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THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM IN INDIA

by

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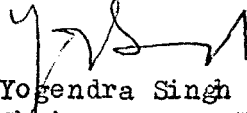
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DECLARATION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The school is a formally organised system set up to impart education to the young in order to make them effective members of the society. Education, particularly in a developing society like ours is not only concerned with transmitting the existing culture but also imparting new values, improved ideas and skills required for modernization and development. The Education Commission 1964-66 appears to put more stress on the latter, when it says education must be an instrument of social change.¹ This education, however, as W. Waller points out, occurs in a social environment - it is human beings who constitute the school or college. These human beings, he adds, are not 'disembodied intelligences', 'instructing machines' or 'learning machines', but whole human beings interlocked in a network of human relationships. This network of roles and relations, according to him, determines the outcome of education.² It is because the school has a social function to perform for society and involves a system of role relationships, that it is of interest for the sociologist to study it as a social institution.

It is only in recent years, however, that sociologists in India have shown an interest in the formal educational system.

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1. Government of India (1972) Education and National Development: Report of the Education Commission 1964 - 66 N.C.E.R.T. Publications, Delhi. p. 8
 2. Waller, W (1932) The Sociology of Teaching John Wiley & Sons, New York.

As Ruhela and Vyas observe: "While teacher educators have been superficially interested in it (sociology of education) for about 20 years.....the interest of the Indian sociologists in this field is of much lessor durationThe period of the last ten years has been the emergence of some real interest on the part of sociologists in the problems of education".³

For the development of the 'Sociology of the School' it is urgently necessary to develop and use sociological concepts and frames of reference to explain the social aspects of the school. One of the objectives of this study is to develop a suitable frame of reference for studying the school as a social system in India. Another objective of this study, and one which interests us not only as a researcher but also as a citizen is to assess the functioning of the school in relation to Indian society. Limitations of this study :- This study is based on a review of literature. The literature that was available, was however, meagre. A greater portion of the existing literature in the sociology of education is concerned with higher education than school education⁴ which is the focus of our study here.

Since very little of the research work done in our country is published, one has to depend heavily on unpublished

3. Ruhela, S.P. and Vyas, K.C. (1970) Sociological Foundations of Education in Contemporary India Dhanpat Rai and Sons, Delhi pp. 50-51.

4. See Chitnis, S. 'Sociology of Education: Trend Report' in I.C.S.S.R. Report (1974) A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology.

work for conducting a survey of literature. However, we have only examined the relevant dissertations obtained at the Department of Sociology, Delhi University, at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Jawaharlal Nehru University and several M.ed. and Phd. dissertations of the Central Institute of Education, Delhi, which though written by students of Education deal with certain aspects of the school as a social system.

While examining the relevant literature it was found that most studies on the sociology of the school focus narrowly on some sub-system, process or activity within the school without dealing more generally with the social system of the school. Consequently, it is from literature which is fragmentary and discontinuous that an attempt has been made to give an idea about the structure and functioning of the school in India.

Outline of the Study: Since this study is concerned with studying the school as a social system, we must explain what we mean by the term 'social system'. Briefly a school system is a system of interaction or reciprocal action between individuals occupying role positions (in the structure) and playing roles in relation to each other. These ~~see~~ roles are defined in terms of shared norms and expectations. Thus a social system involves a structure, and processes of interaction which occur within the structure. Chapter II describes the structural framework of the school, while Chapter III discusses some of the important processes which occur within the structural framework.

In a modern society where knowledge is highly specialized schools are specially set up for imparting knowledge to the young. The large number of students on the one hand and the expansion in knowledge on the other makes it necessary to have a number of teachers. The recruitment of teachers and provision of the necessary facilities for effective teacher-pupil interaction, is done by the management. Supervision of the teachers and administration is done by the principal who may be assisted by administrative staff. Thus there is a division of function and consequently a number of role positions which for purposes of co-ordination are arranged in a hierarchy based on authority. Formal rules determine the functioning of the school. Thus the school is a formally organized system. Every formal organisation also has an informal structure which too determines the functioning of the organization. The general structural features of schools as well as some of the particular features of rural and urban schools, at different levels of school education and run by different types of management have been considered in Chapter Two.

In Chapter III four important processes have been identified. These are :-

- A. Obtaining Resources for the School
- B. Decision Making and Control
- C. Integration
- D. Socialization

Human and material resources are required by the school to achieve its goals. The functionaries of the school are

required to perform their important roles while students (the clients) have to be admitted to the school in order that they can be socialized. The staff are formally recruited on the basis of their educational qualifications. Section A examines the extent to which schools run by different types of management are able to recruit teachers with the required qualifications and the causes responsible for the large percentage of the teachers not fulfilling the required qualifications. The informal factors determining the social background of the teachers has also been considered. While the staff are formally recruited on the basis of their merit and competence, students enter the school system because they are of a certain age i.e. 6 years. This is true of local body and government schools which form about 80% of lower primary schools. Private schools, particularly private unaided schools which are known for the good quality of the education they provide, get a bid rush for admissions. Hence they give an admission test. Thus performance here would determine student's recruitment. In private unaided schools (where high fees are charged) besides the factor of age, the social class in which one was born would determine recruitment. The influence of the system of stratification on student retention and the selection of the school has been studied. The school also requires financial resources to pay its staff, provide physical facilities and so on. The sources from which schools run by different managements obtain fund has been considered.

Having obtained the human and material resources it is necessary to see that these resources are used effectively

for achieving the specific goals of the school. For this purpose role-positions (as in any other formal organization) are arranged in a hierarchy based on authority which gives scope for decision making and control. Although important decisions are made at the top and thus overall control is exercised, some decisions are made at different levels of the organization. Section B first discusses decision making and control exercised by the State (since schools even though run by different agencies are part of the large scale educational system formally organized by the State) and then discusses decision making at the different levels of the school hierarchy. Questions like whether decision making is authoritarian or democratic have been considered. Since teachers are semi-professional employees the effect of administrative authority on the role of the Teacher has been discussed. Although decision are made by those in authority they may be influenced by those in power. Hence the problem of defending one's decision making boundaries against the interference of 'outsiders' arises, Who these 'outsiders' are, and the relationship between source of finance, extent of bureaucratization and outside interference has been considered.

Section C deals with problem of integration. Good social relations among school personnel are necessary to keep the school a cohesive, well-integrated unit. A good social climate is important not only for the functionaries but also the students. Among other things, increased job satisfaction reduces the social distance between teachers and students and increases students' responsiveness to the teacher in class and thus indirectly helps the school in achieving its goals.

The factors hindering integration have been discussed.

Section D discusses the process of Socialization. Two aspects of the process of socialization have been considered 1) The socialization of new recruits into two culture of the school so that they can participate effectively in the school system. (The new recruits include not only students but the functionaries. Thus teachers have to be socialized into the staff room culture.) 2) The most important function of the school for society - preparing students to be effective members of the society by imparting to them values, norms and skills of the society. The role of the school as a socializing agency has been examined keeping in mind the goals of formal education stated by the Education Commission 1964-66.⁵

On the basis of this study, a paradigm for studying the school as a social system in India has been suggested in Chapter IV.

5. Govt. of India (1972) op cit p. 11

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF SCHOOLS

As a formally organized system the school is assumed to be in some degree bureaucratic. That is, to display, at least in a rudimentary form, the following characteristics : 1) A functional division of labour (e.g. the allocation of instructional and coordinative tasks to the school system roles of teacher and administrator); 2) The definition of Staff roles as offices, that is, in terms of recruitment according to merit and competence, legally based tenure, functional specificity of clients; 3) The hierarchic ordering of offices, providing an authority structure based on legally defined power of officers, and regularized lines of communication. 4) operation according to rules of procedure, which set limits to the discretionary performance of officers by specifying both the aims and modes of official action.¹

Schools are a particular type of formal organizations. They are professional organizations, or especially in the case of primary schools, semi-professional organizations. According to Etzioni, these organizations are specially set up for the purposes of producing, applying, preserving, or communicating knowledge. In a professional / semi-professional organization atleast 50% of the staff are professional / semi-professionals (in the case of the school the teachers and the principal since he is normally drawn from

1. Bidwell, C.E. 'The School as a Formal Organization' in March, J.G. (ed) (1965) Handbook of Organizations p. 974.

the teaching cadre). Professionals are those whose professional training has been long (5 years or more). They are primarily devoted to the creation and application of knowledge. They are usually protected in their work by the guarantee of privileged communication, and are often concerned with matters of life and death. Semi professionals are these whose professional training has been less than 5 years. They are more concerned with the communication and to a lesser extent, the application of knowledge. They are less likely to be guaranteed the right of privileged communications, and they are rarely directly concerned with matters of life and death.²

Schools are primarily concerned with the communication of knowledge. But in so far as some higher secondary teachers by who are subject specialists are involved by the Examination Board in formulating the syllabus and writing the textbooks, they have certainly higher claims to being professionals when compared to primary school teachers. We shall discuss this, and the problem of administrative vs professional authority in Section B of the next chapter.

The hierarchical structure of the school is as follows: At the top is the position of the management followed by the position of the Principal. Below the Principal is the Vice-Principal, or Supervisor. According to the regulations of the Department of Education, a school with ten or more classes

2. Etzioni, A (1969) The Semi Professions and Their Organizations Free Press, New York, pp. xi-xvi.

regardless of government aid or management is expected to appoint a supervisor to assist the principal.³ Then come the teaching and administrative staff. There is no one position for the teachers. They are formally differentiated into senior and junior teachers, into those with matriculation and training, those who are trained graduate teachers and those who are trained post graduate teachers. This is generally reflected in the differences in pay scales and also the levels at which they teach.⁴ Although teachers refer to each other as colleagues, some, such as faculty heads, may be given authority in deciding about the teaching of the different subjects in the various classes of the school.⁵ The administrative staff include clerical, library and maintenance staff.

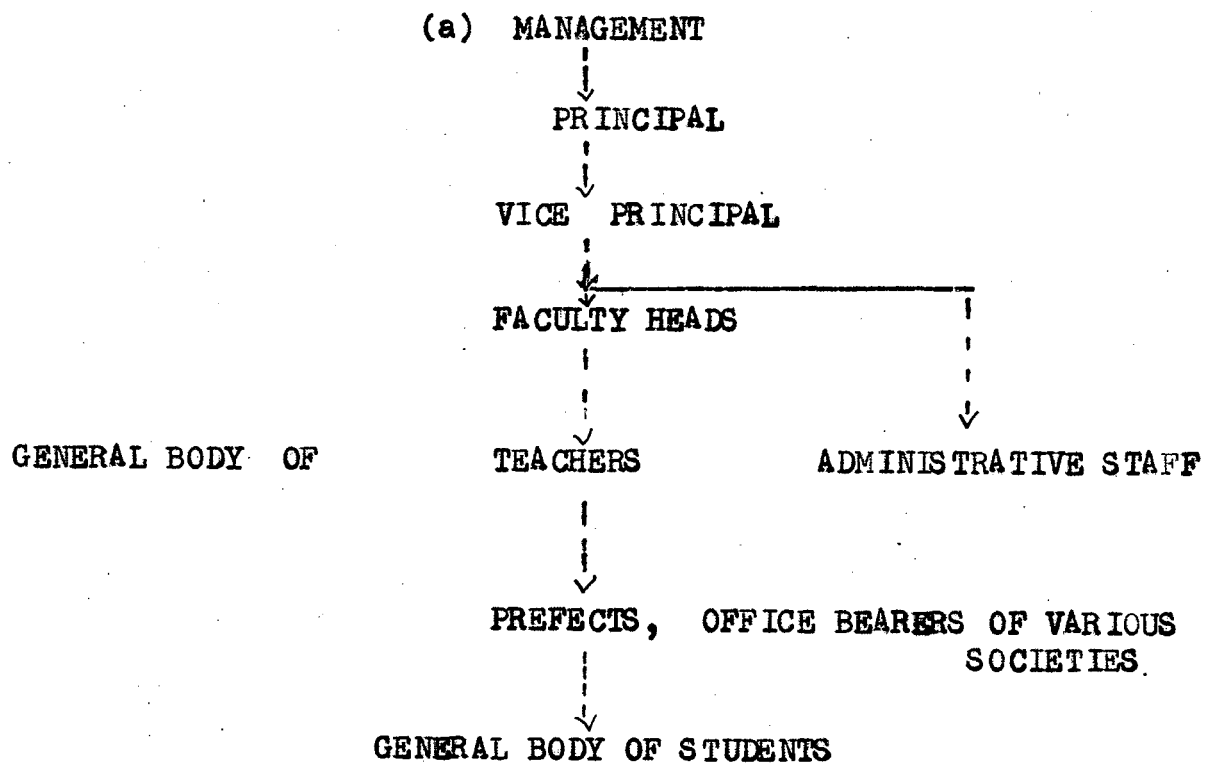
Although students are the clients of the school, they too are part of the school. The imparting of education, T. Parsons points out represents a special type of professional service - one in which the recipient of the service - (the student) becomes an operative member of the service - providing organization.⁶

In other words students have to be admitted to the school in order to receive an education. These students are placed in different

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3. Kale, P. (1972) Career of the Secondary School Teacher in Poona Nachiketa, Bombay, p. 69-
 4. Ibid. p. 68
 5. Chanda, M. Career Orientations and Commitment of School Teachers A Study in the Sociology of Professions among Women Teachers in Six Delhi Schools Unpublished M. Litt. dissertation Department of Sociology, Delhi University
 6. Parsons, T. (1961) p.39 in Westby-Gibson, D (1965) Social Perspectives on Education John Wiley and Sons, New York, p. 281.

school classes depending on their age & competence. While the general body of students at the bottom of the school hierarchy, some students particularly at the higher primary & secondary levels who are given responsibility in the maintenance of discipline and organizing extra curricular activities through the Student Council, the House System & various extra curricular activities would have to be placed a little above the general body of students. This is because they are given some authority in order to carry out their responsibilities.

Chart - I : Formal Role Position in a Large School



(Arrows show direction of control)

Chart I shows us a general picture of the role positions in a full fledged secondary school i.e. a school with classes

ranging from the lower primary (if not pre-primary) stage to the secondary stage. However the Second All India Educational Survey shows that schools in India are generally small sized both in terms of number of classes and students enrolment.

Table I shows the percentage of sections which are schools in themselves or part of two section or three section schools. The percentage of sections having less than the minimum optimum enrolment is given alongside. It must be noted that the minimum optimum enrolment considered in the table varies according to the stage of school education. It has been based on the suggestions made by the Education Commission 1964-66.⁷ At the lower primary stage the minimum optimum enrolment of 161-200 has been suggested. At the higher primary stage a minimum optimum enrolment of 121 has been suggested. While at the secondary stage a minimum enrolment of 240-300 has been suggested. In this table percentage of sections with less than the minimum of 240 has been given.

7. Govt. of India, (1972) op.cit pp. 304-309.

Table I - % Distribution of sections which are schools in themselves or part of Two/Three Section Schools. 8

Stage of School Education	Single Section Schools as Percentage of total number of sections in each area	Two section schools as percentage of total number of section in each area	Full fledged (three section) schools as percentage of total number of section in the area	Total	Percentage of Sections having less than the minimum optimum enrolment
LOWER PRIMARY	Rural 86.44	Rural 12.70	Rural 0.86	100.00	Rural 82.9%
	Urban 71.47	Urban 21.66	Urban 6.87	100.00	Urban 43.8%
	Total 84.98	Total 13.58	Total 1.44	100.00	Total 87.1%
HIGHER PRIMARY	Rural 17.35	Rural 78.01	Rural 4.64	100.00	Rural 78.4%
	Urban 10.43	Urban 74.86	Urban 14.72	100.00	Urban 37.5%
	Total 15.87	Total 77.33	Total 6.80	100.00	Total 70.0%
SECONDARY/ HIGHER SECONDARY	Rural 34.38	Rural 43.93	Rural 21.69	100.00	Rural 79.5%
	Urban 15.18	Urban 55.89	Urban 28.93	100.00	Urban 48.80
	Total 26.81	Total 48.64	Total 24.54	100.00	Total 67.45

8. Govt. of India (1969) Second All India Educational Survey
N.C.E.R.T. Delhi pp. 24-25, 41-42 and 58-59

The table shows that at all three stages of school education rural areas have a much larger number of small sized schools (both in terms of classes and enrolment) as compared with the urban areas. This is because small inhabitations predominate. The largest percentage of single section schools, and sections with less than the minimum optimum enrolment are found at the lower primary stage. Small sized schools at the primary level are justified by the Education Commission 1964-66, because accessibility is a prime consideration so that primary schooling can become universal.⁹ But at the secondary stage the Education Commission feels that accessibility should be a minor consideration and greater emphasis should be placed on economy and efficiency. Hence what is urgently required in several areas is consolidation of existing secondary schools rather than establishing new ones.¹⁰

The existence of small schools implies a small staff in each school. Thus at the lower primary level the average number of teachers is 3 (2 in the rural areas and 6 in urban areas).¹¹ At the higher primary stage it is 4 (4 in rural areas and 8 in urban areas)¹². At the secondary stage the average number of teachers is 10 (8 in rural areas and 14 in urban areas).¹³

9. Ibid. p. 301

10. Ibid. p. 309

11. op. cit. p. 25.

