

**A / SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF
COLLEGE DROPOUTS IN
MANIPUR .**

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Certified that the dissertation entitled "A Sociological Study of College Dropouts in Manipur" submitted by Rajendra Sagolsem, is in fulfilment of eight credits out of the total requirements of twenty-four credits for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation is his original work and has to the best of our knowledge not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

We, therefore, recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Wastage¹ in education is a problem that the developed and the underdeveloped countries alike are facing. In the developed countries like USA and UK, the problem "has been widely investigated for many years".² In India, however, the problem has not so far been properly investigated. As a matter of fact, this is one of the major problems that the country is facing today. In the words of the Education Commission 1964-66, "the extent of wastage and stagnation in our system is very large".³

It is nearly five decades ago that the problem was discovered in our system. It was an Auxiliary Committee popularly known as Hartog Committee which for the first time in the history of Indian education, gave emphasis on this problem. In 1929, the Committee observed that "throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness".⁴ It more particularly observed that "in the primary system which from our point of view should be designed to produce literacy and

1 The term is defined elsewhere in this chapter.

2 G.W. Miller, Success, Failures and Wastage in Higher Education, London, George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1970, p. 10.

3 Education and National Development, Report of the Education Commission 1964-66, New Delhi, NCERT, 1971, p. 272.

4 Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission, Delhi, Government of India Press, 1929, p. 345.

capacity to exercise an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling ... only a small portion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV".⁵ In fact, the Hartog Committee's report on the problem of wastage was primarily concerned with the primary stage of education. "Wastage and stagnation had crept into education especially at the primary stage because of too much attention being paid on higher education while primary education was entirely neglected".⁶

But today the problem has spread to secondary as well as higher education. As Rawat put it, "worse is the situation at the secondary stage. Here more than half of those who appear for matriculation or equivalent examination, have to repeat them at least once, unless they leave their education completely".⁷ In an estimate he shows that the pass percentage in matriculation examination was 65.2 in 1947-48 which came down to 44.7 in 1951-52; in the year 1956-57 the percentage was 46 and in 1958-59 it was 45.⁸ In higher education, out of every 100 students who entered first year class in a degree college, only 41 could reach and pass out.⁹

Education plays a very important role in a country's

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 P.L. Rawat, History of Indian Education, Agra, Ram Prasad and Sons, 1970, p. 235.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

development. "In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons coming out of our schools and colleges will depend our success in the great enterprise of national reconstruction the principal objective of which is to raise the standard of living of our people".¹⁰ This is one of the basic reasons why our country is making all-out efforts to strengthen its educational base. The Central Government and the state governments are spending a huge amount of money on it. If the current trend of wastage continues, it will not only lead to failure to achieve the desired goal but to a huge financial loss to the nation which can ill-afford it.

The cost of wastage is enormous. In India there is lack of easy availability of the cost of wastage at the higher level of education, but at the primary level, quite a few studies have calculated the cost of wastage. For example, an NCERT study estimated the cost of wastage for four years at Rs.75.36 crores which was nearly 27.6 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education.¹¹

There may be an extreme need to study the problem of wastage at the higher level of education. When the demand for

10 Education Commission Report, 1964-66, op. cit., p. 3.

11 R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, Wastage and Stagnation in Primary and Secondary Schools in India, New Delhi, NCERT, 1971, pp. 1-2.

higher education is increasing and budgets are expanding, it is proper to study in what ways wastage might be lessened and productivity improved and how places in higher education and the grants that go with them may best be allocated.¹² The importance of studying the problem at higher level has been emphasised by a UNESCO study. It said that "nothing has been done about this problem as yet and its seriousness cannot be overestimated. Universities and institutions of the same level place a heavy burden on national budgets, for the unit cost may in certain faculties be as much as ten times higher than it is at the secondary level. The question of yield on investment is regularly raised: even though a student who drops out of university after a few terms is in a totally different situation vis-a-vis society from that of the primary school leaver, the fact remains that the financial effort made by the community for the students' education has been fruitless. From this point of view of the state, a systematic study of wastage in higher education has clearly become necessary",¹³ so that a timely solution be found out. The solution to the problem demands that suitable action programmes be formulated for increasing the efficiency of the schools and colleges and reducing the extent of wastage and the introduction of appropriate remedial measures to retain the students in the system till they complete the course in which they are admitted.

12 G.W. Miller, op. cit., p. 11.

13 M.A. Brimer and L. Pauli, Wastage in Education: A World Phenomenon, Paris, UNESCO: IBE, 1971, p. 132.

Before such an action programme can be developed, however, relevant data to determine the magnitude of the problem and to identify and analyse its causes are needed.¹⁴

Some studies have been carried out in India on this line. More than a score of investigations based largely on the framework implied in the Hartog Committee Report, have been carried out at the primary, secondary and university stages of education during the past four decades. Some of those are the work of professional researchers and others are dissertations submitted by the students as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in different universities.¹⁵ The studies at the school level are far more in number than at the university level. Moreover, the main concern of these studies has been to find out the incidence of wastage and stagnation.¹⁶ Only a few have attempted to study the causes.¹⁷ In other words, the existing literature on this subject does not provide a satisfactory answer to the question of why do more or less half of the students leave their studies prematurely. Nor the problem has apparently been able to capture "the active interest of

14 S.N. Mukerji, 'Preface' in R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, op. cit., p. vii.

15 R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, op. cit., p. 2.

16 The term is defined elsewhere in this chapter.

17 Ibid.

any substantial segment of the social science profession",¹⁸ and particularly "the colleges and universities do not often have detailed information on their wastage rates and reasons for them".¹⁹ The present study, therefore, is an attempt toward filling some of these gaps.

Definition of the Terms

Wastage was first defined by Hartog Committee as "pre-mature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before completion of the primary course"²⁰ and stagnation as "retention²¹ of a child in a lower class for a period of more than one year". As regards stagnation there is hardly any disagreement between the connotation of the term given by the Committee and that subsequently adopted by the research workers. But the concept of wastage has raised certain controversies.²² Some like to *preferably* use the term "dropout" to "wastage" to denote the premature withdrawal of the students since wastage is a term broad enough²³ to include many forms of academic failure. Whereas Hartog

18 J. Summerskill, "Dropouts from College", in Sanford, N. ed., American College, New York, John Willey and Sons, Inc., 1962, p. 627.

19 G.W. Miller, op. cit., p. 12.

20 Report of the Auxiliary Committee, 1929, op. cit., p. 47.

21 Ibid.

22 R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, op. cit., p. 11.

23 M.A. Brimer and L. Pauli, op. cit., pp. 9.22.

Committee defines wastage to connote the premature withdrawal, the UNESCO study uses various criteria to define wastage, viz., 1) failure to provide universal education; 2) failure to recruit children into the system; 3) failure to hold children within the system; 4) failure to set appropriate objectives; and inefficiency in the achievement of objectives.²⁴ The UNESCO study uses the term 'dropout' to denote the premature withdrawal and wastage thus includes dropout. But in most of the studies so far carried out in India, the two terms are used almost interchangeably.

Sharma and Sapra²⁵ put forward two propositions in defining wastage. These are: i) objectives of education for a particular stage; and ii) incremental gains in the learning outcomes, meaning thereby that even a year of schooling, instead of stage, may be beneficial. Here they seem to be contradicting themselves in so far as the first proposition refers to the 'stage' being crucial and the second to the 'year'. Secondly, the concept of incremental gains can only be applied at the post primary stage since at the primary stage a phenomenon called lapse into illiteracy intervenes. In other words, to become a perfect literate one needs four years of schooling.

Kamat and Deshmukh²⁶ also define wastage to denote the

24 Ibid.

25 R.L. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, op. cit., p. 11.

26 A.R. Kamat and Deshmukh, A.G., Wastage in College

premature withdrawal of the students. Further a distinction is made between "gross wastage" and "net wastage". For example,²⁷ McNeely defines "gross wastage" as failure or withdrawal of students from courses without account being taken of whether they enrol in another university or re-enrol at a later date in the same university. And net wastage means the failure or withdrawal when the account is being taken of the later enrolment or re-enrolment.

A discussion of the various definitions of wastage and stagnation became necessary since the term 'dropout' is either used interchangeably with wastage or is included in wastage. Therefore, it is imperative that we distinguish between these terms. The term dropout as we have already seen is defined by the UNESCO study as "...a Pupil who leaves school before the end of the final year of the educational stage in which he is enrolled".²⁸

Punalekar et al use it with reference to a stage in the educational system, so that if a student withdraws from school before completing a stage, viz., primary, middle or secondary,²⁹ he is a dropout. Here they are using it in the sense of

Education, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1963, p. 12.

27 McNeely quoted by G.W. Miller, op. cit., p. 11.

28 M.A. Brimer and L. Pauli, op. cit., p. 15.

29 S.P. Punalekar et al, School Dropout among Harijan Children, Causes and Cures, New Delhi, CIRTPC, 1975, pp. 14-15.

wastage as defined by Hartog Committee. However, since their study was carried out in a rural area they specify that the existence of a school or 'facility' was also to be taken into account. Therefore, if a student withdraws from school after completing primary education because a middle school does not exist within a limited area, then he will not be considered a dropout. On the other hand, if a child leaves school after primary stage where there is a facility for middle school, he will be considered a dropout. Here, they seem to be placing more emphasis on the existence of a 'facility' than on the objectives of a stage. However, this is not how it should be since once the definition of dropout takes into account the idea of educational objectives of certain stage, the concept of facility may not arise at all.

Further the concept of 'stage' seems to have an advantage over the concept of 'year' so far as their applicability is concerned. As for instance, the concept of 'year' is applicable only at the post primary level whereas the concept of 'stage' is applicable at all the levels of education including the primary education.

Our definition of the term will, therefore, be based on the concepts: 1) the educational objectives of certain stage and 2) net wastage. We will preferably use the term 'dropout' to 'wastage' since the latter does not exactly mean the premature withdrawal of students from the system. Thus, a dropout,

at the college level, may be defined as a student who enrolled in the first year of the three years' degree course leaves permanently before passing the final examination. According to our definition, therefore, if the student leaves the course prematurely and if he does not get enrolled in the same college at a later date he will constitute a case of dropout even if he joins some other courses. More specifically, a student who leaves degree course in general education will be a case of dropout even if he joins degree courses in medical science or engineering.

Review of the Related Literature

'Dropout' is a relatively new term and has hardly been used in studies on premature school leaving. Therefore, it becomes necessary to review the literature on wastage which in any case covers dropout. Most of the studies at the primary level report a high rate of wastage and stagnation. As for example, Sharma and Sapra³⁰ reported that the rate of wastage and stagnation for eleven years is 65.30 per cent; the rate according to the report by Gadgil and Dandekar³¹ is 81.9 per cent; the research unit of the Directorate of Education, Bombay report³²

30 R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, op. cit.

31 D.R. Gadgil and V.M. Dandekar, Report of Two Investigations - Primary Education in Satara District, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1955.

32 Directorate of Education, Bombay, "Report of Wastage and Stagnation in Primary Schools: Summary", in Indian Journal of Educational Administration and Research, 1960, Autumn issue.

a rate of 78.9 per cent; Chowdhury³³ report a rate of 72.5 per cent; and the rate of dropout among Harijan children is reported by Punalekar et al³⁴ to be 73.33 per cent. A little³⁵ lower rate i.e., 68 per cent is reported by Chickermane.

The incidence of dropout seems to be equally alarming at the higher level though it is less than that at the primary stage. Kamat and Deshmukh³⁶ have estimated the rate at 44.8 per cent for Arts and for Science at a slightly less percentage i.e., 38.3 per cent. Further, one finds a striking difference in the general and professional education. Many more students dropout in general education than in professional education. For example, the rate of dropout among medical students is reported to be 6 per cent.³⁷ Similarly, the rate of engineering³⁸ students is also reported to be 6 per cent.

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- 33 P. Chowdhury, Report of an Investigation into the Problem of Wastage and Stagnation in Primary Schools in the District of 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Directorate of Public Institution, 1965.
- 34 S.P. Punalekar et al, op. cit.
- 35 D.V. Chickermane, "A Study on Wastage in Primary Education in India", Education and Psychology Review Baroda, M.S. University, vol. II, January 1962.
- 36 A.R. Kamat and A.G. Deshmukh, op. cit., p. 12.
- 37 Development of Modern Medical Education in India and Student Wastage in Medical College, A Report on Health and Medical Manpower by Institute of Applied Manpower Research, New Delhi and National Institute of Health Administration and Education, New Delhi, pp. 36-37.
- 38 "Bombay IIT Harijan Top Dropout List", A News Report in Hindustan Times (New Delhi), 8 December 1976, p. 6.

In addition to the stages and types of education bearing on the incidence of dropout, the caste or community to which a student belongs is also very important. For example, the incidence of dropout among engineering students varies according to their caste or community, namely, 6 per cent for advanced castes and communities and 25 per cent for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students.

Most of the studies on wastage and stagnation have also highlighted on the factors responsible for children having to leave school prematurely. These factors can be divided under two very broad categories, namely, student factors and institutional factors. The student factors are ability, age at entry, sex, family size, emotional stability in the family, order of birth, caste, parents' education, occupation and income, location of their home town. Some of the significant institutional factors are student-teacher relationship, student-student relationship, academic performance, student residence, extra-curricular activities, etc.

In our study we try to explore some of these factors. It was not possible to take all these factors into account in an exploratory study. Therefore, only those factors which are considered sociologically relevant and significant were included, namely, social background factors. These are caste/tribe, religion, urban-rural background, emotional stability in the family,

parents' education, parents' occupation, parents' income, siblings' education, family size and order of birth. It does not directly focus on the institutional factors. However, the teachers' views on some aspects of the phenomenon of college leaving are taken into account, since most of the studies on wastage particularly those at the higher level point out the crucial role of the teacher in academic performance of a student. Although most of the studies have been undertaken abroad and are concerned mainly with the teacher-pupil ratio, they do seem to indicate that a teacher can make a significant contribution toward a student's career whether it be academic success or failure. The latter could be an important reason for college leaving. No such study at the higher educational level has yet been undertaken in India. Therefore, it was decided to interview the teachers as well. Another reason for their inclusion in the sample was that we wanted to interview all those who were directly involved in the problem under study. Apart from those students who leave college before completing their courses, their parents and teachers are the ones who are affected by this premature withdrawal. It is needless to say that it is the parents who take crucial decision like joining college and are also the ones who finance the education of their children. Therefore it will be worthwhile to find out their views regarding the problem of college leaving without acquiring a degree.

