

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEM

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI

THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL:
A STUDY OF INTERACTION
BETWEEN THE TWO VALUE SYSTEMS
IN INDIA

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A Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru
University in part-fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Philosophy.

NEW DELHI

1973

27th APRIL, 1973

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

DECLARATION

CERTIFIED that the material in this Dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.


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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been complete if I had not received the active co-operation, encouragement and understanding from my teachers and friends at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems. Amongst them, I must mention the deep debt of gratitude I owe to Shri C.N.Venugopal who, as my supervisor, patiently went through the earlier drafts of this dissertation and made valuable comments and suggestions.

Professor Yogendra Singh was the guiding force behind this venture. In spite of his numerous commitments he was always generous with his time in discussing my various problems and suggesting solutions. He was particularly sympathetic towards my role conflict situations and infused in me enough confidence to make this venture a success. I am also grateful to Shri M.N.Panini who offered me his valuable suggestions and comments which led me to improve the study immensely.

I also wish to thank all those who have contributed to the realization of this dissertation, particularly to Shri Harish Bhatia for typing it efficiently.

New Delhi
April, 1973.

Raghunandan Goswami

C O N T E N T S

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter One	: Introduction : Values, Family, and School	1
Chapter Two	: Family in India and its Value Profile	9
Chapter Three:	Indian School System and Its Value Profile	32
Chapter Four	: Family and School : Interactions Between the Two Value Systems in India	63
Chapter Five	: Summary and Conclusion	70
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	74

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

VALUES, FAMILY, AND SCHOOL

THE PROBLEM

It is by now common-place in Sociology to attempt to explain and understand the social phenomena in terms of the structure of values prevailing in a given society. For instance, Max Weber (translated by Parsons:1930) explains the growth of capitalism in Europe by referring to the values of ascetic protestanism prevailing during the period of Industrial Revolution in Europe. Similarly Sorokin's study of history was directed at the discovery of the meanings and values implicit in, or generating from human activities. In Sorokin's work "a value Theory is available which relates together philosophy, history, and sociology more directly and more vitally than has ever yet been possible" (F.R.Cowell:1970:XI-45).

The term 'values' has gained such wide currency in sociological literature that different authors ascribe different meanings to it. Certain authors use the term 'values' to refer to 'goals which are objects of inclusive attitudes':(Newcomb Theodore:1950:130). Some others regard

'values' as a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action' (Kluckhohn, Clyde:1951:395). Some other definitions are not as explicit, as for instance, that of Ayal (1963:35) who regards values as "the syndrome of general rules, sanctions and goals underlying the activities of a society". Parsons and Bales define a 'value' as a normative pattern which defines desirable behaviour for a system in relation to his environment without differentiation in terms of the functions of units or of their particular situations (1955:223).

The definitions given above are but a few from a vast plethora of definitions available on the use of this term. To avoid such confusion, we shall use the term 'values' as Kunkhal, J.H. (1971:161) defines it to refer to the verbal standards of a society and the term norms to refer those standards which are actually operating in the society.

The Process of Socialisation

The process of socialisation inculcates and perpetuates the value system in a given society. Socialisation takes place throughout the life of an individual in a society. However, the socialisation process during the early childhood shapes the personality of an individual in a decisive manner and determines to a significant extent the value structure of the adult. Hess and Thorney (1967) have very rightly claimed : "of equal significance is the proposition that the socialization of children maintains basic values of the society...."

The values of adult society are transmitted through child rearing and other teaching practices of children, who when they become adults, reinforce ~~the~~ and help to maintain the culture in which they live". Hence it is necessary to study the process of early socialisation if one wants to comprehend the value system in a particular society.

The Family:

It is widely recognised that the family in which the individual is born, exercises a considerable influence on the value structure of the individual in his later life. Several studies have been undertaken to demonstrate how early child rearing practices affect the later behaviour of the individual. One such seminal work has been that of McClelland (1961). McClelland in his book Achieving Society shows how child rearing practices which encourage self-reliance make the individual an entrepreneur in his later life.

The School:

Apart from the family another institution that plays a dominant role in the socialisation process is the school. The school in many societies has been a new institution. With the process of modernation, the school is becoming a ubiquitous institution. In many underdeveloped countries it is a new institution and often confined only to urban areas. Nevertheless as the school is becoming an important agent of socialisation, we cannot ignore the influence of the school in moulding the personality of an individual.

Review of the Studies:

The importance of the study of the interaction between the family and the school has been recognized and there have been many studies in this direction.

It is one of the common themes of sociology of education that the schooling system is explicitly designed to ensure the stability of our society. Rupert Wilkinson's (1964) analysis of the 19th century public schools illustrates how they become the training ground of the guardians of the British Empire. The public schools opened their gates to the new commercial and professional classes, grooming their offspring for a variety of public positions both at home and abroad. The end result was a much closer alliance between aristocracy and the nouveau riche, ensuring the perpetuation of many traditional values.

Adopting a much broader theoretical approach Lawrence Stenhouse (1967) has arrived at similar conclusions. He maintains that the primary function of school is induction into culture; the society has a common set of cultural values which are introduced to the individual through school.

Albert Cohen (1955) stresses in his study Delinquent Boys the hold of family and arrives at the conclusion that middle class children are so much more successful than working class because their socialisation experiences stress the correct values. On the basis of the contrasting class socialisation patterns Cohen makes his evaluation of the location and cause of juvenile delinquency.

Clements (1958) makes a critical study of the way family and school interact to shape the adolescents' occupational aspirations. He concludes that children of different social and educational backgrounds, all tend to think in terms of different areas of occupation. He finds that their mental endowment, social and educational milieu have established, within broad limits, the particular segment of possible occupations in terms of which they think.

Coleman (1961) in his study The Adolescent Society finds that in a rapidly changing, highly rationalized society, the natural process of education in the family is no longer adequate. He feels that they have been replaced by school (more formalised institution) that is set apart from the rest of society and that covers an even longer span of time.

Douglas (1964) in his study The Home and The School attempts to trace the connection between social origins, school experiences, and career choice. He concludes that the type of school a child goes to, has an increasingly important influence on his performance, as he grows older. Himmelweit (1965) in her brilliant article illustrates how schools can structure themselves to raise educational attainment in spite of unfavourable pupil intake.

There is an overlap, therefore, between the Douglas and Himmelweit's studies in that both stress that school can be more influential in the lines of its working class than its middle class pupils. On the basis of this evidence perhaps Himmelweit's initial assumption that the family is the principal socialising agent, should be questioned. At the very least it suggests that the way the various socialising agents interact with each other needs to be carefully re-examined.

Illich in his work Deschooling Society (1970) and Reimer in his work School is Dead (1971) regard schools as advertizing agencies that make people think they need society as it is, a society of life long non-society euphemised as never ending progress, a society in which technology holds out the promise of sweatless affluence and packaged prestige to all. Secondly, in the words of Reimer: "Power and security have always been false ~~because~~ beacons leading to the repeated shattering of human hopes. They are false because the attainment of either ultimate power or security would be final and of everything worthwhile in human life." To Illich and Reimer, not only ideal itself false, but it never work any way.

Freire in his work Pedagogy of Oppressed (1970) treats ^{the} dialectic of learning and life in more philosophical terms. Freire sees oppression as dehumanizing both the exploitor who comes to see his victims as things and not people, and the exploited, who are robbed on their own voices and internalize the character of the oppressor. The effect of this education is to render the passive and malleable, fit to oppress and be oppressed, to know their place in the established social order. This kind of institutional incensistency occurs when the values of the familial institution, for example, are not congruous with those of economic institution or when the values represented in the educational role are inconsistent with those of family.

Ted Tapper in his study Young People and Society (1971) using survey method, analyses relationship between the family and the educational system in England. His findings reveal that formal education, especially in the secondary schools, has tended to confirm, rather than attempt

to change, class and academic differences between individuals. The end result is the creation of a well-defined hierarchy of status aspirations as well as highly differentiated participation levels in the affairs of the society. An integral part of the study is an assessment of the likely educational and social consequences of comprehensive education. The central issue is whether or not the comprehensive schools are going to change the traditional relationship between family background and the school structure. On the basis of evidence from two very different types of comprehensive schools, the implication is that, in the comprehensive milieu, social class is not such an important determinant of future behaviour. The movement is towards a meritocratic, rather than an egalitarian, society, for there are still very marked streaming differences. In the final chapter there is an attempt to re-evaluate the large body of research work, much of it American, which takes England as the ideal type for stable democracy, and to reassess the link between educational reform and social change.

Alen C. Kerckhoff in his book Socialization and Social Class (1972) makes an study of the socialization process as it occurs in the United States, a highly differentiated society. He discusses the process of development of the individual through the pre-adult years with special reference to variations in that process that are associated with the individuals level of origin. He has reviewed the socialization process within the stratification system of the United States. In his view "Social mobility is both possible and highly valued in American society"(1972:3). Kerckhoff remarks that "the socialization process may be viewed as the society's solution to the problem of continuity, the means by which members of the society develop attitudes, values, and motives, some of which may be in conflict with the conditions of life they

experience (1972:4). Kerckhoff's study reveals that the acquisition of basic values and motives is a much more important outcome of the socialization process in early years. Traditional values, more commonly found among working-class and lower-class parents, place emphasis on order and authority. Developmental values, in contrast, place emphasis on the child's motives and the development of self-control. This pattern, more commonly found among middle class parents, emphasizes "internal" qualities such as consideration, curiosity, and initiative, rather than external conformity.

While there have been few separate studies on the process of socialization in India, there have been no significant and systematic studies to examine the value-structure of the family and the school system in Indian society. There have also not been any fruitful and worth mentioning studies examining the interaction between family and school in the Indian context. But such a study will be of immense value in India, especially, when the school is regarded as agent of modernisation and invariably the family is regarded as the bearer of tradition.

