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*The Indian Adult Education Association welcomes reproduction
of articles in this Journal in all regional languages.*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Social Education and Community Development

Social education, because it is concerned with the problems confronting society, is an evolutionary concept and any definition of it in terms of rigid formulae will be only at the cost of its ethos. While its *leitmotif* remains always the same, its significance and meaning change from time to time, reflecting various developments in society which result from social dynamism inherent in it or introduced into it.

Thus, the social education movement in India began as an adult education movement with its emphasis, in its early phases, on enabling people establish a civic system which they could control and direct. The achievement of independence marked a phase and the Fifth Adult Education Conference at Rewa in 1947 re-interpreted adult education. It postulated that adult education should aim to enable the common man live a richer life in all its aspects and that adult education should help people develop their powers of initiative, judgement and integrity as citizens. This was the theoretical basis on which developed the concept of social education.

In 1951, yet another significant development took place which set a new context for social education. The First Five-Year Plan came into operation; with it, the community development projects, which had been tried out on an experimental basis, were initiated over a large area of the country. The projects provided people with the means to fight various impediments which were hindering social and economic development. Social education became an integral part of community development and its functions were variously described. Five years of experience of the community development schemes in India have brought to the fore a number of problems on the role of social education as a part of community development in India. These have been partly examined in a paper published elsewhere in the issue. To be sure, these problems are not insoluble; nevertheless there is necessity for a clearer awareness of the precise role of social education.

This debate on the most appropriate role for social education in community development is not confined particularly to India and Unesco at its 9th General Conference, held in December, last in New Delhi set up a Working Party to review the different forms which fundamental education had assumed in different countries and to recommend a suitable definition for it. The Working Party discussed a document put before it by the Secretariat of Unesco. This document bases its reappraisal of fundamental education vis-a-vis community development on the findings of a working group on community development set up by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC) which co-ordinates the programme of United Nations and Specialised Agencies at the highest secretariat level. This Committee consists of the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation and the Directors General of Specialised Agencies.

The following definition of community development adopted by the A.C.C is quoted *in extenso* for the clarity with which the concept has been elaborated :

“The term *community development* has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united

with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

“This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements; i.e. participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvement.....

“Community development may properly be considered as a component of the wider concept of economic and social development. But it is not of itself sufficient because certain development measures do not depend upon the participation of the people as members of the local communities. For example, economic development may require establishing a central bank, raising a foreign loan, building a main highway or constructing a large hydro-electric project. Social development may require national employment policy, labour or insurance legislation or other protective measures complementary to those introduced through community development.

“Community development, however, may have an important role to play in promoting economic and social development and in helping give it direction. This it may do in increasing productive capacity, in influencing the kinds of activities which the people undertake and in educating them as consumers of both goods and services.

“Conversely, economic and social development makes possible or stimulates activities in communities which may greatly increase the general capacity of the people to help themselves and to respect one another.

“It must also be recognised that economic or social development often introduces disturbances which, if left to operate alone, may well weaken social coherence and so be conducive to community recession at least over certain phases. Through promoting collective action, community development may keep community recession in check and help re-establish coherence at different levels and for different purposes.

“The very concept of community development elaborated above demands the use of knowledge and skills of all the relevant national services in an integrated rather than an isolated or fragmentary way. To serve the ultimate objective of a fuller and better life for individuals within the family and the community, the technical services must be conceived in a manner, which recognises the indivisibility of the welfare of the individual.”

Having thus elaborated the function of community development, the A.C.C. Report examines the role of fundamental education which, it says, is synonymous with social education or community education. The report makes it clear that fundamental or social education is not coincident with the community development but is to be regarded as its essential component. The report also discusses the manner in which social education is to function as part of community development.

There is, firstly, a situation where social education might form the first phase of community development. This occurs in communities which do not possess the services of community development programmes. In such situations, social education will stimulate popular activity to prepare the way for composite programme of community development.

Where there is a programme of community development already in operation, social education has a more specialised role and focuses itself on activities such as adult literacy, organisation of library services for literates, dramatic and recreational activities or education programmes through the cinema and the radio. Social education, the Report says, provides for educational support to other technical services by preparing the ground for the acceptance of new ideas and by making technical knowledge accessible to the population.

Fundamental education or social education has another role—that of providing supporting services. These have been stated as follows :

Experimental study and technical information on educational methods and communication techniques ;

Training in these methods ; and

Producing educational materials, especially for illiterate or newly-literate people.

One vexed problem of the social education programme in Community Development schemes in India, is that of defining the precise role of Social Education Organisers. There appears to be a great deal of overlapping between what are assumed to be the tasks of Social Education Organisers and those of the other project workers. This problem was dealt with by the Seventh National Seminar of the Indian Adult Education Association, held in December last at Dabok, and the following resolution on the role of Social Education in Community Development adopted by the Seminar clarified the distinct role of social education :

“The Seminar has reaffirmed that social education has a basic role to play in rural reconstruction. The role is to create awareness in the minds of the people for the need of rural development. Further, the Seminar is of the opinion that it is not the social education worker who has to execute the actual development programmes; his job is to create the necessary mental outlook and to enthuse people to form community organisations rooted in their lives and enable them to formulate programmes and also initiate ways and means of carrying them out.”

While this makes it clear that social education workers should concentrate on creating the mental climate for the introduction of other services or for buttressing the work of extension and health workers, what is involved in framing suitable programmes is yet another problem which deserves thought. Perhaps the following definition of fundamental education adopted by the Ninth Conference of Unesco would help to give the basis for a perspective :

“Fundamental education aims to help people who have not obtained such help from established educational institutions to understand the problems of their environment and rights and duties as citizens and individuals, to acquire a body of knowledge and skills for the progressive improvement of their living conditions and to participate more effectively in the economic and social development of their community.

Fundamental education seeks, with due regard for religious beliefs, to develop moral values and a sense of the solidarity of mankind.

While the object of the school is to educate children and while ‘further education’ continues education previously acquired in schools, fundamental education is designed to supplement an incomplete school system in economically under-developed areas both rural and urban.”

This definition of fundamental education is wide in its sweep and its implications

need not be uniformly identical in different countries. In India, for instance, inculcation of skills is considered to be an appropriate function of the specialised personnel in community development schemes. Nor is the role, which has been assigned to fundamental education in the context of community development—viz. that of organising literacy work or library services—considered adequate; for, by themselves, these do not meet the needs of community development programmes in India. Experience has shown that, unless woven round the other activities of community development, they bear neither *direct* nor *immediate* relevance to community development. What is, however, of utmost concern and import to community development are problems of people's attitudes. It is just possible that community development schemes, without an effective social education programme, may effect increased agricultural production but this is not the only objective of community development, for this limited objective may be achieved also through other measures which will be compulsive in character. What is distinctive in community development is that increased production is related to the context of the lives of the people and this depends on "the substitution of one culture trait by another, more adequate to present conditions." It is to bring this about that social or fundamental education is necessary for adult literacy, by itself, cannot obviously shoulder this role.

One of the biggest impediments in the way of people accepting the reason and logic implicit in the concept of community development is to be found in the ideological basis of life in society. This is of particular significance in a country like India which has had a wealth of philosophy expounding the nature of problems of environment—social and physical—which constitute the basis of the work-a-day life of the people. These flow from the philosophical formulations of several philosophers which reflect the cultural heritage of the land. Due to pressures of various sorts—social and economic—the positive and progressive values of these philosophies have suffered eclipse and hamper the integration of the social values or of the ideological requirements of community development programmes. The task before social education is, therefore, to remove the incongruities which prevent such an integration. It should consequently, concern itself with this aspect of the life of the people, of course, with a sense of discrimination of what needs to be changed both in the valuational and functional aspects of that philosophy. It would then make possible a complete integration of the philosophy behind community development with the lives of the people, and the community development programme would acquire new and deeper dimensions.

To Shafique Saheb—a Homage:

April 2nd will mark the fourth anniversary of the passing away of Shafique Saheb. His death was much more than the mere loss of an eminent educationist. To the leaders and workers in social education movement, who had personally known him—and they were legion—it was a personal loss; those who had not the good fortune to know him, listen, in envy, to the legends of his modesty, affection and warmth.

Writing about Shafique Saheb, this is what *Shri K. G. Saiyidain* said:

"It is difficult to talk about Shafique objectively, because the sense of his loss is still so poignantly fresh. I can do no more just now than pay a humble tribute to a friend who was a gift from God and whose departure seems to have taken away so much from the richness of life... .."

"Shafique was a friend of mine for over 30 years... .. During this long stretch of years, he went on growing on me and the more I knew him—as indeed, must be the case with all his other friends—the more I got to love and admire him. One felt that there was a basic core of integrity in the man

which was absolutely indestructible. One could be sure that he would never do anything that was mean or unworthy. What is more, doing the right thing came to him naturally. This is a very rare quality, because many "good" people have to strain themselves a great deal in order to keep on the path of honesty and rectitude. Shafique must have schooled himself assiduously in his early years in right ideals and attitudes and these became an essential part of his balanced and integrated personality.

"He had a very warm and affectionate and hospitable heart into which he would unhesitatingly take all who came into contact with him—old and young, men and women, Indians and foreigners. Race, caste, creed, social and economic status meant nothing to him. I have often seen him at great receptions—at the President's House, the Prime Minister's At Homes or parties given by Ambassadors—wrapped up in his weather-beaten Kashmiri shawl going about from group to group, scattering cheer and liveliness in his wake. Similarly, I have seen him come into a dull drawing room with a broad smile on his face and change its whole atmosphere—as if a sunbeam had found its way into it. It was not, however, merely his cheerfulness but his sincerity which enabled him to walk into the hearts of all his friends and acquaintances without knocking. He was ever ready to share their joys and their sorrows and, if necessary, to take their burdens on his shoulders.

"I am personally of the opinion that Shafique, the man, was greater than his work and he transcended even his concrete achievements in the cause of education. He was just coming to the full maturity of his powers. If fate had been kinder and given him a longer span of life, he would have achieved a much higher public position. But I am sure it could not have added anything to the man that he was—cheerful in adversity, balanced in crisis, undeterred by failure, uncorrupted by success, friend to all, enemy to none, untouched by malice and inspired by a warm all embracing humanity."

And this is what *Shri Chetsingh* said of him :

"I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging publicly a great personal debt I owe to him and to his faith.

"I had gone to England with my family in March, 1947. But hearing of what had been happening in Delhi in September, my wife and I flew back and landing at Palam on October 13th, we began to realise how far we had fallen as a nation; how we had reverted to our lower animal levels. What I saw and heard in Delhi and in the refugee camps, both Hindu and Moslem, during the next few weeks came very near to breaking my spirit. I became cynical of our nationalist professions.

"Shafique and his family had been shot at, their house had been looted, their belongings burnt and it was not possible for them even to go to that area where his work was so well known. I was bitter. But Shafique was full of faith in India and her political future and what is more as full of fun as ever. I told him frequently that Delhi to me was dead and I did not see the India for which he had gone to jail and for which he and I had laboured and that I was losing faith in the efficacy of what we had been striving for. He would laugh and tell me how he believed the forces of reaction were few and were "cracking!" But one day he turned to me with shining eyes and said : "If Jawaharlal also begins to talk and think like this, where would we be? Do you think your faith has suffered more than that man's".

“That was for me the turning of the corner. Under God I owe my renewed faith in constructive work for India to Shafique”

And *Dr. Ranganathan*

“Here is an anecdote to illustrate the height of his modesty.

“It was April, 1952. He had already become Education Minister. Mathur told me that he was anxious to come and meet me in connection with his work as Education Minister. I decided that his official position demanded that I should first call on him.

“One afternoon I went to his office. The chaprasi would not allow me to go in. My being clothed in simple dhoti and cotton shirt perhaps made him think of me as being unworthy of being led to the presence of the Minister. I made my way to the Personal Assistant. “Have you a prior engagement? Write your business on this form.” was the prompt reply. “No prior engagement. No official business. I am a friend of his. I wish to see him in the Minister’s chamber.” was all that I could say. “Not possible”, was the laconic reply. I again pleaded. “Take my name to the Minister. If he says “no”, I shall go back”. Kidwai’s spirit of humanism had already descended at least partially on this assistant during the few days of his association with him. Therefore, he stepped into the Minister’s room. Immediately, Kidwai rushed into the open verandah. We were locked in each other’s embrace. We then walked in. He sat by my side. “I want to see you in the Minister’s gaddi. Go and sit there”. These words had no effect whatever. We had a long talk about the difficulties of being in office, the unendurable compromise needed and above all being cut away by pomp, dignity and red-tape from real work among the people and at the same time the need for men of such calibre elevating and purifying Minister’s post. Of course, the first two strands were developed by Kidwai and the last by me. He then came out and walked with me to the end of the compound to see me off. I am sure that the embrace and the walk of this mountain of modesty with a poor-clad common man without power would have gone a long way in humanising his staff.”

Finally, *Rajaji*

“So Shafique is gone. We have lost one of the best souls of our time, if not indeed the best. The burden of Delhi’s new Government must of course have contributed much to the untimely end of one whom I always deemed as a saint in the disguise of a friend.

On 11th March, 1922, I noted in my diary about him when he and I were together in the old prison at Vellore:—

“Of Shafique-ur-Rehman from Aligarh, what shall I say? I count it as a privilege to know such a man—I have not known a better bred young man or a more self-restrained, a more truly God-fearing, finer or nobler soul.”

Social Education workers will be glad to know that the Association has secured land to raise the Shafique memorial. The memorial, which will house the Central Office of the Association will be a multi-storied building consisting of an auditorium, a library hall and other facilities to convene Seminars and Conferences. The foundation stone of the memorial will be laid on April, 2.

On that day the Association will launch yet another venture—*Proudh Shiksha* a quarterly journal in Hindi. The Journal will, we hope, meet the needs of field workers and help them solve problems they encounter in their day to day work.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION—General Secretary's Report for 1956-57

55.561

I have pleasure in presenting to the Annual Conference a report of the activities of the Association during the year 1956-57.

New Members

Before I proceed to a review of the work of the Association during the year, I am happy to welcome four new institutions, who have become members of the Association. These are :—

1. Workers Education Centre, Domohoni (West Bengal).
2. Janta Pustkalya Arer, Arerhat (Bihar).
3. Bharati Vidya Mandir, Patna and
4. Education Department, U.P. Government.

Twelfth Annual Conference, December, 1955

The Twelfth Annual Conference was held in Delhi last December under the Presidentship of Shri T. Madiah Gowda, M.P. Sardar K. M. Pannikar was to have inaugurated the Conference but due to unavoidable reasons he was unable to be present on the inaugural day. He had, however, sent a written address which was read to the Conference by Shri K. G. Saiyidain.

The Conference considered the progress of social education in community development areas and adopted a resolution calling upon the Executive Committee of the Association to appoint a committee to study the progress of the movement and make observations on the difficulties encountered therein. It also called upon the Government, particularly the Planning Commission and the Community Projects Administration, to render this committee all possible assistance and facilities for its work. The Association subsequently wrote to both these bodies forwarding the resolution and requested their co-operation. It is a matter of regret that this was not forthcoming.

The Conference also adopted a resolution calling upon the Government to utilise the services of voluntary agencies in the field of social

education and urged governments to form Boards to assist voluntary agencies.

A symposium on the Role of Adult Education in Community Development was held during the Conference. A number of eminent workers participated in the symposium. The proceedings of the symposium have been published.

Seminars

The Association sponsored two national seminars during the year. Both these were convened in collaboration with other voluntary organisations.

Along with a few non-official organisations engaged in rural development, the Association sponsored a Seminar on the Role of Voluntary Agencies in Community Development. The Seminar was held in New Delhi during the month of April and 29 organisations including a few Government departments participated in the Seminar. The report of the Seminar has been published.

The Association also convened, in co-operation with the Bhartiya Grameen Mahila Sangh, a non-official organisation devoted to the welfare of rural women, a Seminar on Development Work among Rural Women. Dr. Sushila Nayar, till recently the Speaker of Delhi Assembly, directed the Seminar and about 60 delegates from 40 Governmental and non-governmental agencies from all over the country participated in it. The Seminar was inaugurated by Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission delivered the Valedictory Address. Shri K. G. Saiyidain presided over the closing function. A summary report of the Seminar was published in the Bulletin. The full report is in the press and will be available shortly.

Najafgarh Welfare Extension Project

The Association continued to run the Najafgarh Welfare Extension Project which it took over in early 1955 and during the year a fifth centre

was opened. A Project Implementation Committee, with Begum Shafiqueur-Rehman Kidwai, M.P. as Chairman and Shrimati Phyllis Gore and Shrimati Dolat Nanavatty as co-Conveners, is responsible for the work of the Project.

Progress of work in the Project cannot be said to be entirely satisfactory and certain fundamental questions of policy need comment.

Firstly, the Project Implementation Committee is not an independent body and free to decide on programmes according to the needs and desires of villagers. It has to implement programmes according to directives which sometimes do not correspond to the requirements in the villages. Also, because of budgetary restrictions, the Committee is not free to implement such programmes as would be welcomed by the villagers. Unless it is recognised that the Implementation Committee is independent enough to formulate its own programmes and not merely to implement directives from higher authorities, there is little scope for the project to establish itself among the villagers.

Secondly, village workers are expected to cover a geographical area wider than they can effectively do. As a result, programmes are not implemented in an intensive manner. It would be more beneficial if the area is limited and intensity increased.

Thirdly, the paper work involved in running the project is disproportionately large. A great deal of time and energy of the whole-time as well as the voluntary workers associated with the Project Implementation Committee, is spent in routine office work. Methods must be found to reduce this which would enable more time to be devoted to field work.

Fourthly, field workers and those connected with the project should be afforded facilities to utilise opportunities to improve their work. As it happens, regulations are far too rigid to permit field workers to imbibe new experiences from the work of other agencies or from mixing with other workers to gain knowledge to improve their work. The spirit of exclusiveness which pervades authorities concerned with the project is not conducive to improving the quality of village work.

These are some of the problems to which thought and attention need to be given by those responsible for the project. Unless radical changes are introduced in these matters, little headway is possible.

Clearing House

During the year, the demands on the Association's services as a clearing house of information were more varied and extensive. Over 200 enquiries for information on various problems of social education were received by the Association. Some of these enquiries related to expert opinion and some to factual data. These enquiries were from various sources, Planning Commission, Union Ministry of Education, State Departments of Social Education and Development voluntary agencies, individual—both from India and abroad.

Publications

The Association continued its work of dissemination of information through its Journal, the monthly Bulletin and other publications. Four issues of Indian Journal of Adult Education and 12 of the Social Education News Bulletin were brought out.

The Abstracts Service was also maintained during the year.

Thanks to our arrangement with Unesco Educational Clearing House, we have been able to bring to our readers expertise opinion of well-known authorities in the field of adult education and social sciences the world over. Evidence that this is helpful to the field workers is provided by the fact that various adult education periodicals in regional languages and in English have taken material from the Journal for publication. The circulation of the Journal is also increasing.

The Association brought out five new publications during the year. These are :—

1. Libraries in Social Education—being the report of the Sixth National Seminar held last year.
2. Adult Education in Community Development—based on the symposium held at the Twelfth Adult Education Conference.

3. Praudh Shiksha—Aadhunik Vichar-dharayen Va Prayog (Hindi version of the Unesco publication : Adult Education—Current Trends and Practices).
4. Aadharbhoot Shiksha Nirupan Aur Karyakram (Hindi version of the Unesco publication : Fundamental Education—Description and Programme).
5. Samaj Shiksha Me Manoranjan Aur Sanskritik Karya.

Three more publications are in the press. These are :—

1. Development Work among Rural Women.
2. Adult Education in Community Development (in Hindi).
3. A Survey of Literature for Neo-literates—being a survey conducted by the Association jointly with Jamia Millia on behalf of Unesco.

Two more books have been translated into Hindi under contract with the Unesco and will be published shortly. These are :—

1. Libraries in Adult and Fundamental Education.
2. Co-operatives in Fundamental Education.

Research and Survey Projects

The year under review was significant for a number of new directions in which the Association made headway. These are the following :—

- (i) It may be recalled that the Fifth National Seminar on the Role of Recreational and Cultural Activities in Social Education had recommended that the Association should undertake the publication of a Directory on Cultural and Recreational Activities for India as well as the South-East Asian Region. Towards the middle of the last year a proposal for this purpose was formulated and submitted to the Government of India for financial assistance. The Government of India in the early this year agreed to finance the project to a limited extent. Subsequently some progress has been made in this

direction and as a preliminary step some data has been collected which is being published serially in the Journal. We hope that the readers of the Journal will let us know their views on this data. This will enable us to revise it accordingly before publishing it in a final form.

- (ii) We have just recently signed a contract with the Unesco agreeing to undertake to add to the Directory, a list of agencies engaged in cultural and recreational activities for the South-East Asian region.
- (iii) Another research project that is well under way is on the survey of literature for neo-literates. This project, sponsored by Unesco, is being jointly implemented with the Jamia Millia. Our survey has already covered Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, part of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The project is expected to be completed by the middle of the next year. This survey will evaluate the reading material available to neo-literates and indicate the type that is required. It will also suggest ways and means of meeting those requirements. Earlier, a survey of agencies producing this material was completed and the report is in print.
- (iv) The Association has submitted a scheme for co-ordinating social education activities in major industrial cities of India through the setting up of co-ordinating councils. We hope that the Government of India will accept our proposal.
- (v) The Association had also submitted to the Ministry of Education a proposal for strengthening the Association as a Clearing House of Information. With the development of the movement, more and more complex problems are likely to be faced by workers in the field. As it is, the enquiries the Association receives are often of a nature which require expertise knowledge and reference work. We hope that the Government will help the Association to cope up with this aspect of our

work which will become both varied and intense in the coming years.

- (vi) A number of Universities are beginning to show an interest in research in social education and its problems. In order to survey the research that had been undertaken in social education as such and the allied problems, the Association addressed an enquiry to the various Universities requesting them for information on research work undertaken for the Master's and the Doctorate degrees in education, and in subjects of relevance to adult education. We are very happy to say that without exception all the Universities have sent us relevant information. This has been collated and will be published in the Journal shortly.

We hope that it would be possible for us to establish a more vigorous relationship with Universities and indicate to them fields where research needs to be done.

- (vii) In order to have a comprehensive idea of social education work being done in the country we had also addressed an enquiry to our constituent members and others in the field requesting them to send us reports of their activities. The response has been very encouraging and a number of agencies the country over have submitted reports of their activities.

Unesco General Conference

It is a matter of gratification to the Association that the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco took the important step recommending that Unesco should adopt, as a major project, the subject of reading material for neo-literates. The subject was discussed at the 9th Session of Unesco which concluded recently and Unesco has accepted the proposal to set apart funds for this project.

The Association was fortunate that a number of its office-bearers participated in the Conference. Shri K. G. Saiyidain, the President and Shri Zakir Hussain, Vice-President of the Association were nominated as

delegates from India. Shri V. S. Mathur, General Secretary and Shri S.C. Dutta, Associate Secretary of the Association were appointed observers by the ICFTU and the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations respectively. Dr. Zakir Hussain has been elected to the Executive Board and we offer our congratulations to him.

