TEACHING AS CIVILISING MISSION: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC REFLECTION OF SCHOOLING IN RURAL BASTAR

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Abstract

Since the creation of the administrative and epistemic category of savage in the late 19th century, the dichotomy of savage- civilised had been an intrinsic part of school education in Adivasi areas. Though, in contemporary academic discourse, the colonial construction of tribe is now considered as myth however, in actual teaching practices education as civilising mission is still constituting educational reality of Adivasi students. Drawing data from ethnographic fieldwork, conducted in rural Bastar, this paper attempt to explore the ongoing conflation between school education and civilising mission from the teacher's perspective. The paper argues that relegation of teacher professional development in government school system under neoliberal regime draw limitation to visualise their role in broader framework of liberal education. As a result, with all good intension and commitment, they locate the Adivasi community and students in a dominant framework of savage and uncivilised and define school education as civilising mission.

Keywords: Adivasi, School education, Bastar, Savage, Civilising mission, Teacher

Introduction

A week before the Valentine's Day, I got an invitation from the Subham Jee to attend Matri-Pitru Poojan Divas in his school on 14th February 2018. Shubham Jee was an upper primary teacher who had been teaching in Jondraveda village since 2009. On 14th February, the entire village assembled in the school. Around 11 AM, the celebration started. At first, students washed the all-male elderly person's feet with water and offered some flower petals. In response, elderly persons applied tilak on their forehead. After the ritual, Shubham Jee addressed the gathering. In a nutshell, he appealed to the villagers to immerse themselves in

this form of tradition in their everyday life, as it reflects their journey towards civilization and salvation. He underlined the need to civilise the Adivasi children and work towards their moral upliftment as an intrinsic part of the school education.

Valentine's day celebration has been growing in popularity in India, though, share significant controversies. The quest of personal liberty, changing family structure and moral system, compounded with market forces specifically in popular cultural imagination in post-liberalisation period profoundly influenced the way people celebrating and upholding the day both in private realm and as important annual cultural event (Sharma, 1996; Brosius, 2012; Patel, 2014). Within this generalised framework, the mode of celebration, its significance among youths and subjective meaning attached with indicates significant rural-urban divide, though growing influence of mass and social media has profoundly affected the rural population, specifically youth culture.

As a countermeasure to going popularity of the day, many traditionalist groups proposed to celebrate 14th February as per India tradition. In 2012, government in Chhattisgarh declared 14th February as Matri-Pitru Poojan Divas[1]. As per government guidelines, it was expected that school invite student's parent to the school where children offer prayers to them. This official order had certain limitation to implement since it requires brining parents to school for celebration, specifically in rural areas. Despite limitation, Shubham Jee considered the occasion as an opportunity to extend his idea of civilising the savage Adivasi. For him, school education needs to conceptualise as a civilising mission for Adivasi. This paper is an attempt to understand conceptualisation of education as a civilising mission from a teacher's perspective.

Drawing date from the ethnographic fieldwork conducted between March 2017- June 2019 in central rural Bastar, the study explores the ongoing conflation of school education with the civilising mission for Adivasi students. The study argues that this ongoing conflation has resulted from the complex interface of three processes- first, the spatial politics of school education in rural Bastar; second, relegation of pre-service teacher's training program; and third, dominance of majoritarian cultural practice in school education. Analysing these processes, the paper argues that the teacher's professional commitment actualises itself within the ideological framework that surrounds the individual teacher. The historical relegation of pre-services teacher education has drawn a sharp limitation for teachers to immerse themselves

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[1] https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/feb-14-is-parents-day-in-chhattisgarh/article6869015.ece

in broader ideals of education, enshrined in a policy framework. As a result, they locate the Adivasi community in the dominant cultural constructions of savage. The paper concludes that strengthening the pre-service teacher education, specifically incorporating a sociological understanding of the Adivasi question in India can be a one way to handle the situation.

I have arranged this paper in six sections. First section discusses the theoretical considerations of the study, followed by a brief descriptive account of the village and school. The third section provides a biographical sketch of the teacher Shubham Jee. Fourth section explores the teacher's perception towards his teaching practices and need of civilising the Adivasi community, the fifth section is an analytical account of subjective interpretation, and final section draws some concluding remarks from the paper.

Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

I focus this section on two aspects of the study- first, construction of uncivilised Adivasi as social category and second role of teacher in the modern school system. Since the general crisis of anthropology in the mid-1960s, tribes as central theoretical concept of anthropology has been contested and problematised (Asad 1971; Stocking Jr, 1987). More recently, Karuna Mantena (2010) underlined the construction of tribes resulted from the growing ideological crisis of the colonial empire in the 19th century. She argued that in the 19th century, the British empire was struggling to legitimise its rule across the world within the framework of liberalism while continuing economic exploitation of the colonised state. colonial state. This crisis led towards the formation of ontological different conception of tribes that need to be civilised and uplifted. In the ongoing debates of the formation of tribes, many recent scholarships underline the pre-modern existence of a notion of criminal and savage tribes (Piliavsky, 2015; Gordon, 1996). Beyond the ongoing discourse of tribes, various aspects of colonial construction of tribes still used in administrative and legal realm of contemporary India (Guha, 2015). These studies suggest that the construction of a notion of tribe as savage and its continuity has been a complex process.

The second aspect of the study is related to the role of teacher in the modern school education system. In the post enlightenment world, role of school education has been envisioned within the ideals of democracy (Dewey, 2014; White, 2012). In the actual political realm, specifically in the state apparatus- as a contested site between various interest groups (Poulantzas, 1975), the ideals in democracy and liberal self-translated itself into constitution and policy documents. In the Indian constitution, education has envisioned to achieve more just, democratic, secular and egalitarian society (NCF, 2005). Within the liberal discourse of

education, the role of teacher has been considered instrumental in social transformation. It implies that teacher as transformative agent will contest existing practices determined by various contours of hierarchy (Agosto & Grant, 2008).

Thomas Popkewitz (1985) underlined two important aspects of the teaching profession and teacher education in the post enlightenment world. He argued that, in modernity, the growing complexity of society and division of labour culminated in creating specific institutional spaces for knowledge production processes that can be described as the professionalisation of knowledge. The growing professionalisation of knowledge resulted in conferring cultural and social authority to certain occupations to control the realm of legitimate meaning and definition of reality. Formal school is one such institutional space created by the state and teacher embodies this conferred social and cultural authority to control the meaning and defining the reality.

Within the framework of liberal education, it is expected that teacher as a designated cultural authority to control and influence the meaning, will work towards ideals of democracy. In contrast, sociological and anthropological studies on education suggest that these expectations have been far from the reality and in actual teaching practices, teacher work as a part of norming and perpetuating the existing practices. Emile Durkheim (1938), in his discussions on secondary school education in France, explained that issues of nation state, other sociological considerations impinge upon the formation of educational practices and pedagogy in school. He advanced one of the important arguments that teaching and pedagogical practices in any moment of history can never be free from sociological considerations, including issues of hierarchies and stratification.

Indian society is essentially unequal and hierarchical society- determined by various contours of hierarchies including class, caste, ethnicity, gender, etc. These hierarchies are not limited to the structure but determining the everyday interaction and communications, formation of subjectivities and mechanism of exclusions (Hiller, 1973; Gupta, 1991). The social reality of India directly contesting the ideals enshrined in the Indian constitution. Many social aspects of hierarchal and stratified society are embodied in everyday practices of individuals. Teacher, as a part of this society never free from this social process of embodiment and brings many aspects of classroom processes that become constitutive to the existing practices of education.

In this study, I have drawn theoretical and methodological insights from all the aforementioned works and attempted to explore the reproduction of the notion of a savage for

Adivasi in the present-day schooling process in Bastar. The life history method is being used in ethnographic fieldwork. I consider ethnography as processual that implies micro-ethnographic phenomena have always been corresponding to macro socio-historical processes (Wolf, 1981). I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in central rural Bastar between March 2017 to June 2019. My interaction with Shubham Jee started in November 2017, when first time I visit Jondraveda school. The narratives and his life history of the teacher Shubham Jee, presented in this paper, were captured between November 2017 to June 2019.

Jondraveda Village and the School

Jondraveda village shares the border with one of the biggest reserve forests of central Bastar. The village has 70 household, spread in four hamlets in three different directions. All households belong to the Muria Gond ethnic community. Agriculture and forest foraging are two main livelihood activities for villagers. Along with that, villagers work as seasonal and casual labour in the local labour market.

