

Chapter 2

Sociology of Education

Education is an important sub-system of society. As a sub-system, it is closely connected to the society of which it is a part and also connected to other sub-systems in the society. A system of education reflects the goals of the larger society and this influences its organization. In modern industrial societies, education is closely connected to economic system. The economic system of industrial society needs literate and skilled labour, various professionals, and technically trained people in different fields, who in turn enable society to achieve higher levels of industrialization and modernization. The job of training these people is assigned to the system of education. It is considered to be a necessary investment to achieve a required level of development in society. Thus the system of education becomes closely related to the economic system.

Education is also related to the system of stratification. In modern industrial society, education becomes a means to achieve social mobility. The diversities of occupations result in diversification of education, adding new criteria for status differentiation. Thus a new system of stratification develops, which takes into account the educational achievements of individuals in society. Therefore people become conscious of educational opportunities available to them. Moreover, it is important to recognize that the system of education has its internal hierarchy, firstly, of higher education, secondary education, and primary education, and secondly, of merit, such as first class, second class etc.

Education is also related to the political system. Modern democratic society demands literate citizens. In order to make the citizens literate, it becomes necessary to expand the system of education. Thus mass education develops, wherein the government has to support and control education and thus it gets linked with the political system. Literate citizens become conscious of the role of the government and the role of the political parties, and thus raise many issues for the government. Thus the link between education and political system gets closer, deeper, and stronger.

The above mentioned are the external relations of the sub-system of education with other systems in society. Educational system can also be analyzed as a system by itself. Analysis of this system involves the study of its following internal aspects: (1) study of the goals of the system of education, (2) study of the internal organization of the system of education, and (3) study of the patterns of interaction among the various segments of the system of education.

With this general idea about the relationship between education and society, I shall discuss the importance of Desai's contribution to sociology of education in India. Before Desai began his studies on education, the study of education in India was concerned mainly with topics such as philosophy of education, psychology of education, administration of education, and the problems of teacher's training and of methods of teaching. Desai was first to study education as a social phenomenon and undertook an empirical study of high school students in the city of Poona. Before he undertook this study, he attempted to study a new system of centralized education, introduced for undergraduate students in Poona University since there was a controversy about the new

system. However, it seems, he did not analyze the data which he collected when he was teaching at Deccan College in Poona. To quote him “I did not tabulate the data in Poona and I brought them with me to Baroda with a hope to work on them some day. But that day never came. That was the end of that adventure” (1981b: 201).

Nevertheless, Desai pioneered the field of sociology of education in India by studying high school students of Poona. Suma Chitnis in her “Trend Report on Sociology of Education” (1974) records Desai’s study of high school students in Poona to be the earliest study in this field. He was the first sociologist to undertake an empirical sociological study of high school students. His two other publications in this field were: *Papers in the Sociology of Education in India (1967b)*, and *The Field Studies on the Sociology of Education in India (1970b)*. I. P. Desai undertook these two studies jointly with M. S. Gore and Suma Chitnis.

I will now discuss in detail each of the three publications of Desai in the field of sociology of education and try to examine their significance.

High School Students of Poona

I. P. Desai’s first publication in the field of sociology of education was the book, *High School Students in Poona*, published in 1953 by Deccan College Post- Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. Desai has dedicated this book to his teacher Professor G. S. Ghurye on his 60th birthday. He selected only the Marathi medium schools of Poona for this study. It was a descriptive study in which he collected information about the social background of students in 25. It also provided socio-graphic data about students: age,

caste, economic status, educational and occupational backgrounds, attitudes, values and aspirations. However, Desai's interpretation of social background reflected his interest in understanding education as an agent of modernization and social change.

As pointed out earlier, this was a significant study because it was the first empirical study of education in India. The book consists of six sections followed by conclusion and an Appendix, in which the questionnaire and tables are given. Desai wrote in the preface of this book "This is the report of an unfinished enquiry. The fieldwork portion of it could not be completed as the writer left Poona. However, the main object of the enquiry was to see if a hypothesis could be framed". Thus, this was an exploratory study of high school students undertaken by Desai to formulate a hypothesis. He considered it as a pilot survey. He was interested in studying: (1) the relationship between stratification and the system of education, and (2) the role of education for social mobility. In this study we also find some influence of structural-functional analysis on him. According to Desai, any social system consists of many parts and the educational system is one of them. The social system was viewed as an integrated whole, and therefore it was assumed that a change in one part leads to changes in other parts. One of the generalizations of this study points to the integration of the parts of the social system. Desai pointed out that if the educational system of Poona changed faster than its sociography, the relationship between the two would be disturbed. It might have aggravated the problems existing at that time or created new ones. Thus, it is clear that he followed the logic of functionalism in his analysis.

Desai illustrated the relationship between the educational and stratification systems in India. The educational system was different in (1) pre-British period, (2) the British period, and (3) the post-colonial period. English education was introduced by the British, which had created a new status group in Indian society. Education was a means to acquire higher social status and thus English education became necessary for the higher status groups to maintain their status. Thus, Desai established a relationship between education and stratification.

Desai decided to study only one of the three interrelated components of formal education system, namely, students, teachers and guardians. In this study, he included all the Marathi speaking students studying in public-funded schools. The students of Convent schools were excluded. The population of this study included 10th and 11th standard students (i.e., last two years of high school leading to matriculation in those days) in 25 Marathi medium schools in Poona. 20% of the population was chosen as the sample. A total of 849 students (601 boys and 248 girls) were studied. Data were collected through a questionnaire distributed to the students in the classroom. The students were asked to fill up the questionnaire in 40 to 45 minutes.

Three types of questions were asked: (1) questions regarding the student's social environment, such as caste, locality, housing, occupation of guardian, etc., (2) questions regarding the student's routine life outside the school, and (3) questions regarding the student in the family. The following information was collected: (1) residential area of students, (2) caste background of students, (3) occupation, caste, and education of the heads of students' families, (4) ward-wise distribution of occupation, education, and

caste, (5) ward-wise distribution of schools in Poona, (6) students attitudes towards their locality, (7) ownership of their house, (8) annual income of families, and (9) types of families, and their ward-wise distribution.

The above-mentioned three aspects of the student community were found to be interrelated, and their interrelation was interpreted as suggesting a relationship between the student community and the sociographic structure of Poona. The geographical location of Poona had helped it to develop as a military base and a centre of administration and the same factors contributed to its later development. The relation between caste, occupation, and residence was reflected in the distribution of caste and occupational groups in different localities in Poona. Poona was divided into 18 wards. Each ward was further divided into streets and lanes. The backward and intermediate castes predominated in the eastern parts of the city, whereas the advanced castes predominantly occupied the western parts. Within each ward, a street-wise segregation of castes was observed. Thus different streets segregated castes from one another.

