 and November 2021. A Google Form was circulated amongst the teachers to ascertain teacher interests and determine workshop timings. I followed up with teachers during interview sessions about their particular interests in the workshops. The curriculum for the workshops was decided based on early themes identified from teacher interviews, classroom observations, and field notes. Two sessions were carried out in person. In the first session, teachers established participation norms for the space and discussed their notions of 'ideal' students, teachers, and classrooms through drawings, presentations, and group discussions. In the second session, teachers drew their educational journey maps (Annamma, 2016; Siuty & Beneke, 2020). Teachers were then offered the opportunity to share these maps with the group. All but one teacher shared their maps. In the rest of the sessions, conducted over Zoom, the teachers explored lesson plans. We (teachers, leaders,

and I) chose lesson plans as the site of inquiry given the pivotal role these played in organizing the everyday life of the teachers. Lesson plan formats had undergone several changes and iterations – borrowed from different NGOs operating at the school site. The leaders were interested in developing a Google Drive repository of lesson plans. Encouraged by the NGO, they believed that such a repository of scripted plans would help them cushion the challenges of high teacher turnover. Yet, teachers believed they did not have adequate time to develop these plans – often having to create 20 plans in a week. Nor did they find the format helpful in addressing student needs in the classroom. The workshop sessions were then designed to interrogate the utility of lesson plans in creating inclusive classroom spaces. The materials for workshops were uploaded on Google Classroom, a platform made familiar to teachers during the pandemic by the NGO. Readings and videos were shared on the platform – to be discussed during the sessions. The last workshop session was designed as a celebration – a virtual *daawat* (feast) and *mushaira* (poetry recitation).

The Ahmedabad school had an existing structure – a dedicated time in the day and a physical space for teacher development that I was able to work within. Further, teachers in Ahmedabad engaged in professional development conducted by organizations outside the school – and preferred sessions conducted outside of school hours. The circumstances in the Mumbai school did not afford the time or space to conduct a series of workshops. For one, teachers were required to attend teacher development programs organized by the NGO staff; two to three such sessions were conducted each month. These required teachers to be in school before school hours or had to be carried out in batches to accommodate primary and pre-primary teachers. There was no scheduled time in the school week for teacher development – and school leaders were often reluctant to give permission. In order to not overburden unpaid and underpaid teachers, I limited

the number of sessions I conducted. Instead, I conducted more teacher interviews and had informal conversations with teachers in the staffroom. Overall, three sessions were conducted in Mumbai. The education journey mapping was conducted as part of the sessions conducted by the NGO staff. In addition, two sessions were held – one to engage with teachers' understanding of inclusion and exclusion and another explicit member-checking session. All sessions were held in person.

Across Mumbai and Ahmedabad, *chai nashta* (tea and snacks), *baatcheet* (chit-chatting/gossiping), and drawing using colorful pens and charts were integral aspects of in-person sessions. I included these elements to include a sense of friendship, collegiality, and *adda* into the space (Mahbub, 2017). Outside of the staffroom, teachers had few opportunities to interact as professionals commenting on, discussing, and critiquing policies and practices. I considered an atmosphere of *adda*, or informal conversation, crucial to challenge and dissipate the distance and power between the researcher and the researched. These physical elements helped reinforce how the space would serve as a site of mutual dialogue and questioning (Souto-Manning, 2014b, 2014a) and not a conventional didactic professional development space (Setty, 2014).

3.5.3 Interviews with NGO staff, school leaders, and management

I conducted semi-structured interviews with NGO founders and project staff to examine how NGOs interpret, translate, and seek to enact inclusive education in schools. Interview questions capture individual stories of founders and staff, the history and mission of the NGO, definitions of disability and inclusion, and teachers' intervention and challenges of enacting inclusion in schools. I conducted a total of six individual interviews with two staff members of

the Inclusive Schools NGO. Ten individual interviews were conducted with nine staff members of the Hope Fellowship. I conducted semi-structured interviews with school leaders and school management to capture the history and context within which the school practices inclusion, why schools work with NGOs, and identify school challenges. In Mumbai, I had the opportunity to observe 18 weekly meetings between the Hope Fellows and the NGO program members.

3.5.4 Observing school-NGO relations

Observing school-NGO relations differed across sites as the two NGOs had different intervention designs. In Ahmedabad, I participated in the School Leadership Team (SLT) via Zoom, wherein the NGO conducted training and planning sessions with the school leaders as part NGO's instructional leadership program. I focused on how ideas about inclusion and disability are communicated and how the SLT discusses the role of teachers in enacting the NGO intervention. I participated in 10 meetings.

My long-term physical presence in Mumbai allowed immersion in the everyday operations of the NGO. I shadowed fellows in their online and in-person engagements with the school, including teacher interactions, coordination with school leaders, and sessions with children. I observed a total of 10 training sessions carried out by the NGO staff and Hope Fellows. I did not observe post-observation teacher-fellow conversations unless occurring in the staffroom. I served as a note-taker in weekly meetings at the NGO wherein fellows across school sites reflected on their week or attended training sessions. I conducted four training sessions with the fellows on inclusive pedagogies at the Hope Fellowship.

3.5.5 Digital and physical artifacts

I collected training modules, internal documents, and external reports generated by the NGOs to examine how NGOs interpret and translate inclusion and disability for the school. External reports reflect accountability mechanisms (Ebrahim, 2005) and represent broader discourses the NGOs are associated with (Miglani & Burch, 2021). To understand school histories and context, I collected newspaper articles, YouTube videos, and government documents about the school and the everyday work of the teachers.

3.6 Analysis

3.6.1 Narrative analysis

I adopted a narrative approach to understanding how teachers interpret and translate inclusive education in their schools and classrooms. Narrative approaches have been used in previous research to understand teacher knowledge of inclusive practice (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Naraian, 2017). Using this approach allows me to center and honor teacher voices (Clandinin & Connelly, 1988) from the global South, often side-lined in the inclusive education literature (Sarkar & Forber-Pratt, 2022; Singal, 2019). Thus, I privilege teacher stories and lived experiences of enacting inclusion in their contexts. Narrative inquiry focuses on both individual experiences as well as the social, cultural, and institutional stories within which experiences are "constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted" (Clandinin et al., 2007, p. 29). Narrative approaches are developed as a partnership between the participants and the researcher through interactions over time and across spaces (Clandinin, 2016). In consonance with the theory of policy enactment (Ball et al., 2011), narrative inquiry offers a view of school reform that does not solely focus on individual change agentry or external imposition of policies or theories that

teachers resist or fail to implement. Narrative inquiry views school reform as an epistemological change in "how people know and live in their professional school worlds" (Clandinin & Connelly, 1998, p. 156).

Field texts were developed through field notes, semi-structured interviews with teachers and school leaders, and classroom observations. Field notes included notes from observations and conversations based on teachers' everyday experiences, in the staffroom, with parents, and with school leaders. Thus, an understanding of how teachers enact inclusion across 'in-classroom' and 'out of classroom' professional knowledge landscapes (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995).

The analysis focused on examining teacher stories about enacting inclusion within their classrooms, with a particular focus on rationales, dilemmas, and resolutions (Naraian & Schlessinger, 2017, 2018). In essence, I was interested in the lived experiences of teachers' inclusive practice and how they make sense of these experiences (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007; Josselson, 2011). The interviews and observations were within these social-cultural and relational contexts within which teachers construct their stories (Josselson, 2011; Polkinghorne, 1995). Narrative analysis allows researchers to examine dilemmas within and across individual narratives (Polkinghorne, 1995). I employed categorical, thematic narrative analysis to focus on the content of teacher stories of inclusion (Smith, 2016). Using narrative analysis honors the lives and experiences of teachers within the global South, whose experiences are often viewed from a deficit perspective, while also producing theoretical knowledge about inclusive pedagogy in the Indian context in an accessible way (Smith, 2016). An important aspect of establishing the credibility of narrative analysis is to explicitly state the theoretical frameworks and perspectives (see Chapters 1 and 2) within which the analysis is situated (Earthy & Cronin, 2008).

The interview transcripts and field notes were analyzed through an emergent, data-driven coding process involving detailed analytical memos (Saldaña, 2013). The first round of coding involved in-vivo coding and process coding to honor and highlight teacher voices and examine the practices and activities that teachers undertake. I conducted versus coding to capture the dilemmas that teachers experience in enacting inclusion. Versus coding identifies sites of power conflicts and tension in social life (Saldaña, 2013). In the second cycle of coding, I constructed axial codes to capture the properties and dimensions of teachers' inclusive pedagogies including the contexts, conditions, interactions, and consequences of enacting inclusive education (Saldaña, 2013).

3.6.2 Critical narrative analysis

The commitment to teacher stories in this project stems from the emphasis on lived experiences and embodiment within disability studies (Naraian, 2017; Siebers, 2008). However, without critique, there is an assumption that teacher perspectives and knowledge are "innocent positions" (Haraway, 1988). Operating at the borderlands of these perspectives required: "simultaneously acknowledge that an individual's experience is shaped by macrosocial processes of which she or he is often unaware and that the same individual's experience is more than the living out of a socially determined script" (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 62). Drawing on critical narrative analysis, I achieved this in two ways. One by adopting a 'questioning' stance during the interviews. Two, through teacher workshops.

Critical narrative analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014a, 2014b) provides a framework to examine how teachers articulate inclusive pedagogies in their everyday practices and how teachers negotiate competing institutional discourses around disability, difference, and inclusion.

Critical narrative analysis (CNA) focuses on everyday stories within the context of institutional discourses. It combines elements from critical discourse analysis and narrative analysis to overcome methodological and theoretical challenges in the two approaches. Souto-Manning (2014a, 2014b) argues that CNA is a praxis-oriented analytical framework that supports the development of critical meta-awareness or critical consciousness. Thus, CNA provides a framework to focus on how teachers identify and understand the discourses that shape and construct teacher stories and practices.

Through a questioning stance during interviews, the teachers and I examined existing institutional, cultural, and social stories to identify and bring attention to sites of power. For instance, if teachers defined disability in opposition to normality, I questioned their stories about normality: “what is normal? How do you know what is normal?” I probed teachers about how policies or curricula were made or delivered to the classroom, why they feel like they ‘have to’ follow them, and why NGO interventions were designed in particular ways. This line of questioning often brought up stories of resisting or reinterpreting policies and practices. Further, teachers were encouraged to question the stories and narratives I brought into the setting as well. This was crucial to resist further colonization and oppression by imposing beliefs about what is critical and where power operates. Overall, the questioning stance invoked a critical examination of institutional discourses and teachers’ beliefs and practices. However, these questions often frustrated teachers as well – the questioning stance was a practice of mutual trust and critical awareness (Souto-Manning, 2014a, 2014b).

3.7 Positioning the self in the field

Insider/outsider relations evolved across contexts and relationships on the field (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2015). As a scholar-in-training in the global North, I had to be mindful of the ways in my suitcase full of theories from the Global North to the Global South (Sarkar et al., 2022) may colonize teacher narratives and inclusive pedagogies (Souto-Manning, 2014a) and heighten teachers' orientation to 'look North' for knowledge and 'best' practices (Khoja-Moolji, 2017). Conversations and disagreements around terminology and pedagogy were key aspects of building knowledge with teachers. Recognizing tensions between and across these identities involved engagement and sometimes awkward dialogue to examine how teachers negotiate language, discourse, power, and relationship in enacting inclusion (Sandoval, 2000). Thus,

My position as a married Hindu woman pursuing higher education in the United States, traveling independently, living alone in the city, and working outside India attracted a lot of questions – I was viewed as fortunate to be allowed to pursue this. Unmarried teachers or those about to be married bonded with me over questions about whether and how they will pursue their ambitions and manage married and work life and what kinds of "adjustments" they would have to make. Participants would explain how things are in "their culture" when describing the limitations placed on Muslim women or would refer to the contradictions between religious texts and patriarchal realities. This allowed for conversations about patriarchy and limits placed on women's agency and the role of schools in forging expectations of being a good Muslim girl (Khoja-Moolji, 2018).

In Mumbai, relationships were strengthened through social media like Instagram and Snapchat – teachers enjoyed dressing up, taking pictures, and I was invited to join them. There was a particular practice of femininity – being mindful of one's appearance and physique,

wearing colorful and flattering clothes and accessories. A lot of the initial relationship building in Mumbai was through compliments on clothes and appearance. In Ahmedabad, on the other hand, much of the connection and bonding occurred through sharing food.

Researching disability and inclusion as a disabled person was challenging across formats (Barton, 2005; Chaudhry, 2018). Over Zoom, my disability was not visible, and teachers assumed that I am "normal" like them, making comments about how the disabled are not "like us". When I arrived in Ahmedabad, my disability was not seen as pertinent, except to be offered the use of the elevator instead of the staircase.

I spent more time on location in Mumbai and had several episodes of severe hip pain. For instance, on the day of teacher recruitment, hip pain required me to use my cane to walk. However, I wanted to maintain uniformity across field sites and did not want my disability to influence teachers' desire to participate in a study explicitly about inclusive education. Ultimately, I decided to walk with the cane to school and not carry it with me to the recruitment meeting. Pain and the use of the cane made the inaccessibility of the Mumbai school and the NGO office more salient. The school was in a narrow lane, within another narrow lane – cars could only drop me between 200-500 meters away from the school. Reaching the school itself required climbing three flights of stairs. The NGO office had three to four big stairs at its entrance and no ramp.

On days I walked with the cane in Ahmedabad, I was questioned whether I "really needed the cane." When I experienced severe pain, teachers in Mumbai would observe me limping. In conversations, this was rarely addressed as disability – I continued to be categorized as able-bodied, like them, with some aches and pains. The negotiations around disability brought up questions about disability and language – how would the teachers refer to my disability

without using the terms in Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, or Marathi that in colloquial use are pejorative terms (Rao, 2001; Singal, 2010)? Recognizing pain was more polite. The use of English did not solve problems of terminology but highlighted new ones. For instance, during one of the sessions in Mumbai, which was designed for teachers and Hope Fellows, and school leaders to share their educational journeys (Annamma, 2016), I referred to myself as disabled and how disability identity offers both pain and a different perspective to the world (Siebers, 2008). The school leader rebuked that I should not use the word disabled, but "differently abled". I pushed back in the conversation, and in private, she thanked me for teaching her something new. Overall, fieldwork involved continuous questioning (Ahmed, 2017) across identity categories of religion, caste, class, gender, and disability and their relationship with the enactment of inclusive education.

3.8 Navigating linguistic issues in translation

Questions of language and terminology around disability and inclusive education are the subject of intense debates. In the English-speaking world, debates exist on the use of person-first and identity-first language and the use of euphemisms such as specially-abled and differently-abled, sparking movements to #SayTheWord (Andrews et al., 2019) disability and subsequent critiques of the homogenizing tendencies of #SaytheWord across cultural and disability experiences (Schalk, 2022). In the global South, scholars question the use of English language terms to discuss disability: "How can we apply such a concept to other contexts in the Global South where there may be no English equivalent to the term disability?" (Rao & Kalyanpur, 2020, p. 1835) The imposition of disability language of the global North to the global South is considered

another aspect of the colonial relations of power. As Kalyanpur (2022; 2020) highlights, concerns about language also impact the reliability and validity of tools used to assess and identify disability. Other scholars are concerned with the stigmatizing nature of terms used to describe disability in vernacular languages (Singal, 2010). In the context of inclusive education, there exists "terminological confusion" (Singal, 2006). Terms such as integration, inclusion, mitigation, and rehabilitation, are often used interchangeably in policy texts in India (Sarkar, 2020; Singal, 2006). Further, these terms do not have equivalents in local languages. Given this context, language played an important role in conducting and translating interviews and conversations.

Interviews were carried out in a mix of Hindi, Urdu, and English, depending on the preferences of the interviewee. In asking teachers about inclusion, inclusive education, and disability, I began with the English terms used by the NGO. Only one teacher in Ahmedabad was not familiar with the term 'disability.' With her, I used the formal Hindi term *viklang* to ask questions about disability. Many teachers, particularly in Ahmedabad, did not recognize the term 'inclusive education.' In such situations, I used the Hindi term used in policy documents *Samaveshi Shiksha,* or the Urdu term *jaam-e-taleem*. Both these terms roughly translate to Education for All. When neither of these phrases worked, I interpreted inclusive education for the teachers to understand their perspectives and practices (Temple, 2005; Temple & Young, 2004). I used terms that the NGO used – such as participation, engagement, understanding, and teaching everyone. Further, I used the school's terminology for ability – such as low, high rigor, weak, and slow learners, to ask teachers how they teach children across abilities. Thus, translation was not a matter of maintaining accuracy as the choice of words and translations do not reflect the accuracy of the translation as much as the context within which the translator is

embedded (Temple, 2005). Following Haraway's (1988) focus on situated knowledge, translations were understood as partial, power-laden interpretations.

3.9 Limitations

A key limitation of this project is the uneven process of data collection across the two sites. In Ahmedabad, data collection was almost entirely virtual. In Mumbai, it was almost entirely on-site. This allowed for different kinds of intimacies and embeddedness at each site. In Ahmedabad, I was much less familiar with the everyday life of the school. Yet, teachers and I were more attuned to each other's home lives. Teachers largely sought to be interviewed at home, often outside of working hours. I interacted with their children, their pets, and could see the homes and families. In Mumbai, on the other hand, I had little knowledge of their lives outside the school. Yet, I was far more embedded in the everyday life of the school. Interviews often directly referenced everyday instances and I had more opportunities to follow up on daily ongoings with teachers. To ensure homologous horizontal comparisons (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017), interview protocols, and classroom observation notes were consistent across the two sites.

Although online classroom spaces can be sites for critical, humanizing pedagogies (Mehta & Aguilera, 2020), I was unable to observe how teachers respond to interactions between students, an important aspect of inclusive education. Instead, my observations focus on teaching strategies and approaches to engage students and elicit participation.

On-site interactions in Mumbai allowed me to develop deeper relationships with the NGO staff and access to the physical space within which the NGO conducted its meetings. Yet,

the Ahmedabad NGO was a two-person operation that was largely virtual, and I kept regular contact with the NGO founder through WhatsApp and Google Meet conversations.

While I am reluctant to privilege one form of interaction over the other in building relationships, different kinds of relationships were established through the research process at each site. However, the ability to conduct on-site classroom observations in Mumbai allowed for a rich understanding of how teachers enact inclusive education in physical classrooms. The discrepancies in modalities of data gathering make comparisons across the two sites challenging. However, the data gathered allow for an examination into the processes and networks underlying the enactment of inclusive education across the two sites.

3.10 Conclusion

In the remaining chapters, I present the findings from this work, highlighting how time and temporality are implicated in the enactment and conceptualization of inclusive education. The emphasis on time and temporality was identified through the writing of analytical memos during the data-gathering and analysis phases of research. Using a comparative case study approach, I conducted 78 interviews with teachers, 75 classroom observations, eight teacher workshops, 16 interviews with NGO staff, and a total of eight months of virtual and in-person fieldwork to examine teacher stories of enacting inclusive education within school-NGO partnerships in India.

CHAPTER 4

4 Becoming out of time: dis/ability in schools and classrooms

In this chapter, I examine the conversational categories around dis/ability that exist across the two school-NGO partnership sites. I highlight how these classifications and categorizations of dis/ability reflect different institutional pressures that operate at the two schools. Further, I argue that regardless of institutional pressures, the classifications reflect temporal or chrononormativity (Freeman, 2010). I explore the ways in which temporal regimes of education policies, schools, and classrooms operate to produce particular notions of dis/ability and how they exclude children who do not conform to these temporal regimes. I demonstrate that the operations of time in the classroom exclude children in three ways, becoming out of pace, out of sync, and out of age.

Time and temporality constitute the ways in which normativity is constructed. In this chapter, I demonstrate how children are identified as deficient based on what is considered developmentally and socially appropriate within the constraints of curriculum and classroom time (Pillow, 2015). Children existing outside or beyond normative time are marked as becoming out of time in three distinct but related ways: out of pace, out of sync, and out of age. I argue that in making kinds of people, ‘out of time’ becomes the site of doing inclusion. Schools surveil, regulate, and reform bodies considered outside of normative experiences.

Across interviews, staffroom conversations, and school-wide meetings, I observed how teachers, the school, and the wider educational system classified ability. I will first describe the different typologies of ability that manifested at the two school sites. I find that teachers and school leaders at the two schools used different terms in how they classify students. I focus on

how the typologies of ability at the two school sites reflect different institutional priorities and pressures faced by a low-fee private school and a public-private partnership school in India. As I explain below, as an unrecognized low-fee private school, the Ahmedabad school tries to protect itself from the pressures of the state. Yet, it is beholden to the demands of competitiveness and high standards of the private school market. On the other hand, the Mumbai school, a public-private partnership school, is accountable to the state for student performance.

In examining these variations, I highlight similarities. One, institutional pressures faced by the two schools are associated with neoliberal education policies. Two, inclusive education NGOs at the school sites provide solutions to respond to problems of difference arising from institutional pressures. Lastly, the typologies of ability identify difference as a temporal phenomenon. I elaborate on this further in this chapter.

4.1 Dis/ability in the classroom and the school

"Miss my done!" a squeaky voice exclaims loudly from one corner of the classroom. Seconds later, another child calls for the teacher, "Miss my done!" And another, "Miss my done!" With some variation, I hear another, "done Miss!" Another omits the 'done' altogether, "MISSSSSSSS!" A wave of "Miss my done!" takes over the class. Angelica can barely get a word in anymore. She gives up, "Means you are all very smart. We'll continue next period. Close your books" (Angelica, Mumbai).

Exclaiming "Miss my done" is an opportunity to get the teacher's attention. Sometimes, it brings the teacher to a child's desk to examine their work. The teacher may offer praise for prompt task completion, "Look everyone, Hamza has done." (Angelica, Mumbai); encouraging

another wave of “miss my done!” Task completion is a competition, “Hamza comes first.” There is first place, and a consolatory declaration of second, third, and fourth place. The reward is not only being announced as the winner, sometimes “miss my done!” means one’s work might be shown as an example to the rest of the class. There is a flip side, however. Repeatedly shouting “miss miss” is risky – it is difficult to know whether one will be rewarded for responding quickly or admonished for being an annoyance, “Don't say miss miss” (Angelica, Mumbai) Or one might be chastised for falling behind or being so slow. High risk, high reward - recognition or punishment.

Teachers prompt children to announce task completion. Notes from a first-grade classroom observation demonstrate how surveilling task completion is to ensure focus, to identify those unable to keep pace with the temporal order of the classroom, and to intervene.

> A few minutes after asking students to write multiplication tables from one to six in their notebooks, Bushra asks the class, “finish? Done?” A student in the middle rows informs Bushra where he is in the writing process, “miss table of 2 done, I have to do six.” This seems to be a way to establish how much time the task is likely to take as Bushra responds, “Okay, still going.” A few minutes later, a student in the front row announces, “Teacher my done!” Bushra responds by asking the class, “Finish?” “Noooo missss” a groaning consensus from most of the students. “Miss my done!” The second “miss my done!” is enough for Bushra to prompt the rest, “Others, increase speed! Write fast!” She then begins asking individual students if they completed their work. She begins to scan the class, calling children individually if they’ve completed their work. One of the children tells the teacher that they haven’t completed their work yet. She calls him to her desk. He doesn’t comply. She asks him again. At her desk, she asks him, “you don’t

know addition?" She changes the task for him. He is no longer required to write multiplication tables – he has to count the number of balls that Bushra has drawn in his notebook. (Bushra, Mumbai)

This is a common sight across classrooms. In online classrooms, children typed it into the chat box or used the 'hand raise' function to proclaim completion. "Miss my done" is a way to establish the temporal relations in the classroom – to determine who is fast and who is slow. It is through this competition that slowness is identified as a site of failure, of deficiency; a problem to be corrected. It is the cultural currency of the classroom that measures success and failure through a timed competition (Varenne & McDermott, 1999). In the next chapter, I explore how the two school-NGO sites classify and categorize dis/ability.

4.1.1 Rigor as ability in Ahmedabad

In Ahmedabad, the typologies of ability are discussed in terms of "rigor." Rigor is used as a catch-all term in the school, an adjective to evaluate children, teachers, curriculum and instruction, and the school itself. The idea of rigor is discussed often – in the staffroom between teachers, in meetings between the teachers and the school leaders, and in meetings between the school and the NGO. Given the varied usage and contexts of its use, rigor might broadly be understood as a term synonymous with standards or exacting criteria through which the school aims to evaluate its students, teachers, and itself. As I explain below, rigor is used both as a description of how difficult and thorough the standards and benchmarks and as the means to classify a child's ability.

Rigor lends itself to a classification of children as possessing different levels of "what a child can do", "their capability", "what they can achieve", and "expectations." Rigor refers to the

ease with which a child learns, and how easy or difficult it is for a child to grasp the curriculum. It is most often spoken in a binary of high and low – but teachers often include “average rigor” as a third category, or “lower, a little higher, a little higher, a little higher, and highest.” The determination of rigor in the classroom is a relationship in time, “if I child completes their work in 5 minutes that’s the rigor of the child.” Thus, rigor is most often determined by speed, “high rigor catch things quickly” and low rigor “have trouble reading and complete their work a little after everyone else.” Further, high rigor "do things with a lot of speed", they write quickly, understand quickly. High-rigor students are also able to "understand things on their own", and "understand directly by reading.” High-rigor children do not have to be told things multiple times, nor do they need multiple explanations. The low-rigor child, on the other hand, is slow. They are slow and weak because they do not practice, have irregular attendance, lack motivation, and have parents who did not support their learning. Such children "do not move forward nor do they know what they are supposed to know." For teachers, the low-rigor child raises questions, "in my heart, I feel, why can't this child do it? This question is for me, why can't these children do it?"

The institutionalized language of rigor appears to have originated from the ongoing presence of Teach for India at the school. TFI fellows have been at the school for over 5 years. Further, TFI assigned an Assistant School Leader at the school, replaced by a teacher, Raha baji, once the TFI appointed Assistant School Leader left to pursue higher education in the United States. According to an NGO staff member, also a former TFI fellow, “high rigor means those who are good at studies and low rigor means those who are not good at studies”, that is, low rigor students are not “up to the mark” in their “performance in the exam or performance in the classroom.” The staff member explains that the term rigor is a part of TFI training, “My

understanding would be this has come from TFI somewhere because this is one thing even during our training or in the space itself it's talked about in differentiation, what are you doing for higher rigor and low rigor students."