12. Ibid. p. 42

13. Ibid. p. 59.

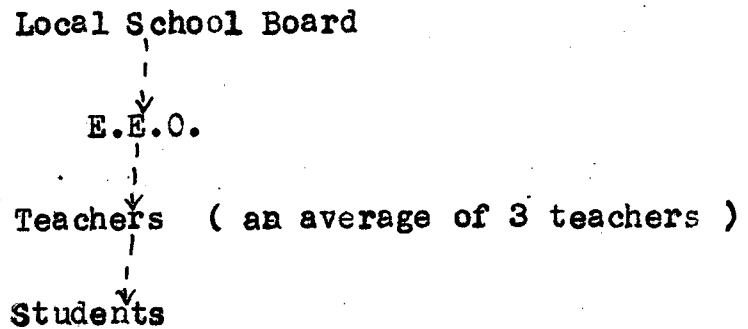
At both the lower and higher primary level (where knowledge to be imparted is elementary) multiple class teaching is resorted to. Multiple class teaching implies an arrangement according to which a teacher has to handle simultaneously students of more than one class. According to the survey, multiple class teaching occurs in 80-86 of the total number of lower primary sections. The corresponding percentages for rural and urban areas are 55.97 and 33.80 respectively.¹⁴ At the primary stage multiple class teaching is resorted to in 16.59 of the higher primary sections. The corresponding figures for rural and urban areas are 20.06 and 3.88 respectively.¹⁵ At the Secondary stage multiple class teaching cannot be resorted to because the knowledge to be imparted is quite specialized. In fact inspite of a small enrolment a number of subject specialists have to be employed because subjects taught at this stage are quite specialized. Therefore the average number of teachers at this level is 10.

In a small school, there is generally a lack of specialization of roles. ~~That~~ Teachers may have to take on administrative work and there may even be no specialised position of Principal. In local body schools at the lower primary stage for instance, there is generally no specialized position of the Principal. The E.E.O. with the help of the teachers looks after the administration of the different school units run by the local school board. The lack of division of function

14. Ibid. p. 28

15. ~~It~~ op. cit. p. 44

would cause a flattening of the hierarchical authority structure. The structure of role positions in a lower primary school run by a local body particularly in the rural areas would probably be as follows :



In a small school with few role positions relations tend to be more personal. Communication tends to be largely informal i.e. there are no clearly defined channels of communication. Decisions regarding the day to day functioning of the school may be arrived at by the teachers or by the E.E.O. with the teachers informally, rather than calling a staff meeting and following a formal procedure. Since school personnel in a small sized school know each other personally they are bound to know each other's class or caste background. Where the school is situated in a rural community wherein caste stratification is quite rigid, caste is bound to affect social interaction in the school.

Thus size and complexity of the school determines the division of function and authority in the school i.e. the number of role positions and the extent of hierarchy. The smaller the size and complexity of a school the fewer the role positions and the flatter the authority structure.

Rural areas have a larger number of small sized schools as compared with the urban areas. Since India is a predominantly

rural country, most of its schools, particularly at the primary level where efforts are being made to make schooling universal, are situated in the rural areas. Table II proves this.

Table II - Percentage of Schools in Rural Areas to Total Number of Schools at Each Stage. 16

Pre-primary	40.3
Lower Primary	91.5
Higher Primary	83.9
Secondary/Higher Secondary	62.9

Therefore it follows that most schools in India, particularly at the lower primary level are small sized with few specialized role positions and a less hierarchical authority structure. The implications of this on the functioning of the school has been worked out above and it will be the task of the next chapter to see how far it is really so.

An important factor determining the structure of the school is the type of management which runs it. Schools are run broadly by three types of management - government, local bodies and private bodies. Local bodies include District Boards, Zila Parishads & Panchayat Samitis in the rural areas & Municipal Boards and Cantonment Boards in the Urban Areas. Private bodies

include religious and denominational bodies, registered trust boards and educational societies.

Private schools can be broadly divided into two types: those which are recognised and those which are not. A recognised school is one which follows the courses of study prescribed or recognised by the department of education or the Examination Board (Central or State) and which satisfies these authorities that it attains a reasonable standard of efficiency (Government and Local Body Schools are at present automatically recognised). The Education Commission 1964-66 has suggested that this should not be done in order that efficient standards may be maintained by these schools.¹⁷ Unrecognised schools are not considered part of the official system of education and statistics are not collected about them. These schools are not recognised generally because they fall far below a reasonable standard of efficiency. It is not known how many of such schools exist because a number of them are not even registered. Private recognised schools can be further divided into those which receive aid from the government and those which do not. The former are subject to greater government control through the grant in aid code. The private unaided schools depend on fees as an important source of income and consequently draw their students from the middle and upper classes.

III

~~The following~~ table shows the role of different types of management in the running of schools at the different levels of general school education.

17. Govt. of India (1972) p. 472.

Table III - Schools For General Education
in India by Type of Management
1967-68¹⁸

Schools for General Education	Number of Institutions				Total
	Government	Local Bodies	Private Bodies Aided	Private Bodies Unaided	
Primary/ Pre-Basic	521	436	2086	531	3,574
	14.6%	12.2%	58.4%	14.8%	100%
(Lower) Primary/ Junior Basic	78,303	258,330	58,536	4128	3,99,297
	19.6%	64.7%	14.7%	1.0%	100%
Middle/Senior Basic (Higher Primary)	17,882	43,411	17,843	3787	82,923
	2.15%	52.4%	21.5%	4.6%	100%
Higher/ Higher Secondary	5648	5309	18,952	1,800	31,709
	17.8%	16.75%	59.8 %	5.7 %	100%
Total	102,354	307,486	97,417	10,246	517,503
	19.8%	59.4%	18.9%	2.0%	100%

18. Govt.of India (1975) op.cit. pp. 70-73

At the pre primary stage, private enterprise plays a very important role in the running of the schools. The government, with its limited funds is primarily concerned with fulfilling the Constitutional Directive of making primary schooling universal. Hence government and local bodies at this level run only 14.6% and 12.2% of the schools respectively. However government does realise the importance of nursery education and hence gives to financial aid to most of the private schools at this level.

Since local bodies are entrusted with the task of making primary schooling universal, the majority of the schools at the lower primary level (64.7%) and higher primary level (52.3%) are run by them. At the secondary level private enterprise again plays an important role. However most of the private schools are aided by the government.

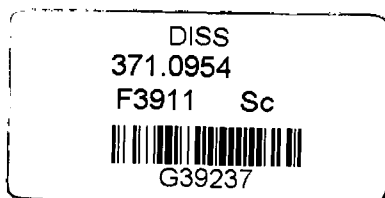
The important role played by private enterprise is a particular feature of the Indian school system. It has a historical background. At the time of the famous Wood's Despatch of 1854 private enterprise which was particularly in the form of missionary enterprise played an important role in the running of the limited educational institutions imparting western education. The Dispatch did not seek to reduce the role but instead encouraged the role of private enterprise to help the British Government in the task of spreading education to the masses. It recommended a system of grant-in-aid should be adopted towards these institutions; that no government schools should be set up in future in any district which had a sufficient number of private and local body institutions capable with government grant of supplying the local

demand for education. This encouraged the growth of private schools run by missionaries and to an even greater extent those run by Indians.¹⁹

We were not able to find data on the distribution of schools run by different managements between urban and rural areas. However we can reasonably say the following: since private unaided schools depend on fees as an important source of income, they are ~~not~~ most likely to be concentrated in the urban areas. Similarly a larger proportion of private aided schools would be in the urban areas. A private aided school does not receive government aid from the moment it is established. It has to begin as an unaided school and then apply for aid. Government gives aid to those recognised schools which deserve it. Since they have to begin as unaided they are more likely to be started in the urban areas. By contrast, government and local bodies, which run the majority of the schools at the lower and higher primary levels, would have a larger proportion of their schools in the rural areas given the fact that about 70% of our population live in the rural areas.

Since we found that a larger proportion of small sized schools are found in the rural areas, and if a larger proportion of government and local body schools are also found in the rural areas, we could say that Government schools and schools run by

19. Nurullah, S and Naik, J.P. (1951) in Halbar, B.G. and Madan, T.N; Caste and Educational Institutions in Mysore State mimeographed copy.



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District School Boards, Zila Parishads and Panchayat Samitis tend to be small sized when compared with those run by Municipal Boards or private bodies.

In the case of government schools management vests in the officers of the Department of Education whereas in the case of local body and private schools management members are either elected or nominated. The Department of Education being a bureaucracy, its officers are formally appointed on the basis of their educational qualifications and prior administrative or teaching experience. While in local body or private schools where recruitment is based on election or nomination, factors like the individual's wealth status or influence, rather than his academic qualities may be taken into consideration. This implies that there are greater chances of conflict between the management and the school administrator in the case of local body and private schools because in the former two the management are generally laymen while the administrator is a professional.

The Department of Education and the local school board (except where it is the Panchayat Samiti) run a number of schools. Hence in these two types of schools a number of schools share the same management. In the case of private schools the 'Rules of Recognition' by the Department of Education require that each school should have its own management committee. This means that there is less scope for interaction between management and staff in the government and local body schools as compared to the private schools. However because these schools are generally small sized there will be greater interaction between the other school personnel within the school unit. It also means that

the staff in government and local body schools can be transferred to other schools run by the government or the school board respectively. In fact this is one of the conditions for work in these two types of schools. In private schools the possibility of transfer does not normally exist.

In the case of government schools, the Principal is an officer of the Department of Education. Although he functions as 'head of the school' he is under the administrative control of the Zonal Education Officer of the area in which the school is located (as in Delhi)²⁰. In the case of local body schools, although the Principal is responsible for the operation of his school unit, he is subject to the control of a higher education officer like the Education Extension Officer (E.E.O.) who is responsible to the local board for the working of the school system which it runs.²¹ In private schools, the principal is responsible to the Management Committee. In order that there may be greater communication between the management and the head of the school, the principal is expected to be an ex officio member of the Management Committee.²² These are some of the particular structural features of the schools run by different types of management.

20. See Delhi Education Code (1965) issued by Director of Education, Delhi Administration, Delhi

21. Oad, L.K. 'Democratic, Decentralization and its Impact on Education in Ruhela', S.P. (ed) (1969) Social Determination of Educatibility in India Jain Brothers, New Delhi, p. 117.

22. Delhi Education Code op.cit.

Our picture of the ~~st~~ formal structure of schools will not be complete if we do not mention the formal control exercised ^{by} ~~in~~ the State ^{over} schools. School education being a 'state subject' the State Government through its three official structures - the State Ministry of Education, the Department of Education and the Secondary School Certificate Examination Board exercise control over schools. The Ministry of Education is primarily concerned with policymaking, and for this purpose collects statistics on educational institutions. It works in collaboration with the Central Ministry of Education. The Department of Education is the executive body. It administers the policy and controls the school system. It 'recognizes' private schools which fulfil the 'conditions for recognition' and it gives aid to those which deserve it. Those who receive aid are bound by the Grant-in-aid Code which specifies in detail the rights and responsibilities of the different functionaries of the school. The inspecting staff of the Education Department inspect and supervise the working of schools. (Where primary education has been completely decentralised its inspecting staff has been lent to local school boards and these inspect the primary schools (~~Where-primary-education-has-been~~ which are under the jurisdiction of these boards). If private schools do not maintain reasonable standards of efficiency then the 'recognition' or grant-in-aid given by the Department is withdrawn. The Examination Board prescribes the syllabus and conducts a public examination at the end of the secondary/higher secondary stage.²³ The impact

23. Some of schools follow the syllabus prescribed by the All India Higher Secondary Board or the Indian School Certificate Board and their students sit for the Examination conducted by these boards.

of these controls on the working of the school will be discussed in the next chapter.

The formal structure also provides for interaction with parents through the formation of a Parent Teacher Association and the organization of parent-teacher meetings. The working of the Parent Teacher Association and the extent of interaction between parents and teachers will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Every ~~formal~~ formal organisation has a informal aspect to it. Individuals who are recruited to formal role positions also bring with them their latent status characteristics like age, sex and social background. These not only affect formal relations but also informal relations which run parallel to the formal structure and which are described as the 'under life' of the organization. These latent status characteristics may be an important basis for the formation of informal networks which often extend to outsiders. Those involved in the network may use their 'contracts' to obtain favours for themselves or their friends. For the sake of convenience we shall discuss the latent status characteristics in Section A of the next chapter while dealing with the recruitment of school personnel.

CHAPTER III

FUNCTIONAL REQUISITES OF THE SCHOOL

In the previous chapter we have discussed the important structural features of schools. Within the structural framework, processes of social interaction takes place. We have identified four important processes of interaction which are necessary for the continued existence of the school and hence we call them 'functional requisites'. These are : 1) Obtaining resources for the School; 2) Decision making and control; 3) Integration; and 4) Socialization. We shall discuss each of these in turn.

A. Obtaining Resources for the school :-

It is necessary to obtain human and material resources if the school is to attain its goal of imparting education to the young members of the society. We shall consider the obtaining of human resources first.

The Management:- In government schools management vests with the impersonal Department of Education bureaucracy whose officers are recruited formally on the basis of merits and competence. In local body schools, school board members are elected by the local community or nominated by the elected members. In private schools the management committee includes members of educational societies (often formed by castes or religious groups) who are elected or nominated to the Management Committee or those who have the necessary finances and wish to start a school form a registered trust on which they may nominate other members as well. In private aided schools the Management Committee includes a representative of the Department of Education.

Since members of the management in local body and private schools are not recruited specifically on the basis of their educational qualifications it would be relevant to find out their educational qualifications. It is possible that those who are better educated are more likely to agree with their school administrators in the matter of school policies. An even more important factor to be considered may be the motivations for becoming members of the management. In Gross, Mason and McEachern's study of Massachusetts school superintendents' role, superintendents classified their school board members as seeking election for 3 different motivations: 'civic duty', 'represents some group', or obtaining political experience'. According to the superintendents, those motivated by 'civic duty' were more likely to conform to professional standards in decision making and thus agree with them.¹

Officers of the Department of Education are likely to be heterogenous in their social composition since the government normally does not discriminate between caste and community but applies universalistic criteria of merit and competence. (Exceptional cases are Tamilnadu where Tamilians are given preference for jobs). According to T.N. Madan and B.G. Halbar²

1. Gross, N. Mason, W.S. and McEachern, A.W. (1958) Explorations in role analysis: Studies of the school superintendency role. John Wiley and Sons, New York.

2. Halbar, B.G. and Madan, T.N op.cit.

membership of local school boards tends to reflect the numerical strength of each caste or community in the local community. Even Scheduled castes are represented where this is a statutory requirement. In private schools an overwhelming majority of the members belong to the caste or communal groups which set up the schools. Thus while members of the management in government and local body schools tend to be heterogenous in the social composition those in private schools tend to be homogenous. While government and local bodies are more democratic in their recruitment, private bodies tend to more communalistic. This pattern is even reflected in their recruitment of staff as we shall see a little later. However, here we may point out that private schools are a heterogenous category. Public schools for instance, are not communalistic in their recruitment of management members. They have influential or distinguished men like business men, educationists, professionals, members of Parliament and defence services' officers in their Board of Governors.³

The Principal :- The principal, teachers and administrative staff are recruited by or on behalf of the management. Unlike the management these personnel are formally recruited on the basis of their educational qualifications. Hence in the case of the principal it is necessary to know whether schools are able to obtain principals with the required educational qualifications.

3. See De-souza, A (1976) Indian Public Schools : A Sociological Study Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

We have not come across any large scale study on the educational qualifications of headmasters as there in the case of teachers.⁴ However, smaller studies such as those made by S.K.Singh of private schools⁵ and D.C. Sharma of government schools⁶ show that headmasters fulfil more than the desirable qualifications particularly in the case of government schools.