In Poona, the intellectual and social leadership came from the advanced castes. These castes were economically well off and politically influential. The Maharashtrian Brahmins were respected for their tradition of learning and occupied important administrative positions during the Maratha rule. It was due to this tradition that they could provide leadership. They dominated the enlightened professions and in white-collar jobs.

When the Peshwas lost power, Brahmins lost political support. But later on the British recruited Brahmins in administrative jobs and the Marathas in the army. The Brahmins continued their interest in education even under changed circumstances, i.e., even after they had ceased to be the ruling caste. There was one more reason for their continued interest in education. They wanted to drive out the British rulers. To achieve that goal, they felt that it was necessary to master British knowledge. Therefore, they established their own educational institutions, such as Deccan Education Society. Due to these historical reasons, Brahmins predominated in the educational system in Poona.

The following conclusions were drawn by I. P. Desai from his data. 73% of the students came from two castes – Brahmins and Marathas – and the rest 27% came from intermediate and backward castes. Out of the 73% upper caste students, 59% students were Brahmins as education was confined to higher caste. According to Desai, the spread of education among the intermediate and lower castes would have increased the inter-caste tensions in Poona, and also tensions within their families, due to the cultural gap between the illiterate parents and their literate children. As the number of students coming from these castes increased, it was expected to create problems for the schools and the educational system. The reason was that earlier students and teachers shared the same social background, while the spread of education to the students of intermediate and lower castes was expected to create problems of adjustments of the teachers and the schools to the changed environment.

The occupational background of guardians confirmed the view that education was confined to a particular stratum of society. 64% of the guardians were engaged in white-

collar occupations, followed by advanced castes. Also, a larger number of schools were located in the areas where advanced castes lived, because more students were drawn from the 'upper class' strata of the advanced castes. A large number of English knowing people lived in the municipal wards inhabited by the advanced castes. The eastern part of Poona had a shortage of schools. Thus Desai tried to establish a relationship between caste, occupation, locality and education. This was a significant sociological feature of Poona. Caste structure had conditioned the social layout of cities in India. Thus, localities were associated with castes, and an individual chose to live in a house on the basis of social rather than economic considerations.

79% of the students liked the ward in which they lived. However, students from the non-high caste wards had a preference to live in the traditional high caste wards. Whereas some students from the old high caste wards preferred to live in new high caste wards, others said that they would like to continue to live in the old high caste wards. The majority of the students (60%) lived in joint family. The percentage of joint families was high in all wards except two.

The students were analyzed from a qualitative point of view also. In the questionnaire, students were asked to judge themselves, and teachers were asked to judge the students in terms of four categories: (1) very good, (2) good, (3) fair, and (4) average. Here Desai used the scaling technique to judge the quality of students. A relationship was found between the quality of students and their place of residence. Those students who were rated as 'very good' and 'good' belonged to higher caste wards. They were sure

about their future plans and most of them wanted to study further. Thus caste, locality, and quality of students were found to be associated with one another.

50% of the 11th standard students availed of private tuitions for various reasons, such as to improve their weakness in the subject, or to secure more marks, or because teaching in the school was very poor. The low quality students were found to use 'guide books' and to be less attentive in the school.

Information about students' daily routine was also collected. In general, their day began at 6.00 a.m. and ended at 9.00 or 11.00 p.m., when they went to bed. The average study hours for an 11th standard student were 4 to 6 hours, whereas for a 10th standard student, they were 2 to 4 hours, including the tuition time. Daily, one hour was spent for household work, and another hour for games, for physical exercise or for pursuing some hobby.

Majority of the students lived in their own families and were happy in the family. 90% of the students said they remained present at the evening family meal because they enjoyed the occasion. They had strong ties with the family. All students were expected to return home by meal time. All family members (in some cases, only the male members) were expected to eat together. Dinner time was considered to be the occasion to meet, discuss, and joke with one another. Thus, generally meal times were pleasant occasions. However, disputes did arise sometimes. But students voluntarily accepted their family regulation. This reflected a strong family sentiment.

Desai made a few general observations about the high school students in Poona. The sociographic structure of Poona showed that the area in which a student resided and his schooling were determined by his caste status. Some personal aspects such as hobbies, daily routine, future plans, etc. were also determined by his caste status. The status distinctions could be understood in the light of political and economic history of castes in Poona. Shivaji Nagar was a developing area in Poona and many higher caste students had expressed a desire to live there. However, it was not possible to tell exactly how far that settlement pattern was determined by the principles of caste and kinship alone.

The bulk of the student population was from the upper castes, but very slowly an educated class from the intermediate and backward castes was emerging. Emergence of this class was related to the immigration trends and the availability of educational facilities in Poona. The latter was linked with the process of industrialization in India and its impact on Poona city. When Desai conducted this study, Poona had already become a cosmopolitan city. Therefore he predicted that any change in the sociography would be very slow, and if the educational system changed fast, its relation with other parts of society would be disturbed. This may aggravate the existing problems or create new ones.

Thus the study attempts to show that the educational system of Poona was influenced by its social system, particularly the caste system. The traditional system of stratification was found to be interrelated with the system of education. However, Desai could not study the role of education in social mobility.

I may make a few concluding remarks here about Desai's study of high school students in Poona. He wanted to include more qualitative data based on fieldwork, but as mentioned by him in the preface of this book, he could not. Therefore in the concluding remarks he rightly pointed out that the questionnaire method alone is not sufficient in sociological studies; rather a combination of fieldwork and questionnaire method would be more apt. Desai was thus conscious of the shortcomings of his studies. This was a rare quality found in him. He also pointed out that his questionnaire was defective and that the defect was detected while administering it to the students. The information about high school students in Poona was also incomplete in many respects. Therefore, a generalization could not be arrived at, nor could a hypothesis be formulated. Yet, the significance of this exploratory study was great as a pioneering empirical study, using the questionnaire method for the first time in the field of sociology of education, as a study attempting to use theoretical and methodological insight of structural-functionalism, and as a study also trying to use quantitative data and statistical analysis.

Papers in the Sociology of Education

Desai's second publication was a book, *Papers in the Sociology of Education in India* published in 1967 by National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), New Delhi. This was an edited book by M. S. Gore, I. P. Desai and Suma Chitnis. They edited it on behalf of the coordinating committee for Studies in the Sociology of Education in India, formulated during the seminar on "The Sociology of Education in Modernizing Society", organised by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Bombay in 1964. It was organised under the auspices of the Indian Council of Social

Science Research (ICSSR), and University Grants Commission (UGC), New Delhi. The purpose of the seminar was to discuss the scope of the sociology of education in India with a view to guide the policy formation in the field of education in India. Newly independent India wanted to change itself from the traditional agrarian to a modern industrial society. This required a change in attitudes, skills, and values among the people of India. In this context, it was necessary to know the role of education in bringing about change in the society. Thus knowledge about the role of education and about how education can help to achieve the goal of change in society needed to be studied. These were the goals of the seminar.