Purpose of the Study:

As already mentioned there is no study which directly links the family with the school in the Indian context, Our effort here is limited in its scope. We have attempted here to review the sociological studies available to obtain a value profile of the Indian society in general and the institution of family in particular. In a similar fashion we have attempted to obtain a value

profile of the schools in India by the few studies that have been made so far. By doing so we hope to be in a better position to understand the dynamics of the relationship between the family and the school at the level of values.

In India remarkably little research has been conducted to discover the interaction between family and school. We believe that when this interaction is sufficiently studied, it will enable us to offer better and different methods of coping with socialisation. It may also help in determining the conditions under which the two systems are likely to support each other effectively. The significance of the present study, therefore, lies in finding out the extent to which present school system has been instrumental in inculcating social values and in which respect it failed to penetrate the value systems of Indian families.

The present work has been divided into five chapters including the present one. The Second Chapter presents the Indian family systems and its value profile. The Third Chapter analyses Indian school system and its value profile. The Fourth Chapter deals with the interaction between the value systems of the family and school. The Last Chapter presents the conclusions and some crucial problems for empirical research.

CHAPTER - II

FAMILY IN INDIA AND ITS VALUE PROFILE

Definition of Family:

Many views have been expressed on the structure of family in India by social anthropologists, indologists, orientalist and legal experts. The pre-dominant view is that Indian family is typically a joint family. Of course, the term 'joint family' is itself interpreted in diverse ways. While there is no agreement on the definition of this term, it is further asserted that the Indian joint family is transforming itself into elementary or a nuclear family. Once again the term "family" is used to connote different structural arrangements. While some use the term to refer to the household i.e. the body of persons who live in one house or under one head including parents, children, servants etc. the other view is to regard the family as the group consisting of parents and the children whether living together or not. A third view is to regard it as a unit consisting of individuals who are nearly related by

blood and affinity. A fourth view regards the family as ^{consisting of} those descendents who ~~are~~ claiming descent from a common ancestor, a house, kindred, a lineage (A.M.Shah:1964).

It is clear that there is no single universally accepted definition of the term 'family'. But as our main purpose is to study the family as a socializing institution, we shall mean by a family that kin group affinitively or agnatically related which exercises a dominant influence in the socialization process of a child. This definition avoids the pit-falls of making distinctions between different types of family structures that obtained in India. For our purposes, this definition does not exclude various types of institutional arrangements which deviate from the elementary family type. *

The Indian Family System:

It is widely believed that the dominant family structure in India is the joint family. The term 'joint family' has been defined by P.H.Prabhu as "the living members of the family are, so to speak, trustees of the house which belongs to the pitris, the ancestors, in the interests of putras, future members of the family.... The central idea here is the worship of the family (Kula) as a temple of sacred traditions (parmpara) (1951:219). M.N.Srinivas characterises the joint family among the Coorgs of South India who regard themselves as Kshatriyas in the following manner:

*In our following discussion by "Indian Family" we mean generally Hindu families. This would exclude the families among Muslims, Christians and Parsees. This would also exclude tribal families in villages and towns.

"The Okka or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the Okka of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an Okka have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's Okka.

"Membership of an Okka is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his Okka. His association with his Okka does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (Karanava) who are believed to look after the Okka of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (bhasani) are occasionally made to them.

"Formerly the boys in an Okka, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the Okka's cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the Okka.

"Membership of an Okka determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same Okka. Where agnation overflows the Okka, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the Okka. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry.

"The ancestral, immovable property of Okka was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every ~~child~~ adult member of the Okka wanted it. But such cases were unusual -- at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the Okka. The members of an Okka have to live together from birth till death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death

they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their Okka and demand propitiation from their descendants. The Okka is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the Okka has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his Okka. There is a great desire for the continuance of the Okka, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an Okka is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to perpetuate it." (1953:124-176).

Aileen D. Ross also observes that the traditional pattern of living was that of joint family whose members were bound together by ties of common ancestry and common property, common worship of a tutelary deity, and authority exercised by the head of the family, usually the eldest male line (1961:8). According to Hindu law, the family property was not strictly impartible, but partition was infrequent and it was quite usual for families to comprise three or four generations living, working and eating together. Besides property and work, religion was an important force uniting the joint family, for its members included the dead and unborn as well as the living.

Indian Family and Social Change

The Report on the 1951 Census of India reveals that in recent times the importance of the joint-family has gradually declined. It is there^{fore} argued, on the basis of classification of households by number of members that "families do not continue to be joint according to the traditional custom of the country and the ~~habit~~ habit of breaking away from the joint family and setting up separate

households is quite strong" (Vol.I,1951:50). This fact gives rise to rise the controversy as to what extent the joint family was a dominant institutional form, and thus how much industrialization or urbanization had affected the family system.

Latest studies in the field of family sociology in India are ^{by} I.P.Desai (1964), Ram Krishna Mukerji (1969a and 1969b), M.S.Gore (1968). These studies demonstrate that the 'jointness' of Indian family has not disappeared inspite of industrialization and urbanization process in our country. I.P.Desai has vehemently criticized the conclusions of the Census (1951) on various grounds (Sociological Bulletin IV(2),Sept.1955:97-117). He has a general argument to the effect that, with the changing external conditions of the joint family such as co-residence, commensality, worship and even property are becoming less important as the criteria of jointness." Yet joint family sentiment does not vanish with the residential separation.

But none of these scholars deny the fact that today changes are taking place in the spheres of civic, social, economic and cultural life which are affecting the pattern of family living. Certain social and economic factors, better educational facilities, increased wage-earning opportunities, have affected the social structure of the family. In the words of A.R. Desai:"the traditional joint-family and the familistic rural framework have been undergoing a qualitative transformation. The basis of rural family relationships is shifting from that of status to that of contract. The rule of custom is replaced by that of law. The family is being transformed from a unit of production to a unit of consumption (except in the case of land-owners and capital owners whose families are still productive). The

cementing bond of the family is being changed from consanguinity to conjugality (1961:48). Though other studies do not subscribe to Desai's contention it is undeniable that the structure of the family is undergoing change especially in the urban areas. But in the midst of great social, economic and political changes over the centuries, India has a long heritage of stable family life and family structure, and the spirit of family solidarity has remained a sustaining power which has provided meaning to the daily lives of the Indian people (Beteille:1964:237-244).

Value Profile of the Indian Family:

We should note the fact that the joint or extended family is an ideal family pattern in Indian context i.e. the jointness of the family is itself a high value in the Indian society. It is for our purposes a very significant fact because the sentiment of 'jointness' of a family is very crucial in influencing the child.

In our study of the value profile of the Indian family we would examine the value profile of a family in a rural area separately than that of a family in urban area. The justification for such an exercise is the fact that despite that of rapid industrialization the changes that have occurred in rural areas are much less compared to changes in urban area. Further we will explore the value profiles of families belonging to different castes in both rural and urban areas.

* In our discussion of value profiles, we have not maintained a distinction between values and norms. When we use the term "values" we include "norms" as part of the value system. Further, we have not dealt with deviant patterns as that would have led to a separate topic. Our discussion is confined to the ideal patterns of the systems, the family and the school.

Differences in Rural-Urban Families:

It is contended that families in rural areas have a value profile which is more traditional than that of the value profiles of the urban families. For instance A.R.Desai is of the opinion that the rural family is more homogeneous, stable, integrated and organically functioning than the urban family. Another essential characteristic of the rural family is that it is generally based on the personal household. The rural family is characterised by greater discipline among its members than the urban family. Further, since there is considerably state or public provisions for meeting educational, cultural, or social needs of the people in the rural area than in the urban, the rural family attempts also to satisfy these needs of its members. It thus serves as a school, a recreation centre, as well as a maternity or a non-maternity hospital. The interdependence of the members of the rural family and the dependence of its individual members on it are, therefore, far greater than in the case of the urban family. They develop more collectivist family consciousness and less individualistic emotion.

In a rural society, a family is discredited if any of its individual members perpetrates an infamous act. Similarly the glory of an individual's achievement also occurs to the family even at the cost of his life. Since the rural family is a more integrated and disciplined unit than the urban family, the head of the rural family exercises almost absolute power over its members. In fact, 'the head of the family has had the right and authority to be the ruler, the priest, the teacher, the educator and

manager of family. Thus, the family, through its head, subordinates its individual members to itself. The latter are completely submerged in the family; hence they hardly develop any individuality or personality.

The urban family in contrast to, the rural family is less authoritarian but also less co-operative. This is due to a variety of reasons. First, it is not ^a single productive unit administered by the family head since its adult members are mostly engaged in occupations unconnected with, outside the home. Further, educational, recreational, and a number of other needs of its members are satisfied by extra-family institutions like school, clubs and others. Property of its earning members, too, tends to be individual, since it is derived out of extra-family occupations. In the spheres of marriage also, its members are increasingly exhibiting independence and marry persons of their own choice.

The members of rural family being engaged in work connected with the peasant household, spend practically the whole day together. In contrast to this, the members of the urban family engaged in different occupations or being educated outside home, spend only a small portion of the day together. Even their recreational centres such as clubs and others lie outside the home. Hence the home becomes only a temporary nightshelter for the members of the urban family. Since the family has been the basic social institution of the rural social world, it is natural to expect that the whole social organization of agriculture aggregates has been stamped by the characteristics of the rural family. In other words, all the other social institutions and fundamental social relationships have been permeated by, and modelled according to, the patterns of rural family relationships.

Further, ethical codes, religious doctrines, social conceptions and legal norms governing rural societies have always condemned anything which would weaken the ~~rai~~ stability of the family. They have preached implicit obedience to parents on the part of sons and daughters and to husband on the part of wife (A.R.Desai:1969:34-35).

Spontaneous co-operation and solidarity feeling are found to be appreciably less among the urban people than among the rural people. The cult of family dominates. Religious and other ceremonies have for their ~~family~~ object the security and prosperity of the family. Tradition severely governs its life processes. As a result of all these factors rural society is marked with much less mobility than urban society. It undergoes change with extreme slowness.