Madan and Halbar's study shows that headmasters and other staff in the private school are also recruited on communalistic lines - the majority of them belong to the same caste or community as that of the majority of the members, but this is not so in government or local body schools. Thus they show that the particularistic policy followed in the recruitment of management members is also followed in the recruitment of school personnel in private schools. Recruiting staff from the same caste or communal background would help the management to achieve the

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4. For instance there is the Second All India Educational Survey (1967) which deals with teachers and also Gore, M.S., D.P.Desai, I.P., and Chitnis, S. (1970) Field Studies in the Sociology of Education which has a section on school teachers.
 5. Singh, S.K. The Administrative Problems of the Headmasters of Private Schools of Agra Division M.Ed. dissertation, Central Institute of Education, Delhi University.
 6. Sharma, D.C. The Administrative Problems of the Headmasters of Government Secondary and Higher Secondary Schools of Alwar District in Rajasthan M.Ed. dissertation, Central Institute of Education, Delhi University.

(often unstated⁷ goal of helping in the education of children belonging mainly to their own caste or communal group. Many of the private schools studied by Madan and Halbar were aided and hence were required by the grant-in-aid code to have a representative of the Department of Education on their selection committee for the recruitment of staff. It is significant that in spite of this, a particularistic policy has been followed.

In the case of government schools, where the principal is considered an officer of the Department of Education, recruitment of principal is done by the Union Public Service Commission. It is unlikely that an impersonal bureaucracy would recruit the principal on particularistic lines.

The Vice-Principal :- A Vice-Principal is recruited in a large school to assist the principal. While a principal may be recruited from among the staff of the school or from another school, the vice-principal is always ~~is~~ from among the senior teachers of the school. It involves a promotion rather than direct recruitment. Most schools being small sized would not have the position of a vice-principal.

The Teachers :- Are schools able to obtain teachers with the necessary educational qualifications and good academic ability? The Second All India Educational Survey provides information on the percentage of teachers fulfilling the minimum desirable

7. After Independence, government decided not to give aid to non-secular institutions. Hence these schools could not openly state that were communalistic if they wanted to get aid from the government.

qualifications at the lower and higher primary and secondary levels in schools run by different types of management. At the lower primary stage the minimum desirable qualifications are matriculation and teachers training certificate. At the higher primary stage minimum desirable qualifications are not clear. While some argue that teachers with matriculation and teachers training can deliver the goods, others prefer trained graduates. The Education Commission 1964-66 has recommended that, while the bulk of teachers at the primary stage should have passed secondary school and received a training certificate, there should be a few trained graduates as well.⁸

Hence the Table IV shows the percentage of those with matriculation and training as well as trained graduates at the higher primary stage. At the secondary stage the Education Commission 1964-66 recommended that a teacher should be a trained graduate at the lower secondary stage and a post graduate (preferably trained) at the higher secondary stage.⁹ The Survey however has studied only the percentage of secondary school teachers who are trained graduates.

The table shows that quite a large percentage of teachers do not possess the minimum desirable qualifications. One reason for this could be that school teaching is a semi profession and has a lower status than professions like medicine or law.¹⁰

8. Government of India (1972) p. 96

9. Ibid. p.

10. According to the findings of the field studies of teachers in eight States of India, a majority of primary and secondary teachers place themselves at the middle level in the social hierarchy. Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis S. (1970) op.cit.

Besides, the salaries and working conditions are poor. All this has failed to draw enough people to the teaching profession. Another reason is the tremendous expansion in social education particularly at the lower primary stage. The supply of teachers has not been able to meet the sudden increased demand hence in several cases those without the minimum qualifications had to be recruited. Local bodies which have been primarily entrusted with the task of making primary education universal and run about 65% of the schools at the lower primary stage have the largest percentage of teachers without the required qualifications at the lower primary stage. However, at the other stages of school education local bodies have a large percentage of teachers with the required qualifications as compared to private aided and un-aided schools. Government schools have the largest percentage of teachers with the required qualifications.

Table IV

Percentage of Teachers Fulfilling the Minimum Desirable Qualifications at Each Level by Type of Management

	<u>LOWER PRIMARY</u>			<u>HIGHER PRIMARY</u>			<u>SECONDARY</u>		
	Matriculation with teacher training			Matriculation with teacher training			Trained graduates		
GOVERNMENT	Rural	52.03		Rural	73.43	Rural	22.04	Rural	73.8
	Urban	54.30		Urban	76.44	Urban	27.68	Urban	73.3
	All Areas	52.55		All Areas	74.53	All Areas	24.10	All Areas	73.5
LOCAL BODY	Rural	23.83		Rural	59.37	Rural	6.39	Rural	61.2
	Urban	34.44		Urban	71.17	Urban	17.05	Urban	70.3
	All Areas	25.59		All Areas	62.68	All Areas	9.38	All Areas	65.5
PRIVATE AIDED	Rural	36.98		Rural	52.91	Rural	14.57	Rural	47.4
	Urban	32.62		Urban	69.03	Urban	22.81	Urban	64.0
	All Areas	35.41		All Areas	59.98	All Areas	18.18	All Areas	55.9
PRIVATE UNAIDED	Rural	10.43		Rural	30.48	Rural	13.99	Rural	28.0
	Urban	41.27		Urban	56.54	Urban	30.16	Urban	60.7
	All Areas	33.29		All Areas	42.34	All Areas	21.35	All Areas	50.0
TOTAL	Rural	31.12		Rural	59.77	Rural	13.04	Rural	53.5
	Urban	38.27		Urban	70.85	Urban	22.74	Urban	66.8
	All Areas	32.70		All Areas	63.81	All Areas	16.58	All Areas	60.6

The extent to which universalistic criteria are applied in the recruitment of staff can be partly explained in terms of the size of the school system and partly in terms of the democratic/communalistic policy followed in the recruitment of management. After all the staff recruited by or on behalf of the management. Usually the larger the size of the school system run by the management the greater the extent to which universalistic criteria are applied to ensure uniformity in a bureaucratic impersonal system. The relation between size of school system, social composition of management and the degree to which universalistic criteria are applied in different types of schools is shown in Table V.

Table V.

Type of Management	Size of school system	Social composition of management	Degree to which universalistic criteria are applied	Ranking of types of management in terms of Percentage of teachers fulfilling required educational qualifications.
Government	Large	Heterogenous	High	I (Highest)
Local Body	Medium	Heterogenous	Medium	II
Private aided	Small	Homogenous	Low	III
Private unaided	Small	Homogenous	Very low	IV (Highest)

The Department of Education which runs schools all over the State would be running a large school system and hence universalistic criteria for recruitment of staff would be more strictly enforced. Besides the social composition of the officers of the Department of Education would be heterogenous which would show the democratic policy followed in the recruitment. (Exceptional cases are states like Tamil Nadu where preference is given to Tamilians) Since the degree to which universalistic criteria are applied is usually high government schools rank first in terms of percentage of teachers fulfilling the required educational qualifications. A local body which runs schools only in the local area, would, compared with the school system run by the Department of Education, be running a medium sized school system and hence the enforcement of bureaucratic rules would be less strict than in government schools. Therefore, local body schools except at the lower primary stage (where the considerable expansion on the one hand and the insufficient supply of qualified teachers on the other made it necessary to recruit unqualified teachers) have the second largest percentage of teachers with the required qualifications. While this would be generally true, there could be a few cases where the school system run by a small state such as the Union Territory of Pondicherry could be smaller than that run by a large district or municipal board. In the latter cases the degree to which universalistic criteria are applied would be higher than that in the small government school system. Further, the social composition of the school board is heterogenous. It tends to reflect the numerical strength of different groups in the local community. It tends to reflect the numerical strength of different groups in the local community.

Hence given the heterogenous composition of the board it is likely that no special preference would be given to any particular group, while recruiting the staff. As Madan and Halbar's study has shown teachers belong to different castes although the culturally and educationally more advanced castes like the Brahmins and lingayats are better represented. However he has not cared to find out whether preference is given by the local school board to teachers belonging to the local area itself in which case recruitment would be less democratic. In the case of private schools where each school is expected to have a management committee, the size of the school system is small and hence less bureaucratized. Further given the fact that in several private schools, an overwhelming majority of the management members have been recruited on the particularistic grounds of caste or community., it is likely that universalistic criteria will play a smaller role. In private aided schools, the grant-in-aid code requires that a representative of the Department of Education should be on the selection committee. No such restriction exists in the case of private unaided schools and hence universalistic criteria would play a still smaller role. In some private unaided schools more emphasis tends to be placed on high intellectual ability rather than the possession of a teacher training diploma/degree.¹¹ Due to these different reasons private unaided schools have the

11. When De Souza asked Headmasters of public schools about the factors they would take into account while selecting the staff he found that high intellectual ability was given preference over the possession of a teacher training diploma or degree. See DeSouza, A. op.cit.

lowest percentage of teachers fulfilling the minimum desirable qualifications which includes a general educational qualification plus professional training.

Schools generally are not able to recruit teachers of high academic ability. In Kerala, Pillai and Nair¹² reported that 79% of the teachers had their bachelor's or Master's degrees with third class. Similarly a national survey of admissions made in 1964-65 to a representative sample of about 140 training colleges, covering over 18,000 candidates, showed that only 29.1 percent of the candidates admitted, had a first or second division in their bachelor's or master's degree. Third divisioners formed 70.9 % of the total admissions.¹³ There are however difference in the academic background of teachers in schools run by different types of management. M. Chanda,¹⁴ who studied six schools in Delhi found that teachers in Group A schools (private unaided) had on the whole, a better academic record in their B.A./B.Sc. when compared with teachers in the Group B (one private aided and two government schools.) Similar findings have been reported by C.M. Bhatia.¹⁵ Partly this may be due to greater emphasis

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12. Pillai, N.P. and Nair, S.R. 'Living Conditions of Graduate Teachers in Kerala' in Ruhela, S.P. (1970) Sociology of the Teaching Profession in India N.C.E.R.T., Delhi. p. 129
 13. Shukla, J.K. 'Professional Preparation of School Teachers in India; Changing Trends' in Ruhela, S.P. Ibid. p. 33
 14. Chanda, M. op.cit.
 15. Bhatia, C.M. (1970) Secondary Schools as Social Institutions in Indian Society M. Litt. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, Delhi University.

placed on high intellectual ability by the management or principal who recruits on behalf of the management, and partly because these schools having greater prestige and paying better salaries are able to attract teachers with a better academic background.

Recruitment to the school involves to some extent a dual process - selection of staff by the school and selection of the school by the teacher. (Some choice exists, inspite of the unemployment problem, particularly for the talented, intelligent teacher.) Before we consider motivations for joining a particular school we may consider motivations for joining the teaching profession itself. The eight field studies¹⁶ have obtained information on how many in their sample took to teaching as their first choice. It was found that in the case of men primary teachers between 45-55% in six states took to teaching as their first choice. In the other two states it was 40% and 70%. The percentage for women primary teachers ranged from 64 - 90%. In the case of secondary men teachers the percentages in five states ranged from 41-47; in the other 3 states from 52-60. In the case of secondary women teachers the percentage; in the other 3xstates fromx percentage ranged from 56-81. Thus the study report concludes that women teachers as distinguished from men, went into teaching as their first choice in larger percentages than men. Primary woem teachers went into teaching as their first choice in larger percentages than secondary women teachers.

The reason for this may be 1) with their higher education more jobs are open to secondary teachers as compared to primary

16. Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis, S. (197) op.cit. p. 226.

teachers. 2) School teaching is ~~xxxx~~ considered a prestigious occupation for women rather than men. It is one of the few socially accepted occupations for educated women. With regard to the selection of the particular school, there may be various reasons. A teacher belonging to a particular caste or community may prefer to apply for a post in a school run by the same caste or community to which he belongs knowing he will be given preference in selection over candidates from other communities. A teacher may apply in a private unaided school because it is more prestigious. On the other, a teacher may prefer a government school or a private aided school there is greater job security. Or he may feel more comfortable in the company of teachers belonging to own class and so on.

W There are certain societal factors over which managements do not have control, which determine the social background characteristics of teachers. Thus the Percentage of men school teachers is much higher than women school teachers. The Percentage increases with teach higher stage of education.¹⁷ This is because education among girls has not been encouraged particularly in the rural areas and among Hindus and Muslims. Consequently there are not enough of women teachers, Among women school teachers, Christians are overrepresented.¹⁸ This is because among Christians, girls have not been generally discriminated in the matter of being educated and further, they are less restricted

17. Second All India Education Survey (1967) op.cit.

18. Gore, M.S. Desi, I.P. and Chitnis, S. et al (1970) op.cit. pp. 183-187.

in their taking to gainful occupations. Again, lower castes do not have a tradition for learning and because they are also economically poor to be represented in the teaching profession. This is particularly true at the secondary level (where higher qualifications are required for teaching) and of women teacher rather than of men teachers.¹⁹ (If men are less educated among the lower castes, their women folk would be even less.)

Teachers also tend to come from average economic circumstances. However those teaching in public schools tend to come from a somewhat better economic background when compared to those teaching in government or private aided schools. Thus M. Chanda in her study found that those who taught in Group A schools came from an upper middle class and middle class background while those who taught in Group B generally came from a lower middle-class background.²⁰ Perhaps those from a lower middle class background feel that they will be out of place in public schools where students come from an upper middle and upper class background.

Again since government and local body schools are generally regional medium schools their staff tend to be 'local' people. On the other hand, since many of the public schools are English medium schools their staff tends to be drawn from different parts of the country. That is, it tends to be cosmopolitan and hence exposed to ideas, values and norms which are different from their own. In the process of socialization

19. Ibid. pp. 189-191.

20. Chanda, M. op.cit.

these 'cosmopolitan' teachers would be in a better position to expose their students to the ideas and values of the wider society.

The Students :- There is a basic difference between the recruitment of staff and students. While the former are recruited formally on the basis of their achievement (educational qualifications), the latter enter the school system because they are of a certain age and have to remain in it until they are of a certain age because legislation demands it.²¹ The Constitutional Directive makes primary education from the ages of 6-14 free and compulsory. For this purpose our policy makers decided that a lower primary school should be established within the radius of one mile from the home of every child while higher primary schools should be established within the radius of 3 miles from the home of every child. The existence of small inhabitations in rural areas has made this task difficult. ---- However as the Second All India Educational Survey shows, this facility has been more or less provided at the lower primary stage, although some thing more needs to be done at the higher primary stage. Although student enrolment has increased considerably, quite a large percentage of children particularly girls are not in school.²² Table VI shows this.²³

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21. This is true of Govt. and Local Body schools. In private schools, known for providing good quality education, there is a great rush for admission while seats are limited. Hence an admission test is given. Further, a child who has failed twice in the same class is asked to leave the school. Also, private unaided schools cater only to the well-to-do.
22. In fact the Education Commission observes "...it may well be said that the problem of fulfilling the Constitutional Directive is essentially the problem of educating girls." Govt. of India (1972) op.cit. p. 287
23. Govt. of India (1975) p. 24

Table VI

Classes (with age group in parenthesis)	Percentage of population in the corresponding age groups in schools		
	Boys	Girls	Total
I-V (6-11)	96.3	59.2	78.2
VI - VIII (11-14)	46.5	18.8	33.0
IX - XI/XII (14-17)	26.2	8.8	17.7

The problem of student enrolment and retention is more important at the primary than at the secondary or preprimary stages. This is because our government wishes to fulfil the Constitutional Directive of making primary schooling free and compulsory. However, while education at the lower primary stage is almost entirely free, at the higher primary stage fees play a significant role (At the secondary and preprimary stages where access is voluntary fees play an important role.) The problem of making primary education universal is not so much fees as the private costs - the most important being that children will not be a source of economic help to their poor parents while they are in school (although with a school education they could contribute more later).

Since enrolment among girls is considerably less as compared to boys at each higher stage of education, it would be relevant to examine some of the social causes for this.

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Sindhu Phadke has discussed some of the more important social causes responsible for the low enrolment among girls. She

24. Phadke, S. 'Special Problems of the Education of Women' in Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P., Chitnis (1967) Papers in the Sociology of Education in India N.C.E.R.T., pp. 173-199

points out that the low enrolment of girls in schools is related to the low position accorded to them by traditional society. Further, that although the Constitution of India assures completely equality to both sexes, traditional attitudes are hard to die out. The low position she points out, was reflected in customs relating to marriage, property, concepts of women's role in the family, basic attitudes with respect to the social image of woman, etc.

In Indian families, she points out, girls are expected to assume responsibility for house-work at a relatively early age. Even in ordinary circumstances the role expectation of girls is that they share the house-keeping chores along with their mothers. In the case of a family crisis such as the mother's illness or death, therefore, the first victims are the girls and their education may be discontinued. In families where girls are required to spend considerable time in house-work, they cannot find enough time or energy and a conducive environment in the home for coping with their school work. It may lead to poor adjustment and stagnation in school and often withdrawal from school.

Again, since the education of boys is viewed as a preparation for service, parents with limited means would much rather spend money on educating their sons than their daughters. (Even if no fees are charged, there would be private costs like stationary, textbooks, transportation and so on). Furthermore, a girl's education is viewed as relatively unrelated to the responsibilities which devolve on her in adulthood.