A group of sociologists and a few members of the Education Commission of the Government of India participated in the seminar. The seminar was held on three different dates: December 1964, October 1965, and January 1967. M. S. Gore was the convener of the coordinating committee of the seminar. The coordinating committee consisted of the following members: I. P. Desai, S. C. Dube, Shib K. Mitra, V.E. Morey, S. N. Mukerjee, R. K. Mukherjee, Leslie Palmier, A. N. Pandeya, and N. Prasad. In the first seminar it was proposed to undertake extensive field-studies of the social background, social values, occupational aspirations and satisfactions of three major participants in the system of education: the teachers, students, and parents. The social background, social values, aspirations and satisfactions of these three groups of participants were studied to find out what role education played in society and what role education can play in bringing about social change in India. The coordinating committee decided to undertake field studies in eight regions/states of India. Eight Regional Directors supervised the field-work and wrote reports on their concerned state. After receiving the regional reports, M. S. Gore, I.

P. Desai and Suma Chitnis prepared an all-India report entitled *Field Studies in the Sociology of Education*, Volume-I. Volumes II to IX were the regional reports on the field studies.

Scope of Sociology of Education

The book entitled *Papers in the Sociology of Education* consists of fourteen papers written by distinguished scholars. Each paper discusses a particular aspect of education in the modernizing Indian society. The editors jointly wrote the preface of the book. Gore and Desai wrote on the scope of sociology of education. This edited book was an outcome of the first seminar in which the role of the system of education was discussed and the changes required to be made in the system in the context of the goals of Indian society were debated. In this context, it became necessary to know the role of education in bringing about change or in maintaining stability in society. It was assumed that knowledge about the role of education in society could facilitate the design of a national system of education. Education was expected to help the changing society to achieve its goal and therefore some changes were to be introduced in the educational system. The seminar raised the question about the changes, which needed to be introduced in the system of education in India.

Gore and Desai discussed the scope of sociology of education. They defined the role of education in society and outlined the scope of sociology of education. They examined the relationship of education to other aspects of the social system and pointed out the interdependence of various parts of a social system because of which they could

influence the stability or change in one another. They also analyzed the internal organization of the educational system in India and suggested several aspects of the system, which could be studied by sociologists.

According to Gore and Desai, every society has its own method of socializing its young members. This process could be divided into three parts: (1) to take care of young members, i.e., to provide for their normal and healthy growth, (2) gradual socialization of the children through a process of interaction whereby they develop their own identity, become aware of various roles, and develop an ability to assume a variety of roles in the society, and (3) to impart knowledge and develop skills so that the children after becoming adults can earn their living and contribute to the production of goods and services in the community.

The function of upbringing, i.e., the first part of socialization is shared between two institutions in some societies – the family and the formal system of education – whereas in some others it is performed by one institution only, namely the family. For example, in simple or primitive societies the family performs this function. The second and third parts of socialization were considered together and referred to as education or socialization. This is because the occupational role is one of the many social roles that an individual has to be equipped for. In industrial societies, occupational roles are differentiated from other social roles and the main function of the system of education is to prepare the members for occupational roles.

Here, Gore and Desai distinguished education, which has narrow objective, from the process of socialization. Education refers to that process of socialization, which takes place within the formal system of education whereas socialization is a much broader term. The following two aspects were included in the scope of the sociology of education, i.e., aspects that can be studied by sociologists: (1) the circumstances under which education emerged and differentiated as a distinct institution and the nature of such differentiation, and (2) analysis of the existing system of education, and the relationship between the educational system and other segments of the social system. This included both the internal organization as well as the external relationships with other segments of the society. However, a clear-cut distinction is difficult to make because the various segments of the social system are interdependent. A study of the internal organization of the educational system includes the study of interaction between the teacher and the pupil, who form the basic unit of the system of education. Therefore it becomes more important to know the structuring of the teacher-pupil interaction. It is also relevant to the efficiency of the system of education, and therefore sociologists should know the structuring of the teacher-student relationship.

Sociologists should study the various degrees of stratification and specialization of subjects that emerge in the system of education, and find out the conditions in which these characteristics emerge. This required a study of the following types of interactions: (1) interaction among teachers as members of an institution, (2) interaction among teachers as members of a profession, (3) interaction among students as members of a class, (4) interaction among students as members of an institution, and (5) interaction

among students as members of an organized student community. All these provide foci of interest to sociologists.

Education and Kinship

Gore and Desai pointed out that a system of education could be analysed in the context of the social system in which it exists, i.e., its relationship with other aspects of the system, such as, the relationship between education system and kinship system. In a simple society, the process of socialization takes place largely within the kinship system. In such a society, the son learns most of the occupational roles from his father within the home. Those occupational roles, which could not be transferred from father to son, were learnt through apprenticeship, without creating any formal institutional arrangement, which is found in modern society. The formal educational structure emerged with the breakdown of link between educational system and kinship system in simple societies.

In industrial societies the function of socialization is performed by both the kinship system and the educational systems. In the pre-school period, the family is the main socializing agency, and the child develops loyalty to the group. Later, other loyalties are built up on the same basis, for example, loyalty to caste, community, and country. On the other hand, the formal system of education takes care of the following: (1) transfer of knowledge from one generation to another, (2) development of intellectual ability, and (3) preparing of adults for their occupational roles. Before industrialization took place in civilizations like India and China, there was an exclusive school system,

which trained men of broad learning and culture. In industrialized societies, the educational system is looked upon as the agency for transfer and advancement of knowledge and preparation for occupational life.

The kinship and the educational systems influence each other. The family has to provide appropriate pupil-attitudes, attitudes that are characteristic of a given culture, such as respect for teachers, acceptance of the teaching authority, acceptance of the value of the classroom achievements of the child, development of proper study habits, etc. These functions of the family enable the school system to function smoothly.

But families differ in their attitude towards education. They differ in their caste and economic background. Students with uneducated parents were found it difficult to adjust to their role as student. Thus the family influences the role performance of students, and the school influences the quality of their participation in family life. But on the whole, the family influence is stronger than that of the school. In school the student becomes aware of the peer group. He often finds a cultural conflict between his peer group and kin group. The peer group does not play an important role in all cultures. Therefore, Desai and Gore pointed out that sociologists could study only the conditions under which the conflict is either accentuated or reduced. Educational institutions also prepare students for their adult role in marriage and family. In any given society it is necessary to study the kinship as well as the education systems to find out where they support each other and where they work at cross-purposes.

Education and Stratification

It is necessary to study the relationship between education and social stratification. Gore and Desai argue that in pre-industrial societies education was restricted to the upper class of nobles and the scribes. In modern industrial societies, most of the occupations require formal training based on a minimum of book learning, while the higher positions in any occupation require a greater amount of formal learning and training. Therefore, in modern societies education is an important criterion for securing occupational opportunities. Thus, education becomes a means of getting occupational opportunity and upward social mobility. To achieve this, the barriers to education have to be removed.