Standing Committee on Social Education

During the year, the Government of India convened the first meeting of the Standing Committee on Social Education. This Committee consists, among others, of Shri R. M. Chetsingh (Chairman), Shri T. Madiah Gowda, Shri V. S. Mathur, Shrimati Kulsum Sayani, Shri Mushtaq Ahmed, Shri B. M. Madhav and Shri S. C. Dutta. The first meeting recommended several useful measures for the efficient functioning of the social education movement during the Second Five-Year Plan. It also recognised the necessity of encouraging the development of the role of voluntary agencies in the social education movement. It is our earnest hope that the recommendations of the Committee will be integrated with the policies of the Government.

The Adult Education section of the All India Federation of Educational Institutions met held in October this year at Jaipur. Shri K. T. Mantri, Vice-President, Bombay City Social Education Committee presided over the Conference, of the section in the absence of Dr. A. N. Banerjee, Director of Education, Delhi State. A symposium on school-cum-community centre was held. The section adopted a resolution appointing a committee consisting of the following to consider the problems in implementing the programme of school-cum-community centres.

Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma (Chairman), Shri K. T. Mantri, Shri P. D. Shukla, Deputy Educational Adviser, Union Ministry of Education; Shri G. F. Mankodi, Deputy Secretary, Union Ministry of Community Development; Shri B. G. Tewari and Shri S. C. Dutta.

The First Report had pointed out that there was considerable scepticism among government functionaries about the utility and necessity of social education programmes for development schemes. The Social Education Organiser, the Report had said, was often enough considered a supernumerary and that in any case, his functions had not been found to be quite relevant to the immediate needs of community development. The Second Report published recently, does not indicate that the criticism to which the programme was subjected had been met or that efforts were conceived to remedy errors in the programme which had been pointed out earlier. The objectives which had been set for social education appeared either superfluous or devoid of significance to community development. It was superfluous because social education tended to duplicate extension work that was being carried on in other spheres of the schemes. "Some Social Education Organisers", the Second Report said, "sincerely believe that whereas it is the job of an agricultural supervisor to lay a demonstration, it is their job to prepare the people for it and convince them of its value. Obviously such distinctions between telling how a thing should be done and why it should be done, however well they may appear in theory, are likely to break down in the field." It was devoid of significance because for one thing, social education confined itself to "routine activities" like literacy, recreation etc., which had no direct bearing on development programmes. Also, according to the Report, the range and variety of programmes under social education was so wide that it lacked both focus and purpose.

This confusion between extension work and social education appears to have arisen, at least partly, because social education was not primarily conceived as the means to create awareness in the minds of people on the need for rural development. Instead, it was, to a certain extent, expected to execute the development programme itself through its problem-oriented activities which in practice clashed with other services of the scheme. Consequently, we have to examine the assumptions on which the present programme was conceived. In other words we have to

examine whether problem-oriented activities provide the correct perspective to social education and whether such activities *can bring about a change in outlook*.

The basic presupposition for any change is, obviously, the conviction that change is possible. This conviction is often absent in underdeveloped communities and has robbed the human mind of the incentive to change. Moreover, life forms a pattern evolved through history and norms, whether they relate to social behaviour or vocational practices have been sanctified by tradition and justified by custom. To bring about a change of outlook, therefore, involves not merely a change in an individual aspect of life but in the premises on which people base their lives. Most of the premises are, however, inarticulate and not until have they been made articulate can it be said that changes can be brought about. Social education, if it should prove its necessity to community development, has to orient itself towards this aspect of the programme. It is perhaps somewhat a simplification to suggest that, for people to accept a change in outlook, all that needs demonstration is the material benefits of the changed outlook.

Seen in this context, social education acquires the significance of the ideology of community development schemes. The ideology of scheme is, indeed, not related to any dogmatic social objective but to a philosophy which will explain human control over environment. To combat forces that deny this and to rebuild in its place a system of values in life which will convey people a feel of that control is what appears to be the role of social education. The activities of the Social Education Organiser, therefore, need to be not problem-oriented but ideology-oriented.

This perspective will invest social education programme with a new meaning. Literacy will no longer form the basic activity of the Social Education Organiser. Recreation and cultural activities will no longer appear as isolated items but the means of conveying this ideology. Extension activities of other functionaries will then acquire a new dimension for they will cease to be isolated streams of knowledge but spring from and correlated to a wider philosophy.

III

Another reason why the social education programme in the Community Development and NES areas has not been able to come to its own is the general context in which it is functioning. It is hardly necessary to refer here to the problems of evaluation and of determining targets in Community Development programmes. One thing that has, however, become clear in the course of our experience with the operation of the Community Development schemes in India is the unsuitability of fixing physical targets. Physical targets have the tendency of acquiring the importance of the very ends of Community Development schemes. Targets have been fixed and willy-nilly have to be reached. Everybody's effort is geared towards the figures in those targets—whether in terms of expenditure or of production output. This pursuit of targets creates an atmosphere which grates on the educative process, for the educative process is not easily perceptible, involves patience and does not offer anything spectacular to show.

The effect of this situation on the social education programmes has been disastrous. Because no methods of evaluation — and of fixing targets have yet been evolved in social education—"targets" for social education were fixed in terms of literacy classes and recreation centres. The result was that under the pressure of having to fulfil those "targets" the immediate and the sole concern of social education workers became the number of literacy classes or recreation centres they had opened. The broader objectives — of education and of ushering in a cultural renaissance suited to the requirements of the Community Development schemes — had, obviously, little relevance in this scheme of things.

The problem of targets is wide in its implications and affects the entire programme of Community Development. Perhaps, because the programme was conceived as a part of the First Five Year Plan, it had certain definite objectives — objectives of restoring the imbalance in the country's economy caused by the war and partition — and Community Development schemes could not be envisaged, unhampered by the urgency of fulfilling targets demanded by these objectives of the Plan. Community

Development, however, is based on the concept of felt needs of the people. Logically, therefore, the only criteria of targets can be in terms of the felt needs of the people. While, essentially, there need be no contradiction between felt needs, which will be local in character, and objectives of planning, which will be national on scale, nevertheless, a conflict of priorities may need to be resolved. Social education must become means of resolving this conflict. There is always the danger of social education becoming the means of suppressing either at the cost of the other. This will only aggravate the conflict and consequently must be watchfully avoided.

A question which has relevance in this context is that of suitable organisational machinery for the implementation of Community Development programmes. Whether development schemes can be implemented, without losing sight of their ultimate objectives through the existing administrative structure of the country, is a moot point. Much thought is being given to this question and whether social education will function in a manner which will enrich the Community Development schemes, will depend on the solution of the problem. In this situation, the role that is sought to be assigned to Panchayats as agencies for the implementation of programmes will take a great step forward in providing social education and Community Development schemes with new sights. Hitherto, Government functionaries at the village level have been acting as a buffer between the people and programmes. If Panchayats are provided with opportunities without restrictions to devise ways and means to express people's needs and aspirations in the implementation of programmes, Community Development movement will retain its distinctive character. If, however, Panchayats are not provided these opportunities for complete self-expression and responsibilities for implementation of community development programmes are vested in functionaries who also possess coercive powers inherent in revenue officials, one may be pardoned for misgivings, for there are justifications for such misgivings. An administrative structure, which at its lower levels is yet to acquire an impact of reorientation on the purposes of administration, coupled with an absence of the feel of power among the people would not be quite the most conducive situation for the implementation of Community Development schemes.

So far as social education is concerned, however, there are certain correctives which deserve serious consideration.

Firstly, it will be well to find an organisational structure which will be less subject to bureaucratic pressures. This can be achieved if the burden of leadership of the social education movement is left to voluntary agencies. These agencies enjoy certain advantages which will help the social education movement retain its spirit. For one thing voluntary agencies, because they are the projection of popular initiative and enthusiasm, can evolve a more sympathetic accord among people than governmental agencies. And because voluntary agencies have to thrive solely on the confidence people place in them, they will reflect more keenly popular sentiments and adjust themselves to popular needs. They will also be less subject to adverse pressures which invariably develop in a bureaucratic setup. The government, therefore, should aim to assist voluntary agencies in all ways to ensure their efficient functioning—through placing at their disposal facilities necessary for the movement.

Secondly, the success of Community Development schemes will require their implementation by local communities. This has been recognised by the Planning Commission. Social Education has a responsibility to render local institutions and local leadership fit for the purpose. This is an important aspect to which social education has to direct itself if a proper administrative structure has to be found for the implementation of the programmes.

IV

Another fundamental problem to which serious thought has to be given is the training of personnel in social education as well as Community Development schemes as such. The training programme should equip workers of all categories not merely in new skills or techniques but more fundamentally develop in them correct attitudes to the work before them and the right poise in their conduct among people. It must be borne in mind that they have to convey to people a conviction in new values. A weakness of our education has been that much of what it communicates to people is

not reflected in the day to day life. The training programme must not be found wanting in this manner. It must enable an integration of what is taught and what is lived. It should embody the essential principles of the process that the trainee is expected to put across to the people. Thus, for instance, an authoritarian code of conduct between the trainee and trainer will not help the trainee to take with him a persuasive approach to the people in the field when he begins to function. To ensure this, training methods must be conducive to develop proper values and attitudes in the trainee. The emphasis in training methods should be on the discussion method rather than on the lecture room.

V

These are the outlines of some of the crucial problems facing social education programmes in Community Development and National Extension Service areas. The First Programmes Evaluation Report had prophesied a gloomy prospect for the social education movement if it did not adjust itself to the needs of development programmes. It is no new truth to say that with the failure of the social education programmes the Community Development programme itself will degenerate into a method devoid of all its distinctive significance. For the mutual success, therefore, these problems have to be faced and solved.

—Paper (revised) read at the annual session of the Indian Conference of Social Work, Jaipur, 1956.

Shri RANJIT M. CHETSINGH

The challenge adult education faces today is complex in its character. This is perhaps inevitable in a society which, for the first time in a couple of centuries, finds itself in the control of its own destiny. It has before it a welter of problems to solve; there is, firstly, the need to catch up with the technological advance that the rest of the world has made in the meantime; there is the need to re-fashion social institutions so that they are not only in tune with spirit of the age but also consonant with the possibilities that technological advance opens out to it; above all, there is need to ensure that the destiny which society sets before itself is one that is informed by canons of universal good.

In this situation, if adult education workers are sometimes overawed by the magnitude of the task before them and often times find themselves in doubt about their goal, it is only understandable. Frequently too, the ideals for which adult education workers should strive get blurred and they find themselves asking: What we are struggling for? What we are struggling against?

It is this problem that most concerns Shri Ranjit Mohan Chetsingh, one of the founders of the Indian Adult Education Association and one who has been associated with the adult education work in the country for over a quarter of a century now. To Shri Chetsingh, adult education should primarily concern itself with the problem of inculcating human values which owing to various reasons, under certain circumstances, tend to get obliterated. In such circumstances, it is the responsibility of adult education to develop among people the moral fibre to withstand the onslaught of forces which tend to destroy their potential for goodness. It is to this mission that Shri Chetsingh has devoted himself all his life.

Shri Chetsingh's public life began even as a student. During the years 1926-28, Shri Chetsingh was Travelling Secretary of the Students Christian Movement in India, Burma and Ceylon. These three years he travelled over these countries enthusing groups of students to devote themselves for the welfare of society. As the Secretary of this Movement, Shri Chetsingh had occasion to visit Finland, Denmark and England to participate in various conferences.

After he had taken his post-graduate degree in Political Science from the Punjab University in 1934¹, Shri Chetsingh took over as Joint-Principal of the Christian High School, Kharar (Punjab). As the Principal of the institution he not only pioneered several experiments in educational methods but also edited a number of educational journals among them, *Bachon Ka Khel Khilona*, an Urdu fortnightly dealing with playway in education.

In 1937, Shri Chetsingh found opportunity to break new grounds in rural education. He took over an assignment to start the Friends Settlement of Social Work at Hoshangabad. Here he conducted on an experimental basis two Basic Schools which were a modified application of the Wardha Scheme. These Schools aroused wide interest and the Settlement, he had pioneered, is today a well-known centre of rural uplift work.

Shri Chetsingh's public life has not been confined merely to education though his primary interest has been in it. Deeply convinced of the human values in Christianity, Shri Chetsingh has been connected with a number of organisations devoted to the spread of Christian values. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of India and the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. The humanistic principles of the Quaker Movement drew Shri Chetsingh intimately to it. He has contributed considerably to the development of that movement in India.

Shri Chetsingh is a prolific writer and besides writing for several educational journals, has himself edited many periodicals; he has also edited and contributed to the book on Quaker philosophy '*That of God in Every Man*'. Another note-worthy contribution of his was to the *Indian Educational System* in the Oxford pamphlets on Indian affairs. An outstanding personality in the field of adult education in India, Shri Chetsingh attended the Experts meeting on Fundamental Education convened by Unesco in Paris in 1947. He also visited the United States as a lecturer in the summer of 1947.

Shri Chetsingh has been connected with the Indian Adult Education Association ever since its foundation. He was one of the founder Vice-Presidents of the Association and was elected its first Honorary General Secretary, an office he held from 1939 to 1948 almost continuously. While he was at the Friends Settlement in Hoshangabad he founded, in 1939, the 'Indian Journal of Adult Education'. Shri Chetsingh was re-elected at the last annual Conference of the Association as one of the Vice-Presidents. The Association is happy that his wise counsels will be available to it again.

The measure of Shri Chetsingh's devotion to the cause of adult education and, to the primacy of human values, is his frankness and uncompromising opposition to influences which inhibit the expression of these values in public life. A man, who has given his all for an ideal, Shri Chetsingh is a staunch champion of idealism. Warm-hearted, his comradeship is cherished and his advice valued by his colleagues and fellow-workers.



Shri Ranjit M. Chetsingh

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN ECONOMICS— Findings of a Yugoslav Seminar

The Yugoslav National Commission, in co-operation with Unesco within the framework of the Aid to Member States Programme organized a seminar on workers' education in economics which was held at Rijeka from 17 to 28 September and at Zagreb from 28 to 30 September 1956.

The Commission had invited representatives of some twenty European and extra-European countries of divergent social structures, economic development and systems of government. In doing this it had several ends in view. In pursuance of the aims of Unesco, the Commission sought to provoke an exchange of ideas and information on the chosen subject with a view to promoting mutual understanding and to overcoming certain harmful preconceptions caused by ignorance which hinder understanding and co-operation between different peoples and political systems. It hoped that this large scale meeting between accredited representatives would establish the complex nature of economic education, bearing in mind its social, technical and political context and likewise its relationship with kindred subjects. It seemed desirable also to list and explain the teaching methods suited to this subject. Finally, the Commission, aware of the importance and the special character of Yugoslav achievements in establishing a democratic form of management and control, purposely chose for the seat of the seminar Rijeka, a town in which it was felt it would be possible for delegates to obtain first-hand information on the various institutions of Yugoslav society.

The balance obtained between the countries represented may be considered satisfactory. Of the 45 participants at the seminar, excluding the 15 Yugoslav experts, half were drawn from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and People's Democracies and the other half from countries of Western Europe¹. The presence of delegates from Asian

countries, and of a Moroccan expert, afforded an opportunity to consider experiments that are now being carried out in parts of the world where workers' education is still in its infancy. In the main, the national delegations were made up of highly qualified persons holding important positions in the movement to which they adhere.

The Director of the Seminar was Mr. Asher Deleon, in charge of education and press in the Central Committee of Yugoslav Trade Unions. Mr. Deleon, who represented his country at the first seminar on workers' education, held at La Breviere in 1952, and has since taken part as an expert at all the sessions of the Consultative Committee on Adult Education, was particularly well qualified for his task. He was assisted by a management committee, composed of the three group leaders and an expert representing the Unesco Secretariat. The latter was elected rapporteur of the seminar.

The choice of Yugoslavia as seat of a seminar of this nature was a particularly happy one. Informed opinion the world over is aware of the remarkable experiments carried out in that country with a view to decentralizing economic administration to the greatest possible degree and handing over the management of business and social institutions to workers' councils. Moreover, Yugoslavia occupies today a central position between the two chief political blocs, thanks to the cordial relations that she maintains with both of them and to the structure of her society which is a compromise between the different forms of democracy. This position makes Yugoslavia a perfect choice for meetings of this sort.

The seminar first discussed the meaning and importance of education in economics, and arrived at the conclusion that all the citizens of a country, and not merely a minority of experts and technicians, need economic education. The modern conception of a citizen implies his participation not only in politics or administration, but in economic management also. Moreover, the organization of production, the development of productivity and the effective participation of workers in the various managerial bodies, make economic education, for all, still more imperative. Finally, the knowledge and mastery of economic facts are considered to be essential elements of modern humanism and a living culture.

The seminar agreed, further, that the education of workers, under no matter what system of government, had common objectives. This finding can be considered to mark a distinct advance on the positions initially adopted by the different delegations, some of whom viewed workers' education as essentially a training for class warfare, as in capitalist regimes, while others saw it as training for management by the workers, as in socialist countries. The argument that workers of all countries, highly developed or underdeveloped, whether capitalist, socialist or a mixture of the two, were required to face up to similar problems soluble only by a similar educational effort shaped by the experience of each country, found unanimous acceptance by the seminar.

The discussion led also to definitions of the content of economic education, of its relation to general culture, and to kindred or closely associated subjects, like sociology, history, philosophy, geography, etc. and of the relations between the empirical and the systematic forms of economic education. Attention was called to the obstacles, both internal (inherent in the nature and difficulty of the subject), and external (living and working conditions), which impede the development of the study of economics, and examined methods of overcoming them.

The seminar paid close attention to the question of methods. Two general statements and much discussion were devoted to this matter. Whereas in some countries active and functional methods have long been employed, it appeared that many other countries, which are looked upon in some respects as innovators, still cling to traditional, not to say antiquated methods of teaching. The abundance of ideas and information exchanged on this topic revealed to many delegates the methodological shortcomings of their teaching programmes. Public indifference towards education is not necessarily, always a sign of apathy, but is largely due to the failure to adapt teaching methods to the psychological make-up and mental attributes of the groups concerned. It was recognized that this failing was a basic obstacle to workers' education and that it encouraged dogmatic attitudes which needed combating. This being so, delegates showed much interest in information about and demonstrations of active teaching methods, ways of forming and stimulating study groups, and the use of different forms of

debate. This methodological aspect of the problem was stressed in the seminar's final report.

In order to give practical illustrations of what the meetings had discussed, delegates were enabled to visit local institutions and see for themselves some of the prototypes which constitute the special interest of the Yugoslav experiment. Conversations were arranged at the headquarters of businesses and committees, with different managerial bodies, such as the "People's Provincial Committee", the "Manufacturers' Council", the managing boards of large and medium sized industrial and commercial firms, the "Management Committee of Social Insurance", and housing committees. The delegates showed keen interest in the work accomplished by these bodies which furnished materials for much useful comparison.

At the close of the seminar a report was drawn up on the plenary discussions. This document, which recorded the progress made during the work of the seminar, formulates a set of findings which make an important contribution to the subject studied. On the basis of these conclusions workers' education in economics may be directed along new channels, with beneficial results in the years to come.

Viewed in this light, the Rijeka Seminar had undoubtedly an educational value. It also proved that communities and individuals who, from lack of knowledge and means of communication, believed that they stood far apart and looked upon each other, if not as enemies, at least as strangers, actually cherish the same ideas and share the same preoccupations

—*From material supplied by Education
Clearing House, Unesco, Paris.*

¹ Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Burma, Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Italy, Morocco, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia.

SEVENTH NATIONAL SEMINAR—Some Impressions

Philip Zealey

Liaison Representative American Friends Service Committee, Delhi.

In this age of the conference and the seminar there are many who belittle such gatherings on various grounds. The conference cynic is now becoming almost a stock character, but it has been my observation that even the conference cynic continues to attend conferences when he can! There is a moral to this, of course, which we need not go into here. The real point which I have to make is that there was an entire absence of conference cynics at Dabok, at least to my knowledge and acquaintanceship. In the first place this was not a conference but a seminar, seeking to share experience and arrive at conclusions out of joint discussion which could prove of value to the participants and to all those engaged in the same field of work. Secondly, this was a practical reunion in which discussions centred around the down-to-earth problems which are the daily lot of those engaged in rural work. Thirdly, the seventy-odd participants were, for the most part, practising social education in the field, or administrators of rural programmes vitally concerned with realities.

The absence of cynics and the presence of "seekers" in full measure, lead to the rapid development of a creative environment and a hard working community—the essential atmosphere for worthwhile deliberations. Plenary sessions were left to a minimum and, under the able and good-humoured chairmanship of Janardan Rai Nagar, business was transacted without waste of time. The hard core of the seminar was to be found in the five working groups which gathered together day after day and in a friendly, informal atmosphere, encouraged each participant to open both heart and head in sharing experience, contributing knowledge and offering

ideas towards the objective of bettering the role of social education in rural reconstruction. I have a strong sense that there was not a single participant who did not give something of positive value to the seminar and I am sure that, like myself, everyone departed with something of use and value. It was really more than that because such gatherings also impart fresh encouragement to those engaged in continually arduous and sometimes thankless tasks. Even more—and possibly most important of all, is the experience of having met old friends and made new ones.

This seminar was held in the buildings of Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, an institution with a high reputation for disinterested service amongst both rural and urban people in Rajasthan. If one might judge by the quality of service rendered by the students of the Vidyapith to members of the seminar, its high reputation is the more fully deserved. These students did not spare themselves in their efforts to make us warmly welcome and attended to our needs with all the care and warmth of traditional Indian hospitality. The rural setting was also appropriate to our deliberations. The daily pattern of village life unfolded itself in our immediate surroundings. There were wide sweeping views of the rugged hills and the sky was not shut out. All this, I think, assisted materially in building up the warm-hearted, friendly community we became.

One achievement of the seminar was to put the role of the social education organiser in a balanced perspective. All too often he has been regarded as the "odd man out" who just fills in the gaps left over by the technical experts; the man who organizes literacy classes, dabbles in audio-visual aids and deals with troubles in panchayats. However, we came to define his function: "To educate people for regeneration of their economic sphere of life and of community, social and cultural spheres of life". Nothing very vital or lasting can happen in rural reconstruction unless there is a renewed will for social, economic and spiritual betterment and it is clearly the task of the social education organiser, whether he works for Government or voluntary agencies, to inspire this renewed will for betterment. Technical resources available to the villages in materials or expert knowledge are for nothing without the will to take advantage of them and the confidence that they will lead to permanent betterment. In this context it should be recorded that

technical workers have a job of social education to do alongside the specialist if the total objective is to be reached.

Discussion led the seminar to define the aims of rural reconstruction as "the development of rural economic potentialities, of the technical ability of the villager, of his social potentialities, and the basic right of every villager to work and participate in, and have a share of, the economic and social advantages arising from the development of potentialities". One interesting and important aspect of the seminar was the realisation that economic factors cannot be divorced from social advancement. In other words the financial betterment of the villages was very much the concern of the social educator. The government and other agencies should, and in fact, are, heavily subsidizing the provision of social amenities and facilities in rural areas—schools, community and welfare centres, medical clinics and the like but, unless at the same time, the villager is enabled to lift himself out of grinding poverty these new amenities will neither be fully utilised nor fully maintained and developed on a long term basis. Social education is squarely faced with the problem of chronic poverty and realises that it too must play a part in seeking radical solutions.