Established rigor in the classroom, measured in the time taken to perform tasks, further determines expectations of the child to acquire grade appropriate curriculum. As the school leader suggested in a school-NGO meeting to determine learning outcomes for the academic year, "we need to create learning outcomes so that the low rigor children can achieve the bare minimum 30-33% understanding to reach the next grade." The 30-33% figure refers to the minimum grades a child needs to obtain in a final examination to pass. The school is thus concerned with determining curricular standards such that all children, regardless of rigor, can continue the established age-grade trajectory. At the same time, the school leader wants teachers to not "lower their rigor for the child, but to grow the rigor of the child."

Overall, the school is preoccupied with the problem of being "too diverse" and a desire to "include the lower rigor child or every child of the class, also" to "give more strong foundation to the children." In the marketplace of private schools in Ahmedabad, this low-fee unrecognized school seeks to compete with elite recognized private schools in the city (Srivastava, 2008b, 2008a). However, the school leader acknowledges that,

> the challenge is that my class is too much diverse…if you go to a good elite school you might not see so much of diversity…but my class is too much of diversity you know I have a student who is at the minimum the lowest rigor also then I have children who are at the highest rigor also…for the teacher, of course, the challenge is always there…that how do I cater to them. We are always struggling with that, even now…but yeah I don't

think we'll ever be able to eradicate that because as we are always open to all…this diversity will stay…that is the beauty of the school. (Zababa, Ahmedabad)

Unlike elite private schools that can "eradicate" ability diversity by being selective in their admissions process, the school mission is to be "open to all." In doing so, the school tries to find ways to attain the highest rigor as a school while trying to "include the lower rigor child" whilst dealing with a lack of resources and "low rigor teachers" without professional teaching qualifications. That is, the school struggles with the desire to grant admission to all Muslim girls yet the presence of low-rigor students is a "threat" to the performance of the school (Liasidou & Symeou, 2018).

The challenge is to plan for this diversity. As the assistant school leader remarked, "But still for one person to take all these learning styles together within 40 minutes is a very big challenge. That if you plan for the low-rigor child, they can do it…but if we plan for the high rigor the low-rigor child suffers. So, what I want is that we find a standardized way through which we can challenge children of every rigor in the classroom. If they are low rigor, then the next level is defined for them, in any class. This is what I want." The teachers echo this belief, "If you are giving me 40 minutes to teach. I am making 3 different plans but to do it in a way that my high-rigor child is doing it, can my low-rigor child do the activities I have planned, or can she not do it? That thing ma'am is a challenge" (Noor, Ahmedabad).

As teachers understand it, "When we talk about teaching, then we don't see if the child has low rigor, then they will be taught the low rigor thing. Or that average will be taught average rigor thing. No, each class runs *barabar* (equal, can also mean exact). Whatever the child's level is they learn according to that, they learn that." (Faiza, Ahmedabad) Thus, the curriculum is designed to teach the "average rigor thing" and it is upon the child to "learning according" to

their rigor. Discrimination, for the teachers and the school, would be to alter the curriculum based on rigor. At the same time, it is challenging to keep the high rigor "occupied" while the teacher helps the low rigor learn. One strategy is to pair students or make groups so that the low rigor can learn from the high rigor. Another, as Sofia did, is to create different groups for high and low and teach them differently. She adopts a teaching strategy from madrasas where children at the same level of reading the Quran are grouped. She created two groups to get the low rigor/weak children to reach the same level of reading as the ‘high rigor’ children. Another approach is to give extra time and attention to slow and low. There is extra time, and then there are different ways of teaching, such that rigor is not just speed but also 'learning styles.' That is, some children are fast while others require different teaching techniques.

Teachers mention that they plan their lessons based on rigor, with a particular focus on ensuring that low-rigor students understand. Yet, the challenge of difference remains, "In 5 years of teaching, it has never happened that I can get all children to the same rigor by the end of the year, some difference always remains and sometimes the gap widens." At the same time, teachers expect certain "rigor" from the students in return for all the hard work they put in, "there is a lot of effort and hard work that goes into it, creating the lesson plan, making the PDF file, preparing to execute everything, giving time. There is a lot so that's why teachers have expectations that yes from the students' side, we should get some rigor" (Khadija, Ahmedabad).

Given the problem of learner diversity and the presence of low-rigor students, the school leader and teachers understand the operations of the NGO, Inclusive Schools*,* as “creating benchmarks” and “maintaining the standards of the children and the teachers both so they are improving the children and the teachers both” (Zababa, Ahmedabad, school leader). Thus, the school is caught between a desire to be a competitive, English-medium, high-performing school

while trying to fulfill its mission of including class and ability diversity across the Muslim community. This motivates the school to hire the NGO to undertake teacher professional development that can improve the rigor of the school, the teachers, and the students.

4.1.2 The "weak" and the "slow" in Mumbai

In the Mumbai school, teachers have unique and idiosyncratic terms to describe ability classification in their classrooms – smart, scholar, intelligent, fast, diamond, and the other end of the spectrum, dull. The absence of a school-wide terminology to discuss ability could be because the school was established recently, with newly recruited teachers, school leaders, and NGOs. Yet, the terms "weak" and "slow learner" are used across the school.

At the same time, the process of identifying ability is similar to the Ahmedabad school. Slow learners are identified by their inability to complete tasks within the stipulated time or by taking more time than assigned to a task. Further, slow learners take time to understand and take up the teacher's time, in that time has to be taken out to explain things to them. The distinctions between weak and slow learners are unclear – the terms are often used together and interchangeably. The conversation with Bushra below demonstrates how the confusion between the terms,

> Interviewer: So, the slow learners and the weak learners, are they the same kids or different kids?
>
> Different.
>
> Interviewer: What's the difference?
>
> Slow learners are like you know at some point like a turtle they get there. And the weak take too much time.

Interviewer: Okay so like…(laughter) what are you thinking?

No no, almost there are a little same. Not similar but you know to some extent they are the same.

Interviewer: I guess I'm not understanding the difference, if you could…

See you said that slow learners and weak. Slow learners are like you know they little by little by little they get there. And the weak…their base is weak. Like I said that they don't even know A to Z. The slow learners know but they are slow or they take understand a little later.

Interviewer: So, for…like if I were to give an example, is the situation that slow learners are like a building that will be made but it will take time?

Yes, it will build slowly yes.

Interviewer: And the weak learners their foundation…

Foundation yes right their foundation is a bit broken I'll say. (Bushra, Mumbai)

Bushra tries to explain the difference between weak and slow learners. According to her, slow learners are like turtles, slow but will eventually reach the finish line in a race; "they get there." As prompted by me in the interview, weak learners are likened to a building whose base is faulty from the start. I probe further, trying to understand why Bushra believes this distinction exists,

Interviewer: And so why is it that some children are weak learners, and some are slow learners?

You mean why are they different right?

Interviewer: No generally like I mean why is it that some children are slow learners, and some are weak learners?

> Maybe because I know that they're slow learners because there have been so many sessions, workshops…so I know what the difference between slow and weak learners is…maybe that.
>
> Interviewer: Like if you could give me an example? I'm not understanding…
>
> How do I explain? (laughter) Like, how do I explain it to you? Like suppose I give some topic I will know...like suppose I give myself topic as an example. Now maybe the ones who know from the starting like from 2019 if I'm right…maybe they did myself in class, "I am a blank" So the weak and the slow learner they were together then, there was no differentiation at the start. But the slow learners know this was done, at some point it was done. So, they can remember and do it. But the weak people don't even remember because they didn't pay attention and they forgot whatever was there. So maybe that's how I'll find out. (Bushra, Mumbai)

This is not easy for Bushra, "how do I explain?" She references knowledge from teacher professional development programs she participated in where she learned the distinction between the two. The example she provides explains how the distinction between the weak and the slow comes down to the characteristics of the child. The slow learner labors to remember. The weak cannot recall concepts because "they didn't pay attention" and "forgot" – it is the failure of the child.

There appears to be a lack of consensus on the difference between the two categories. On the whole, weak learners are understood as those who don't know, don't perform, lack practice, and forget – it is a failure to follow the age-grade patterns of development. In the Indian context, the term 'weak' is often used to reference socio-economic disadvantage. Slow learners will eventually, over time, reach their destination. Slow learners and weak learners can both benefit

from their smarter peers, often securing help in copying from the board. Slow learners also forget, possess a reduced capacity to grasp things, and lack interest in studies - often because parents do not pay attention at home. Because they are slow, they cannot keep up and fall behind the "other children" and don't complete their writing work, “they are not fast like the other children.”

Children who are considered smart or scholars answer and understand quickly, write quickly, get high grades, learn directly from the board (that is, don't require "creative methods"), and easily understand concepts. These children are seen as perfect, without any "issue" that the other students have, who have to be explained things repeatedly. There is also a belief that parental attention makes a difference – it is believed that children whose parents ensure homework is completed, and make sure children revise learning at home are smarter and operate with greater speed. In addition to the child’s ability to perform tasks in the classroom, tests and exams are important identifiers of ability.

School leadership requires teachers to identify slow and weak learners. Crucially, student performance is seen as a reflection of teacher ability, “authorities tell us that good marks mean good teachers, that their report card is our report card. There is a comparison between teachers…no one will personally say anything to you, but the comparison is there.” Another teacher echoed that the school leader emphasizes that “low grades are not the child’s fault but the teachers’ fault” and that student performance reflects “the effort and hard work of teachers over the year.” Thus, while teachers hold children and parents responsible for failure, school leaders hold teachers responsible. As one teacher said, she would do “whatever is in my hands” to improve student grades, including reminders to submit their work, more time to prepare for oral examinations, reminders to complete their notebook. By “whatever is in my hands” she is

referring to how grades are divided between final examinations and formative assessments – teachers have more control over the grades they give students in formative assessments.

It is important to note that the emphasis on student performance does not reflect an idiosyncratic view of the school. Instead, it reflects the priorities of the state. The teachers understand this system, “Ma'am (the school leader) gets the order from the government, she gives orders to us" (Yasmin, Mumbai). The orders in question refer to ensuring that “only 4-5 students” can get grades below a B, or else it has consequences for the school. This creates pressure on teachers to reflect student performance beyond “whatever is in my hands.” When I asked a teacher why she alters student grades, she shrugs,

> We have to do; we have to help. But there are only few (below B) because they get good marks in formative.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean you have to help?
>
> Make easy papers, give them answers to examination questions personally, not to the entire class.
>
> Interviewer: (laughs) The invigilator is encouraging cheating?
>
> We have to do it. (Bushra, Mumbai)

In addition to grades on final examinations, teachers provide the state with information about student performance by completing a monthly “25 competencies chart.” The sheet tracks the performance of all students in the school across 25 buckets, each assigned 5 points: “on roll, RTE admissions, cleanliness, teaching aid, number reading, addition, subtraction, tables, division, word problems, sentence reading, dictation, comprehension, word chain, poem recitation, picture reading, sentence formation, confidence, story formation, dramatization. Another column lists ‘bonus 25 marks’ on the following criteria: “time reading, poem formation,

syllabus questions, drawing, extempore." However, teachers reported that the school leader asked them to inflate student performance, "to give mostly fives" and instead of accurately assessing student performance, teachers were asked to rate students either 0 or 5. Similar to the process of completing student report cards for the state, which required painstakingly handwriting student information and grades for 50 children across 5 different files, much of teachers' time goes into completing this competency sheet. Teachers find this an exercise in futility – the scores they assign do not reflect student performance, "I know each student better"; the uniform list of competencies across grades does not match grade-level curriculum; the monthly process does not make sense to them, "students do not progress every month in this way"; they know that no one looks at these sheets, but they are required to complete this because of the ever-looming threat of school inspection. Yet, the teachers complete these sheets with utmost care – the sheets need to tell a story of student progress because "(school leader) is held responsible for them."

Lastly, the state requires the identification of slow and weak learners to organize remediation. This was a particular concern as schools re-opened after the pandemic, to identify those who had 'fallen behind' and ensure they were 'caught up,'

> The bridge course had children who are well I won't call them slow learners but those who don't know basic studies like reading and writing. So for them, I did basic things like 2 letter words and addition… I send them homework daily. (Zoya, Mumbai)

Activities for this remedial program were sent by the state, which teachers found "absolutely useless" and "nonsense." After consulting with the school leader, the teachers modified the activities that they did not find to be age or grade-appropriate, "ma'am (school leader) told us to make the syllabus and content based on what we think is not proper with the kids." The bridge

course was not only conducted via WhatsApp and Zoom. Once schools opened in person, teachers were required to set aside 30 minutes each day with the identified set of students.

Thus, teachers in Mumbai identify slow and weak learners for a variety of reasons – teacher accountability, school performance, and state-led remediation programs. For the school leader then, the purpose of the NGO-appointed Hope Fellows in the school is "to work with the slow, weaker, differently-abled children."

4.1.3 Thinking between and across dis/ability typologies

Different conversational category systems around dis/ability operate in Ahmedabad and Mumbai (Table 3) (Horn, 2007). The Ahmedabad school understands ability through category systems of rigor. The school appears to be trapped between maintaining ability diversity as the "beauty of the school" (Zababa, Ahmedabad school leader) and ensuring competitiveness and high standards (Liasidou & Symeou, 2018). In Mumbai, there does not appear to be a shared typology of ability, but common categorization of slow and weak learners. The primary concern is to reduce or obfuscate the number of students who may be classified as slow and weak learners in the eyes of the state (Mukhopadhyay & Sriprakash, 2013). This is not to say that the terms 'slow learners' and 'weak learners' are not used by teachers in Ahmedabad. They are, in fact, a common feature across the two sites. However, the school-wide ability classifications at the two sites elucidate different institutional pressures and priorities operating at the sites.

The mismatch problem, which Horn (2007) describes as the incompatibility between perceived abilities and the curriculum, is a useful lens to examine the challenge facing the Ahmedabad school. The mismatch problem is rooted in a linear, sequential view of knowledge acquisition and a belief that low-achieving students cannot engage with inquiry-based instruction

(Horn, 2007). These beliefs are prevalent in the Ahmedabad school. The school and the teachers are focused on ensuring "bare minimum" grade level proficiency for those considered 'low rigor.' However, teachers believe that low-rigor students need different, more creative, activity-based methods that cater to their learning styles, as opposed to the dominant, more traditional, chalkboard-based pedagogical methods. Regardless, a belief that children's "prior preparation or innate abilities" (Horn, 2007, p. 44) preclude certain kinds of teaching for some has negative implications for equitable teaching.

	Ahmedabad	**Mumbai**
School type	Unrecognized low-fee private school	Public-private partnership school
Terminology for ability	Rigor; slow, weak also used	Different across teachers; slow, weak in common
Ability categorization criteria	Pace; attention; classroom behavior; achievement of annual outcomes	Pace; attention; classroom behavior; formative and summative assessments
School role for NGO	Improve school standards	Identify slow, weak, and disabled children
School-state relationship	No reporting of student performance to the state	Extensive reporting of student performance to the state
Teacher accountability	School; parents	School; state

Table 3: Differences and similarities in ability categorization at the two schools

I argue that the mismatch problem in Ahmedabad arises from the school's desire to be competitive in the marketplace of private schools (Srivastava, 2008b, 2008a). Unrecognized low-fee private schools exist outside the state – the state does not monitor them, collect data about their performance, or officially recognize them as schools (Ohara, 2012). Operating in an independent market of schools, the Ahmedabad school seeks to enhance its reputation amongst other English medium elite, recognized private schools in the city (Srivastava, 2008a). It is for

this reason that Teach for India and the Inclusive Schools NGO operate at the school, to enhance the 'rigor' of the school. At the same time, the school is committed to ensuring that Muslim girls in the community, regardless of class or ability, have "confidence and knowledge and that foundation to the girls, so that they can dream big" (Zababa, Ahmedabad school leader). The tension between the rigor of the school and the rigor of the child brings forth the tensions between the pace of the curriculum and the pace of the child (Horn, 2007; Walton, 2018b). Importantly, this highlights the contradictions surrounding neoliberal education policies, which emphasize market-based policies, competition, standardization, and social justice ideals of inclusion and valuing learner diversity in schools and classrooms (Liasidou & Symeou, 2018). In examining the experiences of Black and Latinx parents of children with disabilities at charter schools in the United States, Waitoller et al. (2019) describe this tension as the 'irony of rigor': 'no excuses' charter schools are attractive to parents of children with disabilities because of their promise of 'rigor', yet parents find their children excluded based on the school's expectations of 'rigor.'

On the other hand, the Mumbai school is concerned with the identification of slow learners and weak learners. The notion of slow learners is not unique to this school – the term has origins in the identification of "normal children sometimes need special help: they are "slow" (arriéré), but not "sick" through intelligence testing carried out by Alfred Binet in France in the early 1900s (Nicolas et al., 2013). The category persisted through the 1960s and 70s, in the construction of learning disabilities in the United States (Sleeter, 1986). The term, no longer part of diagnostic categorizations, continues to pervade conversational category systems in the United States (Horn, 2007), Tanzania (Rugambwa & Thomas, 2013), South Africa (Walton, 2018b), and India (Sriprakash, 2009). In India, the concept of 'slow learners' is a part of state curricula for

pre-service teachers and in official classifications of intellectual and learning disabilities. In Tanzania, for instance, teachers claim not to have children with disabilities in their classrooms. Instead, teachers describe learners as fast and slow. Similar to the teachers in this study, teachers in Tanzania describe concerns of boredom for fast learners, and the need for extra time, extra classes, remediation, and mixed group learning for slow learners (Rugambwa & Thomas, 2013).

I argue that the focus on slow learners in Mumbai stems from the target-based equity and inclusion policies of the state (Mukhopadhyay & Sriprakash, 2013). As a public-private partnership school, the Mumbai school is beholden to the priorities of the state to provide 'free and quality education'. In fact, 'free and quality education' is visibly placed as the motto of the school at the school gates. Yet, teachers find that they are trapped between state and private ownership, not receiving state benefits or pay while being asked to carry out the work of the state. Mukhopadhyay and Sriprakash (2013), studying policy implementation in Karnataka, demonstrate how the focus on quality improvement within the Education for All movement quantified notions of equity, such that "target-driven projects produce the at-risk child in poor communities as an 'entity' for policy intervention" (p. 307). As I describe above, teachers in Mumbai are asked to identify slow and weak learners. However, given the targets of the state, limits are placed on how many students can be identified as slow and weak. Through report cards and competency forms, teachers are required to produce extensive data about the performance of each child. Yet, this data reflects the "interests of the education bureaucracy to showcase achievement" (p. 314). The Hope Fellowship then is allowed entry into the school to aid the identification of slow, weak, and disabled learners and perhaps ultimately reduce their numbers through intervention. The targets-based, quantifiable equity policies within the Education for All paradigm reflect neoliberal priorities of efficiency and management (Kalyanpur, 2022;

Mukhopadhyay & Sriprakash, 2013). Despite differences in dis/ability typologies and the institutional contexts that produce them, the tensions between neoliberal policies and social justice goals are observed across school sites (Grimaldi, 2012). The classifications of dis/ability at both sites reflect the problem of difference. The NGOs are recruited to address this problem.

4.1.4 Disability is "not normal": normativity as the desired, invisible center

Above, I examined how teachers discuss and understand student ability. Missing from teacher and school classification of ability is disability. Disability is constructed outside the norms of ability, outside the normative. In this section, I demonstrate how the "notion of normal is naturalized" (Matus, 2019, p. 10) by examining how teachers at the two schools understand disability. Given the vast literature on teacher attitudes toward disability (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; De Boer et al., 2011; Ewing et al., 2018), I focus on examining "who is this normal child that disabled children are not?" (Baglieri et al., 2011, p. 2126) Asking the question in this way questions the category of normalcy, to understand the ways in which alterity and Otherness become a problem in the classroom (Matus, 2019). In particular, it helps unravel the "mythical normal child" (Baglieri et al., 2011, p. 2130) that serves as the foundation for organizing educational times and spaces.

Across the two schools, there is a focus on "identifying, sorting, tracking, and classifying" (Matus, 2019, p. 10) ability. This allows us to examine the ways in which the quality control functions of schooling (Baker, 2002; Matus, 2019) contribute to the construction of deviance and the "hunt for disability" and pathology (Baker, 2002; Shalaby, 2017). Responding to different pressures, both schools are focused on maintaining quality – that all children at least be average, and attain bare minimum skills and competencies (Baglieri et al., 2011; Baker,

2002). In Chapter 6, I examine how teachers, schools, and NGOs then engage with a "well-intended hunt for disability" (Baker, 2002, p. 665) that transforms children into the site for interventions of inclusion, a kind of inclusion that rests on the identification of deviance and the Other (Graham & Slee, 2008).

Teachers understand disability as that which is not normal. Disabled children are marked by difference from other children. They are said to possess a lack or deficit that renders them incapable - they do not know anything, are unable to be independent, and display inappropriate behavior. Disabled children are seen as objects of pity - disability is viewed as bothersome to the child. They are viewed as fragile and unpredictable. Disabled children have problems that must be identified and diagnosed to be able to intervene: "there is some problem with this child". The intervention emphasizes ways in which disabled children can be "fixed" or "become normal like us." For many teachers, the benefits of regular schooling for disabled children, over special schools, is that disabled children's proximity to normal will allow them to become normal. However, straying too far from normal warrants different schools and different teachers, "if they can be handled in class, they are okay", "she is not so disabled", and "the ones who are too disabled have different schools." That is, disabled children's needs must not be too excessive, and their bodies and minds must comply with the norms of the school and classrooms (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2013).

These descriptions of disability are not unique to teachers at the two schools, or to teachers in India. Instead, they highlight the ways in which the operations of ableism (Campbell, 2009) and the ideology of ability (Siebers, 2008) construct disability as a negative ontology – disability is characterized by absence or lack (Baker, 2002; Campbell, 2009). Disability is understood as something that is "missing or not timely enough", an "outlaw" that must be caught

and brought into the fold of normativity (Baker, 2002, p. 697). Further, in everyday life, compulsory able-bodiedness (McRuer, 2006) renders disability both invisible and hyper-visible at the same time – it is both at the outside of the center and detected instantly in its otherness. This simultaneous invisibility/hypervisibility informed interactions between me and the teachers about disability. In interviews, teachers assumed I was able-bodied, describing disability as, "people who are different from us. Not like us but a little bit different from us."

In the excerpt below, Asqa explains that disabled people are “different from normal people” and that their “mind is a bit slow compared to what it should be.” Yet, the breakdown of language to define, identify, or examine what constitutes normal highlights how normativity operates as a naturalized, invisible site of power (Graham & Slee, 2008; Matus, 2019),

> Interviewer: Hm, you said they are different/separate from normal kids. And that some kids are normal. So who are the normal kids?
>
> Normal kids…those who are normal! I mean…normal is normal right! (surprise, laughter)
>
> Interviewer: Then how do we know they are normal?
>
> [Pause] those who look normal…their answer is normal…(Aqsa, Ahmedabad)

As I continue to try to understand what she refers to as normal, the myth resurfaces, “normal is normal”, Normal is…they are normal! Normal is…They are normal (Aqsa, Ahmedabad). Bringing the “myth of the normal child” into conversations about disability highlights the tensions embedded within ‘dis/ability’ – the binary and mutual embeddedness of ability and alterity of deviance and normativity (Baker, 2002; Campbell, 2009; Goodley, 2018). Thus, examining teachers’ classifications of ability brings to surface the “politics of ability” (Baker, 2002, p. 698) that operate in schools and classrooms. For instance, Bushra questioned where

disabled children fit within her ability classifications of "diamond, average, weak, slow" responds,

> Interviewer: They are? Not normal?
>
> They're normal people.
>
> Interviewer: But they're not ordinary?
>
> [laughter] You're confusing.
>
> Interviewer: [laughter] You're confusing me.
>
> Ordinary are the average ones. And the disabled are normal. I mean those who are normal, those who are not disabled, they are normal, like us. There is nothing in them, there is nothing, no bad thing in them that makes them different, they are normal.
>
> Interviewer: Right. But if they work hard, they can also be good.
>
> They can be like others, ordinary or diamonds.
>
> Interviewer: But you just said that they're like us only!
>
> [laughter] Means they can enter the stage, you know. They are just a little below, quite below and low, but if they work a bit hard, they can do things like everyone else.
>
> (Bushra, Mumbai)

To “enter the stage” as disabled is to enter normativity, “like everyone else.” Children considered a normal kind of disabled, could understand things "in the normal way" - the normal way is the way that,

> Other children can understand. Means if I write on the board and explains then all the children can understand and even, they (disabled) can understand. I don't have to tell them specially the way other disabled children have to be explained, you have to explain

things to them clearly and very well, sometimes they require hand holding. But this disabled girl doesn't need that. (Khadija, Ahmedabad)

Yet, the presence of disabled children brings to question “conventional views of the normal body/mind” (Baglieri et al., 2011, p. 2134). When pushed to examine the relationship between disabled children and their classifications of ability in the classrooms, teachers backtrack, stumble, and struggle. Disabled children could be "average rigor", could be "normal", could be "very clever but needs some help", and they could “still be brilliant."

Overall, disabled children are viewed as disruptive in the classroom, are slower and take up more time in the classrooms, they "cannot understand things quickly", "a slow learner", "require a bit of extra attention", "vastly different from slow learners - some disabled children don't learn at all." Further, the disabled child is described as lacking age and grade-appropriate learning levels. When compared, Zoya describes one of her disabled students as more "normal", he tries to learn and unlike the other child, is not aggressive and does not bully or hit his classmates. Her response is to give them opportunities to answer questions on the board, "I ask him questions of his level so that he feels safe and feels like he is also competent and that his classmates will clap for him the way they clap for everyone else." (Zoya, Mumbai). Yet, even the more "normal" disabled child takes up too much time, "there are small small things (like copying from the board) for which I have to wait for him. He needs more time than everyone else" (Zoya, Mumbai).