Industrialized societies differ in the degree of mobility they achieve. In India, education alone does not determine a person's social status, but education together with caste, religion, race, income, occupation, etc. influences it. When education is geared to the occupational structure and if educational opportunities are equally available to all the groups in society, then it becomes an effective channel for social mobility. In advanced societies, education is geared to the occupation and income structure, but educational opportunities are not equally available. Some developing countries have accepted the value of providing equality of opportunities, but ideological and cultural factors prevent the achievement of such values. The economic factors also create difficulties in providing equality of opportunity to all. For Desai and Gore, provision of equality meant provision of a universal system of education and free education for those who cannot afford to pay for it. For developing countries this is beyond the reach of their resources. Therefore they

provide universal primary education alone. For developing societies the resources are scarce and no government can support all meritorious but needy students. So equality in educational opportunities is a distant goal for them. Generally, education is costly but good education is even costlier. Therefore, a system of private schools emerged in which students have to pay higher fees to meet their expenditure. Moreover, students trained in private schools are preferred for jobs. So, education becomes a means for continuing economic differences.

Moreover, in developing countries where educational facilities are limited and job opportunities depend upon educational qualifications, educational degrees and diplomas become a status symbol. Thus, education becomes a great divider in developing countries. This creates a gap between educated and uneducated on the basis of language, standard of living, and pattern of living. There is also no effective channel of communication between these two groups.

Education and Political System

Gore and Desai pointed out the relationship between education and political system. According to them, societies where academic freedom is provided, the educational system can be potentially a source of new ideas. Academic freedom refers to freedom of debate and discussion, where all ideas, new and old, are critically examined before they are accepted or rejected by scholars. Democratic political systems emphasize academic freedom, but it is a difficult goal to achieve. Therefore, educational sociologists

try to study the conditions under which society moves away from this goal. For example, community-supported education is given importance as it gives freedom from government control. However, when community supports education, it does not necessarily assure a complete freedom from political control, since any other body that supports education may control it.

In India the government controls higher education. The political system affects education through political parties, which influence the students as well as the academic bodies regarding various issues. The important political and academic issues include the issues of: (1) the medium of instructions at different levels of education, (2) language of examination for competitive examinations, and (3) admission policy for students and professional institutions.

Education is linked with attitude to knowledge. In peasant or pre-industrial societies, education was not linked to occupation. Those who pursued education pursued it as an end in itself. Generally, only those who had leisure engaged themselves in education and learning. Mostly, they were religious people, or individuals who belonged to the class of nobles or were excited by the challenges of an intellectual life. According to Gore and Desai, the subtle distinction between universities and institutes, education and training, learned professions and technical specialties reflected the older attitude towards education and knowledge. In peasant society, there was a clear linkage between kinship and occupation, but when this linkage broke down it created a social situation in which the school system could emerge. With the breakdown of the linkage between kinship and occupation, the attitude towards knowledge also changed.

In modern society, the educational system emphasizes two goals: transfer of available knowledge, and advancement of knowledge. Acquisition of knowledge is the main intellectual activity here. While acquiring knowledge, objectivity and rationality are emphasized. So, education is expected to promote scientific outlook among students. In this sense, it is likely to go against the traditional ideas of morality, racial superiority, religion, or even patriotism.

Two different and conflicting roles are set for the education system to perform. On the one hand, it is expected to be an instrument of socialization for the particular group. Since all the human groupings are based on the community sentiment (e.g., kinship, caste, tribe or nation), education has to promote and strengthen this sentiment. On the other hand, educational institutions are viewed as agencies for development of scientific knowledge and attitude. Therefore, the community sentiment is seen as a source of bias, as coming in the way of acquiring true knowledge. It is in this sense that the two goals of education come into conflict with each other. The conflict may not be experienced by all societies. Moreover, the intensity of conflict and the level of education at which the conflict may be experienced may also vary within different societies. Gore and Desai pointed out that education and society influence each other in various ways, and the speed with which the education system gets modernized varies from society to society.



Interaction within the System of Education

Gore and Desai examined interaction within the education system. Three groups interact with one another within it: teachers, students, and administration. Each of these groups has intra-group and inter-group relationships.

The teacher-student relationship is at the center of any education system. This relationship is influenced by the teacher, the administrator, and the student-administrator relationships. In this relationship, the teacher is assumed to have knowledge, which he/she wishes to impart to the student, who in turn wishes to acquire it. Thus, the teacher is assumed to be ahead of student in terms of knowledge, so that the teacher can effectively guide the student. The teacher has authority over his student due to his superior knowledge, and therefore he maintains a distance in his relationship with his pupil. Moreover, due to the age difference between the teacher and the student the teacher's authority gains more strength. Societies vary in their support of the teacher's authority over the student. A society, in which all relations are based on ascribed status, approves of the teacher's authority to a greater extent.

The element of authority in education is also related to (1) the state of knowledge, and (2) the attitude towards knowledge. If knowledge is comparatively limited and has to be acquired through a process of memorization, the teacher can be conceived to know everything, but if knowledge is continuously expanding the teacher is considered to be tentative, and his word or opinion is not considered to be the final word. If the mode of acquiring knowledge is mysterious (e.g., sacred knowledge) and not subject to inquiry

and verification, the teacher must remain distant. The teacher in this situation is the only source of knowledge and the pupil is dependant solely on the teacher for it. In this situation the institution of discipleship can also come into existence. Where knowledge is received as a result of the normal processes of reasoning and where the teacher is only one of the many sources of knowledge, the role of the teacher and his image both get modified.

The teacher's image in the society affects his role in the education process. Teachers in India have never appeared to be wealthy. But, where statuses were largely inherited, the 'poor' teacher did not appear as a social failure. With a new set of values, emphasizing economic or political achievements open to all, the poor teacher appears as a failure. This feeling affects his standing in the society, his self-image, and his relationship with students.

The teacher's image of his own self and of the student, and the student's (and his parents') image of the teacher are influenced by teacher's social position in the caste hierarchy. In India, traditionally, the teachers were Brahmins and the students came only from the higher castes. Therefore, in some situations, the teachers and students coming from lower castes felt inferior. In modern societies the teacher's role and the society's attitude towards his role need to be redefined. But the teacher's authority is part of his role, which is a functional necessity and should be supported by his scholastic ability. Gore and Desai considered the psychological function of the teacher's role more important. A teacher explains and guides, but mainly he stimulates. His role varies at all levels of education and is conceived differently in different systems of education. His role

varies at the primary, secondary and university levels. His role expectations also differ in private schools, corporation schools, and government schools. It also varies according to the pattern of education, i.e., whether it is teacher-centered or activity-centered education. Thus, the teacher's role has been subject to change in modern society.