In India, due to lack of sufficient industrial development, the forces of urban society have not penetrated rural society to the same extent as in industrially advanced societies. The rural family retains its specific traits to a far greater extent in India. In India British capitalism transformed socio-economic structure of the Indian society and further, established a centralized state. This resulted in a number of consequences. Private and state gencies increasingly established schools. The rural family which served as the school for its members now began to receive education outside the family. Further, the family is ceasing to become an omnibus social agency, it being shorn of its economic, political, educational, medical, religious and other social and cultural functions (A.R.Desai:1969:37).

Hagen (1962) also expresses similar views. He makes a distinction between rural or peasant families on the one hand and the urban based elite families on the other. He is of the view that extended family is predominant family structure in the rural areas. The rural families have a value structure which emphasizes authority and duty. The eldest member of the family is the chief decision-maker in the family. Children are expected to accommodate themselves to the convenience of the adults to a degree that is not true in any Western society. Sister submits to brothers and younger boys submit to older ones and in turn dominate their juniors and sisters. This set of family rankings is the base of authority and states at the top of society. The individuals primary loyalty may be of his family, the family in turn acknowledges allegiance to persons who are higher in the hierarchy. This loyalty is more than ceremonial.

Thus in the rural family there is an emphasis on hierarchical values which are prevalent in the wider society. Hagen regards the urban based families as elitist who dominate government, wear Western clothes, derive Western automobiles, talk of Western art and literature (1962:74). The values among elite families include a qualified approval of humanistic, intellectual or religious endeavours. However, Hagen differs from A.R.Desai in regarding the urban elitist family as totally contract based rather than the status based in its value structure, i.e. Hagen stresses the fact that since the elitist families owe the position partly to their status rather than their achievement and since they regard their position is threatened by others, there is to certain extent an emphasis on hierarchical value even in an urban family.

M.N.Srinivas also mentions that the value-structure of an urban household is likely to be different from that of a rural household. The urban household often lacks those elders who are not only tradition-bound but also have the knowledge of the complex rituals which are to be performed at festivals and other occasions. Their mere presence exercises a moral influence in favour of tradition. The education of women has produced a situation in which young girls do not have the time to learn rituals from their mothers or grandmothers, and the small households in big cities frequently lack the old women who have the knowledge and the leisure. The educated wife has less of traditional culture to pass on to her children, even should she want to, still more significant is the fact that elite households have become articulators of the values of a highly competitive educational and employment system. Getting children admitted to good schools, supervising their curricular and extra-curricular activities, and worrying about their future careers absorb the energies of parents (Srinivas:1972:139).

Now we shall examine in detail the value profiles of families in rural and urban areas based on field-work monographs. Let us first consider the value profiles in rural Indian families.

The Value Profiles in Rural Indian Families:

It is well established that Indian rural society is patrilineal and virilocal except that of Nayers in Kerala. Rural family emphasizes hierarchical authority, the interaction between the subordinates and superordinates within the roles of family is based on respect, obedience and restraints. T.N.Madan writes of Pandit Brahmins of a



Kashmir village: "What strikes the observer is the extreme restraint which characterizes relations between adult men and women in Pandit society" (1965:76). Henry Orenstien in his study of village in Poona district mentions the general ideal is that a man should respect and obey his elder brother as he would his father and should treat his elder-brother's wife as an elder sister. "The oldest male of the highest generation is supposed to receive the most respect and obedience, the female at the opposite pole, the most protection and care" (Orenstein:1964:1965:47-48). Adrian Mayer in his study of a village in a Madhya Pradesh makes a similar comment, "The dominant note in formal pattern of relations in the household is that of restraint. There is restraint between people of different age and restraint between those of opposite sex". (1960:214). Mayer adds that while his characterization may make the household appear as a place full of restrictions and autocratic authority, "yet in a happy household, this is partly not the case. Authority on the one hand and respect on the other mix in an easy carrying out of duties, and the reticence of the women is one of modesty, not fear". Dumont also emphasizes that the heirarchy of the family, deference and avoidance are all inculcated by the family.

The rural family also places a high value to the seclusion of women. The ideal woman is one who is modest and whose loyalty to husband is total as embodied in the concept of 'Pati-vrata'.

Similarly the children are expected extremely deferential to the parents and are expected to serve them. This ideal is very well brought out in Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography, when he tells how, as a boy, he was deeply affected by a drama (Sravan Kumar) about a son's self-sacrificing devotion to his parents which left an indelible

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impression on Gandhi's mind. He goes on to tell of his marriage at the age of thirteen and of his great pre-occupation with his life. But nothing in his role as husband could be allowed to conflict openly with his devotion as son. He points out: "I dared not meet her in the presence of the elders, much less talk to her" (1940:11-17). At the moment of his father's death, Gandhi was with his wife rather than devotedly caring for his sick father as he thought he should have been. This marked a crucial point in his career; the experience turned him more firmly toward ascetism. He said that the unfilial deed remained "a blot I have never been able to efface or forget" (Rudolph:1965:86-89).

Value Profiles in Different Castes:

We shall now explore the value profile of rural families in different castes. Andre Beteille emphasises that Brahmins in the village Shripuram value Sanskritic learning even today. They themselves regard their familiarity with Sanskrit as a sign of refinement, and a very high social value is attached to it (1969:93).

Morris Carstairs who makes an indepth study of socialization processes in the village Deoli of Rajasthan notes that the Brahmin families emphasise strict ritual observances of Hinduism. In the Brahmin families there is a stress on formality and respect rather than on affection and intimacy towards the parents. Carstairs also notes the emphasis placed on learning among the Brahmin families. In short Brahmin over-emphasise the values present in Hindu religion.

With reference to Rajput families in Deoli Carstairs notes that the stress on certain values is greater. There is an explicit stress upon patterns of authority and submission. The Rajputs like Brahmins had

unshakable belief that their own caste is the most desirable one in which to be born. However, Rajput families emphasize the quality of aggression and self-assertion and to a certain extent these values stress achievement. Hitchcock (1963) in his study of Khalapur village near Delhi also brings out the fact that the Rajputs stress their caste duty and warrior tradition. The Rajput family also upholds the traditional mode of family relation. There is an emphasis on discipline and masculine values in respect of aggression and quarrels.

Carstairs notes that Banias of Delhi stressed on the ~~ran~~ values of ahimsa. The other distinguishing value of their life was their worship of money (119). They subscribe to the same ideal values as Brahmins but are taught in practice to prize wealth above everything. Those of them who take Hindu religious values seriously are aware of the painful antithesis between their real aims. Many are content to give only lip service to the ideal values, concentrating their energies upon the serious business of getting rich (124).

Families of lower castes try to incorporate the values of local Brahmins. This major trend, first identified and scientifically articulated by M.N.Srinivas as 'Sanskritization'. The process of 'Sanskritization' demonstrates the possibility and direction of movement in the status hierarchy in castes, a lower caste, especially in the middle regions of the hierarchy can register an upward move "in a generation or two..., by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by Sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon"(1952:30). Here we have to add that only rich lower castes are trying to Sanskritize and not all the lower castes. The Adi-Dravidas of Kunbapettai village in South India do not disparage Brahmin values in

secluding women from work or in prohibiting the remarriage of widows (Gough:1956:39). In Adi-Dravida parental authority does not last long as compared to a Brahmin because the son in Adi-Dravida family quickly comes to earn.

In Sonapur village, near Benaras in North India, Chamars who have some education usually aspire to the family values of the higher castes (Cohen:1961). Here, as in the South India example those who want to raise themselves socially emulate the prestigious family model. Successful Chamar families imitate Brahmanical values taking women from agriculture work.

S.C.Dube in his study of Shamirpet village about 25 miles from Hyderabad brings out changes occurring in rural family values. He notes: "In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle aged, mostly illiterate, complained about inconveniences of village life, they

still regarded it as the only way of life possible for them. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their ~~own~~ contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other, it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total of their age group" (1967:223).

The Value Profiles in Urban Indian Families:

We have already made few comments on the impact of urbanization on values of the family. In this section we study the value profile of urban family in greater depth basing on few monographs which are available in this area. We are aware of the fact that as the literature in this area is scarce, our observation will be only tentative in nature.

In his study Urbanization and Family Change (1968) M.S. Gore finds that urbanization, and industrialization only effected in limited change in urban family (1968:232). Gore selects for his study Aggarwal families located in Delhi and compares the attitude of these families with those located in a rural area around Delhi

(1968:226-27). He is generally of the view that both rural and urban areas show a high degree of conformity to the traditional values. The differences between urban and rural samples according to Gore was significant in the choice of family types. The urban respondents was more likely to choose nuclear family than the rural respondents while he finds that there is a general pattern of conformity in regard to woman's work-role and status in both rural and urban samples. Within this pattern the urban sample tends to be less of a conformist. Gore remarks "Secularization of life and the growth of individualistic philosophy are incompatible with joint family living, because by emphasizing the norms of rationality, the uniqueness of the individual's right to pursue his own goals, they make conformity to family tradition and the acceptance of familial controls difficult for individual members"(1968:45). In regard to attitude towards marriage a general pattern of conformity to traditional values was found in both rural and urban samples although within this general pattern the urban sample was more non-conformist. He also finds that more educated families tended to be more non-conformist (p.230). Gore ends up his study that with education of women and with greater impact of industrialization the urban family may undergo further changes in regard to its attitudes and values regarding to tradition.