In the next section, I focus on the ways in which dis/ability typologies across the two school sites rest on temporal assumptions. I demonstrate how the “outlaw ideology” (Baker, 2002) is associated with the temporal regimes of educational policy and practice that create “so-called target groups for inclusion” (Graham and Slee, 2008). In particular, I argue that it is this

temporal exclusion – and the ways in which students become 'out of time' in the classroom – that determines sites for intervention. Popkewitz (2020) describes this as the 'double gestures of inclusion and exclusion' (Hertzberg, 2015). That is, how schools, as sites of making "kinds of people" create objects of exclusion in advancing inclusionary goals, "there is the hope of that recognition of difference enabling inclusion. Yet, the recognition of difference establishes difference. Inscribed in the hope of inclusion are fears of dangerous qualities and characteristics of the child that are threatening the actualization of that hope" (Popkewitz, 2018, p. 149). In the next section, I examine how different "kinds of people" are made through temporal structures of schools.

4.2 Becoming out of time: violating temporal normativity

In this section, I examine how children become identified as sites of intervention. I emphasize how this happens through the temporal structures of schooling. That is, the dominant temporal regimes other and differentiate against those who do not conform to the temporal norms of schools (Edling, 2022; Saul, 2020). I identify three ways in which schools and teachers construct children as 'out of time' – that is, how children are characterized as problems when they do not conform to the temporal norms of classrooms, schools, and policy. Further, I examine how teachers discuss ways to maintain collective time worlds in the classroom to ensure a normative pace of the classroom and the curriculum (Adam, 1994; Horn, 2007; Walton, 2018b).

Drawing on childhood studies, I describe this process as 'becoming' out of time. Within childhood studies, childhood is understood as a "temporal encounter" (Tesar et al., 2016). One of the foundations of childhood studies is the distinction between 'being' and 'becoming' (Hanson,

2017; Uprichard, 2008). The 'being' child is understood as an agent in the present with their own valuable experiences and perspectives. On the other hand, the 'becoming' child emphasizes the future adult under construction, lacking skills and competencies. The foundations of childhood studies emphasize a critique of the latter, as it denies the agency of children. While scholars have sought to expand this dialectical relationship in a myriad of ways, the field continues to highlight the ways in which 'becoming' or future-oriented, linear, neutral developmental understandings of childhood leads to incomplete and exclusionary understandings of childhood (Hanson, 2017; Knight, 2019; Tesar, 2016; Tesar et al., 2016; Uprichard, 2008). In this way, analyzing how schools, classrooms, and policies are sites wherein children are 'becoming out of time' provides an important examination of how "deviance" is constructed through a "relationship in time" (Knight, 2019). That is, I highlight how 'out of time' children are "constructed away from futurity through constructions of temporal abnormality" (p. 80). On the other hand, within critical disability studies, the notion of 'becoming' is used as a site to "construct pedagogies as 'becoming' rather than 'being' – opening up resistant spaces and potential territories of social justice – all of them uncertain" (Goodley, 2007). That is, imagining futures that do not center compulsory able-bodiedness –crip futurity (Kafer, 2013) requires a "becoming pedagogy" (Goodley, 2007) that allows for uncertainty and exploration in the classroom (Gabel, 2002).

Thus, I examine 'becoming' in two distinct ways – a site that precludes possibilities through pre-determined, linear pathways of development (Uprichard, 2008) and a site that emphasizes the ambiguous, unpredictable re-imaginations of futures (Goodley, 2007). This tension is a characteristic condition of the Dis/Human (Goodley et al., 2016)– questioning normativity while seeking to enhance participation in the normative. This tension echoes the 'double gestures' of schools, policies, and research (Popkewitz, 2008; 2018; 2020).

It is important to note that the typologies I presented above were based on how the schools and teachers named and classified ability. The terms used – slow, weak, fast, scholar, diamond, ordinary, average, low rigor, and high rigor – are those that commonly circulate in school settings. The three mechanisms I describe below present an analysis of how the temporal structures of education policy, schools, and classroom mark children as temporal Others (Edling, 2022) in the classroom. The three ways of becoming out of time are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they reveal how different scales of practice act on one another and how different temporal assumptions constitute the collective time worlds of classrooms and schools. Further, these mechanisms demonstrate the different operations of time across scales of practice – the classroom, the school, policy, and broader societal discourses.

4.2.1 Out of pace: drag

The first way through which children are marked as out of time is to be 'out of pace' with the normative pace of the classroom. Out-of-pace children, or those who drag, are characterized by their inability to keep pace with their peers in everyday tasks in the classroom. This refers to children who write slowly, take more time in classroom tasks, and take longer to read – they are late (Knight, 2019). The normative pace of the classroom is determined by the teacher, "if it's 10 points, then I'd say 20 minutes…20-30 minutes. It's fine no 20-30 minutes? According to me 10-20 minutes will go…but some students, as I said take a lot of time because they are slow" (Bushra, Mumbai). Here, the teacher is describing the appropriate times it should take for children to complete an assessment. The normative pace of the classroom is an important aspect of pedagogical practices that require students to copy things from the board onto their notebooks correctly and promptly. The ability to keep pace is a characteristic of the child, that they must

work on to be like everyone else in the classroom and keep up with their peers and their teachers. Students must do this by working harder, practicing more, and putting in more effort till they attain a normative pace,

> if I am not able to do then I must work on it. Like if he's writing very slowly, right? All his friends have written and completed their work…then he needs to go home and do lots of writing practice. The teacher needs to give him lots of writing practice, writing every day, write 3 pages every day…your writing will be fast then. It's not habit for you that's why it is slow. And then he'll see yes, all the other kids are writing, maybe I am slow so I should work on it. So when he'll do homework on it automatically his writing will be fast. (Yasmin, Mumbai)

It is crucial to write quickly because "all children are given the same time to copy from the board." This corresponds to the uniformity bias (Saul, 2020) – the assumption that providing uniform time promotes "equal opportunities for achievement" (p. 9). The ways in which achievement is tied to speed (Saul, 2020), being slow has dire consequences for children. Yasmin explains the future consequences of slowness, "if he writes slowly, he won't be able to copy from the board. Then his books will be incomplete. If his books are incomplete, then he'll be scolded in school and he'll have to ask his friends for help." Since maintaining uniform time is essential, Yasmin's solution for this is for the teacher to encourage students to help each other complete their notebooks, "that way they'll make friends, help each other…and the books will be complete too!"

Teachers distinguish speed and fixed ability – teachers are not suggesting that children who are late and slow and are "dumb" or cannot understand concepts, "some children catch things quickly, and some children take time, they need more explanations. It's not that they

aren't intelligent, that they cannot understand, or that they're dumb" (Angelica, Mumbai). As Fatima (Mumbai) explains, the inability to write in time is not about being "smart." That is, children who are out of pace may or may not have poor academic performance. Yet, becoming out of pace marks children as problems for the teacher to address,

> their writing work doesn't get done. They might be very smart. I know if I tell them to count from 1 to 10 they can do it within seconds. But when it comes to writing their work isn't complete. They write very slowly. They write 1 and then they'll look here and there, observing everyone…and then I have to tell them, 'come on, speed up, you have to complete your work.' Then they write. (Fatima, Mumbai)

Thus, writing and copying in time is paramount to preserve the collective temporalities of classroom times (Adam, 1995)– a melding of individual times into a collective time of the classroom. Maintaining this collective time is essential for teachers to ensure that their class does not fall behind the prescribed pace of the curriculum. The normative pace of the classroom is thus also the expectation that establishes a synchronous relationship between curricular pace and classroom pace to "complete all the activities in their 40–45-minute lesson plan within one period" because "we cannot do it tomorrow; we have to do it today and so I want that the work happens quickly, and children understand it too" (Rizwana, Ahmedabad). In classrooms, teachers accomplish this by constantly reminding students to complete things quickly, by setting up time limits within which tasks have to be completed, and by providing reminders of the time left to finish a task. Further, maintaining the pace of the classroom ensures that the 'joining of personal times' in the classroom is not disturbed by shifts in individual student interest and attention,

> Why do you think it's important for children to understand things quickly? That it takes less time?

> If they complete it quickly nothing will happen (laughs) the lesson plan will be completed quickly (laughs). Means it is better if kids learning quickly else kids get bored. The kids who have learned they get bored and then those kids who aren't getting it if we make things too vast, if we keep dragging and dragging it, then they'll lose interest (Sana, Ahmedabad)

Sana is concerned that if concepts drag in the classroom, because of the students who are out of pace, both fast and slow students will lose interest. Thus, teachers try to find ways to incentivize out-of-pace students, "they will try to be fast and then they'll get what I have promised them in the tracker…and so then they'll try (to be fast." (Rizwana, Ahmedabad). As learning is understood as a process of committing things to memory through repetition and practice, becoming 'out of pace' also means forgetting,

> According to me, slow learners are those who understand things late. If I am teaching something, explaining it, if you ask them something during revision they'll tell you. They'll do everything but then they'll forget things in some time…you have to get them to keep repeating things and some say that like the ways teachers put in so much then parents should do it too. If parents ask children at home what the teacher did in school then the children will repeat things to the parents…that way the things will stay in their *zehen* (mind) (Zahra, Mumbai)

Lastly, to be a drag is to be slow and to forget. Learning is characterized as recall. Further, Zahra believes that parents must take equal responsibility for children to commit things to memory so that slow learners do not forget. Here, we can observe the ways in which assumptions of uniform time disadvantage children whose parents cannot provide out-of-school support to facilitate children's learning (Saul, 2020).

4.2.2 Out of sync: Disrupt, defy, and disobey

The second way children become out of time is by becoming out of sync with the collective temporality of the classroom. Children are marked this way when they disrupt, defy, and disobey the norms and practices that constitute classroom times (Adam, 1995). In addition to assessments, Bushra explains how she identifies slow learners in her classroom through their behavior,

> because of behavior. I mean the way they write. Sometimes, you know it happens that if you are writing on the board if the child is writing, not writing, or if you are asking questions, whether they are answering or not. With the help of it. (Bushra, Mumbai)

In classrooms, teachers require all bodies to appear to be attentive: asking children to be seated, have their backs straight, have a smile on their face, and face the teacher. One teacher described this as the 'Mona Lisa position',

> Mona Lisa position is important because they pay more attention that way. If they do the task while playing, they won't understand, their attention goes away. I mean they don't focus. If they study while playing, they will never remember. That's what happens within them. That's why I do the Mona Lisa position. Because whenever they are in the Mona Lisa position, their focus is good. Whatever questions I ask they do it. If I don't put them in Mona Lisa position in class, then they don't focus. Because I tried it once…I tried it (Kalima, Ahmedabad)

For Kalima, children's bodies reflect their attention and focus within the classroom. Fidgeting, playing, or any position of the body that does not conform to the corporeal standards of focus compromises learning. To ensure compliance, teachers then surveil the classroom, looking out

for students who are not complying, ready to scold: “Sit down!” “Head down!” “No talking!” “Zip your mouth!” “Look at me!”

Children who defy, disrupt, and disobey can be a source of frustration – the students who refuse to follow the teachers’ plans. Below, Sadiya describes a classroom scenario where she wants first graders to memorize a poem to prepare for oral examinations. Sadiya does this because she knows that all parents would not have the time or capacity to get their children to memorize a poem in English. This interview took place just after I observed her classroom. I ask her about how she looked visibly frustrated when I walked in, shouting at the students,

> I was trying to get them to do it for so long and then…the ones at the back, even the kids who are doing it, they aren’t letting them do it. They were all standing so I couldn’t see them. And in that, they weren’t letting each other do it. They are shouting from the back, ‘look they are not letting me do it.’ I called him out, and told him, ‘now you show me. I will give you on (slap)’ (laughs). I told him, yeah, you cry…you cry and show me. They are completely crazy these 2-4 boys…even that other kid, I am shocked by his behavior. He’ll do the opposite of whatever you tell him, complain about everyone, complaint box! (Sadiya, Mumbai)

In response to the children’s defiance, Sadiya resorts to singling out children, punishing them, and threatening them with violence. The disobedience is shocking to her. This frustration is not unique to Sadiya. Teachers find different ways to recognize disruptive children and manage their behavior to ensure that their behavior does not derail their plans. Such children are identified as ones who do *masti* (defiant fun), are *badmash* (naughty), *baat nahin maante* (disobedient), *dhyāna nahin dene waale* (don’t pay attention or focus), *pareshan karte hain* (troublemakers), and attention seekers. Children’s bodily needs, such as wanting to go to the washroom or drink

water during classroom time are also markers of disruption of classroom time. In many instances, I observed teachers deny young children bathroom or water breaks till the end of the class period.

Teachers believe that obedience is central such that all students participate in the collective time of the classroom as they "enter collectively, with the guidance of the teacher" (Adam, 1995, p. 107),

> There are some students who do not listen, they are few…most obey, follow, I mean if baji is saying then we have to do it. I mean sometimes we get them to do activities where we are asking them to fold so then some fold in the exact way that we do…I mean not even a little bit of difference. The way baji is doing exactly that way…I mean we observe the teacher and then want to do things the way the teacher is doing. But some children are a bit lazy, they don't do…but then they observe others and do it. (Sana, Ahmedabad)

Children who do not follow the teacher are marked as "lazy." That is, their bodyminds "move or speak at the wrong times" (Knight, 2019, p. 77). In this way, classroom time operates as a means to discipline students to behave in normative ways (Saul, 2020). The child who requires the teacher to make time visible in the classroom is "distracted easily",

> Of course, I need to see how much they get done in what time span. Sometimes, you know, as you must have seen that some kids get done in 5 minutes, and sometimes they are slow slow because they are sharpening (their pencils), they get distracted easily so you have to constantly remind them, write fast otherwise I will erase the board. I won't do it but I have to tell them.
>
> Interviewer: Right. And why is it important that you check who gets done in 5 minutes and who takes time? Why is it important for you to understand the time difference?

> Because I know the students well I think so that I will find out what the students are like, who is how fast, who isn't. So those who get done, suppose student A gets done quickly, then I will give them some other work so they can help me in something or the other. (Angelica, Mumbai)

Teachers have a range of strategies they use to ensure compliance, including threats of erasing the board, that is, threatening that the child will fall behind, or their work will be incomplete to keep them on task. Further, Angelica explains how understanding how children respond in time is a way to understand children – a temporal understanding of children aids in maintaining the collective time world of the classroom. Teachers' ways of responding to this include asking those who are not conforming to bodily standards of attention. This strategy disciplines students by reminding them that the teacher is watching them,

> During activity we also know which students are not focusing or not uhh participating in the class so I try to ask them to engage them in the activity and when they are not answering correctly or not answering at all I try to explain it again and by this I think those students who did not understand the first time they get a chance to listen to the explanation again. But yes, when I am not getting the response, I become some frustration, but I try to control it (Nadira, Ahmedabad)

Another strategy, used by teachers in Ahmedabad from the Teach for India training is 100% compliance. This is a strategy from Teach Like A Champion (Lemov, 2010). Kalima describes this strategy,

> In teacher training we learned 100% compliance. 100% means everyone focuses means I want all children, and I want them all ready. Those who don't come, I will have to bring them. And then I will do positive narration, where I will call them by their name and

> appreciate. And the rest I will tell them I am waiting for you. So I give them time – and that way they will think to do it quickly, and their partners will motivate them to do it quickly. So then they motivate each other and we get 100% compliance. (Kalima, Ahmedabad)

The 100% compliance strategy is combined with reinforcement such that it is not only the teacher disciplining students to conform to classroom times, but students disciplining their peers in ways that both "spatially regulating bodies and intellectually regulating minds" (Saul, 2020, p. 56). Another way to counter disruption in the classroom is through choral repetition, a commonly used strategy in whole-classroom instruction (Kalyanpur, 2022),

> There are some children who are sitting but their attention is not there. They are thinking something else. So when everyone repeats things together they start repeating after them. So it is beneficial for them. Some children you must have noticed are so attentive, they are sitting and answering all questions. And then some are there, sitting in a corner, not paying attention. So when everyone speak then they feel, yes we are also in the classroom. So to grab their attention. (Angelica, Mumbai)

Choral repetition is another example of how teachers use children to regulate and discipline each other's behavior. Once out of sync children are identified, through their defiant and 'unruly bodies' (Erevelles, 2000) that do not follow classroom norms and habits that disrupt the collective temporalities of the classroom (Adam, 1995), these strategies are put in place to eliminate "temporal diversity" (Saul, 2020) to modify their undisciplined behaviors.

4.2.3 Out of age: Delayed development

Children become out of time by becoming ‘out of age.’ Children do not display appropriate age-grade-related behaviors or academic outcomes,

> When you say he's a slow learner, what does it mean to be a slow learner?
>
> Means first he has a pronunciation problem, so he doesn’t understand spellings properly.
>
> His level is entirely say 1st grade…he’s in 4th grade. His age is appropriate, but his grasping power is not good like the other kids. So that’s why. (Zoya, Mumbai)

The response above reveals the developmental bias (Saul, 2020) of “predictable stages” of development that are shared by all children of particular ages such that all children are expected to “progress in the same way” (Edling, 2022, p. 96). This gives rise to a “temporal abnormality” (Knight, 2019) – the slow learner is identified for he is “not good like the other kids.” Goodley and Runswick-Cole (2011) describe the emphasis on normal development as the “tyranny of developmentalism” (p. 79), such that children who deviate are othered.

Teachers wrestle with the idea that each child should be able to fulfill grade-level expectations, "we want that all children learn to read. " Yet, there are children they cannot “reach, they are not able to learn", or that "some don't focus", "some are different", or the "5% whose attention I cannot account for." There are “implicit assumptions about a ‘right age’, a pre-existing ‘appropriate base’ upon which to build, and about ‘proper sequencing’” (Adam, 1995). Given these pre-determined, linear, sequential conceptions of development and knowledge, children who are ‘out of age’ become problems,

> They face lots of problems because there are those children and with them the teachers also face problems. Because if we teach them and then go to the next class so then they face problems and with them, the teacher does too. Because…to watch those kids they

> have to turn back on the other kids. So, there is a problem if the kids cannot do things and then they move to the next grade teachers face many problems.
>
> Interviewer: So, what is the solution according to you?
>
> For this problem, if teachers can give more *dhyāna* to the children in that grade itself…like if the child doesn't get it then we need to do it now. We shouldn't move them ahead. (Aqsa, Ahmedabad)

Examining teachers' beliefs about grade repetition in South Africa, Walton (2018a) describes support grade repetition as they believe that the mismatch between the curriculum and children's learning trajectories rests on a deficit within the child. While Aqsa does not advocate for grade repetition, she believes that the mismatch is a problem for the teacher and the "dis-synchronous learner" (p. 55). For Aqsa, it is incumbent upon the teacher to identify these problem children lest they become a problem for another teacher. Khadija, on the other hand, places the responsibility on the parents,

> Ma'am to tell you the truth it's very weird, I feel very bad that the child doesn't know but we've promoted them. And even now those kids don't come to class…we give them one exam and then promote them. Then we'll tire ourselves telling the parents to send the kid to class…if not all, at least a few. But they don't do it. Just show up for the final exams…(Khadija, Ahmedabad)

During the pandemic, unequal and unreliable internet access meant that not all children could attend online classes. Following government guidelines, schools promoted all students to the next grade. For teachers, the pandemic heightened the mismatch between the pace of the curriculum and the pace of children in acquiring grade-appropriate learning,

Some kids' basics are so *ganda* (dirty/bad), they don't even know ABCD. Don't know how to write. Today I found out about a girl who did not know 1-2-3…so if I do number names up to 100 with that child, what will she understand? These people (the school) are not focusing on the basics when the children need to have their basics strong. Yes, I understand the teachers are working hard, but because of online learning, children's basics were spoiled. The base that we have. (Sadiya, Mumbai)

The "basics" were a challenge for teachers as schools transitioned from online to in-person learning during the pandemic. To address this, Zahra divided time over the school term to make sure all children learn how to copy directly from the board. For her, this is a basic skill the children will need to survive second grade,

There are only a few months left. So, I got them to now start writing from the board. It took them a lot of time at the start. They couldn't do it, 'teacher how do we write?' Then it took time to explain to them how to write. Now the situation is that they write slowly but they write. Fast…there are some students who are able to write with me. But some are there who even after I've written on the board will take another 30 minutes to write. (Zahra, Mumbai)

As some children identified as out of age, to focus on them often means that "the rest of the children get bored…they are fed up or bored." (Bushra, Mumbai) It also means that "if I go on to teach them those things (basics) then it wastes my time. I have to focus on my portion a bit too." (Zahra, Mumbai)

The notion of *basics* refers to the 'bare minimum' needed to know to move from one grade to the next. Children who are out of age defy benchmark expectations. Regardless of student interest or inclination, teachers claim that the child "this is the basic, he has to understand

this a little bit." The lack of student interest is partly understood as the internal characteristic of the child,

> there's a girl in my class, she loves games but when it comes to studies, she does whatever…she's not a slow learner but she's not interested. Even us, if someone is making us watch a movie we don't like if someone forces me to watch it so why will I? (Angelica, Mumbai)

It is partly a consequence of how the child responds to teaching, "we've just given a tag slow learner, it's all about teaching and how they look at it" and part fault of the parent, "and sometimes the family background is a problem…parents are not cooperative. From here they just go…here and there. Sometimes it's that they aren't practicing well or there's no one to pay attention to them. I have one girl like that." (Angelica, Mumbai)

The central concern for teachers in ensuring that children do not fall out of age is the future, "if his basics aren't clear how will he study further?" The linear, sequential curriculum requires teachers to focus on ensuring that they organize the child's presence in a way that does not jeopardize their future, "if they don't practice now then in 4th grade there will be even bigger math problems so how will they do it? There will be formulas. So, we must do it now." (Angelica, Mumbai)

The expectations of the present are also determined by teachers' understanding of the purpose of education. Describing how she identified children for state-mandated remedial classes, Zoya describes what she considers grade-appropriate knowledge – the ability to read and write one's name. To her, basic literacy is the foundation of education,

> First of all, I think that by 4th grade children need to know how to read. In every language, Hindi, Marathi, English, and Urdu. I pick those who don't know how to read

> because reading is the most basic thing. Can they learn how to answer questions is a distant thing, but if you're not able to read then what is the aim of education? Kids need to know how to read. So first I noticed that they don't know how to read. Some cannot even write their full name. What if they get lost? If someone cannot speak to write and tell me even that they cannot do. Then what is the meaning of education? (Zoya, Mumbai)

The idea of the basics, or bare-minimum grade-level expectations prioritizes an a priori construction of children. That is, it focuses on 'becoming' or future-oriented, developmental understandings of childhood. The dominance of future 'becoming' precludes an uncertain 'becoming' that allows space for diverse bodies, abilities, and learners to emerge in the classroom (Gabel, 2002; Goodley, 2007).

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I identify the institutional contexts in which schools, teachers, and NGOs develop classifications and categorizations of dis/ability. In common across these classifications is the operation of temporal assumptions that exclude. I explore the ways in which temporal or chrononormativity (Freeman, 2010) is constructed in schools and classrooms. The idea of being in time – a "normal" time that all students must occupy, constructs students who become out of time in the classroom. I identify three ways in which children are constituted as "out of time": out of pace, out of sync, and out of age. Once identified, out-of-time students, become sites of intervention. In Chapter 5, I examine teacher dilemmas around enacting inclusion within the

temporal regimes of policies, schools, and classrooms. In Chapter 6, I examine the NGO interventions to remedy the ‘problem’ of difference.

CHAPTER 5

5 *Dhyāna* and dilemmas of inclusive classroom times

In this chapter, I examine the dilemmas faced by teachers in enacting inclusive education in their classrooms. Dilemmas provide an important perspective to understanding how schools and teachers respond to contradictory demands within educational systems (Clark et al., 1999). A widely studied dilemma within inclusive education is the dilemma of difference. As described by Martha Minow (1990), the dilemma of difference is concerned with whether treating people differently stigmatizes difference or whether ignoring difference and focusing on sameness undermines flourishing. It is important to consider the context within which the dilemma of difference becomes pertinent (Artiles, 1998). There is a need to examine the contexts and conditions within which differences are constructed (Erevelles, 2011). That is, we need to ask, "when does difference count, under what conditions, in what ways, and for what reasons?" (Artiles, 1998, p. 35)

I focus on time and temporality as a crucial context to examine the dilemma of difference, and to address when and under what conditions differences make a difference. Time disciplines teachers and students by controlling the sequence, pace, rhythm, and order of individuals, activities, and institutions (Saul, 2020). In this chapter, I introduce *dhyāna* as a form of local knowledge that can aid a contextual understanding of the dilemma of difference within inclusive education (Canagarajah, 2002; Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014). *Dhyāna* is a Hindi term used by teachers to describe their practices of enacting care and attention in classroom times.

The question of responding to needs is integral to the dilemma of difference. That is, the dilemma is concerned with choices associated with responding to needs: discrimination or

neglect? Yet, what remains unanswered is the context within which needs are constructed. The question of need is central to care: “On the most general level, to require care is to have a need” (Tronto 1993, 120). To identify need is to identify an Other requiring care. Teacher judgments of students are associated with the temporalities of schooling. Using the language of *dhyāna*, I highlight the range of practices, dispositions, and dilemmas that underlie need and normativity for teachers in inclusive classroom times. I argue that *dhyāna* is the means through which teachers construct temporal norms of the classroom and respond to needs constructed through these norms. That is, the three ways of becoming out of time I described in the previous chapter are brought to the fore through the normativity established in classroom times through the notions of *dhyāna.*

5.1 Inclusive education and dilemmas of difference

Central to this chapter is the question of how teachers respond to competing pressures of recognizing the diverse times that children operate in while ensuring that collective times guarantee equal participation and achievement. Put differently, does treating difference differently risk making difference visible, or does the pursuit of concealing difference neglect needs? This is the dilemma of difference (Minow, 1990). Existing research on the dilemma of difference is yet to examine the ways in which time and temporality influence the construction of and responses to this dilemma. A dilemmatic perspective to understanding the enactment of inclusive education helps examine tentative resolutions to the challenge of inclusion (Clark et al., 1999). Instead of determining whether teacher actions are inclusive or not, the emphasis is on the

processes underlying inclusion, recognizing that inclusion will "always be partial and compromised." (p. 173)

Time has not been examined as the context under which the dilemma of difference operates in schools and classrooms. Thus far, scholars have examined how the dilemma of difference stems from the linkages between difference as "abnormality or stigma" (Artiles, 1998, p. 32). The three dilemmas of difference identified in the context of disability: identification (do we identify disabilities?), curriculum (do we have the same curricula for all?), placement (do we have everyone in the same space?) (Norwich, 2007) do not recognize the ways in which educational times and temporalities exclude children who are determined as temporal Others (Edling, 2022) or those who display temporal deviance (Saul, 2020). The identification of disability in schools ensures that such children "remain on the margins within the way time is distributed through modern frameworks of educational provision" (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a, p. 37). Similarly, underlying the dilemma around curriculum are annual curricula and pre-determined learning outcomes, and age-grade associations that underlie schooling (Adam, 1995; Goodley, 2007). Further, the dilemmas around placement – whether disabled children should be placed in the same school or the same classroom, highlight the spatial bias on theories of inclusion (Saul, 2020). Crucially, as Sharma (2014) highlights and teachers in the school sites explain, children occupying the same space may not be experiencing the same times.