Another factor which Phadke has pointed out is the lack of separate schools for girls and boys. Women are segregated from

men in many aspects of social life; this makes parents unwilling to send their daughters to co-educational schools. Parents in rural areas often withdraw their daughters from mixed schools at middle and secondary stages.²⁵ The small number of girls in individual villages cannot sustain a separate girls' school and where such schools exist, they are often located at considerable distances from each other. The reluctance of parents to send girls unescorted over long distances caused apathy or reluctance among parents to send them to school. Not only is there a lack of separate schools for girls but also a lack of women teachers especially in rural areas where they are most needed because rural areas represent a stronghold of traditional values.

So far we have been concerned with student enrolment in general. We shall now consider enrolment in different types of schools. Government and local body schools recruit their students from the area in which they are situated. Private Schools do not have this compulsion. However private aided schools which are regional medium schools also tend to recruit their students from the local area or region. There may even be an over representation of a local caste or community, where members run the school.²⁶ The English medium public (private

25. N.V.Thirtha has similarly pointed out that the cillagers of Pingerla told him that they considered schooling not good for girls above the age of eight because it tends to make them 'loose characters' and also because they were needed for domestic work. See Thirtha, N.V. 'Rural Expectations Concerning Education in India' Teacher Education Vol. 4 July-August 1960.

26. Halbar, B.G. and Madan, T.N.op.cit.

unaided) schools tend to recruit students who belong to different parts of the country. Thus while government, local body and private aided schools tend to be local, those in public schools tend to be commopolitan. Unlike in government or local body schools, in private schools parents have some choice in the selection of school for their children. Hence it would be relevant to know their reasons for choosing the school.

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Since government and local body schools do not charge fees their student chentele comes largely from a lower class background while in private unaided schools which charge high fees, the students come from a upper middle or upper class background. Private aided schools as C.M. Bhatia²⁸ observes fall somewhere in the middle, Although fees may not be charged students' parents have to make various contributions such as to the student fund, endowment fund and so on. Since these schools are more prestiguous than government or local body schools, lower middle and middle class parents who cannot afford to send their children to public schools, prefer to send them to private aided schools.

Table VII brings together data on class background of teachers and students in different types of schools.

Table VII

	Teachers	Students
Government	Lower middle and middle	Lower
Local body	Lower middle and Middle	Lower
Private aided	Lower middle and Middle	Lower middle and Middle
Private Unaided	Middle and UpperMiddle	Upper middle and Upper

The table shows that there is a greater difference in class background of teachers and students in government and local body schools. This would probably create a greater social distance between teachers and students in government and local body schools. Again students in these schools would find difficult to inculcate the middle class values imparted by the teachers. This would create problems for integration which we shall discuss in Section C.

Material Resources :- The school requires funds to pay its staff as well as provide physical plant facilities, give scholarships to deserving students and so on. Government schools are financed almost entirely by the government. Local body schools are financed largely from aid given by government. Local funds collected by levying a cess on land and buildings is a significant source. Since land and building taxes are high in the urban areas and municipalities can collect quite a lot of money from these taxes, the State gives less aid to Municipal or Cantonment Boards. Consequently in these boards, local funds are an important source. Private aided schools are financed largely from government funds. Endowments and donations play a limited role. In the case of government local body and private aided schools fees play an insignificant role. Private unaided schools depend heavily on fees and to a more limited extent on donations, endowments and so on. Schools which are more dependent on government aid face greater control from the Department of Education. Private unaided schools

on the other hand are more likely to face interference from parents (who pay the tuition fees) and those who give donations or endowments.

Since government and local bodies have to run a number of schools with their limited funds, the physical facilities they they can provide in their schools are poor compared to those that are found in many private schools. In order that poorer children can have access to these better quality schools, the Education Commission 1964-66 suggested that government should extent its financial support to all private recognised schools which do not wish to remain 'independent'. These schools could then be integrated into a common school system which provides free school education.²⁷ A major step has been taken in this direction.

B. Decision Making and Control:

Having obtained the human and material resources, it is necessary to see that these resources are used effectively for achieving the specific goals of the school. For this purpose role positions (asin any other formal organization) are arranged in a administrative heirarchy based on authority which gives scope for decision making and control. Although important decisions are made at the top and thus overall control is exercised, some decisions are made at different levels of the organization. Thus the principal would have to take some decisions when implementing the policy formulated by the management

and in the day to day running of the school of which he is in charge. Before we discuss decision making and control at the different levels of the school organization, we must consider the formal control exercised by the State educational system over the functioning of the school.

State control of schools :- Since school education is a 'state subject', it is the State government which primarily exercises control. The role of the Centre is limited. It functions in an advisory and coordinating capacity to improve educational standards and to bring about some uniformity in the educational systems of different states so that a national system of education can be developed. It has set up organizations like the Central Advisory Board, National Institute of Education and National Council of Educational Research and Training to provide the State Department of Education with expert advice. It has from time to time set up education commission like the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) and the Kothari Commission (1964-66) to make policy recommendations. These are discussed at the annual State Education Ministers' meeting. In so far as state government are guided by these recommendations they are to some extent controlled by the Central Government.

The State government exercises certain controls through decision-making. Firstly there are detailed regulations of the state Department of Education concerning the running of the school. These rules exist not only for government and local body schools but also private aided schools which have to abide by a Grant-in-Aid Code. Private unaided schools are not hampered by any rigid Department rules though they have to abide by certain 'Conditions for Recognition'.

To see that department regulations and conditions for recognition are fulfilled, a periodic inspection of schools is carried out by the inspection staff of the Department of Education (or the local school board where primary education in the area is completely decentralised). The sanctions held out against malfunctioning are loss of grant-in-aid or recognition.

These sanctions exist only for private schools and yet government schools too can be run badly. The Education Commission 1964-66 therefore has rightly suggested that government schools should be transferred to local authorities, and both local body and private schools should continuously work to deserve recognition and aid from the Department. The inspection officer should be directly responsible to the District Education Officer of the Department of Education and not to the local school board.³⁰

Apart from exercising control over the administration of the school, the state exercises control over what is taught. External examinations are an important level of control. The State Board of Secondary Education conducts an examination for most students at the end of the secondary stage.³¹ In some states students have also to appear for an external examination at the end of the higher primary or middle stage. To ensure uniformity courses of study are prescribed in detail. The

30. Ibid. p. 472.

31. Central government schools and English medium private unaided schools prepare their students for examinations conducted by other boards such as the All India Higher Secondary Board and Council of Indian School Certificate. But these schools are very few in the country.

textbooks that are prescribed are written or selected by the Textbook Committee in the Department of Education. The inspection staff sees to it that the entire course is covered. We shall discuss the effects of state control on the management, the principal, and the teachers.

The Management :- Although the management is the formal policy-making body for the school, its policies are subject to the approval of the Department of Education. Managements in unaided schools have greater scope for decision making than those which receive aid from the government. Take the case of recruitment of staff for instance - unaided schools are free to select their teachers so long as these fulfil the minimum qualifications. In the case of aided schools the grant-in-aid code requires that a representative of the Department of Education should be present on the selection board. A look at the grant-in-aid code shows that Department regulations tend to reduce the lay control of the management and correspondingly increase the scope for decision making by the principal. However managements often trespass the decision making boundaries of principals and teachers. The problem of boundary maintenance of the different functionaries, and for the school as a whole against outsiders shall be discussed at the end of this section.

The Principal :- The headmaster or the principal is concerned with the day to day running of the school. Unfortunately because decision-making in the educational bureaucracy is so centralized, the principal in government and local body schools, does not have sufficient authority to make decisions which affect

the day to day running of the school. An example of this has been given by the Education Commission 1964-66. "The headmasters (of government schools) are not always consulted with regard to the transfers of staff from or to their schools; they are not generally involved in the selection of their assistants, they have no authority to fill short-term vacancies in their institutions, with the result that these posts remain unfilled for days together; and in several cases, even the necessary authority to control assistants is not given, and if an assistant does not behave, the headmaster can do little beyond 'reporting' to the appropriate authorities. If schools are to improve, this situation has to be radically changed. The general principle should be able to select the headmasters carefully, to train them properly, to trust them fully and to vest them with necessary authority. They might commit mistakes - as all human beings do. But unless the freedom to commit mistakes is given, no headmaster will be able to take deep interest in the school and in its improvement. See Patel, K. and Verstrachten A (1972) What They Think Jesuit Educational Association, Delhi p. 9. In private schools, the department should insist that the management should delegate similar and adequate powers to the headmasters to enable them to manage the institutions properly.

Headmasters of schools which are members of The Indian Public Schools Conference are generally given wide powers by the management for running the schools. A Desouza in his study .

of public schools points out that the headmaster is recruited with the utmost care. Generally those who have had experience of teaching in public schools and who have held positions like that of house master ~~and~~ are considered. Once appointed, the headmaster is given considerable independence in the running of the school.³³ Similarly in Christian Mission schools where the principal generally belongs to the same missionary society as those who run the school, the principal is given considerable powers because he is expected to keep the objectives and ideas of the missionary society in mind while discharging his duties³⁴ and he can always be replaced by another member of the society.

The teachers are trained professionals and although subject to the authority of the principal can be of help to him in the running of the school. This brings us to a consideration of the notion of democratic administration. With a view to finding out how far school administration was democratic, the eight field studies³⁵ asked its sample of teachers, the following questions: a) Whether staff meetings were held regularly in their institutions b) Whether or not the teachers felt free to discuss all matters at such meetings c) Whether or not the decisions taken in these meetings were implemented.

With regard to the frequency of staff meetings, it was found that the largest percentage of secondary teachers in every

33. Desouza, A op.cit.

34. This has been suggested in the case of Jesuit schools which are type of Christian Missionary Schools. See Batel, k and Veratracten, A (1972) What They Think Jesuit Educational Association, Delhi p. 9.

35. Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis, I.P (1970) op.cit.

state said they were held (as and when required'. The second largest percentage said they were held regularly, while the smallest percentage of secondary teachers said that they were rarely held. In the case of primary school teachers on the other hand, the largest percentage said meetings were held regularly, the second largest percentage said meetings were held as and when required, while the smallest percentage of primary teachers said meetings were held rarely. The data thus shows that a large number of school teachers are involved in the discussion of school problems by the heads of schools. However this appears to be more true of primary schools than secondary schools.

Even though meetings are held regularly, or as and when required, they could still be only a formality and the teachers may just consent to what the head proposes. In such a case teachers would not have a feeling of involvement in school administration. Hence teachers were asked whether they felt free to discuss all matters at staff meetings. It was found that in the case of men secondary teachers between 35 and 50 percent said they 'sometimes' felt free to discuss all matters. Those who said 'most often' varied between 28 and 40 percent in the eight states. In the case of women secondary teachers, between 33 and 59 percent said they felt free 'sometimes' to discuss all matters. Between 29 and 51 percent women secondary teachers reported they felt 'most often' free to discuss all matters. From this it would appear that a smaller percentage of secondary teachers feel free 'most often' to discuss matters as compared to those among them who feel free only 'sometimes'.

In the case of primary teachers the distribution of answers 'most often' and 'sometimes' is quite different. In every state, the largest percentage of men primary teachers said they 'most often felt free to discuss matters at staff meetings. This percentage is substantially larger than the percentage of secondary men teachers, who said 'most often'. In the case of women primary teachers, only in four states is the percentage of those who said 'most often' more than those who said 'sometimes'. Again, only in five states is the percentage of primary teachers who reported they felt free 'most often', larger than secondary women teachers who said so.

As regards the implementation of decisions ~~was~~ taken at staff meetings, the field study report gives the following findings : 1) In the case of secondary teachers the percentage of those who said they (decisions) are 'sometimes' implemented is larger than those who said 'always'.

In the case of primary teachers on the other hand, the largest said that decisions taken at staff meetings were 'always' implemented.

On the basis of its findings, the report ~~is~~ concludes that 1) the administrator-teacher relationship is more formalised at the primary stage than at the secondary stage ii) Primary schools are more 'democratic' than secondary schools ; and iii) primary school teachers are more involved in school administration than secondary school teachers.

Certain comments may be made on the above conclusions. The number of teachers in a school may determine whether staff

meetings need to be held regularly or as and when required. Where there are a few teachers a principal may meet his teachers informally and discuss school problems with them so that there is no need to hold formal staff meetings regularly. In such a case the absence of regular staff meetings cannot be taken to mean that teachers are not involved in school administration. Again, no information has been sought on the nature of these staff meetings and what is discussed in them, It could be possible that only less important matters are discussed during staff meetings and decisions taken about them are implemented, while decisions in major matters are taken solely by the principal without consulting his colleagues, or by the principal consulting the management, or by the management itself in the case of schools where the management is powerful.

The Teachers :- We have pointed out earlier that the Department of Education and the State Board of Secondary Education exercises control over what is taught by prescribing courses of study and text books, by conducting external examinations for students, and periodic inspection of the school which includes teachers' work as well. Kale has examined the effects of these controls on the teacher's role. The courses of study prescribed are fairly heavy, according to the teachers in Kale's sample, and in order that the courses may be completed, teachers have to "tell them (students) about things rather than discuss with them". They are unable to use the 'direct method' that they had learnt at the teacher training colleges, because it is based in "raising questions" and

extracting answers from students", which is too time consuming and leaves little time to finish the course. The inspection staff too insist that the entire course is covered. Thus "finishing portions" rather than getting students enthused about learning the subject becomes the main concern.³⁶

The text books prescribed have to be done thoroughly because paper setters and examiners appointed by the board do not go beyond the text books. This discouraged teachers from using books other than text books while teaching. Teachers in Kale's sample found some complaints about the text books. For instance science and mathematics teachers felt that changes are not made in the textbooks to keep up with the latest approaches and discoveries. One teacher said "If you teach them some of these new things you have to tell them that they are not meant for the examination...If the external examiners are aware of the new developments they may appreciate some different answers from a few students. But you never know. So you must prepare them for the examination".³⁷

Thus the rigid standardization of the syllabus, textbooks, examinations and inspection reduces the freedom and authority of the teachers who generally claim to be professionals. But is school teaching a profession?

36. Kale, p. op.cit. pp. 19-21.

37. Ibid. p. 18.

Most definitions of a profession (which keep in mind the established professions of medicine and law) would include the following criteria : 1) the performance of a service to the public 2) The possession of a unique body of scientific knowledge and technical skill 3) the requirement of a highly specialized and usually formal preparation 4) the regulation of standards for the admission to practice by members of the profession 5) the organization of practitioners into comprehensive professional groups that maintain high standards of conduct and ethics.

Examining school teaching against these criteria many social scientists like P.W. Musgrave,³⁸ D. Westly-Gibson³⁹ admit that school teaching does not fully meet the criteria for recognition as a profession, but, it has made and is making much progress in making much progress in that direction. In the Indian situation, a fairly percentage of school teachers particularly at the lower primary level) not fulfilling the minimum desirable qualification, with teacher organizations being limited in membership funds and being more concerned with teachers' welfare rather than raising professional standards, school teaching has even a lesser claim to being a profession.⁴⁰ Sunitee Dutt admits this but suggests ways in which teaching can be made a profession.

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38. Musgrave, P.W. (1972) Sociology of Education Methuen & Co. London.
39. Westly-Gibson, D. op.cit. pp. 22-23.
40. Dutt, S 'Towards a True Profession of Teaching' in Ruhela, S.P. (ed) (1970) op.cit.

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On the other hand Etzioni holds that school teaching cannot become a profession like medicine or law are. He prefers to call teaching as well as other occupations like nursing and social work semiprofessions. He feels that teachers should accept the position that theirs is a semiprofession and seek to improve their statu and prestige in relation to the professions, by increase of their year of formal preparation, by working through their teacher organizations for the improvement of educational standards rather than salaries and working conditions and so on.

Whether teachers are professionals or semiprofessionals one has to grant that they are not ordinary bureaucratic employees like for instance the clerical staff and hence although subject to some bureaucratic rules they require a certain amount of autonomy based on their professional competence.

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In England for instance, S. Shukla points out that school teachers have greater freedom in the construction of the syllabus even though they have to prepare their students for a uniform external examination. In India the rigid standardization of text books and syllabus by the Department of Education and the Examination Board is partly due to the tradition of respect for centralized authority which grew up during the British period and which continues. Another reason is the low academic quality of the teachers. Given this, it becomes obvious that

41. Etzioni, A (ed) op.cit.

42. Shulka, S. 'Controls and Decision Making in the Educational System' in Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis, S (ed) (1967) pp. 281-307.

not much can be left to the initiative of the teachers. Thirdly teachers who are most aware of the need for autonomy, hardly articulate it. This may be because the majority of them are not members of teacher organizations, which at present are concerned more with teachers' welfare rather than raising professional standards.