Aileen D.Ross (1961) in her study in a sample of urban families in Bangalore city notes that there have been several changes in Hindu families. The study suggests that the younger brides are now more desirous of living separately of in-laws (1961:289). The modern mothers tend

to encourage such tendencies. The role of the father is likely to change due to residence in cities (1961:291). The value attached to the authority of male is being gradually eroded. Instead of the male being authoritarian member, he is likely to become a companion to his wife. The woman's position within her family has improved in the sense that she becomes chief pivot around which the family life revolves (1961:292). In modern urban families, it is the wife who takes over the function of seeing the complicated time schedule of different members co-ordinated and carried out. She may have to work outside the home. In^o gist, the urban family steadily tending to move from the traditionalist joint family to the modern conjugal family and she is of the opinion that if a full complement of technological forces impinge on the family structure, it will change.

I.P.Desai's main interest has centred round the concept of jointness of the Indian family and its indicators and measures. We find the culmination of his point of view in Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva (1964). This is a study of jointness of family in a small seaport town in the Gulf of Cambay in Saurashtra. He has taken pains to demonstrate that Indians live only by values and norms. On the basis of his findings in Mahuva I.P.Desai concludes that separation from the joint families and the existence of the nuclear families were as much the fact in the past as they are today. That several houses returned to jointness from nuclearity is evidence of the persistence of that norm even in the present times. The two way process still continues (1964:47). The rules of marriage, Sradha and the impurities of birth and death and of mutual obligations in every day routine and on special occasions are the evidence of jointness in separation (1964:57-58).

I.P.Desai observes that level of education increases among the families of higher degree of jointness or in other words the degree of jointness has a favourable effect on the level of education of the families (1964:108-110). His conclusion is that longer stay in Mahuva has not affected the norm of jointness.

Milton Singer in his perceptive study of industrial leaders in Madras city (1968) finds that the relationship between industrialization and urbanization and the change in the structure of values of family is very complex. He finds in his study that there is no unilineal change from joint family to nuclear or elementary family. He views that industrialization has only modified the joint family organization (1968:296). While the controlling authority in the joint-family resides in the family head, he is expected to consult other members of the family also on important decisions. The control of the firm remains in the family. When the sons marry and take up responsible positions in the family firm, he still maintains the familial links with his parents. The son may set up separate residence after he marries but usually the residence happens to,be in the same family compound. Contact is also maintained with relatives in towns and villages and occasions such as weddings, births, deaths, give chance for a visit to relatives. Further Milton Singer observes that industrialization has not brought about a total secularization of values and beliefs in the family. Tradition is increasingly compartmentalized. The industrial leaders increasingly support temples, mathas and religious functions and functionaries. They hire domestic priest to perform religious rites at home. They obtain participation of the wife, children and other relatives in ritual performance (1968:334).

Singer also finds that among these industrial leaders the life cycle rites and calanderic festivals are observed. These include sacred thread ceremony of Brahmin boys, weddings and major temple festivals of ones caste or sect. This, however, does not preclude the business leaders from functioning effectively as modern managers in their modern factories. So by the process of compartmentalization the families in Madras have taken the account of the pressures of industrialization. Thus we notice that unilinear trend of change in values of family from a traditionalist type to a modern type is not a common pattern.

Promilla Kapur in her study Marriage and the Working Woman in India (1970) explores the emerging aspect of family in India, based on interviews with three hundred educated working women of Delhi. It is clear from her study that while there has been a change in woman's role and relationship in the family, the traditional patterns continue to dominate (1970:58). Male superiority is still the dominant aspect of family relations.

In brief, the general type of family structure in India is the joint family. There exists hierarchy of authority patterns in family roles among the members of the joint family as its feature. Under the authoritarian milieu of traditional India family, unquestionable obedience and responsibility are treated as most significant values.

In recent times more and more nuclearization of joint family is taking place due to urbanization, industrialization and modernization. The authority system in nuclear families is rather more egalitarian in contrast

to the one in joint family system. Reorientation of intera-familial relationships is demanded to provide ample scope for the development of self-reliance, achievement and individuality as the women are also coming out of homes for new types of employment. This brings new kind of social change, which disputes the continuity between generations, and due to it there exist diverse value systems.

As regards the value systems of different castes, it may be pointed out that Indian sociology, in fact, is the sociology of upper caste groups. Very few sociologists have focussed their attention on the study of low caste groups. Regional variations of the castes are inevitable due to specific hierarchical organisation. Also, the caste distinctions under the impact of education, urbanization, and industrialization are no more rigid as is seen in the metropolies. The upper caste groups have certain identical values. The lower caste groups who are rich are sanskritizing their values in the direction of twice born castes depending on their reference model. On the other hand, westernization as a way of life among upper caste groups may also cause changes in their value system, yet structure and values of joint family and caste stereotypes still persist even in cities and educated members.

It is clear from the discussion that the values of rural and urban families continue to be traditional and whatever changes that have taken place have not been significant. Only among some families in upper income groups who have been influenced by urbanism, are the values non-traditional in character.

So far we have discussed the Indian family system and its value profile. Now we turn our attention to the Indian school system and its value profile in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER -III

INDIAN SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ITS VALUE PROFILE

In the present chapter we shall delineate the Indian school system in order to understand its value profiles as part of our study. School is one of the major institutions of socialization process after family. This institution is mainly concerned with formalized education. The chief aim of formal education is to prepare the child for the transition from the confined but diffuse relationships of the family to the more impersonal and diversified relationships of the larger society. School is an important factor which affects the cognitive elements in an individual's personality. The process of school learning helps in the inculcation of some new value-orientations and also the reshaping of the old ones. For the theoretical understanding we will take up Talcott Parsons analysis of the school system as our frame of reference.

Talcott Parsons On The School
Class As a Social System:

Talcott Parsons has attempted an analysis of the school system as a social system, and the relation of its structure to its primary functions in the society as an agency of socialization and allocation or selection for role recruitment (Parsons:1961:434-455). Parsons treats the school class as a specialized agency of socialization. He remarks that "it is an agency through which individual personalities ~~are~~ are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles" (1961:434). School through its process of socialization internalizes in its pupils both the 'commitment' and 'capacities' for successful role performance in such a way that they may be competent to take up ~~a~~ role-responsibilities in the changing structure of society. Parsons defines 'commitment' in terms of the implementation or inculcation of the broad values cherished by the society and the performance of a specific type of role within the structure of society. He defines 'capacities' in terms of competence or the skill to perform the task involved in the individual's rôles and the "role-responsibility" or 'the capacity to live up to other people's expectations of the interpersonal behaviour appropriate to these roles" (1961:435).

Extending the Parsonian theme, Y.B.Damle attempts a detailed analysis of the structural and functional aspects of the school and college to clarify the position of these two as sub-systems within the total social system in India (Damle:1967:250-280). He treats the school as a formal system of socialization, training and instruction (1967:256). He remarks that "inevitably, there is a measure of

institutionalization whereby the requisite values and norms are both transmitted and internalized by the new generation" (1967:250). In this view "every social system tries to transmit the current skills and knowledge to the younger generation so that they can become effective and competent members of the adult society" (1967:251). According to Damle the school situation helps younger generation in the process of "identity formation" and "individuation".

Both Parsons and Damle emphasise the value of achievement as the predominant value of the school system. In the words of Damle: "The School has its own system of hierarchy which is largely based on achievement and performance, rather than on ascription and quality. Thus, the school tends to emphasise universalism as against particularism (1967:255). School also provides a situation, in the opinion of Damle, for egalitarian values by facilitating the mixing and growing up with those of a similar age group (1967:255).

Types of School System:

Max Weber (1946:426) has classified educational system into three major types as follows:

1. The attempt to call forth and to test allegedly inherent traits of the individual, to allow them to be unfold, to be realized. This generally charismatically sanctioned institutions and status groups.

2. By rote learning and moral exhortation by drill and imposed habituation, the attempt to stereotype the individual into line with traditional routines which is generally characteristic of traditional societies.

3. The attempt rationally to transmit to the individual certain traits, to train him for specific skills by challenging him to think and act independently -- which is generally characteristic of educational spheres of rational bureaucratic organizations.

The ancient system of education can be placed in the first category of Weber's classification. The latter period of education can be easily grouped with the second category of the classification. In the contemporary period the third category of Weber's classification is the prevalent type of education system. In modern school system the principal aim is to develop rational faculties of human beings so that they can have independent thinking and their actions are not governed by any stereotype values or norms.

Damle also has classified the contemporary school systems in India according to the agencies which manage them (1967:258). They are:

1. Schools run by the state department of education,
2. Schools run by the Municipal Corporation,
3. Schools run by a non-religious private agency,
4. Schools run by a religious agency,
5. Schools which are part of a public school.

Further the classification can be made on the basis of the grant of aid given by the state governments. They can be :

1. State schools which fully are financed and managed by the government education department;

2. Unaided schools which do not take any grant of aid and are free from the state interference. The public schools, generally come under this category;
3. Aided schools which receive grants of aid from the government and/or subject to scrutiny by the education department.

In the light of this theoretical framework we will examine Indian school system both in its traditional perspective and the present day system and offer a possible value profile. We will first delineate the main features of traditional school system in India.

Traditional School System in India:

Traditional India did not have a consistent educational pattern. Primary education was in the hands of tutors, particularly Brahmins, employed by the affluent to teach their sons the alphabets, reading and elementary arithmetic. Institutional education began for the first time in the Pauranic period. (Majumdar et.al.: 1963:198).

In the Hindu home, every male child belonging to the Brahmin, Kshyatriya and Vaishya verna started his schooling with the observance of certain rites and rituals grouped under the name of Upanayana ceremony, or sacred-thread ceremony (P.H.Prabhu:1971:108). The Brahmacharya Ashrama or studentship then began. The completion of the period of study, commencing after Upanayana and ending with lustration (snan) is required before youth can return home (samvartana) and become eligible for the second Ashrama i.e. Grahastha (householder).