I demonstrate how teachers experience the dilemma of difference in enacting inclusion in the classroom. I highlight how time and temporality serve as a context for and influence teacher experiences and resolutions to the dilemma of difference. I argue that creating classroom times, that is, the joining of personal times, histories, and futures into the classroom present, serves as a key site for the dilemma of difference.

The teachers describe two ways of enacting inclusion in the classroom - to dissolve or to cater to difference. The first way emphasizes uniformity. In this version of inclusion, curriculum time is paramount. The role of the teacher is to ensure no child falls behind in reaching the same place at the same time. Central concerns in this perspective are consensus building, collective attention and pace, uniform achievement, and enforced participation. The second emphasizes the needs and interests of individual children. Instead of collective pace, the focus is on the individual potential of each child in the classroom. That is, the two correspond to distinct temporal orientations: the former aligns with the pace of curriculum while the latter seeks to preserve the pace of the individual. The tensions between the two temporal orientations render inclusive practice into processes of making, stretching, and wrestling with time.

5.1.1 "We need time to be inclusive": Time and the dilemma of difference

Classroom times (Adam, 1995) refers to the "joining of personal times" (107) through "shared patterns" (107) of communication, knowledge, and expectations. For Adam (1995) classroom time is not reducible to clock and calendar time. Classroom times are not only about the length of a task, a class period, annual curricula, or timetables; they are rooted in "individual and collective histories and futures" (108) and particular norms and practices. Joining individual and collective times can have the potential to be an equitable recognition of diversity. Yet, in the rigidity of linear clock times that characterize educational systems, classroom times succumb to upholding normative approaches (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, 2019; Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a). For teachers, classroom times comprise a collective temporality wherein all students "attentively attend" (Sana, Ahmedabad) in ways that "all 56 children catch what I am saying at

the same time" (Yasmin, Mumbai). I argue that within the two orientations or perspectives that teachers hold in their response to the dilemma of difference: inclusion as ensuring uniformity and inclusion as responding to difference is temporal. Time operates as the common constraint to enacting inclusion,

> 8/2/21, 13:26 - Tanushree Sarkar: What are some challenges to inclusive education?
>
> 8/2/21, 13:27 - Nadira: Sometimes Contents slow down
>
> 8/2/21, 13:27 - Nadira: I mean syllabus.
>
> 8/2/21, 13:27 - Tanushree Sarkar: hmm and it's important to complete the syllabus in time?
>
> 8/2/21, 13:28 - Nadira: Yes. We have to because we make planning of the whole year.
>
> 8/2/21, 13:28 - Nadira: Month wise
>
> 8/2/21, 13:28 - Tanushree Sarkar: what happens if the syllabus is incomplete?
>
> 8/2/21, 13:29 - Nadira: Uh, content if for example if I don't finish in June then I have to adjust it in July first week and then we have to somehow manage that in the first week of July so this is how we face challenge. (Nadira, Ahmedabad, WhatsApp)

Planning to allocate calendar and clock time to match the pace of the curriculum is important to maintaining uniformity and collective standards. Yet, this desire to ensure inclusion is challenging as the "contents slow down" in pursuing uniform achievement across all students. Across classrooms, I observed teachers constantly implore children to be quick, *jaldi!* to write and complete their work faster. When asked why Angelica explained how teachers have limited time to do things. The challenge in maintaining collective attention and pace is a disruption in planned time caused by the children's bodyminds,

> "Um...see, we have limited time. I mean then they'll write at a leisurely pace. So then I have to be like a continuous alarm clock and tell them to write, to write quickly. You can only give this much time to a math problem. You have to do an addition sum within 2 minutes. You can't just sit with it. So as a continuous reminder, that yes, write quickly. Else you will be left behind. (Angelica, Mumbai)

Teachers evaluate their inclusive practice, and good classroom practice in general, as a classroom where all children are involved and participate. Participation is largely understood as a verbal or written assessment of classroom learning. Because of the large class size and the lack of time, teachers feel they are not being inclusive as not all students get a turn. Teachers devise various strategies to ensure fairness in turn-taking. These include strategically selecting students whom they want to assess, getting a random sample of students, rewarding appropriate classroom behavior, or requesting student participation on WhatsApp to stretch limited classroom time. Yet, this is challenging because of the constraints on the pace of the curriculum and the classroom,

> Interviewer: So according to you, do you think the way you're teaching is…are you teaching practices inclusive of all children in the classroom?
>
> I'll say not so inclusion but yeah it is because not everybody gets a chance you know to participate in each because maybe because of the timing and each and everything I have you know the strength mostly matters. So, it may be because of it. I don't think mostly. But I'll say 70-30 percent. Or maybe 60 or 40 percent. We need that much time also for it to be inclusive. (Bushra, Mumbai)

Curriculum time constitutes a challenge to enacting inclusion as responding to individual differences,

Interviewer: What challenges do you face in working on inclusion?

Time management. A big issue. Completing the syllabus becomes a problem

Interviewer: Right. What's the problem you face in completing the syllabus?

If I'm focusing only on 1 topic if I am being told that teach it even better. Explain it even better, enact it. If I give a topic 3 days, the rest of the syllabus that is left is huge! How will I cover that? (Angelica, Mumbai)

Angelica faces the tussle between curriculum time and the pace of the individual. Angelica explains that teaching in ways that cater to the individual learning preferences and styles of each child, as suggested by the NGO, is not compatible with completing the syllabus. The idea of giving a "topic 3 days" comes from one of the workshops organized by the NGO, wherein the trainer suggested that a particular alphabet must be taught for 3 days through multi-sensory ways. Yet, for Angelica, who is committed to catering to the individual needs of her students, curriculum time renders this a difficult ask.

Teachers suggest that they need "time to be inclusive." While time poverty is a key constraint to inclusive practice (Thomas & Whitburn, 2019), I argue that it is crucial to examine the temporal foundations of need and difference. The two approaches to inclusion highlight the ways in which teachers identify and address need – changing the temporally deviant through assimilation into rigid, normative classroom times or by focusing on the needs of those rendered temporally deviant. Yet, "appealing to the 'slow' does not sufficiently disrupt imbalanced power relations, but rather plays into them" (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, p. 206). Below, I explicate the two times of enacting inclusive education and highlight the similarities and differences between them.

5.1.2 Sabko saath lekar chalna: Taking everyone along curriculum time

Teachers often used the phrase *sabko saath lekar chalna*, that is, taking everyone along together to describe inclusion as achieving uniformity. The aim of inclusion is to dissolve differences between students. Inclusion is understood as achieving consistent standards of learning across all children in the classroom,

> Inclusive education means like when we started so ma'am (the principal) said that each child should get their share which…that is, whatever we're teaching one child, that much every child should be able to understand. And it's not that if that even if one doesn't understand you leave them or teach them in a superficial way. We have to plan out in a way that all our children can understand it well. (Noor, Ahmedabad)

Here, inclusive education is defined as every child achieving the same level of understanding such that no child is left behind. Teachers believe they are responsible for ensuring that "every child should be able to understand." Planning is a crucial aspect of this facet of inclusion. Annual, monthly, and weekly plans feature prominently in teacher narratives in Ahmedabad. Teachers believe they are responsible for the learning achievement of each child in the classroom, But I cannot do this *gadbad* (error) in my profession. No, whatever I taught, like if I taught A-Z then the children should know that much. Every child should know. (Fatima, Mumbai)

Yet, leaving no one behind is not straightforward. There is a tension between completing the curriculum in the prescribed time and ensuring every child achieves grade-level standards by the end of the school year. This temporal tug-of-war between the pace of the curriculum and the pace of individual students' learning is characteristic of the mismatch problem (Horn, 2007; Walton, 2018b). In the previous chapter, I argued how the mismatch between the pace of the

curriculum and the pace of children's learning rests on an a priori construction of childhood and renders children "out of age" in the classroom. This way of doing inclusion, by emphasizing that all children learn and demonstrate learning in the same way, focuses on dissolving differences between children in and out of time. When describing why she uses a 'no opt out' strategy to ensure classroom participation, Noor (Ahmedabad) responds, "I mean, the way everyone comes to school to learn, it is also their *entitlement/right* that they learn. So the way everyone else is learning, they also should learn."

The 'no opt out' strategy was taught to teachers in Ahmedabad through TFI-alumni-led professional development. It requires teachers to ensure the child is not allowed to sit till they provide the correct answer to the question. The notion of 'learning the way everyone else is learning' is demonstrated in practice in a variety of ways. One is by imploring students to "ensure that they know as much as their higher-achieving peers" in group work settings. Another is by setting formative and summative assessments in ways that "keep everyone in mind" such that "every child can do it." That is, to create assessments that are not too difficult or too easy but allow teachers to demonstrate that all children achieve grade-level proficiency.

Thus, the age-grade sequence of education and predetermined educational trajectories serve as the context within which inclusion is enacted and understood. Dismantling the age-grade sequence of education is a complex debate with important implications for equity. One policy solution to the mismatch problem is grade repetition (Walton, 2018b). In 2019, the Right to Education Act ruled against grade repetition through what was popularly known as the 'No Detention Policy' (Joshi, 2019). That is, the policy sought to ensure that all children of the same age, regardless of disability, caste, class, religion, indigeneity, or gender progress across grades together through elementary education. This policy was instituted to ensure equitable access to

education: to promote universal primary and reduce dropout rates for those from disadvantaged communities, a key priority of the Millennium Development Goals (Sachs, 2012). It was argued that this policy further contributed to the learning crisis – with children moving across grades with little accountability for grade-level outcomes. However, with the shift towards quality and learning outcomes in the Sustainable Development Goals, the RTE was amended in 2019 to reinstate grade repetition. The implications of this policy shift on educational access and equity for disadvantaged communities are yet to be determined. Further, introducing grade repetition does not dismantle or question the age-grade sequence of education. It reinforces deficit perspectives and constructs the "dis-synchronous learner" (Walton, 2018b, p. 55), who requires more time to achieve predetermined learning outcomes.

Crucially, the emphasis on achieving 'bare minimum' or 'basic' grade level outcomes renders "out of age" children a particular challenge to the collective vision of inclusion. Enacting inclusion as taking everyone together and leaving no one behind rests on the idea of equality as sameness, creating deviations from the norm (Baker, 2002; Campbell, 2012; Gillies, 2008).

5.1.2.1 Inclusion as enforced participation.

Under the broader theme of inclusion as *taking everyone along*, inclusion is practiced and understood as the achievement of uniform standards, synchronized attention, collective pace, and enforced participation for all. However, this notion of a collective learning journey is not limited to uniformity. Inclusion within this theme is also about togetherness and consensus building. As a form of togetherness, inclusion is viewed as a means to ensure belonging, that is, "every student in the class should *feel* included." As a feeling, inclusion is the opposite of being left out and excluded. At the same time, inclusion is about doing things together, "in a common way"

and "with love." The behavioral aspects of this include creating platforms for student voice and opinion in the classroom, teachers sharing ideas, celebrating festivals of different religions, praying together, involving parents in the classroom decision-making, and dissipating cliques and favoritism amongst teachers and students. As Rizwana (Ahmedabad) elaborates, "Inclusive education means that the disabled and the normal child, both are treated equally, that is we should give opportunities to both. They should participate equally in everything. This is what I understand by inclusive education." Rizwana invokes equal treatment, equal opportunity, and equal participation as pillars of inclusive education. It is important to note that teachers are not keen to modify the terms of participation such that everyone can participate. The focus is on ensuring that "everyone gets a chance" to be involved in the classroom: they should all come up to the board to answer questions, and they should all perform the same tasks in the same way at the same time. Within the notion of equality as sameness, differential treatment is seen as discriminatory. In many ways, this is reminiscent of and tied to the idea of *dhyāna* as norms about attention.

5.1.2.2 Difference as a barrier to inclusion

In this way, the challenge to doing inclusion becomes individual differences, "not everyone has the same brain." Teachers find themselves flummoxed by the fact that some children "are far ahead by the end of the year." In addition to the challenge of dealing with children who are "out of age", children who are "out of pace" and "out of sync" pose particular challenges to the achievement of collective attention and pace that are central to this mode of doing inclusion,

> Interviewer: I said...I was asking do you think generally inclusion is something that like, you're able to work on? You're not able to work on? Or...?
>
> If you're talking about with the kids, that you tell me take everyone along together, then yes, of course. But if you say that no, are all students learning then inclusion is a very wide topic. Very wide topic, there's a lot of things that come within it. You can do inclusion in every topic.
>
> Interviewer: Hm. Hm. What do you mean is the difference between taking everyone along and ...?
>
> Because you know there are many children who after a while become a bit…so maybe they get left behind somewhere. Then for them there are energizers. But if I do the energizers then the naughty kids become too energized. That is also a challenge (Sadiya, Mumbai)

Energizers are activities introduced by the NGO in Mumbai to engage children in the classroom. However, for some teachers, these activities with notions of engagement that require all children to be synchronized. That is, teachers envision a classroom wherein "all my 56 kids catch what I am saying at the same time." Sumaira (Mumbai) explains further,

> Interviewer: Hm, if a teacher is trying to make their class inclusive, what advice would you give them? Based on your experience?
>
> Like now…there are slow learners in every class. And some whose speeds…there are very fast and they grab everything quickly. But the teacher should understand both and take them along. They should find some way for that. (Sumaira, Mumbai)

Inclusion is about finding ways to take the "very fast" and "slow learners" together, maintaining a collective classroom pace. This allows teachers to ensure that "Sab ek saath karenge, ek saath

rakhenge" – everyone will do things together, everyone will stay together. To maintain collective attention and pace, teachers incentivize speed through behavior trackers, give revision tasks to students who finish early, and ensure that writing work is assigned at the end of class such that slower students write after class hours. Related to collective temporalities is enforced participation: everyone must get a turn, and everyone must participate in the same way. That is, "inclusion means everyone must get a chance." Yet, as demonstrated before, if dissolving difference is the aim of inclusion, within this temporal orientation, including difference becomes a challenge to inclusion,

> To include every child. Each and every child. Which is kind of impossible. Because not every children has their brains in the same place, that no, they must do it. So for example, I'll tell you one thing. I did this activity to teach this concept and I'll share a video with you of how I taught this later, you see how I taught it. But even after the activity, not all children were giving *dhyāna* (paying attention). (Sadiya, Mumbai)

For Sadiya, including each and every child is impossible because of the impossibility of a synchronized time-space where all students are paying attention, doing the same thing at the same time, and are in pace with the plan and the curriculum.

Thus, to take everyone along together is to dissolve difference. The desire to do away with difference is expressed in two ways – equality, that is, to demonstrate that differences do not matter, and non-discrimination, to prevent differentiation or singling out of those considered different. Yasmin highlights how these go together,

> Means teaching everyone together is that poor, rich…everyone should study together. I mean all students, even those who might have some problems…some kids have different schools no ma'am? Sorry what do you call it…disability…some students are there who

> might be…yes, they are different schools. But this should not happen. We must have everyone together…poor, rich, disability students must be taught together. We should not identify that these students are this and you will not be able to learn….(Yasmin, Ahmedabad)

Teaching everyone together involves teaching students together across lines of difference, here class and disability, and not identifying difference. Identifying difference is viewed as a form of discrimination, singling out, and as a way in which expectations might be lowered. Dissolving difference involves "dealing with all students in the same way" and "no one is flawed." Further, dissolving difference, especially disability as difference, involves considering disabled children as "normal", "they should not feel that they are different from others, they are like everyone else." Teachers consider it their responsibility to teach this form of inclusion to the students, to prevent bullying, and to ensure children form friendships across lines of difference. Partiality or favoritism is considered particularly problematic. Further, teachers attempt to dissolve individual differences through group work, such that "weak students" can learn from their high-achieving peers.

As discussed in the previous chapter, difference is constructed in time and pace. Within this orientation to the dilemma of difference, difference is viewed as a site of potential discrimination and stigmatization (Artiles, 1998). Paradoxically, in attempting to enact inclusion by dissolving difference, the futility of these attempts is highlighted. Teachers recognize the paradox of curriculum times, enacting inclusion in another vein.

5.1.3 Salaahiyat ke hisaab se: Following individual time

The second way of doing inclusion emphasizes responding to individual differences by identifying and catering to the needs and preferences of individual children. Instead of trying to ensure collective pace and uniform standards of learning, teachers seek to work along with the pace of the child, "if not today, he'll understand later". As Angelica explains,

> Suppose I'm teaching, one particular topic. And if there's one child who understands quickly, they'll answer quickly, they've understood. Suppose multiplication. Children are learning multiplication and one child has learned it. Some other child is facing problems. They need more time. So I am giving them that time. You have this time and I will give you extra explanations, I will call out your name and explain it to you. But it's not that I'm doing an injustice with other children. I am explaining according to their need. It is like that. (Angelica, Mumbai)

The context within which difference is understood is speed, such that slowness is constructed as need. Inclusive practice for teachers is about providing additional time and additional instruction to those who "need" it. In observations, I find that teachers accomplish this extra time and extra attention within whole class instruction by sitting next to individual students and addressing their doubts. In some cases, teachers modified tasks, changing the level of difficulty for the child. Children identified as out of age, out of pace, and out of sync are not challenges to uniformity and togetherness – it is meeting their individual needs that is deemed as inclusion. In asserting that this is not "injustice with other children", Angelica clarifies that paying attention to individual children based on their particular needs is not a form of favoritism. Unlike the togetherness approach to inclusion, which requires attending to all children at the same time, the individual approach does not see paying attention to individual children as undesirable. Difference is not stigmatizing but the expression of need.

While pace is the predominant way of determining need, it is not the only way. Individual differences are also defined in terms of learning styles. In the next chapter, I will explore how NGOs introduce a range of teaching practices to address individual differences in the classroom. In both schools, learning styles were commonly used by teachers to articulate their understanding of individual differences,

> Yes, teachers need to care for the needs of each child. For example, some children listen and learn, some children are visual learners, some enjoy doing activities, some have fun through sports. I cannot demotivate anyone based on their grades. If that child is good at sports, it's great. These are the diversities that exist between children. So my job is to make sure I do not demotivate any child. (Zoya, Mumbai)

Zoya points to different ways to understand difference. The first is learning styles. The second is the distinction between academic excellence and interest in domains that are less valued in school, like sports. The teachers' task then is to ensure that each child, regardless of learning styles, grades, or interests, is not discouraged or neglected in the classroom in any way. Further, inclusion is the practice of using different teaching strategies based on individual needs,

> What will inclusion look like in the classroom? Each child's special need, their own individual needs, their individual ways of learning. The teacher takes each child's needs and incorporates it into her lesson. This is how we see inclusion in the classroom. (Yasmin, Mumbai)

Yasmin gives an example of a science lesson. She is proud of this lesson and references it often in conversations. To teach complex biological systems through different methods, she stuck pictures of the system on the board, made a flowchart on the board to explain the types of systems, and created a song with actions for students to be able to understand how different

systems were connected. Teachers describe providing students with response options based on their preferences. For instance, Jackie, with the intent of student autonomy, provided submission options to students for the same homework assignment.

Teachers view understanding individual children as an imperative to being a good teacher. Even within large class sizes, teachers pride themselves on their knowledge of each child’s needs, abilities, and preferences,

> even though I have 61 now if you ask me, I know each and every one personally. What their strength are, what their weaknesses are, which is the thing they lack in, you know with the help of inclusion you can do all these things which I personally... (Bushra, Mumbai)

Teachers set aside time during attendance, at the start of class to ask students about their day and check in with them, or through individual conversations over WhatsApp and phone calls. Inclusion is described as speaking to students with love, being polite and considerate, and encouraging them to share their experiences in the classroom. Teachers seek to introduce individual differences in the classroom by including student voices and opinions in the classroom. Teachers talk about this process as a form of democratizing classrooms that have historically involved teacher control and greater teacher talk time. Inclusion is viewed as a possibility because “now our focus is on the kids”. Incorporating student voice, feedback, and preferences involves creative use of classroom time,

> You will...you will listen to the kids also. You can't decide everything on your own. They also have *mann* (preferences) to do things.
>
> Interviewer: Right. Right. But suppose one kids wants to draw and another wants to listen to a story, what will you…?

> You can do both the things. You can do both the things. You have 40 minutes. 20 minutes you can do coloring. Okay, today we will be doing one-page coloring and we will be doing it really nicely and we all will be doing it all together. And then that's done, after that okay now, you all can close your books and then now we start with story. (Haniya, Mumbai)

Haniya, the only teacher who identified as having a learning disability, describes strategies to respond to conflicting needs. Thus, teachers are invested in ensuring that children have the space to be different,

> Inclusive education, I think it is equality... Like, everyone has the right to be educated, right hai. So, those who are not able I will not say not able but just different in... different with us, they also have right to just like educ...get educations and could be educated person. So, that thing I will... I think it's included in this. (Jackie, Ahmedabad)

Jackie switches from "not able" to "different in", perhaps indicating that the inability to conform to existing standards of achievement does not count as 'inability' but is simply a form of difference. Those rendered 'different' then also have the right to be educated. This stems from teachers' belief in the potential of each child to learn,

> Inclusive education means a kind of education where each child, whether they are disabled, whatever they are, every child can learn in the classroom. I mean I won't see that okay this kid is disabled in something, or some kid has a hearing problem, or a child has an eye problem. Every student sit together and they learn. And by their own way. (Khadija, Ahmedabad)

In declaring "by their own way", Khadija makes clear that inclusion is about ensuring children with and without disabilities are included in the classroom without dissolving differences.

Further, teachers express that teaching must occur in ways that students develop their interest in learning and do not feel "that I cannot do it, or this is something that I cannot do." Being inclusive here is to avoid comparison between children and focus on the individual. Teachers accomplish this by providing extra attention and not lowering expectations from children who may be viewed as low performing.

Overall, this way of enacting inclusion settles on responding to differences as the foundation of enacting inclusion. Instead of prioritizing the pace of the curriculum, this way of enacting inclusion prioritizes identifying and responding to the pace and capacity of individual children in the classroom. However, curriculum time cannot be bypassed, and its specter looms large in teacher attempts to create individualized classroom times. Individual needs are catered to and addressed almost surreptitiously, maneuvering time and institutional pressures.

5.1.4 Thinking across times: Two times of inclusive education

A contrast is evident between the two approaches. Enforcing the participation and involvement of all children in the classroom seems incompatible with providing options for classroom participation, maintaining collective attention and pace is not in line with respecting and catering to the individual speeds of children, and achieving uniformity in learning standards contradicts teaching according to student capacity and ability. The two ways of inclusion are not camps where teachers have picked sides, or specific to either school. Nor do these represent differences between the two NGOs approaches to doing inclusion. Instead, the two approaches represent different temporal orientations underlying the dilemma of difference for teachers. Using multiple means to represent knowledge can be justified in ways that allow for individual pace but may also be viewed as ways to achieve uniformity in learning outcomes as per

curriculum time. Similarly, providing extra attention as a way to incorporate varying the pace of working and learning in the classroom but is practiced in a way to ensure that the collective pace is not disrupted. As Jackie (Ahmedabad) puts it, "we have to take everyone along and teach them and each child of the class, like, it matters to us. So, I think it is inclusive." Zoya (Mumbai) explains this in the context of socio-economic background,

> You cannot do it, or that you can only take up certain professions after 10th grade, it is not like that. The school is teaching everyone in the same way. They can come from any religion. Everyone is taught in the same way. Every teacher teaching in the schools wants, her aim is that all child study. Whatever background they come from, doesn't matter. She is teaching everyone equally and she wants that everyone's result (performance) is also equal. And that they'll get opportunities after they get their results. Whatever field they want to choose, they can choose. (Zoya, Mumbai)

Jackie and Zoya highlight the dilemmas in responding to individual differences. In the study of France and England, Raveaud (2005) argues that historical and cultural contexts lead to contrasting approaches to the social construction of students. While teachers in England focus on the learning of individual children and the uniqueness of each child's characteristics and needs, teachers in France sought to provide all children with equal access to the same classroom experiences. As I will explore in the next chapter, curriculum time dominates in the Indian context (Kumar, 1988). The notion of inclusion as uniformity and equal access to the classroom is perhaps more in line with the educational context in India. However, we see the two approaches co-existing as two different times of enacting inclusion across the school sites, acting as a site of tension. Equal treatment – "everyone is taught in the same way" is as important to teachers as the belief in every child's potential to learn. There is a complex entanglement of the

individual and the collective. To avoid discrimination, favoritism, and difference, teachers want to ensure uniform standards of achievement and want to ensure consistency among students. At the same time, teachers want to acknowledge individual choices, pace, and needs. As I will explore in the next chapter, the latter is an approach to difference brought into the schools through the school-NGO partnerships. I further examine how these two times of inclusion are associated with the presence of NGOs at the school sites. I will analyze how these approaches correspond to the past and futures of teacher-centered and child-centered pedagogy.

In the next section, I examine *dhyāna* as a concept through which teachers construct and resolve the tensions between curriculum times and individual times in the classroom. That is, *dhyāna*, which translates to care or attention is a culturally embedded notion of classroom times within which teachers temporally construct, identify, and respond to needs.

5.2 *Dhyāna:* classroom times, care, and inclusive education

I use the concept of *dhyāna* to think with teachers as they reflect on the dilemmas associated with carrying out care in classroom times. Teachers across the two school sites use the word *dhyāna* to refer to attention, care, and concentration. I argue that *dhyāna* encompasses relationships between the teacher, students, and parents that make classroom times possible.