The late F. L. Brayne, one of the pioneers in village work, once told me after his retirement that his experiences had led him to the conclusion that rural reconstruction could not be realised without drawing the women-folk fully into the programme. This approach was also reflected at Dabok. There were at least a dozen women delegates. Not only did they provide an element of grace and charm, too often missing at such gatherings, but their constructive participation in the discussions helped us to see problems in a "wholeness", somewhat more realistic than the "mere male viewpoint". They also set an example in hard work and dedication to the tasks before us. In my particular group our recorder was a lady social educator from Lucknow and credit for the lucidity of our reports was certainly due to her perception and grasp of essentials out of masculine loquacity! The seminar agreed that "if you educate a man you educate an individual but when you educate a woman you educate the whole family". Women must be included in any programme of social education.

There was also a good deal of sensitive thought given to the question of tribal people and one had a feeling that their problems might usefully form the subject of a separate seminar drawing in field workers with specialised experience.

Lastly, I must pay tribute to the team of "back room boys" who, like conjurors, produced working papers, reports and daily bulletins at the appropriate junctures in the proceedings. I suspect this was achieved at the cost of considerable loss of sleep. They contributed much to the smooth running of the seminar and deserve a very honourable mention.

TRIBAL DANCES OF BIHAR

Miss Nirmala Joshi,

Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akadami, New Delhi.

Our country has preserved a rich treasure of folk art in spite of the upheavals in her social and historical conditions. What is more, there is also a diversity in the character of the dances, which reflects the character of the people — for, dance is the expression of man's religion and life. While on one hand the cultivated art of dancing has reached the pinnacle of stylisation and become almost a complicated science, the dances of the people in the villages which are untouched by sophistication still express the fervour and exuberance of their lives.

Besides being a manifestation of man's innermost instincts of joy, dance and song have been a part of the religious observances since time immemorial so as to form the warp and woof of the texture of our life. The intimate association of nature with life and religion is exemplified in the folk arts of the country especially in the dances and songs.

Bihar is one of the large provinces of our country which is a rich mine of folk art, especially of the tribals. In Chota Nagpur, the passion for music and dancing is a distinctive feature of the day-to-day life of the people. Group dancing is a normal activity with them—as essential as eating, drinking, etc. Steeped in the picturesque beauty of its sylvan surroundings, the tribals dance with gay abandon. The fragrance of the sal flowers, the swaying of the trees, the warm sunshine or the refreshing rain find expression in the songs and dances. The spring season being the most beautiful time of the year is celebrated with all gaiety all over the region. The Vasantotsav or Madanotsav, “the festival of great antiquity and of universal merry-making” is still to be found in the forests of Chota Nagpur while it seems extinct in the towns. To the people in the forests the spring season is a festival of youth and love.

Before we study the dances of the tribals we would do well to study the pattern of their lives and the seasonal changes that affect them as the dances reflect these. Verrier Elwin in his study of tribal art remarks, "for the aboriginal the dance is still, in spite of every puritanic attempt to suppress it, an exercise in delight, a display of grace and vigour and an offering to Gods. Much of the tribal dancing has a serious ritualistic purpose and there are legends which ascribe its origin to the need of keeping the Gods happy and amused....." The Tribals of Chota Nagpur who are known for their rich repertoire of dances and songs are the Oraons, Hos, Santhals, Mundas etc.

The Oraons :

These are tribals from the west of Ranchi. They are peasants mainly carrying on their occupation on a co-operative basis; hence a spirit of brotherhood is maintained between the people of all the neighbouring villages. This spirit of co-operation and fraternity is overwhelming, for instance, if a party of villagers visits a neighbouring village to attend a fair or shandy the whole village acts as the host, each family takes up a visiting family as guests and the visitors are heartily welcomed and entertained with songs and dances all night.

As the life of these people is determined by the seasons, the dances also vary accordingly. The Spring season is heralded by 'Jadur', a synonym for Basant. It is an expression of joy in the people who are inspired to a mood of gaiety by the fragrance of the forest blooms and the twitter of the birds that return after the winter. The village Akhara (a circular open-air theatre in front of the Kuruk Dhukuria) is the place where the village youths and maidens meet for the dance. The dancers begin the song with 'Hala Lala', the notes of the song as well as the tempo of the dance suggest the roaring of waves. The dancers' feet weave patterns in keeping with drum beats to resemble the waves. Girls and boys dance together.

The next season, summer, is celebrated with *Sarhul*. It is a festival held some time in April all over Chota Nagpur. In some of their songs sung at this festival, the girls tease the man who officiates as a village priest. The festival is celebrated when the villagers see the Sal blossoms. As the flowers are symbolic of fertility and prosperity, the people gather near a

Sal tree and offer worship. The married girls come to their parent's place specially to celebrate the festival. A mother sings to her daughter :

'It is the time of Sarhul
Let us play at it
Stay on today
Go to your father-in-law's place tomorrow.'

The Sarhul is danced by rows of men and women who stand together and start singing 'Ho, Ho, Ho', which provides a harmonious pattern of melody. The refrain 'Ho, Ho, Ho' rises in pitch in keeping with the tempo of the dance.

The joy of the rainy season is celebrated with *Karam*. Three branches of the Karam tree are cut and stuck in the centre of the Akhara, the branches are called 'Karam Raja'. Karam Raja is decorated with garlands, vermilion and barley. Karam Raja is propitiated with songs and dances. A daughter sings to her mother :

The Karam is coming
With branches waving
Mother light the lamps
Mother bring oil
We will go to the Karam'

In the Karam dance the girls are surrounded by the boys and musical accompaniment is provided by a separate set of persons. There is a marked sadness in the slow movement of the dance and matching beat of drums.

After the rains when the sky is clear and winter is awaited 'Matha' is sung. 'Luzri' and 'Jhumar' are its variations. These dances are marked for brisk movements which accompany the similar beats of the drum.

The 'Jitia' is performed at the advent of winter when the very atmosphere inspires love. The girls, with arms interlocked, form a circle with the musicians in the centre. An outer circle is formed by the boys.

The dancers move, swaying forward and backward very gracefully keeping time to the drums and the thechka.

Hunting which is a favourite pastime with Oraons is celebrated with *Becha*. The men shouting lustily carry arrows and flags and dance in a processional formation followed by women. Marriages and other social functions are also great occasions for mirth and melody. The women folk possess a wealth of songs pertaining to the family traditions which are sung by them while working in the fields. There are quite a few songs woven round legends of popular heroes, landlords and kings; Birsa, is very popular as the warrior who revolted against the British.

A great deal of liberty is given to the young people to choose their partners in life. During the Jadur and Karma festivities a boy runs away with a girl of his choice and the elders give their consent for the wedding.

Feathers and beads of the brightest hue form main item of the costumes of the dancers. The women wear thick white saris with red border, called 'padiya' which are draped in such a way as to give ease in their movements. The men wear white dhotis and fix pieces of white cloth with red stripes on it.

The Hos :

They are tribals living on the plateau of Chota Nagpur. The area is very picturesque with rugged ravines and gushing waterfalls, with green, dense Sal jungles and paddy fields. Being cultivators mainly, they closely observe the varying moods of nature and celebrate them as festivals. It is said that the Hos had to face a series of invasions so they found refuge in the forest fastnesses; naturally the Bow and Arrow, as weapons of defence, are very sacred to them.

The Hos observe seven important festivals called "*Porab*". There is the village feast called *Maghe* ; the harvest, *Jomna*; the '*Ba*' which means flower, hence the Spring festival ; the *Chatta* umbrella festival, and Chait in April.

Maghe : This dance forms a part of the ritualistic worship of 'Desauli', the deity who dwells in 'Jaira' an abode full of groves of Sal trees. It is believed that Hos cleared the forests and settled down to a peaceful

life of cultivation with the help of the guardian deity 'Desauli', so every village invokes his blessings with song and dance. 'Nage-era Bindi-era' and 'Mangea' are also worshipped as deities who supply water and afford protection during hunting respectively.

Ba Festival: When the Sal flower blossoms, the Hos celebrate the Spring season by making offerings to Desauli. After that the festival lasts for three days, with songs and dances related to hunting, excursions, fishing, warfare. Songs of romance and adventure also are sung on the occasion.

Hero Festival: This is held on the eve of the sowing season. Desauli is propitiated at the festival which takes place for three days, for an early and bountiful harvest.

Jomnama Festival: This is celebrated for adopting the new crops as diet in the life of the Ho.

The dances on all these occasions vary according to the moods of the people. The dances that are performed at a heightened pitch of joy are extremely rhythmic and boisterous. They are performed to the accompaniment of Buang Druma, Damang, and Chor Choria.

The Mundas: These tribals are closely related to the Hos in language and customs. They are great lovers of freedom and nature. Their dances are very similar to these of the Oraons and Hos, but the girls do not mix in the dances with men. Their dresses are white unlike the coloured costumes of other tribals.

The Santhals :

These tribes inhabit the hilly and forest clad plateau of Chota Nagpur and spread out to the border districts of Bengal in the East and Orissa in the South. They are an artistic people and live an organised tribal life which abounds in folk lore. They have beautiful dances representing the picking of indigo, the reaping of grain and the preparation for a hunt.

On full-moon nights the young men beat a big drum, inviting the girls to dance. The girls answer the call, they join the boys as they come dancing decked with flowers in summer and feathers in winter. The dances are slow and full of grace to start with, but as the excitement increases the drum beats are faster and the tempo of the dance also reaches a crescendo.

Another interesting feature of the tribals is that they change the nature of the dances when they are asked to give performances for commercial entertainment. Their dances do not portary the ritualistic character as they embellish them with themes from Hindu mythology. There are certain groups of people who make their living by entertaining people in villages or in the outskirts.

Apart from the living traditions of community dance and music among the people we have studied just now, there are others in certain parts of Chota Nagpur like Serai Kella and Kharsanam where ruling dynasties have encouraged the growth of special forms of dancing such as 'Chau'.

—*From data collected for the Directory on Cultural and Recreational Activities.*

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT—Brazilian experience in co-operation and integration of services

Jose Arthur Rios

Ministry of Health, Rio de Janeiro.

Birth of the national campaign for Rural Education

The administrative machinery in any community development project should give the programme a sound basis for the utilization of resources, technical and human. The high cost of equipment as well as the expensiveness of the experts, who are few and must be well paid, call for careful planning. Close co-operation of all services employed is needed at all stages. In addition, as community development implies the integration of new techniques and traditional procedures, it requires from everybody an open mind and a will to experiment, and the ability to make the most out of success and failure.

The Brazilian experience in community development is of special interest since it has been systematically pursued for five years on a country-wide basis. It started in 1951 when the Ministry of Education invited a group of expert to discuss the possibilities of extending adult education to the rural areas. In this country of 8 million square kilometers, 70 per cent of the population is rural and earns its living from farming and stock raising. This rural population is 80 per cent illiterate and most of the illiterates are adults. They carry the burden of feeding the nation's cities and they harvest the crops which make up the largest share of the export market. Contrasting with this tremendous responsibility, they have the highest indices of infant mortality; they suffer from endemic diseases; their housing conditions are poor; and the agricultural techniques they use are the most primitive.

The 1951 meeting, which brought together educators and agronomists, social workers and public health officers, ended up with a list of

suggestions and recommendations. Till that time the apparent futility of ordinary administrative processes in tackling such problem was the result of an imperfect knowledge of the social and cultural conditions under which the rural population lived. The abstract and inelastic character of administrative methods, formulated by an urban elite and uniformly applied throughout the country within a formal pattern could only fail, given what a sociologist has called 'the Brazilian cultural mosaic'. Another mistake which was quickly identified was the approach to the rural problem through the traditional administrative divisions, thus entrusting its solution to several neatly separated departments with no connexion whatsoever between one another. It became obvious that, in coping with a question which operated within a broad cultural framework, where every aspect of human life and work was involved, something should be done to develop an all-inclusive approach which, in due time, would express itself through joint planning. The old cultural fabric which, in rural areas, engenders nomadism, illiteracy, the disregard for health measures, a low standard of living etc. had to be destroyed by an all-out campaign. In order to break the vicious circle which led generation after generation through a cycle of misery, the Government had to undertake a sweeping plan of action integrating in the same educational programme the services responsible for health, agriculture and labour. An administrative set up had to be devised where close co-operation could be secured from the top to the bottom, from the experts in the Federal services down to the local people in the rural communities.

Due to its position and responsibilities, the Ministry of Education and Health took over the task of surveying the most important educational activities operative in rural areas, so as to assess their value, establish their needs and distribute among them available resources. At the same time, it started small projects in selected areas the results of which could be applied to other regions in the country. A unit was set up to carry on this programme with people from the Ministry of Education and from Agriculture. They visited areas close to the national Capital and of vital importance for the food supply of Rio de Janeiro, areas threatened by disintegration. At the same time the survey unit experimented with mobile audio-visual equipment, trying out new types of films and film strips.

In December 1951, a report was submitted to the National Department of Education (which supervised this work) in which it was stated: 'It is no longer a case of teaching the masses how to read and write, of building schools and sanitary units, but of the substitution of one culture trait by another, more adequate to the present conditions'. This report which gave great emphasis to the concept of fundamental education further recommended that the Ministry of Education should create a co-ordinating agency to develop the newest forms of informal education such as rural missions and social centres. At the same time it recommended that the training of experts in community development should receive a new impetus and pilot projects should be established in carefully selected areas as soon as first trainees came out of the centres. Support and orientation should be provided to the existing projects carried on mostly by private or State organizations, but it was stressed that financial aid should not be spread indiscriminately but should be closely co-ordinated in definite agreements, with the need for better trained executives and well oriented programmes.

Thus was born by official enactment in 1952, the National Campaign for Rural Education (CNER), under the National Department of Education, a branch of the Ministry of Education and Health. The name of 'rural education' was chosen instead of Fundamental Education as being more easily grasped by country people and enabling close co-operation between Education and Agriculture which already had several services with that label. However, it was clearly stated from the beginning that the main purpose of this new agency was to carry on fundamental education, as it was defined in Unesco documents.

It is interesting to note that, in some cases, this label aroused conflict, stirring the jealousy of already settled services carrying out similar work but on quite different and formal ways. They looked at this new agency from a quite different point of view, thinking of it as a competitor which threatened their prestige and their funds. The supervision of the Ministry of Education was resented as an intrusion, and co-operation was not enforced throughout the administrative agencies in other Ministries.

From the very start, CNER had to cope with two administrative problems. First, it had to develop a flexible organization to carry on its tremendous task of training the basic educators, launching them into new

projects, supervising their work and supplying them with the best equipment and audio-visual aids available in the country. Concurrently, a new system had to be created to manage relations of this new Federal system with local and State agencies, a problem not easily solved in a country which is ruled by a federal constitution. The co-operation among the federal agencies themselves was not easy either. CNER had, therefore, to build up its own internal structure and to carve for itself a place in the complex maze of the older agencies.

Recruitment and Training of Staff

The first problem was met by ensuring a continuous interchange of knowledge and experience between the training centres and the acting teams in the field. At this point, a word must be said about the most important tool in the educational equipment of the CNER. If the idea of the rural mission or team was definitely inspired by the Mexican rural mission, its structure and scope of action were quite different. The training of polyvalent individuals as community organizers or the use of primary teachers as community organizers—types of solution widely used in other under-developed areas were dismissed for several reasons. It seemed to the planners that the fundamental educator, in order to develop a community, should have a profession acknowledged and respected by the rural people. He should possess a maturity of outlook and a sense of responsibility which usually follow the actual exercise of a well established profession. Only then would they be of use to the local people and would leadership be accepted. It was understood that community development as well as fundamental education is a continuous process of leadership which could be divided into different tasks according to the different levels and status of the leaders from the experts to the last strata in the social pyramid. In order to change a given social and cultural situation, experts have to conform to the century old pattern of leadership and communication in a social structure.

Stated in simpler words, the fundamental educator of the highest rank, such as CNER began training for the first time in Brazil, was expected to have enough social prestige to deal with all classes of people from local administrators and officers to the peasants. The conditions of his work as well as his status did not normally recommend the primary teacher for such a task. Very few attended a teachers' college. Not many could

boast of a secondary education. In the small rural communities in the hinterland many of them did not complete the primary course. Although remarkable work has been done in the last years at the Federal and State levels, the municipal or county schools are still very far behind in the improvement of their elementary school teachers. The teachers lack prestige, among other things, because they are women. Even taking into account very remarkable exceptions, they do not, as a rule exert any leadership. This does not mean that they have to be excluded from the whole process of community development. On the contrary they play a very important role, as the informal leaders who are unaware of their leadership but who, given an opportunity, are a power in a community.

This is the main reason why CNER selected its first educators among social workers, public health doctors and nurses, agronomists and teachers. The teachers did not adjust so well because they had been trained to put too much emphasis on the formal processes of education. Priests were also welcomed since they occupied the first rank as informal leaders in the rural communities. They did not have a position in the educational team but they came to the training courses to share experiences and later many of them became enthusiastic publicists and forerunners of the new educational techniques. Later on, CNER started work with teachers and special courses were set up with a different type of curriculum. The idea was to reach, little by little, all kinds of formal and informal leaders in rural communities.

The core of the training was group education and community development. At the beginning, a rural sociologist gave a broad presentation of the problem, calling the attention of the trainees to the cultural implications of education and to the process of social change in the rural areas. Their educational work was introduced to them as controlled social change and their basic role as one of group leadership. This was followed by an introduction to each technique represented in the team: health education, agricultural extension, group social work, audio-visual techniques. Besides these basic subjects, the pupils learn something about agrarian geography, agricultural techniques, home industries, recreational pursuits and co-operatives. The curriculum is not inflexible. The course is still experimental.

More important than the curriculum was the functioning of the

course. Usually, CNER would use for this purpose an agricultural school in the hinterland where the trainees could stay during a whole month devoting all their time to training. They came from different agencies and from different States and the trip in itself was for them a wonderful experience. From the first day they would be divided into units, which would work together after the course, and each team was assigned a small village or group of villages in the surroundings of the centre. The daily schedule was planned so that the trainees would spend their mornings in the field, performing surveys, leading group discussions, organizing local committees, experimenting with all the aspects of community development. Afternoons were occupied with lectures and nights devoted to discussion of the problems each group had to face in its particular project.

The expansion of CNER was related to the number of educators trained because as a rule no team could begin working in any area until all its members were trained by CNER. Private agencies who applied for help and financial support had to submit to this rule and send their personnel to the courses. The teams were set up and started their work in areas which had already been surveyed and which met the requirements of CNER. They were given a jeep and an audio-visual set.

Usually they would settle in a small town, living there permanently and having the rural surroundings as their educational field. Some of these educators, after a period of field experiences, were brought back to the courses as teachers or assistants. The curriculum of the courses underwent frequent changes in order to incorporate this experience and enable the trainees to solve actual field problems.

Some of the earlier trainees are now supervisors and heads of the CNER departments. These departments are five: (1) Co-ordination, control and documentation: (2) Studies and research: (3) Training: (4) Rural missions and (5) Information. They are functional and represent the different phases of any educational project. The Head of the service is called Co-ordinator to emphasize his important role in the integration of experts and agencies. He elaborates the internal rules and is responsible for the final wording and planning of projects, the supervision of agreements with other organizations, the auditing and control of all materials and equipment placed at the disposal of the Campaigns. The

Studies and Research Department opens the path for field work, making advanced surveys of the areas where the projects will be established. It organizes the CNER specialized library and map collection, provides technical help to public and private agencies, supplies most of the teachers for the educators' training. The training department selects the places for the courses, plans their curricula. The Rural Missions department co-ordinates the field work, supervising the missions and solving their problems, giving them technical aid and supplying them with equipment and material. Finally the Information Department acts as a Public Relations section disseminating the aims, philosophy of work and techniques of the CNER, prepares teaching materials and audio-visual aids to be used in the courses and in field work, collects documentation about the rural areas and publishes studies of interest to fundamental educators.

So much for the internal structure. It worked well since there was a team spirit among its personnel and in five years did not suffer any fundamental change. The position of CNER as a whole in the structure of the Ministry of Education changed only towards greater autonomy. It was first subordinated to the National Department of Education, then it was moved up to the Minister's bureau in a quite privileged position. It has its own fund and the co-ordinator is responsible only to the Minister. This was a distinct improvement.

Operational Structure of the CNER

However, the relations between CNER and other agencies are the most important field of study for the administrator. There, many changes and adjustments had to be made and even today it is difficult to say whether or not CNER has reached an ideal solution. Because it had to work with various public administration offices at the Federal level or with various State authorities, CNER adopted the committee system for the administration of its projects during its experimental phase. Whenever a project had to be developed in a given State the co-ordinator would call on all the authorities interested and ask them to organize a permanent committee to manage the particular project or the whole set of CNER projects in the State. It was soon discovered that this system offered a great number of difficulties and, in some instance it almost defeated the educator's ideals. In Brazil, the committee system is only taking roots in a very thin strata

of the public services. It has not penetrated bureaucratic life as a permanent way of working. Most civil servants look on it as a waste of time simply because they do not have a well integrated idea of the public departments and still understand their work as quite independent from one another. To be fair, it must be said that many of them usually carry a tremendous burden of work in an expanding country such as Brazil and it is therefore difficult to get them all together at the same time. On the other hand, it was not easy to call everybody in time when an urgent issue had to be voted. The constant stimulus of a CNER representative was always needed to bring together the State departments.

Thus it was decided to replace the committees by a system of agreements and projects, with their respective directors. The agreements are signed by the Minister of Education since there is public money involved, by the co-ordinator and by the representative of the other party, whether a State, a county or a private organization. The agreements establish the general terms of the co-operation, the fund set aside for the purpose, the types of projects to be undertaken and their duration. The agreement must always mention the name of its director to whom responsibility is delegated by the parties and who is the highest authority in the administration and execution of the agreed programme of action. The projects themselves are specific plans of action and are signed only by the Co-ordinator, the head of the programme and the representative of the other party. Usually, they contain the specifications of the work to be done, its duration and the funds apportioned from the programme fund. The project may have its own director or be put directly under the responsibility of the head of the programme. While the agreement includes an over-all financial estimate and specification of sums to be allotted to each project, the projects themselves specify the employment of the funds item by item, thus permitting a stricter control. The project is a concrete plan of work whereas the agreement represents the sum of the general rules of co-operation. The head of the programme is above all, an administrator: the director of the project is primarily an expert.

The funds are handed over to the head of the programme and he distributes them amongst the project directors, according to their needs. In his turn he receives their reports and balance sheets and sends them

on to the Co-ordinator for examination and final approval. This system allows the administrative decentralization and the uniformity of technical orientation both necessary to the fulfilment of an educational plan with a national horizon. CNER had to adjust the novelty of its methods of action to an old established system of administration which does not change as fast as technicians would have it. On the other hand the existence of a responsible person for the execution of the whole agreement in a given State or area enabled the Co-ordinator to extricate himself from the complex net of relationships among the local authorities. The Head of the programme takes over the co-ordination of the different departments or authorities interested and, for that purpose, he has the enormous advantage of being an 'inside' person. The system of agreements and projects also established a distinction between administrative and audit control, on one side, and technical supervision, on the other. Through his assistants the Co-ordinator can free himself from the care of the first and devote himself entirely to the latter.

However, we cannot yet say that this is an ideal system. As it rests finally on the quality of the programme director, it has proved efficient whenever he is up to the task. The success or failure of the several projects depend much on his capacity, enthusiasm and understanding of CNER's aims. Many of the directors came to be true leaders and their programmes present remarkable achievements. Yet, the mores of the country do not fail to interfere sometimes with the administrators' blueprints. In many places, the prestige of the director is purely political and as soon as the wind changes it suffers an eclipse. He is able to co-ordinate the State departments in so far as he holds the personal trust and support from the State Governor or during the time he holds a prominent position in the Government.