The Study

Our attempt in the present study is to approach the problem from a sociological perspective with a particular focus on the social background factors and the structural constraints that force a student to dropout of college. And it is believed that this study will explore some aspects of the phenomenon of college dropout in Manipur.

Objectives of the Study

The present study is a pilot study designed to achieve the following objectives:

- 1) To find the incidence of dropout at the College level in Manipur.
- 2) To explore the social background of the College dropouts.
- 3) To explore the probable motivations of the College dropouts that led them to join the College.
- 4) To explore the possible factors that led the dropouts to leave the College.
- 5) To ascertain the present occupational positions of the dropouts and their job expectations.
- 6) To find out the views of the teachers/principals as to the probable rate and the causes of dropouts and the remedial measures.

Sampling Design

The present study was proposed to be undertaken in four colleges (2 government and 2 private) out of the 13 degree colleges in Manipur. Ultimately, however, the dropouts from

only three colleges could be interviewed.⁴⁰ The selection of the colleges for our study was based on the fact that the two government colleges in the sample are considered better than others. It was, therefore, decided to include one of them in the study. But then, since one of these two colleges is a women's college, it was later on decided to include both of them to present as fair a representation of boys and girls as possible. To represent the remaining colleges, it was proposed to select any two private colleges. But since here also we have to present a fair representation of the rural students as far as possible, it was decided to select two colleges which were believed to enrol a substantial number of rural students. Out of these three colleges finally selected, one was government college which offered courses in Arts, Science and Commerce. One of the remaining two private colleges offered courses in Arts and Science while the other offered only in Arts. All the three colleges were co-educational. Students enrolled in B.Sc., B.A., and B.Com. during the years 1968-69 were selected for our study from two colleges and in the third college those who were enrolled during 1969-70 were selected since this college had misplaced the records of 1968-69. Interview technique was employed to collect the data. A structured schedule was used for this.

40 The government women's college had to be excluded at the last stage due to non-availability of the records. Teachers from this college had already been interviewed.

The respondents in our study are the dropouts, their parents/guardians and teachers.⁴¹ In all 51 dropouts were selected from a population of 306 dropouts through random sampling.⁴² Although finally only 38 dropouts could be interviewed, the rest could not be contacted due to non-availability or because of inaccessibility of their residence. Of these 38 dropouts, 30 were boys and 8 were girls. Their average age is 18.30 years ranging from 15 years to 28 years. The parents/guardians of all the 38 dropouts were also interviewed. In addition 25 teachers including the principal of one of the colleges were also interviewed.

Incidence of Dropout

The existing literature has shown that there is a high rate of dropout at the school as well as college level. The findings of our present study seem to have confirmed that the rate of dropout at college level is high. According to the results of our study the rate has been found to be 35.3 per cent. In further analysis it has been found that the maximum rate prevails among the Commerce students which is 50 per cent and the minimum among the Science students which is 36.1 per cent while the rate for the Arts students is 39.3 per cent.

41 The teachers were interviewed from 5 colleges. Moreover, they were not necessarily the teachers of the dropouts whom we interviewed for our study.

42 Every sixth dropout was picked up.

Chapter II

THE BACKGROUND

MANIPUR

Historical Background

It still remains a matter of great controversy as to when and how the name 'Manipur' came to be associated with this State. Evidently in the ancient times, this State was known by different names. As for instance, to the Shans it was known as 'Kase'; to the Burmese as 'Kathe'; Ahoms (a group of mongoloid people in Assam) called it 'Makeli'; the Cachari (inhabitants of Cachar district of Assam) name for it was 'Magli' and old Assamese name 'Moglan'. In Rennell's Memoirs and maps of India it was called 'Macklay'; in the narrative of Symes and in the maps of that period Manipur was called 'Cassy'.¹ A group of scholars have tried to identify the present Manipur with that of the Mahabharata. There is another group who is trying to refute this idea. But there is a good reason to believe that the name 'Manipur' came very recently. Before that it was called 'Meitrabak' (which means land of Meiteis; a corruption of Meitei = name of the dominant group, Leipak = land or territory) by the people themselves.

The early history of Manipur is obscure. Even after the introduction of Hinduism in the eighteenth century, this small land remained independent until 1891 when it came under the complete political control of the British Government. Revolu-

1 J. Roy, History of Manipur, Calcutta, East Light Book House, 1973, p. 2. Also see: Report of the Study Team, Administration of Union Territories, vol. I, 1968, p. 189; Belfour, The Cyclopaedia of India; and Yule and Burnell, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words.

tionary changes were introduced in the system of administration. The British political agents exercised considerable influence in the affairs of the State. This went on until Manipur got its independence in 1947. It established, for the first time in its history, representative government and framed a constitution. But this was only a brief spell since Manipur was merged with the Indian Union on the 15th October 1949. The new Indian Constitution gave Manipur the status of a "Part C State".

Later the 7th Amendment (1955) of the Constitution converted Manipur into a Union Territory to be governed by the President through an administrator appointed by him. Under this amendment provision was made for a Territorial Council of 30 elected members headed by a chairman. This Territorial Council was considered as an important step towards the formation of responsible government. But in practice, the entire territory continued to be governed by the Centre through the Chief Commissioner.

Nevertheless, Manipur was in the process of further political development. With the demand for a responsible government by the people, the Union Territories Act, 1963 (14th Amendment of the Constitution) provided a Legislative Assembly of 30 elected members and a Council of 3 Ministers for Manipur. The ministers of the Territorial government enjoyed very limited power in financial matter. The Ministry could introduce the budget in the Territorial Assembly and get it accepted. But it

had to be passed by the Lok Sabha.

Due to discontent being developed among the people against the Territorial regime and demand for statehood, the Central Government moved first in the reorganization of single district Manipur Territory into 5 administrative units on 14 November 1969. Along with this reorganization, the rank of the administration was also raised. A Lt. Governor took over the charge of the Manipur administration in place of a Chief Commissioner. But the movement for statehood continued in full vigour till the 3 September 1970 when the Prime Minister announced in the Lok Sabha the acceptance by her government of granting statehood to Manipur along with Tripura and Meghalaya. On 21 January 1972, Manipur State was formally inaugurated by the Prime Minister at Imphal, the capital city of Manipur.

Geographical Features

Manipur is situated at the eastern border of India between latitude $23^{\circ}50'$ and $25^{\circ}30'$ North and longitude $93^{\circ}10'$ and $94^{\circ}30'$ East.² It shares the boundaries with Burma in the north-east, east, south-east, and south; with Assam in the west and north-west; with Mizoram in the south-west; and with Nagaland in the north. The State has an area of approximately 8700 square miles of which 700 square miles constitute the valley and rest the hills.

2 T.C. Hodson, Naga Tribes of Manipur, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1974, p. 1.

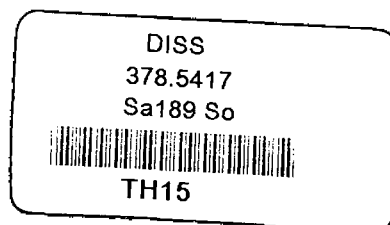
The State is divided into two geographical regions, namely, the valley and the hills. The valley is called Manipur valley or Imphal valley and is surrounded by a series of hills. It is, in fact, a plateau the height of which is about 2,600 ft. above sea level. It is called a valley only in relation to the hills. The valley slopes down towards south along with the hills which also gradually shorten in the south. It makes the maximum contributions in political, economic and socio-cultural spheres to the lives of the people in the State. It is inhabited by more than two-thirds of the whole population. It is the centre for most of the important activities, namely, trade and commerce, educational activities, etc. And most of the inhabitants of this valley are Meiteis.

The hills form the nine-tenths of the entire area of the State. This part is very thinly populated; the inhabitants being the tribal people including Nagas and Kukis.

Except some hill-towns where the district headquarters are situated, almost all the hills remain as forests. The population of this part accounts for less than one-third of the state population. The contribution this part makes to the state economy is through agricultural and forest products.

The People

Although there is some controversy as to which part of the globe the Manipuris came from, yet most believe that they originated from somewhere in South-east Asia. Linguistically,



they fall under the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Whatever the controversy, it is quite reasonably true that the modern Manipuri race is a composite one formed out of several tribes. At different periods of history of Manipur, it is to be found that Chinese, Shans, Nagas, Kukis, etc. came and settled in this land and merged themselves into the Manipuri community. It is also believed that some Aryans and Dravidians might have merged into this community.³ Whatever may be the composition, they have been fused into a separate, more or less homogeneous race independent of their neighbours in terms of culture, tradition, and language. Basic among this is, perhaps, language. The modern Manipuri is spoken by two-thirds of the population. Though rest of the people speak different other dialects, Manipuri is the lingua franca of the State.⁴

The people of Manipur may be broadly divided into (a) the valley people and (b) the hill people. The valley people are sub-divided into three groups, namely: i) the Meiteis, ii) the Bishnupriyas, and iii) the Manipuri Muslims. The Meiteis and the Muslims occupy the central valley. The Bishnupriyas are found in the western most part of Manipur though they are to be found in large numbers in Cachar district of Assam, Tripura, and some provinces of Bangladesh.

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3 J. Roy., op. cit., p. 4.

4 N. Tombi Singh, op. cit., p. 47.



The hill people of Manipur are composed of a number of small tribes. These tribes can be broadly grouped under two categories, namely, i) the Nagas and ii.) the non-Nagas which were called Kukis until recently. The Nagas inhabit the north-eastern, northern, and north-western hills. And non-Nagas occupy the eastern and southern hills.

In spite of all these divisions, the Manipuris have a common general feature, that is, Mongoloid with scanty but long, black, and straight hair with narrow eyes and blunt nose. This is all about the general feature allowing, of course, some variations ranging from a pure Mongoloid to an Aryan type. The latter is, of course, due to the presence of Brahmins of Indian origin amongst the Manipuris and also the Muslims of Pathan and Moghal origin.⁵

Religion and Caste System

Manipuris profess different religions. The Meiteis are now mostly Hindu Vaishnavas, the hill people are mostly Christians and there are Muslims also.

It is not definitely known, when Hinduism came to Manipur⁶ but undoubtedly, the mass conversion of the Meiteis into Hinduism started in the early eighteenth century. Though the religious rites and festivals connected with the Vaishnavism

5 R.K. Jhalajit Singh, A short Story of Manipur, Imphal, O.K. Stores, 1965, p. 1.

6 J. Roy, op. cit., p. 175.

have been performed by the Meiteis for almost three centuries, yet one can notice that the religious practice is a hybrid form of Vaishnavism and traditional Manipuri religion. One often comes across old Vaishnavs (converts) with 'chandan' marks on the foreheads happily eating fish dishes without the slightest hesitations.

Christianity was introduced in Manipur in late nineteenth century when there was a mass conversion of the hill people in particular. But earliest of all was the Muslim settlement in Manipur. They started their settlement as early as 1606 A.D.⁷

As pointed out earlier, ethnically there is no clear line of demarcation between any groups of Manipuris though, of course, on several occasions, their blood had been mixed with that of immigrants and colonizers. But today there are scores of outside communities like Bengalis, Biharis, Marwaris, Punjabis, Nepalese, Assamese, etc. in addition to Burmese, Chinese and so on. Their settlement is confined to Imphal, the capital of the State with the exception of Bengalis and Nepalese who have also settled in the outskirts and hills. Ethnically today Imphal city presents a cosmopolitan picture.

Unlike the rest of the Hindus, the caste structure in the present Manipuri Hindu society has only two castes, namely, Brahmin and Kshatriya. Besides these, there are Scheduled Castes. Christians and Muslims fill up the rest.

7 R.K. Jhalajit Singh, op. cit., p. 18.

Economy

Economically, Manipur still remains one of the backward states of the Indian Union. The per capita income in Manipur is much below the national average and capital formation is almost negligible.⁸

The main profession of the population is agriculture. Weaving, fishing and other cottage industries are the main supplements. Employment in the government and semi-government sectors forms hardly 5 per cent of the total employment statistics.⁹

Agriculture mainly serves as a subsistence. In fact, Manipur was for sometime a rice-exporting country. But now it does not produce enough for its needs. Therefore, it imports rice from other states. This is in spite of the recent introduction of the modernized methods of cultivation including double-cropping system as well as the introduction of high-yielding hybrid seeds. The other crops, besides rice, are maize, varieties of pulses like pignon pea, soya bean, ground nut, etc., and wide varieties of other daily vegetables and fruits specially pineapples, oranges, and guavas.

Weaving is as essential as breathing for every woman of Manipur, irrespective of the status of her family. Weaving is done strictly on the traditional loom; practically almost every

8 J. Roy, op. cit., p. 156.

9 N. Tombi Singh, Manipur: A Study, Imphal, Raj Stores, 1972, p. 99.

house is equipped with a loom or some weaving materials. Power looms are not at work at present though modernized looms are being introduced. According to the latest report, the Government of India have agreed to the setting up of spinning mills in Manipur.¹⁰

There are no heavy industries at present. Cottage industries such as carpentry, blacksmithy and goldsmithy, tailoring, embroidery, bamboo and cane works support a small section of the population. One Khansari Sugar Mill is at work. The transport industries for which Manipuris have a special fascination provide considerable employment opportunities to a large number of drivers, fitters and managerial staff.

As to power, the State is at present depending on the diesel generators. However, Loktak Hydro-Electric Project is under construction. When this project comes up, it would help not only in the internal supply but also in other neighbouring states. This project would also help in irrigation facilities thereby improving the agricultural sector in the State. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the success of the project will determine the State's fate in improving its economy through various small scale industries both public and private.

2) Educational Growth and Development

Though modern education was introduced in Manipur during the British period, the real development started after the

integration of the State with the Indian Union in 1949. And the process of development caught momentum during the last one and a half decades. Apart from the British, the Christian missionaries also played an important role in spreading western education in Manipur. Notable among them was the American Baptist Mission. The year 1931-32 is a landmark for the establishment of the mission schools. This will be clearly understood from the facts and figures provided in this section.

Historical Background

The first primary school to impart western education was founded by Major General W.E. Nuthall in 1872.¹¹ After him, another British official, Sir James Johnstone founded a Middle School in 1885 which was named after himself.¹² However, the real impact of western education could not be felt until the end of the Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891. With the British conquest of Manipur in the same year, a new king named Churachand Singh ascended the throne with the consent of the then British Government. After this, the Middle English School was revived in 1893 with 113 students on the roll. And two lower primary schools were established in that year one each in rural area

11 G. Kabui, Educational Problems of the Scheduled Tribe School and College Students in Manipur, New Delhi, ICSSR, pp. 1-3.