Scholars of inclusive education in the global South critique the one-way transfer of inclusive education knowledge from Northern academics and international agencies, without much consideration of local contexts. Instead, researchers call for efforts towards localizing inclusive education (Singal & Muthukrishna, 2014) that focuses on existing knowledge and capacities of communities in the global South. Scholars argue that inclusive education is through

questions of language and terminology. Singal (2006) suggests that the import of the language of inclusion, based in English, has rendered inclusion an 'elusive concept.' Similarly, Rao and Kalyanpur (2020) ask "how…can we apply such a concept to other contexts in the Global South where there may be no English equivalent to the term disability? (p.1835) As mentioned before, some teachers were unfamiliar with the English term inclusive education, and some attributed their knowledge of the term inclusive education to the NGOs. None of the teachers were familiar with the formal language Hindi and Urdu translations of the term. Thus, one is hard-pressed to find the local language equivalent for inclusive education. I propose *dhyāna* as an "already existing" term that is "part of the local language and used in a variety of contexts to describe multiple situations" (p. 1835) to understand the enactment of inclusion.

Drawing on *shomoyscapes* as a "relational temporality" in the global South (Shahjahan et al., 2022), *dhyāna* can be understood as a culturally sustaining concept (Paris & Alim, 2017) encompassing care and attention in classroom times. An important aspect of culturally sustaining pedagogies is critical reflexivity (Paris & Alim, 2017), to examine the ways in which practices may reproduce normative and hegemonic orders. This is crucial to understand *dhyāna* as a culturally sustaining form of care in classroom times: to distinguish between aspects of the term that uphold normativity and aspects that allow teachers to question the context in which they provide care and enact inclusion.

The term *dhyāna* originates from Sanskrit. The Digital Dictionaries of South Asia Sanskrit dictionary defines ध्यान *dhyāna* as meditation and religious contemplation. Boruah (2020) states that the origin of the term lies in Hindu texts of the Vedas and the Upanishads. In Hindu practice, *dhyāna* a is a form of awareness of the "ultimate reality" (p. 37) derived from "contemplative and concentrated meditation" (p. 37) In Patanjali's Yoga Sutra, *dhyāna*, or

meditation, is seven of the eight limbs of yoga, requiring "uninterrupted mental flow singularly fixed on a single object or image" (p. 37). Based in yoga, the idea of *dhyāna* is then associated with Hinduism such that the "heterogeneous roots of Yoga have been homogenized in modern India as something Hindu and Brahminical" (Chakravorty, 2022, p. 1). The origins of the term are difficult to separate from its more colloquial usage. The history and contemporary entanglements of *dhyāna* are important to provide a more complete and critically reflexive examination. However, in this chapter, I am interested in how teachers use the word *dhyāna*.

Dhyāna, as an examination of care and attention, allows us to engage with the dilemmas that teachers experience in enacting inclusive education. Relationships of care are an important aspect of theories of inclusive education. Danforth and Naraian (2015) propose central tenets of inclusive education rooted outside the theoretical assumptions within special education. One of the four principles is interpersonal relationships based on care. Caring relationships that foster inclusive education are characterized by the teacher being "fully present, available, attending" (p. 77) such that the "purposes and needs of the student become the complete goal of the teacher" (p. 77). Further, the time poverty imposed by educational systems constrains relational pedagogies required for recognizing classroom diversity,

> Effective relational ontologies recognise the diversity of the ways group members work in the service of time. This requires the acknowledgement of collective time, or the shared histories and futures that have constitutive implications on any one moment generated by a group, rather than a focus on risk posed through the involvement of any one individual. (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, p. 206)

In line with existing research on care and inclusive education, I examine caring relationships that underlie *dhyāna* through the ethics of care (Tronto 1993). Keeping with the democratic

principles as the foundation of inclusive education (Danforth & Naraian, 2015), Tronto's ethics of care emphasizes questions of justice and democracy. Tronto (1993) argues that care is practice and a disposition. She proposes four phases of caring: caring about, taking care of, caregiving, and care receiving. The first phase refers to the recognition of a need, the second phase is about determining responses to needs, the third phase involves contact with the object of care and the fourth phase is the care receivers' response to care. The fourth phase determines whether needs were correctly identified and have been met. Associated with the phases of care are ethics: attentiveness, responsibility, competence, and responsiveness. Importantly, each aspect of care is marked by conflict and moral dilemmas.

Constraints on teachers' time make *dhyāna*, caring for children's needs, a difficult accomplishment in the classroom. In line with existing research on temporality and education, teachers at the sites can be characterized as "temporally strangled" (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020, p. 205). Facing large class sizes, lack of resources, and the pressures of curriculum time makes the education of children with disabilities "yet another challenge to implement in their daily practices" (p. 205).

Teachers' reflection on *dhyāna* as rigid norms about children's bodies and parental behaviors highlight the ways in which temporality influences the construction of needs in the classroom. In this way, the different meanings of *dhyāna* underpin the dilemmas teachers experience in enacting inclusion: enforcing uniformity in pursuit of *dhyāna* as an embodied collective time-space or giving *dhyāna* to the needs of children in the classroom. In pursuit of *dhyāna,* inclusion becomes a response to and an outcome of temporal deviance in the classroom (Saul, 2020). At the same time, *dhyāna* is a potential site of critical reflexivity (Paris & Alim, 2017) for teachers to examine their assumptions about inclusion and disability. Examining

dhyāna as a culturally sustaining concept underlying care in classroom times serves as a way to explore the "many culturally situated' 'inclusions.'' (Danforth & Naraian, 2015, p. 72)

I demonstrate how teachers use *dhyāna* is used in three ways: (i) norms about attention, established by controlling children's bodies in the classroom; (ii) standards of care expected from parents; and (iii) teachers' actions to ensure children's engagement and participation in the classroom. The three meanings of *dhyāna* constitute both the temporal foundations of normativity in classrooms and caring relationships established in classroom times. Further, the different meanings associated with *dhyāna* allow an examination of how local knowledge (Canagarajah, 2002) can encompass both the "myth of the normal child" (Baglieri et al., 2011) that dominates educational policies and practices and the possibilities of caring relationships that recognize diversity in classroom times (Thomas & Whitburn, 2020).

5.2.1 *Dhyāna* as norms about attention

In the classroom, teachers assess and respond to needs by attending to children's bodies. Teachers determine the establishment of *dhyāna* through bodily cues. Across schools, classroom times require that students sit in a particular way – upright, straight, and facing the teacher, "if they sit straight their *dhyāna* will be straight. If they are crooked then so is their attention" (Sadiya, Mumbai) Sitting straight is important to achieve concentrated focus – to become attuned to the classroom time instead of personal times. Maintaining certain bodily postures for long periods of time is considered crucial to the practice of meditation in the yogic understanding of *dhyāna* (Boruah, 2020). Based on observations of online classes, when asked why it is important for children to sit straight, Sana (Ahmedabad) responded,

So that what I am explaining, what I am telling them they can see and listen with focus. Because if they are not sitting properly then they feel lazy, then if there don't have *dhyāna* so whatever is happening at home or whatever their brother or sister or whatever is happening, they look here and there then. So that's what I keep reminding them again and again that they have to look at the screen, they have to listen to me. So that whatever I am saying if not 100% at least 50% or 60% they understand the entire lecture. In the 40 minutes at least 20 to 25 minutes, they should attentively attend the lecture. (Sana, Ahmedabad)

The reminders to ensure children remain joined in classroom times are not only a feature of Zoom classrooms. *Dhyāna* is viewed as an essential, fleeting, limited capacity children must maintain, and teachers must harness and control. Teachers provide instructions for students to sit and focus at the start of a class period or when switching from one task to another – instances when classroom times are most likely to be disrupted,

The bell rings. Zoya has to switch from a crafts period to the mathematics period. She asks the class to pack up the flowers they were making. She tries to get them to move faster, "One more activity you want to do na yes or no?"

The students respond, "Yes!"

"So why you are delaying?"

She reminds them with a countdown to put their things back, "Last 5! 5!"

The threat of 4-3-2-1 looms large. She tells them to fold their hands and sit. "Still I can see Irfan standing, why? Irfan, can you sit?" Irfan is not moving fast enough for Zoya, struggling to take out the mathematics textbook. Zoya goes over to his desk and takes it out of his bag for him. (Zoya, Mumbai)

The countdowns and the reminders to sit are sites to implore students to join classroom times, to gather their *dhyāna* towards the teacher and the task at hand. In other classrooms, similar instructions are given: "Sit straight fold your hands"; enter a meditative pose to enter classroom times. Classroom times of *dhyāna* are characterized by routines (Adam 1995) such as asking students the date at the start of the school day, having students follow instructions to sit and stand, or starting the class with a prayer. Beyond posture, children's faces are important cues for teachers to determine *dhyāna*,

> Facial expression. And their responses, that way.
>
> Interviewer: Hm. So, like what kind of facial expressions are you looking for?
>
> I mean those who show eagerness yes we want to answer and they continuous say that "yes" "no" I didn't understand" or "I understood" and then some kids are like I mean their attention is not there or they are thinking something else, looking outside, sitting sadly…so with that I can tell that yes, this child is not able to give *dhyāna* or is thinking something else. Maybe they need something else…like that. (Angelica, Mumbai)

Children's bodies demonstrate *dhyāna* and the absence of *dhyāna* establishes need. To be attentive to these needs, teachers surveil the classroom, over Zoom and in person, to observe cues that indicate whether children have strayed from classroom time. In addition to monitoring, classroom time is controlled by the teacher through fear. Teachers create classroom routines whereby children observed appearing out of *dhyāna* are questioned, a test of their attunement with classroom times,

> Interviewer: Hmm, and why do you decide this way that sometimes you will ask those giving lots of *dhyāna* and sometimes those who are not giving any *dhyāna* at all?

> Because if suppose I mean I decide like that those giving more *dhyāna* …those who don't give *dhyāna* they think that the teacher has asked them, they are giving *dhyāna*. 'So, he has answered so even I should look that way…I should bring my focus here'…and sometimes if it's that they are not giving *dhyāna* so it should be that 'okay if I don't give *dhyāna* the teacher might call on me, she might ask me so I should already pay attention.' So both ways I do. (Sumaira, Mumbai)

Cold calling, that is, asking students questions based on whether teachers believe they are paying attention or not, is to create a classroom environment where students feel compelled to concentrate on what everyone else is doing and act accordingly. Teachers hope children regulate their *dhyāna* in the classroom to not be singled out or humiliated in front of their peers. Hiba imagines the internal dialogue the child may create to regulate their *dhyāna.* This dialogue is rooted in children comparing themselves to their peers "even I should bring my focus here" and avoiding attracting the teacher's *dhyāna* towards them "the teacher might call on me." Choral repetition is another way to create a collective classroom time that takes everyone along together and maintains the *dhyāna* of all children in the classroom,

> Everyone together because if kids read together their *dhyāna* is more that okay I am reading or not like I am reading with everyone else. Like that. And when it is together everyone is like okay let's read together…and I see who is reading and who is not reading. (Aqsa, Ahmedabad)

Much like cold calling, choral repetition is rooted in orienting children to behave like everyone else: a collective time deemed essential for classroom times that ensure discipline and uniformity.

The strict control over children's bodies can be likened to the disciplinary practices documented in no-excuses charter schools in the United States (Golann, 2021). Examining the exclusionary role that charter schools play in the education of children with disabilities, Stern et al. (2015) outline the notion of 'normative inclusion', which refers to the ways the promotion of charter schools does not challenge the normative constructions of ability or education. Waitoller (2020) describes this phenomenon as neoliberal selective inclusionism, which refers to the inclusion of difference into schools, without changing institutional norms or challenging "neoliberal fantasies of normative productive bodies" (91). The practice of bodily control in the classroom, of *dhyāna*, stems from a desire to teach children the "scripts for success" (Golann, 2021, p. 18) in future grades and future careers.

Both schools were established with the aim of educating the Muslim community. As the founder of the Mumbai school explained,

> The student is the model. So, if we work on the student, we work on the parents, we're working on the community, we are bringing changes. So the idea is to bring change in the community, more discipline, more civic sense, more hygiene, education, better quality of life.

Managing and monitoring the behavior of minoritized children occurs through managing and monitoring time and attention in the classroom. Disciplining children's bodies within and through classroom time becomes the way to provide educational access and success to children from minoritized backgrounds (Saul, 2020).

Demonstrating *dhyāna* in the classroom not only preserves the limited classroom time but serves as a moral commitment to student care and success. *Dhyāna* requires children's bodies and minds to be still and meditative for inclusive classroom times that prioritize collective pace,

attention, and achievement. The fleetingness of *dhyāna* implies that it is always at risk of being disturbed (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a). It is in this context that individuals with needs are constructed, and children become identified as sites of intervention by becoming out of pace and out of sync in the classroom.

5.2.2 *Dhyāna* as parental standards of care

Addressing children's needs brings up questions about responsibility – who is responsible for providing care (Tronto 1993)? Responsibility for children's participation in classroom times is a negotiation between teachers and parents. Teachers feel that parents need to give *dhyāna* to their children for children to demonstrate *dhyāna* in the classroom. "Dealing with parents" and getting "parents to cooperate" are commonly expressed concerns and frustrations for teachers,

> I mean his mummy-daddy should have that background…if the mummy-daddy gives enough attention they understand quickly. If his mummy daddy…or it could be someone else like some kids' parents are more education some are not educated. So those whose parents are educated their kids are I mean I won't say that all kids whose parents are educated all of them are smart it's not like that…I mean what I have seen is that a little bit the background is very important. (Zahra, Mumbai)

Zahra identifies the relationship between parental education and children's performance in the classroom, measured in speed "if the mummy daddy give enough attention they understand quickly." Parental "background" refers to the class, caste, and educational qualifications of parents. Many teachers describe parental care as an investment that parents must undertake – monetarily, by paying for afterschool private tutoring (Gupta, 2022), or by spending time with the child to ensure they complete their homework and revise their lessons at home,

> Interviewer: So you said there are differences between children in the class. What other differences do you see between children?
>
> In studies because studies like those parents who give *dhyāna* to their kids do revision. If they don't so 24 hours later the kid the next day listens to my words. So in 24 hours, many things get deleted from the flashback. So this…those who have good memory will remember. Or else those who revise will remember….(Sofia, Ahmedabad)

Teachers often hold parents responsible for temporal deviance (Saul, 2020, p. 202). Children who drag, disrupt, or delay are often identified as having a "background problem." That is, the temporal assumptions of schooling are likely to render children belonging to the disadvantaged class and caste backgrounds as temporal Others (Edling, 2022) in need of teachers' *dhyāna,* or care. For instance, in a mathematics lesson in a grade three classroom in Mumbai, Angelica is asking students to solve questions that she has written on the board,

> Angelica asks the class, "12t means?" The class responds in a chorus, "120!" Angelica asks the class whether this is correct, "Is this right? How? Okay, explain me how?" Angelica not only wants the correct answer, but she also wants to check if students have understood the underlying concept, "12t means?" The class responds, "120!" She is about to ask the class to ask what the "t" refers to when she suddenly focuses on a child sitting in the leftmost row at the corner desk, "What are you doing Aisha? Take your book." She asks Aisha to move to a desk in the front center of the classroom. The girl Aisha is asked to sit with refuses. Angelica tries to convince here, "let her sit with you. Help her." She agrees reluctantly, Aisha moves, and the lesson goes on (Angelica, Mumbai)

This incident demonstrates the attentiveness to children's bodies as a way to determine who is and is not participating in classroom times. The teachers observe children's bodies and faces as a

way to understand children's needs at each moment. When asked about this incident, Angelica highlights a distinction between the locus of the problem and the responsibility for care,

> Interviewer: Yes I think there was one child that you asked…there was one kid you moved. I think the girl said no I don't want to sit with her and then you said to let her sit with you, help her. Like, what was that? Do you remember that situation?
>
> I know. That girl Aisha. See, Aisha ka [light laughter] I can say background problem hai. There is no problem with the child. There is no problem in the child, but the thing is that the parents are not cooperative at all, there are not even a bit interested. I don't know why. I mean when school started, she came for 15-20 days and I have been calling her parents for so long, to come meet me, come meet me but they are not ready to come and I don't know the reason. So there is no problem in her. Just to engage her, the other girl who was there you can call her smart…. (Angelica, Mumbai)

The teacher states there is a "background problem" and not a "problem with the child." Here, Angelica is addressing a fundamental question about who is responsible for creating needs. According to Angelica, it is not something intrinsic to the child, the child is not responsible for her lack of engagement. However, the teacher is not responsible for the lack of engagement either. It is the parent who is held responsible for creating a situation where Aisha requires help from a peer to remain engaged in the classroom.

Dhyāna, as the normative standard of parental care, implies that school success requires parents and children to learn and exhibit middle-class norms (Golann, 2021). The two schools do not cater to a Muslim middle class but, as the founder of the Mumbai school suggests, respond to the "middle-class aspirations" of parents: an English-speaking education, entry into the professional class, or a good educated Muslim girl (Khoja-Moolji, 2018).

5.2.3 *Dhyāna* as identifying those in need of care

Thus far, I have outlined how the term *dhyāna* is used to establish normativity in the classroom. Children marked outside of classroom times, those who become out of time, constitute those in need of teacher care: the third way in which teachers use the term *dhyāna.* That is, *dhyāna* as the site of need and care identifies the Other, outside of the normative boundaries of attention and parental responsibility. As an ethic of care, *dhyāna* requires identifying and assessing needs in the classroom. Needs, as Tronto (1993) highlights, are "culturally determined" (171). Being attentive to needs requires engaging with what characterizes needs and how competing and conflicting needs should be met. The disruption of *dhyāna* impinges upon curriculum times – a key source of the time poverty that teachers experience in the classroom (Kumar, 1988). This further brings attention to those who disrupt classroom times. Establishing classroom times brings attention to those who need more *dhyāna*. That is, children whose bodies and backgrounds do not conform demand the teacher's attention. As one teacher suggested, "they need something else."

Children with disabilities particularly bring to the front challenges of providing care and attention in inclusive classroom times. The tension between care and disability is well-documented in the literature (Ghosh & Banerjee, 2017; Kröger, 2009; Rummery & Fine, 2012). These tensions revolve around issues such as vulnerability, autonomy, independence, dependence, as well as the relationships between caregivers and care recipients. The research on care work and disability in India has focused on informal care relegated to families of disabled people and its relationship with poverty, gender, and rurality (Addlakha, 2020; Ghosh & Banerjee, 2017; Rao, 2001).

Disability studies often critiques care research for positioning disabled individuals as dependent and lacking in choice or control, therefore in need of care (Kröger, 2009). On the other hand, care researchers argue that neglecting care within disability studies ignores questions about the balance of power between caregivers and care recipients and that both caregivers and care recipients are vulnerable and oppressed (Clifford Simplican, 2015; Kröger, 2009). Scholars bringing these fields into conversation highlight common concerns around justice, interdependence, and the effects of neoliberal marketization on the welfare of disabled people and caregivers (McRuer 2006; Tronto 2013; Kröger 2009),

> If nothing else, feminist, disability and care scholars and activists converge around the vitality of care. Care is fundamental to being and becoming human together. It encompasses the intimate, fleshy and mundane exchanges between bodies engaged in everyday affects and acts—of giving and receiving, of living and growing, of teaching and learning—that are fraught with ethical complexity (Douglas et al., 2017, p. 1).

Teacher narratives in this study reflect dilemmas around care and disability. Disabled children are viewed as a hindrance to the collective pace and design of the classroom. Teachers do not state this to express a desire to exclude children with disabilities but to highlight the kind of care and consideration required in enacting inclusion. The teachers grapple with the pedagogical value of care relationships in the classroom (Douglas et al., 2017): “In what way do I teach so that everyone understands?”,

> The challenge to making the classroom inclusive is that suppose I’ve planned a lesson, and I’ve designed an activity, so maybe the disabled child may not be able to do it. Right? Maybe they won’t understand, maybe it’s not appropriate for their level, maybe their understanding won’t happen…so all these things can happen. And so if the teacher

> is teaching something with a lot of *dhyāna* (care/attention), she has to keep 3-4 things in mind whether teaching in this way, teaching in another way, or consider another way and include another way. So whatever it is all children understand. To consider these 3-4 things and teach…it might be difficult to do all…the challenge that is there, that comes up is in what way do I teach so that everyone understands? (Farah, Ahmedabad)

The question of care in the education of children with disability is complicated by histories of segregation, normalization, and the assumption that disabled children are incompetent or have needs that are excessive (Baglieri et al., 2011; Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2013). The involvement of the disabled child risks the establishment of normative classroom times (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a). The "'leaking, lacking and excessive' bodies of disabled children" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2013), unable to demonstrate the normative forms of *dhyāna* expected, are assumed to require extra care and attention,

> Haan, you can see that whether a child is ADHD or the child is autistic, the way the child is sitting, not attending the class, always has...same thing. In autism, it's like the kid doesn't give *dhyāna* at all. They'll keep moving, keep moving. So that way you can identify. But learning disability is something that the child will come to school, they will work in front of you then you'll understand how the child is writing, where the child is facing problems. He has a learning disability problem, then you understand. (Haniya, Mumbai)

Children with disabilities are assumed to be vulnerable and are seen as unique in their vulnerability (Fernandes & Sarkar, 2023; Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2013). As discussed before, this perspective on disability reflects the ideology of ability (Siebers, 2008) and constructs disability as a negative ontology (Campbell, 2012) – disability is characterized by

absence or lack. This is crucial as "care is concerned with conditions of vulnerability and inequality" (Tronto, 1993, p. 134). As Haniya notes above, the assumption of vulnerability and lack is not uniform across categories of disability – some categories of disability are viewed as uneducable (Singal, 2008). This is not to suggest that teachers do not want to care for disabled children in their classrooms. Instead, they raise critical concerns in the ethics of care: time (Tronto 2003; Thomas and Whitburn 2020; 2019), resources, and competence (Tronto 1993),

> Interviewer: You said there are 50 kids how will she give *dhyāna*? Do you think if the class size was less..like 20 kids in the class and...
>
> Easily she can give *dhyāna*. Easily! In that she can give *dhyāna* to the special kids. Because if you have you know you have a bundle of children, it is very difficult. It is very easy for you to deal with those bundle, you know. Only 10-20, it's very easy. But if you have a lot of kids, it's very difficult for you to pay attention, you know. It is very difficult...and I think they require...they require one to one like, one to one should happen with them...attention has to be there like if the teacher won't give one to one focus then there will be no change in the children, it will make no difference on them. (Haniya, Mumbai)

Class size, described by teachers as the strength of the classroom, is determined as a crucial limitation to care for the seemingly excessive needs of disabled children. Children with disabilities are perceived to require "one-to-one focus" that teachers do not have the capacity for in a class of 50 children. In addition to class size, teachers highlight the lack of resources that preclude conditions of care for disabled children,

> There are no facilities in this school so far…none. For now, it's just that these kids aren't too many but there is some diversity within them right now. So those kids the teachers

> handle. The HM or the principal don't even come to ask how you are treating such children or what you are doing with them, no one. If the teacher is good and she understands then the child will study. If the teacher has the desire to teach within, and the desire to improve the child then it will happen. I am talking about this school right now. And here the HM and the principal don't ask, I think, in any class don't ask like if a child is not able to understand then for what can you use, what new techniques you can use, how do you teach this, the books…I mean there are books and all right in some places there is a personal treatment that principals and all also give more attention but in this school, there is nothing at all. (Zahra, Mumbai)

Zahra complains about the lack of "facilities in the school" and that the "HM and principal don't ask" or support teachers with resources or techniques to teach children with disabilities. Resources are important in practicing good care (Tronto 1993). As Tronto (1993) asks: "Isn't there something wrong with morally condemning a teacher who does his best, since the fault is not of his own making, but of the inadequacy of resources?" (p. 133) Yet, the segregation of disabled children is then justified because of the limited capacity for care (Baglieri & Bacon, 2017),

> Interviewer: So did you think disabled kids should go to a different school and everyone else in a different school? Or can they go to the same school?
>
> It would depend. For example, if you take such kids in (our school) then it is not possible. It's impossible because reason..they are…there is too much strength…like in my class there are 74 kids. With 74 kids in my class if there is one person who has this disability, even a little, then I cannot give my *dhyāna* to all of them at the same time. Suppose there

were 2 kids like this and the strength of the class was less, then I…and teachers need to have that knowledge as well. (Fatima, Mumbai)

Fatima believes because of large class sizes she "cannot give *dhyāna* to all of them at the same time." That is, the presence of disabled children in the classroom, who require extensive attention and care, puts classroom times at risk (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a). As Ghosh and Banerjee (2017) highlight in their study of parental care for disabled children in India, disabled children are often "denied their personhood" (p. 12) in a context of care that is overprotective. It is not neglect, but in the oppressive relations of care that "disabled children are given special treatment, at times in excess of what is required" (p. 12). At the same time, Fatima raises important questions about competence to care (Tronto, 1993) for disabled children, "teachers need to have that knowledge as well."

The question of competence in the education of children with disabilities is a complex dilemma (Norwich, 2009; Norwich & Lewis, 2005). When teachers state "How do I handle the child? I don't know the techniques for that" it implies the existence of a specialized set of theories and practices required to teach children with disabilities. These beliefs often stem from teachers' experiences in pre-service education. Yet, the international consensus states that there is no specialist or different pedagogy for inclusive education (Nind & Wearmouth, 2006; Norwich & Lewis, 2005; Rix & Sheehy, 2013). The 2020 Global Education Monitoring Report on inclusion states that there is no special pedagogy to teach children with disabilities in inclusive classrooms – and that special schools do not have a distinct pedagogy for inclusion (UNESCO, 2020). As I demonstrate in the next chapter, child-centered pedagogy is the approach recommended by several international agencies for inclusive education as it values the individual needs of children in the classroom.

5.3 Conclusion

In exploring the dilemma of difference experienced by teachers, I highlight the two temporal orientations to inclusive education described by teachers: inclusion as uniformity and assimilation by achieving curriculum times and inclusion as a response to individual needs and pace, respecting individual times. I examine the intertwined processes through which teachers construct normativity and care in their pursuit of enacting inclusive education within the constraints of curriculum and classroom time. I propose the notion of *dhyāna* as a culturally sustaining concept, embedded within local knowledge, that helps understand the contexts within which the dilemma of difference is determined and resolved. That is, I highlight the context within which teachers come to understand difference, need, and care. In the next chapter, I examine the school-NGO partnership and the introduction of child-centered pedagogy in schools as a factor in teacher dilemmas of enacting inclusive education.