In the case of private organizations and religious agencies the problem does not exist. Catholic priests and bishops have brought the CNER to their parishes and dioceses and they have proved throughout the country successful educational leaders inspiring enthusiasm and good will. The problem of the programme director is always a matter of social prestige and personal leadership.

If the system of agreements and projects allowed firm ground for

the development of good relations between CNER, on one side, and State local and private agencies on the other, the same cannot be said of the relations between CNER, as an agency of the Minister of Education, and the other national departments. Two years after CNER was established, the former Ministry of Education and Health was split in two and the problem of co-ordination became still more difficult. Of course many other services and agencies are interested in rural education as CNER sees it, but the basic supporters of its programme are necessarily education, health and agriculture. So far, no clear framework of co-operation has been devised among the Federal agencies concerned in order to secure permanent and systematic integration of services. Nothing much has been done aside from casual contracts and the signing of formal agreements. The political relations of the Ministers finally decide the actual execution of these engagements. Good relations are usually practised in the field between the local representatives of the Federal agencies. But despite the early plans of CNER little has been done to integrate the scattered efforts in a national plan at the level of the Ministers' bureau.

From this particular point of view, much is to be expected from the President's Bureau itself which might be a strong motivating force towards co-operation and integration. In a country which is governed under the Presidential scheme, the President's responsibility to stimulate joint planning and co-operation among the Ministers is unavoidable. Great steps have been made towards this goal and it can be hoped that CNER's pioneering work might expand under a broader organization where it can spread in other agencies a sense of its team spirit and its desire to bring rural people more fully into the Brazilian community.

*—From material supplied by the Education
Clearing House, Unesco, Paris.*

ACADEMIC RESEARCH — Dissertations in Education and the Social Sciences

[*Adult education movement in the country has grown into momentous proportions and the problems before it are more complex than they were during its early stages. These problems require the assistance of people who are in a position to give their thought to them in a dispassionate and objective manner. Universities are places where this objectivity and knowledge is available. A close co-operation between adult education movement and the Universities will, therefore, help the movement solve many of its problems.*

As a first step to establish a link of this type, we addressed a communication to the Vice-Chancellors of the various Universities requesting them to let us have research dissertations of students in education and the social sciences. We are glad that our request received prompt consideration and almost all Universities have sent us lists on which research work has been conducted. The Association proposes to publish these lists from time to time so as to enable field workers to know which of their problems have been tackled and which of them need to be tackled.

We will be happy to publish in the Journal suggestions from workers to Universities in this behalf. Ed.]

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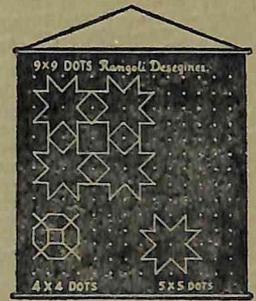
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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Community Development Programmes At Cross-Roads

The Community Development Scheme was launched in India in 1951 with fiftyfive pilot projects and, with the initial experience gained in these projects, the programme was extended to a hundred and sixtyfive blocks during 1952-53. In 1956, after three to four years of intensive work in these areas, the pattern of activities and of administration were normalised as a part of functions of the regular administration. This process of normalisation will, hereafter, become a regular feature till the entire country is covered with such "post-intensive" patterns of activity. Consequently, this juncture, providing as it does an opportunity to assess what effect intensive activities have had on the rural community, is, in a vital sense, critical to the future development of the programme; for whether it will achieve all it can or not, will depend on the lessons we learn from the experience of this period.

This crucial significance of the occasion is not lost sight of, indeed, it has been brought out in clear focus, in the Fourth Report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation submitted to the Conference of Development Commissioners held early in May at Mussoorie. The Report, which has dealt with almost all the aspects of the programme, is a frank and forthright document and has posed, squarely, challenging problems in clear unambiguous terms. Achievements recorded in the Report raise doubts whether the programme is being directed towards correct ends; the shortcomings recorded in it appear to have resulted from a lack of awareness of the essentials of Community Development programmes. Thus, the Report clearly reveals that unless the programme is reoriented in its objectives and unless there is a clearer appreciation of the deeper meaning of the programme, there is hardly room to expect that it will develop into a movement of the people which is what it should be.

The purpose of community development is to create those conditions in the community which will enable it to meet its social and economic requirements through its own efforts. Hence, Community Development Schemes must be primarily directed to help the community know its needs and activate it to meet those requirements. Only on this basis, would the programme succeed in developing indigenous initiative and create in it those conditions necessary to render itself efficient in all directions. This must be the primary object of a genuine programme of community development and its ultimate success will depend on the extent to which it has promoted this.

If the programme that has been in operation in India is to be judged from this point of view, it causes misgivings whether it has been seriously concerned with those basic objectives. Thus, we find the Report commenting that "the record (of physical achievement) is impressive considering the long period of stagnation in which rural India had rested in the pre-project period; but it is not equally impressive when considered in the light of requirements of the people." This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that though items involving physical changes had contributed in some measure to the production potential and social overheads of the Block areas, in almost all cases where the programme involved active participation of the people, its achievements have been poor or negligible. What is more disturbing is that very often objectives other than those of physical construction do not appear to have had much relevance in the operation of programmes. It is necessary to examine why this happened and how can it be prevented in future; for mere physical achievement can be had through means other than the Community Development programme and if this is all that it had been able to achieve, it is just possible that the achievement might have been had at a faster rate through other methods which would not embody the essential principles of the community development schemes.

One primary reason for this appears to have been that the programme was geared towards its expenditure aspect. Thus while the fact "that during the eighteen months of April 1955-September 1956 saw an expenditure of practically the same amount as that in the preceding thirty months" might appear impressive yet it has little relevance to those concerned with Community Development, for, correspondingly, the programme is reported to have been "comparatively unsuccessful" in the "objective of stimulating, continuing and possible effort based on self-help for promoting economic or social development." This leads one to conclude that what the project staff was concerned with during this period was to spend as much money—as quickly as they could—as a result of which "construction (physical) dominated the thinking and activity of the project staff, including the Gram Sevak; and extension failed to emerge from the back seat to which it had been relegated even earlier." Under the circumstances, if spending became the criteria of achievement, it is only to be expected—as indeed, it had been long feared in non-official circles—that people's participation in project programmes had only a role incidental to spending the project budget.

This basic error of the purposes of the programme, it would appear, has led to all its other failures. Its absence to stimulate self-help and initiative among people, its failure to associate peoples' institutions, whether they be Panchayats or Cooperatives or Voluntary non-official agencies, with the programme—in fact all those aspects of the programme which would have enabled it to become a genuine peoples' movement, with its roots among the people. This failure is summed up in the Report when it says, "too much dependence on Government initiative and assistance is still being exhibited by the vast majority of the rural population affected by the programme." That this is should have been the verdict on

the result of an intensive programme after it has been in operation for nearly four years, with precisely the purpose of creating conditions wherein such dependence could be at a minimum, is a matter for serious concern.

A natural consequence of this wrong approach towards objectives of the programme has been the inability of the movement to associate peoples' institutions with the project activities. On this question the Report explicitly states "Panchayats do not play an active role in development except in some cases for cash contributions they make to project work in the villages," and it highlights two instances where because such co-operation had been forthcoming, a high degree of success attended many items of the project activities. The Report, does not ignore the difficulties in Panchayats playing their role in development programmes, and rightly, as an evident answer to cynics and doubting Thomases, emphasises that even if the association of Panchayats led to failure in certain cases, "such failure is a necessary part of the educational process of participation because through such participation alone can sound democratic foundations be laid for economic and social activities in rural areas."

Dealing with the importance of Panchayats in the context of the future organisational needs for the maintenance of facilities created in the project areas during this period of intensive work, the Report underscores that "Permanent reliance cannot be placed for this purpose on either individual or unorganised or *ad hoc* collective effort." Pointing out that this has to be the responsibility of the village Panchayat, the Report comments, "though there has been a notable expansion in the number of Panchayats during the project period, there had not been an equal measure of progress either in their resources or in their desire and ability for active participation in this development work." Discussing the reasons for this, the Report says that "a part of the unwillingness on the part of the Panchayats to undertake this work is due to the fact that the *original construction programmes were undertaken without their being consulted and that these programmes benefited only either individuals or special groups of individuals and not the entire village community*" This utter disregard for the fundamental principle of community development, that its programmes should be based on felt-needs of the people and that its activities should spring of peoples' initiative, is to say the least amazing. The functionaries in the community development programme could not possibly devise a surer way of crippling the programme from developing into a movement.

In respect of institutions to maintain continuity of services in the project areas, the Report, has done well to emphasise the role of voluntary effort. In future, one hopes, that those responsible for the programme will bear in mind the counsel tendered by the Report which is worth reproducing for its importance.

"As regards institutions in the social field, primary reliance should be placed for their maintenance on voluntary effort, individual or collective, as the

case may be, and not on official machinery. If experience shows that people are not so much interested in these activities just now and are more concerned with production facilities or physical amenities, the path of wisdom may be to accept the situation and not spend public funds on the maintenance of these institutions. This does not mean, however, that the project staff should not go ahead in their attempts to promote activity in the field of social institutions. Only here again, it must be noted that, even more than for constructional activities, prior preparation of the ground is necessary by way of education and public support before steps are taken to set up new units under these institutional programmes."

Another issue to which serious thought needs to be given is that of the results of activities directed towards change in social attitudes. Commenting on this, Report says, "Readiness to go in for community centres, youth clubs, and women's organisations are, generally speaking, least successful" and calculating the coverage of the population by the programme, the Report has estimated that the average number of active Community Centres was fourteen per hundred thousand, while the corresponding figures for Youth Clubs and Women's Organisations was eighteen and four per hundred thousand respectively. "The figures", the Report says "reveal clearly the fact that intensity of coverage is very low and that the country has only just made a start in the institution of these social activities for its rural population."

In this context, it is a matter of surprise and regret that authorities concerned with community development should find it necessary to keep constantly reaffirming the need for social education in community development, for, such reaffirmation implies doubts in their minds. Yet, the Report clearly brings out not merely the need for social education but reveals that the failure in the programme has been precisely because social education had not played its role fully. Thus the problem of stimulating peoples' participation in project activities, the task of enabling panchayats take on responsibilities for the conduct of project programmes, the education of rural communities for running cooperative institutions are all responsibilities which devolve primarily on social education.

One of the most significant comments on social education programmes that deserves special mention is that "targets and number of activities approach is particularly unsuitable in this field" and the Report has done well to point it out emphatically. "For instance", says the Report, "if a village succeeds in doing just one activity, say putting on a dramatic performance on its own initiative, this may indicate a greater advance towards building a vigorous community than taking on half a dozen activities primarily on the initiative of the project staff". It also stresses that in conducting activities the emphasis should be more on building up the communities to receive such activities rather than on giving "centres" or facilities. Despite the fact this might reduce the pace of progress in

physical terms, the Report rightly points out that, this will be "more than compensated by the gains in spontaneity and permanence in social activities among the people".

The Report also furnishes ample guidance for the formulation of suitable programmes in social education. For instance, discussing the programme of Community Centres, the Report remarks that their running has not been very satisfactory. While the buildings for the centres are generally provided by the community or by some rich members in it, the equipment is supplied by the project. The Centre conducts its activities, initially, with enthusiasm but after a period the common experience appears to be that with the waning of the effects of stimulants provided to a Centre, it falls into disuse and loses its vitality. The Report believes that this has resulted from standard patterns of activities conducted all over without variations being made to suit local genius. Consequently, the Report suggests that more emphasis should be placed on the promotion of traditional programmes in the project areas. Finally the Report points out the need for greater emphasis on activities in which people themselves take initiative and which are a natural medium of expression for them. Such activities, the Report says, can become a powerful influence for promoting community spirit in action.

As regards literacy programmes, the Report records that these continue still to be the most widespread programmes undertaken in many areas and that this is about the only programme undertaken in the early stages. Pointing out that there is a lack of enthusiasm among villagers towards this programme, it comments that this is significant for, this indifference exists side by side with the eagerness of the villagers for education of their children. The Report feels that this might be accounted for by "some major deficiency either in the extension methods followed by social education officers or in the technique adopted for imparting adult literacy" and believes that it needs to be investigated.

This problem has been engaging the attention of numerous agencies which have had a record for promoting literacy work and the Indian Adult Education Association along with the Jamia Millia is implementing a project on it. Perhaps, the results of this project may throw light on the different factors involved in formulating programmes. However, one factor that needs special attention in literacy programmes is that of suitable follow-up literature. Experience not only in India but elsewhere in the world has shown that follow-up literature can succeed in sustaining interest in literacy and in making literacy effort fruitful only if the literature produced for the neo-literates follows certain definite norms in respect of subject matter, content and language. This must be recognised by those concerned with literacy work in community development areas if their literacy programmes are to be of any avail. Nothing could be more erroneous than the belief commonly held that just any literateur with a flair for language can write books for neo-literates. No matter how brilliant an author may be, without an insight into the requirements of neo-literates, he cannot

produce literature which will strike a rapport with its readers. The authorities concerned with community development must, therefore, be discriminating in recommending suitable literature or in commissioning authors to produce them. If this is not borne in mind, not only will literacy work suffer but the inevitable demoralisation of this failure will spread to other activities undertaken by the social education worker.

These are some of the salient features of the Report and as can be seen, they constitute problems which touch the very core of the Community Development programmes. They rest on certain basic issues: Are we convinced about the essential principles of community development? If we are, is that conviction one that is informed with what is involved in the formulation of programmes? Are we willing to translate them into practice? Is that conviction strong enough to withstand temptations or pressures which tend to corrode those principles in their application?

If these issues are to be faced insight, understanding and honesty are necessary. Complacency that the movement had "come to stay" or mock heroic attitudes stated in flamboyant phrases cannot help in their solution; nor is the diagnosis that the programme entered a phase wherein the technician would rule the roost a correct one, for what the programme needs is peoples' active participation. It is difficult to understand how one could emphasise this vital missing link and yet at the same time declare that the programme had entered a phase where the technician had the decisive role. If the assumption underlying this is that the movement had the people behind it, there is nothing in the Report to justify it. Indeed, the Report has made it clear that its assessment of the results are based on village rather than on population coverage. Even so, if the Report, does not have nothing optimistic to record, the assumption of mass sanctions behind the programme is ill-founded.

Another threat to the movement arises from the anxiety to make the programme yield immediate results in the form of increased agricultural production. While no one would deny the urgency of this problem, yet, it must be realised that this cannot be achieved by holding out threats of various sorts. As it is, the Report has warned against the disparity in the impact of the programme. Any attempt to goad the movement through threats will only sharpen and bring to fore the conflicts and animosities which are inherent in a disparate disbursement of the impact of the programme. If this were to happen, it would shatter all chances of the programme ever becoming a peoples' movement.

Community Development in Urban areas

Community development schemes initiated in India for the reconstruction of rural communities have demonstrated the correctness of the community approach to develop conditions of individual well-being. Programmes based on a similar approach have been in operation in urban areas also but these have been isolated attempts and no

comprehensive schemes as such have been formulated so far. With the accent in the Second Five Year Plan on industrialisation, education of urban populations for community welfare and of rural populations, which will be brought under the impact of industrialisation, for adjustment towards its repercussions, will begin to acquire special focus. A well deliberated plan of action embodying community approach is, therefore, a paramount necessity.

While the ultimate objectives and methods of approach in schemes for community development in rural and urban areas will be similar, yet, in their immediate purposes and mode of operation, the schemes will bear the impact of different conditions obtaining in the respective areas. Thus the environment for cultural advancement and development of economic efficiency, the characteristics of social and civic problems and the dynamism in social institutions will all determine the ends of community development programmes in the respective areas. Essentially, because of these differences, community development schemes in urban areas take on the shape of programmes of education for community welfare which will lead to :

1. Better citizenship so that there is
 - (a) effective mobilisation of the community for social action;
 - (b) efficient discharge of civic responsibility;
 - (c) healthy code of social and civic conduct of the members of the community :
2. Cultural advancement as a result of
 - (a) understanding of cultural values;
 - (b) development to aesthetic tastes;
 - (c) appreciation of higher forms of recreational and cultural pursuits.
3. Improved living in homes so that there are
 - (a) cleaner homes ;
 - (b) healthier domestic practices and habits of thrift and economy;
 - (c) conditions of the proper care of women and children.

The basic principle of community development consists of carrying out a programme of education simultaneously with the provision of essential services. Because of the general absence of those essential services in rural areas, the initiation of such programmes posed the problem of providing those services. In urban areas, however, at least in the major centres many of the amenities necessary for a comprehensive programme are available. It is, therefore, important both for the purposes of efficiency as well as for economy that these are utilised in schemes of education for community welfare. Before a comprehensive scheme of community development is formulated, however, it is necessary

to consider the extent to which these facilities are available and the extent to which they are availed of by the people. On the basis of such an estimate it will be possible to formulate suitable schemes.

With this background in mind, the Indian Adult Education Association has submitted a scheme to the Government. The scheme proposes a pre-programme survey of the man power, technical services and financial resources which will be available in the urban centres for the implementation of suitable programmes. The survey is proposed to be tried out as a pilot project in one Centre which will provide the experience for a wider plan of action, which aims to set up study groups in some of the important industrial centres. These study groups which will consist of members chosen from different voluntary welfare agencies, governmental and civic welfare agencies, employers welfare agencies, trade unions and such other associations will function under the guidance of Associate Director and will study

1. Programmes of activities conducted by different social welfare and social education agencies in the various urban centres ;
2. The financial position of the agencies ; and
3. Staffing position and organisational pattern of the agencies.

In the light of this survey, the study groups will determine to what extent these can meet the needs of the services for a comprehensive scheme of education for community welfare. The group will also investigate into the personnel needs and financial resources available for the implementation of the scheme.

With the data thus obtained, the Association proposes to prepare, with the help of specialists in applied sociology and social education, the blue-print of a properly integrated scheme of education for community welfare. This, the Association hopes, will provide for the initiation of activities which on the one hand will help urban communities to meet the pressures which a relatively rapid pace of industrialisation will generate and on the other provide the means to urban populations to exploit more fully the opportunities for their well being.

TRADE UNION TRAINING and WORKERS' EDUCATION—Some Considerations

Workers' education is assuming increasing importance in programmes of work of trade unions in Asia. A number of unions in Japan, Philippines and Malaya have whole-time Directors of Education responsible for this work. Even in those unions which do not have whole-time persons for the job, the emphasis on the education of members in the work of the union is growing. Union publications and local meetings are some of the more common methods used. Many unions in Asia issue a number of journals, periodicals and bulletins for their membership. One union in Japan, indeed, goes to the extent of sending a postcard to every member every week giving information about the latest union developments—a remarkable example of union communication. The circulation of many union journals in Japan runs into thousands of copies and of some, perhaps, into hundreds of thousands. In India, considerable educational work is being done by the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association apart from a number of other organisations and a well-equipped Trade Union College is soon to be opened at Indore.

In Pakistan, a labour education institute has been established for the purpose due to the initiative taken by leading members of the All Pakistan Confederation of Labour. The Thai National Trade Union Congress too have conducted a series of short trade union courses for their members since last year.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions realising the need for workers' education established the Asian Trade Union College in Calcutta in November 1952. The College has already completed eleven residential courses of 12 weeks' duration in Calcutta and twentysix short trade union courses in the different parts of the Asian continent.

A number of Governments in Asia are also waking up to the need of this work. The Government of Philippines in co-operation with the

International Co-operation Administration of the U.S.A. have established Labour Education Centre in the University of Philippines. The Government of India have allocated a sizable amount in their Second five Year Plan for the purpose. A team of experts consisting of Indian educationists, administrators together with experts in workers' education from United States, Canada, Sweden and Britain has recently been invited by the Government of India to advise them in preparation of a plan for this work. In Japan, a number of Prefectural Governments as well as Universities are engaged in doing considerable work in this field.

These are encouraging signs. But the problem in the Asian continent is very vast indeed. Most of Asia is still an economically under-developed continent. Industrialisation has so far had little impact on its economy. Most of Asia still lives in villages and only recently the process of industrialisation has begun in many countries. People from villages are moving into the cities to work in new developing factories with their feudalistic background, authoritarian traditions and fatalistic attitudes of life. Even those who have been living and working in the cities have retained firm links with the villages and their attitude to life has not materially changed. There are obviously formidable obstacles in the way of the development of a democratic trade union movement.

Then there are a few other factors which may be considered. In many Asian countries trade union movement has been closely allied with the movement for political independence. In a few, the political parties took the initiative in starting trade unions and are still closely associated with them. The leaders of unions in such countries come from political parties which stands in the way of leadership developing from amongst the rank-and file. Intervention of political parties has also resulted in the division of the movement on political lines with its consequent weakening.

Many Asian countries have had to fight bitter struggles against the colonial powers of the West to gain their political independence. Since ideas of democracy have also come from the West, workers have obvious prejudices which are fully exploited by interested political parties. This

creates another obstacle in the way of democratic organisations like trade unions.

Educational facilities in many Asian countries are most inadequate. There are not even enough schools for children, what to talk of other institutions for the education of the whole community. Lack of general education among the workers adds to problems which trade union movements of Asia have to face.

Considered in the light of the above, the work that is being done in the field of workers' education in Asia seems very inadequate indeed. Countries in the West who do not suffer from many of our problems, still have a very extended programme of workers' education and are devoting considerable attention and resources to this work. How much more is the need of effort in this direction in Asian countries? But how is this work to be done? Trade unions are much too weak. They lack the material resources. Their leadership is already over-burdened. From where are they to secure personnel for the job? And, yet, because of lack of workers' education, new leadership is not coming up resulting in over-burdened leadership and contributing to the continued weakness of the movement. This then is almost a veritable vicious circle. The question is how to break it.

All trade unionists will agree that the main aim of all organisational work in a union is to make it strong. It is almost a truism to say that a movement will be as strong as the number of workers in it. For strength an obvious factor is membership. Why do not workers join the union? There may be many reasons; illiteracy and ignorance of the workers; lack of faith in themselves and their efforts; a feeling that the employer is too strong; a fatalistic attitude to life; bad experience of some union leaders; too many unnecessary conflicts in the union perhaps due to the intervention of political parties, etc. Then there are those rather exceptional situations when workers having been used to such low standards for years seem to have lost an urge for better life. Union, to them obviously will not have much of an appeal. These and many other reasons may have kept the workers out of the union. How can they be overcome? What part can education play? Is it not essential that the workers must be educated into understanding the

meaning and utility of a union, what it stands for and how they can improve their conditions? Some information about how others, in not very far away lands, have been able to improve their condition by uniting themselves may be some source of encouragement and inspiration. Why did they have the bad experience in the past? What are the true facts? How far is their own indifference and inactivity responsible for those incidents? Why are political parties able to divide them? Is the maxim that in unity there is strength not simple enough to understand?

In the case of those who have no urge for better life, education again clearly is the answer. They must be made to appreciate better standards and better life. Number, of course, is a sign of strength of the union. But it is not all. Don't we often say—the strength of a chain depends on the weakest link. Strength of a union also depends on the consciousness and loyalty of each member. Here again workers' education has its importance.

One of the aims of the union is also to enable workers to lead a better life. Increase in wages and better conditions of employment are obviously very important but they alone may not be sufficient to assure a better life. For example, an increased earning may be spent on drinks or vices and the standard of living of the family may not be much affected by them. Again the role of education become important and obvious.

