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EDUCATION IN SOCIAL CHANGE

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EDUCATION IN SOCIAL CHANGE

A Comparison of Selected Teacher Training Colleges in Gujarat, India

EDWARD EUGENE SULLIVAN

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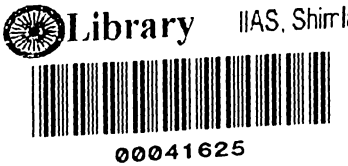

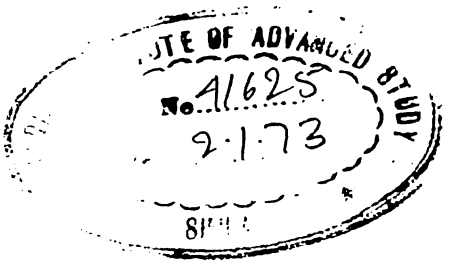

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FOREWORD

THE AUTHOR and editor of this volume are grateful to the committee—Professors W. Robert Dixon and Robert S. Fox of the University of Michigan School of Education, Professor John P. Haithcox of the University of Michigan Department of Political Science, and Professor M. S. Patel, Dean of the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Baroda, India—which sponsored the study and recommended it for publication.

The author and editor also acknowledge that it was possible to conduct the study only because of the support accorded the writer at the University of Baroda and from grants of the United States Department of State and through a National Defense Education Act Fellowship.

Education in Social Change: A Comparison of Selected Teacher Training Colleges in Gujarat, India in conjunction with John P. Lipkin's *The Secondary School Teacher Education in Transition* published first in this series in 1968, has made a valuable contribution to the conduct of the University of Michigan-University of Baroda project, which has been in operation since 1962 and is now scheduled to continue at least until 1971, and which relates chiefly to the education of teachers at primary and secondary levels.

We are indebted to Dr. Dorothy Huskey of the University of Michigan School of Public Health, who is director of the Michigan-Baroda Project in 1967-8, and did the proof reading for this while in residence at Baroda for the year.

CLAUDE A. EGGERTSEN
Editor

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CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

THIS INVESTIGATION undertakes to compare four secondary teacher training colleges in India with reference to their roles in a changing society to determine whether their present programs contribute to the remolding of traditional values, beliefs, and practices or promote the established social order. It is the contention that Basic and non-Basic teacher education institutions promote different attitudes toward important social values.

Teacher education is a crucial element in any social order even during periods of relative stability. In India, the existence of the alien, and often conflicting, Western way of life alongside that which is traditional has produced challenges for such social institutions as teacher education. The fact of British rule, and the subsequent achievement of constitutional self-government with all of its social, economic, and political ramifications placed a difficult task before India's teachers. Since much of this modern or neo-Indian ideology is in conflict with the "traditional" values and cultural norms of that society, the role of education in this setting is a central concern of study.

The recourse to a traditional-modern polarity is necessary for an understanding of this problem and conduct of the research. The first objective of the study was to identify traditional aspects of Indian life which affect change. This provided a basis for the formulation of statements used on the questionnaire administered to the trainees in four teacher training colleges.

To determine the factors which influenced the trainees to respond in a particular manner, a comprehensive account of personal and background characteristics for each student was obtained, and a study of their respective colleges and the socio-economic setting of the colleges was made.

The study centers around comparisons between the results obtained in three institutions based on the British pattern and

one Basic college which follows Gandhi's philosophy of education. Although Basic Education has been officially accepted and promoted by the Indian government as the pattern of primary education, and proposed for secondary and higher education, it is far from universal adoption and integration. Serious doubts have been raised by educators and planners as to its efficacy in terms of the contemporary needs in Indian society.

While all questions concerning the relationships between teacher education and social change cannot be considered in this study, several crucial ones must be examined. On the assumption that teachers and their respective institutions affect conservation, stabilization and innovation in Indian society, what are the traditional attitudes and values which have been challenged by new social forces? How are these reflected in the teacher training colleges? What are the socio-economic characteristics of the trainees? Do the trainees attending the Basic college view the changes in traditional social institutions and practices differently than the trainees in the other three colleges? What are some of the factors responsible for a change in the attitude of trainees? What are the implications for teacher education in this setting where the social order is in a state of flux?

K. L. Shrimali, the former Union Minister of Education has stated that "the future of the teaching profession in India will depend on the decision which teachers take on vital questions relating to social change."[1] He emphasized this further by noting that "most of our teachers are unaware of, or indifferent to, the social and economic revolution that is taking place in our society."[2]

India's unique culture contact with the West provides a prime example of the change process. The evident Western influence on Indian education has sometimes been exaggerated and blamed for many of the contemporary evils in the society and in the educational system. Speaking of "Education and the Cultural Crisis," Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, who has served Indian education in a variety of ways, noted that "....we had the rather dubious satisfaction of being able to ascribe all ills to the fact

[1] K. L. Shrimali, "Teachers in the New Social Order", *Buniyadi Talim*, Vol. V (October, 1962), p. 169.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

of foreign domination."[3] A real understanding of the critical problems facing teacher education in India, comes only, as this study contends, with recognition of the combination of factors responsible for the changes in the larger society, changes which will ultimately affect the teacher.

The preoccupation with economic and technological advancement in developing countries, has led to a neglect of the "human aspect" of development. One writer aptly stated that "economic development, however, is dependent upon changes taking place in the behavior patterns and attitudes of the people."[4] The problems of social adjustment to technical change are perennial. The case is no different in India where the government is committed to provide a "richer and more varied life" for the people. Through the Five Year Plans, the Planning Commission has promised "...emphasis on agriculture, irrigation, power and transport, aimed at creating the base for more rapid economic and industrial advance in the future. It also initiated some of the basic policies by way of social change and institutional reforms."[5] There is little evidence in Indian educational circles of any widespread awareness of the far reaching implications for education resulting from the impact of the changing social patterns. For example, the schools are trying to be effective in a situation where two parallel, often opposing, cultures seem to be developing. There is reason to believe that Beatrice Lamb's contention that Indians seem to move back and forth from the traditional, religion-oriented, caste-bound, family-centered, world to the Westernized, rationalistic world with its emphasis on individualism and social progress, is an accurate analysis of the dynamics of change in contemporary India.[6] Social scientists have recorded the difficulties encountered by groups and individuals caught in the midst of the acculturation experience. The teachers with

[3] K. G. Saiyidain, *Education, Culture and the Social Order* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 78,

[4] K. L. Neff, "Education and the Forces of Change", *Inter national Development Review*, Vol. IV (March, 1962), p. 23.

[5] Government of India, *India: A Reference Annual* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1964), pp. 156-157.

[6] Beatrice P. Lamb, *India: A World in Transition* (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1963), pp. 159-60.

their dual loyalties to family and nation comprise an especially vulnerable group.

A work applicable to an understanding of the conflict of old and new values in India is a UNESCO report edited by Margaret Mead.[7] The committee of experts working for the World Federation for Mental Health was asked, "to explore the mental-health implications of the changes in living-habits resulting from technological development."[8] It contends that when one culture is confronted by new technical innovations, usually from a foreign society, the native way of life undergoes modification and change. Since this confrontation usually involves alterations in the basic patterns of the society, it may upset the social processes to a point where personalities and social institutions are in danger of disintegration and destruction. The most important fact to be kept in mind, it continues, is that new ways should be introduced into the existing culture with as little violence as possible to the folkways of the groups concerned.

Individual rather than committee approaches to the problem are less formal, but useful accounts of general change in India and education and social change offered by Lamb[9] and Hodgkin[10] respectively. Beatrice Lamb contends that the trend in India is toward variable change. She asserts that India will adopt Western technology as quickly as possible although the changes which take place in the country will occur more slowly than those in the urban areas. Her suggestion, which may be erroneous, that the Indian intellectuals are consciously sifting the good from the past traditions in order to build the national culture for the future, is an issue with which this study will be concerned. The choice between Western and traditional Indian ideals, values, and modes of behavior is real and one which is significant for current and future teachers at all educational levels in India.

Hodgkin discusses the role of Western education in develop-

7 Margaret Mead (ed.), *Cultural Patterns and Technical Changes* (New York: Mentor Books, 1955).

8 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

9 Lamb, *op. cit.*

10 R. A. Hodgkin, *Education and Change* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

ing societies, including India, on the basis of his experiences as a teacher in Africa. He states, in his book written, "... mainly for those who work in countries where education is a part of a process of rapid social change,"[11] that value choices must be deliberate and conscious. He sees education as an institution which should subject the divergent ideas, values, and techniques of opposing cultures to "reflective, imaginative, and questioning powers" and thereby aid in social regeneration. In addition to an overall analysis of the change process as he sees it, Hodgkin describes various specific examples of societal change which are valuable from a comparative cross-culture point of view.

Other approaches even more relevant to the present endeavor, since the researchers used samples and techniques similar to those employed in this study, are to be found in the separate works of Thirtha,[12] Cormack,[13] and Shah.[14]

Thirtha's study, done in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh in South India, was designed to place non-college teachers, education officers, parents, and colleges of education teachers on a traditional-transitional-modern scale with respect to their level of acculturation in terms of their internalized values of modernization. Briefly, the study indicated that the non-college teachers and education officers were on the traditional to transitional point; the parents on the transitional point; and the college teachers were classified as transitional to modern. As is clear from his findings, the acculturation variability between these interrelated educational groups presents various hinderences to even social change.

Thus, the Colleges of education teachers were judged to be the most modern while the non-college teachers and education officers were at the other end of the scale as the most traditional. It was observed by this student that these groups are expected, by State education authorities, to work together

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[12] N. V. Thirtha, "Indian Education at Cross Roads—A Study in Values" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1959).

[13] Margaret Cormack, *She Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961).

[14] B. V. Shah, *Social Change and College Students of Gujarat* (Baroda: The M. S. University of Baroda Press, 1964).

in close harmony in a variety of professional capacities. Thirtha's findings may be significant in terms of the functioning or non-functioning of their cooperative efforts due to the culture lag.

The same concern over the relationship between education and change is Margaret Cormack's book, *She Who Rides A Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change*. It is perhaps the most recent attempt, and the only on such a large scale, to study the problem. Mrs. Cormack's work is cited here because of its similarity to the present study. Interviews and questionnaires were used to gather data from Indian college students concerning the problems of social change in both endeavors. There are, however, some important differences worth noting. Cormack sampled a cross-section of students from over a dozen colleges located in various parts of India. This study, on the other hand, is concerned with teacher trainees from four colleges in Gujarat. An even more significant difference is that her sample consisted of English speaking respondents, a highly selective factor. Only a few of the teacher trainees in the present concern communicated through the medium of English, the majority knew only Gujarati. The studies are enough alike so that some of her specific findings will be interspersed throughout this study when appropriately related to the topics under consideration.

Cormack stated that she wanted to determine the college and university students' conscious awareness of and attitude toward "traditional" India becoming "modern". She concluded that the government is the main change agent in India. Yet, its ability to lead a citizenery toward the new values and goals it has set is doubtful.[15] The schools are the only institution which can undertake this responsibility. The problem, according to Cormack, is that "they [the schools] are not considering *values*, *attitudes*, and *attitude change*. They are concerned with certificates, degrees, and employment. . . ."[16] At present there is neither general agreement in India on what values and attitudes should be taught nor any indication that one type of institution is better suited than any other type to produce the new Indian. This is a major factor to be considered in the subsequent discussion of the Basic and non-Basic colleges.

[15] Cormack, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 227. Emphasis in original.

A final research work related to this study in the same way as Cormack's, but which was done in the same geographical area as the present work is, *Social Change and College Students of Gujarat*, by B. V. Shah. The field work for this recently published study was carried out in 1957-58, when Shah administered an attitude questionnaire and interviewed a cross-section of 200 male students from the M. S. University of Baroda. He wanted to measure their deviation from traditional social practices and beliefs to see if they had "changed". The exclusion of females from his sample limits it to some degree. Yet, as in Cormack, there is enough similarity in the population, method, and purpose to warrant comparison of findings.

While Shah's conclusion that changes are in process seems tenable, it is difficult to accept his explanation that the principle cause of the change was the force of "democratic equalitarean ideology".[17] This force, which has been conveniently blamed for the changes in Indian society, requires critical examination and meaningful explanation. If this ideology exists at all, does education belong under its guise? If so, which of India's various schools promote it ? Are the teacher training colleges and their students currently advocating the new ideology? If there is a struggle between the new forces of change and traditional forces, as numerous writers suggest, what are the so far unexplored relationships between this conflict and the problems plaguing Indian education?

Even though the problems of change affect all levels of education, it was deemed profitable to concentrate this study to the investigation of four teacher training colleges located within a hundred mile radius of each other in Gujarat state. Three of the colleges are operated according to the British pattern and one is a Basic Training College.

The Baroda Secondary Training College, originally established in 1935 on the recommendation of the Littlehailes Report, was affiliated to the University of Bombay in the early 1940's. It was the only secondary training college for the whole of the Gujarat region. When the M. S. University of Baroda was incorporated in 1949, the college became the Faculty of Education and Psychology. Like the University and the city of Baroda,

[17] Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

the College has propagated the image of an advanced, cosmopolitan, Westernized institution. The medium of instruction, for example, is English in contrast to the other three colleges in the sample which use Gujarati. A Bachelor of Education degree is awarded annually to about 110 students. Although Doctorate, Masters, and several certificate programs are offered, the Bachelor of Education students comprise the largest group in the Faculty. Many of Baroda's graduates now occupy administrative and teaching positions at the other teacher training colleges in the state.

A. G. Teachers College, located in the State's largest and most industrialized city of Ahmedabad, was started in 1952 by the Ahmedabad Education Society. Affiliated to Gujarat University, the college offers a Bachelor of Education degree and Master of Education degree to about 110 and 15 persons respectively. The medium of instruction, in accordance with Gujarat University regulations, is Gujarati. Though the college is located in an urban setting, a large portion of its students come from the rural district of the Panchmahals.

The third college in the sample patterned on British lines, is M. B. Patel College of Education near the town of Anand. Created in 1960 as a constituent college of the Sardar Patel University, the M. B. Patel College of Education offers a program similar to Baroda with the Bachelor of Education students as the largest group.

The district of Kaira, in which the college and university are located, is traditionally known as an area with fertile land and reasonably advanced inhabitants. Within the last decade numerous industries have been started in close proximity to the university. This expanding area is now known as Vallabh Vidyanagar and the University occupies a place of prominence in the community.

To complete the sample is the Graduates Basic Training Centre at Rajpipla. Though the Centre was established near Ahmedabad in 1948, it was moved near Baroda in 1951 and then to its present location in 1953. It annually prepares about 37 teachers, inspectors, and administrators to work in Basic schools. The program at Rajpipla is founded on Gandhi's Basic Education Scheme and is quite different from the other three schools. The principles of Basic Education as outlined

in the 1937 Wardha Scheme, emphasize education for rural life, the dignity of manual work, teaching through a craft, and the sale of craft products for economic self-sufficiency.

Even though the Congress party once proposed Basic Education for all levels of Indian education, its limited success has given rise to much controversy on the subject. With this in mind and the fact that the Basic Scheme is quite different from the British oriented pattern, one of the most important variables to be controlled in the study is the college which the respondents attended. The trainees from Rajpipla are expected to hold the most traditional attitudes toward Indian social practices while the trainees from Baroda should be least traditional, and the other two groups will be in between these two extremes.

All of the Bachelor of Education level students from the four colleges constituted the sample. An attitude questionnaire was developed to assess the students' agreement or disagreement with selected traditional social practices. This was done by an investigation of historical materials which represented Indian and non-Indian interpretations of those practices, values, and beliefs which are considered traditional. For matters of content as well as technique in the questionnaire, both Americans and Indians were consulted throughout the formulation process.

Within the first six weeks after arrival in India, the questionnaire was revised and translated into Gujarati. Respondents had the option to answer the items either in English or Gujarati.

After the information was received from the first complete administration of the questionnaire, personal interviews were scheduled with a random sample of 50 of the 359 teacher trainees. The interviews were carried on in English and Gujarati, the latter with the aid of an interpreter.

An informational questionnaire was also given to the trainees and to those faculty members who had classroom contact with the Bachelor of Education level students. Nearly all faculty members were subsequently interviewed individually and in many cases they were informally contacted again as a part of a larger group, usually over tea.

Materials were obtained from various primary and secondary sources to describe the socio-economic setting of the four

training colleges, to note the place of education in Gujarat with respect to the rest of India, and to aid in the interpretation of the data received from the respondents.