CHAPTER 6

6 Intervening for inclusion: Past, present, and future

In this chapter, I examine the school-NGO partnership as a site for teacher dilemmas in enacting inclusive education. I argue that the tension between the two times of enacting inclusive education- curriculum times and individual times- arises through the introduction of child-centered pedagogy, which emphasizes the needs and times of the individual child. Curriculum times align with whole classroom, teacher-centered pedagogical approaches, while individual times are closer to child-centered techniques. I demonstrate the range of practices introduced by the NGO in the school sites that emphasize the individual. In response to child-centered pedagogy in the school, teachers strive to navigate their past experiences and schemas of whole classroom teaching and teacher-centered pedagogy and the futures of inclusive child-centered pedagogy introduced by the NGO. I argue that in this tussle between the past and future, the present material, structural, and temporal conditions of teachers' work are obscured.

I highlight the contrast between the past, present, and futures of teachers and teaching to examine the ways in which "teachers experience the constitutive power of the past and future permeation on a daily basis" (Adam, 1995, p. 122). By understanding inclusive education in ways that acknowledge the multiple times and temporalities– clock time, calendar time, past and future time, and embodied times to name a few (Adam, 1995, p. 199; Leaton Gray, 2017), I contribute to existing knowledge on the role of teachers in enacting policies and practices for inclusion and social justice (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012; Li & Ruppar, 2020; Miller et al., 2020; Pantić & Florian, 2015). I describe how the transformation of "teaching methods" is the key site of the school-NGO partnership for inclusive education (Sleegers, 2019). In doing so, I

explore how the introduction of inclusive practices through the NGO adds to the dilemmas of inclusion discussed in the previous chapter. I start by exploring these dilemmas through Zoya.

Zoya teaches mathematics, science, and English to grade four in the Mumbai school. Her class has 40 children. She started her teaching career in this school around the same time as the Hope Fellowship started coming to school. As schools reopened in person during the pandemic, Zoya began to identify children who were slow, weak, aggressive — different. With the help of the Hope Fellows, two children with disabilities were identified in her classroom, but she does not know "where exactly the problem is" with both of them. When the "problem" is determined, Zoya will ask the Hope Fellows what to do because "she doesn't have so much knowledge in this area." Regardless, in her desire to ensure the involvement and participation of all children, Zoya modifies the difficulty level of classroom tasks for the two children. The dilemma surfaces: how to take everyone along while trying to focus on the needs of individual children?

> Because in my class there are 40 students and only one Farhan is there. So, how can I give whole...my whole time to Farhan? 39 students are also there na they are also dependent on me. At maximum, I can ask Farhan 10 times. More than that, I cannot ask him because what will the rest do? Farhan can get another school. But the others won't get even get a different school. Else there should be a special trainee for Farhaan who sits there, observes Farhan, whether he is able to write, can he read, or whatever else. There should be something like this. According to me. Because somewhere or the other, Farhan is neglected. It happens. Because I have to complete the portion. If a write a line on the board…all the other kids are on the last line and Farhaan is still writing the first line. I cannot give Farhan enough time in class so that he can complete his work. Otherwise, when will I teach? (Zoya, Mumbai)

As discussed before, it is important to consider the context within which individual needs are perceived and constructed: whose needs are addressed, whose are neglected, and whose are deemed excessive. Thus far, I have examined the ways in which the tussle between curriculum time and individual times, operating within the constraints of classroom time, is the site of teachers' dilemmas around needs, care, and inclusion. Above, Zoya describes the layers of time pressure that she experiences in balancing the individual with the classroom. The constraints of the class period limit Zoya's ability to ensure that Farhan has enough time to complete his work in the classroom. Farhan is out of pace. The need to "complete to portion" – the pressures of curriculum time restrict Zoya from modifying the curriculum for Farhan in meaningful ways. Farhan is out of age: "his level is 1st standard; he is in 4th standard. His age is appropriate, but his grasping power is not as good as the other children." Zoya struggles with neglecting the needs of the one and the thirty-nine. *Dhyāna*, the collective temporality of attention and care is a challenge. For Zoya, Farhan exists in a different time- she references policies that create special schools for those who occupy different times and are said to require different spaces (Saul, 2020). Even then, Zoya tries to find ways: she wants to give Farhan extra time, outside of regular school hours; she posts work on WhatsApp so that those who inhabit different times can complete their work at a different time; she distributes individual time, asking peers to help Farhan copy and complete his notebook; she gives Farhan opportunities to experience success in front of his peers, even when she thinks it is a "waste of time."

Zoya enjoys creating games and innovative ways of explaining mathematical concepts to her class. Zoya designed a game where students count the number of squares to find the area of a shape. Sitting in the staffroom one day, Zoya remarks how "Asif, he has intellectual disability, he answered. No one else knew the answer, he raised his hand first and gave the right answer!

Everyone had fun!" Pace remains an important metric of ability, "he raised his hand first." I press on, suggesting that even with his label, we can't lower our expectations. She agrees, "maybe the lack is not in the child, maybe our teaching method is faulty. If we change our teaching methods, maybe all students can learn!" (25th February 2022) Initially, Zoya believed Asif to be out of sync, he is "very aggressive" and "is not involved in the classroom." In this instance, however, Zoya believes that teachers and "our teaching methods" are responsible for children like Asif in the classroom because the "lack is not in the child"—the lack is in the teacher.

The shifts in Zoya's perspective on pedagogy represent two ways teachers across the sites think about teaching practice. The methods Zoya uses to teach Farhan within the limits of classroom and curriculum time rely on what I discuss in this chapter as the 'pedagogy of the past' – rooted in rote memorization, curricula, and textbooks (Kumar, 1988). In contrast, is the 'pedagogy of the future': teaching methods introduced by the NGOs that emphasize individualized instruction, activities, and student involvement. I discuss the distinction between these two times of teaching using literature on child-centered and teacher-centered pedagogy in the global South (Barrett, 2007; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013).

6.1 Teachers work and the temporality of inclusive education

In this chapter, I highlight the limitations of the notion of teachers as agents of inclusion by emphasizing the temporal aspects of education reforms (Thompson & Cook, 2017). I examine the school-NGO partnerships as the site of education reform. Across contexts, particularly in the global South, NGOs are involved in implementing policy (Charlton & May, 1995). In particular,

I demonstrate the ways in which the NGO efforts to change teacher actions neglect teacher presents – the temporal, material, and structural conditions of teachers' work and classroom.

Examining the experiences of teachers in Australia, Thompson and Cook (2017) describe education reform as a "temporal experience" (p. 29). Education reforms not only shapes teacher "perceptions of time" (p. 35) but also influences teacher subjectivity. As Zoya so succinctly says, "Inclusion has come into our brains now. And then somewhere or the other we bring it in" (Zoya, Mumbai). In response to increased standardized testing in Australia, teachers find themselves with "no time to teach" (Thompson & Cook, 2017, p. 35), caught between the two timelines, one that seeks to emphasize the "unique development of each student" (p.33) and another that requires constant monitoring student performance over time.

Examining education reform as a temporal experience allows me to place teachers' dilemma about enacting inclusive education (Chapter 5) in the context of the changes introduced through the school-NGO partnership. In the previous chapter, I described how teachers struggle with the tensions between prioritizing uniformity through curriculum time or pursuing individual learning timelines that "cannot be standardized" (Thomas and Whitburn 2020, p. 206). In particular, I argue for the need to engage with the "grid of temporal power relations" (Sharma, 2014, p. 9) that underlies the organization of education systems. Time is the site through which power operates — the organization of time in schools is "dialectically interconnected" (Roth et al., 2008, p. 136) with the agency of those working within schools. That is, questions of social justice involve decisions about time (Cohen, 2018). Further, NGOs operate through a particular set of temporal relations with donors, the state, and beneficiaries (Davidov, 2016; Davidov & Nelson, 2016). I argue that NGOs fail to engage with teachers' location in the "larger economy of temporal worth" (Sharma, 2014, p. 8). It is important to note that I am not simply arguing for teachers to

have more time or free time. Instead, there is a need for "awareness of power relations as they play out in time" (Sharma, 2014, p. 4) and its consequences for the enactment of inclusion and social justice in schools.

Inclusive education requires teachers to interpret and "give meaning to the concept of inclusion" (Black-Hawkins and Florian 2012, p. 571) in the classroom. The two main lines of research on teachers and inclusive education – teacher attitudes and teacher preparation- elucidate the position of teachers as problems and solutions to inclusive education (Done & Murphy, 2018; Miegham et al., 2018). The first line of literature views teacher attitudes and beliefs as the vital gap between policy and teacher action toward inclusive education. The second line of research on teacher education research seeks to prepare teachers to act in ways that are inclusive and prepare them for change (Fullan, 1993; Pantić, 2015; Pantić & Florian, 2015). Thus, teachers are viewed as the key actor in implementing education policies int the classroom (Brain et al., 2006). Overall, a large body of literature is dedicated to understanding how teacher beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors contribute to the discrepancy between policy and practice (Brinkmann, 2015; Coburn, 2001, 2005; Mukhopadhyay & Ali, 2020; Spillane et al., 2002)

The research on teacher attitudes and beliefs argues that the successful implementation of inclusive education rests on teachers supporting such policies. Teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of inclusion and disability drive their behavior. Thus, positive attitudes are likely to lead to the successful implementation of inclusive education, "teachers' beliefs and attitudes are critical in ensuring the success of inclusive practices since teachers' acceptance of the policy of inclusion is likely to affect their commitment to implementing it" (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002, p. 130). Appropriate teacher education is believed to support teachers to develop skills and competencies that are crucial to implementing inclusive education policy (Miegham et al., 2018;

Waitoller & Artiles, 2013). Thus, teachers are viewed as the missing piece between policy and the intended change it aims to bring about. Both approaches – teacher attitudes and teacher education - view teachers as change agents (Fullan, 1993) who can either actively enact social justice by changing their attitudes or by gaining access to professional development. Further, in response to growing neoliberal market reforms, teachers' role is increasingly envisaged as resisting policy (Duarte & Brewer, 2022; Pease-Alvarez & Thompson, 2014; Terhart, 2013). Implementing or resisting, teachers are responsibilized for enacting change, social justice, and inclusion (Done & Murphy, 2018). In this way, teachers "become both problem and solution" (p. 6) in the implementation of inclusive education. Yet, the NGOs, running programs centered around teacher professional development, do not engage with how teachers navigate time or the ways in which time structures teachers work. That is, "time is a luxury not afforded to the classroom teacher, nor deliberated by the teacher educator" (Thomas and Whitburn 2019, p. 167).

In the next few sections, I examine the NGO interventions and what they require of teachers: How are the NGOs interpreting inclusive education for schools? What are the time pressures operating on the NGO? What are the ways in which teachers are required to change? Lastly, I highlight the ways in which teachers are caught in a temporal tug of war between the past and future and call for a need to recognize the present reality within which teachers enact inclusion. Teacher talk serves as an important resource for teachers to act as agents (Biesta et al., 2017). I examine how teachers across the two sites highlight a temporal distinction between teaching practices, the pedagogy of teachers' past and the pedagogy of the NGO's future, and how teachers navigate the two in their present. Interventions and social justice reforms rest on the idea of a better future, such that the "predominant temporal orientation of much

contemporary educational discourse is towards the future" (McLeod, 2017, p. 14). However, engaging with how teachers negotiate between the past, future, and the present is crucial as education has "been so pre-occupied with the present–future that it has not been sufficiently attuned to the past and past–present relations" (McLeod, 2017, p. 14).

6.2 Inclusive education at the school gate

Across contexts, NGOs play a role in developing and implementing policy, particularly in education (Charlton & May, 1995; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In India, the state has reduced its involvement in the education sector, allowing NGOs to be increasingly influential in education policy (Ball, 2016; Subramanian, 2018). At the same time, NGOs in India struggle with their tenuous and complex relationships with states, schools, donors, and beneficiaries in enacting social justice and inclusive education (Sarkar & Cravens, 2022). Yet, there is limited research on how school-NGO partnerships shape teaching practices (Sleegers, 2019). To understand how NGOs shape teacher dilemmas of enacting inclusion, I first outline the differences and similarities between the school-NGO partnerships at the two sites (Table 4). The interventions differ in how they conceptualize and enact inclusive education. I argue that these differences stem from differences in organizational capacity and the relationship between the school and the NGO.

	Inclusive Schools	**Hope Fellowship**
Approach to Inclusion	Academic inclusion	Social inclusion
Pathway to change	Capacity building among teachers	Mindset shifts across actors in schools followed by capacity building; focus on teachers

Terminology	Not important to the model	Introducing terms like inclusive education and diverse learners, challenging existing terms for disabled children important to mindset shifts
Pedagogical orientation	Child-centered pedagogy, English as a Second Language/Foreign Language; activity-based learning	Child-centered pedagogy; Universal Design for Learning
Identification	Learning breakdowns lead to the identification of children with disabilities; similar to Response to Intervention	Fellows observing red flags for referral to doctors
Funding	Domestic corporate social responsibility	Domestic corporate social responsibility
Staff expertise	Teacher professional development; curriculum development	Mental health; social work; teacher professional development; special education; pediatrics
Resources provided to schools	Lesson plans, curricula, workshops, assessments	Workshops, on-site staff

Table 4:Differences and similarities between the two school-NGO partnerships

However, there are two key similarities between the two. Both NGOs target teachers as the site of intervention. In different ways, both organizations attempt to change teachers and teaching practices. This ties into the association between child-centered pedagogy as a kind of inclusive pedagogy and the emphasis on teacher agency within child-centered pedagogy and social justice. In particular, I explore how time and temporality operate in the relationship between the school-NGO partnership and the teachers. Further, I explore how the varying interpretations of inclusion lead the two NGOs to participate in identifying and creating targets of inclusion (Graham & Slee, 2008).

6.2.1 Inclusive Schools NGO in Ahmedabad

The Inclusive School NGO at the Ahmedabad school conducted in-service teacher professional development with teachers of English and Mathematics. None of the teachers at this school had professional teaching qualifications. Given the low fees of the school, the school could not afford to pay teachers with professional qualifications. At the same time, the school stated a preference for teachers they could "mold" into teaching practices the school sought to impart. Thus, the school paid for the services of NGOs like the Inclusive Schools NGO to conduct the requisite professional development for the teachers. The program included teacher training, classroom observation and feedback, and scripted lesson plans and assessments. The training involved sessions on education policy in India and specific teaching strategies for English and Mathematics teaching. During the pandemic, the intervention expanded to include all teachers in the school to ensure the transition to online teaching platforms. The NGO conducted a weeklong professional development program to support teachers in their transition to online teaching.

In program materials, the NGO explains that the intervention is in line with achieving Sustainable Development Goals and ensuring implementation of inclusive education as per national policy frameworks such as the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and the National Council of Educational Research and Training developed grade-wise learning outcomes (National Council of Educational Research and Training, 2017). The NGO describes their work across four areas- creating lesson plans and assessments, "teacher support", conducting sessions with parents, and use of data by the NGO and teachers as a means of evaluation. Overall, the organization seeks to "enable school-wide capacity for Inclusive Teaching Practices" with the eventual involvement of "rehabilitation professionals." The intervention for teachers is described as including peer learning, classroom engagement, learning aids, differentiation, remediation, reflection, feedback,

and supporting children with learning disabilities. For school leaders, areas of intervention include management, data use, school policies, and teacher development.

The fourth year of the intervention, when I began this project, focused on instructional leadership. The NGO viewed this as a means to make the intervention sustainable – the school would no longer rely on the scripted lesson plans provided by the NGO, instead, the school leaders would guide the teachers to develop their own. The NGO staff conducted weekly meetings with the school leadership to develop a school-wide teaching plan to align the school's curriculum with the National Council of Educational Research and Training learning outcomes (National Council of Educational Research and Training, 2017). The goal was for teachers to develop and implement lesson plans that focus on achieving grade-level learning outcomes. The school was interested in this as a standardized repository of lesson plans would smoothen out the challenges of high teacher turnover.

6.2.2 Hope Fellowship in the Mumbai School

The Hope Fellowship intervention in Mumbai is designed as a two-year program for individuals with backgrounds in special education, psychology, or education to become "change-makers" in the field of inclusive education in India. In line with the approach of Teach for All (Thomas, Rauschenberger, and Crawford-Garrett 2021), the fellows are placed in "under-resourced schools" in Mumbai to "create an ecosystem where all children, including children with disabilities, can thrive." Fellows are provided with training on topics ranging from inclusive education, patterns of typical development, "red flags" to identify developmental disabilities, classroom management, learning styles, accommodations and individualized education plans, mental health, community engagement, and literacy and numeracy. The program aims for

fellows to be “exposed to the grass root realities of inclusion (or lack thereof) in schools” and “develop skills to become strong advocates of Inclusion within and outside the classroom.” In program materials, the approach towards inclusive education is credited to an education center located at a university in the United States, focusing on leadership and policy, inclusive school culture, multi-tiered support, and family and community engagement. Further, the organization draws inspiration to assess inclusion through Index for Inclusion developed in the United Kingdom (Booth & Ainscow, 2002).

The first year of the intervention, during which I conducted research, required fellows to build relationships with members of the school community, conduct “sensitization and training” sessions for teachers and “awareness sessions” with parents and students, develop lesson plans with teachers that include “inclusive strategies” and deliver lessons with teachers to “support the use of inclusive ideas and practices that engage all children.” Further, the intervention required fellows to observe classrooms, provide teachers with feedback, collect data, and conduct “informal assessments to plan interventions for students with varied needs.” With a focus on ensuring the sustainability of the inclusive education practices and policies instituted by the intervention, the fellows were required to identify individuals who will take the “onus to sustain the school’s inclusion efforts.”

The NGO staff conducted sessions with teachers on teaching strategies for literacy, numeracy, universal design for learning, and social-emotional learning. Fellows conducted sessions with teachers before and after program staff sessions to introduce and reinforce key ideas and practices. With their proximity to the school, the fellows were seen as means to ensure school-level implementation and formulation of inclusive practices and policies. Fellows

observed classrooms, provided teachers feedback, conducted sessions with children and guardians, and participated in the everyday activities of the school.

6.2.3 Interpreting and enacting inclusive education

The two NGOs have differing definitions, interpretations, and interventions to enact inclusive education. The Inclusive Schools NGO conceptualizes inclusive education in ways that cater to their clientele of low-fee private schools,

> what is must have for our schools is survival of schools…for the school to survive they want to retain students, they need admissions, they need kids to have normal basic mathematics basic proficiency okay? If the school has not attained that the school will not be in a place to think what inclusion in terms of disability or other aspect would be because that's a good to have for them. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

The NGO perceives itself to be working in school settings that, unlike elite private schools, are "trapped in the basics." The NGO's explicitly stated mission is to "support children with diverse learning abilities, children with symptoms of learning disabilities and "close those early gaps in mainstream education with the help of the main stakeholders in the school, which are the teachers and the school leaders." However, working with the priorities of the school, disability inclusion is not central to the NGOs work. According to the NGO, the school's greatest concern is its financial viability and survival,

> in this segment, if children with disabilities come and don't come like that's not going to bother the school, but if a normal, if a regular child with whatever capabilities or abilities, is not able to progress in the class somehow, that's going to drive out their admission. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

At the same time, the NGO does not view the reluctance of low-cost private schools to enroll disabled children as a consequence of prejudice or discrimination. That is, "mainstream schools" deny admission to children with disabilities not because of a "mindset gap" but because of an "ability gap,"

> We often put it it is just the mindset that people don't want to do it. But I think I've had a lot of principals telling me that you want to support children with disabilities in my school but right now I don't even admit. Next, you want to support children with high learning gaps we don't have resources for them. My teachers are not capable. If someone comes for admission if there is a child with high high learning gap I cannot admit not because I don't want to admit but because I know that my teachers will run away if I do that, so it's the ability gap inside the system that stops them. And that's where we want to fit in. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

According to the founder, schools do not admit children with disabilities because they lack the resources and competence to address their needs. The NGO defines an "inclusive learning environment" as one where "children irrespective of their abilities are being catered at their level for their need in the system." The work of the organization is to then work with the school to introduce and improve "facilities", "capacity", "resources", or "awareness" to "ensure that all children with all different abilities are being respected and catered in the system." When asked how the organization convinces schools to employ their services when the school does not admit children with disabilities nor does it acknowledge their presence, the founder describes what he calls the "game of vocabulary." He recounts how the NGO changed strategies,

> So very early on in 2016 when we used to talk about learning disability awareness, we can conduct sessions around learning disabilities and principals used to straightaway

> deny like but when we started talking about the symptoms when we changed the dialogue that we won't talk about learning disabilities we'll talk about symptoms. Instead of the label of disabilities, let's break it down to what the symptoms are, what kids face. Then the principals and teachers said yes, because that was their vocabulary, the stakeholder's vocabulary. So that was our first learning that instead of talking jargon let's start with the vocabulary of the stakeholder. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

The "game of vocabulary" is to avoid using terms associated with disability and focus, instead, on the priorities of the school. As one teacher stated, the goal of the NGO is "to bring the school to a point that our kids don't fall behind." The presence of the NGO in the school is to ensure the learning of all children and improve the school's reputation in the low-fee private school market. Through in-service professional development, the NGOs intervention seeks to make teachers "capable" of meeting the "need" of children in the school by closing the "gaps" between high-achieving children and children who are not learning because of their "symptoms." Farheen, who teaches second grade, describes the goals of the NGO as,

> The main goal of the NGO is that every child should know at least know that much that they can be with everyone in the class and stay I mean no child feels low…everyone child should know so much that they can keep up with everyone, doesn't feel low in themselves. There are different teaching techniques in that…later they told us to make rigor-wise groups so with all these things there was a lot of improvement in the children we saw that what students didn't know what to do those all those things students rigor has become a bit high. The high-rigor students have become very much high and the low-rigor students at least they are reading…(Khadija, Ahmedabad)

Inclusive education in this case is about ensuring that all children achieve grade-appropriate learning such that no child is out of age, out of pace, or out of sync, about achieving sameness and uniformity in learning (Gillies, 2008; Graham & Slee, 2008). The teacher explains how the NGO provided them with “different teaching techniques” and supported the formation of “rigor-wise groups” or ability grouping. The interpretation of inclusive education as uniformity and sameness not only meets the needs of the school to ensure their “survival” by retaining enrolled students but is also embedded within the Indian education policies and frameworks the NGO seeks to implement. Notions of learning outcomes and quality education understand ability diversity as a “threat to standardised performance indicators” (Liasidou & Symeou, 2018, p. 8). This approach to inclusive education is described by the NGOs as academic inclusion, which exists in contrast with social or emotional inclusion. Inclusive Schools NGO, aiming to address the needs of their paying clientele, focuses on academic inclusion, arguing that “for mainstream schools, academic inclusion comes first. Social, emotional inclusion is all secondary” (Kartik, Inclusive Schools). According to the NGO founder, low-fee private schools prioritize academic inclusion. Social and emotional inclusion is considered a luxury afforded to elite institutions, whose clientele has the resources for their children to access medical professionals and other services to support the education of disabled children (Kalyanpur, 2008).

Unlike the Inclusive Schools NGO, the Hope Fellowship aims to prioritize social and emotional inclusion. The program coordinator of the Hope Fellowship uses terms like ‘belonging’ and ‘acceptance’ to emphasize the social and emotional aspects of inclusion,

> so I think here the core of what the fellows at least when we are leaving the school in 2 years maybe one of the hopes is that they see that every child in that school has felt a sense of belonging. (Sana, Hope Fellowship)

The Hope Fellowship emphasizes social and emotional learning (SEL) in its intervention by partnering with organizations and individuals who work on SEL and mental health in educational settings. Inclusive education is defined in spatial terms: emphasizing the presence of all children in the same classroom celebrated for their strengths,

> (Inclusion is about) All children. I think, I think that is one word I want to frame it like 'All means All'. A lot of people talk about all children, you know, it's, it's a failure on us educators that we haven't reached all. So, for inclusive education they are studying together, no one is doing anyone charity or favors, everyone is helping each other, and recognizing everybody's strength, celebrating that strength. That's inclusion for me or inclusive education. (Sana, Hope Fellowship)

The phrase 'All means All' comes from the UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2020) titled 'Inclusion and Education: All Means All.' A few weeks prior to the interview with the program coordinator, this term and the report were discussed in an organization-wide meeting on the need for inclusive education. Yet, much like the Inclusive Schools NGO, the Hope staff recognizes that schools prioritize academic achievement,

> Main is academic inclusion, that's, that's the one question that's burning in my head right now. And maybe I have, maybe there's already something available. See, I've not done myself, any studies, deeper in inclusive education. What was coming more from what I want to create, which is belongingness for all children, but then it's very interconnected when you're talking about the school we cannot not talk about academic inclusion (Sana, Hope Fellowship)

The program coordinator recognizes that the orientation to inclusive education is "coming more from what I want to create which is belongingness." At the same time, there is an understanding

that school settings require “talk about academic inclusion.” Yet, unlike Inclusive Schools NGO, Hope Fellowship does not charge schools for their services and is perhaps decoupled from the pressures of the schools.