Education may, thus, help bringing in those who may be unorganised, making those who have joined more conscious and attached and in general help in the better realisation of the goals of the trade union movement. Education and organisation then are not so very different as some seem to believe. Is there not a very close connection between the two? Is there really any rivalry between educational and organisational work for the resources—both human and material—of the union? The experience of a number of unions in Asia has been that education is the key to better organisation and strength of the union.

Having come to some conclusions about the need of workers' education we may now consider some of the important questions relating to

the organisation of educational activities, such as the scope and content of workers' education, methods and techniques and the agencies through which it should be conducted.

Scope and Content

Workers' education has come to have a different meaning in different lands. In the United States it is almost synonymous with trade union education whereas in the United Kingdom it covers both trade union education as well as general adult education for workers. Then there is the question of vocational education. What should be its scope and content in Asian conditions? Even a cursory glance at the conditions in Asia is enough to convince any one that the problem here is not merely of providing trade union education but of enabling workers to recover faith in themselves and to help develop their personality. Only such persons can be good trade unionists and assets to the movement. The work of general education for members in particular and the workers in general, therefore, assumes great importance and no scheme of workers' education can afford to neglect it. Our scope and content thus has to cover both trade union education as well as general adult education.

As regards vocational education it may be considered by reference to its beneficiaries. In some cases the education is mainly for new entrants to the trade and in others the aim is to improve the skill of those already in employment. Though trade unions are also interested in vocational education of the first type, we are more concerned with the later. Workers' education may cover the second type though the question will still be about the agency most suitable to provide it.

Methods and Techniques

Methods and techniques are mere tools for educational work. Their suitability or otherwise should be determined mainly by the following three factors :

- (a) the objectives to be achieved ;
- (b) the group of people for whom they are intended; and
- (c) the content of education to be conveyed.

So far as the objectives are concerned, the methods would vary according to the concept of education, which may be either (i) the traditional accumulation of knowledge; or (ii) the development of the potentialities of the individual and the unfoldment of his personality so that he is equipped for the practical tasks of his life. Since mere accumulation of knowledge cannot be the objective of workers' education, we may consider methods in the light of the second and more comprehensive objective.

The second factor relates to the particular characteristics of the group which is to benefit from education such as its age—both physical and mental—environment, situation, tradition, culture and educational backgrounds. Some of the features which distinguish a worker from the usual recipients of general education, such as children and young persons, are that he is an adult with all his share of responsibilities; that though he has perhaps not received much education in formal academic institutions, he has nevertheless acquired and absorbed hereditary and traditional culture; he has his own experience of life; he has his tastes, likes as well as dislikes, and usually develops a certain rigidity of character.

In view of the above analysis, if a worker is to be drawn into any educational activity, that activity must satisfy his urges, needs and interests. His assimilation is directly in proportion to his participation in the educational process. For these reasons methods of workers' education should be as indirect and informal as possible, should stimulate critical thinking and provide maximum opportunities for active participation and self-expression. In most of the economically under-developed countries there is not enough provision for elementary education for children—not to speak of education for adults. The incidence of illiteracy in such countries is invariably high. Though literacy campaigns should be given importance in workers' education, indirect methods like wall-newspapers, role-playing and creative dramatics, poster exhibitions, debates and films, filmstrips, etc. will be more effective even if the workers are illiterate. Many workers, whether literate or not, have an interest in current affairs. In view of this, wall-newspapers can prove an effective method of workers' education. These can easily be prepared by pasting on a plain sheet of paper banners and

clippings and picture from local newspapers. The language and style of the commentary should be simple and the layout attractive. Wall newspapers are usually prepared daily and displayed at a prominent place. At a fixed hour every day the news items can be explained and all relevant background information connected with the news given. For instance, a major strike can be made the occasion for an explanation of wage-structures, hours of work, the effectiveness of the trade union organisation, labour legislation, the history of the industry, the geography of the region and the means of communication. A lively discussion can be stimulated on the basis of the background information and workers may be encouraged to compare their own conditions with those of the strikers.

The economically under-developed countries—independent or colonial—have social and cultural problems of their own which will affect the suitability of methods and techniques of workers' education. The living conditions of an average worker in these countries are almost intolerable. There is little probability of a rapid and adequate improvement in conditions of life. Generally, democratic traditions are neither sufficiently developed nor deep-rooted. As a result, the average worker does not possess the requisite faith that his own efforts can make his life prosperous and happy. Usually he has developed little initiative and self-confidence. Here, methods which encourage active participation and which bring to light the real problems of his life and help to produce an intelligent approach to them will be most suitable. Role playing, dramatisation and creative dramatics can be employed in meeting such a need. By these methods the realities of the worker's life can be personified and shown in proper perspective. The entire process from thinking out the plot to staging is educative for the active participants. The audience, though passive, can identify itself quite easily with the spirit of the drama. There may be other suitable methods, such as music, folk lore, community signing, folk dancing, poetic symposia, debates, forums, films and filmstrips with suitable commentaries.

In some countries of Asia which are relatively more developed economically and where the workers enjoy better living standards, there is some minimum basic education given to the workers. In such countries

usually there are facilities for further education too. But in spite of all this, the average worker generally does not use his leisure time in the most profitable manner. His present standard of living does not match his aspirations for a continually improving standard of living and he may not have sufficient appreciation of the higher human values which can enrich his life and make it more purposeful. The methods that suit the developed countries may with some modifications also be profitably employed in this case. There may be other methods, like excursions, picnics and educational visits. Week-end courses and cultural programmes may also be used.

Methods such as seminars, supervised individual and group studies, study circles, lectures followed by discussion, etc. may be adopted for more educated workers. Particular mention may be made of the seminar method, which provides for fuller and more active participation by the group.

Another important method is group formation. When an educational activity is initiated, workers having a common interest in that activity usually come together. Gradually an attempt can be made to associate them actively in the planning and execution of that activity. The organiser should try to make the participants feel that the whole programme from planning to execution is their achievement. In this process, the participants do have their sense of individual achievement as well as group achievement. Thus round an activity, most indirectly and informally, a group can come into existence. This process of democratic functioning of the groups afford maximum opportunity for individual initiative and mutual co-operation.

However, the third factor must also be taken into consideration, *viz.* the content of education to be conveyed. The subjects to be conveyed can be divided into two groups: subjects which can be easily resolved into a number of issues on which participants can express their own views or bring to bear their own practical experience; and subjects which cannot be satisfactorily treated by the mere pooling of the participants' experiences but involve reference to the theories of thinkers and philosophers or the imparting of some particular information. Though informal and indirect methods

may be most suitable for workers' education in general, in the treatment of the two above groups of subjects different techniques may be more appropriate.

However sound the methods in themselves may be, unless they are operated by a suitable and conscious educator, they will lead to poor results. In workers' education, as the emphasis is on the development of the personality of the worker (which includes equipping them for the practical tasks of his life), it is obvious that only a developed person is suitable for this work. He should be conscious of the purpose of the activities. He should realise that education is a life-long process and that he is only a functional leader in a cooperative effort. His success or failure will be largely measured by the amount of active participation of the workers in the planning and execution of the activities.

It may be mentioned that the normal activities of a trade union such as branch meetings, delegates conferences, elections, negotiations, settlement of individual grievances, strikes, etc. can afford very good opportunities for workers' education. For example the background and implications of the various items on the agenda of the meeting of the Branch could be fully explained to the membership by the union officials and their participation in its discussion encouraged. At the time of negotiation through a number of local membership meetings in different areas, the basis and justification of union demands could be explained and similar use could be made of other opportunities that the normal activities of a union offer. What is essential is that the leadership should be aware of the educational potentialities of these activities.

Agencies

Having defined the field of workers' education the next obvious question is what should be the agencies to carry out this work. Trade unions easily suggest themselves but then they have obviously limited resources. The question is to which aspect of workers' education a trade union could most profitably devote its resources. What would yield the best dividends? The other point to be considered is how the remaining aspects

of workers' education are to be covered. What agencies would be suitable for which aspect of education? Type of educational work to be undertaken will to a considerable extent indicate the desirable agency. The scope and content of workers' education covers the following three types of educational activity:

- (a) Trade union education;
- (b) General adult education for workers; and
- (c) Vocational education.

Who should undertake trade union education? Should this work be done mainly by the trade union movement or should other agencies like the Universities, employers and Governments also provide this type of education? This is not merely a theoretical question these days because in many countries of Asia, Universities and Governments are beginning to take more interest even in trade union training for leadership. It is obvious that only persons having experience of the movement can train others for the leadership of the movement. For a teacher in trade union education, theoretical knowledge through through books is not enough. For subjects like Collective Bargaining, Organisation and Administration of Trade Unions, considerable practical experience in the movement is an essential qualification. Moreover for training soldiers for a movement, information alone is not enough. Inspiration is what is most needed and only persons fired with the spirit of trade unionism can provide that. This, however, does not mean that we cannot have cooperation with the Universities and other educational bodies for teaching some subjects which are usually covered by trade union education, such as Law, Economics, Psychology, etc But that a whole course should be conducted by such a body seems hardly desirable.

Should Governments and employers be called upon to provide trade union training? All trade unionists would agree that employers cannot be trusted for the purpose because of the evident clash of interest between the two. Their whole attitude all along has been so much anti-union that nobody can easily rely on them for doing a work so fundamental for the growth of the trade union movement. What about Governments? Not infrequently Governments are also employers of some sectors of services of industries and

in some countries they are indeed the biggest employers. Will not the same considerations which were mentioned in the case of employers then apply to them as well? Moreover, Government in a parliamentary democracy is closely associated with one political party in the country. There is a great danger that trade union educational work of a particular Government may have some slant for the type of trade union movement which the Government favours. The line then between education and indoctrination becomes very thin indeed.

Even if the employers and the Governments are not to arrange directly trade union education is there any harm in securing facilities or assistance from them? This is the question often asked. Those in favour of accepting assistance point out that if the work is carried out by the trade unions themselves without any interference or control from the agency providing the help what objection can one have? To argue this way is to forget human nature. Though no formal conditions may be attached, if considerable assistance is available from any source it carries with it obligations. In any case the strong stand which a trade union could take on certain issues is likely to be softened. Some have very rightly pointed out that strings to such help may not always be visible but they do have their effect all the same. It does seem, therefore, desirable for the trade union movement to resist the temptation which such offers of help present and content by making the best use of its own resources for the work.

In the case of general adult education and vocational education most of the above objections would lose their force. However, in the case of general adult education it will be necessary to insist on the difference between education and propaganda.

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EVALUATING PROGRAMMES OF SOCIAL EDUCATION—A Method for India

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Social education, like any other method in education, demands a constant review of programmes, if it is to prove progressively useful to the community it seeks to serve. Consequently periodic evaluation of programmes become essential. Such evaluation helps us study how well a job has been done, what it has accomplished, what its failures have been. The knowledge thus gained will help the growth and improvement of social education so that it makes an impact which is both wider in its scale and deeper in its influence.

Formulation of evaluation programmes, however, pose several problems which are often of a technical nature. For instance, it is necessary to know who should evaluate and what is to be evaluated. Then, again, there is the problem of finding out how evaluation is to be carried out. It is obvious that without a clear conception of these and allied questions, evaluation might lead to conclusions which will be erroneous and inaccurate.

To begin with, what is evaluation and what is its purpose? Evaluation merely means a study of our objects, immediate purposes, methods and procedure against the background of the experience of the operation of the programmes. Its purpose is to yield to us the secret of success—as much as the mystery of failures—so that success can be enhanced and failures avoided in future.

Then there is the problem of who should evaluate.

Every person who is in a position to make any kind of judgment or give opinion about a programme should be brought into the evaluation process in some way. The following groups should be invited to participate in the process of evaluation :—

1. *Participants* : Who may be classified as :

Passive Participants—those who act only as audiences ;

Active Participants—who take part in debate, discussion, entertainment etc;

▶ *Participant* : who organises the programme.

Their opinions can be obtained through interviews or questionnaires.

2. *The Leaders or Instructors* : Those who are directly responsible for the growth of programme are next to participants themselves to judge the results achieved. Their opinion can also be had through interviews or written forms or through group meetings.

3. *The Programme Organiser* :—*Director and Staff* : Those who are responsible for the administration of a programme are in a key position to observe the results of such programme. They will naturally make judgments of their own and report them in written reports or committee meetings.

4. *The Directing Committee* : Because it is responsible for establishing objectives and policies, it is particularly concerned with evaluation ; their opinion or judgment can be obtained through direct interview or discussions.

5. Interviewer's own observation or observation report of an outsider who has been a frequent visitor to these centres.

Comprehensive evaluation of a programme requires that it should be examined both quantitatively and qualitatively from at least three major points of view.

- (1) The amount and the kind of activity.
- (2) Measuring the efficiency of operation.
- (3) The results.

Scope : The scope of the programme refers to its quantitative aspects. In evaluating scope the following questions have to be taken into consideration :—

- (1) How comprehensive is the programme of different agencies ? How broad is the range of educational services ? How much activity goes on ?
- (2) To what extent is the interest and educational needs of the community served ?
- (3) What are the facilities used and how much are they used ?
- (4) What section of the adult population participates ? How much time does one adult spend in learning activities ?
- (5) What are the media of communication approach, procedure and method used ?
- (6) What are the groups served ? Educational levels ? Socio-Economic groups ? Religious or caste groups—occupational group ?

The range of fields served can be easily determined. The facilities, media, approaches, procedures, and methods used are usually common among agencies, teachers and staff members ; the size of adult education programme is commonly measured by the number enrolled to the daily average attendance.

The comprehensiveness of a programme may be examined from these points of view :—

1. What fields are included ?—Does the programme include educational activities in the following areas ?

(a) *Family Life Education*:

1. Preparation for marriages.
2. Pre-natal care.

3. Infant care and child development.
4. Relationship with adolescents.
5. Marriage adjustment.
6. Adjustment to middle age and maturity.

(b) *Education for Production and Consumption:*

1. Vocational guidance.
2. Training apprentices in a broad range of occupations.
3. Refresher opportunities available throughout life.
4. Management of a home and income.

(c) *Citizen Education:*

1. New voter preparation.
2. Intercultural education.
3. Rights and duties of citizenship.

(d) *Leisure time Education:*

1. Atheletic recreation of many types for all ages.
2. Leisure-time activities; music, art, craft, literature, dramatics, hobbies, cards etc.

(e) *Foundation Education:*

1. Literacy Education
2. Elementary Education.
3. High School Education.
4. Health and Safety Education.

2. Are activities organised in enough ways to serve the needs of all? What approaches are used?

- (a) Short courses in subjects in which the groups are interested.
- (b) Lecture series.
- (c) Film shows.
- (d) Educational Tours.
- (e) Radio broadcasts for adults in interested fields.
- (f) Organised radio-listening groups.

- (g) Conferences.
 - (h) Courses or educational activities, co-sponsored with industrial or community organisations.
 - (i) Clubs for adults.
 - (j) Organised participation in civic improvement programmes.
3. Are activities available at convenient times and locations ?
- (a) Are activities offered during a variety of hours throughout the day ? Morning, afternoon, evening.
 - (b) Are activities held on enough-days of the week (including weekends) to involve most people ?
 - (c) Do the activities vary according to the psychological characteristic of adults, their desires, the demands of the context and other factors.
 - (d) Are the maximum number of activities, in distance, near the participants or potential participants ? Are activities held in many areas ?

Results : The real test of the merit of the adult education programme lies in the result produced. Quantitative criteria, viz the amount of activity and the numbers of people involved have already been discussed. Qualitative measures are concerned with the changes in behaviour that are the outcome of the programme. What difference does the programme make in the behaviour of the participants ?

From the point of view of the community :

1. What difference does the programme make in the life of the community ?
2. Is the community moving faster towards the democratic ideal as a result of the adult education programme ?
3. To what extent is the community made a better place in which to live and make a living ?
4. Are the values of adults becoming more mature ?
5. Is there any discrimination based on sex, caste, class, and more discrimination based on merits, ability and competence ?

6. Is health improving? Is the incidence of disease declining? Is less time lost by illness? Is infant mortality going down?
7. Are the living standard rising?
8. Is there a higher degree of cooperation among groups in community activities.
9. Are the recreational interests and activities of adults becoming more satisfying?
10. Are adults becoming more competent in solving both their individual and their group problems?

From the individual's point of view

With regard to individuals, questions with more specific and often ascertainable answers are asked :

1. What desirable changes are people making?
2. Do adult education experiences, lead more people to participate in civic life? Do more vote?
3. Are adults better able to select their leaders.
4. Are adults acquiring the knowledge, habits and skills they want?
5. Are time, energy, money and other resources, both human and natural, being used more wisely?
6. Are adults developing new and desirable interests?
7. Are adults gaining ability to take responsible leadership roles in a democracy?
8. Are adults more aware of the nature than world? Of the impact of science on their daily living?

To collect meaningful data, the general objective must be broken down into specific ones. The present condition prevalent in a given community can be compared with the past condition (before social education centre came up) and the ideal (we set before us) the date for the purpose may be easily available or obtained. To assess the general improvement caused by adult education is however a difficult task. However, it will be possible to find out the beneficial influence on the people caused by adult education programme on factors like individual and group relationship, family life, econo-

mic and social adjustment, better general knowledge, understanding methods of democratic government, rights and duties of citizenship etc.

The clearest and best evidence of the effect of a programme may be obtained by a comparative survey of two communities—one where for number of years the social education programme has been carried out and the other where no such programme has ever been conducted. The comparison of results can often be accepted as a relatively valid indication.

But the two communities taken for such experiment should be similar in the factors to be studied and in important related characteristics, and the education programme should be conducted in only one of the—provided that national, regional and other influences are the same on both communities.

In a democracy the participants are often the final judges of the work of an adult education programme.

The participants of the social education programme may indicate their estimate of a programme in several ways.

1. Size of enrolment is itself an index of the degree to which a programme seems worth the time of adults. Size, however, varies with economic conditions and with other factors not directly connected with the quality of the programme. Thus Directors can use enrolment figures on a rough index of merit.
2. Regularity and frequency is another index for measuring the effectiveness of the programme.
3. Interest in pursuing advanced course, however, is an index of good teaching and leaderships.
4. Direct appraisal of the programme by questionnaires to the participants is rather common. Such questionnaire seek information on such items as:—
 - (a) Purpose for which the adult is attending the centre.
 - (b) Purpose for which the adult is attending the particular activity.

- (c) How closely the activity meets the needs.
- (d) Which activity is most interesting and useful in every day.
- (e) In which way is the activity useful in every day life.
- (f) The adult's opinion of the quality of instruction of leadership.
- (g) The adult's opinion on the favourable and unfavourable features of the programme.
- (h) Course taken.
- (i) Age, sex, occupation, education level and other characteristics of participants.

The questionnaire may be set up as rating scale, a list to be ranked, a checked list, a series of open-end questions, or in some other form. The questionnaires to be returned anonymously are sometimes used either by the administrator for gathering opinions about the whole programme or by instructors in evaluating their own work. Getting the true opinion rather than superficialities takes some skill in designing the questionnaire or in interviewing. Occassionally a group can be induced to evaluate an activity with the teacher absent and with the composite opinion channeled through a designated spokesman.

Participation appraisals are incomplete unless they include a study of non-participants and drop outs. A survey based on interviews gives a most useful and reliable results in studying these groups. The data called for in connection with drop outs usually includes their reasons for leaving and for their failure to accomplish their purposes. The evaluator must be able to convey his sincerity to the interviewee in wanting to know the real reasons so that the programme may be improved.

Analysis of results often reveals places for improvement in teacher selection, in quality of instruction, media programme, in identification of need, in administrative practices and in a many other features as may be included in the questionnaire. Some drop outs are caused by such reason as employment, family responsibilities, or personal situations beyond the control of the school or agency but other reasons for leaving may point out appropriate points for improvement.

Participant can suggest significant means of improvement through paper and pencil methods, through personal interview, formal and informal interview, or occasionally through a group interview. The drop out point is an excellent time to interview, but with adults this is often hard to arrange. The extensive informal mixing among the participants may facilitate the collection of important data. Such data may be difficult to classify and weigh.

Evaluation of method :

Success in identifying the educational needs and interests of adult shows up in a number of ways. Evidence of success in this respect is closely related to success in total programme. The following yardsticks in order of rank, may be of use in measuring the methods.

Number of approaches used.

Number of population—segment served.

Amount of cooperation with other adult education organisations.

Degree of coordination of progress in the community.

Flexibility of schedule.

Size of programme.

For this article the author is indebted to two books ;

Informal Adult Education by Harry A. Overstreet,
Association Press, New York ; and

Adult Education by Homer Kempfer, McGraw Hill Series
in Education.

SOCIAL SCIENCES—Their Aid in Fundamental Education

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Underdeveloped peoples, engaged in the processes of structural change, adaptation and integration have, in a short space of time, to organize their economic and political institutions and assume ever wider responsibilities, especially when they become independent.

Fundamental education should be judged in relation to the help (often thought too limited or too slow) which it can give in solving all these difficulties, now demanding attention more urgently because of the increasing pace of history.

It is, thus, becoming steadily clearer that the very definition of the principles of fundamental education necessitates a detailed sociological analysis of the present forms of development found in these underdeveloped societies. This point appears to deserve special emphasis in this context in the light of research undertaken on certain specific situations in Africa south of the Sahara.

I shall not attempt to enter into other aspects—less essential, in my opinion—of the contribution of the social sciences to fundamental education with particular reference to the choice of methods and techniques and the evaluation of results. Nothing will be said, therefore, about a number of highly important problems of sociology and social psychology arising in connexion with the discovery and use of leaders (especially by sociometric methods), the application of group therapy for the settlement of conflicts, the use of techniques for the analysis and guidance of public opinion (including mass media), and the application of many other methods by which

“public relations” can be developed between whole populations and those responsible for their development.

We were first led to prepare a programme of education and local community development as a result of surveys carried out in Gabon. Investigations into social organization and, in particular, certain types of structural change in the Fang society of Woleu N'Tem (North Gabon) had shown that such internal forces could be used to provide a sound basis for an educational campaign and to give it a practical significance for all the local groups concerned. The Fang tribes scattered through the forest were tending to build up again certain forms of group and community life which could be used in a modern society.¹ These investigations showed how important can be the part played by motivation in community development and adult education. This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that it was possible to take advantage of the spontaneous movement for tribal reorganization, known as *alar ayong*, among the Fang, in order to carry out, with support from the population, a programme of modernization in the villages, for example by organizing teams doing work of interest to the community.² The elucidation of the concept of motivation in the regional cultural context thus appears to be one of the most important immediate tasks of any social anthropologists who wish to assist those responsible for fundamental education.

In a first report to the office of the Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa in 1951, we stressed this essential fact,³ which can mean little to the educationist unless he eschews every form of ethnocentrism in his approach to the group to be educated. It may be noted, with regard to this motivation approach, that the use of the methods for the evaluation of attitudes developed by Lickert, Bogardus, Thurstone and Doob, has been found quite feasible in African communities.

Fundamental education and local communities

The analysis of structures and of their reorganization would also bring out the functional unity of small social units of the village and clan types. Among the Fang, the village, in particular, appeared to be a zone of

community life, providing the essential frame within which internal factors of progress could operate, each village tending to reconstitute a clan unit. We were thus brought to contemplate a fundamental education programme based on the rural district centres, modernized thanks to the active part taken by the population, whose motivations were known and could be made use of.