A number of visitations to various primary and secondary schools were undertaken on a regular but informal basis. In some cases the writer assumed the role of participant-observer. The Faculty of Education and Psychology at Baroda, as it was "home", afforded many such opportunities. The Graduates' Basic Training Centre at Rajpipla was usually visited for several days at a time due to its location. The Centre, which was housed in the palace of a former maharaja, had limited overnight accomodations. Thus, the Extension Unit office, a richly decorated room whose walls reflected the Maharaja's patronage of European artists, served as sleeping quarters for an American. That room seemed to symbolize many aspects of social change in India.

Summary

The study, then, was designed primarily to compare four secondary teacher training institutions in India to note their situations in reference to the cleavages between traditional and modern forces which have grown from India's unique association with the West.

Among the studies mentioned in this section, those by Cormack and Shah will be used extensively as points of comparison with the findings of this study.

An analysis of materials expounding that which is considered traditional in India, in terms of social values, beliefs, and practices is given in Chapter Two. From this analysis and constant consultation with persons knowledgeable about society and education in India, an attitude questionnaire was developed for the teacher trainees.

Detailed discussion of the information received from the questionnaire and interviews is given in Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six, which deal with the trainees' attitudes toward family organization, marriage practices, work practices, and religious values respectively.

CHAPTER II

INDICES OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND THEIR RELATION TO EDUCATION

ONE METHOD of determining whether a particular college promotes adherence to traditional beliefs is to measure its students' attitudes toward changing social practices. The approach in this inquiry has been to elicit verbal agreement or disagreement toward concrete behavioral situations in the belief that this commitment indicates the direction of subsequent action. As Lundberg notes, "it is also held that a question involving a behavior situation is likely to be more valid as an index of actual behavior."[1] Questionnaires and interviews were used to assess students' attitudes on the assumption that a change in attitude precedes a change in behavior. The information so received forms the basic data for a consideration of the role of teacher education during a period of India's history when many fundamental institutions are being challenged by the forces of modernity.

An assumption implicit in the previous statement, and in the entire study for that matter, is that the conflict of cultures has forced many Indians into a dilemma. Social changes in India have uprooted certain traditional values and beliefs and have left Indians without a firm foundation for value choices. There are, however, some scholars who oppose this assumption. Shils says it is a superficial distortion of the truth at least with Indian intellectuals. His definition of an intellectual excludes the level of teachers discussed in this study. Even at that, Shils appears to contradict himself later in his book by stating that, "the modern intellectuals of India already feel so painfully.... the gap between their own modern culture and the traditional cultures of India."[3]

[1] G. A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans Green and Company, 1953), p. 232.

[2] Edward Shils, *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1961), p. 61.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

A view similar to the one held by Shils is expressed by O'Malley who contends that "there has been nothing or very little, of a clash between her [India's] own ancient culture and the alien culture imported from the west;...."[4] Of course, these positions are respected, but the contention of this study remains in opposition to the belief that Indian society has once again been able to synthesize a foreign culture with little or no disintegrating effects.

Those aspects of India's social structure which seem subject to alteration form the general categories for specific items about which the students were questioned and they will be referred to as indices of change. The widespread concern over changes in crucial elements in Indian society and its value system points to these indices of change.

Accompanying the numerous studies done on village life, urbanization, economic development, and related change areas, is a body of writings which may be called reconciliations with the past. Apologists for the latter point to changing practices and values to emphasize the worth of such traditions for contemporary needs. A recent example of this by an Indian scholar provides a compact statement of the traditional cultural values of India to further understanding of her basic traditions.[5] The author contends that, "what India is trying today is to harmonise her old values with the values of the modern world."[6] Other writers who have been concerned with the problem, but were not bound to promote any prescribed set of beliefs have come to essentially the same conclusion. Social scientists concerned with social change in India aim for objectivity and are likely to indicate the consequences which may result from planned and unplanned changes. Research with this emotional detachment has minimized the occurrence of value-oriented information and has provided a reasonably accurate description of the changes in the society which is useful for the present analysis of education and social change.

Indian educators seem either unaware of the implications

4 L. S. S. O'Malley (ed.) *Modern India and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. v.

5 Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Traditional Values in Indian Life* (New Delhi: India International Centre, 1961).

7 *Ibid.*, p. 7

which social changes have for education, or they have avoided the problem. One noteworthy exception from this pattern, however, is the awareness shown by the educators who contributed to a volume of essays on "Education and Traditional Values."[7] They discuss the vague concepts like *dharma*, spirituality, toleration, and universalism as well as the more specific family, marriage, religious, and caste practices. They agreed that "radical changes", "stifling pressures", "political forces", and "economic changes" made new interpretations of Indian history and culture necessary. They affirmed that educational institutions must serve as mediating and interpreting agencies. Consensus was lacking, however, on the important matter of what traditions ought to be perpetuated.

The discussion which follows attempts to identify some of the major traditions allegedly undergoing alteration; to indicate the areas of conflict; and show their relationship to education. Only when congnizance of the centrality to India's social structure of these institutions is taken, can one properly observe and understand the significance of the changes for the teacher trainees.

Joint Family

The separate categories of family, marriage, caste, and religion, form the nucleus of the indices of change. The importance of the joint family and caste in India is seldom disputed. Panikkar contends that India's social structure, "revolves around two fundamental institutions, the caste and the joint family," and that, "everything connected with the Hindu people, outside their religion, is related to these two institutions."[8] In the past the joint family functioned as a primary socialization unit, a social security haven, and a citadel of family solidarity and cohesion. The distinguishing characteristics were that several patriarchal generations shared the same dwelling, the same kitchen the same purse, and similar religious, caste, and other social activities. Husband, wife, in-laws, unmarried daughters, sons, and their wives and sometimes other relatives

[7] Ministry of Education, *Education and Traditional Values* (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1963).

[8] K. M. Panikkar, *Hindu Society at Cross Roads* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961), p. 29

constitutes its membership. Decision making, especially with reference to money matters, was vested in the eldest male member. In such a highly authoritarian structure personal needs, desires, and aspirations were to be subdued in favor of the group. Independence and individuality were sacrificed for conformity and dependence. In this way, traditional practices and beliefs were transmitted to the young by the elder members of the family. Sanctions imposed on individuals deviating from group norms formed an effective means of social control.

The break-up of many aspects of the traditional joint family has generated new pressures and conflicts which confront educational and other community agencies. Shah, in a study of change in the Hindu family listed 24 published books, papers, or articles concerned with this problem.[9] Changed social and economic conditions make it difficult or impossible for family members to function within the traditional structure. A. A. Khatri represents the psychologists' concern over the mental health implications of intra-personality conflicts due to a clash of old and new norms.[10] As the child-adolescent expands his life-space, he develops new and different norms, behaviors, and attitudes. Often these are not coherent with the expectations of his elders.

Lack of respect for authority, indiscipline in schools, and juvenile delinquency are being traced back to the general break up of family control.[11] Teachers as personalities are involved in the conflict between generations and as professionals whose task is to lead India's youth they must be aware of the changed familial relationships.

Even more important for education is the joint family as an authoritarian institution. The 1952-1953 Secondary Education Commission emphasized the need for teachers to take account of India's decision to transform itself into a "democratic republic". "This means that the educational system must make its contribution to the development of habits,

[9] V. P. Shah, "Attitudinal Change and Traditionalism in the Hindu Family", *Sociological Bulletin.*, Vol. XIV (March, 1965), pp. 77-89.

[10] A. A. Khatri, "Social Change in the Hindu Family and its Possible Impact on Mental Health", *Vidya*, (March, 1963).

[11] This statement is made on the basis of discussions with psychologists, educators, social workers, and from reading newspaper and periodical reports.

attitudes and qualities of character, which will enable its citizens to bear worthily the responsibilities of democratic citizenship...."[12] It would seem logical that the teachers' philosophy of education, their classroom method, and their relationship with students would be dependent upon their attitudes toward the contradictory aspects of the traditional joint family. Whether the teachers from the four training colleges favoured the joint family will be discussed in a later section.

Marriage

Another index of change closely related to the joint family is marriage. There are numerous traditional practices associated with the institution of marriage which cut across many regional boundaries, common to most Indians. Strict caste endogamy, child marriages, selection of partners by parents or elders, criteria for selection based on family status, land, and gold, and in some areas the convention of dowry, are some of the main aspects of marriage which have undergone changes.

Early marriage for religious, caste, and economic reasons is prevalent throughout India. The present trend, however, indicates a rise in the marriage age. Agarwala reports that the female mean marriage age which was 12.77 years in 1896 rose to 15.38 in 1946. For men the mean marriage age was 20.01 years in 1896 and a slight drop to 19.93 years in 1946.[13] The passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act in 1929, commonly known as the Sarda Act, is often given as the reason for the rise in the marriage age of females. This law prohibits girls under age fourteen, recently revised to age fifteen, and boys under eighteen from marriage.

These are census figures and are subject to limitations with respect to special groups. They may not account for the alleged practice of some low castes of contracting marriages even before the persons to be married have been born.[14] Marriage may be regarded merely as a contractual agreement as above

[12] Ministry of Education, *Report of the Secondary Education Commission.*, 1952-53. (New Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1953), p. 23.

[13] S. N. Agarwala, *Age at Marriage in India* (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal Private Ltd., 1962), pp. 226-227.

[14] K. M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 148.

or as cohabitation which usually does not take place until after the bride has reached puberty. The fact that educated persons tend to marry at an older age than uneducated ones is also not considered separately by these census figures which deal with the total population rather than these exceptions.

The educational implications of consummated early marriages can be seen in several ways. Young men and women become involved with the responsibilities of family life. Keeping house, rearing children, and earning a livelihood are especially time-consuming in India and are not conducive to further education.

Education has become an important consideration in the selection of a marriage partner. Education is not only essential for securing the best husband, but also necessary for a female's economic independence and career possibilities. Secondary school is generally not completed before age sixteen and then four years of college would postpone marriage until age twenty. If female education in India is expected to achieve universal approval it will do so in contradiction to the traditional practice of early marriages.

Caste endogamy is another traditional element of Indian marriages which is changing, especially among educated persons. Kuriakose[15] noted that 25 per cent of his respondents, defined as "young people", showed a willingness to marry outside their caste. A much more detailed study of two hundred inter-caste marriages was done in Bombay by C. T. Kannan. His conclusions are relevant to this point. "Higher education and high age at marriage in the majority of cases of the males and females seem to have influenced them in their decision to marry outside of their caste."[16] The mere quantitative aspect of education seems to lead persons away from the traditional practice of caste endogamy.

Educational institutions as social gathering places, according to Kannan, offered numerous occasions for young men and women of different castes to come together and mix freely. His study was done in Bombay and it would be unwise to generalize much beyond those environs.

[15] P. T. Kuriakose, "Attitudes and Values of Youth in India", *International Journal of Adult and Youth Education*, (Vol. XVI, 1964). p. 103.

[16] C. T. Kannan, *Intercaste and Intercommunity Marriages In India* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, Private Ltd., 1963), p. 69.

The questions of partner selection by parents and elders and the criteria used in that selection are currently being opposed in some circles. Traditionally, the elders, usually the parents, arranged the marriage of two young people. They were considered wiser, more experienced, and free from emotional involvement. Marriage was a matter of family status, and the groom's parents considered a girl's family, caste, land, and gold when making the decision. Marriage was expensive for the girl's family as a contractual arrangement, but it was also expensive as a social activity involving elaborate preparations and caste dinners.

Little published material exists on this matter, but interviews with the teacher trainees indicated that the entire question of marriage was a crucial subject in their lives. Those findings will be discussed later since the general educational implications are the present concern. The traditional practice of arranged marriages seems to perpetuate dependence and relinquish an opportunity to give young people decision making responsibility in matters directly affecting their lives. The whole question of "other directedness" in Indians, constitutes an area in need of research if the ideal of a democratic citizenry is to become a reality.

Co-education, boy-girl relationships, extra curricular and other social activities in the schools must all be seen in relation to changing ideas associated with marriage.

The level and type of education is playing an ever increasing role in the selection process whether it be by parents, individuals, or both. One's education is translated into economic terms and serves as a substitute for the traditional criteria of land or gold. The newspaper "marriage ads" may be cited to note the importance now placed on the level and type of education. It is not only necessary to have a degree; but, whether the degree is Indian or foreign, in Medicine or Engineering makes a difference. Teaching degrees are said to have a very low ranking on the scale.

If this analysis is correct, changing marriage practices in India affect education in several ways. Early marriages are not conducive to further education. Caste endogamy is weakened by increased education. Co-education and mixed social activities, among other things, have introduced the Western

concepts of courtship and dating into the social milieu. Selection of partners by parents is contrary to the development of individual responsibility. And, education as an economic asset has replaced some of the traditional criteria in selection.

Work Practices

A third index of change about which the teacher trainees were questioned is the concept of work as one aspect of caste. The ubiquitous nature of caste makes it defensible to discuss it in relation to almost any phenomenon in Indian society. It is not within the scope of this study to discuss the many relationships which may exist between caste and education. Priority is given to the one element of caste which seems crucial to the success or failure of Indian education and its part in the total plan for economic development. It was preferred to label this category "work practices".

The succinct statement by W. Norman Brown that, "it is the traditional Hindu view of class and caste that each caste has its own function and should keep to it",[17] reiterates one of the basic tenets of caste. Occupational segregation hinders mobility and perpetuates a hierarchical status system in connection with different types of work. Further, "the association of each caste with one or more hereditary occupations and their gradation into high and low have resulted in most Indians' developing a deep aversion to manual labor."[18] Those castes which have traditionally been classified as "high" show the most aversion to manual labor: a traditionally low caste means of livelihood. The same high castes favored education and the British need for clerks, white collar workers, and administrators harmonized with this tradition in such a way as to embed it more deeply into the social structure.

Educators, economists, and planners have stated the need to change the traditional attitudes toward manual work before India's developmental programs can be expected to transform the nation into a self-sufficient productive economy. While

[17] W. Norman Brown, "Class and Cultural Traditions in India", *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, (ed.) Milton Singer (Philadelphia; The American Folklore Society, 1959), p. 37.

[18] M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in India and other Essays* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), p. 93.

serious shortages exist in the skilled labor categories the more serious problem lies in the fact that those who have received technical, vocational, and engineering degrees are unwilling or unable to apply their knowledge in a practical and useful manner. Agricultural, vocational, and craft oriented schools do not have the prestige factor needed to draw well qualified applicants. The academic curriculum dominates the schools in spite of the predominately rural population and the great dependence on agriculture as the most important means of employment.

There are, however, some indications of change with respect to the hereditary caste occupations. In a study done in South-West India, Rao notes that, "the wider dissemination of technical knowledge was to a great extent responsible in breaking the hereditary nature of the occupations."[19] In another article, this time on the Chamars, a low caste group in North India, Cohn observed that the Chamars had changed from tanning and skinning to agriculture.[20] There are other studies showing similar changes, but they usually deal with low castes and villages situated on the periphery of a large city. Srinivas cautions against the possible mis-interpretation of this type of movement as upward mobility. In fact, it may mean that castes merely change their type of work while they still remain socially low and give the new occupation a similar social stigma. An example of this is when certain functions and jobs within a workshop or factory are taken up only by members of a particular caste. Hiring on this basis pays little attention to ones' abilities to carry out the task and only supports the tradition of occupational heredity, but with changed functions.

Reserved seats in schools and colleges for the scheduled and "backward" castes is another way the tradition is being threatened. In some cases stipends are given to these people. It was noted by some respondents that the regular students resented those persons not because of their social position, but because of the special preferences given to them.

[19] M. S. A. Rao, *Social Change in Malabar* (Bombay: The Popular Book Depot, 1957), p. 201.

[20] Bernard S. Cohn, "Changing Traditions of a Low Caste", *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, (ed.) Milton Singer (Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1959), p. 207.

In later discussion the differences between the Basic Training College and the others with reference to this one aspect of caste will be noted. Abolition of negative attitudes toward manual work and mutual understanding between castes were two of Gandhi's main objectives in the Basic Scheme.

Religious Values

The final value category treated as an index of change, religion, is perhaps the most arduous element to treat as a separate component of India's social structure. Hinduism is a combination of various philosophic, social, and religious beliefs which permeate the total value system in India. The multitude of differing beliefs, myths, rituals, and gods of innumerable sub-cultural groups challenge one to find a universal belief or practice.

In light of these hazards the attitudes of the trainees were measured toward several aspects of religion in the belief that this would give an indication of their feelings about religiosity as a value as opposed to secularism. In view of the fact that religion has always been a central facet in Indian life and the fact that the Indian Constitution provides that the State will be a Secular State, it would appear that this is a potential area of considerable conflict in values. The Secondary Education Commission Report concluded that religion is important in character education, but that religious instruction should take place on a voluntary basis outside the regular school hours.[21] For the moment this provision has worked satisfactorily.