The same holds true for the student's role. The traditional concept of *guru-shishya* relationship does not work in modern society, because teaching has now become an open profession, and education has become the right of every child in the society. Moreover, knowledge is constantly expanding. Under these changed circumstances, the teacher-student relationship can be based on specificity, affective-neutrality, universality, impersonality, and contract. The teacher-student relationship is also affected by the following aspects of the social situation: (1) importance attached to the educational process, (2) extent to which knowledge is regarded as an end in itself, and (3) extent to which knowledge is regarded as a means of securing occupational goals, i.e., how far knowledge is able to fulfil this objective. In India, except for providing certificates, the educational structure does not seem to be relevant to the occupational system. Thus, there is more emphasis on certification and less on knowledge goals, which has its impact on the teacher-pupil relationship. The knowledge goals become irrelevant to the educational and occupational systems. As a result, the elders develop a cynic attitude towards education, which often percolates down to the young.

Some standardization in education was seen necessary because the products of education have to perform standardized jobs in a large impersonal market. Thus, in this system, the teacher and the student both become examination oriented.

The teacher-administrator relationship is considered important in the education system. The administrator's role has many facets: (1) he is responsible for mobilizing and providing many facilities required by the teachers to fulfil their role. He also, at times, appears as the agent of the employer to the teachers. (2) He is a facilitator as well as superior because he gives rewards and punishments within his limits. And (3) he is often a technical or a functional leader who may guide, direct and supervise the teacher's professional activity. This relationship is very important because it may influence the other relationships also. The school system requires that (1) the head of the institution adheres to the objective set of norms in his decision making, (2) he should be accessible to all the teachers, and (3) he should have no favourites, otherwise the teachers will look upon each other with suspicion, uncertainty, and develop jealousy. Moreover, teachers want support from the authorities in their relationships with students. In short, it is important that the teacher's relationships with the administrator, other teachers, and pupils, support each other. Normally, the teachers represent the administration to students, but sometimes due to the teacher's position in the academic hierarchy a few teachers are closer to the administration. Therefore, the student's attitude towards the teachers varies. Also, the teacher-administrator relationship may vary according to the type of management of the institution.

Field Studies in Sociology of Education

The third publication of I. P. Desai was, *Field Studies in the Sociology of Education: All India Report*, Volume I, prepared by M. S. Gore, I. P. Desai, and Suma

Chitnis, and published by National Council of Educational Research and Training in 1970. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it was decided in the seminar held at Bombay to undertake field studies in education. Eight field studies were undertaken in eight different states, and the honorary directors submitted these reports to the convener of the seminar, M. S. Gore. An all India report was prepared on the basis of these reports. C. D. Deshmukh, President, India International Centre, and ex-Chairman of University Grants Commission wrote the foreword. The preface was written by M. S. Gore, Convener of the seminar. I. P. Desai was a member of the coordinating committee, appointed to draw up a research scheme and to work out the details of the thematic papers that were to be published. There were nine members on this committee.

These field studies have examined (1) the social background, (2) the social values, and (3) the occupational aspirations and satisfactions of teachers, students, and parents, the major participants in the education system. Their purpose was to find out what role education could play in bringing about social change in India and what role it actually plays in society.

Our constitution states two important goals of Indian society. The first goal is to achieve a democratic, secular society, which recognizes the basic rights of its citizens and the dignity of individual and an order in which social, political, and economic equality will prevail. The second goal is to achieve industrialization and rapid economic development of the country. The ideas of democracy, equality and dignity of the individual can be traced back to the liberal philosophy of Britain in the 19th century that had influenced the educated sections of Indian society. This philosophy has three main

attributes: (1) parliamentary democracy, (2) rationality, and (3) equality. The question was: did the education system help in inculcating democratic values, create interest in social issues, and develop the confidence to debate them?

Rationalism is another important facet of liberalism. It refers to the practice of accepting reason as the basis for action and judgments. According to I. P. Desai, acceptance of rationality meant rejection of prejudice against individuals or groups and of all kinds of superstition. So, any kind of prejudice based on religion, race, caste, and even region were inconsistent with a rational attitude of mind. If Indians accepted rationality, then people of different religions, castes, languages etc could be integrated. But the fact was that even during the period of social reform, i.e., towards the end of the 19th century, only a handful of people accepted the norm of rationality. Those who benefited by new education, namely, the high caste and white-collar professionals, accepted the idea of democratic political institutions but did not respond positively to the idea of rationality. For them their public life and domestic life were governed by two different sets of norms. In public and occupational life they accepted the norm of rationality but did not accept it in their domestic and social life. The reason was that social reform in India was inspired by humanitarian values and not rational values. Rationalism was not given due and equal weightage by all Indian educated elites of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In this background, the question was: did the Indian system of education strengthen a rational approach to life among students in schools and colleges? If it did not, then secularism would only mean tolerance of other people and their ways of living, but it would not increase interaction between different groups or lead to appreciation of

other groups. Another facet of the rationalist approach is rejection of the efficacy of magic and ritual. A rationalist does not believe in fate and destiny. He gives importance to his own efforts to achieve his goals.

According to Desai, the third aspect of liberal philosophy is the idea of equality. In the beginning equality meant equality before law. Even in England it meant equality before law and later it was applied to voting rights, and then the idea of equality gained wider significance. It came to mean equality of opportunity. Therefore, opportunity for education is related to the idea of equality. After Second World War, the concept of social justice developed. This concept recognized the right to help and assist the under-privileged people. The Indian constitution has accepted this concept and therefore provided various facilities to the backward classes to help them to overcome their social, political and economic disabilities.

The Indian constitution had identified three important areas of liberal philosophy and thought, namely: (1) parliamentary democracy, (2) rationality, and (3) equality. It was a challenge before the educationist to see that the education structure and the ideas presented by the education system led to development of a liberal personality. The question could be asked whether the system of education had accepted liberal philosophy. Education was supposed to equip the younger generation with ideas, skills, and attitudes, which would help them to achieve a liberal society. It meant that education was expected to bring change in society. Therefore, in the second section of the all-India report, Gore, Desai and Suma Chitnis examined education as an instrument of social change.

Through field studies, an attempt was made to examine education as an instrument of social change. Education is expected to perform two social functions: (1) to ensure continuity of tradition, and (2) to initiate change in society. These two functions seemed to be contradictory, but these two goals of education could go together as change does not involve a complete break with the immediate past. A policy maker uses education as an instrument of policy and decides what elements of tradition he wants to continue and what elements he wants to change. The goal of change is specified in our constitution. According to it, the ideas of rationalism, secularism, and equality have to be communicated during the process of education. This can be done through textbooks or other reading materials provided to children in schools. These ideas can also find their expression in the practice and procedures used by the education system.

Desai and others pointed out that in order to achieve the new goals, teaching of science required to be strengthened at the school level, for which the schools required resources such as good teachers, laboratories etc. This could help development of science and technology in the country. It also required growth of scientific outlook, which consists of an inquiring mind, and willingness to learn from systematic observation without bias. To promote new values of secularism, democracy and equality among students, scientific outlook had to be inculcated among students. Within the educational institution, secularism could be expressed in the attitudes of students and teachers towards the members of other religious groups. If secular attitudes were strengthened at school level, students were likely to develop similar attitudes.