The history of formal school education in the village started in 1996 when first para teacher was appointed in the village. For the next 8 years, the students of the village studied in a single teacher school in a temporary structure. In 2005, the village school got its first building. The village got upper primary school in 2006. To some extent, we can say that the opening of upper primary school was a real breakthrough for the village in their pursuit of school education as it open the doors for secondary and higher secondary education.

Jondraveda school is situated at the one end of a village. School has a big campus surrounded by forest from the two sides. Campus is rectangular, divided into three parts- half of the campus is used as a playground, fenced with wire. The rest of the campus is divided into two parts- one half part is used as a kitchen garden for school; and in the second half has all the school buildings fenced with brick boundary walls. The main gate of the school compound opens into the playground.

The school has necessary infrastructural facilities that include one hand-pump, two bathrooms, eight classrooms cum teaching spaces, two offices, two multipurpose halls, one storeroom, etc. At the time of study, total five teachers- three in primary and two in upper primary school were working in the school. In 2017-2018 total 51 students were studying in the school in which 34 students were in the primary section and 17 students were studying in upper primary school. In the last 15 years, school has become part of everyday life of the students. With few exceptions, almost all children between 5 -12 years were attending the

school. All of them were the first-generation learners. In this village, Shubham Jee joined the upper primary school as a teacher in 2009.

Shubham Jee: A Portrait of the Teacher in the Rural Bastar School

Shubham Jee was a well-known teacher among teachers' fraternity, district school education officials, and faculty members of the district Education Training Institute (DIET). I came to know about him from one of the DIET faculty. To the faculty member, his school was one of the shining examples of individual efforts that brings positive change in the government school education. The term positive change signifies two aspects- first, a set of observational change in infrastructure maintenance and overall ambiance of school as physical space-cleanliness, gardening, infrastructure, mid-day meal management etc., and second, the academic performance of students in terms of certain kind of demonstrational skills on certain occasions, especially during the visit of government officials.

Shubham Jee is a native of the Gwalior region of undivided Madhya Pradesh. After completing his 12th board examination in 1993-1994, he spent the next four years for preparation for various government jobs. One of his relative was working in forest department in Bastar region. In 1996, he moved to Bastar in search of a government job and applied for the Para-teacher for a government school run by forest department. After participation in the selection process, he got the job and started working as primary teacher in primary section in 1997. Later, he completed his graduation and post-graduation from correspondence mode. In 2007- 2008, SCERT Raipur offered all in-service teachers to join Diploma in Elementary Education in Open learning mode or distance mode. After completion of D.Ed. course, he applied for upper primary section and got selected. Since 2009 he has been working as upper primary teacher in Jondraveda government school. In 2018, he completed 21 years in Bastar as a teacher.

Rural Bastar shares some specific characters in terms of human settlement and engagement with outside world. Human settlement and forest are intertwined with each other. Villages are small-30-60 household, spread in the radius of one- kilometre around their paddy field. Though all villages have some small shops, however, weekly Haat still play most crucial site for village-market linkage specifically for vegetables and other consumable goods for everyday life. In this kind of setup, people from the outside Bastar find it difficult to stay in the village. As a result, most of the teachers appointed in the schools of forest interior prefer to live nearby urban centres and commute 30-40 km daily for their duty. Shubham Jee was an

exception to this general pattern. He has been staying in the village for the last 9 years. He converted one of the multi-purpose halls of the school into his home.

His stay in the village has brought many changes to the school campus. Within six months after joining the school, he approached the village Panchayat for wire fencing of school campus, mobilised the villagers for labour contribution. After fencing, Shubham Jee pursues the school- Management Committee (SMC) for developing kitchen garden for providing green vegetables to children for mid-day meal. The efforts paid well and the kitchen garden producing green vegetables that has been supplementing mid-day meal. He played an instrumental role in constructing extra toilets for the girl's students.

In everyday school life, he ensures students follow some basic hygiene culture that includes combing and oiling hair, cutting their nails, washing their hands before mid-day meals and sometimes taking a bath. He mobilised resources from the village to maintain all these aspects of hygiene and care. With the help of SMC, he ensures regular labour contribution from the villagers on Saturday to clean and maintain entire campus. Few years back, he made a temple in one corner of the school campus. Every day, students before starting of the morning prayer went to hand-pump wash their face, hand and feet, followed by comping and oiling their hair in Bathroom and offer prayer to goddess Saraswathi.