The teachers are subject to the authority of the principal. The principal's duties in relation to the teachers is supervisory and coordination of their work. In a large school the principal may be helped in this work, by a vice-principal and faculty heads. Teachers generally accept the authority of the principal. They generally recognize the organizational value of superordination and subordination with the belief that such supervision procedures are necessary for the effectiveness and coordination of teachers' work. At the same time they do not like close supervision.⁴³

In the classroom in relation to the students the teachers authority appears dominative. This is not only because he is the teacher who possess the knowledge he is going to impart to the students, but also because of age - he is an adult and they are children. At the primary stage, apart from the big age difference, the young age of the child makes the authority of the teacher appear overwhelming. As the child moves up to the higher stages not only does the age difference get reduced; but the student becomes more aware of himself which makes the teacher appear less powerful. Moreover at the higher stages students may be given more responsibility in the student government in the school and they may be

consulted by the teacher in certain matters pertaining to them.

The element of authority in the teacher-pupil relationship may be supported more in certain societies than in others. In traditional India the guru is said to have been authoritarian and this was consistent with the authoritarian role played by the head of the family. The guru could be authoritarian because he imparted largely sacred knowledge to the chela which was not amenable to the process of enquiry. Further he was the only source of knowledge in the absence of written texts. Lastly, he could refuse to admit pupils on grounds other than merit. All this made him powerful. Today there have been many changes: Teaching has become open profession and education the right of every child born in society. Further knowledge is continually expanding along several directions and the rate of obsolescence is high. This makes the teacher tentative and his word lose the ring of finality.⁴⁴ This probably gives rise to a less authoritarian style of teaching. For instance when a sample of students in Jesuit schools were asked how they thought the teacher would react if they disagreed with what he said, 26.8 % felt that the teachers would encourage them to speak out in class; 27.7% felt that the teacher would prefer to talk to them after class. Only 8.4% felt the teacher would forbid any disagreement.⁴⁵

The sample of teachers in the Jesuit schools too were asked how they would react if a pupil disagreed with something

44. Gore, M.S. and Desai, I.P. 'The Scope of a Sociology of Education' in Gore M.S. Desai, I.P. & Chitnis S. (1967) op.cit. pp. 20-24.

45. Patel K. and Verstraete. A. op.cit. pp. 78-80.

they said in class - 35.3 % said they encouraged students to speak out in class; 28.9% said they allowed them to speak out in class; 30% asked the students to talk to them after class; only 1.7% of the teachers forbade any disagreement.⁴⁶ This shows that although fewer students as compared to teachers feel that they (students) are encouraged to speak out in class, on the whole teachers in the sample are quite democratic in their teaching style.

Here it must be pointed out that Jesuit schools being private unaided schools, cater mainly to the upper middle and upper classes. As pointed out earlier the social distance between teachers and students in terms of class background in private unaided schools is less than in government or local body schools which cater mainly to the lower classes. Given the big social distance between teachers and students in government and local body schools, it is unlikely that students in these schools would feel free to question the teacher, or the teacher encourage this.

The Students :- We had pointed out that although students are clients of the school they are part of the school - that unless they are admitted to the school, the school can't deal with them. This is unlike say a business organisation, where customers are not part of the organisation although the attitudes and preferences of the customers have an important effect on the business organisation. We had also mentioned that students are at the bottom of the authority structure of the school. This does not

46. Ibid. pp. 290-91.

mean that the students are not involved at all in decision making in the classroom. A teacher with a democratic teaching style may consult her students sometimes particularly at the secondary school stage where students are older and more mature. Apart from this, some students particularly at the higher primary and secondary stages are given positions of authority for maintaining discipline. This not only makes the students more involved in the school but helps to develop leadership qualities in them. In her comparative study of a government school, and a public school M. Chanda⁴⁷ found that there were a larger number of positions of responsibility for students in the public school. The house system was a feature of the public school and hence there were 4 house captains (in addition to a class captain) responsible to 4 house prefects and the head captain at the school level. In addition there were various societies for extra curricular activities organised by the students. Each of these societies had office bearers. Thus the public school seemed more concerned with developing leadership qualities in students. It must be pointed out however, that even in the matter of maintaining discipline and organizing extra-curricular activities students are not left completely on their own but are guided by the principal and the teachers.

The Problem of Boundary Maintenance :- There are two aspects of this problem: 1) Each functionary of the school has to defend his decision, making boundaries against other functionaries of

47. Chanda, M. op.cit.

the school 2) the school has to defend its decision making boundaries against outsiders.

S.P. Ruhela discusses the interference of the management of local body schools in areas which are legally the domain of the headmaster or the teachers. He mentions the case of a headmaster who was immediately transferred to a smaller school in another region because he did not oblige a member of the Zila Parishad by promoting a child who had failed.⁴⁸

One important way to protect one's boundary is to complain to the relevant officer of the Department of Education generally and the E.E.O. (Education Extension Officer) who is the inspector of schools in the area. But then the inspecting staff itself may belong to the Panchayat Raj as in Maharashtra, or be under the dual control of both the State Department of Education and the Panchayat Raf as in Rajasthan and Orissa.⁴⁹ Under such circumstances, the inspecting staff may feel compelled to side with the local board. It is for the reason that the Education Commission recommends that there should be a separation of administration from supervision (Inspection). While the District school Board (Local board) should be concerned with the former, the District Education Officer and his staff (belonging to the State Department) should be concerned with the latter. These two wings should work in close collaboration. But, when differences arise, the last word should lie with the District Education Officer.⁵⁰

48. Ruhela, S.P. and Vyas, K.^C. (1970) op.cit. pp. 228.

49. Oad, L.K. op.cit. p.118.

50. Govt. of India (1972) op.cit. p.471

Headmasters in private schools may face similar interference from their managements. The Grant-in-aid Code we noted earlier, clearly defined the rights and duties of the functionaries of the school. But this has not restricted managements from interfering in the day to day functioning of the school. In her study of the administrative problem of headmasters in 28 private schools in Agra division, S.K.Singh points out that 30% of the sample of headmasters reported interference on the part of the management. This interference concerned matters like condoning shortage of attendance, admission and promotion of students, undue interest in some teachers, interference in the administration of Boy's fund (i.e. compelling the headmaster to loan them money out of the Boy's fund), compelling the headmaster to ask his teachers and students to help in the election campaign if one of the management members was standing for election asking the headmaster to notice off teachers from year to year or even at shorter intervals so that they are not confirmed and consequently not allowed benefits of provident fund (because of the unsound financial position of the management) and so on. This certainly calls for a stricter vigilance on the part of the Education Department Singh however notes that the managements of the two Christian Mission Schools were different from the other private schools. The heads of these mission schools have more powers and responsibilities assigned to them by their missions. Singh feels that this is due to English traditions. Although the schools have passed into Indian hands, she notes, the tradition to uphold the authority of the headmaster continues.⁵¹ Another explanation could be,

51. Singh, S.K.op.cit.

could be, as we have suggested earlier that as the principal belongs to the same missionary society as the management he is given a lot of independence in the running of the school. As pointed out earlier headmaster of schools which are members of the Indian Public Schools Conference are also given considerable powers by their governing bodies.

While discussing the problem of boundary-maintenance we have so far dealt with the first aspect i.e. the interference of one functionary of the school. The data concerning this problem which we have examined mainly deals with the interference of the management in the principal's role or the teacher's role. Those who become members of the management may do so to further their own ambitions rather than in the interest of education. Under such circumstances their interference may be expected.

The other aspect of the problem of boundary maintenance is defending the school from the interference of 'outsiders'. These could be 1) teacher's organisation which may influence decisions regarding teachers' working conditions remuneration and so on. However, in India teachers' organisations are on the whole not very effective. They differ from teachers' organisations in England or the U.S. in terms of size, funds, facilities, and scope of activities as well as the members' military and professional orientation.⁵²

2) Another outsider could be parents. However, Kale from her study of 6 Poona schools found that parents are not really an

52. See Kale, P. op.cit. p.147

important threat to the teacher's authority. Most parents do not have any contact with the teachers throughout the year. It is only from the small group of educated professional parents that the teacher has to be a little alert to parental pressures for good performance and better examination results. He may receive a note from the concerned parent if no home assignment is given for a considerable length of time, etc. But the principle of the teacher's authority is accepted even by this educated, professional parent. Questions are likely to be raised more in the form of suggestions than in the form of challenge by the parent. Most parents come to the school only when their child fails at the end of the year or when there is a problem situation. On such occasions the teacher defends her authority by 1) Citing the rules and regulations formulated by the Department of Education or by the school to support her position and 2) by expecting the principal too back her up.⁵³

B.V. Shah points out other 'outsiders' - local politicians and donors. He is referring mainly to private schools which depend on them for their maintenance and development. These schools have to depend on either a big businessman for donations or on a powerful political for getting the grant from the Government. Due to their dependence on donors and politicians, management succumb to their pressures. Managements in turn expect heads and heads in turn expect teachers to do so.⁵⁴

52- See Kale, P. op.cit. p. 147.

53. Ibid. pp. 63-64.

54. Shah, B.V. op.cit. pp.61

We see from the above that private and local body schools face a greater problem of boundary maintenance as compared to government schools. This is because government schools being part of the educational bureaucracy abide more strictly by rules and regulations. They also do not have to face pressure exercised by donors or by politicians - the government finances its own schools and does not have an elected school board.

To reduce the possibility of interference from these outsiders, more and more private schools are being aided by the government so that they are less dependent on donors. The state does not have funds to finance education completely and hence voluntary organizations will always play a role though a limited one. Aided schools have to abide by the grant-in-aid code which specifies in detail the rights and duties of those in the school. The inspecting staff of the Department of Education must see that the code is strictly followed. Again as suggested by the Education Commission 1964-66 the inspecting staff should not be under the control of the local school board as it is in several cases where primary education has been completely decentralised. Finally the functionaries of the school must support each other against undue pressure from 'outsiders'. This brings us to the point about the social climate of the school or the existence of good social relations among school personnel which will help to keep the school a cohesive, well integrated unit.

C. Integration :-

To keep the school a well integrated unit it is important that there should be good social relations between the different members of the school. This would increase satisfaction at work and would also be conducive to good morale. In this section we shall be concerned with the extent to which there is social interaction between the different members of the school and also the factors which promote or hinder the development of good social relations. Since the school is not an isolate unit but part of the community we shall also be concerned with the integration of the school with the community.

Social Relations within the School:-

The Management :- As the management is the ~~formal~~ formal policy making body for the school, the principal as 'head of the school', would have to be in constant touch with it. However, the degree of personal interaction between the Management and Principal would vary in schools run by different types of management. In private schools where the principal is expected by Department regulations to be an ex-officio member of the management committee there is a large scope for interaction between the management committee and the principal. Informally too, in a small school system each private school has a management committee there is greater opportunity for management members to interact with the principal. In government and local body schools where the management runs a number of schools the management would appear more distant. Impersonal forms of communication such as circulars may play an important role.

In local body schools the E.E.O. stands between the school board and the principal. Since he is in charge of a number of schools run by the school board, the scope for personal interaction would be limited. The same would be true in the case of the principal of a government school and the Zonal or District Education Officer to whom the principal is directly responsible. Thus the size of the school system may be a factor determining the extent of ~~inter~~ interaction between management and principal.

The greater the degree of interaction the greater the scope for information to be communicated on both sides. Thus the management can obtain information from the principal before formulating policies and the principal can know how exactly the decisions are to be interpreted. S. Shukla, writing about information and channels of communication in the educational bureaucracy, points out that since circulars are the most frequent channels of downward communication of information junior officials often lack the basic information in the light of which to interpret decisions made at the higher levels. Since principals are officers at the lower level of the Department of Education this would probably be applicable to them. Similarly principals may not be always consulted when decisions are made by higher officials as we have seen in Section B.

In private schools the existence of greater scope for interaction does not necessarily mean that the principal's views

55. Shukla, S. op.cit. in Gore, M.S. , Desai I.P. and Chitnis, S (1967) p.297

are considered when decisions are made. Being the professional the principal may expect the management who are laymen to take his views into account. If this is not done, tension may arise.

Another factor hindering the development of good relations between the management and principal is management's interference in the principal's role. As private unaided schools are not bound by the grant-in-aid code which clearly specifies the rights and obligations of the different functionaries, there is a greater chance for management in these schools to interfere in the principal's role. However, as pointed out earlier in Section B principals in Christian Missionary schools and public schools do not face such interference from their management. They are given considerable freedom in the running of their schools. In private aided and local body schools, as we have in Section B the existence of bureaucratic rules framed by the Department of Education alone is not enough in preventing the Management (who are layment) from interfering in the role of the principal. Strict vigilance on the part of the inspecting staff is necessary. In the case of local body schools, as the Education Commission has suggested the administration and supervision functions should be separated. The supervisory staff should be directly responsible to the District Education Officer of the Department of Education. In government schools, principals are less likely to face interference from the management who are officers of the Department of Education bureaucracy and hence governed by bureaucratic rules.

For the staff and the students the management would appear more distant, since the principal stands between the management and

and the teachers in the hierarchy of authority. However the principal may not always be the teachers' spokesman. Hence the grant-in-aid code insists that the management committee must include one or two teachers' representative (depending on the size of the school. In government schools the Government School Teachers Association (GSTA) provides a channel for teachers to communicate directly with the officers of the Department of Education.

The Principal : The nature of his duties makes it necessary for the principal to keep in constant touch with the staff. In a small school where the staff are few there is greater scope for interfaction . We had seen in Chapter II that most of the schools in the rural areas, particularly at the lower primary stage are small and that the majority of these schools in the rural areas are government or local body schools. Further, that these schools are part of larger school systems run by the government or local bodies. Hence although the relationship between management and school personnel is more impersonal in government and local body schools, those between school personnel would be characterized by a higher degree of interaction than in private schools.

However, the development of good relations may be hindered if the principal does not involve all the teachers in the running of the school. M. Chanda in her study of a public school (Hopedale) and a government school (Balika Math)

found that in both schools, the principals consulted only a few staff members in the running of their schools. The result was that in both schools most of the teachers remained indifferent to the principal. Again in both schools the principal did not mix up with the teachers informally. In Hopedale although the principal joined the teachers during the tea-break the teachers had to queue up if they wanted to talk to him. The teachers found him aloof. In Balika Math the principal was not really accepted by the staff partly because she was new and relied on only one of the senior teachers and partly because she used some students as spies on the teachers. Chanda points out that if teachers were involved in policy making and implementation, and if there was little tension, in the relationship between headmaster and teachers, it would certainly increase job satisfaction.

Again as Kale's study showed, although teachers accept supervision by the principal they do not expect close supervision. They also expect the principal not to be arbitrary in his dealings with them. In private unaided schools where there are no bureaucratic rules of the Department to limit the power and authority of the principal there is greater scope for the principal to be arbitrary.

Also in their relationship with students and parents, teachers expect the principal to support their authority - to 'back them up' as H. Becker⁵⁷ puts it. Failure to do so would upset the teachers' position of authority in relation to students and subject the teacher to interference from parents.

57. Becker, H.S. 'The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher', American Journal of Sociology, March 1952 pp. 470-73.

Teachers may also expect the principal to be impartial and to rise above teachers' cliques. Here it may be pointed out that a principal who is chosen from outside the school and not from among the teaching staff of the school has greater chances of being impartial although the one chosen from among the teaching staff of the school may be more understanding of school problems.

The headmasters interaction with the students is much less than between the teachers and students. It is generally confined to the morning assembly which the principal addresses everyday. Besides this the principal would have to keep aside sometime for individual students to meet him with their problems. He would also have to keep contact with the school and class prefects who help him in maintaining discipline in the school.

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D.C. Sharma in his study of headmasters of 30 government secondary schools in Alwar district sought information on how much time each day headmasters spent on fulfilling their various duties. From this he came to know that the third of the sample said they did not keep aside anytime to meet students. The rest said they kept aside about half an hour each day for this purpose. This shows the limited scope for interaction between principal and students.

The Teachers :- We have considered the relationship between teachers and the management and between teachers and the principal. We have to consider the relationship between teachers, and between teachers and students.

Teachers refer to each other as colleagues. The concept of collegueship emphasizes ideas of shared interests and quality. But this is not very true for teachers. As pointed in Chapter II, in the formal structure there is no one position for the teacher. A graduate trained teacher stands above an untrained teacher or a teacher without college education. A formal differentiation is made in terms of scale of pay, level at which one can teach and so on. However, the extent of formal differentiation would be much less in the large number of small single section schools which are mainly found in the rural areas.