The idea of local community development also guided our fundamental education experiments in Cameroon and those undertaken during the same period in Ubangi and in French West Africa. The village or the canton seems to provide an ideal field for the conduct of educational projects in which the group concerned takes an active part, for the latter is small enough to find all the activities proposed to it feasible and within the bounds of its accustomed horizon.

At this point, however, a fundamental difficulty arose; if this local community education were really to be mass education, reaching a large enough section of the population, it was essential that it should not be confined to a few small groups; consequently the sociological and psychosociological analysis had to cover not only the characteristics of these local communities, but also their interrelations and their whole environment.

We had an opportunity of undertaking such an analysis more recently in Togoland, where migration on a large scale in connexion with the introduction of a modernized system of peasant farming and the development of an extensive region of the Territory have given rise to fundamental education problems affecting a large population.

This migration involves two ethnic groups (the Kabre and the Losso) from North Togoland, impelled mainly by intense population pressure and the deterioration of the soil: 35% of the total number of these people (75,000 individuals out of 210,000) are involved in the exodus, which may be temporary or permanent. One emigrant group is moving towards the West of the Territory and the Gold Coast; another is going to the Centre—the Sokode and Atakpame area—where they are settling as farmers on lands ceded to them by the original owners (the Ana and the Kpessi). Rural

settlements have also been organized recently by the Administration, and on that occasion, the problem we were asked to study—the education of these new emigrant communities—had to be considered.

It appears that the education and development of these emigrant groups were complicated by the fact that, in the areas where the migration was unorganized, certain spontaneously established forms of co-existence with the groups among whom they settled had to be respected ; and by certain rules of customary property law in the zone colonized by the Administration, where land was reserved for the original population. The authorities had planned to settle the immigrants on agricultural allotments, each family receiving enough acreage for permanent settlement, and the first object of the educational campaign was to make the people understand the practical value of this measure, which was necessary alike for the protection of the soil and the development of a properly organized, stable peasantry. In the neighbouring zone, however, where the immigrants came of their own accord to cultivate the lands of the original inhabitants, they adopted the latter's farming system, based on the *kope* or farming village, a socio-economic-farm-and-family unit suited to the extensive farming practised by the native Ana and Kpessi. The Kabre and the Losso, who, in their own part of the country, practise intensive farming, adopt the extensive methods of the Ana and the Kpessi when they settle in the Centre ; the settlement of new immigrants on allotments therefore meant upsetting those established habits, of which any educational programme should take account.

Furthermore, those who had migrated to the Centre on their own account, before the Government began settling peasant farmers on allotment, had established certain forms of co-existence with the owners of the land. They had, for instance, introduced a system of rent in kind, and in certain cases, even took part in the social and religious life of the indigenous population (the immigrants, in particular, make offerings to the fetishes of the owners of the land they cultivate). Those settled on allotments by the Government naturally have different relations with the original population, even though the latter are still the owners of the land parcelled out by the authorities. The educational programme must also take into account these causes of tensions

and help to smooth them out, in particular by arranging for immigrants and original inhabitants to develop the area in question together, on equal terms, and by so organizing the new communities that tensions—especially in the matter of the chiefdom—may be reduced to a minimum. The traditional structures of both the original population and the immigrants must also be respected. Out of 120,000 inhabitants in the Central Togoland area, more than 20,000 are immigrants from the North; any fundamental education programme for that area should, therefore, be adjusted to deal with this problem of relations between different ethnic groups living side by side. And it was for that reason that we undertook a study of the collective attitudes of these groups *inter se*, of the new structures to which they give rise, and of the means of integrating them into the community at large.

From the point of view with which we are concerned in the present study, however, other conclusions, of more general interest than mere directives for a regional fundamental education programme, can be drawn from this particular case. The study made of this specific instance of migration showed that it was only a special case of a whole complex of facts, which are extremely important from the point of view of education and community development, i. e. the new relationships between communities and between different ethnic groups.

It would have been possible, in Central Togoland, to plan a community education programme proper, adapted to strictly local characteristics and needs, such as those of the small groups of immigrants gathered into villages, and those of the original inhabitants' villages, both types being considered as self-sufficient units, or as units which ought to be self-sufficient. But such a conception of fundamental education is too narrow, in our opinion, and the study of actual overall situations at the regional and territorial level has led us to abandon it.

In Cameroons, the study of the structure of Eton rural communities in the Yaounde region, even though these are homogeneous from the ethnic point of view, had already led us to draw attention to the complexity of the relations existing among these local groups, and between them and the broa-

der environment, that is, the whole society (region, Territory, or even Federation) of which they formed a part.⁴ Thirty-five per cent of the male inhabitants of an Eton canton work, or have worked, for several years in the urban and industrial zone of Edoa-Douala; regular relations (visits, presents, letters, money orders) have thus been established between the village and the outside world. This interdependence is particularly evident in the economic sphere; African producers have now taken their place in the world market, and the economic and social development of communities of cocoa planters, for instance, is affected by the fluctuations of world prices. The self sufficient economy of family and village groups has now become an open economy, and complex, specifically native channels of trade in local produce are developing and extending often to great distances. Any fundamental education programme suitable for extension to a large area like the cocoa country of South Cameroon and North Gabun was thus seen to depend on adjustment to this general widening of horizons. We, therefore, recommended that, prior to any large-scale fundamental education campaign, an interdisciplinary regional planning study of the area should be carried out, in order to help the teachers to a better understanding of the general context of their work and the complexity of the sociocultural setting in which they would have to operate.

Social integration and change of scale

We reached the same conclusion as the result of a study of a community development programme in Central Togoland, based on the investigations outlined above into migrations and relations between ethnic groups. This preliminary work shows the gravity and the urgency of the processes by which local communities are integrated into their regional and national environment; in the zone studied, it was found that the only possible object of a fundamental education campaign must, in the last analysis, be to bring about harmonious symbiosis and development of local communities and ethnic groups which must complement one another within the regional complex. The villages of Kabre emigrants in Central Togoland are complementary to the villages in their country of origin—to which they send food and presents (imported merchandise or money). Any educational work among groups of emigrants, so long as it involves a fairly large number of

people, will have economic and psychosocial repercussions on the groups in the country of origin; other repercussions may be expected among the groups of original inhabitants living side by side with the immigrants.

The broadening of the aims of fundamental education is an inevitable consequence of these new relations among small groups; fundamental education, while taking due account of strictly local needs and possibilities, must enable small groups to be rapidly integrated into larger units. In this connexion, social scientists should point out to fundamental education workers that exclusive importance should not be given to the local community idea. A planter in Cameroon belongs to many different kinds of groups; not only the family, the village and the clan, but also the body of cocoa producers, a political party, a trade union, a socio-economic stratum. It would be a mistake to regard the community, defined in space by a group of the village or canton type as the only frame within which educational action—i. e. economic and social development can go forward. The object of adult education, like that of child education, is to resolve the conflicts, tensions and frustrations which hamper the individual's full development; due account must therefore be taken of the individual's manifold attachment and of all the roles he plays and all the motivations and groupings related to them. Not only the problems raised by small communities must be faced, but also those created by the need for all those communities to live side by side within regional complexes and the national community.

The investigations carried out in Gabun, in Cameroon, and now in Togoland have thus led us to recommend the preparation of regional fundamental education schemes closely linked with the technical assistance programmes drawn up by the Ministry for Overseas France under the second four-year plan. The completion of these projects will entail investigations into the ways in which local communities are now being integrated into their environment. Large-statistical surveys are being prepared for this purpose, dealing with demography and socio-economic organization (standards of living, production, consumption, channels of distribution).

It has become evident that if fundamental education is to be effective (i. e. to reach a large population), it must be associated with a general policy;

that is to say, it must be adapted to the process of change of scale which affects all rapidly developing societies, and to which social scientists have been giving special emphasis in recent years. Two essential sociological factors must accordingly be taken into account: one of these, of course, is the concept of the functional unity of the local community, but there is also the concept of the interdependence of these small groups within larger units—i. e., whole societies. The social sciences, can make it possible to clarify these two concepts, and in particular to bring out the characteristics of the destructurement and restructurement phenomena affecting local communities (e. g., break up of the tribe and formation of specific groups, as revealed by public opinion surveys; change in the forms of social control; emergence of professional associations and social classes; migration). In Togoland, for instance, the programme prepared for the Centre of the Territory naturally includes limited local action (establishment of community centres, use of village leaders), but the work of these local centres is planned in relation to the problems arising out of their participation in broader economic, social and political units—problems which are the subject of sociological and psycho-sociological research.⁵

Only when a policy of economic and social development has been defined, can fundamental education play its part as a system of teaching techniques. Some of the difficulties encountered in the development of fundamental education have been due to the idea that it should, at the small-community level, provide a solution to problems of development which can really be solved only within the framework of society as a whole.

Apart from the help they can give in perfecting the methods and techniques of fundamental education, the social sciences can now assist, above all, in making it more general, by drawing attention to this necessary change in scale and its many complex aspects.

1. Cf. G. Balandier and J. C. Pauvert, *Les villages gabonais*, Mémoire No. 5 de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, Brazzaville, 1953; and J. C. Pauvert, "Social Action and Fundamental Education in French Equatorial Africa", *Fundamental and Adult Education* (Unesco) Vol. V, No. 2, April 1953, p. 64.
2. These are also the principles adopted by American specialists in applied anthropology or social engineering. Cf. in particular, Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, and the review, *Applied Anthropology*. There is no need to dwell on the evidence for

the importance of self-interest to be found in Dewey's psychological and educational research, for example, and in the phenomenological theories of behaviour, which substitute the concept of motive for that of cause.

3. *Action sociale et education de base en A.E.F.*, Rapport au Gouvernement général de l'A.E.F., Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, Brazzaville, 1951. In 1954, a symposium was held on the Comparative study of motivations and incentives, particularly economic ones, in traditional and modernized communities in underdeveloped countries; the results were published in the Bulletin of the International Research Office on the Social Implications of Technological Change, sponsored by the International Social Science Council, Paris.
4. Cf. J. C. Pauvert, *Communautes Eton du pays Yaounde*—Report a l'office de la Recherche Scientifique at Technique Outre-Mer 1955.
5. On this subject, mention may be made of the results of certain investigations in particular, on "Political and Social Factors in Rural Rehabilitation in Tropical and Sub-tropical Countries" (28th session of the International Institute of Differing Civilisations (INCIDI), the Hague, September 1953); cf. the account given in the *International Social Science Bulletin* Vol. VI No. 1. 1954, p. 91-93: ".....stress was laid on the importance of the human factor.....the conduct of preliminary scientific investigations in co-operation with the political representatives of the countries concerned, and the risk that rural development may benefit a minority only rather than produce conditions which provide a satisfactory life for the whole population".

—From material supplied by the Education
Clearing House, UNESCO, Paris.

Dr. S. R. RANGANATHAN

The quest for truth that follows love for knowledge is an urge which is compelling, all pervasive and inspires an unswerving dedication to its cause. The quest is one that never ends ; therefore, love for knowledge does not wither with age. The quest does not fulfil itself with superficial triumphs or earthly successes; even so, the love for knowledge does not ever tarnish with considerations of mundane gains and the seeker of truth finds little fascination for avarice, fame, fortune or glory. Because the demands of truth are onerous and its material compensations few, seekers are not many. Yet, the world owes much to those few who made the quest the only concern of their lives ; ironically enough, these few acquire greatness they had never sought.

It is this background that holds the clue to the life of Dr. Ranganathan, whose contribution to the Library Science has been epoch making and revolutionary. It is not always that a genius finds a recognition for his work in his own life-time. But because Dr. Ranganathan's contribution carried with it a direct and immediate impact on the thinking of librarians, recognition came to him early in life. His *magnum opus*—the "Colon Classification"—was published in 1933, when he was fortyone and almost immediately came to be recognised as an original scheme of classification by library experts the world over. Following its publication, almost every country—whether European, American or Asian—sought his advice and assistance to solve problems of classification their libraries faced. Thus, Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University was being merely literal when, in 1947, he introduced Dr. Ranganathan to the Chancellor of the University, Lord Louis Mountbatten, with the citation that, "Dr. Ranganathan is the father of Library Science in India.....His works cover every field of Library Science and themselves constitute a library. His reputation as a Librarian extends far beyond the borders of his own country and his opinion and advice are valued in all lands where books and libraries are held in honour."

The success that Dr. Ranganathan achieved, however, has left him untouched. Today, at sixtyfive, he is till the same simple, forthright—and what is more, modest and humble—man that he was when he started life at twentyfive, as a lecturer in Mathematics and Physics in the Government College, Mangalore. It was, however, when he joined the Presidency College, Madras that he changed over from teaching to librarianship. After a short period of teaching Mathematics, he took over as the Librarian of the College. Initially, the work was not to his taste—for the simple reason that he found he had to administer a library which had not many books ! It irked him to sign papers and



Dr. S. R. Ranganathan

become a bureaucrat with liveried chaprasis waiting on him and so for a while he thought of reverting to teaching. But a chance opportunity found him in the University College, London for training in Librarianship. Though he took no formal degree in librarianship, he saw and observed enough so that on his return to India in 1925 he invented the Colon Classification system which tried to do away with some of the limitations of the systems then in vogue. This system was introduced in the Madras University Library and with it Dr. Ranganathan's fame as a librarian became known.

While Dr. Ranganathan's devotion has been to the Library Science, his attachment to education has been no less strong. Indeed, he began life as an educationist and it was as an educationist that his interest in libraries was stimulated; social or adult education, specially, attracted his attention and with the development of the movement in India he has had much to do. He was the General Secretary of the Indian Adult Education Association for a long period and his connection with the movement has been over a decade. He was also the Vice-President of the Association and presided over the first post-independence Conference of the Association in Mysore. A clear thinker and an untiring writer, he has written a number of books on social education.

Indians have reasons to be proud of the achievements of Dr. Ranganathan. Lest it appear that they, in their pride, exaggerate his great intellectual qualities, here is what an American authority on Libraries has to say of him: "Ranganathan's philosophy represents the mature thought of one of the great figures of the present age in international librarianship. Librarians may feel uncomfortable in the company of his particular kind of genius. But one must admit that here indeed is genius, and we who so pride ourselves on our professional objectivity and freedom from emotionalism, can profit greatly from his philosophical insight."

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL—Its role in Social Education

S. C. Dutta,

General Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association

Few countries can vie with India for the place that tradition had accorded to the school and the school teacher in society. The Gurukuls and Pathashalas, the Maktabas and the Madrassas, were educational centres where children not merely received instruction but sources of authority to which the villagers could turn for advice on the problems which confronted them. Perhaps, had these institutions kept pace with the march of times, the school, today, would not be an institution often considered redundant to their daily lives by a majority of the adults—nor the teacher, one who did not have any place of significance in their lives. As it happened, however, partly because the school passed out of the hands of the local communities and because an alien authority converted schools to suit its purpose, the village school was divorced from the community it serves. Its curriculum is unrelated to the life of the people and consequently its functions have little meaning for the villagers. Under these circumstances, it is only inevitable that the school and the school teacher should have lost their position of leadership and the privilege of carrying enlightenment to the broad masses of people.

Yet, perhaps, on no occasion in India's history did society demand of the school and the school teachers the integral function of acting as a leaven of new knowledge, new values, new skills and a new pattern of social behaviour and personal conduct. The urge of the people for a happier and more prosperous life implies their acquisition of new norms in each and every aspect of their lives. The school teacher can deprive the school of this role to assist them in this quest only at his peril. The experience of public parti-

icipation in nation building has shown that peoples' enthusiasm focusses itself, before everything else, on the school building. What they expect of the school, however, is different from what the schools have been able to give them these last so many years. If the school is to fulfil the expectations people have of it and if it is to be restored to a position of importance in the community it will have to project itself into the life of the community and implement programmes which will meet its needs and respond to its aspirations. It is in this manner that the school can answer to the challenge of the times. This is the importance of the concept of the school-cum-community centre and we have to consider the broad lines along which the school will have to orient its activities for this purpose.

Firstly, the role of the school in educating people for civic responsibility. Hitherto civic power in the hands of the village community was limited; nor was there any scope for this power to express itself into avenues which would really have helped people solve many of the important problems that faced them. Today the need to increase those powers have been recognised as the only way of ensuring democracy and various steps towards this have been envisaged by the Planning Commission. Besides, the numerous development schemes of the Government offer an opportunity for this power to be used for the welfare of the community. The realisation of this opportunity would depend on the extent to which the power is used wisely and for common good. This implies a consciousness of opportunities that lie before the villagers and an awareness of the means to secure for themselves the full benefits of those opportunities.

The role of awakening people to latent possibilities, of instilling in them the correct attitudes which will help adults discharge their new civic responsibilities, is a role that the village school can play. For one thing the resources of the country will not permit an agency in every village specifically charged with this exclusive work. Besides, the school teacher is one who the villagers accept as their respected comrade and is in a position to advise and guide them, and be their friend. The school building also offers itself as a venue for school teachers to conduct various activities necessary in social education. Every thing considered, therefore, the school is best situated in

the village to undertake this work of spreading enlightenment and a new message among the villagers. For this purpose the school should become a centre of social action where people are brought together and with the assistance of the school teacher plan out specific projects to meet community problems facing them. In addition to this type of activity the school should also become a centre of community recreation where under the guidance of the school teacher recreational programmes are arranged for the villagers by the villagers. These recreational programmes should be enriched with an educative context. The school teacher should also organise from time to time study classes among the literates. At these study classes the school teacher may take up any particular problem—social or otherwise—which faces the people and indicate to them the nature of problems. There is a vast movement of extension and of community development that is being developed over the entire country. With the assistance of village level workers the school teacher may help the villagers acquire new insights into their problems. He can help the village level workers by explaining to people the specific items of programmes which the village level worker introduces among the villagers. These may be the introduction of a new method of agricultural processing or of village sanitation or a better practices concerning animal husbandry. While the school teacher need not necessarily introduce these activities himself he can reinforce the work that the village level worker will be doing in the village. The school teacher will also have to organise literacy classes for the illiterates. An important part of the literacy work is to organise post literacy programmes. This is important if the new literates are not to lapse into illiteracy again.

All this naturally raises the question of appropriate training of school teachers. Hitherto the school teacher has not been equipped with the training that will enable him to undertake this type of work. Consequently the training programme of school teacher would include in it an intensive course of providing him with certain new skills on the one hand and certain new attitudes on the other. The manner in which he puts across these aspects of social education programmes are matters of techniques. The training schedule of the school teacher should include a comprehensive programme which will enable him to acquire these techniques. These

techniques include methods of approaching adults, ways and means of developing specific programmes etc.

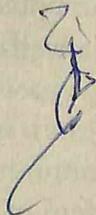
An even more important aspect in the training of school teachers is the necessity to inculcate in them a sense of values. The programme of development that has been envisaged for the country is one which will lead to a socialistic pattern of society. This pattern of society eschews any authoritarian conduct between one section of the people and the other and between the authorities and the people. It implies an approach which is democratic in spirit. It is a recognition of the equal capability of the human mind to see reason when the mind is opened out to it. It is, furthermore, a recognition of the dignity of human personality which does not permit the concept of the superiority of one man over another. These are essentially questions of attitudes which are dependant on the sense of values one cultivates. The cultivation of values does not come either out of text books howsoever brilliantly they might be written nor of lectures howsoever eloquently they may be delivered. To instill these values what is of the utmost necessity is to provide an experience of behaviour based on those values. The training centre for teachers where the teachers are gathered together at one place offers a good opportunity to provide an experience of such a nature. Consequently, at these training centres what is important is the necessity to embody such values in the day to day life in the training camps. In this manner the school teachers will acquire and imbibe these values. Having once imbibed them the school teachers will reflect them in their day to day work.

At first sight the responsibilities of the school teacher discussed above may seem formidable and yet a little thought will show that it is not so. Once the view that the school should function as a community centre is accepted a revision of the present school curriculum follows. There is, as is well-known, a great dissatisfaction of the present system of education. It is pointed out that this system of education does not serve to make children into useful citizens and that it is not related to the needs of the community nor of the land. These arguments for the revision of the present system of education are familiar enough to need repetition. However one

may indicate the lines along which the school curriculum at the village level needs to be reoriented.

The emphasis in the education has been all along on teaching of subjects with a view to help children to pass examinations. This spirit pervades the village school too. Often one finds in these school the teacher leads a recital of numerals or of alphabets and the children repeat after him. This is more or less the same manner in which all subjects are taught to the young pupils. This is not merely an inefficient method of teaching but also a manner which neither makes learning interesting nor the lessons relevant to the child's environment. As a result no integration between the school and the community ever takes place. The school teacher must now think of bringing about this integration and the approach has accordingly to change from the top downwards.

The basic perspective of new approach should be to make education help children acquire a sense of social cohesion, the intellectual ability to correlate knowledge with actual experience in life and to translate knowledge into practical ability. If this is accepted the method becomes obvious. The pupils in the school will participate in community life, share its problems and its joys to the extent to which their tender minds can. Hence the planning out the school curriculum programmes should be such as will bring out and develop this aspect of the child's life. Thus the community functions of the school are not something tagged on to certain functions of the school which have been thought to be different all along. The school is the matrix of social action and of social perspectives. Its teachers as well as pupils are a part of the community to which they will contribute as much as they can and therewith enrich their lives.



APPLIED GROUP DYNAMICS

Leland P. Bradford

Director, National Training Laboratories in Group Development,
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With the increasing size and social complexities of the world, the growing inter-relationships among nations, and the acceleration of social change throughout much of the world, the individual needs ways of relating himself to his ever-expanding society. If the individual is to help build or maintain a democratic society in which he is involved in making decisions, he must be able to have affective membership in social units sufficiently small that he can interest with others. The group, for many people, is the bridge to the larger society. Basic individual needs for belongingness, respect, and linking from others are satisfied in the group situation.

We are members of many groups. We live in groups concerned with work productivity, in community groups dealing with problems of community improvement, in classes and discussion groups where learning is the outcome, in trade union groups, in political and civic groups where issues are raised and decisions sought, and in social and recreational groups.

With the increase in the number of groups in which we are all members, there is growing necessity for knowledge about the causes of group behaviour and the ways in which groups can be improved so that the individual will be more involved and will grow more as an individual through more effective interaction with others in the group, and so that the group will become more productive in achieving its ends.

Group dynamics,¹ as a field in the social sciences, has been concerned in the past twenty years in studying problems of leadership, the effect of

leader and member personalities on group behaviour, the emotional behaviours of groups, the causes and consequences of group cohesion, the cause and effect of inter-personal conflict among group members, the effect of group standards on group efficiency, and the effect of involvement of people on the problem of communication, personal satisfaction and individual and group productivity.

Applied group dynamics has been equally active during the past ten years in developing programmes of leadership training in all areas of life, improving conferences, expanding insights into the behaviour of staffs and committees, developing improved methods for conducting large and small meetings, working with consultants, and leaders of community development. Applied group dynamics is effective in such fields as industry, trade unions, government, military, religion, adult education, health, and welfare.

Groups work on two types of problems or two levels of operation at all times. One is the task problem facing the group. The other has variously been called the social-emotional task or the 'hidden agenda' level. This is the level of problems of relationships among members and emotional patterns in the group.

Every group, in other words, has problems of doing work and problems of maintaining itself in a working order.² Just as airplanes require maintenance crews as well as pilot crews, and automobiles need garages and mechanics, so do groups face problems of developing and maintaining good working conditions as well as problems directly related to the work task.