In schools, democratic values could be inculcated in students while participating in recreational and extra-mural activities. A practice of working through committees could also be introduced. Thereby they learn to express their own views and allow others to express their views. When decisions are taken by majority vote, they become binding on all. All these aspects of democratic functioning could be learnt in schools. At the institutional level, teachers could be involved in all academic matters including matters concerning students.

Lastly, our constitution has accepted equality of opportunity to all individuals in society. The Government had made efforts to promote education among women, but it needed to improve such opportunities for socially disadvantaged groups also. We accepted a liberal democratic framework and new social values for the education system, but Desai and others asked: how far were they reflected in educational institutions? The field studies in eight states were undertaken to answer this question. Its main goal was to describe social values and social background of the participants in the education system, namely students, teachers and parents. Social values included: (1) secularism, (2) activist approach to life, (3) optimism, (4) achievement orientation, and (5) acceptance of citizenship.

The social background of teachers and students was studied to judge the extent of equality of educational opportunity in India. It was studied with reference to: father's education, occupation, caste, religion, and rural/urban residence. Apart from the social composition of teachers and students, their attitudes to education, their occupational

aspirations, teachers' occupational satisfactions and adjustments, and parents' social values and attitudes to education were also studied.

As regards, social attitudes and values of students, the majority of students disagreed that caste played any role in social and political life. Some even said that caste was not influential in their personal life also. 35% to 65% students said that religion had nothing to do with a man's striving for improving his lot in life. Professional college students denied any relationship between religion and a man's attempt to improve his life. Boys attached less significance to religion than girls.

A large number of students were positive about changes taking place around them. But a small proportion of them felt that they could influence these changes. Girls approved of the changes taking place around them, but a very low percentage of them believed that they could influence these changes. Boys were more confident; they strongly believed that they could influence the changes taking place around them.

Students were asked to evaluate the chances of success or failure in their own life. Boys were found to be more optimistic than girls. Professional college boys were found to be most optimistic. In general, students thought that politicians did not pay much attention to students' views. Only 10 to 20% of them preferred purposive rather than passive orientation to life. They preferred a person wanting to establish a factory rather than one following an ascetic life. On the whole, Punjab, Bengal and Rajasthan had the highest percentage of "modern" responses, and Andhra and Orissa, the lowest. When

asked on what basis esteem might be given to a person in society, the majority chose education.

The social background of school teachers was studied with reference to their occupational involvement, commitment, social attitudes, and values. The majority of them placed themselves at the middle level in social hierarchy. A very small proportion of them thought that it was easy to change one's status in society.

Most of the teachers felt that politicians and leaders did not pay attention to teachers' opinions. However, some primary school teachers felt that their opinion matched with the opinion of leaders and officials. However, very few teachers had actually communicated their views to leaders and officials. All teachers showed preference for individuals oriented to this-worldly life; they did not prefer those oriented to other-worldly life, for example, the *sadhu* who guided others on the path of *moksha* (i.e., whose life is oriented to other world and whose aim is to achieve god or *moksha*). 40 to 50% of teachers thought that there was no relationship between religion and man's desire to improve his lot. Women gave more importance to religion than men. The majority of teachers said that the esteem given to a person in society should be based on his education and not on his income, caste, or family background.

A sample of 1640 college teachers was also chosen from professional as well as non-professional colleges for the study. The non-professional college teachers included both men and women, whereas the professional college teachers included men only.

College teachers were reluctant to give information about their caste affiliation; 15% to 45% of them did not answer this question.

Most of the teachers were Hindus (70%); the rest were Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians and Jains. The proportion of minority religious teachers was higher in colleges compared to their population in the country. Most of the teachers said that their mother tongue was the same as the language of the state in which they lived. In Maharashtra, Mysore, and Rajasthan, the mother tongue of 33 to 63% of teachers was different from the language of the state. Non-professional college teachers were educated up to M.A. level and 5 to 10% of them had Ph.D. degree. Among the professional college teachers, 30 to 50% had studied up to the first degree and 10 to 30% had obtained Ph.D. degree.

30 to 40% of men teachers' grandfathers had been educated beyond the middle school level. The same was true of 45 to 65% of women teachers. The majority of women teachers' fathers had completed college education. On the whole, professional and technical college teachers had come from educated homes and homes with longer traditions of education compared to other college teachers. The college teachers' fathers were engaged in urban white-collar occupations. If we consider only men college teachers, a large number of them were engaged in rural occupations. Their fathers' urban occupation was advantageous for the performance of their teacher's role, whereas rural occupational background was not advantageous. Women college teachers were drawn from occupationally and educationally advantageous homes. The majority of college teachers had urban social background. 10 to 30% of men teachers had rural social

background, whereas only 6% women teachers had rural social background. Thus the social background of college teachers indicated that they were drawn from urban, educated, white-collar homes. A larger proportion of women came from educated homes than men. On the whole, more teachers in professional colleges were drawn from advantaged homes than teachers in non-professional colleges.

65% of women teachers have not followed any other occupation than teaching. All teachers considered their own occupation to be higher in status than their father's occupation. All teachers except professional college teachers said that they would not like to change their occupation. The majority of college teachers considered the following as their major functions: (1) simplification of ideas, (2) imparting methods of analysis and integration of knowledge, and (3) imparting information.

The tutorial system fostered close student-teacher relationship. 20 to 40% teachers felt that students should be concerned only with their studies. Other teachers felt that students should help their families and participate in community welfare activities. Very few expected them to take part in politics. 30 to 60% of teachers denied any influence of caste, language or religion on student's performance. However, 25 to 45% of teachers said that students' caste affiliation influenced their performance, and less than 30% of teachers said that language, and religion influenced students' performance.

Teachers did not consider students as indisciplined but as indifferent. Students were perceived as negligent, drifting, and incapable of independent thought. All teachers preferred English as the medium of instruction, except in West Bengal and Gujarat. Very

few professional college teachers preferred teaching in regional language. Non-professional teachers in Bengal and Gujarat and men teachers in Rajasthan preferred teaching in regional language.

The majority of teachers believed that there was no relationship between religion and a desire to improve one's life. They viewed changes taking place around them as better but very few men teachers thought that they could influence change. 60 to 80% believed that it was hard to change their position in social hierarchy. Many teachers considered themselves to belong to middle level in society.

The teachers believed that politicians or Government officials did not pay attention to their opinions. Only 30% of teachers had communicated their views on matters of public interest to leaders and public officials. 44-48% of Andhra teachers, however, had communicated their views on matters of public interest to leaders and officials. Their attitude to life was similar to that of other respondents. They preferred active individuals who wanted to accomplish things. They also agreed with school teachers that education should be the basis of esteem in society.