The informal structure also differentiates teachers. It may be on the basis of, age and seniority, the level at which one is teaching - caste or linguistic community. In larged sized schools, where there are a numberof teachers, friendship groups and cliques may be formed among teachers on the basis of these factors. These cliques should see that they do not tear the teachers apart, out of rivalry or jealousy.

An important cause for rivalry among the teachers is to gain the approval of the principal. This would be more true of private unaided schools where the teachers are not secure and it is important to be in the favour of the principal. In government schools on the other hand where the teachers have an over security of tenure - it is very difficult for them to lose their jobs - there is less desire to compete for approval from the principal. Thus Chanda found that one of the reasons why teachers - teacher relations were very good in the Government school (Balika Math) was because none of the teachers liked the new principal and none sought to gain his approval. Even the senior teacher whom

the principal often consulted did not like the principal. In the public school (Hopedale) the senior teachers whom the principal consulted, cooperated with the principal and justified his close supervision. This created a rift between the senior and junior teachers. The element of rivalry tends to make the structure of colleague relations a rather loose one.

We come now to the most important relationship in the social system of the school - the teacher-student relationship. The eight field studies⁵⁹ asked students which of the following statements they agreed with:

- 1) A teacher should really be like a second parent to his students and should ensure their all round development and
- 2) A teacher should primarily be concerned with teaching his subject in the classrooms and should not worry about student behaviour outside the classroom.

The data shows that an over-whelming majority of secondary school and college students agreed with the first statement. The writers of the report may that this answer may have been given either out of a mere verbal conformity to a traditional pattern without fully accepting the implications of ascribing a parental role to teachers, or it may actually be that the students mean what they say. In the latter case, students are likely to experience a serious disillusionment. Can our present system of schooling with large student bodies make it at all possible for teachers to act up to their traditional role, they ask.

59. Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis, S. (1970) op.cit. pp. 95-96

Certain points may be made here on the above paragraph. Firstly education is all round development and not merely the imparting of academic knowledge in the classroom. Education not only involves intellectual development but also the physical, emotional, spiritual and social development of the student. Since only the knowledge imparted to students is evaluated through examinations, teachers tend to concentrate only on the imparting of academic knowledge. Again what the school authorities expect of the teacher is important. In government school, M. Chanda found that so little was expected of the teacher in terms of the All round development of the student's personality. The only extra curricular activities that had to be organized were celebration of school Day, Independence Day and so on. The public school which stressed all round development of the student had a number of regular cocurricular and extra curricular activities in which teachers too has to be involved for guiding the students. Again the orientation towards teaching are most likely to do the minimum required. In Chanda's study more teachers in the public school had a positive orientation towards teaching as compared to teachers in the government school. Teachers in the public school showed more interest in their students' problem. Social background too affects teachers' interest in students. Chanda found that in the government school there was little contact between staff and students

outside the classroom. An important reason for this was that while the staff came from a middle class background the students mainly came from a working class background.⁶⁰ Thus we feel that large student bodies may make it difficult but not impossible for teachers to be concerned with the all round development of students and to interact with students outside the class room as well. The school's expectation of the teacher's role, the teacher's expectation of his own role, his orientation towards teaching and the social background of staff and students appear to be some of the factors which determine whether teachers are concerned with the all round development of the students.

B.V. Shah obtained information on what was expected of the secondary school teacher in his relation to his pupils. This information was obtained from school board members, headmasters, teachers, students, parents and community leaders. We shall however be concerned here with only the students and teachers responses. 98 percent of the sample of 300 students said teachers should 'teach with questioning and discussion' (implying that students should be involved) the corresponding percentage for the 180 teachers was 100. In answer to the next question teachers should 'allow and encourage pupils to question' 99.3 percent of the student agreed the corresponding percentage for teachers was again 100.⁶¹ Do teachers keep too much of a social distance between themselves and the students which makes them too frightened to question the Teacher? Is this the reason why a slightly larger percentage expected teachers to encourage students

61. Shah, B.V.op.cit. Table 4.1 pp. 95

to question as compared to those who expected teachers to actively involve students in classroom discussion? In the answers given the question on social distance Shah found that there was considerable difference in the expectations of teachers and students. While 55.7 percent of the students expected teachers 'to be friendly without keeping any distance' only 22.8 percent of the teachers expected this. 75 percent of the teachers expected teachers 'to be friendly but keeping some distance'. Only 43.7% of the students agreed with this.⁶²

With regard to class discipline 85.3 percent of the students expected teachers to use persuasive methods only.⁶³ The corresponding percentage for teachers is 90. Again 99.3 percent of students expected teachers to involve students in decision making in the classroom. The percentage for teachers was 96.1.⁶⁴ All this goes to show that the teacher-pupil relationship is not expected to be authoritarian.

While looking at the teachers-pupil relationship we have also to consider whether teachers treat their students equally or whether there is favouritism. R. Goswami from his study of 286 critical incidents narrated by boys and girls of ~~two~~ government higher secondary schools in Delhi notes that if the teacher does not behave in a universalistic and impartial manner towards his students, he may prove to be a negative social

62. Ibid Table 4.9 p. 101

63. Ibid Table 4.2 p 96

64. Ibid Table 4.3 pp. 97

65. Goswami, R 'School Teacher as a Determinant of Educability in India : A Sociological Study' in Ruhela, S.P.(ed) (1969) op.cit. p. 105-112.

determinant of educability of students. Students were asked to narrate any incident in their school life in which they felt that a teacher had behaved in a manner which lessened their motivation or interest in learning. These incidents included:

- 1) Favoring students of their own caste
- (2) Giving good marks to students who engaged them as private tutors and harassing those who did not
- (3) Favours students belonging to the families of high officials or rich people while treating with contempt students from poor families
- (4) Favours students who did personal work for them or brought them gifts.

We have so far concentrated mainly on what was expected of the teacher in this relationship. What do the teachers expect about a good student? Kale found the aspect they most emphasized about a good student was conformity-obedient, well behaved, disciplined. The next most emphasized set of expectations was connected with work habits. Then came motivation. Grades and extra curricular activities received the least emphasis. Kale notes that since the question of expectations of a good student was open ended it is significant that ideas such as student's individuality, independence, ~~curricudity~~ curricudity, and originality were almost never mentioned. These are qualities which the Education Commission 1964-66, stresses as one of the goals of education to achieve.

The Students :- While discussing student - student interaction we must remember that the student body is divided into different grades and sections. Hence most interaction would be confined

to those belonging to the same class. However where student enrolment is small and multiple class teaching occurs, interaction would extend beyond the class. Multiple class teaching occurs at the primary stage mainly in rural schools. Most of these schools are local body or government schools. Opportunity for interaction with other students would also exist if there were co-curricular and extra curricular activities organized at the school level. Since in public school there are various societies for extra curricular activities and inter house competitions, the scope for interaction with students from other classes is large. In residential schools the scope for interaction among students would be even greater.

Participation in the learning process in the class-room is extra curricular activities and inter house competitions gives scope for the selection of close friends and the formation of poor groups. C.M. Bhatia⁶⁶ has studied the selection of close friends among 360 high school students from 6 schools in Delhi. He found that 1) close friends are generally selected from one's own class except when the existence of extracurricular activities gives opportunity for selection of friends from outside one's class. Thus in Type C i.e. the public schools there were cases where some of the close friends were selected from their classes. In Type A schools i.e. the government schools where extra curricular activities were almost all no one selected a friend from outside his class. Type B schools (private aided schools) fell between the two. 2) Selection of friends does not generally

66. Bhatia, C.M.op.cit.

appear to be determined on the basis of religion. Type A and B schools were more or less homogenous in religious composition and naturally there was little difference in religion of friends. Type C schools being more prestigious, drawing clientele from a wider area and with greater heterogeneity in terms of religion had only two cases where all the three friends belonged to one religion. Bhatia also notes that the maximum number of students in any one school class who interpreted religion in terms of region or language was in the Type C School. Does this mean that religion is not so important as region or language to the student? Bhatia has not found out this. 3) Students generally select friends from their own economic background. 4) Friends are selected from one's sex. Bhatia says that our schools have failed to reduce sex segregation. This can be seen from the following evidence a) none of the students from any school (including one co-educational school) mentioned as one of his / her close friend anyone from the opposite sex. b) In the coeducational schools (B type) in all the classes there was segregated sitting arrangement. Further in none of the sports girls and boys could participate together. c) Besides the 6 schools studied Bhatia visited two 'liberal' coeducational schools of the C Type. In none of these schools did he see boys and girls sitting on the same bench although there were no separate rows for girls and boys. During the recess they generally do not share their food with students of the opposite sex. Again informal discussions with students of the opposite sex are still rare.

Peer groups are important at the secondary stage when students are adolescents. Membership in a peer group gives the student a sense of identity at a crucial stage when he is not yet an adult. Peer groups may have different orientations. E. Haq⁶⁷ in his study has identified politically oriented peer groups and academically oriented peer groups. The former are politically motivated and take an active part in discussions, debates, sports and cultural programmes. They make friends with political active student leaders. This group mobilises the student committee during the election of the student council. The academically oriented peer groups are largely composed of students who are less politically motivated but more active in academic discussions and pursuits. Haq found that in the public schools, the academically oriented peer groups were dominant. The opposite was true in the government school. One of the reasons for this could be, as J.S. Colman⁶⁸ suggested when he came across a similar finding in his study, that the poor students (studying in the government school) who could not do well academically due to various reasons (such as lack of help in their studies and encouragement from home) sought to shine in athletics.

The Administrative Staff : We have not touched upon the relationship between the non-teaching staff and the other members of the school system. This is not because it is not significant but rather because there is a lack of material on this. The relationship with non-teaching staff also determines the social

67. Haq, E (1975) Education and Politicization: An Analysis of the sources and consequences ph.d. dissertation submitted to the Centre for the study of Social System, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

climate of the school and hence should be studied. The office staff may be the first persons that the parent or the student meets while seeking admission and their politeness and helpfulness may go a long way in creating a good impression of the school. Does the office staff cooperate with the principal? What is the relation between the teaching and non-teaching staff? Are the library staff helpful to teachers and students? These are some of the questions that we would have to consider.

School-Community Relationship :- While discussing the relationship between school and community we must consider first the school's relation with parents and then with the local community in which it is situated.

A close parent-teacher relationship is essential because the school and the home share in the task of socialization. The ⁶⁹eight field studies asked their sample of parents how often they kept contact with their children's teachers. Data shows that the percentages of parents who keep regular contact with the teachers are not large. They are generally less than 25 percent. In all the eight states the percentage of those who keep regular contact is higher among rural parents than among urban parents by between 3 and 17 percent. However the percentage of parents who discuss the progress of their children with the teacher is considerably smaller than the percentage who have regular or occasional contact with the teacher. ⁷⁰ This shows that not all contacts between parents and teachers are for the purpose of discussing the students progress.

69. Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis, S. (1970) op.cit. pp.447.
70 Ibid. p.454

71
Kale also found that there was a lack of communication and distance in the teacher parent relationship. Very few parents attended P.T.A. meetings. Most did not either have the time or they were not interested. The only time many parents seemed to take interest was when the annual examination results were announced. Kale however found that there was some difference between the educated, professional parents of a middle class background and the uneducated parents of a lower class background. The former took more interest in their child's progress at school.

Not only parents, but even the local community must take an interest in the school. The school too must take an interest in the community so that there is better integration between the two. However since the state and private enterprise have played an important role in the running of schools situated in their local area.

The state government has been gradually transferring its schools to local authorities and the local governments have been given an important role to play in making primary education universal. (Most primary schools are local body schools). This is not only because local authorities can finance at least part of the expenditure but also to encourage local initiative and make them feel that the school belongs to them. They could for instance help in the student enrolment drive and provide labour and material for the construction of the school building. However it is important to see that local politicians and other

powerful men in the local community do not interfere in the principal's or teacher's role. For this, as pointed out in Section B it is important for the Department of Education through its District Education Officer to take immediate and effective action whenever this happens.

With regard to the school taking an interest in the community it must be pointed out that the scope for this would be greater in the case of government and local body schools where we have seen that students belong mostly to the local area and even teachers tend to be 'local' coming from the same region or state since the schools are regional medium schools. In the case of English medium public schools where both ^{among} the students and staff ^{several} come from different parts of the country they would be less concerned with the community in which the school is situated.

In order to increase students interest in the community, The Education Commission ⁷² recommended that students under the guidance of their teachers should be made to participate in programmes of community service. Such participation can help create positive attitudes towards social service and develop closer ties between the educated persons and the rest of the people.

D. Socialization :

While the processes of obtaining resources for the school, decision making and control and integration are required to enable the school to achieve its goals, socialization is the process of goal attainment itself. If the school did not perform this promotion for the society it would have no reason to exist. Hence the process of socialization is also a functional requisite.

In order that the school may impart formal education to the student it is necessary that they should be socialized into the culture of the school so that they can participate effectively in the social system of the school. Even the staff have to undergo some occupational socialization in the school inspite of the fact that they have attended a teacher training college. We shall consider socialization into the school culture before examining the school as a formal agency of socialization.

Socialization into the school :- We have just pointed out teachers are prepared for their teaching profession at the teacher training institutes. Every teacher in order to become 'permanent' is expected to be trained according to the rules of the Department of Education in every state. But the training received does not prepare the teacher for a particular type of school and the teacher has to adapt his teaching methods and he guided by the norms, values and goals of the particular school.

⁷³
Kale notes that 72% of the teachers in her sample told her that their teacher training was not relevant and useful in their

daily teaching. Further, those who did view the training experience as worthwhile, referred to only certain parts of the training such as educational psychology and methods of teaching. Even in the case of methods of teaching the teacher may have to adapt them to suit the classroom situation. In his training the teacher for instance was taught the direct method. This method emphasised discussion rather than lecture in the teaching-learning process. However, because of the system of external examinations and because the inspector checks to see that all portions are covering teachers do not use the direct method as it takes more time.

The new teacher has also to be socialized into the informal staff room culture in order to interact effectively with her colleagues. For instance, he may learn that as part of the staff room culture an informal differentiation is made between science and arts teachers and that the former are considered superior or their seniority, age and experience are given more prestige. Also, that gossip and school politics are part of the informal staff room culture. Certain values and norms are also part of the staff room culture. For instance, that a teacher should project an authoritative image in front of her students. Or again, that no teacher should ever disagree with another teacher or contradict her, in front of a pupil and so on. A teacher's acceptance by other colleagues and his job satisfaction depend on his learning the accepted ways of behaviour and internalizing the teacher's image and staff room norms and values.

The principal is generally chosen on the basis of his long teaching experience and even some administrative experience. But he has to adjust to the environment of the new school in which he has been appointed. In public schools the principal is generally recruited from among those who have worked in a public school. This makes him adjust more easily to working in the public school.

Students, in order to become effective members of the school have to learn the values and norms of the school. For instance, wearing the school uniform like the other school children, coming to school punctually, attending the morning assembly, forming queues, maintaining silence in the corridors, between classes and in the library, obeying the captains, obeying the school authorities, being directed by the school bell, being made aware of the importance of achievement criteria for rewarding students and so on. There is also the informal student peer group culture that secondary students particularly would have to be socialized into in order to be accepted by their peers.

Another important point worth noting here is that teachers coming from a middle class background tend to impart middle class values to the students. For those coming from a working class background in government and local body school there appears a conflict in the values learnt at home and in school.⁷⁴

The School as a Socializing Agency :- The formal educational system has been set up by society for achieving certain goals. It would not be wrong to look for these goals in the report of

74. See Musgrave, P.M. op.cit. p. 253.

the Education Commission 1964-66 since the Commission was set up by the government and would reflect the views of our policy makers. Moreover this report has been hailed widely as being very significant. The goals stated by the Commission are 1) Education should be related to productivity 2) It should strengthen social and national integration, consolidate democracy as a form of government and help the country to adopt it as a way of life, 3) It should strive to build character by cultivating social moral and spiritual values 4) It should hasten the process of modernization. All these goals, the Education Commission feels are inter related and one cannot achieve one without striving for all.⁷⁵

If we look at the above goals we find that only the first one is utilitarian or instrumental as it refers to the development of skills required by the student to earn a livelihood when he becomes an adult. In C. Bidwell's⁷⁶ terms this could be referred to as technical socialization. The next two goals are non-utilitarian or expressive and are concerned with development of certain attitudes and values in the students. We may term this moral socialization. While hastening the process of modernization is both an instrumental and expressive goal. Within the period of school education, the emphasis put on technical socialization and moral socialization varies. At the pre primary and lower primary stages a lot of emphasis is put on moral socialization. But as the student moves up in the educational ladder he finds that the emphasis on technical socialization increases.⁷⁷

75. Govt. of India, op.cit. (1972) p.11.

76. Bidwell, C.E. op.cit. p.973

77. Damle, Y.B. 'The School and College as a Social System' in Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis (ed) (1967) pp.263-268

We shall now discuss in some detail the four goals stated by the Education Commission. With regard to the first goal, it points out that education can be related to productivity

- 1) if science is made a basic component of education and culture. This implies not only the teaching of courses in science and technology but making even the study of humanities more scientific so that a scientific outlook may be created.
- 2) If work experience is introduced, it would help students to develop insights into the productive process and the use of science as well as generate in them the habit of hard work and responsible behaviour. It would also make the distinction between intellectual and manual work less marked. The Commission suggested work experience which is similar to Gandhiji's idea of basic education was to be made an integral part of education not only at the primary stage but at all stages.