Shubham Jee used the boundary walls and classroom walls of the school to create a print reach environment in school ambience. Alphabets, counting, tables, small poems were illustrated in all classrooms. Apart from this, he created some games for number games for children. Every year he makes updated poster of constitutional post holders list including the president, prime minister, chef minister, etc. He ensures students recite all these facts and information during their morning prayer weekly. He believes that bringing these aspects into everyday classroom culture allows students to immerse themselves in academic culture. Beyond the school hours, he regularly visits students' houses and encourages them to study at night. During holidays, he organises classes for students. For the villagers and students, these all efforts set him apart from all other appointed teachers of the school and well recognised by the government school education system.

Adivasi Students, School Education and Civilisation: Teacher's narrative

In his long teaching career, Shubham Jee has understood a certain form of practical rationality to meet the academic demand of the existing school education system. He underlined that with the growing emphasis of certain form of measurable learning level in

the government school system; it has become a lot easier to handle the academic demands of education system.

> *"Almost all students in my school are first generation learners. Their parents hardly come to school with specific academic demands. It is expected that as a teacher we try to meet the demands of the education system as minimum learning level and certain form of demonstrable skills. Neither the government school system nor the community has great expectation from these children. If we ensure certain processes in everyday school life, it is easy to meet the academic demands".*

His long career as a teacher and continuous engagement with students in rural Bastar allow him to identify and underline educational challenges of this geography. He locates students' academic challenges in the existing social structure of the Adivasi family and community.

> *"Academic development of students depends on many factors, including school, teacher, family and peer group, etc. In this area, government schools are good in compare to Madhya Pradesh and many other parts of India. Most of the school have a good number of teachers. The most important factor for the poor academic performance is the present structure of family and community and it is important for us to address them".*

Shubham Jee has specific views towards parenting, socialisation and parent- child relation. To him, the challenge is not at the children but overall community attitude towards their own world and duties. He underlines the lack of idea of respect is one of the fundamental problems in the community:

> *"Look at the way children treat their parents in the community. This is not the children's fault if they don't know how to pay respect to their parents? In the community, the idea of respect to elder has never been exist. That's why it is important to incorporate some aspects of our culture in school so they can learn how to respect parents."*

His idea of respect entails a specific form of a cultural code of conduct, derived from and enforced by a certain form of authority and duties within the family structure. For Shubham Jee, being a good human being, one has to obey parents' decisions and offer due respect to them. His idea of parenting and obedience has a clear expression in terms of control and surplus production so children can withdraw themselves from household work:

"Parents hardly tried to control their children for study. In fact, all children do not study at home. After school, they either work or roam around the jungle for food or minor forest product (MFP). All children manage their pocket money by selling MSP. Family and community need to understand their role in school education. Parents are supposed to allow their children to withdraw from the work."

Along with parenting and the idea of control, he underlines some aspects of the cultural practices of the Adivasi community and their approach towards life. To him, these all aspects are constitutive to the idea of life in the village and that needs lots of rectification.

"Look at the way they are living. In all kinds of social gathering, whether marriage or death, they all seat together, eat meat, drink local booze and dance. Leave the respect. Everyone drinks local booze together and dances together. They eat pig and whatever they get in the forest. They even do not take bath daily."

By problematising the social and family structure, idea of control and respect, cultural aspects of Adivasi life, Shubham Jee, in totality, problematised the whole Adivasi world and their idea of being. His critic of the Adivasi world reflecting the continuity of colonial construction of tribes with its various constellations. After framing the Adivasi as savage, it seems logical for him to define the role of education as a civilising mission in the Bastar.

"These people have been living in the forest for generation. They don't have any idea about the civilised life. Without addressing overall civilisational question, I can't think that children will do better in the school."

After conceptualising the role of education as a civilising mission, he explained his understanding of the idea of civilisation as certain activities he has been trying to pursue in the village.

The community needs moral upliftment that is only possible by adopting certain civilisational norms. I have built temple here and ensure that children offer prayer every day. It ensures that every child takes a bath daily. In evening I organise Arti in Temple in which children participate. Organising Matru-pitru Poojan Divas is one such step towards that direction. I have been celebrating the day for the last six to seven years. At least students learn that they have to respect to their parents. I got to inspire with my Guru Jee and decided to work towards this direction. I do not look at Matru- Pitru Poojan divas as a symbolic act or government order. For me, this activity is the way towards civilisation.