Another important distinction between the two NGOs is in their models of implementing inclusive education: does inclusion occur through shifts in capacity or changes in mindset? Unlike Inclusive Schools NGO, which focuses on the “ability gap”, the Hope Fellowship emphasizes shifts in mindset, culture, and school policy as the means to create inclusive schools. Instead of playing the “game of vocabulary” to sidestep conversations about disability and inclusion, the Hope Fellowship is designed such that fellows initiate conversations about such topics in schools to create awareness and challenge existing beliefs,

> And then we are hoping to have equip teachers and, again, students and parents, teachers, specifically with um training on how to include a diversity of learners in their classrooms trainings on changing mindsets, thinking about inclusion for both parents, students and teachers, thinking about, and actually reflecting on. So a lot of it is creating this space for reflection. (Diya, Hope Fellowship)

In changing beliefs about inclusion and disability, the fellows become the site of knowledge about these topics,

> The fellow told me…I didn’t know it at the time but no, such children can ask I mean the kind of disabled kids can also study in normal schools. Because what I knew that they are separate, special schools for them. But the fellow was like no it’s not necessary. It depends on the wishes of the parent if they want to keep the child in normal or send them to a proper special school. I was like, okay, fine. I didn’t even know about this. (Sadiya, Mumbai)

As Sadiya explains, the fellow provided the teacher with knowledge about educational options for children with disabilities. Before the fellowship, the teacher believed that disabled children require special schools. Through conversations with the fellows, the teacher learned that school choice for disabled children "depends on the wishes of the parent." This perspective aligns with existing policy frameworks on the education of children with disabilities in India. Fellow conversations about inclusive education with teachers are carried out in staffrooms and through monthly meetings,

> Interviewer: Have you heard of the term inclusive education?
>
> Yes, from the NGO staff…the fellows…they explained a bit about inclusive education. They explained that inclusion is something where you take everyone's views and everyone's points in our daily lives…to understand everything, to listen to everyone, to respect everyone. And then finding a decision that everyone agrees with (Yasmin, Mumbai)

Yasmin comes to understand inclusive education, "explained" by the fellows. To her, inclusive education is about consensus building and mutual respect. Language around inclusion and disability is central to the Hope Fellowship. The work of the fellows is described as creating "very very reflective spaces, and a lot of dialogue and conversations" that are "safe spaces to talk about inclusion to even breaking it down to like the basics" (Diya, Hope Fellowship). Within the organization, there is a lot of discussion about respectful language for disability and inclusion,

> I was thinking, how do you even define disability? Like you know like so this is a question, I don't know if I answered your question, but I'm questioning myself. And that's why I ask always we have to say neurodiversity, or say disability or not, because I know there are challenges for them we cannot not acknowledge in the discourses that we have

> currently of ability and ableism. So I'm still exploring what to say about that. (Sana, Hope Fellowship)

Questions of language translate into how teachers describe disability,

> I won't call them abnormal, I won't call them…what do you say apahij (handicapped), I won't call them that. Because all kids are there, all kids are equal. Yes, it's just that some kids are different from the other kids. So that thing they observe and then which kid is an expert in what. You know what they say right everyone is an expert in something or the other. So I won't say that if the child doesn't know maths they are weak. It could be that they are good at English or good at drawing. This thing also the NGO people put in our minds. That in every child, each child is different from the other. (Zahra, Mumbai)

Zahra recognizes that the "NGO people put in our minds" that disabled children are not "abnormal" or "handicapped" or "weak" but all "all children are equal" but "some kids are different."

6.2.4 Inclusive practice as child-centered pedagogy

Despite their differences, both NGOs use approaches from child-centered pedagogy, activity-based learning, and evidence-based practices. The strategies teachers were introduced to had pithy names such as the sandwich method, concrete-pictorial abstract, graphic organizers, and wait time. For instance, the Inclusive Schools NGO attempted to change teacher-centered, rote learning, and textbook-oriented teaching towards pedagogical approaches that helped teachers identify and support the needs of individual children.

The emphasis on child-centered pedagogy and activity-based learning as a means to inclusive education is unsurprising in the Indian context (Kalyanpur, 2022). Child-centered

pedagogy gained eminence in the global South as a means to tackle the challenges of education quality within the Education for All movement (Smail, 2014; Sriprakash, 2010). The UNESCO Salamanca Statement in 1994 (World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality, 1994) determined that child-centered pedagogy is the appropriate way to meet the needs of children with disabilities in classroom settings that have children with and without disabilities. Child-centered pedagogy became the “panacea to the quality issue” (Smail, 2014) and the means to include children with disabilities in the global South (Croft, 2010). Child-centered pedagogy rests on the idea that learning is best designed in ways that focus on individual interests, needs, engagement, and pace. Often understood in contrast with teacher-centered pedagogy, child-centered pedagogy requires teachers to act as “facilitators of learning” (Singal et al., 2018, p. 166) wherein teachers support students to be responsible for “own and one another’s learning, especially the pace and progression of that learning” (p. 166). Teacher-centered pedagogy emphasizes rote learning and teacher transmission of knowledge (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013).

In India, child-centered pedagogy was introduced as an educational reform in 1986 (Sriprakash, 2011a). Since then, it has been promoted by the state across policies, including within the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, the National Curriculum Framework 2005, and the Right to Education Act 2009 (Mili, 2019). The policy reforms seek to redress the challenges of rote-based learning, poor learning outcomes, discrimination, inaccessibility, and inequities in Indian education (Brinkmann, 2019; Smail, 2014).

6.2.5 Identifying targets of inclusion

The two NGOs focus on establishing processes that support the identification of disabled children in schools and classrooms. Inclusive Schools discusses this process as ‘breakdowns’ in

learning, Hope Fellowship calls them “red flags.” The Inclusive Schools NGO devised a “progression of training” – a two-year program that moves from a “whole class approach to small group practices to slowly identifying the children.” That is, the NGO aims to teach teachers classroom strategies that will help them identify where children experience ‘breakdowns’ in learning. The progression of practices described by the NGO can be likened to Response to Intervention such that “those who do not respond to instructional interventions "scientifically" proven to be effective must accordingly have the disability” (Gallagher, 2010, p. 8). The presence of the breakdown is established by identifying children who are out of age and out of pace,

> There are certain learning objectives at the start of the year…if you have 4-digit addition then you will first check which children in the class know single double-digit addition, who all got it right, how fast are they in calculating…if you write single digit on the board does the whole class respond quickly…two digits they calculate quickly… three-digit you might start seeing mistakes…so how does a teacher realize where the breakdown is happening. The learning objectives have the milestones given step by step right so when these things are given teachers can see where the breakdowns are happening. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

Embedded within the two-year program cycle or “progression of training” from whole-classroom teaching to the identification of disabled children is a temporal model of linear progress through the intervention (Davidov & Nelson, 2016). Further, the proposed identification of disability occurs by recognizing temporal Others (Edling, 2022) who deviate from age-grade associated “milestones” of development. Learning outcomes and learning objectives are then crucial ways

for teachers to focus on the "breakdown of the children" – to identify "symptoms" of the problem child who is not learning,

> The question is what do we understand as inclusion, one thing, right, what does it mean for this context for now? Right, so for them what inclusion means over the year, what we've put in our curriculum and our lesson…unit plans that we've given them, that we've made after understanding from in-service teachers…they are the closest to the children in the systems and they see the breakdown of the children most closely. They are not able to articulate it in the language of inclusion, they might be able to articulate what learning disability is for the next five years…which is immaterial also. But yes if they can say that when I try to teach the child his *dhyāna* wanders right that's a symptom the child is facing. I give him something to write he struggles to write in the lines. Now the question is not just about learning disability but what are the expectations from children in the classroom. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

The NGO is not concerned with teachers understanding the meaning of the terms: inclusion and disability, "they are not able to articulate it…which is immaterial also." Instead, they are invested in ensuring that teachers have the tools and approaches to understand the learning challenges of individual children. This is understood as enabling academic inclusion: identifying symptoms or breakdowns in learning and remedying them through appropriate teaching strategies such as differentiation and remediation. The failure to address these challenges in the classroom necessitates that children identified through this process are referred to specialists. It is unclear whether these processes were ever carried out. Neither the NGO nor the school had easy access to services to enable formal diagnostic processes. Inclusive School NGO's approach to academic inclusion and identifying learning challenges highlights the paradoxical relationship

between child-centered pedagogy and curricular standards (Popkewitz, 2008; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013). Curricular standards, like the National Council of Educational Research and Training Learning Outcomes (2017) the NGO aims to implement, create targets that allow assessment and comparison of learning as a means to ensure quality education such that all children learn. Yet, these predetermined annual outcomes produce children who deviate from the universal patterns of development who become targets of inclusion (Goodley, 2007). That is, "the child who has not succeeded is recognized and made different so that he or she may be worked on and rescued for inclusion. Yet these practices of rescue and remediation also differentiate and divide the child (Popkewitz, 2008, p. 126).

The Hope Fellowship curriculum highlights the dilemmas associated with service provision models of disability (Baker, 2002). Service-provision models of disability view disability as a condition that causes suffering to the individual and therefore requires certain forms of care and support. However, the "logic of provision presently seems to go hand in hand, though, with the logic of assimilation, homogenization, or both" (Baker, 2002, p. 687).

The fellowship curriculum introduced fellows to "red flags" or potential indications of various developmental disabilities. Sessions were carried out where fellows brought in cases of children, which were then discussed to identify underlying symptoms, possible remediation strategies, and diagnoses. During classroom observations, fellows observed children. One of the fellows referred to children identified through classroom observations as "under observation", that is, suspected to be disabled. After identifying the child, the fellow invites their co-fellow into the classroom. Once confirmed by both fellows, the fellows initiate a process with the child's teachers and caregivers to refer the child to a developmental pediatrician. In response to the principal asking why the fellow was not working directly with the "slow and weak learners", the

fellow described the centrality of classroom observations to her role to the principal to observe whole class teaching practices to identify children who are “diverse learners” – or those who are struggling in the classroom. Diversity is then the property of the Other.

However, this process was fraught with concerns and dilemmas within the organization. In a few instances, the developmental pediatrician referred the child to a special school, leading to questions about the compatibility of the inclusive education foundations of the program with segregated special schools and providing access to suitable services to individual children (Baker, 2002). Identification of children with disabilities through the fellowship program also became an outcome metric for funder reports. Although the NGO is uneasy about this process, the priorities are driven by the requirements of the funders (Mount, 2021), “while I don't agree that that's more important, I just feel that that's easier to understand when it's out there for people, which is why there is a push for it from.” (Sara, Hope Fellowship). The processes of identification exist in uneasy tension with access to services and support (Baker, 2002),

> so I feel I was holding on to the intention of the identification also and how can that be done in a way which makes the classroom more inclusive. Because on a systemic level if we do not identify I mean I'm using the word identify, but if we do not identify them. And it's a dichotomy in my head like you know but it's always this question I asked myself that if we do not identify, of course, in a way that is the intention is to make the classrooms more inclusive then. Then what I don't know if I'm able to articulate, but these were my thoughts. (...) (Sana, Hope Fellowship)

As the program coordinator explains, the “intention” of identification is to make the classroom more “inclusive” by ensuring that children’s needs are identified and supported. Identification processes help “to get benefits, where benefits, I do say, for the simple reason, for example,

schools, get an allowance which can support the child in a certain way" without using the identification processes to,

> exclude that child, and that is where the whole thing about constantly reinforcing a whole class approach. Constantly reinforcing that you do not actually need a diagnosis, to access support but, yes, it makes support much more easier, but at the same time it doesn't mean that the lack of that. Information in terms of what kind of disability, what kind of support is required shouldn't mean that you don't access that support, which is why, and the whole idea is to make sure that the environment itself is inclusive, in a way, where it's not reactive it's not like you know you have a child, with a particular disability and that's why now you're going to modify your systems like 123. (Diya, Hope Fellowship)

That is, the NGO describes the "fine line" between services that "minimize pain and suffering" (Baker, 2002, p. 688) and services that require disabled people to conform and assimilate. While there is little consensus on whether "educational labeling and service-provision models in any form are unilaterally "good" or "bad"" (p. 688), the NGO practice of involving fellows in the process of identifying disabled children leads teachers to believe that the one goal of the intervention is identification, "I think so to observe the kids…to observe the kids. Like the kids who are diverse…who understand a bit less." (Zahra, Mumbai) and assign the responsibility of caring for the needs of children identified through these processes to the fellows. The role of the fellows becomes one of sitting with disabled children in the classroom, monitoring them, "the fellow said ok, give me the father's number, I will talk to him. Then she spoke. Now the fellows are taking care of it. I don't know much about it." (Sadiya, Mumbai).

Thus, despite key differences in the intervention and interpretation of inclusive education, both organizations engage and negotiate with the "hunt for disability" (Baker, 2002, p. 663) to identify sites for inclusion. (Graham & Slee, 2008; Popkewitz, 2008) In addition to pressures from funders (Mount, 2021) and policy priorities (Sarkar & Cravens, 2022), this negotiation comes alive because of the tensions within child-centered pedagogy, an approach to inclusive pedagogy that both NGOs adhere to. In many ways, the two NGOs appear to be responding to the failures to implement child-centered pedagogy in the Indian context. Much of this failure is attributed to teachers. Miglani and colleagues (2017) find that teachers using child-centered pedagogy rarely included disabled children in their activity-based learning strategies, had a surface-level understanding of child-centered pedagogy, and believed that child-centered pedagogy was not a rigorous methodology and that it interfered with their autonomy. Scholars highlight gaps in teacher professional development (Brinkmann, 2019; Smail, 2014), cultural beliefs held by teachers (Brinkmann, 2015; Clarke, 2003), lack of teacher autonomy (Batra, 2005; Smail, 2014; Sriprakash, 2011b), and failures to coherently translate child-centered pedagogy into the policy (Mili, 2019; Sriprakash, 2011a). On the whole, the role of teachers and teacher beliefs is considered a key impediment in implementing child-centered pedagogy in India (Brinkmann, 2015, 2016, 2019; Smail, 2014). Child-centered pedagogy requires teachers to enact particular kinds of selves – there is an inherent focus on teacher ability (Guthrie, 1980), teacher capacity, and the requirement for teachers to be change agents (Fullan, 1993; Priestley et al., 2012). In the section below, I examine the ways in which the two NGOs emphasize the teachers as the sites of intervention in enacting inclusive education through the school-NGO partnerships.

6.3 Pedagogy of the past, pedagogy of the future: Teachers as the site of change

A temporal perspective aids our understanding of the ways in which teachers respond to changes brought about by school-NGO partnerships for inclusive education. Embedded within NGO intervention and school reform are visions and projections about the future. The two NGOs, in working towards a vision for inclusive education, however, focus on "transforming futures as their mandate" (Davidov & Nelson, 2016, p. 6). Crucially, the "project of transforming futures involves both negotiating multiple temporalities and articulating of ''the future'' (Davidov & Nelson, 2016, p. 6).

As described above, the two NGOs enter the schools with a particular vision of what inclusion is and should be. Further, donors require NGOs to make projections about the future (Davidov & Nelson, 2016) – how schools and teachers will be transformed by the intervention, how many children with disabilities will be identified, and how much improvement can we measure in learning outcomes? There is an assumption of linear progression through the arrow of time. Yet, teaching involves negotiating multiple temporalities (Roth, 2002). That is, the everyday life of the classroom requires teachers to negotiate with the past and future in the present (Adam, 1995; Roth, 2002); to act in the "here and now" and build the "capacity to do the right thing in the right moment" (Roth, 2002).

The two school-NGO partnerships require teachers to change – their teaching practices, their capacity to address the needs of individual children, their lesson plans, and their minds. The Inclusive Schools NGO requires that teachers "shift" their teaching practices from rote-based, whole-class methods, what the founder calls "chasing the chapter" to "chasing the outcome that is required for the child." The founder believes inclusive education requires all children to have "some key skills" and for teachers to modify the outcomes for specific children through

"differentiation", a strategy he learned during his time as a Teach for India fellow. The Hope Fellowship attempts to model incorporating student voice in the classroom, that is, "move towards that how do we actually, you know, both teachers and students to be able to, co-create to be in the same space" by having fellows "co-create" lesson plans and activities with teachers in the classroom (Diya, Hope Fellowship). This is described as "constructivism" that requires "systemic change would entail breaking down of a lot of hierarchies" (Diya, Hope Fellowship).

Underlying both approaches are ideas associated with child-centered pedagogy that seeks to "reshape the teacher and the child in the hope of reshaping and emancipating society from traditional habits and attitudes." (Popkewitz, 2008, p. 3) It prescribes teachers to be agents who manage themselves and children's learning (Popkewitz, 2008). The requirement for teachers to be "agents of change" is in line with international trends that emphasize the importance of teachers in achieving quality and inclusive education (Li & Ruppar, 2020; Pantić, 2015; Pantić & Florian, 2015; Priestley et al., 2012). The establishment of school-NGO partnerships at the two sites can be characterized as times of change. The introduction of teaching strategies, new education reforms, and changes in school routines raise questions about how teachers exercise agency as they are "positioned between the old and the new and are thus forced to develop new ways of integrating past and future perspectives" (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 1006). For teachers, the pedagogy of the past is characterized by teacher-dominated classrooms, didactic teaching methods, and fear of the teacher,

> Earlier it was just the teachers are teaching, in our time, in our schools. It was that the teacher kept talking, kept talking and after some time it gets very boring. If kids are watching and listening, then they understand quickly. (Angelica, Mumbai)

Angelica draws a contrast between the times. In her past, the dominant pedagogy prioritized teachers talking and children listening, which she says, “gets very boring.” The pedagogy of the past is discussed as one that relies on rote memorization over conceptual understanding and prioritizes teaching using the textbook,

> The times have moved forward a lot, if we teach the same way with the textbook then kids will not be interested. Not even a bit interested if we teach with the textbooks like the teachers before…the teachers way back, in our times. That just…and the answers too they would just put tick marks and tell us to do it at home. I mean this all used to happen back then. (Zahra, Mumbai)

The pedagogy of “our times” indicates that teachers experienced these forms of teaching in their childhood. It is part of their life stories. The pedagogy of the past is viewed as outmoded; it is no longer relevant or effective because “the times have moved forward.” It is not just a distinction between two ways of teaching, it is a difference of times – “our times” and the “time (that) have moved forward.”

The descriptions of the pedagogy of the past correspond with what Kumar (1988) describes as ‘textbook culture.’ Textbook culture is characterized by teaching tied to state-prescribed textbooks, lack of teacher freedom to decide what to teach, a requirement for teachers to “complete the prescribed syllabus with the help of the prescribed textbook” (Kumar, 1988, p. 453), lack of availability of resources other than textbooks, and textbook oriented assessments. According to Kumar (1988), textbook culture is a legacy of the colonial origins of India’s mass education system. The colonial education system emphasized bureaucratic control across levels of education administration, particularly teachers; centralized curricula; and examinations to sort and filter students eligible for further education towards creating “a class of persons Indian in

blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." (*Minute on Education by Thomas Babington Macaulay*, 1835) By relegating knowledge and expertise to the curriculum, textbook culture reduces teacher status and autonomy. The classroom in textbook cultures is oriented towards creating a fear of failure and preventing poor outcomes in examinations. Kumar (1988) discusses textbook culture in contrast with an education system where teachers have the freedom to design lessons and develop their curriculum and assessment: "she has authority over what happens in the classroom, in what order, at what pace, and with the help of what resources" (p. 452). As a colonial legacy, textbook culture has its origins in the pedagogy of the past that is keeping India in the past. It is this past the school-NGO partnerships are attempting to alter, by projecting particular teaching strategies for future inclusive education.

The pedagogy of the future, which incorporates "watching and listening" is not only less boring but also more efficient as children "understand quickly." As discussed above, the policy orientation towards child-centered, activity-based, or experiential learning since the late 1980s in India was designed to remedy textbook culture (Sriprakash, 2011a). In policy texts, it is often discussed as a futuristic pedagogy, that will propel India as a "global knowledge superpower" and determine "the future of our country." (National Education Policy 2020 Government of India, 2020) The pedagogy of the future emphasizes student participation and enjoyment, fear-free relationships with children, and teaching through activities and games,

> Interviewer: So you were saying you want the involvement of the entire class, right? So how do you ensure that all children are able to be involved in the classroom?
>
> Firstly when you teach kids with activities they really enjoy it, they have fun. If I just continually have them sit on the bench and I keep talking, I keep talking, there's no involvement, they don't understand. Some small small activity like come and add 3+2. In

> grade 4, they are able to so all kids come (to the board). I want to conduct activities that all kids can be involved. It has to be their level. If I pick difficult games then they won't come. (Zoya, Mumbai)

Student involvement or participation of all children in the classroom is important to teachers. This involvement is viewed in contrast to a mode of teaching where teachers talk and explain concepts. Zoya ensures that she includes activities in that "all kids can be involved." She tries to design games that every child can be a part of, and that are not too "difficult." Teachers' ways of gathering student interest include games, videos, stories, charts and printed materials, dancing, physical exercises, and energizers. Thus, unlike textbook culture, teachers use a variety of resources to teach children. Teachers claim that students require novelty in the classroom so that their "attention stays with the teacher." There is a notion that learning is easier when it is fun. The pedagogy of the past is deemed ineffective as it is unable to compete with the needs of "this generation", "If you are just sitting and listening, it's very boring sometimes. They need something or another creativity, activity if you give them they understand better" (Angelica, Mumbai).

Teachers do not want their lessons to be "boring" – activities or creative methods are seen as ways children will "understand better." Teachers' ability to get the attention, engagement, and involvement of students is considered important because "this generation is that all kids want something digital. Everything they want digital." According to teachers, access to the internet and mobile phones makes the children digital natives who need the classroom to be entertaining. However, the digital world is not the only reason for the shift, "times have moved forward." The pedagogy of the past required students to fear the teacher to be compliant. The

pedagogy of the future focuses on children's needs, interests, and desires and a desire to include student voice in the classroom,

> Interviewer: Hm... Right. Yeah, I noticed that you were telling a lot of children, it's very good that you tried like, when they got their responses...when it wasn't the...
> Yeah. Because I feel you should appreciate them. When they're trying also you should appreciate because we know na it's a very big thing then you know, kids we were not able to you know na speak up also in front of our teacher. We were so scared. We were so scared. Right? So, these kids are at least opening up. They're just able to speak up, you know. And that's also very important. (Haniya, Mumbai)

Crucially, teachers view the pedagogy of the future is viewed as part of "inclusive education." When asked why inclusive education is prioritized in the school, Zahra interprets inclusive education as a way of teaching with "different methods" that is not simply relying on the "exclusive education" of the past that involved teaching from textbooks." As the conversation goes on, Zahra suggests that if she "teaches the chapter normally" the students fall asleep with "their mouths wide open." She needs to use pictures, videos, objects to get the "interest" of the children. The pedagogy of the future is not only superior because it finds ways to gather for student interest, but also ensure that "children remember things for their entire lifetime." Many teachers highlight the value of organizing teaching in ways that connect to children's everyday experiences. In contrast to relying solely on the textbook, this way of teaching allows children to understand things easily, holds student interest, and provides knowledge that is useful to their lived experiences. Further, the pedagogy of the future requires teachers to become agentic and manage their development and growth (Popkewitz, 2008),

> Ma'am like earlier it was typical teaching. What we saw was that teachers would come and kids I mean they'd open their books and teachers would write on the board. All these things would happen. But now it's that the teacher…along with the kids the teacher also has their growth and the teacher is also getting updated the way my kids are being updated. I mean all the digitalized teachers are there and everything has changed than what was before. So this thing, ma'am, I really like this. And the other thing ma'am is that I and that I learn something is something I really like. (Noor, Ahmedabad)

Noor distinguishes the teachers of the past and the teachers of the present. The teachers of the past relied on textbooks and the blackboard. The teachers of the past are described as rigid and unchanging, the teachers of the present are lifelong learners who acquire new knowledge along with the students (Popkewitz, 2008). Unlike the past, where teachers taught and students learned, the teacher of the future is constantly learning, and being "updated." The advent of the internet, where "digitalized teachers" exist, has changed "everything." The presence of the NGO in the school facilitates professional development for teachers to enable this "update" (Kalyanpur, 2022) and navigate these upheavals. Teachers describe themselves in the language of child-centered pedagogy, as "facilitators" of learning,

> Interviewer: I was asking what do you think is the role of teachers in society or in education?
>
> Okay, so teachers are facilitators. Meaning most of us meaning it's not teachers only teacher meaning teachers are educators we have to give them and only that as a facilitator we don't have to teach them we just have to facilitate, they will learn on their own…we just design activities and then they learn themselves…meaning they are autonomous

> learner…they should become that way, we just transfer knowledge to them. (Farah, Ahmedabad)

In line with the Piagetian roots of child-centered pedagogy (Fallace, 2015), teachers describe children as "autonomous learners" and that the role of the teacher is not to "teach" but to "design activities." Teacher subjectivities integrate policy and NGO discourses that promote child-centered pedagogy (Ball, 1993b). That is, "the teacher is self-actualized by remaking his or her biography" (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 123).

Yet, as the existing research on teacher and child-centered pedagogy demonstrates, the distinction between the two approaches is not binary (Barrett, 2007). There is no clean break from the past. Teacher practice derives from the power of the past and the future in the everyday life of the classroom (Adam, 1995; Roth, 2002). As research on child-centered pedagogy in India and other developing countries indicates, rote learning and teaching to the test continue to dominate teacher practices, and class size and the pressure to complete the curriculum limit teachers' capacity to teach through games and activities (Barrett, 2007; Kalyanpur, 2022; Mili, 2019; Sriprakash, 2010, 2011b),

> There wasn't any planning. It was just like the until they can read the tables properly, they won't be able to remember. I can explain it to them in any good way, it could be a game, whatever way but until they don't read it again and again, it won't sit in their brains because we ourselves didn't memorize it through games. Because when I taught them the table of 1 with a game I already checked – nothing happens with games. You can teach with games, you can teach well, you can teach however, but until they read it, until they memorize it again and again they won't get it.
>
> Interviewer: And why do you think it's so important that kids memorize the tables?

> Because until you read the tables again and again, again and again, until you don't write, you won't be able to memorize it. And tables are very dry. Many kids feel sleepy, even people like me feel sleepy. (Sadiya, Mumbai)

Sadiya highlights the limitations of the pedagogy of the future, one that emphasizes games and activities and student enjoyment, and forgoes teacher talk time, "dry lessons", and rote memorization. Rote memorization is deemed essential to student learning, "nothing happens with games.". The pedagogy of the past resurfaces for its value in enabling teachers to focus on the outcomes they need to achieve in the present (Roth, 2002). Rote memorization is considered important because of the past, "we ourselves didn't memorize it through games." Multiplication table drills are omnipresent, across grades and classrooms in Mumbai. Individually, as a class, on one's desk, in front of the whole class, on the board: every possible variation of testing whether children have memorized their multiplication tables was employed. In highlighting the importance of rote memorization and suggesting that "there wasn't any planning," Sadiya implies that the requirement of the pedagogy of the future for teachers to be "managers, developing their own learning strategies, monitoring the processes, and evaluating the results" (Popkewitz, 2008, p. 123) is not ideal as student learning continues to be assessed through methods that emphasize rote learning and teaching to the test (Kalyanpur, 2022).