12 J. Johnstone, My Experience in Manipur and the Naga Hills, London, Sampson Low Marston and Company, 1896.

and the hill area.¹³

By 1900, the number of schools had reached 15 including the Middle English School. The number of students enrolled in the Middle English School was 50 and in the Lower Primary Schools was 988. This included a newly established girls' Lower Primary School with 53 students on the roll. By 1907 the number of Lower Primary Schools increased to 60 with enrolment of 2595 students. In 1920-21 the Middle English School was converted to a full-fledged high school and it was affiliated to Calcutta University in 1921-22.¹⁴

Earlier, however, a large number of students were sent out of the State to different places like Shillong, Dacca, Sylhet, Gauhati, etc. to pursue with their studies in different fields like general, engineering, agriculture, etc. For example during 1915-1920, the number of students sent out for such studies was thirty-seven.¹⁵

It is worth noting that after Johnstone High School was established in 1920-21, there was no consideration for bringing up new high schools for about a decade or so. But in 1930-31, the pressure generated by the awareness of the parents about the necessity of education for their children and the lack of

13 Mangoljao, Th., Western Education in Manipur, vol. I, Imphal, 1967, pp. 5-7.

14 Ibid., pp. 21-30.

15 Ibid., p. 33.

such facilities, led to the establishment of a private high school. This high school was then affiliated to Calcutta University. The State Government took a keen interest in this school to ensure a fair representation of the people from plains as well as hills. Fifty per cent seats were reserved for the students from the hill areas and 50 per cent for those from plain area. Then in the next decade, that is, by the end of 1941 the number of high schools increased to 5, one for girls and four for boys.¹⁶

In the year 1934-35, there were 217 primary schools of which 123 were in the hills and 94 were in the plain. There was no missionary primary school in the plain but in the hills out of the 123 primary schools, 59 were missionary schools. As regards secondary schools, there were only 2 such schools (imparting up to middle stage) in the hills and both these schools were missionary schools. There were 4 middle schools, and 3 high schools in the plain all of which were run by the State Government.¹⁷

The year 1946-47 is an important year in the history of higher education in Manipur. The first ever college was established in this year with the help of the donation given by the then Queen of Manipur, Dhanamanjuri. The college was named after the Queen. The following table will give a picture of

16 Ibid., pp. 70-83.

17 Ibid., pp. 85-87.

the number of educational institutions and enrolments in the year 1947.

Table I¹⁸

Institutions	Number of Institutions	Enrolment figure
College	1	60
High School	6	3,705
Middle School	13	1,360
Primary and Special Schools	278 + 13 = 291	25,800

The period between 1947 and 1949 was important not only in the political history but also in the history of educational development in Manipur. During this period Manipur got its independence from the British colonisers and a popular ministry was formed. With all this, great awareness and interest were developed among the people as regards the education for their children.¹⁹

Post-1949

As already pointed out, the real development of western education in Manipur started in 1949. Looking at the literacy rates we find that the rate increased from 4.86 per cent in

18 Reproduced from Mangoljao, Th., Ibid., p. 108.

19 Ibid., p. 2.

1941 to 13.37 per cent in 1951 whereas it increased from 3.82 per cent in 1931 to 4.86 per cent in 1941 which is not significant. This increasing trend continued till it reached 36.04 per cent in 1961 and 38.47 per cent in 1971.²⁰ The 1971 figure is higher than the national figure, that is, 34.45 per cent.²¹ If we rank all the 22 states of the Indian Union according to their effective literacy rates in 1971, Manipur occupies the seventh position, while Kerala occupies the first position with a rate of 69.75 per cent.²²

Now let us look at the different branches of education.

Elementary Education

The number of primary schools that existed in the year 1951 was 455.²³ Up to 1957 the increase was gradual. A survey conducted in 1957 by Government of India reported the existence of 671 primary schools in Manipur, an increase of 216 schools in six years.²⁴ But a rapid increase is to be seen in 1961.

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- 20 Based on various census data 1961, 1971.
The rate for 1971 is the effective literacy rate that is excluding the age group 0-4 years of the population.
- 21 Census of India, 1971, Effective Literacy Rates for India, States and Union Territories (Unpublished data).
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Census of India, 1961, op. cit., p. 128.
- 24 A Critical Note on the Educational Pattern in Manipur, Ministry of Education, Government of Manipur, 1976, p. 4.

According to the 1961 Census report, the number of primary schools that existed in the year was 1889, an increase of 1218 schools in 4 years.²⁵ The trend continued and by 1964 the number stood at 2206²⁶ and by 1973 at 3180.²⁷ Thus, the population served by a primary school also decreased. By 1961, the population served by a school was 395, the average enrolment was 67, and the average area served was 4.4 square miles. And by 1973, the population served was 300, the average enrolment 77 and the average area 2.4 square miles.²⁸

With the expansion of the primary schools the enrolments also increased. By 1951, the total enrolment at the elementary stage was 37,874. The enrolment increased to 82,092 in the year 1956-57.²⁹ By 1961, it was 1,40,476. Thus the rate of student enrolment to the total population of Manipur stood at 18.01 which was approximately double the national figure of 9.49. By 1973, the total enrolment was 2,76,269 and the proportion of enrolment to the total population had gone up to 25.11.

25 Census of India, 1961, op. cit., p. 128.

26 Mangoljao, Th., Western Education in Manipur, vol. II, Imphal, p. 260.

27 NCERT, Third All-India Survey: Some Provisional Statistics on School Education, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 16-17.

28 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 4.

29 Mangoljao, Th., op. cit., vol. II, pp. 22-55.

From the above facts, it is clear that in this branch of education, Manipur has done remarkably well. Now, there is a primary school within a mile's distance from the home of every child. However, in reality, some villages particularly those in the hill areas where there is lack of proper communication are still without such schools.³⁰

As to other dimensions of universalization, namely, enrolment and retention, the progress is very slow. This is revealed by the Census reports. By 1961, the percentage of children who had passed out from the primary stage to the total population of the State was 6.55.³¹ Though the rate increased to 8.07 per cent, by 1971 it was below the national figure of 10 per cent.³² And if we compare this figure with those of other states, Manipur occupies the fifteenth position, Kerala being the first with a figure of 25.57.

Secondary Education

Commensurate with the expansion in elementary education there has been a tremendous expansion of secondary education in Manipur.³³

30 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 4.

31 Census of India, 1961, vol. XXII, Manipur, pt. II, A, B, C, 1968, CIIIA Table.

32 Census of India, 1971, op. cit., CIIIA table.

33 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 11.

As pointed out earlier, in 1947 there were only 6 high schools. But by 1951 the number rose to 11. It is worth mentioning that by the end of the next decade, there was a dramatic increase in the number of high schools. By 1961, the number had risen to 57, by 1964 to 122³⁴ and by 1973 to 166 high schools. Besides there were 21 higher secondary schools (including colleges imparting pre-university course).³⁵ There³⁶ was further increase and by 1976 there were 213 such schools. As regards enrolment in the secondary schools, the increase is equally impressive. In 1947, the total enrolment figure was 3,705, which rose to 5,220 by 1951 and to 22,527 by 1961.³⁷ The total number of students enrolled in 1973 was 39,834.³⁸

As to the percentage of students who have already passed out from the secondary schools to the total population of the State, there is some impressive increase though the rate is a little below the national figure. In 1961, the percentage of such students stood at .97 (this includes even the persons who have already acquired higher degrees including M.A. and Ph.D. which will indicate that the percentage could have been far

34 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 20-263.

35 Third All India Educational Survey, op. cit., Table I, pp. 16-17.

36 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., Table D, p. 13.

37 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 22-263.

38 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 11.

below the present figure).³⁹ But by 1971 the figure increased to 2.99 per cent which is a little below the national figure of 3.17 per cent.⁴⁰ Manipur occupies the ninth position while Punjab is the first.

Higher Education

It is a fact that the last one and a half decades have seen a tremendous expansion of college education, both in the number of institutions and in the enrolment. It has already been pointed out that the first college in the State was established in 1946. The second college run by a private body was set up in 1953. The third college was set up in 1958. These three colleges were the only colleges that imparted general education in the State until 5 private colleges were established in 1963.⁴¹ In 1975, the number rose to 21; 13 degree colleges and 8 intermediate colleges.⁴²

As regards enrolment, as has been pointed out earlier, there were 352 students in 1946 in the only college in the State. Surprisingly enough the number was reduced to 348 in 1950-51. Thereafter it continued to increase. By 1961, the

39 Census of India, 1961, op. cit., Table C III A.

40 Census of India, 1971, op. cit., Table C III A.

41 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 108-264.

42 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 20.

number of students in the three colleges rose to 2,237 and by 1964 to 4,295.⁴³ From 1964 to 1975, the increase in the enrolment was almost three-fold. The enrolment increased to 12,566.⁴⁴

As regards the percentage of degree holders in higher education to the total population of the State the rate is quite high in 1971. The percentage of such persons to the total population in Manipur is .63 which is above the national figure of .59 per cent.⁴⁵

Post-graduate Studies

Post-graduate classes were started in one of the government colleges in Manipur prior to 1971 in some Arts and Humanities subjects. But this came to an abrupt halt when the Centre for Post-graduate Studies was established by Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi at Imphal in 1971.⁴⁶

Professional Education

Besides colleges of general education, there are a few colleges which impart professional education. The first such

43 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 30-265.

44 A Critical Note on Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 20.

45 Census of India 1971, op. cit., Table IIIA.

46 A Critical Note for Educational Pattern in Manipur, op. cit., p. 20.

college in the State was an Art College which started as an art school in 1949 imparting various courses in drawing and painting including the Teacher Training Course. Later, a Dance Academy solely run by the Sangeet Natak Academy, New Delhi, was established in 1954. It offered various courses in Manipuri dance. Two music colleges started in 1961-62 now impart 4 years' and 6 years' courses in vocal and instrumental music.⁴⁷

A polytechnic institute, which was started by a private body in 1956 for the tribal people of Manipur has now become the first government polytechnic in Manipur with effect from 1972. This is now open to all irrespective of whether they are tribal and non-tribal people of Manipur. A Law College imparting three year LL.B. course started in 1958 as a private aided college. It is an evening college designed to provide part-time education in law. A Post-graduate Training College which was started in 1959 in one of the Government Colleges has become a full-fledged training college since 1972 with an annual intake capacity of 100-150. This college provides in-service training to the graduate teachers.⁴⁸

In 1972 a Regional Medical College was established with an initial intake of 80 students from the States and Union Territories of the North-Eastern region, namely, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.

47 Ibid., p. 44.

48 Ibid., pp. 31-42.

It imparts 5 years' graduate course in medicine and surgery. The college is expected to produce its first batch of graduates⁴⁹ in 1978.

Women's Education

Looking at India as a whole, education of the women is lagging far behind. And the situation is no better in Manipur. Though the first Lower Primary School for girls was established as early as 1895, there were only 22 girl students in 1901 as compared to 1204 boy students.⁵⁰

In 1973, the percentage of enrolment for girls at the primary stage was 41.20.⁵¹ Though the percentage increase in enrolment of boys and girls between 1965 and 1973 is almost the same, that is, 59.85 for boys and 59.13 for girls,⁵² yet there is disparity in the pass percentage. As for instance, 1961 census shows that the percentage of girl students passing out from the primary schools to the total population is 2.70 while it is 10.40 for the boys. Though the percentage increased to 4.57 by 1971, it still could not catch up the boys' figure of 11.26. The pass percentage of girls in Manipur is much below the national figure of 7 per cent.

49 Ibid.

50 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. I, p. 20.

51 Third All India Educational Survey, op. cit., Table 9, pp. 34-35.

52 Ibid., Table 12, pp. 42-43.

The first secondary school for girls was established in the year 1934-35⁵³ but due to some reason it had to be closed down. Later in 1946, the first government high school came up with 299 students.⁵⁴ And by 1964, the number of schools rose to 15 and enrolment to 5,876.⁵⁵ So far as the enrolment of girl students is concerned, the situation is a little improved. The percentage of enrolment of the girls in the secondary schools was 39.52 by 1973 which was well above the national figure of 27.16 per cent.⁵⁶ And those girl students who had passed out from the secondary schools formed 1.37 per cent of the total population in 1971 which though below the national figure of 1.46 per cent,⁵⁷ shows an increase since 1961, the figure for 1961 is .19 per cent.⁵⁸ In this regard the State occupies the eighth position while Kerala is the first.

In higher education, though there is so much of expansion on the whole, yet higher education for women in the State is quite discouraging. The percentage of female population who had obtained a higher degree in and before 1971 to the

53 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. I, p. 85.

54 Ibid., p. 107.

55 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. II, p. 263.

56 Third All India Educational Survey, op. cit., Table 9, pp. 34-35.

57 Census of India, 1971, op. cit., Table C III A.

58 Census of India, 1961, Manipur, op. cit., Table C III A.

total female population in the State was only .17 per cent⁵⁹ which was below the national figure of .25 per cent.

Education for Tribal People

Much emphasis is given on the education for tribal and other backward people in Manipur. As far back as 1894, the British Government tried their best to give equality to three divisions in Manipur, namely, urban, rural and hill. Accordingly therefore, they set up three primary schools each in one⁶⁰ of these divisions.

When the population of the hill tribes was less than one-third of the total population of the State in 1930-31, there were 43 primary schools in the hill areas which was 38.05 per cent of all the primary schools in the State.⁶¹ And the percentage⁶² increased to 54.76 in 1973.

As regards secondary education, it has been pointed out that the second high school established in Manipur was so designed as to give 50 per cent share in budget, enrolment, etc. to the hill tribes. Unfortunately, however, while there were five high schools in the valley area there was not a single such school in the hill by 1941.⁶³ By 1947, under the patronage

59 Census of India, 1971, op. cit., Table C III A.

60 Mangoljao, Th., op. cit., vol. I, p. 9.

61 Ibid., p. 49.

62 Third All India Educational Survey, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

63 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. I, p. 73.

of a devoted social worker, a residential high school was established.⁶⁴ Though this school was located in the valley, the aim of establishing it was to educate the tribal people and give them employment so as to bring them up at the same level, as far as possible, as that of the plain people. In the beginning, most of the students admitted were tribal orphans. This is an important milestone in the history of tribal education in Manipur.