Good working conditions for a group means not only that there be adequate discussion procedures, but that there be good relationships among members and that problems of inter-personal hostility, competition, or individual hidden purposes do not disrupt the smooth working of the group. Usually such social-emotional problems are not obvious. Leader and members seldom recognise the many forces that subtly but strongly sway the group. When they do sense something is wrong, they blame erroneous reasons.

On both the social-emotional and task levels, there are certain characteristics of groups which must be recognised by leaders and members. These characteristics provide ways of understanding a group. Some of these characteristics are briefly described.³

Groups have *histories*, if not of the group as a whole, at least of the members composing the group. Members belong to and owe loyalties to other groups. Frequently these loyalties of the member between the present group and some other group having different purposes, creates conflict within the individual and his groups.

Participation patterns vary from group. In some groups the pattern of dominance of the few becomes fixed, with resultant dependency, apathy, resentment and withdrawal upon the part of the many. Frequently, observation of who talks to whom and who talks after whom in a group uncovers participation patterns sympathetic of strong sub-groupings and cross currents of relationships disturbing the group.

Communication patterns and practices largely determine group affectiveness. Are people really listening to each other or merely waiting until they can talk? Do contributions follow and build on each other or do they block previous contributions? Are people talking to the group, the leader, or certain group members?

How *cohesive* is the group? Is the group operating effectively or merely individuals talking at cross purposes about differently perceived problems? Are there strong sub-groups?

Every group has an *atmosphere*. Some group atmospheres indicate formality, dominance by the leader or a few members, strongly operating power and status forces, or hesitation and fear upon the part of some members. Other atmospheres indicate a sense of relaxation and comfort, of permissiveness for everyone to participate freely, and a sense of co-operation.

Groups establish *standards* covering how people will participate, what achievement is expected, and how new members shall be treated.

Group standards, usually unspoken, become strong forces in determining the group operations.

On the task level, the *procedures* used by the group in determining and clarifying its problems and goals in gaining ideas and facts, in reaching and testing decisions, will differentiate the effective from the ineffective group. Most groups adopt procedures that are rigid and inappropriate to the problem or use no procedures and wander ineffectually around the problem.

The *leadership* style of the designated leader obviously has great impact upon the group, as does the emergence, or lack of emergence, of secondary leadership in the group. Does the leader control and dominate group or help it organize itself for effective work ?

Membership behaviour also exerts important forces on the group. In both the task and social-emotional level there are a variety of membership roles or contributions which must be made if the group is to function properly. The task level calls for idea contributor, clarifier, critic, compromiser, elaborator, summarizer. The social-emotional level calls such contribution as encouraging, mediating, bridging between two contributions, releasing tension, diagnosing group difficulties. Unless members make these contributions at the appropriate moment, the group falls short of achievement. Frequently, such member contribution as aggressive behaviour, blocking, competing, seeking recognition, or withdrawing will serve to disrupt the group.

Members bring '*hidden agenda*' to any group. Unspoken purposes, feelings about others, reaction to leadership, and similar unstated behaviour in the group serve as powerful influences in group action. Frequently groups can't move successfully on the task level until the '*hidden agenda*' problems are solved. The more effective leaders and members recognize existence of '*hidden agenda*' and seek to determine them and help the group treat them successfully.

The function of applied group dynamics, therefore, becomes basically that of teaching or training people in diagnostic skills and understand-

ing the causes of group behaviour. It recognizes that the translation of group dynamics research into action will come best through training of leaders and members in appropriate understanding and skills. Group dynamics concerned with developing techniques and methods is applied only secondarily.

The Application of Group Dynamics

In the United States, in particular, and increasingly in other parts of the world, application is being made of knowledge, concepts and skills growing out of group dynamics research in an ever-widening number of occupational fields. In adult education through improvements in discussion and teaching methods ; in industry, in management development and supervisory training programmes in human relations ; in national and local organizations through staff development and the training of volunteers; in religious groups in the retraining of clergy toward better leadership and involvement of their parishioners ; in the military through the training of officers to work more effectively with their military groups : in leadership training programmes for lay and professional community workers in the areas of education, health, welfare and civic improvement ; in the training of nurses to improve their work with staff and patient groups, in group psycho-therapy where group forces are utilized for therapeutic purposes, in trade unions in worker education programmes and trade union meetings, in politics with the training of local political workers, applied group dynamics is being used effectively.

Four kinds of application of group dynamics, of the many possible, have been chosen for more careful description here. In each of these, applied group dynamics has—or can—make a major contribution.

Conferences

Conferences, on the national and international level, have increasingly become almost a way of life. At most of the conferences, the majority of participants listen passively to the speaking of a few. Even when discussion is encouraged, it is hedged in by formal rules and doesn't bring the full exchange of thought desired.

An example of the importance of group leadership in a conference situation can be drawn from a recent international conference in which the writer participated.

In one group the leader skilfully started by suggesting each person relate the problem of the group to a specific problem he faced in his country. Essentially the leader built a census of the problems the member had related to the conference purpose. He was sensitive to the hesitation of persons from some countries who felt their programmes were less adequate than those in other countries, and he helped the hesitant member feel more comfortable in the group and that their programmes would not be judged against others. By the time the leader had finished the problem census of the group, he had not only given life and meaning to the problem for discussion, but he had also built a friendly atmosphere, broken down personal insecurities about participating and created considerable group cohesion. He then suggested that the group lay out time, plan, and agenda and decide how they wished to use the resource papers some members of the group had prepared.

The group had occasion to test its cohesion. Two members had difficulties with the official language of the group and consequently offered to withdraw from the group. The group as a whole worked with the interpreter and developed a plan that produced adequate communication in this group.

In the second group the leader began by arbitrarily stating that each group member who had prepared a paper would be given five minutes to present a quick digest of it. No time would be allowed, at that point, for questions. The leader arbitrarily showed insensitivity to the desires and feelings of the group members. As a result, this group produced less than the first group. In addition, the members of the group were unhappy not only with the group but with the conference as a whole. Interestingly they blamed persons from other cultures and countries for the group difficulties rather than the incompetence of the leader.

Experiences of these groups supported earlier international conference

research in which it was found that those leaders who were sensitive only to problems on the task level, found language and cultural differences to be major blocks to communication and progress, whereas those leaders who were also concerned with the social and emotional problems of the group and did something about them, found language and cultural differences to be of minimal importance.

Adult Education Methods

Studies in the motivation for attendance in adult education classes indicate that desire to join a group and need for social satisfaction are two of the most powerful forces bringing people to adult education activities. The adult educator who can build a class group in which the members interact freely with each other and gain emotional satisfaction from belonging to a cohesive group, in which a warm and friendly atmosphere encourages people to admit inadequacies and try to overcome them, in which the group standards (and not just the teacher's standards) exert friendly pressures on each individual toward maximum learning, and in which the class members are sensitive to the learning difficulties of the other members and are prepared to help them rather than be competitive with them, has created and released group forces which immeasurably increase individual learning and satisfaction.

Large meetings

The major problems in lecture and large meeting situations is to reduce the psychological distance between the platform and audience and to involve the audience actively in the meeting. As people are involved they are less resistant. In most lecture and large meeting situations the common characteristics are :

- a. audience passivity :
- b. a readiness to listen and be told, rather than to participate ;
- c. rejection of the speaker and his ideas because he is different, an expert, or does not have the same problems as the audience members ;
- d. one-way communication which prevents the interchange of opinion and information at problem points ;

e. anonymity in a mass people without opportunities for inter-communication among audience members and without resultant satisfaction of group belongingness ;

f. lack of involvement in the conduct and progress of the meeting with consequent slight involvement in its success.

Studies of the dynamics of large meetings and lectures have led to the development of a variety of methods to involve the audience in partnership with the platform in a common activity—exploring together the topic under consideration. Partnership requires active participation on both parts, not activity from the platform and passivity in the audience.

Such applied large meeting dynamics serve to improve lectures and platform presentations, rather than to eliminate them. In one meeting the following experiment was made to improve audience interest in the lecture by involving the audience in a project with the speaker. Just before introducing the speaker the chairman divided the audience of approximately two hundred into four listening groups. Each listening group of nearly fifty persons was given a different listening task. One group, for example, was asked to listen to the lecture in terms of the most important questions that should be asked of the speaker after the lecture. A second group was asked to identify from the lecture, those major areas which should be amplified further in later lectures. The other two groups had similar tasks. After the lecture, each listening group was asked to further sub-divide into eight groups of six each. After ten minutes of small group discussion, the chairman received from each major listening group the reports of one or two of its sub-groups (the number depending upon the time available). With perhaps the expenditure of fifteen minutes additional time, participation was secured from all audience members. Evaluation studies from both audience members and lecturer indicated a more alert audience, greater retention of the lecture, more involvement upon the part of audience members and greater appreciation of the lecturer than was normally found.

Leadership Training

The training of leadership to meet the increasing complexities of our group and social experiences is rapidly growing in all occupational fields.

Whether in the training of professional or volunteer workers in community health, education, welfare or civic problems, in the training of supervisors and the executive development of managers in business and government, the development of discussion leaders for a variety of adult education activities, or the preparation of consultants to work with agencies and groups in the field, the demand for leadership training are centering more and more on the development of sensitive, flexible, and competent leaders and less and less on learning a few techniques of keeping a meeting under control.

One interesting example of the use of leadership training is creating change lies in the story of the Episcopal Church. During the past five years a national training staff of the church has been conducting local Parish Life Conferences to train the clergy and lay church leaders in ways of involving their parishioners more actively in the life of the church. Results show an increase in the church membership as well as a change in parishioners' interest in the church.

Leadership training today is stressing the development of understanding of basic causes of group behaviour, diagnostic sensitivity to the symptoms of the causes as they occur, self insight into the consequences of the leader's action on the group, ethical concern for involvement of people and prevention of manipulation, and skill in helping the group at the appropriate time. Thus, leadership training is becoming a fundamental way of applying group dynamics knowledge.

Emerging from the current interest in leadership training is a new theory and set of approaches to human relations training. Realizing that the purpose of leadership training is to change and improve the way the leader actually acts and reacts in the group, training must do more than give knowledge of shift attitudes. It must develop intricate skills of diagnosis of group problems as well as skills of effectively and appropriately participating in the group.

Agencies of Applied Group Dynamics

While applied group dynamics is now the concern of many action leaders in many walks of life, certain organisations and institution are concer-

ned about the spread of the application of group dynamics knowledge into practice.

The National Training Laboratory in Group Development was the first institution taking as its major purpose that of training people in the application of group dynamics knowledge. It was founded in 1947 by the National Education Association of the United States and Research Centre for Group dynamics of the University of Michigan. (The first research centre in group dynamics in the world was established originally by the late Kurt Lewin at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1944.) The National Training Laboratory in Group Development has held training sessions at Bethel, Maine each summer since 1947. Leaders, trainers, teachers, managers, consultants from all major occupational groups come to Bethel each summer to participate in the programme. Participants have come from almost all European countries and from many in Asia, Africa, and South America. Here training in diagnostic sensitivity to group forces is coupled with development of skills of leadership and involvement of others. Emphasis is placed on self-understanding and self-insight as well as upon ethics of democratic leadership and membership.

Since 1947 many other such laboratories, sponsored by various of the leading universities in the country, have grown up in the several regions of the United States.⁴ In 1952, the National Training Laboratory in Group Development has expanded its services to include many research and training activities throughout the year. In this year it became the National Training Laboratories of the National Education Association of the United States⁵ with relationships to twelve universities with human relations centres and training laboratories.

The Adult Education Association of the United States of America has published a monthly magazine called *Adult Leadership* for the past five years. Each issue attempts to bring to the adult education field the results of social science research and its application. A considerable number of its issues over this period has dealt with various aspects of group dynamics and has thus brought understanding, insights, and suggested methods to many thousands of lay and professional leaders.

The development of effective individual, group, and community living can be greatly enhanced through the effective application of group dynamics knowledge.

—From material supplied by the Education Clearing House, UNESCO, Paris.

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- 1 Cartwright, Darwin and Zander, Alvin, *Group Dynamics*, 1953. Row, Peterson and Company, White Plains, New York.
 - 2 *Leadership Pamphlet* No. 4, Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.
 - 3 Lippitt, Gordon L., 'How to get Results from a Group', *Office Executive*. January 1955.
 - 4 Among them are : Western Training Laboratory in Group Development ; Pacific Northwest Training Laboratory in Group Development; Intermountain Laboratory in Group Development; Southwest Human Relations Training Laboratory; Midwest Workshop in Community Human Relations.
 - 5 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
 - 6 743 N. Wabash Avenue, Chicago II, Illinois.

SOCIAL EDUCATION IN PLANNING—Its Significance and Role

“ULHAS”

The problem of stimulating economic and social growth in societies, where full development of resources has not taken place because of various historical reasons, is a challenge as much to the adult educationist as to the planner. This challenge is particularly conspicuous if it is to be ensured that such growth springs of dynamism within the core of society without the administration of pressures from extraneous sources. It is this context that lend to social education a significance which is peculiarly different from that which adult education has in developed societies. That is why social education cannot rest complacent with the mere inculcation of reading and writing skills among adults—nor merely with programmes of extending liberal education to the great mass of people who have been denied the privilege of such education.

Another vital factor, which defines in more concrete terms the precise nature of the role of social education, is the fact that planning, in India, has to be conceived as the means to strengthen the bases for democracy as embodied in the country's constitution. Experience has shown that, since planning demands the concentration of the community's will towards certain defined ends, democracy, often, becomes its first fatality. Yet nothing could be more disastrous to society than the loss of its democratic institutions or the destruction of the democratic impulses among its peoples,—for planning would have no meaning if it engenders in its wake influences which will coarsen society's sensitivity to human dignity. Under the circumstances, since social education is concerned with refining human conduct so that it manifests in actuality human values, it behoves of social education to offset conditions which are likely to lead to the development of authoritarian or totalitarian techniques in planning.

Thus, if social education is to retain its *metier* and planning its

essential purposes, social educationists must ponder over the problems of planning which render society vulnerable to totalitarian or authoritarian techniques. Social education must help create conditions where democratic techniques will be successful. Only then would social education have played a role worthy of itself.

II

Perhaps one of the gravest threats to democracy is in mobilising public support to plan programmes. For a plan that is concerned with strengthening democracy, the means for mobilising mass participation must be democratic too. Some of the "easy" means of securing this participation—either through manipulation of social institutions or through the regimentation of mass mind and emotions—are neither consistent with the aspirations for a democratic society nor desirable from the point of view of human goals of economic and social planning. To say the least, these methods will only create those very conditions wherein values consistent with human dignity will suffer eclipse. How then is mass participation in planning to be secured? Is there any other mechanism which will provide for the plan mass sanctions and release the will to make planning a success without either the use of the coercive authority of the State or without *peoples' representatives* pledging peoples' promise for the fulfilment of the plan targets?

It must be recognised, primarily, if mass participation must be forthcoming for implementing plan programmes, there has to be an understanding of those programmes among the masses. The will to act cannot be created in a vacuum and action can only follow a will based on understanding. Consequently mass participation in the *formulation* of plans is essential if there has to be mass participation in the *implementation* of plan programmes. Only then would participation be informed by the purposes for which it is being sought and is being given. Only then would mass participation be voluntary in character, deliberate in its purpose and therefore meaningful to planning.

How can social education bring this about? What sort of schemes are necessary for the purpose?

The various techniques available to social education for conveying to people an understanding of the plan are well known to need repetition. These techniques, if they are used for specific purposes will enhance public enthusiasm and provide the plan with the necessary mass support. In formulating schemes for the purpose, however, certain essential pre-conditions need to be borne in mind. Thus, for instance, it is essential that programmes for the purpose have to be built round specific items of activities which while being a projection of the national plans should be related to local needs. Again, schemes must be such that an activity once initiated develops its own momentum through a snow-ball process so that acceleration becomes automatic and the activity progressively widens itself. All this implies that schemes should be such as would promote the development of local leadership on whom it would have to solely depend for its inspiration and direction ; it would also be possible for such schemes to find their own resources in terms of man-power and finances. The technical services needed for the implementation of such schemes, however, would have to be met by the Government or the local authority.

An important problem in this connection that deserves serious thought is the question of a suitable organisational machinery for promoting such programmes. Quite obviously only voluntary non-official agencies would be most appropriate for the purpose. This has been recognised by the Government but despite the fact that it has become fashionable topic of discussion, its implications have yet to make themselves felt on most government officials. Quite often their attitude on this question is patronising at best, often unresponsive and certainly not helpful in practice. This is because it is not sufficiently recognised that voluntary workers constitute spokesmen of people's aspiration and that voluntary agencies are a projection of their urge to act. The government official or a governmental agency cannot ever hope to acquire this privilege whatever might be the nature of the government—whether a welfare state or otherwise. It is this that gives voluntary agencies a crucial goal in planning for democracy and without this realisation on the part of the government the attitude of government officials will continue to be ambivalent and without conviction.

A similar realisation of key role of voluntary agencies is also necessary on the part of public workers. It is only with such realisation will they be in a position to bring to bear in their work a perspective which would help voluntary agencies play their role in a vital manner. Public workers must therefore strive to make their organisations effective and efficient instruments for taking on more and more complex and onerous responsibilities. The leadership they are in a position to provide to the people must be informed with a clear understanding of what is involved in planning. Only then can they, as spokesman of the people, provide a leadership that is constructive and purposeful.

III

Another vital area of planning where social education must forestall possibilities of the development of authoritarian trends is in the movement for technological progress which is necessary for economic development. Technological progress derives motivation from environmental and socio-political factors. Thus, in some of the western countries the impulse to technological advancement sprang from the fact that vast unutilised sources were available to a relatively small population. In some other cases political conditions provided for the exploitation of underdeveloped countries and this contributed to technological advance. These conditions provided such societies the stimulus necessary to progress without the inhibitions of intra-societal conflicts. These conditions do not obtain in India and as is well known the high man-land ratio and such other factors do not make for an atmosphere wherein a free unbridled adventure into the unexplored can take place. Besides, political conditions wherein aspirations for higher standards of living would be meaningful did not exist in India till recently. Political power in the hands of the people stimulates the urge among them to strive for higher standards of living which in turn provides incentive in a society for the technological progress. This in a sense, is what planning implies. However, if the mass of people are not either ready or receptive for technological changes an atmosphere is created where thought gains currency of 'conditioning' the mass mind through undesirable pressures,—a step which will inevitably lead to regimentation with all its attendant evils. This again

defines yet another task for a social education—to create a climate where the broad masses of people will be prepared to accept technological changes and all that goes with it in different spheres of life. This necessitates programmes of social education which will lay bare before the people factors involved in effecting a technological revolution.

In this respect the primary purpose of social education should be to create among people a consciousness and conviction that social changes—in the sense of changes in traditional attitudes—are necessary and possible. Because of continued immobility and stagnation in underdeveloped societies, human mind tends to lose much of its resilience. It is therefore necessary for social education workers to delve deep into the life of the people and understand the roots of accepted attitudes. This will enable them to find out programmes of social education which can effectively prepare the background wherein people will be stimulated to re-examine the pattern of the day to day life and adjust themselves to the needs of economic and social growth. This is the perspective which should guide formulation of programmes in social education—whether they be recreational and cultural activities or post literacy or any other activity. However, if social education workers are to do so, a great deal of action—oriental research in the fields of culture, anthropology and applied sociology is necessary. This will provide scientific data necessary for the projection of the right type of programmes. Institutions which specialise in these fields would be doing signal service if they applied themselves to research along these lines.

IV

The third threat to democracy arises from social institutions which set the pattern for social relationships. These may either make or mar the release of social power for plan purposes. Specifically an aspect of social education work which deserves special emphasis is that of programmes for new social perspectives among people. To quote an instance, whatever justification the caste system might have had in the past, it is now considered to be the aberration of a rational social order. As a social system it is iniquitous and prohibits the release of human resources for common social objectives. As a system of social values, it is even more incongruous to

present conditions, for it does not permit concepts of universal social objectives and warps perspectives of civic and political obligations. Civic and political power, instead of being directed towards social good tend to corrupt; for sectarian ambition and not consideration of the social good constitute criteria of political judgement and decisions.

Social scientists who have discussed the origin and utility of the caste system have pointed out that the system is not merely no longer useful to India but is definitely inconsistent with contemporary social needs. They also point out that economic background in which it had originated does not exist any longer in India and that such forces as had preserved it, despite its incongruity, are yielding place to forces which operate to dissolve it. For instance the philosophical and the ideological basis of the caste system no longer constitutes an article of faith for the broad masses of the Indian people. But negatively, because it has the weight and tradition behind it, society to the mass of people appears to be obviously based on the caste system. To free people of this obsession, an explanation of the system as a social phenomenon, related to a particular milieu is necessary. Under the circumstances, social scientists feel the necessity of a battle against the caste on the subjective plane—against the caste concept in the minds of people. Thus, emphasis in tackling the caste problem has to be on education, specially among adults, which would enable individuals to outgrow out-moded attitudes and cultivate such attitudes which would be consistent with contemporary needs.

In this context, social education will have to perceive the emotional and cultural background which provides sustenance to a pernicious social system and project healthy norms of social conduct. One of the big hurdles in doing this is the fact that such programmes might tend to exacerbate conflicts and sharpen animosities. This is particularly so because caste groupings are tending to become reservoirs of power politics. Because of these reasons formulation of appropriate programmes pose challenging problems. It is yet to be determined in regard to the caste system precisely what the issues to be tackled are through social education. For instance, it is well known that while caste prejudice may be removed, caste attitudes are

difficult to influence and programmes affecting attitudes are likely to provoke emotional resistance. It is, therefore, necessary for social education workers to know what constitute caste prejudices and what constitute caste attitudes. If research could show us at what point cast prejudices harden into attitudes, it would possible for social education to put accross programmes to prevent such hardening.

V

These are some of the key problems in planning for democracy which social education can tackle. Whether it succeeds in tackling them effectively will depend on the extent to which social education workers recognise the contribution they can make to sustain democracy and to the extent to which authorities concerned with planning appreciate this role of social education.

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SOCIAL EDUCATION—What it is and why?

J. S. Mathur,

Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi.

Historically speaking, the concept of social education in India is a creation of the era of independence, as has rightly been pointed out by Sardar Sohan Singh in his thought provoking article "Social Education—what it is and why?" published earlier in this journal. In the new India we no longer believe in a continuation of the attitudes of non-cooperation, and mistrust of the government. Demonstrations and organized mass action have to give way to constructive and cooperative endeavour on the part of the people. This calls forth for a tremendous educational effort in shaping up new attitudes and channelizing of emotions. In fact, the needs of the time place a sense of urgency in finding out what William James has called the moral equivalents of war for building up peace.

The changing concept of education in the wider sense itself implies bringing out the latent potentialities, giving opportunities for creative self-expression in a manner that the student imbibes social values and cultural patterns. At the same time, he develops self-discipline through a process of internalizing these values and patterns. Through a very similar process, social education aims at furthering these objective of general education outside its framework for people who had or could not have the opportunity to go through it. In social education, the field is life itself with its manifold realizations, hopes, ambitions and cross-currents of social, economic and political forces.

The social education process is going on in all phases of social functioning, at home and in the neighbourhood through the primary groups, and in the work situation through secondary groups as well as outside it

through the mass media of communication of the press, radio, cinema etc. The social education agency only focalizes and highlights this process through formal organization of various activities. This implies that the agency can give only a direction and a focus to the social education process as a whole. This is attempted to be given through belief in and practice of certain social values.