In a more involved way the teachers' attitudes toward religion relate to the schools' role as an agent through which higher material and economic standards of living can be achieved. Advocates for a return to traditional "spirituality", "asceticism" and "religiosity", claim that the contemporary preoccupation with worldly and material gains is undermining the basis of Hindu life. Max Weber, in his analysis of Hinduism, contends that the very "ethic" of Hinduism is opposed to the economic goals often associated with capitalism.[22] The president of India, Radhakrishnan, who is a recognized apologist for Hinduism, relates that "....similarly the economic factor is

[21] Ministry of Education, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

[22] Max Weber, *The Religion of India* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 11.

an essential element in human life. There is no sin in wealth, just as there is no virtue in poverty. The efforts of anyone to increase his wealth cannot be condemned...."[23] This interpretation may be based on the concept of *Artha*, one of the four ends of life in Hinduism: although not synonymous with wealth, it stands for all requisites of material well being. The role of the school in economic development may well depend on its ability to reconcile the traditional religious values with those associated with material goals.

Socio-religious activities in India often involve monetary expenditures, which according to the teacher trainees, are beyond their means. In many cases the money which was traditionally used for some of these activities is now being reserved for education and a more comfortable material environment. Detailed discussion of this change in values is taken up in a later section.

From an administrative point of view the multitude of religious holidays, along with numerous other "holidays", have become hindrance to the school program. It is perhaps due to the number of religious communities and India's traditional tolerance of diverse groups that these holidays are allowed. Table 1 indicates the small per cent of religious minorities in relation to

Table I—PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES TO TOTAL POPULATION—1961.[24]

Religious community	*Population*	*Percentage to population*
Buddhist	3,250,227	0.74
Christian	10,726,350	2.44
Hindu	3,66,502,878	83.51
Jain	2,027,267	0.46
Muslim	46,939,357	10.69
Sikh	7,845,170	1.79
Others	1,606,964	0.37
Total	439,234,771	100.00

the total of Hindus living in India. School personnel have to decide which religious holidays will be observed by the school

[23] S. Radhakrishnan, *Religion and Society* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1947), p. 106.

[24] Government of India, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

and to what extent they will be celebrated within the school program.

In addition to the religious minorities, denominationalism or religious communalism within Hinduism affects education in another way. Nearly 23% of India's elementary schools are managed by private agencies.[25] Many of these private agencies are socio-religious bodies who, in the course of providing an education for young people, also promote their own cause. Among these agencies and societies are Hindu sub-cultural groups who claim exclusive loyalty to a religious, linguistic, or regional tradition. G. C. Chatterji, Chairman of the Central Board of Education in New Delhi, argues that "... the existence of such denominational schools poses a major problem to the framers of educational policy today."... and "are a menace both to academic standards as well as to the emotional integrity of the country."[26] A dilemma is inherent in this aspect of religion and education in the fact that these groups organize and administer education for a sizeable portion of the population. At this time when governmental finances are needed in many sectors of the society, however, it is not likely that this denominational condition in the schools will change.

Religion, then, as a social institution and religiosity as a traditional value relate to education in several instances. Contemporary emphasis on economic development may conflict with traditional religious goals. Preference for a more comfortable material environment has required a reconsideration of the worth of some traditional socio-religious expenditures. The frequent occurrence of religious holidays and the question of their observance in the school program comprises another conflict area in education. And, denominationalism is seen by some as a definite threat to secular education and national integration.

Summary

In order to measure the attitudes of the teacher trainees to see whether those attending one college viewed traditional

[25] National Council of Educational Research & Training, *The Indian Year Book of Education*, 1964: *Elementary Education* (New Delhi: NCERT Publication Unit, 1964), p. 639.

[26] Ministry of Education: *Traditional Values and Education, op. cit.*, p. 32.

social practices and beliefs differently than those attending another college, it was necessary to establish some indices of change. This section was concerned with identifying selected values and practices in India's traditional social structure which appear to be undergoing alteration. It was contended that a conflict exists between these traditional beliefs, and modes of behavior and new values which have been introduced into Indian society. Finally, some of the relationships between societal changes and education were analyzed to point out the concern for teachers.

In the following chapters each of the four indices of change, family organization, marriage practices, work practices, and religious values is discussed separately in terms of the teacher trainee attitudes toward these practices and beliefs. Emphasis is placed on the group deviation from the traditional Indian pattern and the differences in attitude change between the students attending the four colleges. Selected variables are then held constant to determine the characteristics of persons who hold a particular attitude.

CHAPTER III

TRAINEE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE TRADITIONAL JOINT FAMILY

THE ORGANIZATION of the Indian family in the past was along joint family lines and is such a widely accepted tradition that its usefulness for contemporary society has only recently been disputed. The changing family organization in India was discussed in the previous chapter not only as a key socialization unit for Indian youth, closely related, but often in contradiction to new national goals, but also as a traditional structure undergoing alteration. Since decisions on conflicting values will play an important role in the transformation of Indian society, teachers within the formal school system form an integral group whose attitudes toward fluctuating practices may be an important factor in deciding the direction of change. The extent to which the trainees from the present sample agree or disagree with the traditional joint family is the concern of this chapter.

Taken as a whole the attitudes toward the joint family expressed by the students indicate that while most (73.24%) agree with it, there is considerable (21.76%) disagreement with the institution. Only 5% were undecided in the matter. Shah, in his 1957 study of Baroda University males, observed that 79% of them favored the joint family system.[1] As far as can be ascertained Shah did not offer the choice of an alternate type of family organization. The present questionnaire, however, included another statement requesting agreement or disagreement with the separate or nuclear family. Since this type of family is opposite to the traditional one, it would be expected that the percentages to be reversed. Instead, 49.07% agreed with nuclear family organization, 39.20% disagreed, and 11.73% were undecided. Any one of several interpretations can be given to clarify the inconsistency in responses.

The possibility that the questions were not understood is

[1] B. V. Shah, *Social Change and College Students of Gujarat* (Baroda: The M. S. University of Baroda Press, 1964), p. 38.

ruled out since the respondents were asked to explain what both concepts meant to them. Though some students supplied more detailed explanations than others, all answers indicated that they understood both types of family organization. A common description of the joint family was, "a family consisting of the grandfather, grandmother, father, brothers, sisters, and other relatives of the family with the grandfather as head during his lifetime and the father as head after that." They defined nuclear family as "a family which consists of husband, wife, and their young children who live together." The surprising similarity and correctness of definitions excludes misinterpretation as a reason for the large percentage of agreement with both family types.

A second possibility is that there was a conscious or unconscious attempt to check the positive answer because it is socially desirable to be "for" rather than "against" something. This is sometimes referred to as agreement bias or the halo effect. Such an interpretation may be partially correct, though it is also not completely tenable in that the respondents made clear discriminations on other items in the questionnaire where they were forced to make a choice between opposites.

The final interpretation, and the one which seems most valid, is that some of the trainees actually do not know which type of family they prefer. Though there are many aspects of the joint family with which they are dissatisfied they cannot identify themselves firmly with life in a separate family. The choice is indeed a difficult one as can be seen from a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages, according to the trainees, of each family type.

The security of living in a joint family was the most common asset mentioned for it. The respondents said people are able to help each other in times of need, and that the elderly, widows, handicapped persons, and the unemployed members were most often aided in time of need. A feeling of indebtedness to the family was expressed, in many cases, as the trainees' college education was financed out of family funds. In return, they were expected to make their contributions when they became earning members of the family. Often the married trainees had left wives and children with the joint family during this period of schooling. Others who favored the system did so

because it was "economically good", there were no "responsibilities", there was "love and brotherhood", and there was enjoyment in the social functions observed by the family.

Usually, the opposite reasons were given for the shortcomings of the nuclear family. It provides no security during times of crisis, no one to care for the elderly, no feeling of brotherhood. A number of respondents said that it was economically impossible for them to live separately even if they so desired.

A choice between one or the other type of family preference was further complicated by the fact that serious dissatisfaction was shown by nearly all of the trainees with certain aspects of the joint family. The most pronounced objection was that too much authority was vested in the elders, usually only one person. "Persons have to act according to the accepted customs and the orders of the elderly members....", "no room for individuality", "each person does not get enough independence", and "partiality takes place," are some of the objections. A second reason for negative attitudes toward the joint family is that there is too much friction. One person stated that many personalities cannot live in harmony together. Quarrels, especially between the mother and daughter-in-law, "affected" the young children according to some respondents. Finally, some said the joint family gives way to "laziness" and there is no motivation for self-achievement.

As positive attributes of the nuclear family they listed, "personal independence", "personal satisfaction", "economic freedom", "happy married life", and "one doesn't have to depend upon the whims of others". It was noticed that many of the trainees especially valued economic independence. They wanted to be able to choose the manner in which their money would be spent. This same trend toward independence, especially economic independence, was noted by Murulasiddaiah in his study of a Mysore village. "Sons have begun to disobey their parents and other elders in matters of marital alliances, of purchases, of expenditure and of raising loans.[2] The economic motive for change occurs again in connection with other indices of change.

There is, then, some indication of changed attitudes toward

[2] H. M. Murulasiddaiah, "Declining Authority of the Aged in a Rural Community" (Karnatak University, 1965), (Mimeographed).

the tradition of joint family as expressed by the population of trainees as a whole. When they are classified according to college, sex, age, and other variables, it provides an opportunity to see differences which a group figure does not reveal.

College is one of the most important controls in this study as the purpose of the study is to see if those students attending one particular college show a preference for traditional or modern beliefs and practices. Further, to characterize the students who attend the four colleges a description of their socio-economic background is in order, before the response to the joint family is discussed.

An immediately noticeable difference between the trainees attending each college is their age. As Table 2 indicates, Baroda has the largest percentage of young people with 61.17% of their total age 26 and below. Ahmedabad and Anand are next and Rajpipla has only 17.14% of its students in that division. Baroda is the only college of the four which admits persons without teaching experience. They are referred to as "freshers" and are usually younger than the other trainees.

TABLE 2—AGE OF THE TRAINEES BY COLLEGE

College	26-*Below*	27-35	36+	Total
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	51.92	43.27	4.81	100
Anand	49.13	44.83	5.04	100
Baroda	61.17	32.04	6.79	100
Rajpipla	17.14	71.43	11.43	100

When classified according to sex, Baroda again emerges as different with the largest number of females at 35 or 33.98% of its total. Though males outnumber females in all colleges, (see Table 3), the traditional idea of education just for men is rapidly becoming a thing of the past according to these findings.

Table 3—SEX DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO COLLEGE

College	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	82.69	17.31	100
Anand	85.34	14.66	100
Baroda	66.02	33.98	100
Rajpipla	80.00	20.00	100

A third characteristic of the students attending each college is caste. Though the question used was an open-ended question, it was found that most persons came within the Brahmin and Vaishya grouping and the rest listed as "others", were distributed among Muslims, Christians, "workers", and still others.

TABLE 4—CASTE DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO COLLEGE

College	*Brahmin*	*Vaishya*	*Other*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
AhmedaLad	25.96	47.12	26.92	100
Anand	22.41	60.34	17.25	100
Baroda	45.10	35.29	19.61	100
Rajpipla	32.25	35.29	32.36	100

Brahmins, traditionally the highest Indian caste, are predominate at Baroda (45.10%), and to a lesser extent at Rajpipla (32.35%). The Vaishyas, usually thought of as the third ranked caste, comprise 60.34% of M. B. Patel College's population. As can be seen from this table, the traditional belief that education is reserved only for Brahmins has all but vanished. It was somewhat surprising that out of 359 persons in the sample only three did not choose to indicate their caste. Even Christians, and Muslims think of their situation in terms of caste rather than religion as would have been done in the West. Since most of the respondents were Hindu, no separate table is given for religion. The highest percentage of non-Hindus attended The Faculty of Education and Psychology at Baroda (10%).

Most of the trainees were married as Table 5 indicates. In many cases, as was noted in the earlier discussion of the joint family, they lived away from their spouse during this year of training.

Table 5—MARITAL STATUS OF THE TRAINEES ACCORDING TO COLLEGE

College	*Single*	*Married*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	17.31	82.69	100
Anand	20.87	79.13	100
Baroda	42.72	57.28	100
Rajpipla	22.86	77.14	100

Baroda again stands out with the largest number of single persons. This is understandable when it is recalled that Baroda also had the largest number of female students and that 63.64% of all female trainees were single as compared with 16.07% of all males. Certain limitations of possible boy-girl relationships at the teacher training colleges are built into the composition of their enrollments.

When classified according to the type of family from which they come the differences are relatively small. If, however, living in a joint family is associated with traditionalism, it is another helpful factor pointing out the socio-economic differences between the students in each college. Rajpipla has the most students living in a joint family with 78.79% and Baroda the least with 69.31%.

Table 6—TYPE OF FAMILY FROM WHICH TRAINEES COME ACCORDING TO COLLEGE

College	*Joint Family*	*Nuclear Family*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	72.82	27.18	100
Anand	73.91	26.09	100
Baroda	69.31	30.69	100
Rajpipla	78.79	21.21	100

The responses to the question of the students' father's occupation were somewhat varied and were therefore coded into three categories. In the first, are doctors, teachers, government workers, clerks, shop-keepers,— in the second, artisans and agricultural workers, whether employed by someone else or self-employed. Only seven persons were listed in the "other" classification and most of those listed in the third column were retired or deceased. This table not only illustrates the differences between colleges, but also between the occupations of one generation is compared with another. The number of trainees whose father came within the artisan or farmer category lends support to the thesis that the tradition of occupational heredity is disappearing.

Table 7—OCCUPATION OF TRAINEES' FATHERS ACCORDING TO COLLEGE

College	*Service Business Professional*	*Artisan Farmer*	*Deceased Retired Other*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	34.69	45.92	19.39	100
Anand	29.91	45.79	24.29	100
Baroda	38.54	23.96	37.49	100
Rajpipla	32.35	41.18	26.47	100

Without adding more tables, a few more generalizations are offered to help identify the students and their colleges. The educational level of the father was lowest at Ahmedabad, next lowest at Baroda. For the students' mother it was lowest at Rajpipla, then Ahmedabad, Anand, and highest at Baroda.

Most, (43%), of Ahmedabad's students came from Mehsana District. Fifty-eight per cent of the students at Anand came from Karia District, while 54% of Baroda's trainees came from Baroda District. Students attending The Graduates' Basic Training Centre at Rajpipla came from districts all over Gujarat with the highest percentages from Mehsana (26%), and Broach (23%), Districts respectively.

In India, a person usually teaches for some time and then returns to attend a teacher training college as he is already in possession of his Bachelor's degree, but needs to be "trained" as a teacher to receive a salary increase. It is possible to earn this first degree without actual residence at a college by paying the fees and taking the examination with the regular students. Persons using this method to fulfill the Bachelors degree requirements receive an "external" degree. About a third of Rajpipla's students, perhaps more because persons are reluctant to mention this, got their first degree in this manner. Many Indians consider it inferior to a regular degree although there is no published evidence to substantiate that assertion.

The trainees were asked about their recreational activities and it was found that the favored form of entertainment was the cinema. Contemporary Indian and Western films are often

cited as the main source of "modern" values and practices.[3] Though the cinema may be a powerful agent of change, published studies related to this phenomenon are scarce in India.

Finally, the students were asked to list the organizations to which they belonged. It was difficult to code this question although it was understood that most of the organizations listed were caste "societies". The greatest percentage of students belonging to such organizations attended Rajpipla (82%), next was Ahmedabad (60%), then Baroda with 54%, and the lowest percentage of persons belonging to such organizations was Anand (50%). There is reason to believe that membership in caste and community organizations tend to reinforce adherence to traditional patterns of the society. The nature of influence of organizations on the trainees' attitudes constitutes another entire research topic.

It is obvious from the above discussion that a number of differences exist between the student enrollment at the four teacher training colleges. It was also pointed out that the students as a total group showed a trend toward deviation from the traditional belief in the worth of the joint family system. With these factors in mind the first index of change, family organization, can now be examined by holding some of the variables constant.

Trainees attending The Graduates' Basic Training Centre at Rajpipla indicated the highest preference for the joint family as 94.29% agreed with the statement that "the traditional joint family is best". The other three colleges are essentially the same with reference to the statement. As will be noted later, a larger percentage of the students attending The Graduates' Basic Training Centre in Rajpipla lived in the joint family system than those attending either Ahmedabad, Anand, or Baroda.

[3] As an example of traditional view of the influence of modern films see K. M. Munshi's condemnation of the Indian Cinema in *The Journal of Education and Psychology* (Vol. X. No. 3 October, 1952), p. 155.