The Gurukula system which necessitated the stay of student away from his home at the house of the teacher or in a boarding-house of established reputation. Life in the Gurukula was simple and strictly disciplined. The Teacher maintained high moral character. Regarding their character, Hiuen Tsang observes that ~~they~~ they were of pure moral principles. They would not take anything wrongfully and they yielded more than fairness required. They did not practise deceit, and they kept their own obligations (Majumdar et.al.:1963:198-99). Students absolute mentor and guide was the Guru alone. It would avoid any occasion of conflict between the teacher and family such as, for instance, met with in the modern school. In the modern schools a child finds itself divided between family values and school values. In Gurukula, students showed the highest kind of reverence and obedience to the teachers. The relationship between the teacher and the pupil was regarded as filial in character. The teacher's duty towards his pupil was to impart to him 'truth exactly as he knew it.'(Prabhu:1971:121). The moral influence of the teacher upon his pupil must have acquired an added weight due to the fact that he did not charge any fee (Prabhu:1972:123).

Teaching system embodied the method of oral teaching and committing text by heart and knowledge was transmitted from generation to generation before it was stored in the form of manuscripts. Besides the three Rs other subjects learnt were pronunciation and phonetics; meter and prosody; etymology and interpreting the obscure words in vedic texts; grammar, astronomy and the sciences of calander; mathematics and literature were also studied.

The ultimate aim of education was the emancipation of soul. Education was influenced by the general values of life. Every individual was to serve the community irrespective of the caste or creed. At convocations, the teacher prayed for the glory of students so that they might earn fame for themselves as well as for their teacher (Ved Mitra:1964:24). The ~~stud~~ the knowledge was considered as the third eye of man, which gives him insight into all affairs and teaches him how to act (Prabhu:1971:124). The student was being trained in the habit of simple life, no matter to what family he belonged. The striking feature of the traditional system of education was that the training in character building proceeded side by side with the development of the intellect of the student (Prabhu:1971:126). In fact, this system had value both in so far as it developed the students personality as well as it socialized him to keep the harmony with the material and moral framework of the group to which he belonged. It is evident from the values of traditional system of education that it aimed to direct the capacities and powers of the students towards the proper functioning and stability of the social group to which he belonged. The world outlook inculcated by this education was fundamentally religious. The history of the past Indian society taught to the young generation was largely mythology.

A.R.Desai sums up this traditional system of education "as a part of the entire culture of Hindu society, controlled and administered by the Brahmins, was a means of training the pupil in accepting the existing caste structure of the Hindu society, in believing in the infallibility of the vedas. It also taught the pupil the virtue of unconditional allegiance to elders, to parents, to teachers, to the kind. In fact, education was a means for the individual

to accept it and conform to the hierarchic structure of society and completely subordinate his individuality to it (1966:138).

Robert Redfield suggested that a great tradition is cultivated and transmitted by a class of learned specialists, the literate, who have a definite social structure and organisations. This idea is very apt for (traditional) India, where for thousands of years a special learned and priestly class, the Brahmins, have had almost a monopoly as officiants, teachers, and scholars of Hinduism (Milton Singer:1972:63). Knowledge, in the great traditions of vedas and Upanishads, the Dharmashastra, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana epics, the Bhagvatpurana and a good many others has been transmitted through family inheritance, the teaching of renowned specialists and schools organized for the purpose.

The invasion by Islam introduced a new monotheistic religion in conflict with the polytheism of the Hindus and which damaged the monopoly of Brahminical tradition. There emerged Maktabs attached to the mosques where Muslim boys and girls received education. Hindu sanskritic and vernacular schools also continued to function for the benefit of students in the urban as well as rural India. The religious character of the education continued (Majumdar et al 1963:579). Now the education was not the monopoly of Brahmins. This was due to the democratic character of ~~Islam~~ Islam. Any Muslim could study in Madarsa. O'Malley describes the Hindu and Muslim school system⁴ in the following words: "The systems had much in common.

They taught in a language or languages foreign to the people at large, they drew their strength from their association with religion, and, being based on unchanging authority, they discouraged the spirit of free inquiry and restricted change. But there was ^{one} respect in which they differed profoundly. While the Hindu schools were designed for one favoured class of the community, Muslim schools were open to all who confessed that there was but one God, and Muhammad was his prophet" (1941:139). In fact, we may say that there were disintegrating forces operating in the value systems of the medieval schools in India. This was a general situation in the society during this period as many historians, have emphasized. This decline of the value system has been appropriately summed up, in the words of A.R.Desai: "Neither individuality nor a rationalist outlook could develop among the pupils in these schools in pre-British India. The education imparted was to make the pupil staunch Hindus or Muslims, uncritical subscribers to their respective religions and social structures sanctioned by those religions" (1971:138).

Modern School System in India:

Three main agencies were responsible for the spread of modern school system in India. They were the foreign Christian missionaries, the British Government and the progressive Indians. The new education was essentially secular and, on the whole, liberal in spirit and content. This signified a shift from the religious and authoritarian to secular and liberal character of education. The spread of modern education was, however, extremely slow and mainly restricted to middle and upper strata of urban society (Desai 1969:68-69).

During the formative period of the British system of schools, there were two major differences of opinion regarding the aims of education in India. To begin with, there was disagreement between the evangelicals and missionaries on the one side and secular reformers on the other. These two groups could agree on certain issues, they were divided on the matters of ultimate aims. At the same time, there was controversy between those who favoured an oriental education and those who demanded creation of an English education, English curriculum, and the use of English as the medium of instruction. Subordinate to the conflict between orientalist and anglicists was the interest of the government in English education which would produce trained personnel for government service (Arthur Mayhew: 1926:18). The point which must be emphasized is that from about 1830 onwards English officials were imbued with the 'white man's burden', the idea that they were in Macaulay's phrase, undertaking the stupendous process of reconstructing a 'decomposed society' (Thompson and Garratte:1934:330 & 319; O'Malley (ed):1941:658, R.C. Majumdar:1960:23-27).

Macaulay favoured the Anglicists and his famous Minute of February 2, 1835, struck the decisive blow on the traditional education system. The Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, desired English education because they were convinced that it alone could provide the basis for an enlightened reformation of their society (Majumdar:23-46). An early effect of this education was the creation of a group of Indians who, imbued with a new, European set of values, entered actively into the spread of new ideas and of a Western curriculum in India.

The use of English as a means of instruction and the inability of government to develop the vernaculars have widened the gulf that separates the intelligentsia of India from the masses (Arthur Mayhew:1926:91-92). Those higher Hindu castes which had an ancient tradition of clerical and bureaucratic employment -- especially Brahmins - and Kayasths -- flocked into the new schools (R.I.Craine: 1964:115).

During the period prior to the Indian Mutiny there were established only a relatively few government schools. These followed Bentick's aim of preparing Indians for administrative posts. Indians who sought the new knowledge, however, created a demand for schooling which government school could not fill. As a result, "many English-teaching mushroom schools sprung up....Even in those days, the knowledge of English was prized. The desire for making a better living was present. These motives gave good opportunity for adventurous Eurasians to establish their own schools (S.N.Mukherji:1961:26). While we have little information on these schools, it seems that many of them barely deserved the title. Nonetheless, their creation indicates the popularity of the new learning, and suggests that what passed as Western training may have often been grossly inadequate.

Sir Charles Wood's dispatch of 1854 pointed to the fact that the education of the public had been virtually ignored and stipulated that greater efforts should be placed on the development of lower schools (Nurullah and Naik:1951:164-216). Because this kind of expansion would exhaust public funds, it was urged that a system of grants-in-aid be utilized to those schools which would -- (1)satisfy

government about the stability of their management, (ii) impart good secular education, (iii) be open to state inspection, and (iv) agree to any condition which might be laid down for the regulation of such grants (S.N.Mukerji:1961:130).

The result of secularization were unintentional. India's Muslims had remained aloof from the new education prior to 1854, partly because Persian their classical language, had been replaced by English (J.R. Cunningham in O'Malley(Ed.):1941:158). The system consolidated by the educationa despatch further inhibited their willingness to enrol, for a secular education was alien to the spirit and practice of Islam. As a result, the Muslim community fell decidedly behind the Hindus in the acquisition of Western knowledge.

In 1881 there were 3,916 secondary schools with a combined enrollment of 214,077 students (Report of the Indian Education Commission:1883:193). The vast majority of these schools were designed to prepare their graduates for enrollments in Western-style colleges. As a result the core of education in most high schools was instruction in English in college-entrance subjects. These were primarily literary in character. Very close to one-tenth of one per cent of the population was enrolled in the secondary schools.

Primary education, mostly in the vernacular languages, was largely education in what we know as the 'three Rs'. In 1881 there were apparently 2,061,541 pupils in primary schools. This was less than one per cent of the total population. Available evidence

suggests that approximately ten per cent of the students enrolled in primary schools continued as students in the secondary schools where Western-style education was emphasized. The drop-out rate, that is to say, was quite high and the bulk of the drop outs came prior to contact with a distinctively Western education (Kingsley Davis:1951:160). Cunningham says: "The waste in the village schools was appalling, time, energy, and money being spent on the schooling of children the majority of whom did not stay long enough at school to remain literate' (O'Malley (ed.) 1941:175).

It should be noted that English education was not distributed in a uniform fashion among the various segments of the Indian population. There was a wide disparity between the proportion of males and of females who received schooling. Similarly, there is considerable evidence that a vast majority of the enrollees were Hindus and that, among the Hindus, the Brahmans held a clearly disproportionate majority. While less than 10 per cent of all enrollees in schools were Muslims, the Brahmans -- though a small minority in the population -- numbered approximately 35 per cent of the enrolled, while non-Brahmans Hindus accounted for some 45 per cent of the total enrolment (Nurullah and Naik:1951:287).

These schools were almost invariably situated in the larger towns and cities. British system of schools was basically an urban phenomenon and access to these schools was greater for the urban than for the rural sector of population (Kingsley Davis:1951:153-154;159).