Since it is ultimately teachers who have to implement the program of work experience it would be interesting to know that teachers think about it. In the survey study made of Jesuit schools 78.7 percent of the 456 teachers said they agreed that work experience was an essential part of school education. It is significant to note that a breakdown of teachers according to English medium schools were somewhat less committed to the idea of work experience. Teachers were also asked (unfortunately students were not asked) what students' reactions to work experience was. In this context two specific questions were asked

- 1) whether at present their pupils were doing any manual work and
- ii) how they thought boys would react to manual work being introduced in their school. Only 19 percent of the teachers

said that boys were doing manual work. And only 38.6 percent said that students would be keen on it.⁷⁹ This shows that although these teachers may theoretically be in favour of work experience they have not really instilled a liking for work experience in their students. It would have been interesting to have the students' reaction. It could be possible that they are saying that students would not be keen because in that case they would have to organize these activities for the students.

Coming back to the relation between education and productivity the third way in which this can be brought about according to the Education Commission is to give a strong vocational bias to secondary education. As pointed out in Section A enrolment in vocational schools although increasing gradually, is still small. The Commission expects that by the time the 10 (plus) 2 system of school classes is fully implemented, about half of the enrolment at the end of the lower secondary stage will go into vocation courses and hence has asked for an expansion of vocational courses. Further the Commission feels that there should not be such a wide gap between general and vocational education - general education should contain some elements of prevocational and technical education and vocational education in its turn should have an element of general education.⁸⁰

79. Patel, K and Verstrachten, A. op.cit. p. 62.

80. Govt. of India (1972) op.cit.p. 17.

For social and national integration education can play its role by 1) introducing a common school system of public education; 2) making social and national service an integral part of education at all stages ; 3) developing all modern Indian languages, and taking necessary steps to enrich Hindi as quickly as possible so that it is able to function effectively as the official language of the Union; and 4) promoting national consciousness. We shall consider each of these in turn.

We have in Section A, pointed out the need of having a common school system into which most schools would be integrated and which would provide free school education. This would make the better quality school more accessible to the poor and enable rich and poor students to come into more contact with each other in the school. This would increase social integration. For social integration it is also necessary that the particularistic policy of recruitment in certain private schools (particularly those which are aided) should be eliminated. This would not only increase equality of opportunity but would give rise to a more heterogeneous social composition of students which would give an opportunity for interaction among them and thus promote social and national integration.

In the case of social and national service we have already pointed out that social service would bring the educated in closer contact with the uneducated masses towards whom at present they feel alienated. What is students reaction to social service? Patel and Verstraeten have found this out in the case of students in Jesuit schools. The conclusions that emerge are that 1) the great majority of students feel that social service is a duty

for all and show a quite favourable attitude towards the underprivileged. The majority of students also show a good deal of interest in helping the destitute, at least through those activities that they feel they are able to take up. They show special interest in 'eradicating superstitions and teaching healthy ways of living, but show less interest in 'cleaning slums' or adult education'. 2) With regard to factual knowledge about the extent and acuteness of social problems in India, quite a large number show they greatly underestimate the extent and acuteness of these problems. 3) When it actually comes to doing something for the uplift of the poor, the majority of the students admit that they are not taking part in many of the activities in which they said they were interested and that they do not spend much time on social service work. 4) A breakdown of these students on the basis of class shown that although students from the upper socio economic group show stronger convictions about the importance of social service, they are less aware of the extent of destitution in the country, they admit they are doing little in regard to social service and are less inclined for cleaning slum as compared to those from the lower income group. This shows that even reputed schools like those run by the Jesuits have not yet made social service an integral part of education as the Education Commission recommended. Further students' response shows that they are most likely to show a good deal of interest in social service programmes. ⁸¹

81. Patel, K. and Verstraeten, A op.cit. pp. 141-142

In the case of development of Indian languages it must be pointed out that the elite still prefer to send their children to English medium schools. The occupational system is responsible for this. A good knowledge of English seems an important criterion for recruitment to top posts in the government and the private sector. If these who have been educated in the regional language medium or the Hindi medium are not put at a disadvantage, the development of Indian languages would take place at a faster rate. The general pattern of learning in schools (except English medium schools) is as follows. At the lower primary stage the learning of one's mother tongue or regional language is 1) the regional language and 2) Hindi or English. Facilities for learning the third language - whether Hindi or English are also provided on an optional basis. At the secondary stage all three languages are compulsory.

For social and national integration it is also necessary to promote national consciousness and inculcate democratic values. E. E. Haq's⁸² study of the role of education in political socialization becomes relevant here. He made a content analysis of the text books prescribed from classes I- XI in government as well as public schools in Delhi, to find out the extent to which they incorporate constitutional values which could be internalised by the students. He has listed nine constitutional values. These are 1) Citizenship 2) A sense of belonging to the nation

82. Haq, E. op. cit.

3) Fraternity 4) Equality of opportunity 5) Political participation
6) Secularism 7) Distributive justice 8) Individual liberty 9)
Protection of minority rights. He found that level of incorporation
of political values in the text books of all the schools is low,
while 'citizenship' and 'sense of belonging to the nation' are more
emphasized in the public school, when compared with the government
school, the opposite is true for the other values listed.
Again a study of the total scores secured by all the constitutional
values in each class shows that in both government and public
schools, there is no pattern or consistency in the emphasis given to
the values. Thus there is a ratio of about 1 : 6 between class
V and VI (i.e. suddenly more values are emphasized in Class VI
as compared to class V when it should have been more gradual) in
the government school. Similarly in the public school more values
were emphasized in class IX as compared to class X or XI. The ratio
was 16 :1 in case of class IX and XI and 25 : 1 in the case of
Class IX and X respectively. And yet, as the writer points out,
students as they grow older are likely to be mentally more mature
to digest the deeper meanings of these values. A content analysis
made by Haq of the school text books written for the N.C.E.R.T shows
that they were comparatively much better with regard to the
incorporation of constitutional values. E. Haq did not find out
if there were negative statements in the text books which could
develop negative attitudes in the students and weaken social and
national integration.

Teachers also have a role to play in transmitting political
values. Whether they do not depend on 1) whether they perceive
their role as agent of political socialization. Consequently
they did not make any deliberate attempt to acquire political

knowledge in order to make students more politically informed, conscious and participant.

In order to find out teachers' level of politicalization Haq sought information on teachers political awareness, political commitment and political participation. He found that teachers awareness of the ideological bases of national political parties was low in the case of the government school and the aided school and medium in the case of the public school. All the teachers were ~~not~~ committed to some party. However public school teachers were more dispersed in terms of their commitment. This is probably because the public school teachers come from different parts of the country and hence exposed to different ideologies. The non public school teachers belonged to Delhi or the neighbouring three states and hence exposed mainly to the Congress and Jan Sangh which are locally well known. Political participation of non public school teachers is greater. 80% of government school teachers and 71% of government aided school teachers but only 34% of public school teachers voted in the 1967 and 1972 election. This may be partly because a number of them are not registered voters since they have come from other parts of the country and have not stayed long enough to be registered. However non public school teachers unlike public school teachers participated in campaigning and canvassing in the election of the election of the office bearers of their teacher organisations - Government School Teachers Association (GSTA) and Government Aided School Teachers Association (GASTA) as well as in the election to the metropolitan council.

As in the case of teachers, students in public schools are more politically aware about the different national political parties, about the significance of different colours of the national flag and

so on. Again their commitment to different political parties is more varied as compared with the non public school students. The factors responsible for higher political awareness and dispersed commitment are 1) teachers are more politically aware 2) students are drawn not only from different parts of Delhi, but several have come from different parts of the country since their fathers have been transferred in the jobs. Hence they have been exposed to extra local party ideologies 3) students in the public school belong to peer groups which have a higher level of political awareness, and are committed to different parties. This raises their level of politicization further. 4) Parents have an effect on their child's politicization. Parents of those in the public school have a higher degree of political awareness and commitment to children.

Although awareness of political parties and their ideologies is high and commitment to different parties exists, political participation is low. Haq notes that high expression of political participation is a function of general feeling of dissatisfaction with the system. The public school children do not feel economically deprived like the non public school children do. Non public school children are probably also influenced by the higher degree of political participation on the part of their teachers and parents. In the context of political participation it may be pointed out that students of non public school may be misguided and may not behave in a very responsible manner. This may partly be because they are less politically informed and partly because as pointed out in Section B they are less trained in leadership roles because of the absence of the House system and various extra curricular activities which are features of the public school.

Education also has a major role to play in bringing about modernization. In a modern society knowledge increases at a very fast rate. Education has to keep pace with this advance in knowledge. This means that the syllabus and text books should not remain the same for years but appropriate changes should be made particularly in subjects like science where knowledge expands very fast.⁸³

As noted in Section B, while discussing the effects of state control on the curriculum, P.Kale points out that science and mathematics teachers complained that changes are not made in the text books to keep up with the new approaches and discoveries.

In a modern society, the Commission notes, knowledge ceases to be something to be received passively; it is something to be actively discovered. This would involve a revolution in traditional education where 'to know' means 'to know by heart' and the assimilative faculties tend to be emphasised to the neglect of the critical and creative ones.⁸⁴ In this connection it would be necessary to mention the examination system on which the students' success depends. There are two important defects of the examination system 1) Students performance throughout the year is not taken into account ; and 2) The examination questions tend to test acquisition of knowledge rather than the ability to apply knowledge. This tends to encourage cramming.

On the recommendation of the Secondary Education Commission a Central Examination Unit was set up and then State Evaluation units in each State. These have introduced new evaluation techniques to a large number of secondary school teachers. They have also trained paper setters attached to Boards of Secondary Education.

83. Govt.of India , (1972) p. 29.

84. Ibid p. 30.

The Education Commission 1964 -66 has also recommended the need for internal assessment in addition to the examination conducted by the Secondary School Certificate Examination Board. The Education Commission admits a complete reform of the examination system and its impact on learning experiences and evaluation procedures in school education will take considerable time. ⁸⁵

In a modern society with rapid social change "the very aim of education has to be viewed differently - it is no longer taken as concerned primarily with the imparting of knowledge or the preparation of a finished product, but with the awakening of curiosity, the development of proper interests, attitudes and values and the building up of such essential skills as independent study and the capacity to think and judge for oneself without which it is not possible to become a responsible member of a democratic society. ⁸⁶

In this connection we may recall from Section C, the replies given by teachers to the open ended question on their idea of a 'good student'. While the largest percentage (32%) emphasised conformity (this includes responses like 'obedient', 'well-behaved', 'easy to control' and disciplined) ideas like students' individuality, independence, curiosity and originality were almost never mentioned. ⁸⁷

The teachers replies are probably influenced by the emphasis put on conformity in many families which are either of the extended type or contain various degree of jointness. Although Kale does not provide information on this, it could be possible many of these teachers have been brought up in joint families and

86. Ibid.p. 32

87. Kale, P. op.cit. p.33

hence their view reflects this. Y. Singh⁸⁸ notes that socialization in the middle and upper class families tends to be more liberal (democratic). In that case, since 46% of the⁸⁹ teachers in Kale's sample came from lower middle class backgrounds, it could be that they were brought up in a more authoritarian atmosphere and hence what they expected of a 'good student' reflected their own upbringings. Our assumption appears to be supported by the study on Jesuit schools made by Patel and Verstraeten. Teachers and students were asked what type of student, teachers, liked best. Both gave the highest ranking to 'the quiet and obedient boy.' However it was found that a larger percentage of teachers and students from the English medium schools (which cater to the upper middle and upper classes) gave highest priority to the student 'who thinks for himself and voices his opinions', as compared to teachers and students in the Hindi and Tamil medium schools⁹⁰ (It be recalled here from Section A that teachers in English medium public schools tend to come from a middle and upper middle class background). The above shows that the introduction of a democratic orientation in socialization in the school (which is so necessary for modernization) would create more of what Y. Singh calls an inconsistency between socialization in the family and formal education⁹¹, in the case of government and local body schools attended by lower class children and rural schools (since extended families are more common in the rural areas.)

88. Singh Y. 'The Process of Socialization and Education' in Gore, M.S. Desai, I.P. and Chitnis, S. (ed) (1967) p. 73.

89. Kale, P. op.cit. p.127

90. Patel, K. and Verstraeten, A. op.cit. p. 81 and p. 293

91. Singh Y, op.cit.

The fourth goal stated by the Education Commission is the building of character by cultivating social, moral and spiritual values. The Commission points out that a serious defect in the school curriculum has been the absence of provision for education in social, moral and spiritual values. A national system of education that is related to the life, needs and aspirations of the people cannot afford to ignore the great motivating force of religion which is intimately bound up with the formation of character and the inculcation of ethical values. It has therefore recommended 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 education on social, moral and spiritual values is to be imparted through both direct and indirect methods. The Education Commission has recommended that at the primary stage direct instructions should be imparted through interesting stories including stories drawn from the great religions of the world. At the secondary stage there may be frequent discussions between the teacher and the students on the values sought to be inculcated. Moral instruction should not be divorced from the rest of the curriculum or confined to a single period.

The Education Commission attaches a lot of importance to ⁱⁿ the role of direct influence in building up good character. It is not only the teachers in charge of moral instruction who are responsible for building character. Every teacher, whatever be the subject he teaches has this responsibility. While teaching his subject and in his dealings with his pupils he must see that fundamental values such as integrity and social responsibility are brought out. Further, a sense of purpose must inspire all school activities. The school

assembly, the curriculum and cocurricular activities the celebration of national events such as Independence Day, team games, work experience and social service programmes can help to inculcate values of co-operation, mutual regard, honesty, discipline and social responsibility.⁹²

Christian schools are generally well known for inculcating moral values and discipline in their students. In the Jesuit schools studied by Patel and verstreten 73.9 % of the students said their school was better than other schools they knew in the aspect of 'moral behaviour'.⁹³ As far as discipline was concerned 76.8 % of them said their school was better than other schools they knew. However 64.5 % of the students felt that the discipline in their schools was strict.⁹⁴ Perhaps they gave this answer because being adolescents (the sample was drawn from class X) they wanted more freedom. It could also be true that there are too many rules of conduct which are strictly enforced or perhaps there are various classrooms and school rituals (which are partly there to impress the students) which add to the feeling of discipline. Too much of emphasis on discipline may make it difficult for the students who come out of these schools and join college, to suddenly cope up with their new found freedom.

While discussing the character building of students through the imparting of values one cannot forget the role of the family. It is true that due to the tremendous explosion in knowledge the family ~~can~~ can hardly play a role in the imparting of this knowledge. Hence it is the primary task of the school and college to do so. But in the case of moral socialization,

92. Govt. of India (1972) op.cit. pp.358-59

93. Patel, K. and Verstraeten, A. op.cit. P.87

94. *Ibid* p. 327

A. Desouza points out⁹⁵, the home plays a very important role particularly when the child is at the preprimary and primary stages. A child spends more time at home than in school and hence the family has considerable scope for building the character of the child. At the secondary stage the adolescent spends less time at home - a large part of the out-of-school hours are generally spent with one's peers. Thus although the school has an important role in the inculcation of values in the student we cannot forget the importance of the home as well particularly at the preprimary and primary stages of school education.

To conclude this section we may say that the school as a socializing agency aims at preparing students to live in a rapidly changing Indian society. Many reforms were required in our formal educational system to change it from one serving the needs of the British Government, to ~~change it from one serving the needs~~ which could serve the needs of an independent democratic India; from one serving the needs of a largely traditional society to being an instrument of social change for bringing about modernization of our country. Considering the large size of our country, this is a stupendous task which will take a lot of time. Our school system is still in the process of being transferred - a lot is still left to be done.

95. Desouza, A & 'The social Basis of Education' in Mathias, T.A.(ed) 1968) Education And Social Concern Jesuit Educational Association, Delhi p.66

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a paradigm for studying the school as a social system in India based on our discussion in the previous chapters.

1. The study of the school as a social system involves the study of the structure and functioning (the processes which occur within the structure). However, while studying the school it is important to remember that it is part of the wider society- it is a sub system of the larger social system which is society and hence is effected and in turn affects it.