Shubham Jee shared that he was a gospel of one controversial godaman who propagated celebration of the valentine day as Matru- Pitru festival. Though, neither culture of valentine day celebration has not penetrated in youth culture in rural forest nor *Matru- Pitru Poojan Divas* has impacted existing practices of parenting. However, for Shubham Jee, this kind of organisation needs to be understood as one step towards moral upliftment.

Teaching as Civilising Mission

The presented narratives here can be analysed in multiple ways. In this section, I have limited my analysis in three areas- first, the socio-historical context of the Bastar that attracts many teachers from north and western undivided Madhya Pradesh- Chhattisgarh to Bastar; second, relegation of teacher education under neoliberal restructuring; and third, continuity of dominant colonial category of savage in popular perception. I have argued that the complex interface of these aspects manifests itself as education as civilisation mission underlined by the teacher Subham Jee.

A.) State apparatus, opportunity structure and Bastar

Adivasi community has been receiving end of historical educational inequality in South Asia (Velaskar, 1990). The historical education inequality manifest in multiple ways in Adivasi populated including exclusion from emerging opportunity structure in the modern state apparatus. This historical exclusion has been manifesting itself as domination of non-Adivasi literate class in various positions of state apparatus in Adivasi areas like Bastar, including school education. The expansion of state apparatus, opportunity structure and domination of non-Adivasi literati class has formed specific connotation among non-Adivasi educated youths towards Adivasi areas like Bastar. For them, these areas represent a window for government jobs, though it implies to work in difficult forest terrain of Bastar.

In the late 1980s, the government of India focused on the massive expansion of school education in rural areas, including Bastar. This expansion attracted many youths from the northern and western part of Madhya Pradesh towards Chhattisgarh through the existing network of non-Adivasi government officials in Bastar. after completing his schooling and spending four years on preparation, Shubham Jee finally landed to Bastar through his uncle who was working in the forest department. Shubham Jee appointment as Para- teacher in forest department of Bastar is part of this historical dynamics of Bastar.

B.) Relegation of teacher training under neoliberal reforms

Since 1980s, South Asia has been witnessing the neo-liberal restructuring of education system. For school education, it implies a rapid opening of school, growing emphasis on

measurable learning level along with relegation of pre-service teacher training course as eligibility for the teacher profession (Sadgopal, 2004). By the mid-1980s, all state governments brought new regulation for appointing para teacher in a school with bare minimum salary and abandoning the clause of pre-service teacher training. Chhattisgarh or undivided Madhya Pradesh recruited the maximum number of para teacher (Ed. CIL, 2000). This shift in teacher appointment led towards recruitment of 12th pass students as teacher, specifically for Adivasi areas like Bastar as happen with Shubham Jee.

This form of appointments has witnessed a sharp decline of quality in school education. In the first decade of 21st century, quality education become important question within the discourses of school education that led towards growing reemphasis on teacher training programs. In 2006, Chhattisgarh state made it mandatory for appointed para-teachers to join compulsory teacher training courses in distance mode developed by SCERT, Raipur. This imposition of D. Ed. upon teacher, though, led to large-scale teacher's enrolment in D.Ed. Course, however, existing practices of examination allow the teacher to get D. Ed. Certificate without critical engagement and efforts with prescribed syllabus and book. Subham Jee and many other teachers underlined two processes that made them relax towards examination. First, most of the course coordinators, appointed at district level generous towards evaluating assignment and evaluation; and second, many private publishers were prepared solution for the assignments for courses that left the teacher to copying the text into answer sheet.

These particular phenomena, though, allow the teachers to get necessary pre-teachers training certificate, however, do not lead to any substantial change in ongoing teaching practices in school. It implies reproduction of traditional teaching practices in school. With growing emphasis on measurable learning outcome, the teachers have understood certain practical way to meet the academic demands of school education. As mentioned earlier, everyone has low level of academic expectation from these first-generation school going Adivasi students. Though it is difficult to explain however, some teachers have inspiration to do better in their teaching practices. The limitation of teacher education left such teachers to explore their own subjective meaning for education. Shubham Jee was one such teacher who attempted to go beyond the lower academic demands and explore other possibilities.