In 1951-52 there existed 2 high schools in the hill areas⁶⁵ which rose to 18 by 1960-61.⁶⁶ At present we do not have data to show the number of colleges located in the hill areas.

And finally it should be said that we do not have any data at present as regards the wastage in education.

Conclusions

In the end it can be said that though western education was introduced in Manipur as late as the third quarter of the nineteenth century there has been a great expansion particularly in the post-1949 period. But most of this expansion has taken place at the school stage. Expansion at the University level remains slow. There is no University in the State as yet.

Another point is that the education of the girls in

64 Ibid., p. 108.

65 Th. Mangoljao, op. cit., vol. II, p. 29.

66 Ibid., p. 155.

Manipur lags far behind that of the boys though there is some improvement in higher education in the late 1960s. As for the tribal people it can be said that there has been some development. Yet it should be pointed out that a careful evaluation of the tribal education as well as women's education is necessary in order to bring equality in educational opportunity.

Chapter III

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

It is not easy to give a precise definition of the term 'social background'. In fact, many writers have used such terms as 'social class' or 'family background' with almost the same connotation as 'social background'. When they describe social class, however, they cover many of the family variables in the same manner as their description of family background overlaps many of the social class variables. In this regard, Douglas says that "Social class ... summarises many different aspects of the home environment"¹. Likewise, Dale and Griffith also say that "the concept of social class gathers under its umbrella many of the factors in the home"². Since, however, either of the terms is not all inclusive, we will preferably use the term "social background" to include all the social class and family variables.

The relationship of social background to the educational attainment of a student is one of the many dimensions of the relationship between education and environment and perhaps, one of the important dimensions. The importance of this relationship is advocated by many investigators. As for example, in explaining the relation of social class structure to educationa

1 J.W.B. Douglas, The Home and the School: A Study of Ability and Attainment in the Primary School, London, Panther Modern Society, 1967, p. 81.

2 R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, "The Influence of Home", in M. Craft, ed., Family, Class and Education, London, Longman, 1970, pp. 73-74.

allocation, Rogoff tried to give answer to the question: why are some youngsters on the path leading to graduation from college, while others never even complete their secondary education. He has proposed three sets of social happenings that might bring the observed relationship. They are: a) the effect of school on individual differences in ability, b) the effect of individual family differences in motivation and c) differences in community and school environments. His description of these three sets reveals that though "none of these interpretations excludes the others", the social class structure seems to play a more important role.³ He says that young people from given social origins varied in their educational attainment; this can be because of the fact that more determining than ability is the family's attitude towards education and the distribution of favourable attitudes towards education cuts across the class structure to some degree.⁴ Craft also advocates the importance of this relationship. According to him, though this relationship is by no means the only pattern of social pressures upon the child, nor is it always necessarily the dominant one, yet it is an important relationship.⁵

3 N. Rogoff, "Local Social Structure and Educational Selection" in Bell and Stub, eds., The Sociology of Education: A Source Book, Illinois, The Dorsey Press, 1968, pp. 146-7.

4 Ibid.

5 M. Craft, "Family, Class and Education: Changing Perspective" in his ed., Family, Class and Education: A Reader, London, Longman, 1970, p. 3.

The importance of this relationship is validated by the findings of many studies some of which we are going to review now. The social background factors which we will include in this review are i) social class, ii) economic factor, iii) parents' education, iv) parental attitudes and interest, v) family size and vi) order of birth.

Social Class

The social class of a child has a great influence on his educational attainment. In fact, there are fundamental differences between the social classes as regards ways of life, values, attitudes, aspirations and even material conditions which lead the children of different social origins to experience differently, due to which they respond differently to the school environment. "This is true even at the same level of measured intelligence"⁶. Many studies~~■~~ have shown that manual working classes are associated with poor educational attainment while middle classes are associated with good educational attainment. As for instance, Banks and Finlayson have found that "the tendency for successful boys to have fathers in non-manual occupations is completely consistent"⁷. Douglas also

6 J. Floud, "Social Class Factors in Educational Achievement" in M. Craft, ed., Family, Class and Education: A Reader, London, Longman, 1970, p. 33.

7 O. Banks and D. Finlayson, Success and Failure in Secondary School, London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1973, p. 93.

has come to the conclusion that "... not all of the poor achievement of the working-class children is explained by their lower measured ability ... with children in the top two per cent of ability, social background is unimportant, but below this it has a considerable influence".⁸

The social class factor is also related to the academic deterioration and early school leaving of the children. For example, the working class children are more likely to deteriorate and to leave school as early as possible than the middle class children. Craft says on this line that "even at the same levels of ability they (working-class children) are far more likely than middle class children to deteriorate in performance and to leave school at the earliest permitted age".⁹ Dale and Griffith in their clinical study have found that "37 out of the 39 deteriorators are from the semi-and unskilled and skilled manual working classes".¹⁰ As for early school leaving, Husen's finding is that fifty per cent of pupils from manual working classes as compared with only twenty-two per cent from lower middle classes and ten from upper middle class, left school as soon as they could.¹¹

8 J.W.B. Douglas, op. cit., p. 77.

9 M. Craft, op. cit., p. 4.

10 R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

11 T. Husen, Social Influences on Educational Attainment, OECD, 1975, p. 146.

Economic Factor

Though economic factor is an important aspect of the social class, yet it is worthwhile to look at it separately.

There is a close relationship between the income level of the family and the educational attainment of a child. The financial difficulties in the family cause early and premature leaving of the students as well as severe deterioration in academic performance. Quite a few studies have shown this. As for instance, Dale and Griffith say that a deterioration of an undue proportion of grammar school children of working class families was caused by the financial difficulties.¹² Likewise, Miller had found that for an average income of \$2,550 the school year completed was 8 as compared to \$9,206 for which the school year completed by a child was 16 and above.¹³ A similar conclusion has been derived by Abrams.¹⁴ But then the financial reason does not seem to act independently. Some studies have dealt with other intervening factors like size of the family. For example, National Foundation for Educational Research, 1955 has concluded that while deterioration was caused by financial difficulty, being an only born child was likely to be associated with improvement especially among working

12 R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, op. cit., p. 81.

13 Miller, quoted by M. Craft, op. cit., p. 6.

14 Abrams, quoted by M. Craft, op. cit., p. 6.

class pupils.¹⁵

Parental Education

The parents' educational levels have a close relationship with the educational attainment of a child. Many studies have shown that high levels of parents' education are associated with the high educational attainment of the children. As for instance, Dale and Griffith have found that the parents of 108 families out of 181 were grammar school educated. They have also pointed out that 83 per cent of the children in the A stream had at least one parent educated in a grammar school and the proportion declined to 63 per cent in B form and 28 in C form.¹⁶ As regards the influence of mother's education on the child's academic performance, Douglas says that the influence is as strong as that of the father's education so far as the performance in the secondary selection examination is concerned.¹⁷

The parents' educational level, too, has a closer association with the deterioration in academic performance. Dale and Griffith, for example, have pointed out that "only one case amongst the thirty-nine was there a parent educated in a

15 National Foundation for Educational Research, 1955, quoted by R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, op. cit., p. 82.

16 R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, op. cit., p. 74.

17 J.W.B. Douglas, op. cit., p. 72.

grammar school".¹⁸

Parental Attitude and Interest

Parental attitudes and interest are two of the very important social background factors since they have a great effect on a child's educational attainment. It is needless to say that a parent who shows a complete disregard for education, literacy and the niceties of social advancement is bound to have some adverse effect upon the educational progress of his children,¹⁹ whereas a positive attitude of the parent will have positive effect. A number of studies have outlined the part that the parental attitudes can play in the educational progress of a child. As for instance, Douglas has shown that "the children whose parents show a high level of interest not only make higher average scores in the tests at eight and eleven years, but also improve the level of their performance between these ages".²⁰ And this impact is positive even at the different levels of ability. Douglas has also said in this regard thus "the children with interested parents pull ahead of the rest whatever their initial starting ability".²¹ And it is also true that the children of

18 R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, op. cit., p. 75.

19 I. Morrish, The Sociology of Education: An Introduction London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972, p. 121.

20 J.W.B. Douglas, op. cit., p. 85.

21 Ibid.

disinterested parents, even though they are gifted, become low achievers. This is confirmed by the finding of Fliegler who studied the home patterns of gifted, low achieving children. He has found that a neutral or uninterested view of education by the parents; over-anxious, over solicitous, easy-going or inconsistent parental behaviour; luke-warm, indifferent parents; and lack of co-operative spirit in the family are the four pre-²²dominant home patterns.

But then, the parental attitudes and interest seem to be related to the social class factor. As Douglas says "The parents who are most interested in their children's education come predominantly from the middle classes and those who are least interested from the manual working classes"²³. This can be because of the fact that middle class is the social class which is highly mobility oriented and therefore, many parents in this class are extremely compulsive about their sons' growing up in order to be in better positions. This often creates in the growing child the belief that extended education is his natural right and many times this leads to positive attitudes on the part of the middle class youngsters about education

22 Fliegler, quoted by D.E. Lavin, "Sociological Determinants of Academic Performance in Sciber and Wilder, eds., The School in Society, New York, Free Press, 1973, pp. 93-94.

23 J.W.B. Douglas, op. cit., p. 83.

and the methods of educational success.²⁴ The other studies which support the fact that the social class factor cuts across the parental attitudes and interest are those carried out by Douglas, Martin and Himmelweit. For example, Douglas says that thirty-two per cent of the middle class fathers visit schools,²⁵ but only 12 per cent of manual working class fathers do so. According to Martin eighty-two per cent of the professional fathers thought a lot about their children's secondary education as against 38.3 per cent of manual working fathers.²⁶ Similarly Himmelweit's finding is that the major contributory cause for the working class boys being less successful than middle class boys seemed to be the lack of parental support.²⁷

Family Size

The size of the family may have some very significant impact on the educational attainment of a child. As for instance, a large family may hardly be able to provide facilities which are necessary for the children's educational progress. Moreover, the interruption caused by other children in the family may help substantially towards the downward trend in a

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- 24 Bell and Stub, eds., The Sociology of Education: A Source Book, Illinois, The Dorsey Press, 1968, p. 127.
- 25 J.W.B. Douglas, "Parental Encouragement" in M. Craft, ed., Family, Class and Education, London, Longman, 1970, p. 152.
- 26 Martin, quoted by P.W. Misgrave, The Sociology of Education, London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1972, p. 74.
- 27 Himmelweit, quoted by P.W. Misgrave, *Ibid.*, p. 76.

child's academic performance. This relationship is highlighted by many studies. For example, Bernstein says that family size is inversely related to academic performance, that is, the larger the number of siblings the lower the level of school achievement.²⁸ Douglas also says "It has frequently been observed that children from large families make lower scores in intelligence tests than children from small families and less successful at school. Clever children of course are found in large families as well as small, but the average level of measured ability declines with each increased in the completed family size".²⁹ And the influence of family size on the level of test score has exerted its full effect by eight years.³⁰ And according to Lavin,³¹ the student who does well in school comes from a family which has a relatively small number of children.

The association of family size with deterioration in academic performance is reported by Dale and Griffith. They have found that fifty-one per cent of the deteriorators and thirty per cent of the non-deteriorators came from the families

28 Bernstein, quoted by D.E. Lavin, op. cit., p. 92.

29 J.W.B. Douglas, The Home and the School, op. cit., p. 114.

30 Simpson, quoted by J.W.B. Douglas, Ibid.

31 D.E. Lavin, op. cit., p. 94.

having four or more children and there was no family of a non-³²
deteriorator which had more than five children. Greenald
reporting a similar finding, shows further that academic improve-
ment was associated with only born children particularly from
the small families of the working class.³³

Order of Birth

A child's order of birth has a great influence on his
performance at school. As Douglas says, the experiences of a
child in the home or out of it are to a considerable extent
influenced by his position in the family.³⁴ According to his
study, the first born children do better than expected from
their measured ability and later born children do worse. And
it is particularly true "at the borderline of ability".³⁵ Lees
and Stewart have reported the fairer representation of
and eldests in grammar school which needs better test scores
than the modern school.³⁶

Social class has a differential impact on this factor.
It matters much to be an eldest child in a working class family

32 R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, op. cit., p. 77.

33 Greenald, quoted by R.R. Dale and S. Griffith, Ibid.,
p. 78.

34 J.W.B., Douglas, op. cit., p. 114.

35 Ibid., p. 120.

36 Lees and Stewart, quoted by F. Musgrove, "The 'Good
Home'" in M. Craft, ed., Family, Class, and Education,
op. cit., p. 186.

than a middle-class family since in the former case he is more likely to perform better.³⁷ According to Halsey and Gardner, more appropriately, a working-class boy is more likely to perform well and to attend grammar school if he is an eldest child whatever the size of his family and this does not apply to the middle class boy.³⁸ Among the first borns there is difference in attainment between the only borns and the rest. According to Douglas, the onlys do slightly better than the rest in the tests of mental ability and school achievement and this is true until it comes to 11+ examination and to the borderline ability when the only borns do slightly less than expected.³⁹ And this, he explains, is due to the absence of a stimulus and "this stimulus is the presence of a younger child in the family".⁴⁰

In sum it can be said that the review of a few studies has clearly indicated that there is an important relationship between the children's social background and their educational attainment. In other words, factors like the physical conditions of home, income of the parents, age of the parents' leaving school, parents' attitudes to education, size of the family, may bear a responsibility for poor performance and

37 F. Musgrove, op. cit., p. 186.

38 Halsey and Gardener, quoted by F. Musgrove, Ibid.

39 J.W.B. Douglas, op. cit., p. 117.

40 Ibid., p. 120.

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early leaving.