Parents or guardians of school children were included in this study to find out: (1) their social background, (2) their goals regarding education of their children, (3) their social attitudes and values, (4) their image of teachers, (5) their concept of student's role, and (6) their aspirations for their wards. A total of 6247 parents were studied, of whom 4489 belonged to urban communities and the rest to rural communities. 65 to 85% of parents were student's fathers and others were their guardians (relatives such as elder

brother, uncle, maternal uncle, etc.). More than 85% of parents were Hindus. In Punjab, however, 61% were Hindus and 47% Sikhs. The highest percentage of backward caste parents was found in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore. 10 to 25% of urban parents and 16 to 64% of rural parents were illiterate. Most parents' income was less than Rs. 3000 per annum. Less than 25% of parents claimed to have regular contact with their children's teachers. A higher proportion of parents from rural background claimed to have such contacts. 50 to 70% of urban parents relied on report cards from schools to know their children's progress. The percentage of rural parents for the same was 15 to 55%. Less than 25% of parents knew about their children's progress through discussion with their own children.

55% of urban parents and 40% of rural parents aspired to educate their children through college and university. The majority of parents were not clear about their children's aspirations about occupation. 15 to 30% of parents did not like their daughters to take up any job. 25% of parents expected their children to devote time for studies alone. 50% of parents expected their children to help them in household work. 1/6th of parents expected them to participate in welfare work, but none wanted them to take part in politics. 25 to 45% of parents regarded economic security as the goal of education. According to parents, religion decided whether or not a man would strive to improve his lot. In this regard, teachers and students differed from their parents.

Regarding change in one's social position, parents replied that such a change was hard. 70 to 90% of parents had never written or spoken to political leaders or government officials. 25 to 40% believed that leaders paid no attention to citizens' opinion. 10 to

20% said they did not pay attention to what people say. In their attitude to life, parents shared this-worldly attitude of other respondents. They preferred a son to establish a factory than become a *sadhu*. 55 to 75% of parents said that esteem given to an individual should be based on education. Less than 20% accepted high income as the basis of esteem in society.

These were the various attitudes and opinions of students, teachers, and the parents of the students on different aspects of education. However, it must be noted that despite such a wealth of data the relationship between the objective of study and its findings remain unclear.

Education among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Gujarat

During the later part of his life in Surat, I. P. Desai once again undertook studies related to education. He conducted a number of surveys regarding the state of education among the tribals of south Gujarat. In view of the national goal of removing illiteracy and providing equality, ICSSR felt the need to find out the educational problems of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students studying in high schools and colleges, with a view to solve their problems and guide policy formation in future. With this aim, ICSSR sponsored an all-India project of SC and ST students studying in high schools and colleges. It constituted a coordinating committee to direct these projects. I. P. Desai was a member of this committee and also its convener. In Gujarat, this project was assigned to the Centre for Regional Development Studies at Surat. I. P. Desai was the Director of the Center. He undertook this study with the assistance of G. A. Pandor.

The research was divided into two phases. During the first phase, a profile of education among the STs in Gujarat (1974b) was prepared on the basis of information collected from the census and the unpublished records of the education and social welfare departments of the Government of Gujarat. These records were maintained and used by the state government for giving grants to schools as well as for getting grants from the central government. The second phase of the research was a survey to find out the educational problems of SC and ST students studying in high schools (1975b, 1976a, 1977c).

The profile of education among the STs was prepared on the basis of following information:

1. Distribution of primary and secondary schools in seven tribal districts of Gujarat,
2. Growth of literacy among scheduled tribes,
3. The enrolment of students in schools or colleges,
4. Provision of hostel and its utilization by the students,
5. Utilization of scholarships and other facilities, and
6. Utilization of scholarships provided by the central government,

The data were collected for 1961 and 1971.

The distribution of primary schools was found to be uneven. Out of 8732 tribal villages, 1736 villages were without any primary school. Most of them were single teacher schools. Secondary schools were private schools. Their presence was therefore related to availability of students. The private owner of the school would open it if he found it to be beneficial to him.

Growth of literacy was related to enrolment in schools. So, literacy was higher where enrolment was higher. An overall increase in the enrolment at secondary and college level was found from 1961 to 1971. An increase in enrolment of girl students was observed. Only 6% of students from primary schools were enrolled in secondary schools, and 11.18% of secondary school students went for higher education. Thus, compared to primary school students, more students from secondary schools went for higher education. Primary education suffered from either stagnation or dropout. The enrolment at the secondary school level was affected by the distribution of secondary schools and availability of hostel and scholarship facilities. All available hostel and scholarship facilities were adequately utilized. Some hostels were over-crowded. All those who applied for scholarship received it.

On the basis of the educational profile of tribal students, Desai could see some problems at the primary level of education, in terms of enrolment, retention, and dropout. According to him, the solution of the problems partly lied in the social, economic, and cultural conditions of parents. He believed that literacy itself could act as a tool of change. He also believed that, irrespective of the number of students in a school, a primary school should exist in every village, and it would not be difficult to open a single-teacher school in every tribal village. What was needed was a change in the parents' perception about education. Once education was perceived as an end value or an instrumental value, parents would start taking interest in education.

The second phase of research included Desai's study of SC and ST high school students in Gujarat (1974b). They are given special facilities and assistance by the state

as well as central government to encourage education among them. Therefore, the main task of this study was to assess the usefulness of government programmes and policies to SC and ST students and to find out their problems within as well as outside educational institutions.

Desai studied SC and ST, as well as non-SC and non-ST students studying in high schools through the sampling and questionnaire method. The majority of SC and ST students said that they would not have been studying in high schools without scholarship from the government. The economic condition was an important factor for high school education for all students. Among some families education had stabilized and become a value, whereas in some others secondary education had just begun. Between SC and ST students, the parents of a large number of SC students had taken primary education, while the parents of ST students lagged behind. Therefore, primary education needed to be emphasized among SCs and STs. All SC and ST students participated in extra-curricular activities without inhibition and were not treated differently in school. They had free access to teachers, and teachers also did not discriminate between them. The families of SC and ST students bore a part of education expenditure. Thus the state did not undertake 100% burden of education of SC and ST students. A negligible percentage of SC and ST high school students reported that having their family members or themselves suffered indignities.

A large number of SC and ST students believed that their condition had improved, that various government policies were beneficial, that government help should continue.

They also wanted the government to continue their policy for SC and ST students, and also the policy of reservation and concession.

The ICSSR research project in Gujarat pointed out that there were problems of enrolment, retention, and dropout among the tribal students at the primary level. This was related to the socio-economic and cultural environment of tribal life. The tribals did not perceive the need of education in their life. So, only when the parents perceived some value of education, the situation could improve. According to Desai, irrespective of their perception of education, the government should provide at least one primary school in every village, and once they became literate, the ball of change would start rolling. Slowly, they would recognize its instrumental value. Moreover, the government could think of development of the tribal region. Such development would help the tribals to perceive the importance and meaning of education.