TABLE 8—THE TRADITIONAL JOINT FAMILY IS BEST[4]

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	72.92	20.83	6.25
Anand	69.64	25.00	5.36
Baroda	70.10	24.74	5.15
Rajpipla	94.29	5.71	.00
Total	73.24	21.76	5.00

When another statement concerning family organization was presented, although this time it related to the separate or nuclear family, some of the trainees displayed ambivalence by agreeing that the nuclear family was also best. It was suggested earlier that the reason for this variance was that students were not sure of the type of family they preferred. The responses to the nuclear family statement given in Table 9 may add further support to this contention.

Table 9—THE SEPARATE OR NUCLEAR FAMILY IS BEST

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per ce*
Ahmedabad	54.84	32.26	12.90
Anand	47.27	41.82	10.91
Baroda	48.89	37.78	13.33
Rajpipla	38.71	54.84	6.46
Total	49.07	39.20	11.73

Ahmedabad, Anand and Baroda, the colleges with the least preference for the joint family, had the highest percentage of agreement with the separate family organization. It could be reasoned that their lack of commitment to this traditional value left them without a firm belief or basis for a decision on

[4] A Chi square test indicates that the variables of college and agreement or disagreement with this statement are statistically dependent at .10 level but not the .05 level.

the opposite alternative. This indecision expressed on the questionnaire was known before the trainees were interviewed. Thus, one purpose of the interview was to investigate this problem further.

A very similar rationale was given by those persons who agreed with both types of family organization. They noted that there were many undesirable features of the joint family, such as those listed earlier, but for a variety of reasons they would more than likely have to live in such a family after training. Some said they would return to live in the joint familyout of respect for their parents though after their death they would live separately. Others stated that for the present it would be economically impossible for them to start their own household even though, they desired to do so. The most adamant came A. G. Teachers' College in Ahmedabad, and several from there flatly stated that they preferred living separately from their elders and were going to follow that course of action in spite of the fact that their parents or others objected.

Whether the attitudes toward the joint family expressed on the written questionnaire are taken or those related during the face to face interview situation, there are notable differences between the colleges. Ahmedabad, and Rajpipla have the greatest difference. There was about a 23% difference between the respondents at Rajpipla and the other three colleges.

To determine the factors other than college which tend to make a person agree or disagree with a traditional practice, selected variables are held constant on the same question.

When the trainees are classified according to sex, a slightly different picture emerges. Table 10 shows that male trainees agreed with the tradition of joint family about 11% more than females. The fact that females show less enthusiasm than males is accounted for by the traditional status given women in the Indian joint family. Joint families are patriarchal and wives are brought into the home from their own family. The new environment is strange and sometimes hostile to them according to the female respondents who were interviewed. Both male and female trainees related the family quarrels which occur in the joint family setting, and they pointed out the fact that there was excessive friction between the mother and daughter-in-law.

Table 10—ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JOINT FAMILY ACCORDING TO SEX[5]

Sex	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
Male	75.94	20.68	3.38	100
Female	64.38	24.66	10.96	100

Though there is little reason to believe that the trainees in this sample will be driven to such strains, the Saurashtra section of Gujarat is known for its high rate of female suicides. It is illustrative of the concern over this problem that a special Gujarat Suicides Inquiry Committee exists to combat the causes of the evil. The Committee listed "household quarrels or family disputes" as the main cause of female suicide. In an interview with a member of that committee,[6] it was related that females from birth are given unequal treatment. There is no religious implication associated with the birth of a girl as there is with the birth of a boy. Expensive marriages make a female a liability in her father's home. When she moves into a joint family she is often treated as an intruder and thus is given the lowest status in the hierarchy.

A study of the self-concept of college adolescent girls by Joshi notes that positive attitudes towards self were found to be related to living in a single family. Negative attitudes towards self were found to be related to membership in a joint family. There are, undoubtedly, other factors entering into the situation, but studies of this type are necessary to begin limiting the significant aspects of personality development in relation to living in a joint or nuclear family.[7]

Information received during the interviews of the female trainees indicates that they see higher education as a factor which will help alleviate their low social position in society.

[5] Statistically significant at .02 level, sex may then be dependent on agreement or disagreement with this question.

[6] Interview with G. G. Dadlani, Dean of the Faculty of Social Work, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, March 17, 1965.

[7] Asha K. Joshi, "Some Aspects of Personality Development", (Faculty of Home Science, Baroda, 1965), (Mimeographed).

Higher education also gave them a degree of economic independence which, according to the Suicide Committee, is a necessary measure toward rectification of the female inequality.

Respondents reported the type of family in which they lived which makes it possible to hold this variable constant. Table 11 as would be expected, reveals that a higher percentage (81.22%), of persons now residing in a joint family agree with that system. This is contrasted to the 52.81% agreement by those living in nuclear families.

Table 11—ATTITUDES TOWARD THE JOINT FAMILY ACCORDING TO PRESENT FAMILY TYPE

Family	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*	*Total*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
Joint	81.22	15.92	2.86	100
Nuclear	52.81	35.96	11.24	100

There were a number of persons who disagreed with the joint family or were undecided about their family preference. When questioned on this matter, the trainees said that they knew about the nuclear family and that their occupation may require them to move from the joint family. Most students, however, had not actually resided in one and were not sure if they would be content in a separate family. According to the data, actual residence in one or the other type of family seems to reinforce a positive attitude toward that type of family.

Most respondents belonged to either the Brahmin or Vaishya caste and there were no differences between their responses to this statement concerning the traditional joint family. The spread of numbers among the other caste categories was too great to get significant data. Even when all "others" were grouped together there was no significant relationship between caste and attitude toward the joint family.

Membership in an organization indicated a slight difference in the responses. Table 12 shows that those belonging to an organization agree with the practice of living in a joint family more than non-members. It was noted earlier that such organizations were often caste and community groups though specific information about their beliefs and purposes was not

available. The higher agreement among members supports the contention that these associations promote adherence to the traditional pattern of Indian life.

Table 12—ATTITUDE TOWARD JOINT FAMILY BY MEMBERSHIP IN AN ORGANIZATION

Member	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Yes	74.40	21.31	2.25
No	71.76	20.61	7.63

The final variable held constant on the joint family question was marital status. Married students were in agreement with the tradition more than single students. About three-fourths or 75.20% of the married students said they agreed with the joint family organization in contrast to 68.18% agreement shown by single students. To this information must be added the fact that most (63.64%), female respondents were not married and as a group they were less affirmative of the joint family system than their male counterparts. With the above data in mind several salient observations can be offered in reference to family organization as an index of change in India.

Table 13—ATTITUDES TOWARD JOINT FAMILY BY MARITAL STATUS[8]

Marital Status	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Married	75.20	20.80	4.00
Single	68.18	23.86	7.95

While there is considerable (21.76%), disagreement with the traditional joint family system, most (73.24%) students in the sample agree with it. When the trainees were presented with an alternate choice of family organization, ambivalence was expressed in the trainees' attitudes. This was interpreted to mean

[8] Not statistically significant at .05 level

that some persons did not really know whether they preferred living in a joint or nuclear family.

The social security function of a joint family was seen by the students as its greatest asset. The nuclear family, on the other hand, was lauded because it provided scope for independence, individuality, and economic freedom.

In order to characterize the students attending each of the four colleges, background data for each student was collected. Some basic differences in age, sex, caste, marital status, family type, father's occupation, and other items give each college a somewhat different enrollment distribution.

By holding the variable of college constant, it was possible to see that the Basic college students had the highest percentage of agreement with the joint family and the students from the other three colleges were less favorable toward the system. With other controls it was revealed that males, joint faculty members, organization members, and married persons agreed with the tradition more than their opposite numbers. The above characteristics are descriptive of the Basic students which accounts in part for their affirmation of the traditional practice.

CHAPTER IV

TRAINEE ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE PRACTICES

ANOTHER INDEX of social change in India is reflected in the changing attitudes toward the traditional marriage practices. The statement that the normal religious marriage was and still is arranged by the parents of the couple, after much consultation, and the study of omens, horoscopes, and auspicious physical characteristics, as reported by Basham[1] in 1954, is open to considerable debate. The traditional institution of marriage has been one of the most vulnerable elements of India's social structure to feel the pressure of change. Education as an economic asset has entered the traditional criteria for spouse selection. Early marriages among educated persons are decreasing as the increased level of education is a necessity in contemporary India. Changed conceptions of caste and class endogamy have opened the way for inter-caste marriages. These are but a few of the ways older beliefs about marriage have started to alter.

Dissatisfaction with the traditional practice of arranged marriages is evident in the demand of young people to be heard in the decision. This in turn has been accompanied by new ideas concerning courtship which until recently was almost unheard of in India. Such deviations from the norm have given rise to a "what-is-this-generation-up-to" attitude among the conservative groups.

Variations in marriage customs must be seen in relation to reforms aimed at improving the status of Indian women. Ram Mohan Roy is often credited with advocating numerous social reform movements and is no less significant for his promotion of equality for women in the marriage process. Suttee and prohibition of widow remarriage were attacked by Roy and his Brahmo Samaj followers. Though the Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1872, social pressures have negated most of its

[1] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1954), p. 166.

positive influence. Youthful widows still constitute a social problem in India. Teaching as a profession, according to some Indian educators, is becoming an acceptable occupation for them.

The Hindu Marriage Act, as noted earlier, raised the marriage age, but it also provided for legal separation and divorce. This is a definite deviation from the traditional beliefs. Sophisticated statistics, however, are not available with which to learn the extent to which these provisions have been utilized.

One of the Acts most vital to the status of women is the Hindu Succession Act of 1955 which gives women the right to inherit property. Female trainees often mentioned during the interviews that they were economically dependent all through life and that this dependency was both a cause and effect of their poor social position. A recent novel by Kamala Markandaya[2] records the lowly status of women in all segments of the social milieu. It is a poignant narration of the problems encountered in changing India as seen through the eyes of a peasant woman.

Parallel with the emancipation of women in other areas of Indian life is a noticeable trend toward the end of the subservient status of women in the marriage process. Emphasis is given to this point because of the special concern expressed by the female trainees over the matter of marriage.

For the unmarried students, marriage constituted an immediate problem which would have to be faced in the near future. Married trainees were equally concerned about the practice they would follow with their children. This year of teacher preparation for some of the students was seen in direct relation to their marriage. It would increase the prospects for a good partner. For others, it meant an opportunity to meet new acquaintances, even though there were few in this category. For one girl, this year merely gave her something to do while her parents considered matrimonial prospects.

The trainees seemed interested in the question of whether the partner should be selected by the parents or the individuals concerned. To get some indication of change in this matter, Table 14 lists the method of partner selection which took place in the case of the married students and that expected by unmarried students.

[2] Kamala Markandaya, *Nectar In a Sieve* (New York: The New American Library, 1956).

Several observations can be made from this table. A small (8.33%) percentage of married persons selected their own partner. More (30.75%) were in the group whose parents selected the partner. And a still greater percentage (38.22%) said both they and their parents made the selection. Only a small portion (3.74%) of the unmarried students expected to make the selection alone. Practically none (.57%) expected their

Table 14—PARTNER SELECTION AMONG THE TEACHER TRAINEES

College	*Married or Betrothed Students*[3]			*Unmarried Students*		
	Self	*Parents*	*Both*	*Self*	*Parents*	*Both*
	per cent			*per cent*		
Ahmedabad	7.69	41.35	35.58	.00	.96	14.42
Anand	9.82	34.82	40.18	6.25	.00	8.93
Baroda	8.16	16.33	36.73	6.12	1.02	31.63
Rajpipla	5.88	26.47	44.12	.00	.00	23.53
Total	8.33	30.75	38.22	3.74	.57	18.39

parents to do it alone. Most unmarried students (18.39%) thought the decision would be mutually shared with their parents. When the married and single students are combined, the trend is obviously toward a compromise situation where both parental and individual desires are considered.

The same trend is reported by Shah, who noted that 66% of the unmarried subjects in his sample would select only that bride which they and their parents approve.[4] College students in Cormack's study followed this same trend. Marriage arranged by parents but with "consent" or "ones own choice" was ranked second by 32%, and only 3% were in favour of parental arrangement "without consent".[5] These students, like the present sample, thought marriage should be a personal affair. Traditionally, marriage was not regarded so much as a union

[3] Betrothal in India was traditionally thought of as very close to marriage. Once a person was "promised" to another there was little chance of the promise being broken. This tradition is diminishing among some persons.

[4] B. V. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[5] Cormack, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

between two individuals as the establishment of a relationship between two families.

A comparison of the attitudes of the students in the four colleges on the question of arranged marriages reveals some differences in their beliefs. Table 15 supports the idea that there is general dissatisfaction with the tradition. Over half of all students were either in disagreement with or undecided about arranged marriages. Trainees at the Basic college showed the most support (59.37%), and those from the Ahmedabad college were the least affirmative (39.13%). It is surprising that students attending the Faculty of Education and Psychology were slightly above the group percentage with 46.74% in agreement with the statement. In terms of the background characteristics of its students and the liberal outlook at Baroda, it would be expected that they would be least affirmative here.

Table 15—ATTITUDES TOWARD ARRANGED MARRIAGES BY COLLEGES[6]

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	39.13	50.00	10.87
Anand	43.27	50.96	5.77
Baroda	46.74	40.22	13.07
Rajpipla	59.37	34.37	6.25
Total	44.69	45.94	9.37

Most of the students said that young people should have some voice in the decision of partner selection, but parents should assume an important advisory role. Several trainees from Ahmedabad and Anand took a more independent position by stating that this was essentially a personal and individual matter and that they expected to make this choice alone. Three of the married students at Ahmedabad said they had gone against parental pressures on this matter in their own marriage and that their children would be given freedom in partner selection.

It was often pointed out that deviation from the traditional Indian pattern did not mean an acceptance of American

[6] The relationship between college attended and response to this question is not statistically significant at the .05 level.

marriage practices. The students' understanding of the "American way" came from attendance at American films. Thus, their concept of freedom of choice did not parallel that which they had seen on the screen or that which they had heard was practiced in the West. One unmarried girl, however, said she believed in "love" marriages. It was an immediate problem for her as her mother had become worried that she was getting too old to marry. The mother consulted a priest who suggested that the young lady should "twist some beads" as a religious ritual and this might correct the problem. When the girl refused, both her mother and grandmother began the ritual. Social pressure from "caste people" in their community, according to the trainee was the main cause of this action. Several value conflicts between the old and new concepts of marriage are implicit in this example.

Variables other than college were held constant to see what differences would appear. There is some deviation from the group percentage when the attitudes of the trainees are given with the category of sex controlled. This table shows that female trainees had a higher (50.72%) percentage of agreement than either the male trainees (43.20%), or the total (44.69%), of the four colleges. The women displayed nearly twice as much

Table 16—ATTITUDES TOWARD ARRANGED MARRIAGES BY SEX[7]

Sex	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Male	43.20	49.20	7.60
Female	50.72	34.78	14.49

indecision on the question. The higher percentage of agreement by females is not coherent with the other data if this stand is considered to reflect a traditional attitude. For example, in the discussion of the joint family as an index of change, males had a higher percentage of agreement than females.

One possible interpretation of the difference in male-female response is that the men want more choice in the matter as the head of their own family. Initiative of marriage proposals traditionally rested with the girl's parents. They approached the

[7] Not statistically significant at the .05 level.

boy's parents with an "offer" or "proposal". The girl remained passive in the process and the boy was included, if at all, when the parents sought his consent. Thus, a son would be expected to select from among those proposals which were screened and approved by the parents.

Responses classified according to family type revealed practically no difference in attitude between joint family and nuclear family members. Contrary to the expected difference, nuclear family members had a slightly higher (45.12%) percentage of agreement with the tradition of arranged marriages. The difference is small as 44.40% of the joint family members also agreed with the practice. The sex factor may be operant as 77.86% of all males resided in joint families in contrast to 52.78% of all females.

Marital status is no more of a differentiating factor as 45.34% of the married trainees agreed and 43.90% of the single trainees agreed with the custom of arranged marriages. It is noteworthy that 14.63% of the single respondents were undecided in the matter, against only 7.20% of the married respondents. Throughout the items, single, female, and nuclear family trainees had higher percentage of indecision than their counterparts.

The trainees who indicated that they belonged to an organization, as Table 17 shows, had a higher percentage of agreement (46.39%), than non-members (41.13%). The college with the greatest percentage of students who belonged to an organization, it will be recalled, was Rajpipla (82%). This factor may be operant in giving Rajpipla students the greatest overall agreement with the tradition.