In India, we do not have many studies on this line. In fact, social determinants of educability is a comparatively unexplored field of study in India. However, very recently, small beginnings have been made in the field by psychologists, educationists, social anthropologists and sociologists. Systematic studies in the sociology of education have started in India during this decade only. Among the limited number of empirical studies available, a majority of them have been concerned mainly with sociological description and analysis of higher education in the country and these studies have been merely surveys of the socio-economic background of students. Their main concern has been the access to education. D'Souza, for example, has shown that whereas all the children of officers and higher professionals in his sample went to school only 46 per cent of the unskilled working class children did so. 1.2 per cent of the working class children discontinued their studies and 52.8 per cent had never gone to school.⁴² Gore and others have also come to more or less similar conclusion so far as the overwhelming representation of the middle

41 D. Lawton, Social Class, Language and Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968, p. 45.

42 V.S. D'Souza, "Education, Social Structure, and Democracy in India" in S.P. Ruhela, ed., Social Determinants of Educability in India, XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX New Delhi, Jain Brothers, 1969, p. 104.

class children in the schools is concerned.⁴³

Further we have very few studies on the social determinants of wastage, stagnation and dropout. A study carried out by Sharma and Sapra describes the social background of both dropouts and stayins at the primary and middle school level. According to them, children of fathers in occupation like agriculture, labour, artisanship, etc. dropout more than the children of those in business and white collar jobs.⁴⁴ As regards castes, their finding is that dropout rate is lower among Kshatriyas and Vaishas than among backward and Scheduled Castes.⁴⁵ Similar findings have been shown by Gadgil and Dandekar⁴⁶ at primary stage and Kamat and Deshmukh⁴⁷ at college level. Among Harijan children, poverty and nuclear family are some of the important social background factors associated with dropout.⁴⁸

So far the existing literature has pointed out that low

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- 43 M.S. Gore, I.P. Desai and S. Chitnis, Field Studies in the Sociology of Education: All India Report, New Delhi, NCERT, 1970, pp. 65-74.
- 44 R.C. Sharma and C.L. Sapra, op. cit., pp. 80-82.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 R.R. Gadgil and V.M. Dandekar, Report of Two Investigations: Primary Education in Satara District, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, 1955.
- 47 A.R. Kamat and A.G. Deshmukh, Wastage in College Education, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1963.
- 48 Punalekar, et al, op. cit.

social class, lack of parents' interest in their children's education, large sized family, later born children etc., may bear some responsibility for the premature leaving of the students. In fact, in India though we have a few studies at the lower level, we have very limited studies on the same line at the higher educational level. Our present study, therefore, is an attempt to describe the social background of dropouts at the college level.

The social background characteristics which we will describe in our study are: 1) Caste/Tribe, 2) Religion, 3) Urban-Rural background, 4) Parents' education, 5) Parents' occupation, 6) Parents' income, 7) Emotional stability in the family, 8) Family size, 9) Order of birth and 10) Siblings' education.

1) Caste/Tribe

Out of the 38 respondents in our study 27 (71.1 per cent) were Kshatriyas and 4 (10.5 per cent) were Brahmins whereas the number of Scheduled Tribe students was two and there was no Scheduled Caste student. One respondent was Muslim and 4 were not specified.

2) Religion

An overwhelming majority, that is, 35 (92.1 per cent), of our respondents were Hindus while the Christian and Muslim respondents were 2 and 1 respectively.

3) Urban-Rural Background

Twenty-eight (73.7 per cent) out of the 38 respondents

in our study came from urban areas as against 10 (26.3 per cent) who came from rural areas.

4) Parents' Education

We have grouped parents' education in five categories. They are: 1) when both the parents were illiterate, 2) when the fathers were school educated (that is, the fathers were either school graduates or had had some level of school education including primary) and mothers were illiterate, 3) when fathers were highly educated (that is, they were at least a college graduate) and mothers were illiterate, 4) when fathers were highly educated and mothers were school educated, and 5) when both fathers and mothers were highly educated.

Among our respondents, 14 (36.8 per cent) came from families where both the parents were illiterate and 18 (47.3 per cent) from families where only the fathers were school educated and mothers were illiterate. Thus, thirty-two respondents were the first-generation college going students since their fathers were either illiterate or at the most they had received some level of school education. Fathers of two respondents were highly educated, mothers remaining illiterate. There were two respondents whose fathers were highly educated and mothers were school educated. The remaining two respondents had both highly educated parents. (See Table 2)

Table 2
Parents' Education

Parents' Education	Respondents	
	Number	Percentage
Both illiterate	14	26.8
Father school educated mother illiterate	18	47.3
Father highly educated mother illiterate	2	5.3
Father highly educated mother school educated	2	5.3
Both highly educated	2	5.3
Total	38	100.0

5) Parents' Occupation

We have classified all the 17 kinds of occupations that had evolved in our study in the following manner.

- 1) Professional: teaching, law, medicine, engineering, arts and priestship.
- 2) Administrative: Secretarial and clerical.
- 3) Business: contract works, shopkeeping and running mills.
- 4) Skilled workers/artisans: driving, tailoring, carpentry and weaving.
- 5) Others: housewives and unemployed.

Among our respondents, 10 (26.3 per cent) came from families in which the fathers were engaged in agriculture as against 7 (18.4 per cent) whose fathers were skilled workers/

artisans. The respondents whose fathers were businessmen were six (15.8 per cent) and those whose fathers were professionals were seven in number. And fathers of 5 respondents were in administrative/clerical jobs and those of 3 were not working (see Table 3 below).

Table 3
Parents' Occupation

Occupations	Fathers		Mothers	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Professional	7	18.4	3	7.9
Administrative/clerical	5	13.2	-	-
Business	6	15.8	3	7.9
Skilled workers/artisans	7	18.4	9	23.7
Agriculture	10	26.3	6	15.8
Others	3	7.9	17	44.7
Total	38	100.0	38	100.0

As regards mothers' occupation, out of the 38 respondents the mothers of 17 were not working either because they were full-time housewives or were unemployed. Of those whose mothers were working, 9 (23.7 per cent) had skilled worker and artisan mothers as against 6 (15.8 per cent) whose mothers were cultivators. The respondents whose mothers were in professions and in small scale business were three in each case.

6) Parents' Income

We have classified the parents of our respondents in three categories according to the levels of income, ⁴⁹ namely, 1) those having an income of Rs.1001 and above, 2) those having Rs.500-1000 and 3) those having Rs.499 and below.

Among our respondents, 19 (50 per cent) had fathers in the income group of Rs.499 and below, 5 (13.2 per cent) had in the group of Rs.500-1000 and 2 had in the group of Rs.1001 and above.

As for mothers' income, of the 21 respondents whose mothers were working those of 18 had an income of Rs.499 and below whereas those of 2 respondents had an income of Rs.500-1000 (see Table 4 below).

Table 4

Parents' Income

Income Group	Fathers		Mothers	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Rs.1001 and above	2	5.3	-	-
Rs.500-1000	5	13.1	2	5.3
Rs.499 and below	19	50.0	18	47.4
No Income	2	5.3	17	44.7
No Response	10	26.3	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0	38	100.0

49 Monthly income whether salary and/or rent from a stable source.

7) Emotional Stability in the Family

Out of the 38 respondents, only 11 (28.9 per cent) came from broken homes⁵⁰ as against 27 (71.1 per cent) in whose case both the parents lived together. Of all the respondents who came from broken homes, only one case had legally divorced mother whereas the remaining all had lost one of the parents.

8) Family Size

We have grouped the families of our respondents into 4 sizes according to the number of children, namely, i) 1-2 children, ii) 3-4 children, iii) 5-6 children and iv) 7 or more children.

Out of the 38 respondents, 14 (36.9 per cent) came from families of 5-6 children as against 10 (26.3 per cent) who came from families of 7 or more children. Seven (18.4 per cent) respondents each came from families of 1-2 children and 3-4 children.

9) Order of Birth

We have grouped the respondents into three categories according to orders of birth, namely, i) first born children, ii) second and third borns and iii) fourth borns and others.

Among our respondents, 16 (42.9 per cent) were first born children out of which four were the only borns. Eleven

50 A broken home may be defined as the home in which one or both the parents have died or the parents are separated due to legal divorce.

(28.9 per cent) were second and third born children and again eleven of them were fourth borns and others.

10) Siblings' Education

Here we will see how many of our respondents had siblings who were at least a college graduate. This attempt has been made with an idea that the families which have a significant number of graduate siblings may be more likely to create such an educational atmosphere as to ultimately lead a child to graduation. If this sounds reasonable, then at least a large number of dropouts may have come from families in which there are no graduate siblings.

Among our respondents, 22 (57.9 per cent) had no graduate siblings. Fourteen (36.8 per cent) of them had one or two graduate siblings and only two respondents had three to five such siblings.

Relationship Between Social Background Variables

An attempt has been made here to establish the relationship between some of the important social background variables. And such an attempt will enable us to see if certain variable has an intervening effect with another variable on the phenomenon of dropout.

We wanted to see whether parents' education had to play consistently its role in our respondents' premature college leaving independent of their place of origin. Here, we find

that the role of parents' education varied with the difference in the place of origin of the respondents. For example, of the 28 respondents who came from urban areas, 16 (57.1 per cent) had school educated fathers though their mothers were illiterate, whereas out of the 10 respondents from rural areas, 8 (80 per cent) had illiterate parents. It is worth noting that all the six respondents, whose fathers were highly educated came from urban areas (see Table 5, Appendix 2). It was, therefore, those from rural areas who had more often been a dropout if it also happened at the same time that their parents were illiterate while in urban areas our respondents seem to have dropped out even if their parents were highly educated.

We expected a relationship between fathers' income level and size of the families from which our respondents came. It is possible that those who came from large sized families must have often been a dropout if it also happened at the same time that their parents could not afford to get them educated because of their low income. Out of the 14 respondents who came from families of 5-6 children, eight (57.1 per cent) had their fathers in the income group of Rs.499 and below. Likewise, of the 10 respondents who came from families of 7 or more children, 7 (70 per cent) had their fathers in the same income category as above (see Table 6, Appendix 2). Except that those who often dropped out came from large families (more than 5 children) and at the same time their fathers' income was less than Rs.500/- the pattern of relationship is not clear enough.

to draw a conclusion.

Another relationship which needed to be probed is that of parents' occupation with income. Most of our respondents dropped out whose fathers' income was less than Rs.500, and it was considered worthwhile to see if fathers' income acted independently of fathers' occupation. Not considering the ten respondents whose responses were not available on their parents' income, major proportion of our respondents had their fathers in the income group of Rs.499 and below irrespective of their fathers' occupations. For example, out of the 7 respondents whose fathers were in professions, 4 (57.1 per cent) had their fathers in the income group of Rs.499 and below. Out of the 6 respondents whose fathers were businessmen, 3 (50 per cent) had their fathers in the same income group as above. All the 6 respondents whose fathers were skilled workers/artisans and 4 whose fathers were cultivators had all their fathers in the same income group of Rs.499 and below (see Table 7, Appendix 2). This shows then that the respondents who came from low-income families seem to have been often a dropout irrespective of their fathers' occupation.

We also made an attempt to see the relationship, if any, between parents' education and number of graduate siblings. It could be possible that those who had graduate siblings would not have often been a dropout even if their parents were illiterate. Out of the 14 respondents whose parents were illiterate, 10 (71.4 per cent) had not even a graduate sibling. Likewise,

of the 18 respondents whose fathers were school educated and mothers illiterate, 10 (55.6 per cent) had no graduate siblings. The two respondents whose fathers were highly educated had one or two graduate siblings. It is worth noting that out of the six respondents whose fathers were highly educated, 4 (55.6 per cent) had one or more graduate siblings (see Table 8, Appendix 2). Though there seems to be some relationship, the pattern is not clear enough to explain the possibility of respondents often being a dropout if they come from families of no educational atmosphere.

In India, particularly among the workers and peasants, it seemed to be the later born children who usually spend more years in the educational stream, and the first borns, while helping their parents financially in giving proper education to the younger ones, often sacrifice their own studies. If this assumption sounds reasonable, a large proportion of our respondents whose fathers were workers and peasants must have been the first born children. Out of the 7 respondents whose fathers were professionals, 4 (57.1 per cent) were first borns. Out of the 7 respondents whose fathers were skilled workers/artisans, 4 (57.1 per cent) were later born children, and likewise, out of the ten children of cultivators, 6 (60 per cent) were later borns (see Table 9, Appendix 2). This shows that our findings have been just the reverse of what we assumed to be, since it was the later born children of the workers and peasants who often dropped out whereas it was the first born children of the

professionals who had more often been a dropout.

The relationship between order of birth and family size also deserved to be probed. It is possible that the first born respondents in the large sized families were bound to help financially their parents, the result of which could be, they dropped out and joined some service. Among our respondents, however, the pattern of relationship is not clear. Except for the 14 respondents who came from families of five or six children and of whom 9 (64.3 per cent) were fourth and later born children, it was the first borns who had more often been a dropout irrespective of which size of family they came from (see Table 10, Appendix 2).

Summary

An overwhelming majority of our respondents were Kshatriyas by caste and Hindu by religion. Most of them came from urban areas. This is understandable since higher education is confined to urban areas and to the high castes. The representation of Scheduled Castes is nil while that of Scheduled Tribes is insignificant. The mothers of a large majority of our respondents were illiterate while their fathers had at the most received some level of school education. So far as the occupations of the dropouts' fathers are concerned, small scale agriculturists and skilled workers/artisans seem to predominate and this is more true of the mothers who were working. Further, the highest proportion of our respondents came from

families in which both the parents have a monthly income of less than Rs.500.

A significant proportion of our respondents were first born children in the family. A major proportion of them came from large sized families each having five or six children. Further, majority of them came from families of more than five children. And majority of them had no siblings who had graduated from college.

There seems to be a relationship between parents' education and urban-rural background of the respondents since the role that parents' education played in our respondents' premature college leaving is dependent upon whether they came from urban or rural areas. Though the pattern is not very clear, there seems to be a relationship between parents' income and family size from which the respondents came. It has been observed that more often a dropout was likely to come from large sized families in which the parents had an income of less than Rs.500. Further, there seems to be no relationship between fathers' occupation and income. The pattern of relationship between parents' education and number of graduate siblings is not clear, though there seems to be some relationship. So far as our respondents are concerned it was the later born children of the skilled workers/artisans and cultivators who often dropped out of college, and first born children of professionals were more likely to dropout than expected. Therefore, there is some relationship between fathers' occupation and order of birth

of the respondents. And as far as the relationship of the respondents' order of birth with family size is concerned, a positive relationship is not discernible since it was those first born respondents who were more likely to dropout no matter what size of the family they came from is.

Chapter IV

DROPOUT: A PROFILE

In the preceding chapter, we have described various social background characteristics of the college dropouts. Here in this chapter, we will describe certain motivational factors that led the dropouts to go on to college after their higher secondary or pre-university course. We will also describe the immediate reasons for dropout. In addition, we will describe their job expectations and present occupational positions. Finally, we will make an attempt to describe the teachers' views on the problem in regard to rate of dropout, social background of the dropouts, and causes and remedies of the problem.