The tensions between the pedagogy of the past – of textbook culture and adherence to the curriculum – and the pedagogy of the future that requires an understanding of individual children are evident in the contradictory opinions about teachers' roles and responsibilities. Yasmin (Munbai) believes that the "syllabus is the job" but Haniya (Mumbai) stresses that the focus should be on ensuring the learning of individual children,

our point should not be to complete the curriculum. It should be like the child should understand what is happening. He or she should know what is...what is the basic he or she needs to get in senior KG (Haniya, Mumbai)

The mismatch problem (Horn, 2007), rooted in the rigid calendar and clock times of schooling, is associated with teacher dilemmas of enacting inclusion: of taking everyone along together or prioritizing individual needs in the classroom. Teachers then find ways to integrate the past and the future, old and new; developing pedagogies of the present that respond to the multiple temporalities of schooling (Adam, 1995; Leaton Gray, 2017). In the present, activity comes to denote aspects of classroom teaching that do not involve the textbook or the blackboard (Kalyanpur, 2022). The pedagogy of the present is then developed as a way of teaching that is more effective, efficient, and gentler. It is efficient because it allows teaching "fast and slow learners" together as slow learners, "with the activities they learn quickly a lot I mean kids really like the activities, they like doing new things more and the rote learning and the teacher teaching with blackboard not so much" (Rizwana, Ahmedabad).

Teachers suggest that activities can speed up the slow learner. It is important to note that the pedagogy of the future does not seek to dismantle the temporal foundations of ability. Instead, it is about teachers finding ways to teach that make the slow quick. The pace of grasping knowledge determines changes in the lesson plan (Kalyanpur, 2022). Within the temporal structures of schooling, children become out of time, requiring teachers to find ways to keep the fast and slow together,

Interviewer: So how do you plan to teach such that slow learners and with them the fast learners can also do?

> So first thing is that the planning that we take in front of the kids and is that if there are kids who accept things quickly and so sometimes we change the planning in that using the blackboard first to teach we make them learn and explained it to them and if after that they don't understand then we use an activity to teach so that those kids who have learned have fun learning it again. (Rizwana, Ahmedabad)

The blackboard, described sometimes as the pedagogy of the past, dominates. It is the first method to explain concepts. Teachers recognize that this often caters to those who "accept things quickly" – that is, those who readily accept transmitted knowledge (Kalyanpur, 2022). An activity is introduced when the blackboard fails. Rumana states that slow learners "learn quickly" with activities and that methods of "rote learning" and "blackboard" do not work well for them. Thus, the pedagogy of the past caters to fast learners, and the pedagogy of the present is efficient for both fast and slow. For the fast, it serves as a form of enjoyable revision, for the slow, it works as a quick way to understand concepts. That is, activity-based learning maximizes speed, and speed is essential to adherence to the curriculum. The past and the future find resonance in a present that requires adherence to clock and calendar times (Adam, 1995; Leaton Gray, 2017), "they understand it quickly and are not limited. The way I teach that is. Because they will know the sound of the alphabets so they can apply it wherever they read that letter." (Sana, Ahmedabad)

The legacy of textbook culture endures. In the past, teachers required students to memorize the Urdu alphabet. However, the way Sana teaches her students is by adapting techniques from phonics, which she learned in SS English, to teach Urdu alphabets with their sounds. It takes "three or four or even five lectures" but the pedagogy of the present is once again, more efficient: children understand quickly and can apply across contexts. When asked

why speed is essential, Sana remarks: “nothing will happen if they learn early. The syllabus will get over quickly, that’s all.”

The two approaches of two times are in harmonious tension: teachers recognize the dissonance between the two yet find ways to merge and meld. This is evident in the ways teachers use learning styles as a means to explain why children are required to copy notes off the blackboard and the ways in which activities become rote memorization and choral recitation drills (Kalyanpur, 2022). Writing in notebooks is considered essential for students to succeed – it is the way children study for examinations. Writing is important as a way of memorization and revision within and outside the classroom. Teachers emphasize memorization of answers to questions in the textbook, crucial for children’s success at the end-of-year assessments. Sana explains one aspect of why writing in their notebooks, often described as ‘copying’ is important,

> If they have it written even a bit so someone can teach them, either the tuition teacher or their sister. At least they can take what we’ve solved, understand it. Many have mothers who explain. So that’s why, if they copy then at least they’ll understand…later, after class they can understand. (Sana, Ahmedabad)

Teachers believe that children can use what they have copied in class and take it to someone else to understand further: parent, sibling, or tuition teacher. It is assumed that children attend shadow teaching (Gupta, 2022; Kalyanpur, 2022). Many teachers consider parent spending on tuition an important form of care and contribution to children’s education. Sana (Ahmedabad) also highlights the flexible temporality of learning: “after class they can understand.” Examining shadow education from a temporal perspective, Gupta (2022) demonstrates how shadow education takes advantage of allocated time outside of formal schooling. Writing in the notebook

allows someone other than the teacher to be responsible for learning – the teacher has done what she can within the limitations of classroom and curriculum time.

One reason behind the melding of the pedagogies of the past and future is the false dichotomy between teacher-centered and child-centered pedagogy (Alexander, 2001; Barrett, 2007). Barrett (2007) in her study of pedagogy in Tanzania finds pedagogical practices within what might be considered teacher-centered classrooms can include components of individualized learning, personalized attention, and consideration of the affective needs of children. While some teachers in Tanzania held deficit views of learners and ignored their needs in their whole-class teaching, other teachers found ways to incorporate elements of student participation and student knowledge. She argues that much of the teacher-centered pedagogical practice stems from economic scarcity rather than a lack of teacher ability or unwillingness. Thus, she argues that teachers in Tanzania demonstrate how "it is possible to recognize and build on learners' prior knowledge; to recognize and cater for different learning styles; to value individuals' contributions and celebrate individuals' achievements within whole-class 'teacher-centered' practice" (Barrett, 2007, p. 290).

Another important dimension to consider is the ways in which the NGO efforts to change teacher actions do not engage with teacher presents – the temporal, material, and structural conditions of teachers' work and classroom. In the context of inclusive education, teacher agency is understood as challenging and resisting practices that uphold norms of difference and ability through assessment, pedagogy, and curriculum (Li & Ruppar, 2020). Social justice is viewed as the appropriate direction for teacher action and agency. Yet, teacher action is fraught with tensions and teachers find uneasy resolutions to the tensions between the pedagogy of the past and the future.

The requirement for teachers to be agents of change has the tendency to reduce teachers to mediators (Anderson, 2010) or instruments of policy reform (Bourn, 2016). The tensions between the requirement of teachers to be agentic changemakers and the policy conditions that constrain their agency play out at the school sites. In Mumbai, the Hope Fellows struggle to find times and spaces for them to conduct the conversations and reflections that the intervention believes are central to changing teacher mindsets. Much of the work of the fellows is negotiating permissions with the two school leaders to conduct training sessions. Teachers are routinely called to the office for administrative work and meetings during class time. There was rarely an interview I conducted with a teacher that was not interrupted by a teacher being called to the office for paperwork. Further, while teachers viewed fellows as their friends, as individuals placed in the school to provide guidance, knowledge, and encouragement, the precarity of their working conditions -- low wage, contractual work, made some teachers believe that the fellows were in school to correct their mistakes, "maybe that's why they've kept the NGO with us. If we are making mistakes, then the NGO corrects it. If we are fixing our mistakes then why will they fire us? So that's why" (Yasmin, Mumbai).

In Ahmedabad, the Inclusive Schools NGO is eager for teachers to adopt child-centered pedagogy. The organization encourages teachers to discover classroom practices that will suit their particular classrooms and support teacher collaboration,

> Yes, in the beginning in the first year in the NGO, they started with training sessions, they told us many things like first they they told us to do research, to do research based on our classes, then we had demo classes, we would plan and then in front of the teachers we'd give our demo and then classes…with activities that we would research. Then after that how to make print-rich classrooms according to that they took sessions and lots of

ideas and lots of things and then in the beginning we had observations, they would observe the NGO teachers and then they would give us feedback, how did it go, what are the growth areas, and then in the second year our goal was that they would give us plans, peer learning to focus on that more so it was first group learning then peer learning after that in 3rd year it was individual learning focus…and the teaching methods that were there were very different, first English, in English it was that we would teach a chapter continuous then did question answers based on that but when the NGO started then in English there were steps according to that we started in that there were sight words, RC, grammar. 120 minutes period was there per day and then we would divide the minutes we had to teach in this way, we would get lesson plans from the NGO to focus on things minute wise and then in class, we just had to go and facilitate that. (Khadija, Ahmedabad)

Khadija describes the range of practices and strategies the NGO taught the teachers: print-rich classrooms, peer learning, group learning, and sight words to name a few. Khadija states the teachers were encouraged to "do research based on our classes." At the same time, the NGO provides the school with "teacher-proof curricula" (Priestley et al., 2012): "minute-wise" lesson plans teachers "just had to go and facilitate." In later years of the intervention, the NGO works with the school leadership to develop a repository of lesson plans to further "teacher proof" the school from the "low rigor" teachers and high teacher turnover. However, by portraying pedagogy as the successful implementation of techniques, this approach potentially undermines the role of teacher judgment (Mili, 2019). Further, policy texts are largely prescriptive in their expectations of the teachers. There is a narrowing of the role of teachers and their experiences within the policy text. Child-centered pedagogy requires teachers to have the autonomy to "incorporate their principles and values to exercise judgments and work reflectively" (Mili,

2019, p. 12) However, a universal pedagogy that is set up as an evidence-based technique to be implemented undermines the role of teachers and ignores what teachers do in classrooms (Mili 2019). Yet, the NGO believes that teachers find thinking “painful,”

> I don't think there is space for teachers to think actually, they don't have that space for thinking that's one thing. And that's something I can say when looking at the whole system now over the last three years. But, if someone asked me if we give them time will they want to think? My answer will still be no, because they don't want to think because they're they're not designed to think, thinking is really painful for them. (Kartik, Inclusive Schools)

The founder finds that the structural and material contexts of the school and teachers’ worlds are not “designed” for teachers to think. Regardless of more time or space to think, the NGO believes that teachers find thinking painful because in their “total life design, at home someone tells them what to do, at school the principal tells them what to do.” However, when there is a “time buffer in the system” teachers “bring their creativity out beautifully.” The school does not trust the teachers to think, there is little time or space in the “system” for teachers to think. Yet, they are tasked with enacting inclusive education through a pedagogical approach that requires them to think about the needs, interests, and experiences of individual children in the classroom. It would appear that teachers’ present is designed in ways that restrict teachers' time to think. The cultural, structural, and material contexts require them to prioritize home life, the hierarchies in schools limit their ability to question, and the lack of job security and low wages constrain resistance. This is not to suggest teachers do not resist but to highlight that the process of exercising agency is messy and complicated. Teachers experience ‘(un)productive instructional tensions’ (Naraian, 2019) in enacting inclusive education in their classrooms. As demonstrated in

Chapter 5, teacher actions and notions of inclusion are not perfect representations of their competencies in inclusive pedagogies (Pantić, 2015; Pantić & Florian, 2015). Instead, they represent teachers' complex negotiations and maneuverings between the aspirations and mandates of different actors while attempting to maintain a commitment to inclusion and social justice. Further, they represent how multiple temporalities: past, present, future, classroom time, curriculum time, calendar and clock times shape teacher practices for inclusive education (Adam, 1995; Leaton Gray, 2017; Roth, 2002).

Without engaging with the temporal, material, and structural contexts within which teachers enact inclusion, the NGOs inadvertently reproduce conditions in India wherein are largely viewed as implementers or objects of external reform rather than expert practitioners who are provided opportunities to reflect on and improve their practice (Batra, 2005; Brinkmann, 2015; Dyer et al., 2002). As findings from the global South indicate, teacher action as agents of inclusion cannot focus solely on skills, competencies, or professional development of individual teachers but require recognition of the contexts and constraints within which teachers enact inclusion (Themane & Thobejane, 2019). Poor working conditions, political turmoil, and social circumstances greatly mediate teachers' ability to be agents of social justice (Adebayo, 2019; Lopes Cardozo & Shah, 2016). Teachers find themselves in complex positions - as state-representative tasked to maintain the status quo and obey orders, which may hinder reflection of their role in violence and injustice. Historical context serves as an important backdrop to teacher actions, countering the existing de-historicized theorizing of teachers as agents of inclusion and social justice (Naraian, 2019).

Invoking the future(s) of inclusive education highlights the tension between what Kafer (2013) describes as 'curative time' and 'crip futurity'. Curative time constructs futures wherein

interventions will lend themselves to a time where disabled children are normalized and no longer "out of time." As we observe in the case of the NGOs, an orientation to the future leads to an "endless deferral" (p. 29) that diverts focus from the present of the teachers, schools, and children and emphasizes resources and interventions towards inclusive futures where teachers are improved, disabled children are identified and provided access to services and supports. An example of this 'endless deferral' is the definition of inclusive education in the Index for Inclusion used by the Hope Fellowship: "an unending process of increasing learning and participation for all students. It is an ideal to which schools can aspire but which is never fully reached" (Booth & Ainscow, 2002, p. 3) At the same time, the ways to challenge curative time are perhaps through crip futurity, that "anticipate presents and to imagine futures that include all of us" (Kafer, 2013, p. 46).

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outline the need for a temporal perspective to examine the role of teachers in enacting inclusive education. I highlight the limitations of child-centered pedagogy as an approach to inclusive practice undertaken by the NGOs. As referenced in Chapter 4, child-centered pedagogy rests on universal patterns of development, or predetermined norms of becoming that preclude ambiguous, emergent becoming, rendering some children out of time, identifying them as targets of inclusive education. I theorize the school-NGO partnership as a temporal experience that creates unsettled times for teachers. Teachers navigate the past and the future in the everyday life of the classroom. I argue that the NGOs fail to consider the position

teachers occupy in the hierarchies that regulate teachers' time and work, neglecting the present conditions that make the future(s) of inclusive education possible.

CHAPTER 7

7 Discussion: Other times in inclusive education

7.1 Making space for time in inclusive education

This dissertation addresses time, teachers, and inclusive education. Using a temporal lens, this dissertation contributes to the literature on the construction of difference in schools and classrooms and how teachers respond to difference. The title of the dissertation, 'It's about time: Teacher stories of inclusive education in India' refers to the objectives of the dissertation: examine dis/ability, teaching, and education reform within inclusive education through a temporal lens. Further, the dissertation highlights teacher stories of enacting inclusive education and examines school-NGO partnerships and tensions between the global and the local within inclusive education in the global South.

First, I demonstrate how exclusion occurs through temporal norms and biases embedded within policies, schools, and classrooms. Theories and policies of inclusive education largely define inclusion as the presence of children with and without disabilities in the same schools and classrooms. However, the emphasis on the spatial aspects of inclusive education may overlook how individuals occupying the same space may occupy different times (Sharma, 2014). I examine reforms for inclusive education, operating through school-NGO partnerships, as a temporal experience (Thompson & Cook, 2017) that not only influences teachers' experiences of time but also shapes teacher identities and actions.

Second, I examine teacher stories of enacting inclusive education. Inclusive practice requires teachers to make meaning of the policy mandates and pedagogical tenets in the contexts of their schools and classrooms (Black-Hawkins & Florian, 2012). Teachers are characterized as

agents of change who implement inclusive education policies and resist ableist norms embedded within policies. Much of the research within inclusive education focuses on teacher attitudes and teacher preparation, signaling that teachers are a barrier and portal to inclusive schools and classrooms (Done & Murphy, 2018). Yet, teachers enact inclusive education in complex and contradictory contexts that require teachers to navigate and negotiate dilemmas and tensions in their practice (Naraian, 2016; Naraian & Schlessinger, 2018). Teacher stories and teacher knowledge are crucial to understanding what happens to inclusive education as it travels from theories and policies into the classroom. Conversely, teacher stories and knowledge can inform theories and policies for inclusive education.

I demonstrate how teaching and enacting inclusive education in the classroom is a temporal phenomenon (Roth, 2002; Thomas & Whitburn, 2019; Whitburn & Thomas, 2021a). Teachers navigate multiple temporalities in the classroom: the past, present, and the future, the time of the educational calendar, the school clock, the home, and the pace of children's body-minds to name a few. Teachers negotiate these different times and temporalities in the everyday life of schools and classrooms to enact inclusive education. In this dissertation, I take seriously teacher stories about enacting inclusive education within the multiple times and temporalities of policies, schools, and classrooms.

Lastly, I examine inclusive education from the perspective of teachers in India and the global South. In the Indian educational system, teachers "both inflict and suffer abuse" (Velaskar, 2010, p. 59). That is, teacher actions contribute to the exclusion of historically marginalized groups in India, including violence and discrimination against Dalit, Adivasi, Muslim, female, and disabled students in India. At the same time, teacher voices and perspectives are not recognized within inclusive education theory, particularly of teachers in the

global South (Naraian, 2017, 2019; Singal, 2019). By examining inclusive education in the Indian context, I highlight the tensions between local and global knowledge surrounding the practice of inclusive education in the global South.

Further, I highlight how the Indian context of inclusive education serves as a generative site to investigate the tensions in the field of inclusive education. Scholars in the global North and the global South argue for the need for new theoretical foundations for inclusive education that requires a focus on the "political project" (Danforth & Naraian, 2015) of inclusive education. In this dissertation, I argue that examining inclusive education in India through time, as a political force that structures exclusion, inclusion, and agency, is an important site to build these theoretical foundations. Engaging with teacher narratives of enacting inclusive education in India, I address how time and temporality shape the enactment of inclusive education in the global South.

7.2 Crip time and imagining disabled futures in education

It is important to examine the findings from the two school-NGO partnership sites in relation to existing education policies. The three ways children are identified as becoming 'out of time': out of pace, out of sync, and out of age stem from an emphasis on speed in the classroom, the pressures of classroom and curriculum time, and the need to ensure all children achieve predetermined age-appropriate grade related outcomes. Acting across layers of time pressures, teachers are tasked with ensuring individual development and collective grade-level outcomes and finding ways to resolve dilemmas about the meaning and enactment of inclusion. These dilemmas manifest in a larger temporal context of international pressures to achieve quality

education, developmental and speed-related assumptions within tools of measuring quality, and the historical construction of intelligence as mental speed.

The United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goal 4 focuses on guaranteeing inclusive and equitable quality education to all children by 2030. In 2013, the UNESCO Global Education Monitoring (GEM) report indicated that a majority of primary school-age children in low- and middle-income countries did not display appropriate reading and numerical skills by grade 4. This came to be described as the 'learning crisis' – a phenomenon of global concern that children in the global South are enrolled in school but are not achieving age-grade-appropriate outcomes. (Barrett, 2016) The visibility of the crisis is made possible through large-scale assessments (Languille, 2014). The learning crisis is critiqued as neglecting structural underpinnings of inequity (Sriprakash et al., 2019) and contributing to a neoliberal conceptualization of social justice and equity centered on performance management and standardization. (Languille, 2014). The emphasis on compliance with predetermined outcomes undermines the presence and existence of disabled children in educational systems (Whitburn & Thomas, 2021b). Ability diversity comes to be seen as a "threat to standardised performance indicators" (Liasidou & Symeou, 2018, p. 8), pathologizing difference and disability. In line with the learning crisis, the World Bank developed the concept of Learning Poverty in 2019 which measures and ranks countries as learning poor based on the assumption that "all children should be able to read by age 10" (World Bank, 2019).

The learning crisis and learning poverty demonstrate how temporal assumptions construct dominant constructions of time in educational systems that can contribute to the exclusion of children (Saul, 2020). The "tyranny of developmentalism" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2013, p. 79), results in the Othering of children who deviate from these temporal norms. Further, the

targets and timeline underlying the construction of a 'crisis' of learning attempts to create a sense of urgency in the present, it creates a "distinct temporality of urgency and exceptionality" (Ramsay, 2020, p. 385) that requires us to reconsider and distract attention from that circumstances and structures that result in the creation of the crisis (Sriprakash et al., 2019)

The global movements to emphasize measurable learning outcomes as the metric for quality, inclusion, and equity find their way to policies and practices in the Indian context, often through the operations of philanthropies and NGOs (Ball, 2016; Nambissan & Ball, 2010; Sarkar & Cravens, 2022). Quality, defined as the achievement of measurable learning outcomes is central to education policy in India (Mukhopadhyay & Sarangapani, 2018). Policy documents in India cite the urgency of achieving foundational literacy and numeracy, deriving legitimacy from reports and targets from international organizations like the United Nations (Sarkar, 2023). The Right to Education 2009 was amended in 2019 to include the achievement of learning outcomes as a key policy mandate. The document prepared by the National Council for Education, Research, and Training outlining learning outcomes for elementary grades is cited by the Inclusive Schools NGO to guide their intervention and identify 'breakdowns' in learning as a means to achieve inclusive education.

Further, the 2020 National Education Policy (NEP) emphasizes the attainment of foundational literacy and numeracy by grade three by 2026-2027. In doing so, it follows the developmental assumptions underlying the learning crisis and learning poverty. Although the NEP includes specific policy directives for inclusive education (Sarkar, 2020) that the two NGOs refer to, the policy emphasizes that the achievement of foundational literacy and numeracy is central to its agenda. In the Indian Prime Minister's speech about the NEP in September 2020 (Ministry of Education, 2020), he further stressed the importance of achieving learning

outcomes. The Prime Minister also referred to the importance of activity-based learning, a pedagogical approach both NGOs bring to the schools. In discussing learning outcomes, he specifically highlighted oral reading fluency, setting a "goal for the children of the nation in Oral Reading Fluency" such that "every child who crosses the third grade can easily read 30 to 35 words in a minute with comprehension." Once again, the "need for speed", established through the influence of international education policy actors not only highlights temporal assumptions that emphasize uniformity (Saul, 2020) but also rests upon "untenable assumptions" (Dowd & Bartlett, 2019, p. 1)

The emphasis on speed, measurement, competition, and performance underlying international education policy contributes to the construction of the slow learner in the classroom, children who are out of time, delayed, dragging, and disruptive. The children then need to be included, assimilated, and molded into "normal" times of educational life in service of quality (Baker 2002; Popkewitz 2020; 2018; 2008). Yet, the dominance of the clock, of measurement, of intelligence as mental speed are historical constructions (Clark 2020). Slow learners came to be a "problem" in the classroom through the entanglement of psychiatry and education policy with the advent of universal education in France at the turn of the 19th century (Nicolas et al., 2013). Around the same time, mental speed came to be associated with intelligence through the introduction of timed testing in the United States, rendering a way "test minds efficiently evolved almost inadvertently into a test of their efficiency" (Clark 2020, p. 470). This requires us to question the implications of the measurement of predetermined learning outcomes based on fixed developmental milestones for the practice of inclusive education.

Recognizing that the temporal biases and Othering that underlie educational exclusion are historical constructions allows us to imagine Other times. Here, I propose further research that

centers crip time as the site to enact inclusive education. Crip time is not just about the time it takes disabled people to do things – extra time or slower moving time – but the barriers that alter how time is experienced by and designed for disabled people (Kafer, 2013). Scholars like McRuer (2018) consider crip times – the contemporary neoliberal austerity times and what they mean for the welfare of disabled people. Crip time disrupts "normative understandings" of time and developmental trajectories underlying educational systems (Ljuslinder et al., 2020). Thinking with crip time allows us to imagine futures that value the presence of disabled children, instead of attempting to rehabilitate, remediate or erase their existence (Kafer, 2013).

Imagining Other times requires us to sit with the tensions of enacting inclusive education, "to trouble and disrupt ableist norms within educational policy yet grapple with how processes institutionalised through policies aid access to services, rights, and entitlements crucial for the participation of disabled children" (Goodley et al., 2016; Sarkar, 2023). To sit with how *dhyāna* can be both, establishing normative times and routines in the classroom and processes of identifying needs and ways to care for those excluded by such norms. Through this dissertation, I demonstrate how these tensions, acting in and through time, power the actions of NGOs, school leaders, and teachers across the two sites in their attempts to do inclusive education.

7.3 Conclusion

This dissertation examines the operations of time and temporality in the enactment of inclusive education within school-NGO partnerships in India. Through interviews, classroom observations, and fieldwork at two school sites, focusing on the stories of 22 teachers, I examine multiple temporalities that structure educational systems and multiple stories about teachers

enacting inclusive education. In telling stories about teachers and time, I examine time in the everyday life of inclusive education. This serves to balance the spatial turn in inclusive education, highlights the functioning of temporal biases and their interactions with difference, and outlines the limitations and possibilities of teachers enacting inclusion. Further, it asks us to imagine just times: pasts, presents, and futures of inclusive education.

One story focuses on the ways in which the temporal regimes of schools exclude children and its implications for inclusive education policies and interventions. Speed, attention, and development, as temporal phenomena, discipline children (and teachers) and exclude those who become out of time. Thus, I highlight the ways in which time serves as a key structure through which differences make a difference and contribute to teacher dilemmas about inclusion.

Another story explores how time-pressured teachers creatively reinterpret and reimagine NGO interventions to enact inclusive education in the classroom. I demonstrate how teachers find themselves between teacher-centered pedagogical pasts and inclusive, child-centered NGO futures. I argue that NGOs, negotiating their entanglement with the school, the teachers, the donors, and the state, fail to engage with the teachers' present temporal, material, and structural conditions that make the enactment of inclusion possible. That is, the NGOs are limited in their capacity to transform or bend the power chronography of educational systems or shape how teachers are placed within them. This places teachers in a difficult situation, where the ideas of enacting inclusion conflict: to implement policy that emphasizes age-grade standardization, to follow the pace of the curriculum, to resist the exacting temporal standards from children, or to help individual children navigate exclusionary standards.

Understanding the organization of time raises questions about how the clock came to dominate discourses around dis/ability and why inclusive education policies and interventions

emphasize assimilation and uniformity in service of quality. Unpacking the dominant organization of time, the temporal regimes that structure schools, and how they limit teacher action and exclude children, behoove us to imagine an otherwise: an-other time that values ability and temporal diversity in schools and classrooms.

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