Although no single variable provided a major difference of opinion on this question, certain characteristics may be ascribed to persons in the sample adhering to the tradition of arranged marriages. A person who is either single, a female, an organization member, or a student at the Graduates' Basic Training Centre in Rajpipla is more likely to agree with the custom than another with the opposing characteristics. Most of the students in the sample are dissatisfied with the practice. The greatest percentage of dissatisfied students attend the non-Basic training colleges. Interviews with the students also confirmed the idea that a compromise position is developing where the unmarried have a voice in the decision though parental

consultation is still expected to be an integral part of the process.

Table 17—ATTITUDES TOWARD ARRANGED MARRIAGES BY MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

Member	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Yes	49.39	46.39	7.23
No	41.13	46.77	12.10

Changes in Caste Endogamy

Caste endogamy is another traditional marriage custom undergoing alteration in India. Contemporary living conditions, increased mobility, and attendance at an institution of higher education were noted earlier as contributing to increased intermixing of various castes. Young people from different castes gather at schools and colleges, in buses and trains, in cinema houses and coffee shops with less apparent concern over traditional caste restrictions.

It was noted that some inter-caste marriages took place in urban Bombay where such opportunities existed. The attitudes of the students in the present sample were elicited by asking them whether marriage in one's caste is best.

Table 18—TRAINEE ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE IN ONE'S CASTE[8]

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	60.87	33.70	5.43
Anand	70.09	26.17	3.74
Baroda	63.00	24.00	13.00
Rajpipla	75.00	21.87	3.12
Total	65.86	27.19	6.95

As a total group, about two-thirds (65.86%) of all trainees agree with this tradition. A considerable number (27.19%)

[8]To show a statistically significant relationship between college and response to this question, the chi square figure must be 9.488. It was 9.308 and thus not significant at the .05 level.

disagree and some (6.95%) are undecided on the question. Shah's data revealed that 65% of his population showed the same desire to marry in their own caste.[9] They would follow the pattern because of the advantages of "similar customs and ways of living", "the families would be acquainted", and there would be "caste and community support". If caste endogamy were not followed, parental and caste disapproval would arise and the action may have an adverse effect on the matrimonial prospects of other family members. The weight of tradition and group considerations remain stronger than the desire for individual variation or other advantages which may occur from marrying outside the caste.

Besides showing the group response to this statement, Table 18 reveals that Rajpipla trainees had the highest (75.00%) percentage of agreement with the tradition. Ahmedabad students showed the most change from the tradition with 60.87% in agreement and 33.70% in disagreement with caste endogamy. Baroda with 63.00% agreement ranked second in terms of their deviation and those attending Anand were third with 70.09%. Similar to the question of arranged marriages Baroda students again displayed the most indecision in relation to the other colleges.

Preference for caste endogamy would be expected from joint family members. Figures in Table 19 confirm this suspicion, though the differences are minimal, and are not statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 19—ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADITIONAL CASTE ENDOGAMY BY FAMILY TYPE

Family	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Joint	66.81	25.96	7.23
Nuclear	65.56	30.00	4.44

When the category of sex is held constant a significant change takes place. Greatest adherence to the tradition was expressed by the male trainees. Females were not only in greater dis-

[9] B. V. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

agreement with the custom, but showed twice as much indecision in the matter. It is possible that women have the most to

Table 20—ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADITIONAL CASTE ENDOGAMY BY SEX[10]

Sex	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Male	68.46	26.54	5.00
Female	57.14	30.00	12.00

gain if the tradition changes. Their lesser role in the marriage process was already discussed. Another problem, encountered by women, however, is the possibility of spinsterhood. With a wider range of marriage prospects, this situation would be lessened. "Older" unmarried females, like widows, find marriage increasingly difficult with advanced age.

Using caste as a control revealed that 68.37% of the Brahmins agreed with caste endogamy. This is contrasted with the somewhat smaller 63.23% agreement by the Vaishyas. The

Table 21—ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADITIONAL CASTE ENDOGAMY BY CASTE[11]

Caste	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Brahmin	68.37	22.45	9.18
Vaishya	63.23	29.03	7.74

number of persons in the other caste categories was too small to provide meaningful data. Brahmins as the top caste would be expected to hold to the tradition since many times marrying outside one's caste means moving into a higher group. The Brahmins would have nothing to gain from a change. Subcastes within the Brahmin community also have a caste hierarchy which makes such mobility conceivable without going outside the main group. Lesser castes would be more anxious to improve their status with an "upward" marriage.

[10] Statistically significant at the .05 level.

[11] Not statistically signifi cant at the .05 level.

Married trainees had a more conservative attitude on this question than unmarried students. Table 22 shows that 68.46% of the married persons agreed with the tradition, in contrast to

Table 22—ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADITIONAL CASTE ENDOGAMY BY MARITAL STATUS[12]

Status	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Married	68.46	26.56	4.98
Single	59.09	29.55	11.36

59.09% of the single respondents. Just as females and Baroda students had a high percentage of indecision, so too did the single respondents.

Membership in an organization is the final variable to be held constant. Members follow the expected conservative pattern with 66.86% of them answering this question in the affirmative. Non-members were in less agreement (60.77%) with the tradition, and had twice the percentage of undecided responses than the members. It is reasonable that indecision exists where persons do not have solid group reference norms available for decisions.

The above data indicates that caste is no longer the central criterion for partner selection among the teacher trainees in this sample. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that extensive inter-caste marriage actually takes place. Yet, the attitudes indicate a climate for change as new considerations in marriage have begun to displace the traditional ones.

Reference can be made again to the "marriage advertisement" which often states, "caste no bar" or "caste immaterial". Emphasis is now placed on income, education, and personality characteristics. These advertisements represent a rather special group and may not be representative of the teachers in this study.

Information from the interviews and conversations with trainees provides more data on the marriage practices. One girl from the Basic college, whose parents wanted her to marry so her husband could pay for her education, stated that her

[12] Not statistically significant at the .05 level.

husband was to be selected on the basis of his "studies". Another girl, this time from Ahmedabad, was in conflict with her parents because they wanted her to marry an "Arts" graduate. She refused and insisted on a doctor or engineer as he would have more status and money than the Arts degree holder. A male from Ahmedabad who was about to be married said he preferred to marry outside the limited families available to him, but in respect for his elderly father he would oblige, follow tradition, and marry in his community.

Respondents in Cormack's study ranked "character" above[13] all other factors in choosing a mate. Caste was ranked eleventh. Shah reported that 94% of his male population thought the "education of the girl" was the most important criterion in partner selection.[14] The above data supports the idea that caste endogamy as a traditional norm is beginning to diminish. New qualifications are taking precedence in partner selection.

More than any other elements associated with traditional Indian marriage practices, those involving excessive financial expenditure were criticized by the trainees. The written questionnaire did not request information of this type; but respondents volunteered their opinions in the interviews. About two-thirds of the students objected to the heavy expenditure associated with marriage. In India, family status and social prestige are increased with an elaborate wedding ceremony. Conflict often came between the students and parents or other elders in this matter. One young man said he came from a poor family, yet his father insisted on a large wedding and was willing to go into debt for such an event. The trainee asserts that he will do everything possible to convince his father that a small wedding is sufficient.

Various respondents indicated that gold ornaments, feasts, dowries, and other aspects of the total marriage ceremony were too expensive and they were followed only because it gave the family "social dignity". There is, then, considerable discontent with this aspect of marriage.

It was found that the trainees preferred to use this money for other purposes. They have acquired new values. The money could be used for education, better clothes, a cycle, or even a

[13] Cormack, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
[14] B. V. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

radio set according to the respondents. Financial independence, it will be recalled, was noted in the earlier discussion of the joint family as a major area of conflict between the older and younger generations in a family. The matter occurs again in relation to religious values which will be the topic of a later chapter.

Summary

Several differences between the four colleges were revealed in the teacher trainee attitudes toward marriage practices, the second index of change. Marriages arranged solely by parents or elders are no longer acceptable by the students. The preferred practice is to have shared responsibility where both parents and the persons involved make the decision. Ahmedabad students had the most agreement with this change and the least percentage of agreement with the traditional method. Rajpipla students remained closest to the tradition in this question. Adherence to the tradition was also expressed by females, married students, and organization members.

Traditional caste endogamy was favored most by Rajpipla students and least by Ahmedabad students. Joint family members, male respondents, Brahmins, married students and organization members also followed the Rajpipla pattern.

Nearly all trainees objected to the excessive financial expenditures associated with Indian marriages. They reflected changed values in their desire to be able to spend this money on other "more important" items.

The overall changes in the attitudes of the teacher trainees toward traditional marriage practices, like changes in their attitudes toward the joint family system, reflect a trend in the direction of a more pragmatic position. There are few, if any, specific provisions in the formal syllabi of the teacher training colleges which outwardly promote a revised stand on the marriage and family customs. It is more reasonable that the colleges draw students who already have a disposition to accept or reject the societal norms. The social climate of the college, its enrollment and its environs reinforce that initial attitude.

CHAPTER V

TRAINEE ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK PRACTICES

TRADITIONAL STRATIFICATION in Indian society according to caste where each caste or group of castes is expected to follow prescribed norms, values, beliefs, and customs, constitutes a distinguishing characteristic of the Indian social system.

One traditionally important attribute of the caste system was the concept of occupational heredity and the hierarchical association of status with caste level. The higher castes confined themselves to priestly and teaching professions and guarded these functions against encroachment by other castes. Manual work was reserved for the lower castes and considered degrading or impure by the high castes. A person was born into the occupation of his family and caste and assumed the social status accorded that occupation. Traditional caste restrictions related to these phenomena have changed to some degree. Studies have recorded instances of horizontal and vertical occupational mobility by castes. Economic, technological, legal and welfare changes are cited as reasons for the demise of the traditional pattern.

With changed economic conditions and new national goals the schools are expected to assume their role as producers of trained personnel whose attitudes are conducive to the present occupational needs regardless of the traditional stereotypes associated with a particular kind of work.[1] It is in this reference that the attitudes of the teacher trainees toward the occupational and work practices aspect of caste assume their significance as an index of change.

The students as a group of prospective teachers represent a shift in the traditional idea of hereditary inheritance of occupation. It is recalled that trainees' parents included artisans, farmers, or clerks as well as teachers. Precise data on the number of students whose parents were teachers were not obtained as the teachers were coded with doctors, lawyers, and others

[1] Barbara Ward, *India and the West* (Delhi: Government of India, Publications Director, 1961), p. 179.

in the "professional" category. However, it was clear from the interviews and conversations with the respondents that very few of their parents were teachers.

That the teaching profession is reserved only for high castes is also discounted by the behavior of the sample. Brahmin trainees were actually in a minority, (30.90%), in comparison with other castes. Educational opportunity in teaching as well as in other areas of study is no longer solely dependent on a person's caste. Individual or family initiative, and the availability of financial assistance now determines who shall receive higher education. Most of the students who were interviewed indicated that they plan to budget their money to help other family members "get education".

While this overall trend toward occupational mobility is meaningful as an index of social change, a more vital problem is associated with the traditional Indian attitude toward certain types of work. The issue centers around the sharp division between intellectual and manual labor. Kabir notes that, "in course of time, manual labour acquired an element of social stigma.[2] Srinivas states that, "doing manual labour is the symbol of lowly status, just as not doing it is the symbol of high status.[3] This attitude was widespread in traditional India. Strict caste norms, according to Ghurye, perpetuated the system for, "no caste would allow its members to take to any calling which was..degrading," and "it was not only the..social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint... but also the restriction put by other castes..."[4] A Western observer in India is immediately aware of class distinctions connected with various levels of work.

The significance of this phenomenon is hinted at by Srinivas when he points out that, "Indian men are generally illiterate with their hands.."[5] They want jobs that involve white collar work where they can issue orders, supervise others, or otherwise "work" without manual labor. In a country where tech-

[2] Humayun Kabir, *Education in New India* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1959), p. 27.

[3] M. N. Srinivas, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[4] G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1957), p. 15.

[5] M. H. Srinivas, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

nical skills are increasingly in demand, where agriculture is the basic means of livelihood, and where a mere subsistence level has not yet been achieved in food production, it would appear that educated "doers" in this area are urgently needed. Gandhi argued that, "in India..where more than eighty per cent of the population is agricultural and another ten per cent industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary.."[6]

Efforts have been made to improve the program of rural schools and to set up rural institutes and universities because, "villagers who have been to school show an aversion to agricultural work".[7] The migration of villagers to the cities, to clerical tasks and away from the task of rural renovation is not unique to the last decade.

During the period of British rule nothing was done by way of reforms to change this attitude. On the contrary, behavior of the British and the nature of the educational institutions they established only reinforced the existing pattern. One of the major criticisms leveled against the British system of education imported to India is that it was too bookish and literary. The system was attacked again and again by Gandhi during his crusade for independence.

It was not until the Basic Education Scheme was founded on a formal basis at Wardha in 1937 that there was an all-out effort to remedy the problem. Unlike the first two indices of change, family organization and marriage practices, the traditional beliefs about manual work were to be changed by formal education, and specifically Basic education.

In 1956 the Ministry of Education published a *Syllabus for Basic Schools* which stated that, "the Basic System teaches the children to do manual work and thus to respect the man who works."[8] A craft-centered curriculum in Basic education would, according to Gandhi, fulfill several objectives. He contended that, "useful manual labour..is the means *par excellence* for developing the intellect,"[9] and that, "it is immediately renum-

[6] M. K. Gandhi, *Towards New Education* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1953), p. 45.

[7] M. N. Srinivas, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[8] Ministry of Education, *Syllabus for Basic Schools* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1956), p. 6.

[9] M. K. Gandhi, *Basic Education* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1951), p. 106.

erative,"[10] that "socially useful labour will be an instrument for service.."[11] and finally, the "absence of vocational training has made the educated class almost unfit for productive work.."[12] These ideas have been reiterated over and over by other proponents of the Basic Scheme.[13]

Since the promotion of the dignity of labor is a central motif of the Basic college it would be expected that on questions relatting to this aspect of caste work practices the greatest differences in trainee responses would be due to the college they attended. Students attending the Graduates' Basic Training Centre at Rajpipla should have the most favorable attitude toward changes in the tradition and students from the British oriented colleges should be least affirmative. The trend is born out in Table 23, though the differences are slight. The table shows that the great majority of respondents agreed with the statement. All of the Rajpipla students agreed, nearly all of

Table 23—ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STATEMENT, "ONE SHOULD SWEEP DUST, CLEAN THEIR OWN ROOM OR HOME REGARDLESS OF CASTE OR CLASS POSITION."

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	92.31	3.85	3.85
Anand	99.14	.86	.00
Baroda	97.12	1.92	.96
Rajpipla	100.00	.00	.00
Total	96.66	1.95	1.39

those attending M. B. patel College in Anand, and nearly all trainees from the Faculty of Education and Psychology in Baroda agreed, too. Only a small percentage of the Ahmedabad students

[10] M. K. Gandhi, *The Problem of Education* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1962), p. 240.

[11] Gandhi, *Basic Education, op. cit.*, p. 107.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[13] See for example, T. S. Avinashilingam, *Gandhiji's Experiments in Education* (Delhi: Government of India, 1960), pp. 18-20, his *Understanding Basic Education* (Delhi: Government of India, 1957), p. 3; M. C. Dubey, *Basic Education and the New Social Order* (Delhi: National Institute of Basic Education, 1962), p. 45; Salamatullah, *Thoughts on Basic Education* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 7.

expressed sympathy with the traditional view as 92.3% followed the general deviation from the tradition.

When the question was restated in reverse the same pattern emerged. Ahmedabad students still show a slightly different opinion than the other three colleges.

Table 24—"SWEEPING, DUSTING, CLEANING, ARE OCCUPATIONS RESERVED FOR LOW CASTES AND SHOULD STAY THAT WAY."

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	5.83	92.23	1.94
Anand	1.72	95.69	2.59
Baroda	1.92	97.12	.96
Rajpipla	2.94	97.06	.00
Total	3.08	95.24	1.68

The idea was put into a different perspective to emphasize its educational aspects. Again there were minimal differences between the colleges.

Table 25—"LEARNING CRAFTS AND DEVELOPMENT OF MANUAL SKILLS IS FOR LOWER CASTES."

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	2.91	94.17	2.91
Anand	.87	97.39	1.74
Baroda	2.88	97.12	.00
Rajpipla	2.94	97.12	2.94
Total	2.25	96.07	1.69

In another statement the trainees were asked whether they thought vocational and technical courses should be for all persons regardless of caste. All except two of the 359 trainees agreed with the statement.

Some sympathy for the tradition was finally expressed when the area of agriculture was specifically mentioned.

Table 26—"AGRICULTURAL COURSES ARE ONLY FOR CERTAIN CASTES."