Our findings are based on the responses of the dropouts, their parents/guardians and of the teachers.¹ The dropouts and their parents/guardians were administered the same questions to collect comparable data so far as the reasons for dropout, the present occupational positions and job expectations of the dropouts are concerned. Except for the reasons for dropout, the questions asked to the teachers did not elicit comparable data (see Appendix I).

Motivational Factors

Here we wanted to find out the motivational factors that made the dropouts go on to college after higher secondary

1 In all 25 teachers were interviewed with the help of a Schedule. Though the selection of the teachers was not based on random sampling, utmost attempt was made to present as fair a representation as possible of all the faculties in all the colleges.

or pre-university. Out of the 38 respondents, 18² (47.4 per cent) went on to college with an idea of getting a job as against 13 (34.2 per cent) who had no specific reasons. Seven (18.4 per cent) of them joined college for social prestige.

We also wanted to investigate whether all the respondents were willing to join college when they did so. Of the 38 respondents, 33 (86.8 per cent) said that they willingly³ went on to college when they did whereas the remaining 5³ said that they would not have liked to do so, had they been given the choice. Therefore, we find that most of our respondents were sufficiently motivated to join college. And if that is the case why did they discontinue with their studies before completing the course and what are the structural constraints that forced them to dropout?

Reasons for Leaving College

'Academic failure' and 'lack of monetary support' are the two most important factors which forced most of the respondents to pre-maturely leave their studies. Out of the 38 respondents, 13 (34.2 per cent) left college because of

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- 2 Out of the 18 respondents who had the idea of getting a job, 12 specified the jobs. For example, 6 wanted to get prestigious jobs like IAS/IPS, Medicine, Lecturership etc. and 4 wanted to become school teachers. One each aspired to go in for police service and clerical job.
 - 3 Out of the 5 respondents, only one wanted to join his father's business whereas remaining 4 preferred to join some professional colleges as soon as possible.

academic failures while 10 (26.3 per cent) left due to financial reasons, namely, lack of monetary support. At the same time, 6 respondents (15.8 per cent) switched over to some other courses. A majority ^{of the} women students (5 out of 8) left because they got married. And 4 (10.5 per cent) left due to other reasons.⁴ There is no difference between dropouts' responses and that of their parents so far as the orders of importance of the reasons are concerned. According to the parents' responses also academic failures and lack of monetary support are the most important reasons for dropout (see Table 11 below).

Table 11
Reasons for Dropout

Reasons	Dropouts		Parents/Guardians	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Academic failures	13	34.2	11	28.9
Lack of monetary support	10	26.3	11	28.9
Change of Course	6	15.8	7	18.4
Marriage	5	13.2	6	15.8
Others	4	10.5	3	7.9
Total	38	100.0	38	100.0

In the present social context, a degree has come to acquire

⁴ Other reasons are lack of convenience caused by distance, political influence, and ill-health.

significance because of its positive link with occupational position and social prestige. In fact, a keen competition is going on for the limited seats available in higher education. Yet one is sure to come across that even after they have joined the college, a substantial proportion of the students prematurely leave their studies without ever having acquired the degree. If the degree is so important, it is possible that these students might still be desirous of continuing with their studies by re-entering the educational stream. Coming back to our 38 respondents, 21 (55.3 per cent) expressed their desire to continue with their studies while 17 (44.7 per cent) would not like to do so even if they were given the opportunity. It seems as if the latter group of respondents did not give much importance to the degree. The reason may be, they had perhaps succeeded in getting jobs of their choice or they thought the degree would not improve their social position economically or otherwise. We shall explore these dimensions a little later.

Before we proceed further, we will find out if the motivational factors of the dropouts for joining college have any bearing on the factors that led them to dropout of college. Out of the 10 respondents who left college due to lack of monetary support, 7 (70 per cent) joined college to get a job. Of the thirteen who left because of academic failures, 8 (61.5 per cent) joined college either for social prestige or for no specific reasons. Further, of the six who switched over to some other courses, five (83.3 per cent) had no specific purpose.

Likewise, of the five respondents who left since they got married, three (60 per cent) had no specific purpose (see Table 12, Appendix 3). This shows that while finding a job was related to lack of monetary support, lack of specific purpose had resulted in academic failures, change of course and marriage, latter in the case of women respondents. This would mean that the motivational factors for going on to college had some effect on the reasons for leaving college prematurely. We also tried to relate the father's occupation, a crucial social background variable, to the motivational factors for joining college. But, though we could not see a clear pattern it is worth noting that those whose fathers were in professions, administrative/clerical jobs and business joined college with no specific purpose while, those who joined college to get a job were the children of skilled workers/artisans, cultivators and unemployed fathers (see Table 13, Appendix 3).

Apart from father's occupation, income is another crucial variable since the financial capacity and position of the parents to some extent determines the children's attitudes towards education. Therefore, could there be any relationship between father's income and respondents' motivational factors was the question that led us to investigate into the matter. But here also, we did not find any clear pattern of relationship. Though, of the 18 respondents who joined college with a view to getting a job, the fathers of 9 (50 per cent) were earning less than Rs.500 per month, yet at the same time, of the 7 who joined

college for social prestige, the fathers of 4 (57.1 per cent) were also earning less than Rs.500. And this is also true of those who joined college with no specific reasons provided we exclude the four respondents whose fathers' income was not available. Therefore, we can safely say that without considering the 10 respondents whose fathers' income was not available, major proportion of our respondents belonged to low income families no matter what their motivational factors were (see Table 14, Appendix 3).

So far we know that parents' occupation and income, the two crucial background variables, had no significant effect on our respondents' motivational factors for joining college. Then how about the impact these two variables might have on the reasons for dropout? Could there be any meaningful relationship? The answer is negative. As far as the relationship between fathers' occupation and reasons for dropout is concerned, except for the six respondents whose fathers were businessmen and largest proportion (66.7 per cent) of whom left college because of academic failures, the pattern is hardly clear as to enable us to draw any conclusions (see Table 15, Appendix 3). As for the impact of the fathers' income, no matter for what reasons they dropped out major proportion of our respondents belonged to low income families (see Table 16, Appendix 3).

We also related reasons for dropout with parents' education with an expectation that the children of highly educated parents would take more interest in studies than those of less

educated or illiterate parents and therefore, they must have left college because of certain reasons other than academic failures. And this expectation is obvious since parents' education is one of the contributing factors that play an important role in shaping the children's attitudes towards education. But then, no definite pattern had emerged. Out of the six respondents who can be safely assumed to be second generation college going students since their fathers were at least a college graduate, 3 (50 per cent) dropped out because of academic failures. Though this would seem to reject our expectation, we could not see an opposite pattern for the children of the less educated or illiterate parents that would confirm the rejection (see Table 17, Appendix 3).

Occupational Position

Our respondents had left the educational system without acquiring a degree and therefore, they lacked certification which, in our society, is linked to many occupations. We wanted to find out if our respondents had succeeded in getting into employment in spite of the lack of certification. Out of the 38 respondents, twenty-two (57.9 per cent) were working. And among those who were working the largest proportion (10 respondents) were in engineering, medicine and teaching professions, seven were self-employed, three were clerks and two in police service and forestry (see Table 18). To check the validity of their responses on their own occupations, the responses

Table 18
Present Occupations

Present Occupations	Respondents	
	Number	Per cent
1. Engineering, Medicine, and Teaching	10	26.3
2. Small scale business (contract works, shopkeeping etc.)	7	18.4
3. Clerical	3	7.9
4. Police and forestry	2	5.3
5. Unemployed	16	42.1
Total	38	100.0

of the parents/guardians were also elicited. There was no difference since 10 parents said their wards were in professions, 7 said theirs were doing some business, 3 said theirs were clerks and 2 said theirs were in police and forestry. And 16 parents said their children were not working to earn an income.

Thus more than half of the respondents were working. We further probed to see if the respondents saw any relationship between educational qualification and occupation, so, we asked them what jobs they would have got had they obtained the degree. Out of the 38 respondents, 36 gave positive response to our question though only 22 were working at the time of interview. They mentioned specific jobs that they expected to

get after graduation. Twenty-eight (73.7 per cent) of them expected to get teaching or clerical jobs.⁵ Five (13.2 per cent) expected to go in for prestigious jobs like IAS/IPS/MCS/MPS while 2 (5.2 per cent) expected lower administrative jobs like SDC etc. One respondent expected to get into police. Two respondents did not specify any job since they were uncertain whether they would get a job or not after graduation. There is definitely a discrepancy between their actual occupational positions and their job expectations. It is interesting to note that all but two of them expected to become employed in the offices and schools and none thought of getting self-employed or taking up business. This clearly shows that our respondents perceived a degree as the best means of acquiring a job more secure than business, and those already in service might perceive it as the means of improving their occupational positions. Out of the 16 respondents who were unemployed at the time of interview, 15 (93.8 per cent) expected to get a job after graduation and a major proportion of them wanted to become teacher or clerk. Two respondents who were in forestry and police (constable) wanted to improve their positions to teaching or clerical level. Six (85.7 per cent) of the seven businessmen wanted to switch over to some more secure positions by being in the administrative services or by being teachers or clerks. Of

5 Since the respondents were allowed to express their choice of occupations, the majority gave "teaching or clerical" and this is why we could not arrange their expected occupations in the same manner as we did for the parents' occupations.

the ten professionals, nine (90 per cent) said that they could expect to get teaching or clerical jobs. Since, however, they were already in a better position, the question of improvement did not arise. Two of the three clerks wanted to improve their positions to administrative level (see Table 19 below).

Table 19

Discrepancy Between Present Occupational Position of the Dropouts and Their Job Expectation

Job Expectation \ Present Occupation	Engineering, Medicine and Teaching	Business	Clerical	Forestry & Police	Unemployed	Total
Teaching or clerical	9	3	1	2	13	28
Higher Administrative IAS/IPS/MCS/MPS	1	2	2	-	-	5
Lower Administrative SDC Co-operative Inspectors etc.	-	1	-	-	1	2
Police	-	-	-	-	1	1
Uncertain	-	1	-	-	1	2
Total	10	7	3	2	16	38

On the whole our respondents seemed to attach a great deal of importance to the degree and perceive a positive relationship between educational qualification and the occupational positions.

How far are some of the social background variables

crucial in having an impact on the occupational positions and the job expectations of the respondents particularly in the absence of a degree? We examined our data to provide an answer to this question. For example, there emerged a meaningful relationship between the fathers' occupation and the respondents' occupation. Out of the five respondents whose fathers were in administrative or clerical jobs, three (60 per cent) were in professions. Out of the ten respondents whose fathers were cultivators, five (50 per cent) were still unemployed. Two of the three respondents whose fathers were unemployed were also not yet employed. This would show that the children of administrative or clerical fathers had gone in for engineering, medicine and teaching while the children of businessmen either took up their fathers' occupation or remained unemployed and those of cultivators and unemployed fathers remained unemployed (see Table 20 below).

Table 20

Fathers' Occupation and Respondents' Occupation

Fathers' Occupations \ Respondents' Occupation	Engineering, Medicine and Teaching	Business	Clerical	Forestry & Police	Unemployed	Total
Professional	2	1	-	1	3	7
Administrative/clerical	3	-	1	-	1	5
Business	-	3	-	-	3	6
Skilled Workers/Artisans	2	2	1	-	2	7
Agriculture	3	1	1	-	5	10
Others	-	-	-	1	2	3
Total	10	7	3	2	16	38

We also related the respondents' job expectation with their fathers' occupation. Here we find that the highest proportions of the respondents expected to get teaching or clerical jobs irrespective of what their fathers' occupations were (see Table 21 below). Though it would seem for the children of skilled workers/artisans and cultivators that their job expectations are an indication of their desire for upward social mobility, yet on the whole the pattern of relationship is not clear enough.

Table 21

Fathers' Occupation and Respondents' Job Expectation

Fathers' Occupation	Job Expectation	Teaching/ Clerical	Higher Administrative IAS/IPS/ MCS/MPS	Lower Administrative SDC Coop. Inspectors etc.	Police	Uncertain	Total
Professional		7	-	-	-	-	7
Administrative/ Clerical		3	2	-	-	-	5
Business		4	1	-	-	1	6
Skilled workers/ artisans		6	1	-	-	-	7
Agriculture		5	1	2	1	1	10
Others		3	-	-	-	-	3
Total		28	5	2	1	2	38

Now, we know that though fathers' occupation had some effect on the respondents' present occupational positions, their

effect on the respondents' job expectations was not clear. We further probed this dimension. We asked our respondents if the degree would have enabled them to get a better job in terms of prestige and money and also if they would have been better off generally than they were at the time of interview. Out of the 38 respondents, 24 (63.2 per cent) thought that they would have got more prestigious jobs had they obtained the degree. Twenty-one (55.3 per cent) of the 38 respondents thought that they could have earned more money. Further, twenty-four of the 38 respondents thought that they would have been better off had they obtained the degree. Thus a majority of our respondents were very optimistic about the role of certification in the present social context. It is also worth mentioning that majority of the parents/guardians of our respondents thought that had their wards obtained the degree they (latter) would have got more prestigious jobs (71.1 per cent), earned more money (57.9 per cent) and been better off generally (68.4 per cent).

Another dimension which deserved to be explored was the relationship between the motivational factors and the present occupational positions of the dropouts. Out of the ten respondents who were doctors or engineers or teachers (professionals) six (60 per cent) went on to college without any specific reasons. Of the three clerks, two (66.7 per cent) went on to college with a view to getting a job and this was true of the

two respondents who were in forestry and police and also of the ten (62.5 per cent) of the 16 unemployed respondents. (see Table 22, Appendix 3). This shows that while the professionals had no specific explicit aims when they joined college, the clerks, forester, police and those unemployed went on to college with the aim of getting a job after graduation. It is also worth noting that among the 18 respondents who had an ambition of getting a job, seventeen expected to get jobs had they completed their graduation. This implies that they had a belief in the degree enabling them to get a job and this belief remained stuck in their mind even after they had dropped out of the educational system. It was, therefore, not a change in their (18 respondents) perception of higher education later on during the period of their study that made them leave college prematurely. As already pointed out academic and financial factors played a significant role in our respondents' dropping out of college. And this was true even when these 18 respondents only were considered, since 12 (66.7 per cent) of them dropped out because of the above-mentioned reasons (see Table 12, Appendix 3).