Literacy and Primary Education among Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes

Removal of illiteracy is the accepted goal of national and state governments. They have tried to achieve this goal through adult education and primary education. The adult education programme has not contributed much to achieve literacy. So, primary education remained the effective means for spread of literacy. Therefore, the Government of Gujarat sponsored research regarding the distribution of primary schools in the tribal districts of Gujarat. Desai (1977b, 1977c) undertook this research in four tribal districts: Valsad, Surat, Bharuch, and Panchmahal. He found that the distribution of schools was conditioned by geographical location of villages, the development of means of

communication, and consciousness of people. He also found that enrolment was increasing and attendance was between 60 and 70%. But education had no place in tribal life. The tribal life revolves around agriculture, and education made no sense to the tribals. If there was general development in tribal areas, it could motivate them to take education. In Surat and Valsad districts, education was valued. The school in these districts introduced the concept of time in tribal life. Schools and teachers also contributed to the general development of the area. Based on these observations, Desai suggested to the state government (i) to establish a primary school even in a small village, and to (ii) plan for general development of tribal areas.

Desai (1978a) analysed the level of education among SCs and STs in Gujarat on the basis of figures of literacy given in the census of 1961 and 1971. He pointed out that neither SCs nor STs were a homogenous group as far as literacy was concerned. Different SCs differed in their percentage of literacy. Among the Mahyavanshi the literacy level was 33.48% while general literacy for Gujarat was 35.9%, and overall literacy among SCs in Gujarat was 27.7%. Thus, literacy among Mahyavanshi was 6% higher than over all SC literacy and much closer to all Gujarat literacy. Among the SCs, the Garodas had the highest (46.72%) literacy, which was high compared to non-SC and non-ST groups in Gujarat. This was because 29.7% of Garoda population compared to 27.25% SC population lived in urban areas. Thus, the urban residence contributed to higher literacy among Garodas. Among other smaller SCs, like Nadia or Hadi, 39% of them lived in urban areas and so their literacy was 31% whereas literacy among rural residents was 14%. Thus urban residence has an advantage over rural residence as far as literacy is concerned. Desai expected that, in the course of time, literacy and educational

achievements would create a stratum of urban elite among the SCs. Thus, there were rural-urban differences in literacy. Educational differences within each caste and between different castes might lead to economic differences as well. In such a situation, educational achievements and their correlations might change. The better-offs might have better literacy, life style, aspirations, etc.

The STs constituted 14% of the total population of Gujarat. According to the Census of 1971, there were 28 tribes, 5.37% of whose population lived in urban areas, and whose literacy was 14.42%. Different tribes differed in literacy. Thus STs were not a homogeneous group. They differed not only in literacy but also in occupation and income. On the basis of data provided by Ghanshyam Shah's study of Chaudharis in Surat district (1977), Desai pointed out that social differentiation between different tribes as well as within a tribe was taking place on the secular basis, i.e., on the basis of education and literacy.

Concluding Remarks

Education is considered a prerequisite of economic development but there were very few studies on Indian education in the context of development. *Papers in the Sociology of Education* was a beginning in this field. I. P. Desai and M. S. Gore's essay on the scope of sociology of education in this book is excellent. The external relationship of education with other sub-systems, such as kinship system, social stratification system, and political system, are all thoroughly discussed with proper detail. The internal organization of education and how the three groups, namely, teachers, students and,

administrators, interact with each other is also discussed very well. This provides a very good guideline for those who want to do research in the field of education.

Field Studies in the Sociology of Education is an all India report on field studies undertaken in eight states of India with a view to find out the role of education in society, and what role it could play in bringing about social change. Thus, the emphasis was to view education as an instrument of social change. Often education is expected to perform two somewhat contradictory functions: to ensure continuity of tradition and to initiate change. However, in reality you find a combination of old and new existing together in social life. This is because social change does not mean a complete break with the past, and some change is always initiated or introduced. Now, while using education as an instrument of social change, the policy makers had to decide what aspects of cultural life they wished to continue and what aspects to change. Thus, it is not impossible to perform the two functions if the society so desires. This was the first all-India report about the three important participants within the education system. The data are voluminous and the statistical analysis is handled with efficiency. The members of the coordinating committee were responsible for the design of this study and I.P. Desai was a member of this committee. The use of questionnaire method in sociological research was not so common when they decided to use it for this study. In that sense it can be said that this study was a challenge for them and they were successful in completing the study. This is also in continuation of Desai's earlier study of high school students in Poona, and he believed in the efficacy of this method of research. However, it seems that the question of how far education can be used in bringing about social change in India remains

unanswered. The relationship between the introduction of the book and the conclusion of the book is missing

Desai's study of high school students in Poona is a very significant study as it was a pioneering sociological and empirical study. He used functional analysis, and established a relationship between the education system and the stratification system. He established a relationship between caste, occupation, locality, and education. This was a significant sociological feature of Poona. The caste structure conditioned the social layout. An individual chose to live in a place on the basis of social considerations. The traditional stratification system and the education system were interrelated. When Desai studied high school students, there was only one attempt to study high school students in Lucknow District, which had considered some sociological aspects (Desai 1953: 3). This speaks about the significance of Desai's study.

In the second publication, Desai and Gore jointly defined the role of education in society and outlined the scope of sociology of education. The field studies in the sociology of education carried out in eight different states were aimed at examining the social values of students, teachers, and student's parents in the context of values accepted by independent India. The social background, occupational aspirations, and satisfactions of students, teachers and parents were studied to find out what role education played in society and what role it could play in bringing about social change in India.

At Surat, Desai undertook research regarding the educational problems of SC and ST students in Gujarat. Considering the national goal of achieving complete literacy, he

pointed out that the level of education among the STs was low compared to that among the SCs. On the basis of information collected by him, he emphasized and suggested to the government of Gujarat to increase the number of primary schools in tribal regions. On the basis of his survey of high school students, he found that all facilities provided by the government to SC and ST students in terms of hostel accommodation, scholarships, reservation etc were well utilized by them and the same policy was recommended to be continued in future.

Desai's keen interest in education is reflected in the Ph.D. topics of his research students also. Four students did research on education and related topics under his guidance: A. S. Patel on "The Social Background of High School Students in Kaira District" (1960); B. V. Shah on "Social Background of Students of M. S. University of Baroda" (1959), Savitri Sahani on "High School Students of Baroda: A Sociographic Study of Students of the Xth and XIth Classes of Gujarati and Marathi High Schools" (1961); and B. G. Desai on "The Emerging Youth: Social Background of High School Students in Baroda District" (1967). It can be very well seen that the research topics of all these students were the continuation of Desai's study of high school students in Poona. Sahani wrote about it in the introduction to her thesis, "The present research is based on a similar study, carried out by Dr. I. P. Desai, now Professor of Sociology at M. S. University, Baroda, among the high school students of Poona". They used the same methods used by Desai. This not only confirms Desai's keen interest in education but also his commitment to the survey method.