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	14.56	79.61	5.83
Anand	15.52	79.31	5.17
Baroda	10.58	82.69	6.73
Rajpipla	11.76	88.24	.00
Total	13.45	81.23	5.32

Rajpipla students had a higher (88.24) percentage of disagreement with the statement than the other colleges, but college as a variable did not prove to be statistically significant at the .05 level.

Finally, attitudes were measured toward a general statement regarding the relationship between caste and occupation with only small differences occurring between the responses from each college.

Table 27—"CASTE IS REALLY UNIMPORTANT WITH REGARD TO THE OCCUPATION AND WORK ONE CHOOSES."

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	89.42	8.65	8.92
Anand	81.74	13.04	5.22
Baroda	87.50	8.65	3.85
Rajpipla	82.35	14.71	2.94
Total	85.71	10.64	3.64

A tenable conclusion which can be derived from the above data is that most of the teacher trainees, at least verbally, disagree with the traditional beliefs concerning occupational heredity and the social status given certain levels of work. It is also to be observed that where differences existed between the Basic and non-Basic students, they were small. Thus, the goal which Basic educators have for changing attitudes toward work practices has been accomplished in non-Basic college students too. Whether the trainees will attempt to change the attitudes of

their future students is not known. There is a need to compare the trainee attitudes on this subject with other groups in the society. The studies of Shah and Cormack which supplied comparable data earlier do not include an assessment of attitudes toward work practices.

In an attempt to see if the percentages of agreement and disagreement alter when other variables are held constant it was found that some change only on the item mentioning agriculture and the general item dealing with caste and occupation. Thus, only those two questions are discussed here in terms of the family type, caste, sex, marital status, and organization membership controls.

Table 28 indicates a higher (15.35%) percentage of agreement with the tradition of reserving agricultural courses for certain castes for joint family members in contrast to the 8.33% agreement recorded for nuclear family members. Responses by family type revealed no change from the group percentage (85.71%) on the statement that caste is unimportant with regard to the occupation one chooses.

Table 28—ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STATEMENT, "AGRICULTURAL COURSES ARE ONLY FOR CERTAIN CASTES."[14]

Family	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Joint	15.35	79.92	4.72
Nuclear	8.33	84.37	7.29

A slight shift in attitudes toward the idea that agricultural courses are for certain castes is observable when the caste variable is held stable.

When the responses to the question regarding the general unimportance of caste were listed by caste, there was practically no change from the group percentage.

[14] Not statistically significant at .05 level.

Table 29—"AGRICULTURAL COURSES ARE ONLY FOR CERTAIN CASTES." RESPONSES BY CASTE.[15]

Caste	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Brahmin	10.09	84.40	5.50
Vaishya	17.47	77.71	4.82

Table 30 shows that male respondents expressed a more traditional attitude than females on the agricultural courses statement.

Table 30—"AGRICULTURAL COURSES ARE ONLY FOR CERTAIN CASTES." RESPONSES BY SEX[16]

Sex	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Male	15.05	80.65	4.30
Female	7.79	83.12	9.09

Males were also more traditional than females on the question of the unimportance of caste in regards to occupation. Most (94.79%) female trainees said caste was unimportant in the matter, while about 10% less or 83.21% of the males said it was unimportant. The only explanation offered for the significant difference between male and female trainees is that throughout the questionnaire females expressed a more liberal attitude than males.

Table 31—"CASTE IS REALLY UNIMPORTANT WITH REGARDS TO THE OCCUPATION AND WORK ONE CHOOSES." RESPONSES BY SEX[17]

Sex	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Male	83.21	12.86	3.93
Female	94.74	2.63	2.83

[15] Not statistically significant at .05 level.
[16] Not statistically significant at .05 level.
[17] Statistically significant at .05 level.

When the variable of marital status is held constant on the statement concerning the caste restriction for agricultural courses, there is no significant difference between married and single student responses.

However, 92.47% of the single respondents indicated that they think caste is unimportant in occupational preference. This is in contrast to 83.59% agreement by married students on the same question. Like female trainees, the single students show an overall more liberal attitude than the married students.

Table 32—"CASTE IS REALLY UNIMPORTANT WITH REGARDS TO THE OCCUPATION AND WORK ONE CHOOSES." RESPONSES BY MARITAL STATUS.[18]

Marital Status	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Single	92.47	3.23	4.30
Married	83.59	12.98	3.44

Analysis of the final variable of membership in an organization reveals that 16.67% of the members said that agricultural courses are for certain castes in contrast to 8.63% agreement by non-members. Membership in an organization was noted earlier as a factor which probably reinforces adherence to the traditional patterns of society. That contention is supported by this data.

The organization members also held a more traditional attitude on the question of caste and occupation though the percentage of difference was small and not statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 33—"AGRICULTURAL COURSES ARE ONLY FOR CERTAIN CASTES." RESPONSES BY ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP.[19]

Organization Member	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Yes	16.67	79.57	3.76
No	8.63	83.45	7.91

[18] Statistically significant at the .05 level.
[19] Statistically significant at .05 level.

Even though the data in this section indicate some major changes in the traditional work practices, there are several problems which should be noted. The attitude which a person holds toward a particular object or idea reflects what he *thinks* he would do, but not necessarily what he will do in a concrete situation. It was possible to record behavioral change in the trainees' choice of occupation as many had deviated from the caste and family traditions by becoming teachers. It was not possible, however, to make extensive observations of their behavior with reference to the manual work items in this category. This limitation has been called a neglect of the "action tendency" aspect of attitudes.[20] It is not suggested that the responses from the students concerning work practices are incorrect, but there is reason to believe that these attitudes do not reflect a real "action tendency". The students have made their occupational choice and are not likely to ever have to be involved with manual work. Few students revealed any interest in village reconstruction or social work activities which may require a return to the rural areas. Indian educators have expressed the opinion that the trainees would say they believed in the dignity of labor and agricultural occupations, but would never engage in such activities.

The trainees at the Basic college were observed in such manual work as spinning and weaving, cleaning their rooms, working in the kitchen and sweeping the college grounds. Although the behavior may not carry over to their regular life, it was a part of their program. Similar actions at the other three colleges were not observed either because the occasion never occurs or the nature of the school program did not provide such opportunities.

Summary

Traditional Indian work practices were viewed in this section as the third index of social change in India. The old practice of occupational heredity was not followed by the trainees as the parents of many were clerks, artisans or farmers.

Caste groups other than Brahmins are now receiving higher

[20] David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield and Egerton L. Ballachey, *Individual in Society* (Tokyo: Kogakusha Co., Ltd., 1962), p. 176.

education and entering the teaching profession. Evidence of this change is found in the high percentage of non-Brahmins in this sample.

The majority of all trainees expressed a favorable attitude toward manual work with the Rajpipla students showing the greatest shift from the tradition. The same trend appeared in connection with the idea that agricultural courses are only for certain castes

It was suggested that there is a discrepancy between the liberal attitudes voiced by the trainees and their actual behavior. The important point is that the high percentage of favorable attitudes toward the changed traditions indicates the possibility that these teachers may inculcate a similar attitude in their students with the eventual goal of altered behavior

Rajpipla students, nuclear family members, Brahmins, females, single persons, and non-organization members showed the greatest break from traditional beliefs concerning work practices.

CHAPTER VI

TRAINEE ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGIOUS VALUES

THE RECIPROCITY between Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam is well documented. The essence of religious synthesis and toleration in India took place during the reign of the great Mughal Akbar and was abruptly reversed by his great-grandson, Aurangzeb. With the death of Aurangzeb and the end of the Mughal empire came a brief period of Hindu revival led by the Maratha chief Shivaji.[1] British rule halted extensive political expansion under Shivaji, and Hinduism was not confronted with Christian missionaries on a large scale until some time after the first wave of westerners had entered India. While conversion was a major goal of the missionaries, various Hindu social practices which seemed alien and inhuman to the foreigners became a target for change. The influence of Christianity began to spread as indigeneous efforts to purge Hinduism of all degenerate features, without losing its fundamental tenets, were made by Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi, B. G. Tilak, Subhas Bose and various other political, religious and social reformers.

Parallel with missionary activities was the advocacy of socio-religious reforms by British rulers. Ballhatchet reports that Elphinstone thought that Western education would not only destroy customs like suttee but Hinduism as a religion.[2] This extreme goal was never attained, but there has been some modification of Hinduism as a result of India's contact with the West.

When the idea of a secular state was introduced into Indian life by constitutional provision, it necessarily modified traditional patterns of life and paved the way for nationalism. Attempts had to be made to divorce religion from innumerable social practices which had historic religious foundations. Secularism was equated with materialism and both were resisted by orthodox communities. Panikkar notes that, "there is undoubtedly

[1] A. L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

[2] K. A. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 250.

growing up among limited circles—not confined to any particular class—a feeling of alienation from religion."[3] He sees this as part of a total secular movement in India. Panikkar himself has strongly advocated a separation of religion and law which would allow Hindus "...to renovate themselves by adjustments to suit changing needs."[4] He believes that a secular legislating state and a tradition-bound static society cannot exist side by side.

Religiosity as opposed to secularism is the central theme to be pursued in this section in which the teacher trainee attitudes are discussed in terms of religious values and practices. Religion and education in India are related in ways other than merely being caught in a conflict over the promotion of certain values.

Material goals and the ethic of achievement as opposed to spiritual goals and an attitude of resignation, relate to the school's role in economic development. Indian education, "... has involved attention to maintaining certain traditional values while attempting to gear the output of the educational system to the economic needs of the country and to the values of a democratic society."[5] It is wrong to think that Indians are too other-worldly and lack the interest needed to generate and sustain economic growth, according to Lewis. Nevertheless, he cites the need for educative propaganda to, "increase the people's awareness of their national program and of the new possibilities, choices and issues it poses."[6] The task of the schools may well be one of reconciling the new values with the old rather than just promoting one or the other.

Secular education relates to Hinduism in other basic ways. A conflict is likely to exist if the educational institutions inculcate the merits of reason over faith, critical inquiry over acceptance of tradition, logic over intuition, or pragmatism over astrology. Patterns are so deeply ingrained in the person-

[3] K. M. Panikkar, *The Foundations of New India* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963), p. 245.

[4] K. M. Panikkar, *Hindu Society at Cross Roads, op cit.*, p. 139.

[5] Willis P. Porter, "Education for Economic Development in India and Pakistan," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol, XLVII (December, 1965), p. 201.

[6] John P. Lewis, *Quiet Crisis in India* (Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 30.

ality of some Indians that even years of attendance in Western educational institutions fail to change their approach.

Concern has been voiced over the role of denominational and sectarian schools. It has been noted that, "in some cases the recruitment of staff is influenced by religious or sectarian considerations," and other "institutions run by communal organizations... are run on lines which have tended to promote unhealthy trends," which "... are not calculated to promote a broad and healthy national outlook."[7] The existence of these schools, it was suggested earlier, will continue for a long time because they relieve some of the enrollment pressure from Government schools.

The Secondary Education Commission of 1952 called attention to another educational problem involving religion. It cited the disruptive effects which religious holidays have on the school program. The Commission concluded that, "with the innumerable holidays given for various religious functions, the work of the school is seriously handicapped."[8] They recommended that short vacations be given instead of numerous intermittent layoffs. No mention was made of what religious days and events were to be observed within the school program.

The problems involved in including religious and moral instruction in the school face India as she tries to reconcile her traditional religious and philosophical heritage with the new secular state. Kabir suggests the colleges and schools should provide a daily assembly for students because, "through common worship or the reading of texts, it offers them an opportunity of coming into contact with some of the higher values of life."[9] He asserts that schools with such assemblies have a better discipline and fellowship among their pupils.

Early critics of Basic education contended that religious instruction was completely left out of the Scheme. Gandhi's writings indicate that it was a problem over which he toiled for some time. He believed that religion meant Truth and that, "a curriculum of religious instruction should include a study of

7 Ministry of Education, *Report of the Secondary Education Commission*, 1952-53, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

8 *Ibid*, p. 200.

9 Kabir, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

the tenets of faiths other than one's own."[10] He equates this concept of religion with the term culture. In this way religion was to be taught in Basic schools, but "religious instruction in the sense of denominational religion has been deliberately omitted."[11] This policy was followed, according to Gandhi, because, "I do not believe that the State can concern itself or cope with religious instruction."[12] In spite of the efforts to keep education and religion separate in India, it is safe to generalize that most schools condone or actively participate in various religious affairs ranging from regular prayers to passive observance of holy days.

Although the above connections between religion and education in India are thought to be crucial, the teachers in this sample were not asked how they viewed each situation. Instead, they were questioned on general religious beliefs and practices. Their attitudes were elicited to see the extent to which they adhered to selected religious traditions. Formation of specific questions proved to be difficult because of the all-embracing nature of Hinduism. Brown notes that, "the characteristics of so amorphous a faith are hard to define."[13] On another occasion he said that Hinduism incorporates, "the customs, beliefs, and practices, [and] institutions of peoples in all parts of the sub-continent developed at all periods of human settlement there."[14] Hinduism was aptly described by Radhakrishnan when he said it was a way of life rather than a form of thought.[15]

In light of the difficulties of selecting statements to ask the trainees, it was decided to stress concrete situations rather than the abstract metaphysical speculations surrounding Hinduism. Special emphasis was also placed on those items which were thought to be undergoing alteration. Thus, statements involving ritual, ceremony, rites and other *behavior*

[10] M. K. Gandhi, *True Education* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1962), p. 127.

[11] Gandhi, *Basic Education, op. cit.*, p. 85.

[12] Gandhi, *True Education, op.cit.*, p. 182.

[13] W. Norman Brown, *The United States and India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 24.

[14] W. Norman Brown, "Mythology in India", *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, (ed.) Samuel N. Kramer (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1961), p. 280.

[15] S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1927), p. 77.

were considered to be best suited for measuring one aspect of the religiosity of the trainees.

Religious practices and beliefs differ from group to group and region to region in India so it was necessary to include customs which were recognized by most of the students. Desai notes that, "the manners, customs and mode of living of the Hindus living in such a large area [Gujarat] and comprising many castes and creeds, have many local variations. But in spite of this the main features of life are the same."[16] With these considerations and limitations in mind the trainee attitudes toward religious beliefs can now be analyzed.

Nearly two-thirds (63.41%) of the students agree with the ritual of bathing before going to the temple. Rajpipla students showed the highest (74.29%) percentage of agreement and Baroda students the lowest (60.58%) agreement with the

Table 34—"ONE SHOULD BATHE BEFORE GOING TO THE TEMPLE." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	64.08	29.13	6.80
Anand	62.07	32.76	5.17
Baroda	60.58	29.81	9.62
Rajpipla	74.29	25.71	.00
Total	63.41	30.17	6.42

tradition. The differences between the colleges are not statistically significant at the .05 level. That nearly 10% of Baroda's students were undecided on the question might be explained by the fact that about 10% of them are non-Hindu. There was no effort to list only the Hindu responses as 93.30% of all students were in this category.

A high overall affirmation of another bathing ritual was given by most trainees. Rajpipla students remained more loyal to the tradition with 97.14% of them in favor of the statement.

[16] R. B. G. H. Desai, *Hindu Families in Gujarat* (Baroda: Baroda State Press, 1932), p. ii.

Table 35—"ONE SHOULD TAKE A BATH IN THE MORNING UNLESS ADVISED OTHERWISE MEDICALLY." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	94.12	5.88	.00
Anand	87.07	11.21	1.72
Baroda	89.32	7.77	2.91
Rajpipla	97.14	2.86	.00
Total	90.73	7.87	1.40

Anand and Baroda respondents showed some diversion with 87.07% and 89.32% agreement respectively. The differences are not statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 36 gives responses to a religious question which has caste overtones. Most religious practices are intimately connected with caste rules. Baroda trainees stood out from the rest with 94.12% deviation from the tradition. Though the differences between the other three colleges are small, Rajpipla

Table 36—"THE TOUCH OF A HARIJAN DOES NOT RENDER ONE UNFIT FOR ENTRY INTO A TEMPLE FOR THE WORSHIP OF GOD" RESPONSES BY COLLEGE

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	86.54	11.54	1.92
Anand	83.62	8.62	7.76
Baroda	94.12	1.96	3.92
Rajpipla	82.86	14.29	2.86
Total	87.39	8.12	4.48

students had the most sympathy with the former custom.

The trend toward a liberal outlook in reference to the place of religious ritual is further reflected in the responses to a general statement concerning worship. It is somewhat surprising that Baroda students had the lowest (81.73%) percentage of agreement with this statement.