Did, then, the reasons for dropout reflect on our respondents' present occupational positions? Our answer is positive since there emerged certain meaningful relationship between the two variables. To illustrate, out of the ten professionals, six (60 per cent) switched over to medical or engineering colleges. Four (57.1 per cent) of the seven businessmen left

college because of academic failures while two of the three clerks left because of financial difficulties (see Table 23 below).

Table 23
Showing Reasons for Dropout and Respondents'
Occupations

	Profes- sionals	Busi- ness	Cleri- cal	Forestry & Police	Unemp- loyed	Total
Academic failure	1	4	1	1	6	13
Lack of monetary support	-	3	2	1	4	10
Change of Course	6	-	-	-	-	6
Marriage	1	-	-	-	4	5
Others	2	-	-	-	2	4
Total	10	7	3	2	16	38

This means that while those in professions left college to join some other courses such as Bachelor's degree in engineering and medicine, clerical people left because of financial reasons and those in business because of academic failures.

Summary

We may summarise what we have described above in the following way. The majority of our respondents were well motivated by the idea of getting a job and social prestige though quite a few could not specify any reason for going on to college.

It was, therefore, not as if they had been forced to join degree college after completing their higher secondary school or pre-university course. In fact, most of them wanted to pursue higher education when they joined college. Yet they could not fulfil their desire since they left college without completing the course. Academic failure and lack of monetary support played a very significant role in their untimely leaving. Majority of them, however, expressed their desire that given the opportunity they would like to re-enter the educational stream and pursue higher education. The motivational factors of the respondents for joining college had to some extent affected the reasons for leaving college since those without any specific purpose changed over to other courses or left because of academic failure or marriage, whereas those with specific reasons left because of financial difficulties. The fathers' income and occupation, the two crucial social background variables had no clear impact on the respondents' motivational factors for joining college and on the reasons for their leaving college. The reasons for dropout in no turn received any impact of the parents' education.

Since their leaving college, the majority of our respondents had been engaged in some occupations. And among those who were employed, a significant proportion were doctors, engineers and teachers; next to it were those doing business. Had they obtained the degree, a large majority of them expected to get teaching or clerical jobs while a substantial number

expected to go in for administrative services. In fact, our respondents gave a great deal of importance to a degree which they perceived as a means of getting employment and of improving their occupational positions. The majority of them thought that had they obtained the degree, they would have got more prestigious jobs, earned more money and thus been better off generally. Their job expectations were quite independent of their fathers' occupations though the latter had a clear impact on the respondents' own occupations. Further, their occupations had reflected the impact of their motivational factors as well as reasons for dropout.

Teachers' Views on the Problem

Teachers are a group of people who are directly acquainted with various problems that the students are facing in the educational system. In a sense, they have a crucial role in solving many of the problems. From this point of view it was decided to investigate into the views of the teachers on the problem of college dropout. Their views, however, were quite general and thus not specifically related to our thirty-eight dropouts.

First of all, the teachers' views were elicited on the probable rate of dropout in their colleges. Out of the 25 teachers, twelve (48 per cent) said that the rate of dropout was 'high' while nine (36 per cent) thought it was 'low' in their colleges. Only two teachers each thought it to be either

'very high' or 'very low'. This indicates that the largest proportion of the teachers in our sample felt that the rate of dropout in their respective colleges was high. This is also supported by Chi-Square test⁶ which shows that the teachers were in favour of probability that there was a high rate of dropout.

We were also interested in finding out their views on the social background of the dropouts in general. Here out of the 25 teachers, only 14 gave specific answers.⁷ For this reason, our findings on this particular question were based on the responses of these 14 teachers. In all there were 35 responses. Out of these 35 responses, 13 (37.1 per cent) related to the view that the dropouts came from economically backward families. Five responses (14.3 per cent) related to the 'uneducated parents'. Other social background characteristics of the college dropouts were indifferent parents, membership of the underprivileged groups, namely, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and rural origin (see Table 24, Appendix 3).

The teachers were also asked to mention the probable reasons why the students in general left college prematurely. They were asked to give five reasons in order of importance.

6 Chi-Square test for equal probability hypothesis
 $X^2 = 12.28$, $P < .01$. For calculation see Appendix 3.

7 The remaining 11 teachers either gave vague answers like "Socio-economic background of the dropouts is not so bad" or left the space unfilled.

Weightage was given to each of the reasons.⁸ And according to the ranks based on the weightages 'lack of monetary support' was the most important reason for dropout, second being 'academic failures', third 'educated unemployed', fourth 'change of course' and fifth 'early marriage' (see Table 27 below).

Table 27

Showing Weightages and Number of Responses for the Reasons Given by the Teachers. (n=24; No Response=1)

Ranks	Reasons	Weightages	Responses
1.	Lack of monetary support	97	24
2.	Academic failures	94	28
3.	Educated unemployed	21	7
4.	Change of course	16	4
5.	Early marriage	10	5
6.	Ill-health	4	1
7.	Delinquency	4	2
	Unsound Teacher-Pupil Relationship	4	1
7.	Death in the family	3	1
Total		253	73

8 The responses of the teachers were tallied on a 5-point scale of importance, namely, most important, very important, important, merely important and less important. This was done in an attempt to arrange the reasons in order of importance. To do so, each point on the 5-point scale was given an appropriate weightage in such a way that the point 'Most Important' received a weightage of

An attempt has been made here to compare the reasons given by the teachers with those given by the dropouts themselves and their parents/guardians. According to the teachers and the parents/guardians, 'lack of monetary support' is the most important reason whereas according to the dropouts themselves, it is the second most important reason. According to the dropouts and their parents 'academic failures' is the most important while this stands second according to the teachers. 'Change of course' is the second most important reason according to parents, third according to dropouts and fourth according to teachers. 'Educated unemployed' is the third according to teachers and this reason was not given by dropouts and their parents/guardians (see Table 28 below).

Table 28

Showing the Comparison of the Reasons in Order of Rank given by Dropouts, Parents/Guardians and Teachers

Reasons	Teachers' Responses	Dropouts' Responses	Parents/Guardians' Responses
Lack of monetary support	1	2	1
Academic failures	2	1	1
Educated unemployed	3	-	-
Change of course	4	3	2
Early marriage	5	4	3

Contd.

5 while 'Very Important' receive 4, 'Important' 3, 'Merely Important' 2 and 'Less Important' 1. The frequency on each point was multiplied by their respective weightages. Adding all the five products gave the total weightage of a reason and according to this weightage received by each reason, they were arranged in order of importance. For details of calculations and procedures of obtaining weightages see Tables 25 and 26, Appendix 3.

Table 28 Contd.

Reasons	Teachers' Responses	Dropouts' Responses	Parents/Guardians' Responses
Ill-Health	6	5	4
Delinquency	6	-	-
Unsound Teacher-Pupil Relationship	6	-	-
Death in the family	7	-	-

Note: The dropouts were administered close-ended question while the parents and the teachers were administered open-ended question. Therefore, the teachers gave more reasons.

Finally, the teachers' views were elicited on the remedial measures. A large proportion of the responses (49.1 per cent) related to academic measures. Making curricula practical, interesting and important; selecting only those meritorious, really interested students having proper aptitude for the course; making teachers competent; firm foundation of lower level of education; overall reorientation of the entire education policy in such a way as to make education more meaningful and relevant to the social needs; reducing teacher-pupil ratio; examination reform; and encouraging project works are some of the academic measures given by the teachers. The economic measures were suggested by 41.8 per cent of the responses. For example, a sort of job guarantee whether in the private or government sector or self-employment scheme to be given to the students

after the completion of their studies; giving financial assistance in the form of scholarships, stipends, free-studentship etc. to the needy students; and improving the general economic condition of the people are economic measures which were suggested by the teachers. Other reasons suggested by 9.1 per cent of the responses are raising the minimum age for marriage, creating study atmosphere at home, and changing the social values.

Summary

To sum up, it can be said that the largest proportion of the teachers felt that the rate of dropout in their respective colleges was high. As regards social background of the dropouts in general, 'economic backwardness', 'illiterate and indifferent parents', 'underprivileged and rural origin' are the important characteristics as viewed by the teachers. Lack of monetary support and academic failures are the two most important reasons for dropout according to the views of the teachers. As to the remedial measures, the teachers suggested such measures as related to academic and economic aspects.

Chapter V

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

We have reached a stage where we conclude our observations in the study. As is pointed out earlier, our study is an exploratory one designed to explore mainly the incidence of dropout, the social background of the dropouts, their motivations for going on to higher education and reasons for leaving college without graduation and their occupational positions and job expectations. We interviewed thirty-eight students from three colleges who after joining college in the years 1968-69 and 1969-70, dropped out without completing the course. Our sample formed 12.42 per cent of the population of dropouts in these colleges. In addition, we interviewed all the parents/guardians of the thirty-eight dropouts and twenty-five teachers from five colleges.

Incidence of Dropout

The results of our study seem to have confirmed the findings of other studies that the rate of dropout in higher education is high. The rate of dropout in our study has been found to be 35.3 per cent. The maximum rate was found among the Commerce students which is 50 per cent while the minimum rate of 36.1 per cent was among the Science students. The rate for the Arts students was 39.3 per cent.

Social Background

An overwhelming majority of the dropouts in our study were Kshatriyas by caste and Hindu by religion. Most of them came from urban areas. This indicates that so far as our

sample is concerned, the Hindu Kshatriyas from urban areas are more likely to dropout. However, it should be noted that higher education in Manipur is mostly confined to the urban areas and a much higher proportion of the students who go in for higher education seem to be the Hindu students from the urban areas. The other social background variables which seem more related to the premature college leaving of a student are parents' occupation and income. We found that majority of our respondents were the children of skilled workers/artisans, cultivators and non-working fathers. This suggests that membership in the families of lower occupations is a factor related to the phenomenon of college dropout. As for parents' income, low-income families seem to have produced more dropouts. And this income factor seems to act independently of the fathers' occupation. The siblings' education is another variable which seems to be related to the problem of premature college leaving. As for instance, the absence of graduate siblings in the family is quite associated with the problem. This factor in itself is crucial and its action seems to be independent of the parents' education because whether the parents were illiterate or school educated (in the latter case some kind of educational atmosphere may have been created in the family) more than fifty per cent of the dropouts had no graduate siblings. In addition to the above variables, family size also seems to be crucial. It has been observed that the families which had five or more children seem to have turned out more dropouts.

The social background variables which have been discussed above seem to be those each of which is fairly important on its own. There are others like parents' education and order of birth none of which seems to be very important on its own, but only when acting jointly with other variables. As for instance, parents' education as such does not seem to have a discernible effect on the problem of dropout. Among our respondents, the largest proportion had school educated fathers whereas the largest proportion should have had illiterate parents if at all the parents' education had some effect on a student's premature college leaving. When we further analysed we found that our finding that the largest proportion had school educated fathers was true only of the urban respondents. Among the rural respondents the largest proportion had illiterate parents. It can be ^{said} then that parents' education might be influential only when acting with the urban-rural background. As regards order of birth, since the first born children formed only a largest proportion and not the majority of the respondents, we can say that this factor seems to be less important on its own. However, acting jointly with parents' occupation, this factor seems to have some effect. For example, among our respondents, it was the first born children of the professionals and the later born children of the workers and cultivators who had often dropped out of college. Finally, we have the broken home which seems to have had no positive effect on a student's premature college leaving. The reason for this factor having

no discernible effect may be that at the college level the students are mature enough to control their emotions.

It has become clear in the course of discussion that there are some social background variables which seem to be quite important. But then they may not be easily subjected to manipulation by the university or college faculty who are looking forward at minimizing the rate of dropout. There are certain other variables which, though they are in a way determined by the social background of a student, may be well taken into account for purposes of arriving at some tentative measures. We will discuss these variables in the next section.

Dropout: A Profile

The respondents in our study were not forced against their will to go on to college after their school or pre-university since most of them appear to have joined college quite willingly. The idea of getting a job after graduation is the most important motivational factor that led a significantly high proportion of the respondents to join college. This, however, seems to be true only of the children of skilled workers/artisans and cultivators which may indicate their desire to move up the social ladder. In spite of the strong motivation, however, they were compelled to leave the college before graduation. Here academic failure and lack of monetary support played a very significant role.

The majority of the respondents were still desirous of

re-entering the educational stream and to continue with their studies in order to graduate from college. Though a significant number of them were yet to be employed, there were some of them who were already employed, ^{who} also expressed their desire to be a graduate. The reasons may be that those yet to be employed might perceive the degree as a means of getting a job while those already in service appear to have perceived the degree as a means of improving their occupational positions. This became clear when we probed the job expectations of the respondents. The majority of them expected to get teaching or clerical jobs. But since the doctors, engineers and teachers had already been in a better position or at least in the same position, it seems to be those unemployed who preferred teaching or clerical jobs. Those in business, clerical, forestry and police wanted to improve to better occupational positions or at least to more secure positions. On the whole they appear to have attached a great deal of importance to the degree and perceived a positive relationship between educational qualifications and occupational positions. This is clearly supported by the findings that majority of the respondents thought that had they graduated from college they would have got a more prestigious job, earned more money and thus been better off generally.

It should be noted here that the factors which had some influence on the present occupational position of the dropouts are their motivational factors for joining college and the

parents' occupation. For example, children of administrative/ clerical personnel went in for professions, those of businessmen either joined their fathers' business or remained unemployed and those of cultivators and non-working fathers were unemployed. As for the influence of motivational factors, it was those with no specific aims while joining college who became professionals and those with an aim of securing a job after graduation became clerks, forest guard and police. The reason for those with no specific aim becoming professionals may be that before they finally got admission in professional colleges most of them must have joined the college of general education just to kill time. And this is clear when we see the influence of reasons for dropout on the dropouts' occupation. As for instance, most of the professionals left the college to join some professional colleges, most of the businessmen left because of academic failure and most of the clerks because of financial problem.

In brief, it can be said that most of our respondents were well motivated to join the college but were compelled to leave before graduation either because of academic failure or due to lack of monetary support. They were still desirous of graduating from college since they perceived the degree as related to the occupations in the present social context and they were also quite optimistic about getting a job after graduation - getting a job being improvement of occupational position for some of them who were already employed. The majority of them were employed and they expected to get a

teaching or a clerical job after graduation.

Parents' Views

The responses of the parents/guardians of the dropouts in our sample as to the reasons for their children's dropping out of college, their present occupation and job expectations were not different from the responses of the dropouts. For example, they also viewed lack of monetary support and academic failure as the two most important factors that forced their children to dropout. The majority of them thought that had their children obtained the degree they (the latter) would have got a better job, earned more money and thus been better off generally. And they expected their children to get a teaching or clerical job with the degree.