Type of School -

(i) There is a great diversity of schools in India. Hence the facilities the study of the school as a social system it is necessary to classify schools into certain broad types and then study their structure and functioning. We have classified schools into 3 broad types. These are a) by type of management - government / government sponsored, local body, private aided, and private unaided. Within these, sub types may be identified. For instance, the local body may be a municipal board in a city or a district board in a rural area and so on. b) level of school education - preprimary, lower primary higher primary, and secondary/higher secondary, c) area in which it is situated - rural and urban. Local bodies in particular play an important role in running schools at the primary level. This is because the task of fulfilling the Constitutional Directive of making primary schooling universal, particularly those which are aided. play a more important role at the pre-primary and secondary stages. Since Govt. schools, unlike Govt. and local body schools, depend in varying degrees they cater to the middle and upper classes and are found mainly in the urban areas.

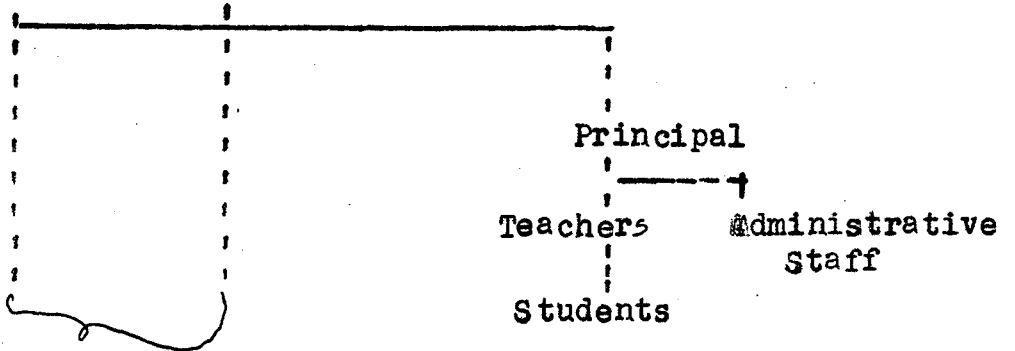
ii) A formally organized system - the school is a semi-professional organization concerned mainly with the task of communicating knowledge, As a formal organization the structure of the school is assumed to be in ~~xxxx~~ some degree bureaucratic, However the division of function and authority (and consequently the number of formal role positions) in the school is determined by the finances of the school, and the size of the school (in terms of student enrolment the number of classes).

Schools in India tend to be small sized. This is particularly true in the rural areas where small inhabitations predominate. As our country is mainly rural, the majority of the schools particularly at the primary stage are found in the rural areas. Since local bodies and the state government mainly run schools in the rural areas and since in a poor country funds at the disposal of the local and the state government are meagre, most government and local body schools are small units with fewer role positions. However, these schools are part of larger school systems run by the Department of Education and the local school board. In the case of private schools each school is expected to have a management committee. However, members of the management committee may belong to an educational society which runs a number of schools. The formal structure of role positions in a government, local body, and private school is as follows;

Government School System

a)

Zonal or District Education Officer (of the Department of Education)



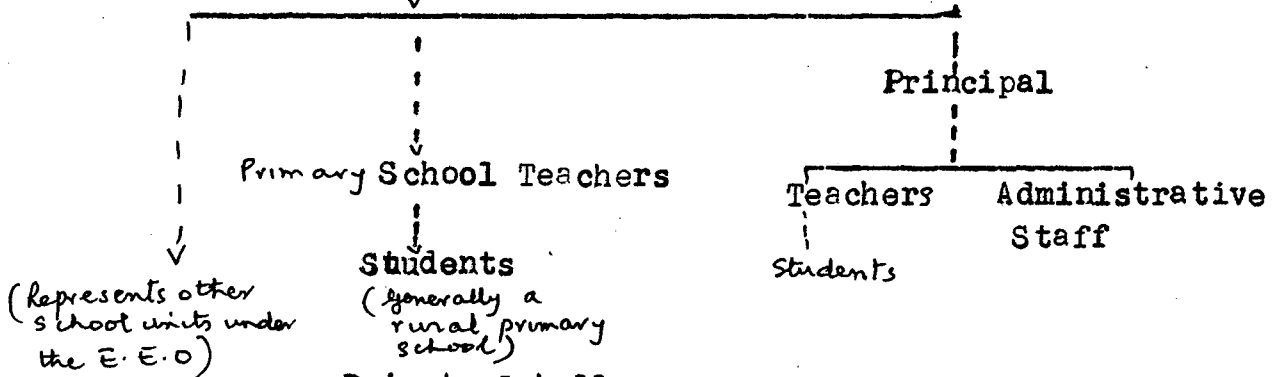
Represents other School Units under the Zonal Education Officer

Local Body School System

b)

Local School Board

Education Extension Officer



(represents other school units under the E.E.O)

Private School

Management Committee

Principal

Teachers Administrative Staff
Students

c)

iii) Every formal organization has an informal structure which runs parallel to the formal structure and which has been described as the 'under life' of the organisation. Informal relations tend to assume a network pattern. Both formal and informal relations determine the functioning of the organization.

3. Recruitment to the school: Formal basis for recruitment of school personnel in schools run by different types of management is as follows;

	Management	Staff	Students
Government school	Officers of the Deptt. of Education are recruited on basis of merit and competence	Recruited on the basis of merit and competence	Entrance into school system determined by age of the student and his living is the locality in which the school is situated.
Local Body Schools	Local schoolboard members are elected members of the local government or nominated by them	ditto	ditto
Private schools	Management committee formed of elected or nominated members of an educational society, Or those interested in setting up a school and who have the necessary finances may form a registered trust. Private aided schools have a representative of the Dept. of Education on the management committee.	ditto	Entrance determined by age, competence (admission test) and social background (fees). Particularly so is the case of private unaided schools

ii) The extent to which universalistic criteria are applied in the recruitment of staff depends on size of the school system and the universalistic/particularistic policy followed in the recruitment of the management which is reflected in the social composition of the management.

	Size of the School system	Social composition of management	Extent to which universalistic criteria are applied	Rank order of managements in terms of age of their teachers fulfilling required educational qualifications
Government School	Large	Heterogenous	High	1
Local Body School	Medium	Heterogenous (reflects numerical medium strength of each community in the local area)	Medium	2
Private Aided School	Small	Homogenous (drawn mainly from the same caste or community which sets up the school) but includes a representative of the Dept. of Education.	Low	3
Private Unaided School	Small	Ditto but does not include a representative of the Department of Education.	Very Low	4

iii) Social Background - a) Local/Cosmopolitan background - In regional medium schools which include government, local body and most private aided schools, the staff and students tend to be local while in English medium schools which are mainly private unaided schools, staff and students tend to come from different parts of the country and have a cosmopolitan outlook, b) Caste background - The majority of the teachers come from a middle and upper caste background, while students atleast at the primary stage where education is being made universal, come from different caste backgrounds. However in so far as the lower castes are also economically poor they would be found mainly in government and local body schools which do not charge fees. In private schools run by caste educational societies, due to the particularistic policy followed in recruitment, the majority of the teachers and even students tend to belong the same caste as the management. This is particularly true of castes which are educationally or culturally advanced and which are numerically preponderant in the local community. c) Class background - Teachers are mainly drawn from a lower middle and middle class background, although those teaching in private unaided public schools tend to come to middle and upper middle class background. In the case of students, due to the role played by fees and other direct contributions from students' parents in schools run by different types of management, those in government and local body schools tend to come mainly from a lower class background, those in private aided from a lower middle and middle class background, while those in private aided form a lower middle and middle class background, while those in private unaided schools come mainly from an upper middle and upper class background.

4. Decision Making and Control:-

i) Role positions are arranged in an administrative heirarchy

which gives scope for decision making and control.

ii) Management is at the top of the school hierarchy. In Local body and private schools, members of the management are generally laymen while the principal and the teachers are semiprofessionals. This gives rise to the problem of professional autonomy. The Department of Education's grant-in-aid code seeks to limit the powers of the management and increase those of the principal. The powers of the management are considerable in private unaided schools which are not subject to the grant-in-aid code. Similarly the principal's power and authority are determined by the type of management. Private unaided schools which are not subject to formal regulations laid down in the grant-in-aid code have a lot of power and authority (they are generally viewed by teachers as being on the side of the management). At the other extreme, are principals of government and local body schools. The former are subject to the rigid bureaucratic control of the Department of Education, while the latter are subject to both the Department of Education bureaucracy and the bureaucratic organization run by the local school board. Private aided schools would fall somewhere in between. Thus the existence of formal rules puts limitations on the exercise of power and authority. The existence of formal rules puts limitations on the exercise of power and authority. The existence of formal rules depends in turn on the size of the school system (the larger the size the greater the need for bureaucratization for the sake of uniformity and coordination) and on whether the management receives grant-in-aid from the Department of Education which subjects the school to the grant-in-aid code.

iii) While taking decisions regarding the day-to-day running of the school the principal may assume anything between a democratic or an

authoritarian administrative style. The former implies that the principal discusses matters concerning the internal administration of the school with the staff and consults them before taking decisions. An authoritarian principal of the school with the staff and consults them before taking decisions. An authoritarian principal does not care to consult his staff and the staff too do not feel free to discuss matters with him. The administrative style assumed appears to be determined to some extent by the type of school. The principal of a private unaided school who has considerable power and authority would tend to keep a distance from his staff rather than treat them while his colleagues and consult them. On the other hand, the principal of a government or local body school whose powers are limited by bureaucratic rules is more likely to assume a democratic administrative style.

iv) One may distinguish between an authoritarian and democratic teaching style. Given the tradition of unquestioning acceptance of what the teacher says in the guru-chela relationship, and the authoritarian socialization at home, teaching style tends to be largely authoritarian. However, in private unaided schools where students come from a middle and upper class urban background with a more liberal atmosphere at home, teachers tend to accept being questioned by these students and may involve them in decision making in the classroom on certain matters pertaining to them and thus exhibit a more democratic teaching style.

v) Social Control on the school - To ensure that schools conform to its expectation, society exerts both formal and informal controls over them. a) Formal control is exercised by the government particularly the state government (since school education is a state subject), through its Department of Education and Secondary Examination Board.

Where primary education has been decentralised the local government through its school board exercises control over primary school in their areas. While certain controls such as examinations, syllabus and textbooks (except for the few schools whose students appear for examinations conducted by other boards), and inspection are similarly for all schools, those which receive aid from the Department of Education are subject to greater control through the grant-in-aid code. b) The controls exercised on what is taught can be partly explained by the fact that school teaching is only a semi-profession. However, the rigid standardization of syllabus and textbooks in India is partly due to the tradition of respect for centralized authority which grew up during the British days and which continues to some extent today. Partly it is also due to the low academic quality of teachers and the limited role of teacher organisations c) The formal structure of the school allows for interaction between parents and teachers, ~~teacher~~ through the formation of parent-Teacher Association and the holding of parent teacher meetings. Through this parents are able to exercise some control ~~of parent~~ on the school. However, in India parents generally play a passive role. This can be partly explained in terms of the detailed formal rules of the Department of Education which govern the functioning of all schools, except the private unaided schools. Partly it is ^{also} because uneducated lower class ~~priv~~ parents accept the teacher as a professional and do not question his authority. It is from the educated middle class parent that teachers face some pressure. d) Having 'contacts' through personal network with a member of the management or the principal or a teacher enables a parent, a politician and any other outsider to put informal pressure to achieve his own end. However, the existence of formal rules and procedures puts a limit on informal pressure. In this

sense private unaided schools are subject to greater informal pressure. Moreover their dependence on funds and patronage from outsiders make them more vulnerable to outside interference.

5. Integration :-

i) The process of integration for the school involves two aspects 1) integration of the units within the school and 2) integration of the school with the community.

ii) Integration of the units within the school depends on the creation of a social climate that is conducive to good morale. The social climate of the school is a product of all the relationships that affect it.

iii) There are various factors which promote/hinder the development of a good social climate in the school. These include a) the size factor - the smaller the size of the school the greater the opportunity for interaction. In a small group relations tend to be personal and friendly. This makes the school a more cohesive unit. Schools in India are generally small sized and hence there is a lot of scope for interaction. However this is more true of rural schools which are smaller in size. Most of the rural schools are local body or government schools. However, since government and local body schools are generally part of larger school systems, relation between management and the principal would be fairly impersonal while relations between other school personnel would be more personal.

b) Existence of formal rules determining rights and duties of school personnel puts limitations on the power and authority of superiors and thus makes subordination feel more secure. At one extreme are government schools where the existence of detailed formal rules makes the actions of the principal predictable and increase job security for the staff. At the other end are private unaided schools where the absence of detailed formal rules and procedures as well as the

lack of bureaucratic control of the Department of Education through the grant-in-aid code makes the management and the principal (who is generally regarded by the staff as being on the side of management), all powerful in relation to teachers. Local body schools which are subject to bureaucratic control of the Department of Education and bureaucracy run by the local school board, and private aided schools which are subject to the grant-in-aid code would fall some where between the two extremes. The rigidity of stratification and diversity of culture to which school personnel belong is an obstacle to the development of friendly relations. In a rural school where rigidity of caste exists, a lower caste student may be treated differently from the other students by the teacher as well as by his fellow students. Caste is less likely to affect relations in an urban school where rigidity of caste stratification is less. Differences in class background also creates a social distance. This is particularly true in government and local body school where students come mainly from a lower class background and the staff from a lower middle and middle class background d) A good social climate also depends on the extent to which actual role behaviour of school personnel coincides with the expectations they have of each others role. Some expectations of roles are formally defined others are informally defined. If these are not fulfilled formal and informal sanctions may be used. In the case of the staff for instance not being made 'permanent' suspension or dismissal, being the subject of gossip by colleagues and being ostracized are some of the formal and informal sanctions. In the case of students, if they do not satisfy the expected academic standard they would have to repeat the course for δ indiscipline various punishments may be given including dismissal, failure to conform to the norms of the

peer group culture may lead to social ostracism by one's peers.

iv) While dealing with the integration of the school with the community we have to consider 1) Teacher parent relationship and 2) School-community relationship.

v) In the case of the teacher parent relationship it has been found that the relationship is characterized by a lack of communication. A large number of parents maintain only an occasional contact with teachers. The social distance between the uneducated lower class parent and the teacher is an important reason for this. The educated middle class parent whose children attend the private schools take greater interest in their child's progress and maintain greater contact with teachers. The rural parent is likely to maintain greater contact with the teacher as compared to the urban parent. This is because the small rural community not only makes contact easier but often inevitable.

vi) There is little contact between school and community owing to lack of suitable programs to involve the school in the community. However contact tends to be greater in a rural community, owing to the small size of the community. The school-community relationship varies in the case of schools run by different types of management. It is greater in the case of local body schools because they are run by the local government. Moreover its students and even some of its teacher belong to the local community. In run by the Dept of Education - a bad government schools contact is less because the school is State level. However its students belong to the local community. Private unaided school have very little contact because its school personnel usually do not belong to the local community, they have a cosmopolitan background owing to the English medium of instruction.

6. (i) The process of socialisation in the school involves a) Socialization of School personnel into the culture of the school

b) Socialization of students to be effective members of Indian Society - the function of the school for society.

ii) There are two aspects to socialization - a) the instrumental aspect learning basic skills which help the individual to earn a livelihood when he grows up. b) expressive or moral aspect - imparting values and developing certain attitudes. The goals of formal education laid down by our policy makers may be classified under these two aspects. Thus relating education to productivity is an instrumental goal while character building, strengthening social and national integration, are expressive goals, while hastening the process of modernization is both instrumental and expressive.

iii) Within the period of school education the emphasis put on the instrumental aspect (technical socialization) and the expressive aspect (moral socialization) varies. At the pre-primary and lower primary stages a lot of emphasis is put on moral socialization. As the student moves up the educational ladder he finds that emphasis on technical socialization increases.

iv) The role of education aimed by Independent India is different from the role of formal education in British India as shown below:

British India	Independent India
1. Education mainly for the elite.	1. Education for the masses (making primary schooling and ultimately secondary schooling universal.)
2. Education tended to be in the liberal arts.	2. Education related to the needs of industrialization and hence an emphasis placed on the study of exam science and technology and on vocational education.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. Education concerned with transmitting existing skills and values. | 3. Education concerned not only with transmitting existing skills and values but also new skills and values required for modernization - education is viewed as an instrument of social change. |
| 4. Education concerned mainly with serving needs of British administration. This encouraged not only education in the liberal arts but education through the English medium which tended to isolate the educated from the masses | 4. Education concerned with bringing about social and national integration through a common school system and the learning of the national and regional languages. |

Our study shows that our formal system of education is in a state of transition. It is moving in the direction of bringing about, ^{and} the fulfilling the needs of modern India.

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