C.) Adivasi and continuity of colonial construction of savage

In recent time, scholars suggested that the colonial construction of tribes with its various constellations has been irrevocably accepted as a myth (Dasgupta, 2016). In contrast, Shubham Jee narratives underline the very idea of savage still dominates the urban non-tribal attitude

towards the Adivasi community. Despite residing with the Adivasi community for over 20 years, Subham Jee interprets various aspects of the social life of the Adivasi community in terms of savage and need to be civilised. He clearly underling two things- first, he underlines social and cultural aspects of Adivasi life as problematic for educational attainment of children in his school; and second, as solution, he turned towards agrarian Brahminical tradition as a solution for uncivilised Junglee people. These two aspects were placed in opposition to each other in a way that replacing Adivasi cultural aspects of life with agrarian peasantry Brahminical tradition seems logical progression towards civilisation.

This line of argument resonates with the emerging scholarship of construction of the idea of primitivism in the history of South Asia. Many historians underline that in ancient text forest dwellers were categorised as *Dasyus*, *Daityas*, *Rakshasas,* and *Nishadas* and argued that these communities have been depicted as opposite to sedentary agriculture practicing community (Singh, 2016). The emerging historiography of colonial India underlines the active role of native literate class in shaping the various ideological aspects of colonialism in South Asia, including tribes (Gordon, 1994, Bara, 2002). These all literature suggesting that existence of Adivasi or Jungle as an anti-thesis of a Brahminical way of life has been an intrinsic part of a social formation of South Asia. When teacher like Shubham Jee come to teach with no formal teacher professional education, they actually carry this historical idea of being savage with them. With all good intension, his idea of school education for Adivasi students departs with recognition of the Adivasi community in the historical continuity of savage. As a result, for him, civilising them becomes one of the most important purposes of teaching. This situation is compounded with normalization of Brahminical culture practices in state affair including everyday school life. Teaching is a civilizing mission actualize itself in the ongoing interplay between the social construction of teachers and the pre-existing idea of Adivasi as savage. The ritualization processes sometime lead the establishment of Mandir in Adivasi populated areas like Bastar. The story of Subham Jee further confirming that cruciality of teacher's own social construction and ideological position for shaping teaching and pedagogical practices in school. In the journey towards modernity, human society redefines their relationship with history. For modern self, history become a subject of critical and reflexive engagement rather than a continuous reference point for a march towards the future (Giddens, 1994). within the paradigm of modernity, the transformative role of education presupposes a theoretical-philosophical perspective of education. These perspectives, as a product of history, reflect the synthesis of existing understanding of present challenges and guide individual for critical engagement with

future planning. We can expect that the professional teacher education, grounded in theoretical-philosophical perspective, allows the teacher for critical engagement with the past rather than imposing certain form of social formation as a solution to existing educational challenges.

Conclusion

Since the creation of the epistemic category of savage in the late 19th century, civilising had been an intrinsic part of the teaching in Adivasi areas. After the general crisis of Anthropology in the 1960s, sociology and anthropology subject discipline have moved away from deploying colonial epistemic category of tribe as savage in studying Adivasi communities, which was later adopted in other subject domain including knowledge framework of school education. In contrast to the all-aforementioned developments in an academic field of knowledge production, the school education in rural Bastar witnessing the continuity of the epistemic category of savage and uncivilised Adivasi. For the Subham Jee, the purpose of school education is not limited to certain kind of reading writing skills or broader objectives of school education prescribed in national policy documents. He defines purpose in terms of moral upliftment and promotes certain practices that, from his perspectives, signify the notion of civilised. The present limits of teacher professional development under neoliberal restructuring of the education system are imposing reasonable restriction on teachers- first, to look beyond the dominant construction of Adivasi as savage; and second, turning towards their cultural tradition, as a continuity of history, as a reference point.

Till the time, the state is not ensuring quality professional development education for teachers and bringing sociological insights that allow the teachers to recognise the cultural and social biases in their worldviews and ideas of civilisation, the teacher like Shubham Mishra with their all-good intent and commitment continue to strengthening the existing biased towards Adivasi community. The long-term solution lies with bringing rigour into a professional teacher education program. Considering the present scenario of teacher professional development programs, it's natural that teacher will attempt to engage with his dominant idea of an educational project in these areas that become the civilizing mission.

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