Teachers' Views

The teachers in our sample seem to have been well aware of the fact that there is a high rate of dropout at the college level. They felt that generally the dropouts come from economically poor families in which the parents are uneducated and indifferent towards their children's education. The lack of monetary support and academic failure are the two most important reasons for dropout as given by them. As to the remedial measures, they suggested such measures as related mostly to the academic and the economic aspects.

This pilot study, while confirming some of the earlier findings on the dropouts, has also thrown new insights on a few

aspects of the problem which require further research. These have been mentioned at appropriate places in the preceding sections of this chapter. However, we would like to point out that it is not possible to generalize on the basis of a very small sample. Again, the methodological limitations of not being able to contact all the respondents originally selected for the study should also not be overlooked. Nevertheless, the purpose of the study was not so much to enable us to make generalization, but to point out areas of further research on dropouts in higher education, an area which has not so far attracted the attention of sociologists in this country. Our study has filled that gap and hopefully shall lead to further research in this area.

We are aware that the size of the sample also precluded any sophisticated statistical analysis of the data. As for example, we could not proceed beyond correlations as any other exercise would have involved too much time while the findings would not have had any statistical validity. A larger sample would not only have allowed generalizations but would have made possible the clustering of variables and also enabled us to establish causal relationships among certain variables. It is hoped that this lacunae can be overcome through research that we plan to undertake for the doctoral degree.

Further, we also feel that the comparison of the dropouts with those students who successfully complete their studies would also be fruitful. For example, a comparison of their

social background, of their motivational factors for joining college and of their perceptions of the role of education in their lives seem crucial in a study of the dropouts. This dimension of the problem, too, could be covered by doctoral research.

APPENDIX I

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF
COLLEGE DROPOUT IN MANIPUR

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am undertaking an investigation of the factors leading to a student's leaving his/her college study before completing the course. I found it from the college records that you left the course in the years 1968-72. In this regard I would like to collect some informations from you.

All the informations collected from you will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for the research purpose. I would, therefore, request you to give frank and correct answers.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-Rajendra Sagolsem

Zakir Husain Centre for
Educational Studies
J.N. University
New Delhi - 110057.

IDENTIFICATION:

- 1) Name :
- 2) Sex : Male/ Female
- 3) Age :
- 4) Caste/Tribe: (i) Brahmin
(ii) Kshetriya (Meitei)
(iii) Scheduled Caste
(iv) Scheduled Tribe
(v) Any other
- 5) Marital Status: (i) Single
(ii) Married
(iii) Separated
(iv) Divorced
(v) Widow
(vi) Widower
(vii) Any other
- 6) Religion: (i) Hindu
(ii) Muslim
(iii) Christian
(iv) Any other
- 7) Year of dropout: (i) 1968
(ii) 1969
(iii) 1970
(iv) 1971
(v) 1972
- 8) Did you receive any financial assistance, such as:
(i) Scholarship
(ii) Freeship
(iii) Half-freeship
(iv) No assistance
(v) Any other
- 9) Percentage of marks in your higher secondary/pre-university examination:

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

- 10) Where do you live? Urban/Rural area
- 11) For how long?
- 12) Where did you spend most part of your student life? Urban/Rural area

13) How many brothers and sisters are you?

<u>Sl.</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>
1)						
2)						
3)						
4)						
5)						
6)						
7)						
8)						
9)						
10)						

14) Who is your guardian?

- i) Father
- ii) Uncle
- iii) Husband
- iv) Any other

15) What is the number of dependents of your parents/guardians?

16) How many members are staying in your household?

<u>Sl.</u>	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Occupn.</u>	<u>Edn.</u>	<u>Incol</u>
1)						
2)						
3)						
4)						
5)						
6)						
7)						

17) Do your parents live together? Yes/No.

18) If not, why?

- i) Not alive
- ii) Because of job
- iii) Legally separated
- iv) Legally divorced
- v) Any other reason

19) Parents/Guardian's educational qualification:

- i) Father's
- ii) Mother's
- iii) Guardian's

20) Parent's/Guardian's occupation:

- i) Father's
- ii) Mother's
- iii) Guardian's

21) Parent's/Guardian's monthly income:

- i) Father's
- ii) Mother's
- iii) Guardian's

22) Any other source of income than those mentioned in (21)?

- i) House owned
- ii) Farm land owned
- iii) Any other

MOTIVATIONS:

23) What consideration did you have in your mind when you joined college?

- i) To find a particular job. Specify
- ii) Because my parents/guardian wanted me to join.
- iii) To get a degree.
- iv) For social prestige.
- v) Because I didn't have anything else to do.
- vii) Any other reason.

24) Suppose you were given the choice, would you have liked to join college after completing the higher secondary school/pre-university.

Yes/ No.

25) If not, why?

26) Why did you leave college?

- i) Need for an early employment.
- ii) Lack of monetary support.
- iii) Sickness or death in the family

- iv) Lack of interest or ability.
- v) Social factors: beliefs & values.
- vi) Academic failures.
- vii) Any other reason.

27) Had it been possible, would you have liked to continue your study? Yes/ No.

28) Why?

PRESENT POSITION

29) Which kind of work/employment are you engaged with at present?

Specify

30) Do you think that had you obtained the degree i.e. B.A./B.Sc./B.Com. you would have:

- i) been better off than you are now? Yes/No.
- ii) got a more prestigious job? Yes/No.
- iii) earned more money? Yes/No.

31) What specific job, do you think, you would have got with the degree?

Specify

SCHEDULE FOR PARENTS/GUARDIAN

Parents'/Guardians' views on the reasons for dropout.

1. What, actually, is the reason for your ward's leaving his college education?

Present position of the dropouts.

2. Which kind of work/employment is your ward engaged with at present?

Specify

3. Do you think that had your ward obtained the degree i.e. B.A./B.Sc./B.Com., he would have

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| i) been better off than he is now? | Yes/No. |
| ii) got a more prestigious job? | Yes/No. |
| iii) earned more money? | Yes/No. |

4. What specific job, do you think, your ward would have got with the degree?

Specify

SCHEDULE FOR PRINCIPALS/TEACHERS

1. What, according to your own opinion, is the rate of dropout (students' leaving their college education before completing the course) in your college?

(i) Very high, (ii) High, (iii) Low, (iv) Very low.

2. What, do you think, is the social background of those students who dropout.

3. What, according to your own view may be the reasons that lead to their dropping out?

Reasons (in order of importance).

i)

ii)

iii)

iv)

v)

4. Can something be done to solve the problem? If yes, how? Express your own views.

APPENDIX II

Table 5

Urban-Rural Background and Parents Education				
Urban-Rural Background		Urban	Rural	Total
Parents' Education				
Both illiterate		6	8	14
Father school educated Mother illiterate		16	2	18
Father college/university educated mother illiterate		2	-	2
Father college/university educated mother school educated		2	-	2
Both college/university educated		2	-	2
Total		28	10	38

Table 6

Fathers' Income and Family Size						
Family Size		1-2	3-4	5-6	7 & above	Total
Fathers' Income						
1001- and above		1	1	-	-	2
500-1000		2	1	-	2	5
499 and below		2	2	8	7	19
No income		-	-	2	-	2
No Response		2	3	4	1	10
Total		7	7	14	10	38

Table 7

Fathers' Occupation and Income						
Occupation \ Income	Rs.1001 & above	Rs.500 to Rs.1000	Rs.499 & below	No income	No res- ponse	Total
Professional	-	3	4	-	-	7
Administrative/ Clerical	1	-	1	-	3	5
Business	1	2	3	-	-	6
Skilled workers/ Artisans	-	-	6	-	1	7
Agriculture	-	-	4	-	6	10
Others	-	-	1	2	-	3
Total	2	5	19	2	10	38

Table 8

Parents' Education and number of Graduate Siblings

Parents' Education \ Graduate Siblings	3-5	1-2	None	Total
Both illiterate	-	4	10	14
Father school educated Mother illiterate	1	7	10	18
Father college/university educated Mother illiterate	-	2	-	2
Father college/university educated Mother school educated	1	-	1	2
Both college/university educated	-	1	1	2
Total	2	14	22	38

Table 9

Fathers' Occupation and Order of Birth

Fathers' Occupation \ Birth Order	Ist	2nd and 3rd	4th and Others	Total
Professional	4	2	1	7
Administrative/ Clerical	2	1	2	5
Business	3	3	-	6
Skilled workers/ Artisans	3	1	3	7
Agriculture	4	3	3	10
Others	-	1	2	3
Total	16	11	11	38

Table 10

Order of Birth and Family Size

Order of Birth \ Family Size	Ist	2nd and 3rd	4th and Others	Total
1-2	5	2	-	7
3-4	5	2	-	7
5-6	1	4	9	14
7 and above	5	3	2	10
Total	16	11	11	38

APPENDIX III

Table 12

Dropouts' Motivational factors for Joining College and Reasons for their Dropping Out

Reasons for Drop-out	Dropouts' Motivational Factors	To Find a Job	No Specific Reasons	Social Prestige	Total
Academic failures		5	6	2	13
Lack of monetary support		7	1	2	10
Change of course		1	4	1	6
Marriage		2	1	2	5
Others		3	1	-	4
Total		18	13	7	38

Table 13

Fathers' Occupation and Dropouts' Motivational Factors for Joining College

Parents' Occupation	Dropouts' Motivational Factors	To Find Particular Jobs	No Specific Reasons	Social Prestige	Total
Professional		3	2	2	7
Administrative/Clerical		-	5	-	5
Business		2	1	3	6
Skilled workers/artisans		5	2	-	7
Agriculture		5	3	2	10
Others		3	-	-	3
Total		18	13	7	38

Table 14

Fathers' Income and Dropouts' Motivational Factors for Joining College

Fathers' Income	Motivational Factors	To Find a Job	No Specific Reasons	Social Prestige	Total
Rs. 1001 and above		1	1	-	2
Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000		1	2	2	5
Rs. 499 and below		9	6	4	19
No income		2	-	-	2
No response		5	4	1	10
Total		18	13	7	38

Table 15

Fathers' Occupation and Reasons for Dropout

Fathers' Occupation	Reason for Dropout	Academic failures	Lack of Monetary Support	Change of Course	Marriage	Others	Total
Professional		1	1	2	2	1	7
Administrative/ Clerical		2	1	1	-	1	5
Business		4	2	-	-	-	6
Skilled workers/ Artisans		2	3	2	-	-	7
Agriculture		3	2	1	2	2	10
Others		1	1	-	1	-	3
Total		13	10	6	5	4	38

Table 16

Fathers' Income and Reasons for Dropout							
Fathers' Income	Reasons for Dropout	Academic failures	Lack of Monetary Support	Change of Course	Marriage	Others	Total
Rs.1001 and above		1	-	1	-	-	2
Rs.500 - Rs.1000		3	-	-	2	-	5
Rs.499 and below		4	8	4	1	2	19
No Income		1	-	-	1	-	2
No Response		4	2	1	1	2	10
Total		13	10	6	5	4	38

Table 17

Parents' Education and Reasons for Dropout							
Parents' Education	Reasons for Dropout	Academic failure	Lack of Monetary Support	Change of Course	Marriage	Others	Total
Both illiterate		5	5	-	2	2	14
Father school educated and Mother illiterate		5	5	5	2	1	18
Father college/university educated and Mother illiterate		1	-	-	-	1	2
Father college/university educated and mother school educated		1	-	-	1	-	2
Both college/university educated		1	-	-	1	-	2
Total		13	10	6	5	4	38

Table 22

Dropouts' Motivational Factors for Joining
and Their Present Occupational Position

Reasons for Drop- out	Dropouts' Motiva- tional factors	To Find a Job	No Speci- fic Reasons	Social Prestige	Total
Professionals		2	6	2	10
Business		2	3	2	7
Clerical		2	1	-	3
Forestry and Police Service		2	-	-	2
Unemployed		10	3	3	16
Total		18	13	7	38

Chi-Square Test

	Very High	High	Low	Very Low	
Observed (fo)	2	12	9	2	25
Expected (fe)	5.25	6.25	6.25	6.25	25
fo - fe	-4.25	5.75	2.75	-4.25	
(fo - fe) ²	18.06	33.06	7.56	18.06	
$\frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe}$	2.89	5.29	1.21	2.89	

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe}$$

$$= 12.28$$

$$df = (4-1)(2-1) = 3$$

P < .01 Highly significant

Table 24

Social Background of the Dropouts as Viewed
by the Teachers (n = 14 : No Response = 11)

Social Background	No. of Responses	Percentage of Responses
1. Economic backwardness	13	37.14
2. Uneducated parents	5	14.29
3. Indifferent parents	4	11.44
4. Rural origins	4	11.44
5. Scheduled Castes/Tribes	4	11.44
6. Middle class origin	1	2.85
7. Female students	1	2.85
8. Orthodox	1	2.85
9. Broken home	1	2.85
10. Large joint family	1	2.85
Total	35	100.00

Table 25

Showing the Frequencies Received by Each Reason
Given by the Teachers on a 5-Point Scale

Reasons	1	2	3	4	5 *	Total
	M.I	V.I	I	M.I	L.I.	
1. Lack of monetary support	11	7	3	2	1	24
2. Academic failures	5	10	7	2	4	28
3. Educated unemployed	2	0	1	4	0	7
4. Change of Course	3	0	0	0	1	4
5. Early Marriage	0	0	1	3	1	5
6. Ill-health	0	1	0	0	0	1
7. Delinquency	0	0	1	0	1	2
8. Unsound teacher-pupil relationship	0	1	0	0	0	1
9. Death in the family	0	0	1	0	0	1
						73

* M.I = Most Important

V.I = Very Important

I = Important

M.I = Merely Important

L.I = Less Important

Table 26

Showing Weightages Received by each reason on Each Point of the Scale and Total Weightage of Each Reason

Reasons	1 M.I	2 V.I	3 I	4 M.I	5 L.I	Total
1. Lack of monetary support	55	28	9	4	1	97
2. Academic failure	25	40	21	4	4	94
3. Educated unemployed	10	0	3	8	0	21
4. Change of course	15	0	0	0	1	16
5. Early marriage	0	0	3	6	1	10
6. Ill-health	0	4	0	0	0	4
7. Delinquency	0	0	3	0	1	4
8. Unsound teacher-pupil relationship	0	4	0	0	0	4
9. Death in the family	0	0	3	0	0	3
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