Table 37—"IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO GO THROUGH RITUALS FOR WORSHIPPING GOD. WORSHIP CAN BE SILENT AND EVEN WITHOUT OUTWARD MANIFESTATIONS." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	85.44	10.68	3.88
Anand	85.22	11.30	3.48
Baroda	81.73	10.58	7.69
Rajpipla	82.35	14.71	2.94
Total	83.99	11.24	4.78

Over one half (55.37%) of all trainees agreed with the custom of going to a place of pilgrimage during one's lifetime. Rajpipla students had the most interest in this activity and Baroda students showed the least preference for pilgrimages.

Table 38—"ONE SHOULD VISIT AND PRAY AT A PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE AT LEAST ONCE IN ONE'S LIFETIME." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	53.92	32.65	13.73
Anand	57.39	35.65	6.96
Baroda	52.94	34.31	12.75
Rajpipla	60.00	28.57	11.43
Total	55.37	33.62	11.02

A number of the respondents were undecided in the matter. As with the last four statements, the differences between responses by each college are minimal. It is for that reason that the questions were not discussed with other variables held constant, though that will be done with the remaining items. There is an indication toward some deviation from the traditional ritualistic behavior in religious practices as reflected in the student's attitudes. In support of this trend, Cormack's study of social change revealed that 55% of her respondents

said they did not believe in purification ceremonies and rituals. Forty-four per cent said they did not believe in pilgrimages.[17]

The remaining statements in the present study continue to measure aspects of the students' religiosity, but with emphasis on the economic factor involved in religious practices.

Table 39 shows that the large majority (84.36%) of the total group agree that pouring milk into a holy river is wasteful.

Table 39—"POURING MILK INTO A HOLY RIVER THEREBY MAKING AN OFFERING TO GOD, IS WASTEFUL AND THE MILK SHOULD BE PUT TO A BETTER USE." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	87.38	7.77	4.85
Anand	87.07	6.90	6.03
Baroda	83.65	9.62	6.73
Rajpipla	68.57	28.57	2.86
Total	84.63	10.06	5.59

Ahmedabad trainees were strongest in this belief in contrast to the lesser percentage of agreement by Rajpipla students. College as a variable is statistically significant at the .01 level.

With family type controlled it was found that nuclear family members had a slightly higher percentage of agreement with the statement. There was, however, a larger spread between responses by Brahmins and Vaishyas when this variable was

Table 40—"POURING MILK INTO A HOLY RIVER IS WASTEFUL." RESPONSES BY CASTE[18]

Caste	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Brahmin	76.36	14.55	9.09
Vaishya	87.35	7.23	5.42

[17] Cormack, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[18] Statistically significant at the .05 level.

held constant. Brahmins would be expected to be more orthodox than other castes on such matters.

When the variable of sex is held constant, females express the liberal outlook and males remain more consistent with the tradition. It was also found that single persons and non-organization members agreed more than married persons and organization members, that pouring milk into a holy river is wasteful.

Table 41—"POURING MILK INTO A HOLY RIVER IS WASTEFUL." RESPONSES BY SEX.

Sex	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Male	81.79	12.14	6.07
Female	93.51	2.60	3.90

A question concerning marriage expenses was included in this section even though attitudes toward marriage practices were discussed at length in an earlier chapter. As can be seen by the figures in Table 42, nearly all students attending Ahmedabad, Anand, and Baroda agreed that marriage expenses often waste money. Rajpipla had the lowest (85.71%) percentage of students who favored a change. It will be recalled from the

Table 42—"MARRIAGE EXPENSES BEYOND A REASONABLE LIMIT ARE A WASTE." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE[19].

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	97.09	2.91	.00
Anand	97.41	2.59	.00
Baroda	95.19	2.88	1.92
Rajpipla	85.71	14.29	. 00
Total	95.53	3.91	.56

discussion of marriage practices that the trainees were especially concerned about the extensive expenditures surrounding the marriage ceremony.

[19] Statistically significant at the .01 level.

When the other variables of family type, caste, sex, marital status, and organization membership were held constant, the following trend appeared. Joint family members, Brahmins, males, single persons, and organization members were more conservative than their opposites. The differences, however, were small for all groups as most persons shared dissatisfaction with marriage expenses.

On another statement the students were asked whether religious feasts are a waste of money. Table 43 indicates that Anand students agreed most with the statement and Rajpipla students expressed the least deviation from the tradition. College as a control revealed a larger margin between responses

Table 43—"RELIGIOUS FEASTS ARE A WASTE OF MONEY AND THE FOOD AND MONEY SHOULD BE PUT TO A MORE 'PRACTICAL' USE."[20] RESPONSES BY COLLEGE.

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	65.69	20.59	13.73
Anand	73.28	18.10	8.62
Baroda	63.11	19.42	17.48
Rajpipla	54.29z	42.86	3.86
Total	66.29	21.63	12.0

than any of the other variables. There was less than a one per cent difference between responses to this statement when the students were classified according to joint and nuclear families. Only 4% more Vaishyas than Brahmins agreed with the statement. And 2% more males than females took the liberal stand. When the students were classified according to marital status and organization membership, 5% more single trainees than married trainees, and 9% more non-organization members than their opposites agreed that religious feasts waste food and money. College was the only variable statistically significant at the .05 level.

[20] Statistically significant at the .05 level.

The final statement concerning religious beliefs toward which the students' attitudes were measured asked whether religious festivals were a waste of money. As a total group, 81.97% of

Table 44—"RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS WASTE MONEY AND THE MONEY WOULD BE BETTER SPENT IF IT WERE USED TO BUILD DAMS FOR IRRIGATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH." RESPONSES BY COLLEGE.[21]

College	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Undecided*
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Ahmedabad	85.44	7.77	6.80
Anand	86.84	9.65	3.51
Baroda	76.70	13.59	9.71
Rajpipla	71.43	25.71	2.86
Total	81.97	11.83	6.20

the trainees responded in the affirmative. Again the least change came from Rajpipla students and the most change from those attending M.B. Patel College of Education at Anand. College proved to be the only variable statistically significant on this question too.

Only slight differences occurred when the other controls were held constant and the following pattern emerged. Nuclear family members, Vaishyas, males, single persons, and non-organization members expressed less sympathy with the custom than their counterparts.

Female trainees and single respondents were not expected to remain more loyal to the tradition than males and married students because of their choices on earlier questions. That single students may not yet feel the pressures of financial responsibility in the way married persons do is a possible explanation for their attitude. With regard to the female trainees, Cormack reported that her female respondents consistently favored rituals and ceremonies more than males.[22] She offered no explanation except that many women admitted their

[21] Statistically significant at the .01 level.

[22] Cormack, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

enjoyment of ritual but disliked the accompanying arduous preparations.

There has been, on many of the statements used in the questionnaire, a noticeable absence of comparable data. Since this was apparent during the period of research it was deemed necessary to test the validity of the written responses by interviews with a sample of the student population. This also provided an opportunity to see whether any areas of conflict and change had been overlooked.

When asked if there were any social practices they disliked or disagreed with, a few trainees expressed concern over family pressures, child marriages, the system of purdah, untouchability, and general orthodoxy. A considerable number of students from Ahmedabad, Anand, and Rajpipla stated an overt dislike for the traditional practices associated with death and burial. This custom is known as *barmu*, and requires the family of the deceased person to sponsor a death feast twelve days after the burial. There are several practices associated with *barmu* which the trainees disfavored, but their main anxiety was over the expense incurred from the feast.

Information from the interviews validates the contention that there is a large amount of dissatisfaction with religious affairs which requires financial expenditure. Caste dinners, marriages, burials, and other social and religious functions traditionally gave a family or caste group status in proportion to the amount of money spent. The students no longer seek status through the same means as the elders in their community.

An effort was made to identify those persons with whom the trainees had conflicts over traditional values. Most students said their views differed from any uneducated or orthodox person. Others specifically mentioned their parents, elders, or villagers. A majority of the respondents had conflicts with several persons or groups rather than just one. Several Baroda and Anand students who were interviewed said they had no conflicts of this type or else they adjusted to the differences as they occurred.

It was thought that since the older practices which necessitated monetary outlay no longer appealed to the students there may be new "needs" for their money. It was found that the trainees preferred to spend money on the cinema, clothes,

books, education, or the "family". And about 25% of the fifty students interviewed said they wanted to buy a cycle or radio rather than spend the money on a ceremony or feast. These new items were not spoken of as luxuries but as "needs" by the trainees.

At one time or another in the interviews, the respondents complained that the low salaries in the teaching profession did not allow them to have what they wanted. They often indicated that their salary and status should be equivalent to Government workers, doctors, or engineers. This phenomenon can be better understood when conceptualized into group dynamics terminology.

Kelly has noted two different functions of reference groups.[23] On the one hand, a person may have a normative reference group which functions to reward and punish conformity or non-conformity to group norms. In the case of the trainees, their parents, elders, and caste fellows with whom they have value conflicts comprise the normative reference group. On the other hand, a person may have a comparative reference group. This group serves as a standard to which a person compares himself. In the case of the trainees, it is any group which enjoys the material benefits toward which he himself aspires. More specifically, the comparative reference group is made up of Government workers, doctors, engineers, and very likely, Westerners.

The education of a teacher separates him from his family (the main normative reference group) and places him in a less restricted atmosphere where he is exposed to various membership groups which eventually serve the comparative reference groups function. An even more precise designation of this latter group would be to call it a preference group.

A small but influential group of African Gujaratis exist on the Baroda campus. These are Indians who have lived in Africa for some time and have recently returned to further their education. They are considered socially and economically advanced by faculty members and students. Their behaviour is different as is their dress. Though in a minority, they are the campus

[23] Harold H. Kelly, "Two Functions of Reference Groups", *Readings in Social Psychology*, The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 410-14.

leaders. All of the characteristics of this group set them off as a natural comparative reference group for the rest of the enrollment.

It is clear from this study that many of the social changes now taking place in India occur because of the attraction of these groups and their material goods. The new "needs" not only provide a more comfortable material environment, but are becoming the status symbols of new India. In this process they are replacing the traditional prestige items. This explanation of certain changes, it is suggested, provides a more meaningful analysis of social change than the usual account which credits "Western liberal ideology" as the overwhelming force of change.

Summary

The nature of Hinduism makes it difficult to objectively assess the religious attitudes of the teacher trainees. Emphasis was therefore given to the ritualistic elements in Hinduism in the statements used on the questionnaire.

The areas of conflict which exist between religion and education in India reflect some of the problems encountered by the introduction of secularism into a society whose institutions were traditionally permeated with religious overtones. The purposes of eliciting trainee attitudes toward religious values were to provide another general index of social change and to measure some degree of the students' religiosity as opposed to their secularism.

It was found that Rajpipla students consistently tended to adhere to the traditional religious practices more than the trainees attending the other three colleges. When selected background characteristics of the students were held constant, it was discovered that joint family members, Brahmins, males, married persons, and organization members generally followed the conservative pattern noted with the Rajpipla students.

Most of the trainees expressed an overt dislike of those social and religious affairs which involve financial expenditure. The students, in their desire to spend money on contemporary material goods, rather than the traditional status items, revealed

a conflict they had with parents, elders, villagers, and other orthodox persons in the communities.

An explanation of this process of social change was given in terms of the functions which various groups serve for the trainees.

Chapter VII

TEACHER EDUCATION IN TRANSITION

While it seems clear from the analysis of data that students who attend Basic training colleges possess somewhat different attitudes toward social practices than do those students in non-Basic colleges, it also seems clear that the differences are small and not all in the same direction, and that they existed before the persons came to the colleges. Students attending The Graduates' Basic Training Centre in Rajpipla consistently expressed more agreement with traditional beliefs associated with family organization, marriage practices and religious beliefs than students in the three non-Basic colleges. However, the Basic students' attitudes toward work practices were less coherent with the tradition than the other colleges.

The influence of the colleges on students' attitudes, though it can not be entirely discounted, was seen in this study to be small. Even in the single instance in which Basic student attitudes reflected more disagreement with the traditions associated with work practices than non-Basic students, where the philosophy and curriculum of Basic education admittedly attempts to create a changed attitude, the extent of variance between students of the two types of colleges was only slight.

It would seem that the colleges serve primarily to reinforce rather than to change the beliefs of the students who attend the respective institutions. Factors other than experience at a particular training college appear to be operative in changing the students' outlook toward traditional social practices. It was possible, by holding some of the background characteristics of the students constant, to identify various attributes, other than college, which were associated with persons who held a particular view toward a changing custom. There was, for example, a statistically significant relationship at the .01 level between the present family type of a respondent and his attitude toward the traditional joint family. On other questions, it was more revealing to know whether a person was married or single,

male or female, or an organization member or non-member rather than to know his college training.

The written responses and information from the personal interviews concerning the question of financial expenditure revealed the rationale for many of the changes in attitude toward old customs. A major complaint against the joint family system was that it did not provide economic independence. Responses to questions about marriage practices indicated a dislike of expensive and elaborate marriage customs. Other social and religious traditions were unacceptable to the trainees because of the monetary costs involved. Many of the trainees preferred to spend their money on other items. The impetus for change was to achieve the economic and social status enjoyed by other groups in the society. These groups serve as a standard of comparison for the training students. The training colleges provide a situation which draws a student from his traditional associates and places him in an environment which exposes him to a variety of new membership groups, but resultant changes in beliefs are only indirectly connected with the college and are largely unplanned and incidental to the program of the school.

Why has the training college program not had more of an impact on the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the students? What explanations can be given to account for the failure of the training colleges to serve as a more effective agency for changing social attitudes? A discussion of these factors must begin with the recognition that Indian teacher education received its present character as a result of its long association with the West. Most of the colleges are patterned on a system of education which evolved in a Western society in response to the needs and purposes of that society. Even with the recognition of a need to adapt the training programs to suit the requirements of an underdeveloped country, the organization, administration, and syllabus of the Indian training colleges has not been much altered until recent times.

The pattern of establishment of the three British oriented teacher training colleges used in this study provides a good example of the process by which teacher education in pre-Independent India was directly influenced by Great Britain. A.G. Teachers' College in Ahmedabad and M. B. Patel College

of Education in Anand were organized on a pattern very similar to that of the Faculty of Education and Psychology at Baroda. Many of the staff members of the former two colleges are graduates of Baroda. There are few differences in the syllabus used at each college. In turn, the syllabus at Baroda is much like the syllabus used at the London University Institute of Education about the turn of the century.

From interviews with Mr. P. K. Chhatre,[1] a former staff member on the Faculty of Education and Psychology at Baroda, and Dr. J. M. Mehta,[2] the former Vice-Chancellor of the M. S. University of Baroda, it is clear that the London University Institute of Education supplied the personnel for the Bombay Training College which was started in 1910. Around 1925, H. R. Hamley and H. V. Hampton were in power at the Bombay Training College. Both men were disciples of Sir Percy Nunn, Principal of the London Institute from 1922 to 1936, and author of *Education: Its Data and First Principles*. This book was very popular among Indian educators and it was used as a Bible for many years. Hamley and Hampton "revised" the Bombay syllabus, which originally came from London, to meet the needs of the local Bombay area. The major change was to alter the practice teaching from block lessons to individual or "stray" lessons, a mistake, according to Mr. Chhatre, which persists today.

Around 1930, after these events had taken place in Bombay, Mr. R. Littlehailes, a British Education Officer, headed a committee which recommended the opening of a training college in Baroda.[3] Mr. Littlehailes introduced the British terminology of "timetable", "theory section", "practical section", and "method master", which were then used in the London Institute of Education and which are still used in the three training colleges.

The first principal of the Baroda Training College, Mr. G. Bhattacharya, came from Dacca University near Calcutta with syllabus in hand. The syllabus was essentially the same as that

[1] Interview with P. K. Chhatre, March 15, 1965.

[2] Interview with Dr. J. M. Mehta, March 18, 1965.

[3] R. Littlehailes, *Report of the Baroda Training College* (Baroda: Baroda State Press, 1934), p. 112.

of the University of London Institute of Education. When it soon became necessary for Baroda to seek affiliation with Bombay University, Baroda had to revise its syllabus in harmony with the revisions made by Hamley and Hampton at the Bombay College. Thus, the syllabus used in the three training colleges in the present study can be traced back to their British origin. As one compares the early Bombay syllabus with the present ones used in the training colleges, one is struck by the close similarity and the lack of any major revisions.

British education was so institutionalized in India for over a century that change was made more difficult. British rule and the British system of education made a lasting impression on Hindu society, but the role of teacher education in the process of change seems to be marginal. The persistent English type organization of most of the training colleges in India, as one year post-graduate programs, operate on the largely uncriticized assumption that the process of attitude formation and change must take place before the individual comes to the college for his professional preparation or that no change is needed.