There were 7,530 recognized secondary schools in British India in 1921, with a total of 1,100,000 students. This can be compared with the figure of 3,461 secondary schools in India in 1882. The number of schools had more than doubled in the intervening years, as had the number of enrolments. As before, the bulk of these students were in courses preparatory to college entrance. An attempt had been made to introduce a non-literary curriculum in a number of high schools, but it was reportedly a failure. It is said that the students preferred to enroll in the literary course, and it is said that the Matriculation Examination continued to favour such a course (Cunningham in O'Malley(ed.):1941: 164-165).

The same picture emerges for primary schools. By 1921 there were 155,017 recognized primary schools, as compared to 70,386 in 1881, and the 1921 enrolments stood at 6,109,752. Thus approximately 2 per cent of the population was in primary education. Interestingly, the drop-out rate is reported to have declined. In 1881 some 10 per cent of school children went into high school, in 1921 at least 15 per cent continued in the secondary level. Nevertheless, it is clear that mass education was still a remote prospect for India. By 1921 only 8.3 per cent of the population over the age of 10 were reported as literate (Kingsley Davis:1951:151).

Two interesting trends in education in India can be noticed by 1921. The first of these was the acceleration of Muslim enrolment. Shortly after the turn of the century and increasingly after the first World War, the Muslim community began to make valient

efforts to repair their backward educational situation. Of all the religious groups in the subcontinent, the Muslim community began to make valient efforts to get into the field of acquiring knowledge. They had the highest rate of growth in literacy between 1891 and 1931 (Kingsley Davis:1951:155-156). Conninghum comments: "The pressure (on school facilities) was intensified (after 1871) by the competition of the Muslim community, who were growing increasingly alive to their own interests and pushing rapidly to the front (O'Malley(ed): 1941:169). To a smaller degree, the Hindu lower castes began to emulate the Muslims in the demand for literacy and education (Ibid:169, 182). The second new trend was in the rapid growth of business and commercial courses and schools.

The Simon Commission appointed the Indian Auxiliary Committee on Education under Sir Philip Hartog. Its Report, presented in 1929, made some major criticisms of the existing educational situation, and proposed certain remedies. The major criticism confirmed the fear that quantity had been pushed at the expense of quality. The Commission insisted upon a policy of consolidation by which poor schools would be shut down and resources used to strengthen the better schools. It was also pointed out that primary education had been largely overlooked and badly needed strengthening. The Committee expressed deep concern over the serious wastage due to early drop-outs in the lower grades as well as over the widespread practice of holding pupils so long in a lower grade as to cause stagnation and loss of interest. The Committee deplored the fact that the great majority of children who went to secondary school prepared for college entrance.

High school enrolments grew more rapidly during 1930's. In interpreting this fact it should be kept in mind that the primary role of the high school was to prepare students for college admission. This fact would seem to reflect two basic circumstances, both of which are relevant for understanding the impact of school education in India. In the first place tiny enrolment increases in middle schools reflects the inutility of literate studies for the numerous lower classes. Lower class parents were apparently not prepared to leave their children in school beyond the primary grades. By contrast the literate upper castes pushed their children through middle school into high school. The substantial drop-out rate was characteristic of Indian schools (R.I.Crane:1964: 130-131). An interesting development during 1937-38 was the report that the primary and secondary curriculum in the various provinces was, to a greater or lesser extent, being modified by including basic manual and vocational training in fields such as woodworking, spinning, horticulture, weaving, and paper making.

It is obvious that British system of schools directly influenced only a small minority of Indians. That is to say, the basis was laid for the emergence of new kind of elite, with new kind of values, new skills and new aspirations. As a result of new skills and values, the educated elite were marked off from traditional society and from the rest of the population. Considerable evidence points to the conclusion that British system tended to alienate many of its devotees from the social order in which they had been born (see Cunningham:185, O'Malley:66, Mayhew:207, Chirol:241). It should not, however, be assumed that all or even most of those who

secured British education were thereby alienated from traditional ways. Among the educated there were those who became staunch supporters of traditional values and ardent chauvinists (R.I.Crane in R.Sakai (ed):1961:1-14).

The English educated elite was significant because its internalized values were, in certain respects, different from and hostile to, indigenous values and patterns of behaviour. Without trying to recapitulate the differences between traditional Indian values and those of modern Europe, one or two examples may be cited.

Traditional society of India has long placed major emphasis on ascriptive criteria for status, rather than on achievement criteria. Western education reversed the emphasis, and stressed criteria of achievement. This was doubly the case in that the norms inculcated by British system postulated achievement and established a vivid series of 'objectives' tests of achievement, and in the sense that access to the new system of education and therefore to the new career opportunities was not based upon the traditional system of ascription. Early in the game the Brahmans realized that Brahmanhood, as such, was no longer a guarantee either for admission to college, or graduation, therefrom (Chisolm:22, O'Malley:767, Cunningham:181-182). Moreover, this education emphasized universalistic values which were significantly different from the particularistic values of traditional society in India (Crane:1964:135).

Central to traditional Hindu values has been the emphasis upon the subordinate of the individual to the primary groupings into which he is born. There was, in the traditional society, little scope for the expression

of individualism. The new education, by contrast, placed considerable emphasis upon individual decision-making and upon freedom of choice. Perhaps more important, the new education provided viable alternatives and new opportunities for the individual, thus placing before him norms which justified individualism and opportunities which helped to make the exercise of the new individuality possible.

Traditional society placed high value upon the received learning of the past, a tradition cherished by the orthodox and by the priest-class. Western knowledge attacked the basis of many of the traditional systems of belief and substituted for them a rational, critical, and secular attitude towards learning. The fact that this education had high market value and opened the way of new careers made it attractive. The fact that it was the learning of the ruling power gave it prestige and authority, despite a residual ambivalence. This ambivalence reflected several factors. To begin with, Western education promised more opportunity than foreign rule made practical. At the same time, foreign domination threatened the self-respect of the upper-class Indian.

Thompson and Garratt have pointed out that "the growing national desire for self respect drove the educated classes to find some explanation for such incapacity (to command their own national destiny). This led ultimately to the worship of the past, a back to the vedas movement, and the complaint, new grown tiresome from constant repetition, that the nation had been 'emasculated' during the British occupation"(1934:463).

Nonetheless, there is considerable evidence that the western educated tended to lose respect for the fundamental assumptions of the old order. It was, for instance, from among the graduates of Western education that a vocal and insistent demand was raised for basic reforms of traditional society. This has been true from the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahma Samaj down to Jawaharlal Nehru's socialist, secular ideal (O'Malley: 667). Beyond this, English education provided the new elite with the necessary ideology for nationalism and for national unification.

The Post-Independence School System in India:

Prior to Independence, education was for the privileged few; but with the emergence of a free and democratic India, the desire and demand for school education grew rapidly. At least in urban centres more schools were sought and phenomenal expansion of new schools sprang up all over the country, starting in tents, hutments, and residential premises.

In the post-Independence period, a major concern of the government of India and of the state-governments has been to give increasing attention to education as a factor vital to national progress and development. Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the development of science, and technology and scientific research received special ~~knowledge~~ emphasis. Towards this end of Third Five Year Plan, the Education Commission (1964-66) was appointed to advise the Government on "the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all

aspects (NCERT:1970:XV). The Report is a very valuable document in the field of Indian education because it has tried to cover almost every aspect of Indian education. It remarks that "destiny of India is now being shaped in her class-rooms. This, we believe, is no more rhetoric. In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons coming out of schools and colleges will depend our success in the great adventure of national reconstruction whose objectives are to raise substantially the standard of living of our people and to create a new social order based on the human values of the dignity of the individual, freedom, equality and justice" (1966:1.01).

The Report presents valuable data on Indian school system besides other levels of education. We gather from the Report that the Indian school system is the mainstream of value inculcation after family and integrates the child's value orientation. Thus family and school mutually influence one another, in an on going interchange of services, ideas, values through child. Families bring to the school the values they have fostered in the child -- the nature of service, of co-operation, of faith, of responsibility and of loyalty.

There are two broad approaches to education prevalent in the world today. The first emphasizes the worthwhileness of the individual -- it holds that every individual is unique and he must be permitted and assisted to develop to the best that is possible for him. In the second approach, a greater emphasis is laid on society into which the individual will have to live and work, and it is claimed that, if education helps to create a

new social order, the good of each individual member will be automatically looked after. India has chosen a path which lies between these two extremes approaches to education (M.C.Chagla:1966:6).

Values of Indian School System:

While inaugurating the Education Commission in 1964, the then Education Minister M.C.Chagla pointed out the following values of national system of education:

- (i) Democracy : Every child must be made responsible citizen of our democracy. What democracy says is that you must give equal opportunity.
- (ii) Secularism: Our education should advance the cause of secularism. India is a country of many cultures, many languages, many religions and education should provide synthesis between them and a sense of regard for all of them.
- (iii) National integration: Education should bring about national integration. Integration between regions, languages, castes, and religions.
- (iv) Socialism: social justice.
- (v) Capable of meeting the challenges of modern age: Schools must lay more and more emphasis on the fact that boys and girls must learn to use their hands and must learn to produce things which will be useful to the country.
- (vi) Our education must also produce leadership for the future (Chagla:1966:6-13).

Indian school system is given more diversified and preponderantly secular responsibility because it is one of the accepted values of the Indian constitution. Schools are expected to create consensus among the numerous citizenry around certain unifying themes of democracy, secularism and socialism.

The Education Commission (1964-66) made a very exhaustive study of educational system in India and suggested a complete transformation of the system to relate it more closely to the life of the people; a continuous effort to expand educational opportunity, a sustained and intensive effort to raise the quality of education at all stages; an emphasis on the development of science and technology; and the cultivation of moral and social values. In view of the commission the educational system must produce young men and women of character and ability committed to national service and development (1970:XVI). The Commission emphasises the values of national progress, common citizenship and national integration. Here the entire pre-university period of education has been treated as school education.

In the opinion of the Commission schools are to compensate for unsatisfactory home environment of children from slum areas or poor families. In its view good health habits, desirable social attitudes and manners, aesthetic appreciation, intellectual curiosity, independence and creativity, ability to express thoughts and feelings, and a good physique should be the objective of pre-primary education (262-263). Pre-primary schools are mainly urban institutions. In rural areas excellent pioneering work has been done by the central social welfare Board and the Community Development administration which makes a tremendous advance over earlier achievements.

The Directive Principles contained in Article 45 of the Constitution emphasises that the State should strive to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to age of 14 years though it still remains unfulfilled in view of the immense difficulties involved, such as lack of adequate resources, tremendous increase in population, resistance to the education of girls, large numbers of children of the backward classes, general poverty of the people and the illiteracy and apathy of parents. Therefore, it was not possible to make adequate progress in primary schools. The Education Commission has made a detailed study of stagnation and wastage in primary schools and enumerated its economic and social causes. It remarks: 'The chief among these are the lack of proper articulation between education and life and the poor capacity of the schools to attract and hold students. To these may be added the third ailment, poverty, which falls outside the system'(Education Commission:282).

In view of the Commission under these circumstances the equalization of educational opportunities assumes great significance. When the family is responsible for the primary education of children, inequalities develop between children from the rich and those from the poor families (1966:288).

The Commission holds that enrolment in secondary education should be broadly governed by the need for trained man-power. A large programme of scholarships should be developed to reduce the large imbalances now seen in the expansion of secondary education in different parts of the country, among girls, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (Education Commission:290).

The Commission has also made the detailed study of school curriculum in India and found very narrowly conceived and largely out of date (Ibid:319). It conceives that education is a three-fold process of infesting knowledge, developing skills and inculcating proper interests, attitudes and values. Our schools are mostly concerned with the first part of the process -- the imparting of knowledge -- and carry out even this in an unsatisfactory way.

According to Commission the aim of teaching social studies is to help the students to acquire a knowledge of their environment, an understanding of human relationships and certain attitudes and values which are vital for intelligent participation in the affairs of the community, the state, the nation and the world. It should lay stress on the idea of national unity and the unity of mankind, throughout the school course, with due regard, of course, to the pupil's age and understanding (Ibid:349).

Work Experience and Basic Education:

The concept of work-experience is closely related to the philosophy underlying basic education. Gandhiji formulated the scheme of basic education seeking to harmonize intellectual and manual work. This was a great step forward in making education directly relevant to the life of the people. The programme of basic education did not involve work-experience for all children in the primary schools, though the activities proposed were concerned with the indigenous crafts and the village employment

patterns. If in practice basic education has become largely stuck up around ~~xxx~~ certain crafts, there is no denying the fact that it always stressed the vital principle of relating education to productivity. The Commission stresses that in work-experience "a continuous attempt can be made to bring science and technology and to introduce the pupils a better way of performing these traditional tasks. It should be realized that the effective value of work-experience is largely proportional to the extent to which the spirit of modernization or a forward look to build into the programme of work (Education Commission:352).

Social Service:

The Commission recommended that some form of social and national service should be made an integral part of education at all stages (Vol.I,Chap.I) which should be done by providing for student participation in programmes (1) of community living on the school campus, and (2) of community development and of national reconstruction to inculcate in the pupils a sense of dignity of manual labour.

Physical Education and Values:

There has been a tendency in recent government schemes of physical education to ignore its educational values. In view of the Commission it must be emphasized that such education contributes not only physical fitness but also to physical efficiency, mental alertness and the development of certain values like preservance, team spirit, leadership, obedience to rules, moderation in victory and balance in defeat (Ibid:356).

Education on Social, Moral and Spiritual Values:

The Education Commission reveals that a serious defect in the school curriculum is the absence of provision for education in social, moral and spiritual values. It recommended therefore that conscious and organized attempts be made for imparting education in social, moral and spiritual values with the help, wherever possible, of the ethical teachings of great religions. The Commission emphasizes that the consciousness of values must permeate the whole curriculum and programme of activities in the school. (E.C.:358). The Commission remarks: "The school assembly, the curricular and co-curricular activities, the celebration of religious festivals of all religions, work-experience, team games and sports, subject clubs, social service programmes -- all these can help in inculcating the values of co-operation and mutual regard, honesty and integrity, discipline and social responsibility. These values have a special significance in Indian society today, when young men and women are passing through a crisis of character (Ibid:358-359).

The Commission agrees with the recommendation of the Sri Prakasa Committee (1960) that one or two periods a week should be set aside in the school timetable for instruction in moral and spiritual values. At the primary stage such instruction will generally be imparted through interesting stories, including stories down from the great religions of the world. At the secondary stage, there may be frequent discussion between the teacher and the pupils on the values sought to be inculcated (Ibid:359).

We have already referred that Damle (1967) has made a systematic analysis of the school system in the Indian social context. In his view "at the cultural level, the enormous importance given to education, for its own sake, irrespective of its utility. Character formation and discipline have been the main aims of education" in India (Gore et al:1967:273). He holds that the caste system has militated against the spread of education in many sections and layers of the population, in spite of the positive help offered to members to respective castes, by caste organizations (Ibid:247). Different types of educational institutions reflect the system of stratification. In the nursery a great deal of emphasis is placed on enabling children to develop social skills and ability to mix with others. Damle observes that children are also helped to be on their own in various small ways. This encourages the process of autonomy formation (Ibid:275). He observes that at the primary school level, emphasis is placed on imparting education at a very elementary level, socialization and formal education are stressed. In the middle school too the emphasis is placed on socialization, inculcation of discipline, and imparting of education (Ibid:276). The high school (or Higher Secondary school) may be run by the Department of Education or a state, by a private educational society or by a religious denominational one. There is an increasing emphasis on imparting education which becomes more and more complex. There is also a slant on the preparation of adolescents to become more and more responsible agents. In the high school the greatest premium is put on achievement, both scholastic and extra-curricular. The ascriptive basis of society is underscored (Ibid:277). Imparting of education and development of adaptive skills is emphasized which leads to the process of individuation (Ibid:278).

Public School Values:

R.P.Singh (1972) makes a perceptive study of public schools in India which cater only to upper classes, and perpetuate class values by creating a sense of status and prestige because they are English medium expensive schools. The number of the public schools is almost microscopic in relation to the total number of schools in India. They are located in big cities. In these schools, a great deal of emphasis is laid on the development of all round personality. Singh analyses the role of public schools against the historical background. These schools have a very high prestige, partly because of their standards and traditions, but mainly because the children of the most powerful groups in society attend them. These schools create an important problem in social integration by segregating the richer classes from the rest of the community. As a partial step to mitigate this evil, the government of India has started a programme of scholarships under which gifted students are selected under a national competition and sent to these schools. The number of these students is too small to produce any noticeable impact.

Singh points out that in public schools discipline is rigid and he contrasts it with the go-as-you-please method found in so many of the general colleges and schools. At another place he remarks: "The authoritarian, old family-like structure, some kind of throwback to the Victorian era is the hallmark of public school administration (Singh:1972: 81).

He cites the aims of the Sainik Schools : "The over-all aim of our education in these Sainik Schools is to build character and team spirit, to develop a patriotic outlook, to kindle the spirit of dedication (Ibid:99).

The primary object of Indian public schools is to prepare boys of ability for positions of leadership and responsibility in all walk of Indian life (Singh:1972:114). Singh holds the view that the success attributed to public schools is largely unreal. The net-work one's parents spread in the course of acquiring their social status plays a much more important role in the success of their ward's career than actual performance at an examination (Ibid:2). Ted Tapper also suggests that most of the children's values will remain similar to those of their parents and they may not incorporate many of essential school values (1971:142).

In Deoli too, G.Morris Charstairs notes that a public school has been in existence for some fifteen years, where children are indirectly exposed to Western values, because both the principle and the content of the teaching curriculum were inspired by the example of the British educational system, upon which the Indian schools were based. Even so, certain peculiarly Hindu modification entered the system. For example the children were taught to know the names, and to admire the example, not only of celebrated teachers of Hinduism, but also of the Buddha, of Muhammed and of Jesus Christ. It inculcates equal degree of tolerance (1971:148).

Secular Values:

G.S. Bhatnagar (1972) makes a study of the role of education in the process of social change in some of rural communities and finds education as one of the important factors in this direction. In his study, Bhatnagar notes that school helps in the formulation of secular values. His finding shows that educated man is usually more rational, less prejudice

and superstitious and stereotype. G.S. Bhatnagar's study shows that education is one of the most important variables in bringing about changes in the peoples attitude regarding religion and finds that they tend to have more secular values as compared within illiterate or low educated persons who attach a great importance to various rituals and ceremonies (1972:46). G.S. Bhatnagar's findings confirm that schools lead children towards progressive values as compared to the families (Ibid:49-50). This view is also confirmed in Andre Beteille's study where he remarks that ~~study~~ today the educational system is far more open, both in principle and in practice. Many non-Brahmans and even untouchables now attend the schools in villages and towns. Education not only enables non-Brahmans and untouchables to compete on more equal terms with Brahmans for white collar jobs, but also provides them with more equal chances of political participation (1969:5).

Political Values and Schools:

Ehsanul-Haq (1972) has made an interesting study of political values incorporated in the text books prescribed for government schools in Union Territory of Delhi. On the basis of content analysis of school text-books, in the light of Constitutional values of India, he has arrived at the conclusion that no deliberate and consistent effort has been made in incorporation of modern political values into the text books. There is also class-wise and subject-wise inconsistency or discrepancy. No correlation has been maintained between the age and mental level of students and the nature of values internalized. Here assumption is that if there is systematic incorporation of political values, there will be corresponding promotion of political consciousness among students (1972:41-44).

These studies are mostly isolated excursions rather than part of a comprehensive exploration of the value system of Indian schools. In fact no serious attempt has been made to examine sociologically the value system of Indian schools.