Such a view is not acceptable to those who advocate that education should assume a more active role in the transformation of society. Early attempts were made to correct some of the deficiencies in the system, but resistance in the forms of tradition and bureaucracy negated any major alterations. Individuals, for example, have attempted to bring new ideas into Gujarat. In 1906, Maharaja Sayajirao Geakwad of Baroda wrote a letter, from England, to John Morley the Secretary of State for India, indicating his interest in Western educational ideas. He said, "I have recently returned from my visit to America," and ". . . . I have been able to see something of the educational institutions of the Western Countries which will help me much in improving the system of education in my own State."[4] It is known that the Maharaja was an educationally enlightened man and that he introduced compulsory education on a small scale in his State that same year. In spite of the Maharaja's leadership and the often cited great "progress" of education in the Baroda area, it may be ques-

4 Government of Bombay, *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1958), p. 563.

tioned whether the life of the average citizen was noticeably changed.

Another example of an individual who attempted to improve the contemporary approach to education was T. R. Pandya who studied at Teachers' College, Columbia University. In 1915, Pandya wrote, *A History of Education in Baroda*,[5] in which he criticized teacher salaries, examinations, and other aspects of the system of education. He suggested that the state of education in Baroda could be improved by adopting certain American practices. As far as can be ascertained, none of his recommendations, including suggestions to take account of local needs, have been implemented.

Pandya's book, like numerous books on the shelves of Indian libraries, was written in English. There was, and still is, a trend to use foreign textbooks as suggested reading for the papers in various degree programs. Faculty members from the sample colleges related that their students, if they read the books at all, were unable to comprehend most of the ideas put forth in these books. Most of the books used in the courses were written by British or American authors, and only recently have Indian educators begun to write textbooks, course outlines, and course summaries in the vernacular.

The faculty of a teacher training college could be the source through which innovative ideas and new values find their way to the teacher trainees. Various individual staff members who were interviewed revealed a depth of knowledge about current educational practices and concepts. Their influence, however, is contrasted with the majority of the teachers who follow the traditional procedures inherited from the British, regardless of their applicability today. It was found, from the staff members who taught Bachelor of Education level students that two persons at Baroda, one each at Ahmedabad and Anand, and no one at Rajpipla had received foreign training. The other faculty members said they received their information and impressions about foreign countries from books, foreign visitors, the cinema, the radio, and actual visits in that order. This only suggests that there is a considerable amount of contact

[5] T. R. Pandya, *A History of Education in Baroda* (Bombay: M. Nowrojee, 1915). Also published as a Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1916.

with other cultures, and not that the ideology from those cultures is being advocated in India. It is true that rather definite lines are drawn, by the staff members, between those sympathetic to reforms, usually foreign in origin, and those who prefer the status quo or advocate a return to the indigenous system of Indian education.[6]

That the attitudes of the trainees are not greatly altered by the training college may also be due to their teachers' apathy in this matter. A minority of the faculty members stated that their main purpose was to instruct the students in the fundamentals and principles of teaching, and not to change their beliefs and attitudes. Many of the trainees, they contended, could not be influenced because they had taught for several years and were mature adults who had already formed their outlook on society.

An analysis of the work week of the training college teachers indicates that they spend an average of four hours a week in the classroom, one hour a week in tutorials, ten hours a week supervising student teaching, and nine hours a week doing "other" things. If this information is accurate, and it was received directly from all faculty members who had contact with Bachelor of Education level students, it suggests not only that the work week is short, but that their contact with the student may be too brief to affect his beliefs.

The only major attempt to modify the British system of education in pre-Independent India was the proposal for Basic education. In contrast to the usual pattern of Western influence, Gandhi's scheme of Basic education was launched as a reaction *against* Western domination. As part of his attack against British rule, he protested against the use of English, against the literary character of English education, and for a system of education to suit India's needs.[7] To replace the foreign schools, he advocated national institutions and Basic education. The Ahmedabad Education Society, started in 1935, is representative of the former movement. "The compelling reason for its immediate establishment was a national emergency to institute an educational organization that would foster positive national aspirations in

[6] There were no obvious discernible characteristics of those who expressed "progressive" or "conservative" opinions about Indian education and society.

[7] Gandhi, *True Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

the young generation."[8] Even though Gujarat University, A. G. Teachers College, and a number of other educational establishments were started by this Society, they remain bound to the British pattern of education except for the use of Gujarati as the medium of instruction. The Basic institutions have attempted to evolve an indigenous type of education, but their association with nationalism and the Congress party has resulted in making the whole scheme a political issue. It has assumed a conservative character which has been politically protected, and which has allowed it to resist any attempt to bring them in tune with the needs of contemporary India.

The implementation of Basic education came at a time when India was eagerly seeking independence and as a result it did not receive the funds and interest needed for effective adoption on a national basis. The overwhelming increase of foreign aid, at all levels of education, in post-Independent India has been directed to schemes other than Basic education. Innumerable American, British, French, German, and Russian programs, not all teacher education to be sure, have provided financial and material assistance to help India *change* its system of education to meet the demands of a developing nation.

Along with the various foreign experiments aimed at equipping India with a functional educational program, are state and national programs designed to foster the same end. Some have contended that India virtually missed the nineteenth century. She is now trying to bridge that gap through numerous reforms, reactions, adjustments, and proposals to alleviate the situation. Most of the programs appear to be working toward a system similar to that envisaged by a group of Master of Education students in the late 1950's who claimed that, "We need to constitute for ourselves a scheme of education which we may call our own, on foundation purely Indian, in line with our culture and traditions, alive to our needs and interests, to suit our way of life and thought...."[9] Implicit in this statement is a recognition of the failure of Basic education even though this goal is essentially what the Basic Educa-

[8] *Ahmedabad Education Society Silver Jubilee* (Ahmedabad: Subhash Printery, 1960), p. 8.

[9] Central Institute of Education, *Foundations of a Nationl System of Education for India* (Delhi: Central Institute of Education, 1959), From the Introduction.

tion Scheme was expected to achieve. It was conceptualized in 1938 and only within the last decade has it begun to reach the numbers it was intended for even at the elementary level, it is still, however, used as a political issue and is surrounded by claims and verbal promises. India's President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, was one of the original advocates of the plan and he still claims that, "Only a proper utilisation of basic education can take the country on the proper road to progress."[10]

M. C. Chagla, Union Education Minister at the time, in February, 1965, at a meeting of the National Board of Basic Education, stressed the need for a clear policy on Basic education and urged that education throughout the country should be made to conform to the system of Basic education. The Board further recommended that post-Basic schools should be developed as an integral part of education at the secondary stage.[11] Mr. Chagla was chided in a subsequent *Hindustan Times* editorial for merely paying "lip homage" to the movement. They said his previous remarks on the subject contradicted this stand and that the whole affair only, "....thickens the confusion already surrounding education in this country."[12]

When the 1952-53 Secondary Education Commission recommended multilateral or multipurpose secondary schools, it was necessary to determine how these schools would fit in the total pattern of education and especially with the proposed post-Basic schools. A committee reported in 1960 that the difference between post-Basic and multipurpose schools was only a matter of emphasis on certain aspects of the syllabus for, "Multipurpose schools and post-Basic schools should not be regarded as two parallel systems, but as integral parts of the same system of education."[13] In spite of the attempts to clarify the situation and unify educational thought a good deal of confusion still exists.

Mr. P. K. Kripal, Education Secretary to the Government of India in 1961, illustrates the uncertain attitude about the relationship between multipurpose and Basic schools. He avoided

[10] *The Times of India*, October 2, 1964, p. 6.

[11] *The Times of India*, February 3, 1965, p. 8.

[12] *Hindustan Times*, February 7, 1965, p. 6.

[13] *Report of The Committee for the Integration of Post-Basic and Multipurpose Schools* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1960), p. 1

any mention of Basic education in his address to the third meeting of the All India Council for Secondary Education and stated that, "the more one considers the matter the more convinced one feels that the multipurpose idea offers the best answer to the various ills which beset secondary education."[14] He further noted that the major difficulty in the scheme was the lack of qualified and trained teachers and that four regional colleges were being planned to train teachers for this purpose.

In 1961, perhaps in direct criticism of the present pattern of teacher education, a project for the establishment of four Regional Colleges of Education was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the National Council of Educational Research and Training. A team of officers of the Government of India and consultants from Ohio State University under the United States Agency for International Development in India began work on the project in January, 1962.

The attempt of the Regional Colleges to educate multipurpose school teachers for an effective role in a changing society can be seen in its statement of objectives and goals. One major purpose of the multipurpose schools is, "....to link education at the secondary stage to the needs of the country."[15] This is necessary, because "the quick pace of industrialisation,.... with the social and economic changes it has set in motion, has brought.... the need for aligning the system of secondary education more closely to the requirements of a rapidly developing economy."[16] This program represents a radical departure from the traditional approach in that the colleges give instruction in subject areas as well as professional education. As another institution established during this transitional period of Indian education, it is unique in its recognition that general education, specialization, and professional education must be part of an integrated whole. The total college program is designed to prepare students for teaching rather than to expect to make a significant impact on the person in a matter of several months as the present teacher training colleges try to do. Though the

[14] *Report of the Proceedings of the Third Meeting of All India Council for Secondary Education* (New Delhi: Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education, 1961), p. 3.

[15] National Council of Educational Research and Training, *Regional Colleges of Education: Plan and Programme* (New Delhi: NCERT, 1963), p. 2.

[16] *ibid*, p. 2.

plan is heavily endowed with American financial and technical assistance, the members of the Ohio State team have insisted that they are only consultants and that the project must be Indian in every way possible.

Evaluation of the success of the Regional College Project must wait until it has functioned for a period of time. It does, however, represent another major attempt to serve the needs of the country.

The transitional nature of Indian teacher education and the influence from the West can be seen in still other proposals to improve the system. These various plans are formulated in such a random manner as to suggest thatit is doubtful whether they too can have a significant impact on the attitudes and beliefs of the teachers. Two Americans and one Indian educator have been the major proponents of a recent plan for training teachers.[17] It is referred to as the Comprehensive College of Education. The new plan proposes to increase the enrollment of teacher training institutions, to bring secondary, elementary, advanced, and special programs together in the same college, to raise teacher salaries, and to transfer partial responsibility for supervision of practice teaching to specially trained cooperating teachers. The plan seems to stress reorganization of existing colleges so they can increase their quantitative impact. As an effort to "....remedy some of the major ailments of the present programme,"[18] it does not attack the qualitative aspects which need improvement.

In the same issue of the *Education and Psychology Review* in which the Comprehensive College was described, a principal of a Government Training College proposed another scheme.[19] He had recently visited colleges and universities in the United States and was convinced that it would be a good idea, "to merge our training college with teaching universities or colleges rather than having entirely separate institutions called training colleges."[20] Various educators who were interviewed during

[17] Paul Leonard, Reginald Bell and S. N. Mukerji, "The Comprehensive College of Education", *Education and Psychology Review*, Vol. IV (July, 1964), pp. 124-133.

[18] *ibid.*, p. 133.

[19] Uday Shankar, "The Four Degree Course in Education", *Education and Psychology Review, op. cit.*, pp. 134-137.

[20] *ibid.*, p. 137.

the period of research for this study reported that nearly every Indian educator who went abroad returned with some program to improve teacher education.

The Ministry of Education Committee on Correspondence Courses and Evening Colleges recently recommended the institution of correspondence courses in a variety of areas including teacher education.[21] For support of their plan they cited numerous examples of Western and Asian countries presently using such a method.

The idea was further promoted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training when they suggested specific steps to be taken by training colleges. *A Times of India* editorial criticized the recommendation as a superficial answer to the problem of making more trained teachers available and said it would be accompanied by a fall in standards.[22] Letters to the *Times* subsequently began to appear and the debate over improvement of India's teacher education program had another variable.

One of the oldest and most universally accepted "new" programs to improve teaching in India is the concept of extension work as a plan for in-service education of the teacher. It too had foreign roots and was aimed at "grass-roots" change. "With the assistance of the Ford Foundation and T. C. M. [Technical Cooperation Mission] the Government of India has been able to set up 54 Departments of Extension Services attached to some secondary teachers' colleges in the country."[23] In 1955 there were 23 Centres and Units, in 1957 there were 54, and 25 more have been proposed for the Third Five-Year Plan which should cover about 75%of the training colleges.[24] The four colleges in this sample have either a full-fledged Centre or an Extension Unit. The differentiation between the two is that the latter receives a lower budget and thus must operate on a smaller scale. Nearly all the faculty members from the four sample colleges who were interviewed indicated that they had worked

[21] Ministry of Education, *Correspondence Courses* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1963).

[22] *The Times of India*, February 1, 1965, p. 6.

[23] D. M. Desai, "Government of India and Education", S. N. Mukerji, *Administration of Education in India* (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1962), p. 60.

[24] Report of the *All Indian Conference of Honorary Directors and Coordinators Extension Services Centres* (Delhi: NCERT, 1962), p. 6.

in the "field" on extension projects. Though the purposes of extension work are to improve the secondary schools surrounding the training colleges, several faculty members thought there was an important reciprocal effect as they had to meet with the school problems first-hand and could see where some of their theoretical teaching was incongruous with the needs of the village communities. Thus, while the training colleges were meant to be agents of change, they, in effect, became the clients of change.

Before the goals of any of these programs can be expected to have an effect on the teachers or the community, it is necessary that faculty members in the training colleges be knowledgeable about the proposals for improvement of education. It was found that out of 42 of the faculty members in the sample training colleges, five did not know about the 1952 Secondary Education Commission, twelve did not know about the Regional Colleges of Education, five had no knowledge of Multipurpose Schools, and twenty-five persons had not heard of the Comprehensive College of Education proposal, though all of these items had received publicity in professional journals and newspapers which were accessible in the colleges' libraries. This unawareness can hardly be expected to contribute toward the achievement of educational goals at any level.

A further requisite for an effective educational program in India was noted some years ago by G. N. Kaul. He stated that, "any attempt to reorganize the educational system in India is bound to remain unsuccessful, unless India evolves a philosophy of education to support and sustain it."[25]

The Basic Scheme has a rather definite philosophy, but in the limited success it has had as the "silent social revolution", it failed to get much beyond the elementary stage and by no means does it have universal support. The Secondary Education Commission multipurpose school proposal has had equally limited success and is coordinated with neither elementary and higher education nor the teacher training colleges.

The apparent recognition, at least by some leading Indian educators, of the need to evolve a philosophy and system of

[25] G. N. Kaul, "A Plea for Evolving an Indian Philosophy of Education", *Journal of Education and Psychology*, Vol. IX (July, 1951), p. 101.

education which will synthesize the traditions of India with her new aspirations and needs may be partially responsible for the recent action taken by the Indian Government to unify the entire structure of education. The sixth Education Commission in over 100 years, referred to as the Kothari Commission after its chairman D. S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, was inaugurated October 2, 1964. The then Union Minister of Education, M. C. Chagla, stated that, "....the Commission underlined that education could not be fragmented and recognized the need for closer integration of different aspects of education in this changing world of science and technology."[26] He also said India needs a national system of education which would advance democracy, secularism, and socialism. From other speeches and editorials concerning the commission, emphasis has been placed on education as the medium for bringing about social change and a modern rational outlook which would "do away with superstitions and inhibitions". The predominate stress on science and technology also implies that India's educational system is supposed to play an active role in the overall economic growth of the society.

Described in this manner, education's role and the role of the individual teacher is clearly that of innovation, reformation, and transformation rather than transmission or stabilization. The proposed changes, however, largely overlook the cultural setting in which this system of education is expected to function. The findings of this study suggest that the attitudes, values and beliefs of the population must be considered in terms of their relationship to developmental plans. Teachers not only need to internalize the goals for improvement, but need to be able to reconcile, for themselves as well as their students, these national objectives with traditional social practices and beliefs. That the training colleges will assume the leadership necessary to carry out the national plans is dependent on an increased awareness of those plans, and the colleges' ability to revamp their programs in terms of these new needs. The teacher training colleges have, at best, been on the periphery of movements for social amelioration. A concern for the professional education of the teacher beyond the inculcation of

[26] *The Times of India*, October, 2, 1964, p. 7.

immediate teaching principles is needed in the training colleges.

Quantitative reorganization of the present system will not realize the needs of contemporary India. Teacher education, above all, will become an instrument of change, in the humane sense of that concept, when it boldly faces the reality of the societal needs at its doorstep.

"The traditional culture and sentiment assert themselves and yet they are under a pressure to accept other values, which are a part of our present life and therefore possess force of reality. These other values in themselves, as a whole, too do not satisfy. The problem, therefore, is a discreet and wise synthesis."[27]

[27] Indra Sen, "Indian Philosophy of Education", *Journal of Education and Psychology*, Vol. XV (April 1957), p.10

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