From whatever literature we have reviewed, we can conclude that in India the school system is increasingly emphasising rational, scientific, democracy, national-integration, and secular values. However the stress on these values does not necessarily go against some of the religious and traditional values. As was pointed out earlier, the Education Commission also advocates exposure to values and ideals of different religions in the country. Further, the schools in India including public schools are increasingly emphasising on egalitarian values and opposing the hierarchical values of the caste system.

CHAPTER - IV

FAMILY AND SCHOOL : INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO VALUE SYSTEMS IN INDIA

The Family and The School:

As has already been mentioned in the earlier chapters the family and the school are two of the important institutions of socialization of a neophyte. But the mode of socialization in the two institutions differs. As Yogendra Singh puts it : "The school in the process of learning of role is different from that in a family. The learning of roles in the family takes place with effective orientation of the parents towards child. In the formal setting of the school in operation of the mechanism of socialization such as of reward and punishment, imitation and value acquisition etc. undergo changes. The structure of roles through which these mechanisms operate themselves are changed with

ambivalent sets of value orientation e.g. between effectivity and effective-neutrality, between specificity and diffuseness of role performance" (1967:55). The family exercises a dominant influence on the child's attitudes and values to the educational system. According to Goode the family acts as a source of pressure on the pupil to adjust to hard work and to school discipline (Goode, W.J.:1965:5). But it is not to be imagined that the school is a passive receiver. In fact, the school system influences the values of the family and acts as a channel of mobility both upward and downward, to the family. Hence, it is essential to analyse the interaction between the school and the family value profiles.

Parsons in his study of the school system points out that when values of the family clash with those of the school system, it creates a cross-pressure on the pupil. He is of the view that this cross-pressured pupil who swell the ranks of drop-outs. Those cross-pressurised pupils who tend to be upwardly mobile and place emphasis on school success would have to 'burn their bridges' of associations with their families and status peers (Parsons:1961:447-448).

From our analysis in the earlier chapters it becomes clear that the family in India continues to stress traditional values generally. From this one can draw the conclusion that there was not much conflict between the family and the traditional school system in India. However, we have noticed that with the arrival of British, the schools emphasised increasingly modern rational scientific and egalitarian values. Therefore one can judge that the modern school system comes into conflict with the family at several points. Many of these areas of conflict are minor in character or degree of difference, but some become so serious as to create major difficulties in either family-child or school-child relationship or both.

The conflict areas that exist between the school and the family in India may cover the range of language, family life, political tradition, conception of universe, philosophy of man's role, social values and many other behaviour norms. The school as a nonpartisan, non-sectarian culture-transmitting agency naturally runs counter to the ideological patterns of many families in India. Some of these conflicts are open and avowed but others arise by way of implication.

We would illustrate our point of view by taking the conflict of religious versus secular education in India. British education in India was frequently criticized for its secular character: "It is criticized as being *alien* to the Indian temperament which is essentially religious and as offending the cherished conviction that religious and moral instruction is a necessary part of education. To it are ascribed a decline of respect of youth for age, denial of the natural authority of parents over their pupils, a widespread disregard of religious and social sanctions, and a growth of moral laxity (O'Malley: 1934:665).

II

In this section we will discuss in detail the types of interaction between the family and the school in India.

From the discussion in the earlier chapters it is clear that the families in the upper castes in both rural and urban areas of India, while largely remaining traditional, have emphasized the value of learning. We have also found ample proof that the modern school system in India emphasizes universalistic values. Hence, there is conflict in values between the two systems although

in the value placed on education there is conformity between the upper caste families and the schools. This type of conflict of values creates a dissonance in the pupil. However, we find that family amongst the upper castes have been adaptive and have resolved the conflict in various ways. One method by which such conflict is resolved is by way of compartmentalisation of the ritual religious sphere from the modern sphere (Singer:1972:320). Some of the studies of socialization also reveal the adaptive processes used to overcome such conflict. It has been that very often the traditional families are conscious of their 'backwardness' and consciously attempt to socialise their children to be more 'sophisticated and liberal' (Vardachar:1973:11). Further, if we take into account the fact that most of the teachers in the schools are upper castes and urban in their background, we find that the conflict of values may not create a serious discontinuity.

However, amongst the lower class and caste families conflict between the school and the family may be of a different order. Many lower class and caste families are in conflict with the schools because these fail to satisfy the expectations of the schools. On the other hand these families expect to offer a possible alternative in the struggle to improve the statuses of their children by way of education. The conflict is resolved by withdrawing the child from the school. A reason why pupils drop-out of schools or forget what they have learnt is that the education provided in schools is unrelated to their lives and totally dominated by abstract 'role'. Similarly the cultural pressures of upper class families differ from those of the schools but the conflict here is resolved

in many cases by transferring the child to a better school. That is one of the reasons why the popularity of public schools has not diminished and why the average middle class parents still regard a public school education as the best investment for their children's future.

In many ways qualitative education is not equally available to all sections of population in India. Schools are segregated. Even intelligent pupils coming from low socio-economic level and culturally different families may find adjustment problem in schools, where mostly upper castes or status groups of pupils are drawn and are better equipped -- comparatively. Therefore, a cultural conflict arises because of the difference and diversity in family and school environment. The distinction here is not of lower or upper caste or class only but also of urban and rural background. It is because of the family background that students from lower caste or class, and a rural background tend to have lower aspirational value than those from upper caste or class and an urban background.

Caste based and class based differences in value orientations and aspirations create a self imposed barrier to an improved position. Lower caste and lower class individual as a group have a value system that reduces the likelihood of individual advancement. Family and school channelize relevant values so that certain pattern of life is maintained and reinforced in the society.

Findings on early leaving from the schools suggest that there is a clash between the values of scheduled castes and lower income group (D.Mahanta: 1960:16-32). Presumably the drop-outs come mostly from the scheduled castes and low income group pupils which have unintegrated set of values. The values of schools in general ^{are} alien to this group. Thus for many pupils, the Indian school is very much an alien institution, there is a continuation of that tradition in which academic segregation also means class separation, which maintains the traditional relationship between class-caste and schools in India.

Among the lower class children, the pressure to earn livelihood may result in withdrawal from schools. Among the middle class children, there is a struggle to continue, whatever the social cost. In fact, the middle class parents undergo the 'deferred gratification'. That is to say, they postpone comforts and even necessities to provide education to their children. In India this is especially true in those families where children are sent to medical and engineering course. Among the upper class in India there is either devotion to learning or cynical indifference to it. This results in polarities. A wealthy man's son can become a great scientist or remain an ill-educated person. In all these class situations we should recognize the family participation in education.

It is the middle class youths who are most influenced by the type of school they attend. The implication is that the child from a middle class family is much more likely to respond to school values than the lower class. This is the major social category which

acquires harmonious value orientation. It leads to the tentative conclusion on the nature of socialization process in India that it is increasingly more important to ascertain how the family and school interact together and make a joint effort to "emphasise the phenomenon of value-internalization in the process of socialization and consider the process to be essentially subjective"(Yogendra Singh:1967:53).

Thus we find that while the clash of values may not hinder the educability of the pupil in the upper caste families, this clash leads to the withdrawal amongst the pupils of the lower caste families for various reasons.

CHAPTER - V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I

In the first chapter we observed that the process of socialization inculcates and perpetuates the value system in a given society. The family and the school, beside peer-group play a dominant role in the process of socialization. Therefore, the significance of the interaction between the family and the school has been recognized by the sociologists in the west as well as in India. To support our contention we have reviewed some of the Western studies in this field and demonstrated their main findings.

In the Second Chapter we have examined the family system in India and its value profile. This we did by reviewing the available studies. The various findings reveal that the general ideal-type of family structure in India is the joint family though in practice the ideal may not be followed. The joint family is mostly traditional in their value orientations. The ritualism or religiosity, unquestionable obedience, family loyalty, and a sense of responsibility are treated as most significant values.

We noticed that the value profile of the rural family is traditional emphasising hierarchy, authority, obedience, conformity to caste values and the like. We notice that the urban families have been exposed to change. Yet in spite of the changes, the few studies on urban families reveal their traditionalistic value profile. Only amongst a fringe of upper class Westernised families we notice that the value profile is non-traditional.

The Third Chapter, is devoted to the Indian school system in order to understand its value profiles. In doing so we have examined both the traditional and modern trends and also the development of the Indian school system. We find that traditional India did not have a consistent educational pattern. Education was influenced by the general values of life. Transcendental values were more common in pedagogy. The modern school system is essentially secular in character, liberal in spirit, scientific and rational in outlook, egalitarian in approach, and technological in skill training. This signifies the clear departure from the traditional system of school to modern one.

In the Fourth Chapter we have returned to the issues that we posed for the examination and analysis in the first one. Here we have made an analysis of the interaction between the family and school in India with special reference to the value system of the two institutions. Here we have been able to demonstrate how caste/class, rural/urban, traditional/modern families come into direct clash or conflict with modern school values in India. These conflicts are sometimes resolved and sometimes they remain unresolved.

From the limited literature available we have demonstrated that the value profiles of the family and the school in India are generally in conflict. However, we notice that it is upper caste, urban families which have been flexible and have been able to adapt themselves in order to maintain and improve their position in the society. It is the lower caste families which are also invariably low in class position who find it difficult to adapt. It is the children from these families who either drop out from the school or become 'under achievers'.

II

The preceding exercise is not a comprehensive account of the study of interaction between the value profiles of the family and school in India. It is just an attempt to survey the existing literature in the area.

This study has revealed to us various areas in which more research needs to be done in India. They are:

1. A comparative study of the process of socialization and the role of the family, the school and the peer group in

(a) urban and rural areas, and

(b) higher and lower castes/classes.

2. A systematic analysis of the social background of teachers of schools and their role in the process of socialisation. A comparative study of the teachers from different categories of school also needs analysis.

3. A study to analyse in depth the causes of the drop-out problem in India and the organisational and syllabi changes that need to be made to solve the problem.

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