The crux of the problem of the philosophy of social education appears to be to discover these values, to expose the people to these values, to help in the development of social mechanisms that would become functionally efficient in relation to these values in the context of a changing social order and to work towards the assimilation of these values in what has been called the social capital by the learned author referred to earlier.

What then are the values that a social education worker cherishes? A belief in the individual is basic for democracy and it implies faith in the dignity of the human personality. An individual, however, functions within the frame-work of the social order and is conditioned by the prevailing mores and the crisis in values created by the social disorganization with its potentials for reorganization. The test of democracy at the same time lies in the freedom of the individual to question the *status quo* and to work towards change within the frame-work of the democratic process. This implies freedom of thought and action within this frame-work.

If we accept democracy as a basic value, we should be prepared to abide by the social, economic and political implications of democracy. For working out these implications, there has to be a happy blending of dynamism with social stability. Also, there has to be responsible and socially efficient power structure amenable to the people's wishes. This can be obtained only by a balancing of decentralization of social, economic and political power with appropriate centralization as necessary.

Another basic social value shared by the social education worker is that of better human relations in society in all walks of life. This enables him to work towards evolving social mechanisms of cooperative efforts. As Elton Mayo has pointed out, mankind has progressed far in

technological tools without developing appropriate social tools of cooperation. Only through building up better structure and functioning of human relations at all levels can the world hope to embark upon the era of permanent prosperity, the prospects of which have been held out by science.

Still another basic value held by the social education worker is receptivity towards differentiation in human thought i.e. faith in people to hold various opinions and beliefs. The social education worker is not dogmatic about his own approach and encourages the broader approach towards unity in diversity. This value becomes not merely a guide in relation to systems of religious thought but also in relation to all other systems of social, economic and political thought. This implies that he does not impose his own ideas on the people he works with, but helps to draw out the best in each.

If we accept these values as basic to social education, which again are the values that the New India is working towards, the objectives of social education become to work for democracy, better human relations in society and respect for people with whom one differs. In short, the objectives of social education become to lend a helping hand in the gigantic task of social progress which implies better living standards for all, improved ability on the part of an individual to be able to analyse the circumstances and the socio-economic forces operating around him. He should be enabled to arrive at conclusions in regard to the courses open to him either singly or in groups or in communities and to cooperate with the forces of orderly, systematic and yet dynamic enough pace of development.

Social education again should be understood in the proper perspective both of its own function as well as of the cooperative team-work relationships it needs to develop with other forces of social progress e. g. economic planning, health, housing and general education. This means that social education should be regarded as one of the very important forces but not the only force whose objective is orderly social progress.

If we then accept the limited functional concept of social education as preparing the individuals, groups and communities for participation in

programmes of economic and social development, in short for social action, we can at once see the utility of such a delimitation. Preparing the people for action and actual participation in action are joint areas of operation of social education and social work, specially the community organization phase of social work. This means that social work should be able to take over the actual handling of the operational part of social action.

The nature of this social action arises out of the manifold problems faced by the people at different levels of social functioning. The local community, however, becomes the place where all the problems become manifest. These problems arise out of local situations, or out of statewide or national or even international social, economic and political forces. To expect the local community to tackle any but the local problems is to expect too much. For example, unemployment as a manifest problem at the local level might result in increased tensions in the families or might precipitate a conflict between the old and the youth. Dealing with the unemployment problem is rightfully the domain of the national government at the level of national economic and social planning. However, efforts can be made in the local community to ease local tensions arising out of unemployment and to refer the unemployed to suitable training programmes and or to the national employment service.

This means that there is need to develop an effective process of communication between the different levels of authority and control. In this sense, social education and social work programmes can jointly act as the balance wheels of social progress, facilitating social action at different levels. All this naturally follows from the objective of social education and social work to help democracy function more effectively. They should cooperatively work towards building up links in the social communication system and energising the indolent to action.

Such an integral view of social education helps us also to see that the agency for social education would have sufficient freedom to question effectively the existing imbalances in social functioning and to work towards orderly and effective solutions. For this to happen, we would like to have two requirements fulfilled.

Firstly, we should be able to harmonize the claims of democracy. As India progresses more towards higher planes of economic and social development, the complexities of life and consequently the need for more specialists are bound to go up. For example, when it comes to the problems of slum clearance, the specialists consisting of town planners, economists, administrators etc., should be prepared to be guided by the organised opinion of the slum dwellers developed by the social education process. If this is not done, there are dangers that their planning would lose sight of the human and social aspects of slum clearance. On the other hand, the social education process should be able to act as the two-way channel of communication and help the slum dwellers to realize the magnitude of the problems involved. We should also enable them to cooperate not merely at the stage of executing the blue-prints but to work jointly in the very initial phases of preparing the blue-prints and then in their execution. This is the essence of democratic planning and social education has a very important role to play in such a democratic planning.

Secondly, and this follows from our basic premise of ensuring freedom of thought and action for the social education agency, social education should not be a government administered programme for there are certain grave risks involved. Just as we recognise the freedom of thought for the general educational system, we should recognize the freedom of thought and action for the social education agency which would not be worth its salt if it did not or could not retain this freedom. Its proper role should be to keep in constant touch with the day to day problems of the people and help them to work out their effective solutions in cooperation with the government.

Our suggestion, and it is not a new one, therefore, is that the social education process should be guided by autonomous boards. We would expect the government to finance them upto an agreed percentage of the expenditure and leave it to the boards to raise the balance from the general public. Only then can we expect a full-fledged social education programme to emerge, undaunted by the perilous cross-currents of life and to remain a champion of orderly, dynamic and democratic social progress.

Some may claim that after all, the government is of the people and

whatever the government does, it does for the people. This is granted. The advantage, however, in separating social education from the government administration would underline the importance of government by the people by arousing them to their civic and social responsibilities. We want to develop through the social education programmes an effective platform for joint endeavour by the government and the people. For this to happen, it is necessary to functionally link the autonomous boards of social education with the planning and administrative machinery of the government at different levels so that the boards do not merely act as pressure groups on the government.

Lastly, one of the major objectives of social education is to build up and sustain the gains of economic planning. How often have we heard of increasing prosperity on the part of mill workers giving rise to drunkenness, absenteeism and increased vices? How often have we heard of fresh slums developing out of new housing projects? The dangers of the rural communities reverting to the earlier pattern of economic and social functioning once the post-intensive phase of a community project has arrived, are becoming more apparent at this stage of our planning.

We expect the social education to help the constructive planning of domestic budgets and to develop local leadership on a permanent basis. This cannot be done by sermonizing on the uses of money or the evils of vices and so forth. It requires a patient, consistent building up the hard way, developing relationships, fostering mutual trust, understanding the peoples' motivations and gradually working towards changing the attitudes and emotions. We believe that the values of democracy, better human relations and respect for different people outlined earlier can gradually help to bring about the change. It is a difficult and pioneering job. We cannot expect quick results as we do not expect a quick flowering of trees. We shall have to wait for a still longer time for the fruits to bear. That is the challenge and the opportunity of social education and we are sure in the new India we are dreaming and working for, social education will be given an increasingly important and effective role.

LITERACY—Its Importance in Social Education Programmes

Champaklal Modi

President, Bombay City Social Education Committee.

Since we achieved Independence nine years ago we have been engaged in building up a welfare State. Under the dynamic urge of our national leaders a social and economic revolution is being brought about and more and more responsibilities are devolving on the nation's citizens. Legislation aiming to make the State devoted to the welfare of the people is making inroads into the daily lives of our people and society is becoming increasingly complex. All this demands a more intelligent and awakening and conscious citizenship. What is more, while in an aristocratic society it may be possible to leave politics, economics and even social reforms to a small select class, in a democracy, specially a socialistic commonwealth to which we are committed, political and other issues cannot be left to those who rule to decide. Our great leaders are seeking ways and means for attaining unprecedented national progress and lasting international peace. Yet their success will depend on the people. Hence adult or social education has become imperative to new India.

Independence brought with it adult franchise and with 20 crores of voters on the electoral rolls India is the greatest democracy in the world. Of these, however more than 15 crores are illiterate and have to rely on symbols—a bullock or a horse, a tree or a rose—to exercise their franchise. If the democratic institutions in our country are to succeed, literacy has to be widespread. Literacy programmes, therefore, have an important place in social education.

If we have a look at the progress of literacy in our country we can

see that it has been very slow. During the pre-independence days of almost half a century, since 1901, literacy percentage has risen from 6% to 16.6%—roughly a rise 2% per decade. After independence the progress of literacy has not improved either. In January 1949 the Central Advisory Board of Education decided on a target of attaining 50% literacy in the next five years for the whole of the country. But where are we today? The latest estimates of the literacy percentage for 1956 do not go beyond 20%. Obviously there is urgent necessity of stepping up literacy programmes. There must be, accordingly, greater provision for literacy work. In the First Five-Year Plan it was only about 10 crores for the whole of India. In the Second Five-Year Plan, out of Rs. 320 crores for education Rs. 15 crores have been set aside for literacy which is also quite inadequate considering the vastness of the problem. If social education is to make headway rapidly in literacy work there is need for much larger provision than this.

Literacy in India can be tackled in two ways—either, through primary school catering for children from 7 to 11 years or 14 years of age or through social education centres for adults of 15 to 45 years. There will be a great increase in the number of primary schools under the Second Five-Year Plan, but progress of literacy through schools will only be gradual. There is firstly increasing growth in population and secondly there is a lot of wastage in primary education as also relapse into illiteracy. Moreover though the number of primary schools may be increased note has to be taken of the fact that all school-going children do not attend schools. Therefore a hundred per cent literacy through this medium alone will take many decades and we cannot in the meanwhile afford to neglect the adult generations on whom the actual governments and the present progress of the country would depend. Hence it is vitally necessary to spread literacy through a net work of social education centres.

Another aspect that needs emphasis is on social education in urban areas. Except for social education work in a few cities like Delhi, Bombay city, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Poona, Madras most of the big cities are without any organised social education campaigns. This has been well pointed out by Dr. Jha, President of the Indian Adult Education Association at the 13th

All India Adult Education Conference held in Udaipur in December last. "The comparative neglect of work in the field of social education in urban areas", he said, "is ominous". He did well to point out that the need of social education for the city dwellers is no less urgent than for the village dwellers. With the rapid industrialisation of the country there is a great trend towards concentration of population in cities. This intensive industrialisation and increase in population, as pointed out by Dr. Jha, bring in their wake, weekend bonds of social cohesion, conflicts in social and economic life, unemployment and frustration and a consequent lack of loyalties to ideals. All these as could be seen from last year disturbances in many cities in India over the reorganisation of States, are seeds of danger to national solidarity to which we cannot afford to close our eyes. It is, therefore, very essential that towns should have an equal share in our future Social Education Plans as the villages. History has shown that it is from towns that civilization, permeate into the villages. Even in the case of Bombay City, thousands of workmen come to work in the City Committees Social Education Centres. When they go back to their native villages they take their new culture to the villages and try to improve and develop it on modern lines. Viewed from this angle the work of the Social Education Committee in the City of Bombay is of prime national importance and deserve appreciation and encouragement both from the people and the Government.

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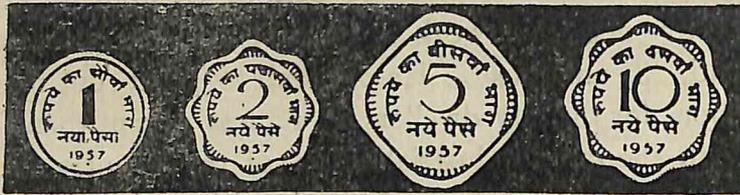
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NEW COINS WILL BE GIVEN ONLY IN EXCHANGE FOR EXISTING COINS OF A TOTAL VALUE OF 4 ANNAS, AND MULTIPLES THEREOF e.g. 4 ANNAS, 8 ANNAS, 12 ANNAS, ONE RUPEE ETC.

CONVERSION TABLE

The conversion table gives the exchange value in Naye Paisa (rounded off in the manner prescribed in section 14 (2) of the Indian Coinage Act 1906 as recently amended) for amount tendered in annas/pies coins. The exact Naya Paisa equivalent of the total amount to be converted is rounded off by ignoring fractions of 1/2 Naya Paisa and below, and treating more than 1/2 Naya Paisa as 1 Naya Paisa.

EQUIVALENTS IN NAYE PAISE FOR VALUE TENDERED IN ANNAS/PIES IN ANY SINGLE PAYMENT.

Old Coins	New Coins							
Annas Pies	Naye Paisa							
0	3	2	4	3	27	8	3	52
0	6	3	4	6	28	8	6	53
0	9	5	4	9	30	8	9	55
1 Anna	6	5 Annas	5 Annas	31	9 Annas	56	13 Annas	81
1	3	8	5	3	33	9	3	58
1	6	9	5	6	34	9	6	59
1	9	11	5	9	36	9	9	61
2 Annas	12	12	6 Annas	37	10 Annas	62	14 Annas	87
2	3	14	6	3	39	10	3	64
2	6	16	6	6	41	10	6	66
2	9	17	6	9	42	10	9	67
3 Annas	19	19	7 Annas	44	11 Annas	69	15 Annas	94
3	3	20	7	3	45	11	3	70
3	6	22	7	6	47	11	6	72
3	9	23	7	9	48	11	9	73
4 Annas	25	25	8 Annas	50	12 Annas	75	16 Annas	100

Rounding off as has been done in the conversion table is necessary only at the end of a transaction when any amount due in annas and pies is to be converted into Naye Paise.

You can make payment either in new coins or in old coins or by a combination of both according to the coins available with you.

The conversion table is, therefore, to be used only at the end of a transaction when payment has to be made or change has to be given as illustrated in the examples below.

EXAMPLES : (Where the amount due is expressed in annas/pies).

For 12 articles, costing $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas each, the total amount due is 1 Rupee and 2 annas, the purchaser may give the entire amount in old coins,

or

pay 1 Rupee and 12 Naye Paise (the equivalent of 2 annas according to the table is 12 Naye Paise).

In the above example, the purchaser may tender 2 Rupees, all in old coins, and ask for the balance. The amount to be given as change is 14 annas. This may be given wholly in anna coins or in new coins, or partly in old and partly in new coins. Let us assume that eight annas is paid in old coins and 6 annas is to be returned in new coins. Use the Conversion table to find the equivalent of 6 annas in new coins which is 37 Naye Paise.

EXAMPLES : (Where the amount due is expressed in Naye Paise).

An article costs 11 Naye Paise. One may pay this amount in new coins or in the form of 1 anna and 9 pies in old coins (the equivalent of 1 anna 9 pies according to the table is 11 Naye Paise).

If a person tenders 20 Naye Paise against 11 Naye Paise due, the change to be returned will be 9 Naye Paise or in old coins, the equivalent thereto namely 1 anna 6 pies.

For a payment of 11 Naye Paise, one may tender a 4 anna coin and ask for change. 4 annas are equivalent to 25 Naye Paise; the balance to be returned is 14 Naye Paise; this can be returned wholly in new coins, or in old coins, 2 annas and 3 pies according to the table are equal to 14 Naye Paise; one may give an anna coin (6 Naye Paise) and 8 Naye Paise in new coins.

It is not necessary to convert rates or unit costs expressed annas/pies into Naye Paise before working out the total amount payable.

EXAMPLES :

If 50 articles are purchased at 3 annas each, first work out the total amount in rupees/annas; You have to pay nine rupees and six annas.

If you have only Naye Paise with you, you find that six annas is equivalent to 37 Naye Paise. You accordingly pay 9 Rupees and 37 Naye Paise.

The result will be the same if you took the exact equivalent of 3 annas ($18\frac{1}{2}$ Naye Paise) and multiplied it by 50 but it would be incorrect if you had taken the rounded off equivalent of 3 annas from the conversion table (19 Naye Paise) and then multiplied it by 50.

Similarly, if you buy from anyone a number of articles at the same time at different rates expressed in annas or pice coins, first calculate the total amount due in rupees, annas and pies. Apply the conversion table to the annas and pies in the total amount, if you want to pay in new coins.

You may simplify conversions by remembering that

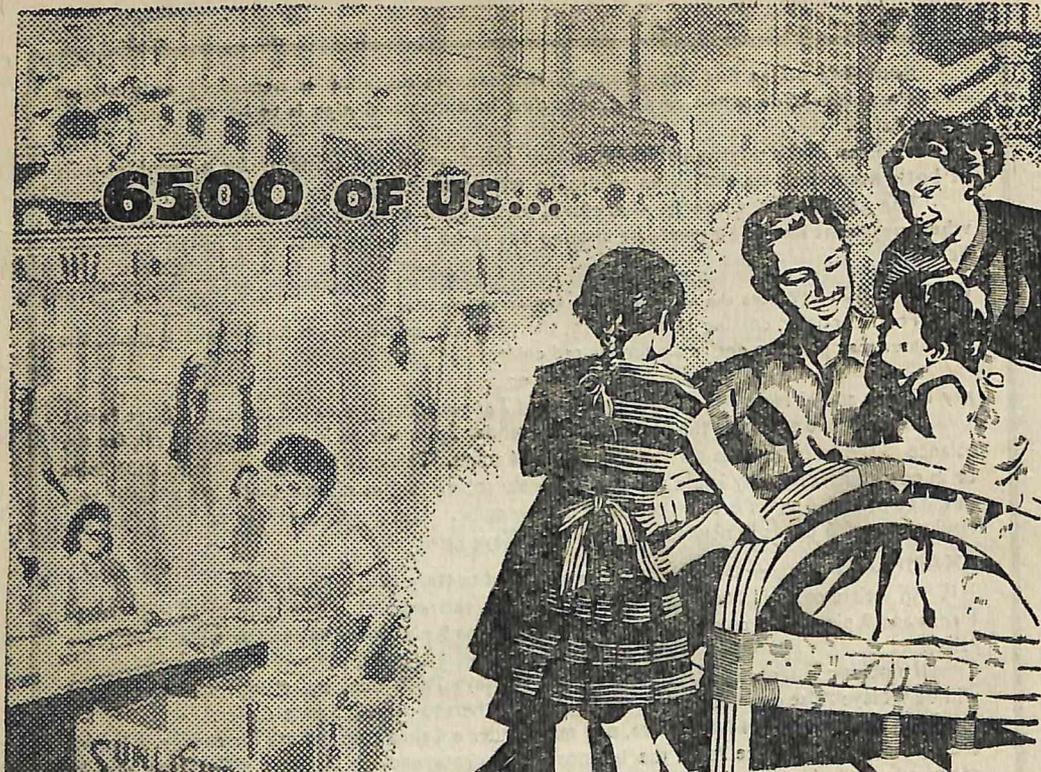
4 annas	25 Naye Paise
8 annas	50 Naye Paise
12 annas	75 Naye Paise
1 Rupee	100 Naye Paise

EXAMPLES :

(1) To make payment of $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas, you may first give 8 annas or 50 Naye Paise; the balance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas is equal to 16 Naye Paise;

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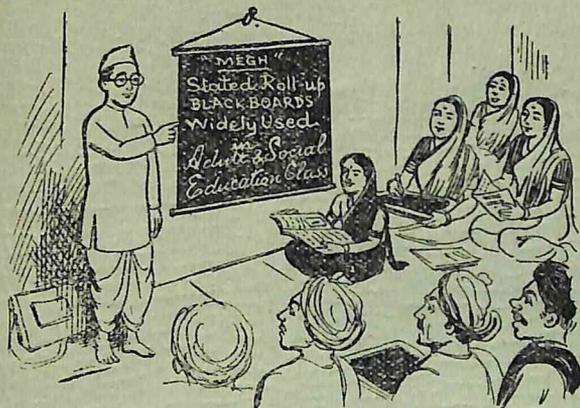
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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Workers' Education—Recommendations of the Seminar

The Second Five Year Plan has primarily an industrial emphasis and the perspective guiding its formulation seeks to lay down the basis for the progressive industrialisation of the country. The targets set for industrial expansion—to step up to a 5% annual increase in the national product from an average of about 3.6% per annum during the First Plan period and about 1.5% during the ten years preceeding the Plan—would involve by 1975-76, a four-fold increase in the number of workers engaged in factory establishments and mining. Under the circumstances, it is only natural that workers' education should receive priority and considerable attention and the Planning Commission realising this, has set apart a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for programmes of education among workers. As a first step towards the initiation of a well thought out programme, the Government of India in cooperation with the Ford Foundation invited an International Team to suggest steps for :

- “(i) education of union representatives in the principles and techniques of trade union management and financing ;
- “(ii) education of union members for intelligent participation in union affairs and for the better performance of their duties as citizens ;
- “(iii) education of union representatives in responsible and effective participation in management.
- “(iv) other general aspects of workers' education”.

The Team, after preliminary discussions with the various authorities of the Government of India and with the trade union and employers' representatives, undertook a four-week investigatory tour of the important industrial and educational centres in the country. At the conclusion of the tour, it set out general recommendations covering all the aspects of the problem of workers' education. The recommendations of the Team were subsequently discussed at a Seminar of trade union representatives, employers' representatives and the Government officials concerned, in March at New Delhi.

Among the recommendations of the Seminar, the first one envisages the setting up a Central Board, with semi-autonomous authority, comprising of representatives of trade unions and employers, the Government and of educational institutions with the function of laying down policies for workers' education and promoting its development in all possible ways. The Board will administer programmes, allocate funds to workers' educational institutions and supervise over their expenditure. It will arrange for the supervision of educational material and lay down standards for teachers and for programmes. It

will have, thus, the primary responsibility for launching a workers' education scheme. At the State, or regional levels, such Boards are also to be set up, either at the instance of the Central Board or in answer to local demands.

The programmes of education to be undertaken under the aegis of the Board have also been defined. It will generally include instruction in trade union consciousness and for efficiency in their working and will organise programmes for the development of workers as mature individuals to enable them fulfil their civic responsibility effectively and with the sense of discernment. The recommendations also include details for organising programmes such as the type of instruction that will be most suitable, training of instructors, and educational material necessary for implementing programmes etc.

While the Seminar and the study of the problem of workers' education made by the International Team may well be considered to be one of the landmarks in the history of the working class movement in India, yet, whether the promise it possesses will fulfil itself or not would depend on the correctness of approach to the whole question. It is here that there is room for differences of opinion for an underlying assumption in the approach of the Team as well as of those who were gathered at the Seminar appears to have been (i) that by making trade unions efficient the workers could be equipped to play their role in the building up the country and (ii) that trade unions can be made efficient if its officials are trained to run trade unions well. Hence on one the hand the Team appears to have concerned itself more with the problem of making trade unions efficient and on the other hand the Seminar appears to have devoted itself to the problem of training trade union officials. It is no doubt true, that trade unions have a great role to play in raising the standard of workers' lives in all directions. But they cannot do so without a conscious working class aware of its interests and imbued with an understanding of the somewhat complex role they have in the community as such. Thus, in its ultimate analysis the question boils down to the familiar controversy between adult education and workers' education.

Workers' education can be conceived to be indetical with adult education, albeit with an emphasis of its own, or it can be conceived as special education dealing only with problems of the workers. The first view is relevant in countries where the working class population by and large either do not possess a degree of basic standards of education and therefore stand need of equipping themselves to participate in programmes of adult education provided by other educational institutions. The later need is found where the working class needs specialised education regarding its specific interest and is capable of utilising existing facilities. This difference of focus is brought out if workers' education programmes in different countries are studied. In the United States, workers' education is concerned with trade union matters and with the promotion of the understanding of issues of specific interest to the working class. In some of the other countries, on the other hand, wherein the working class does not possess the equipment necessary for educating itself, programmes of workers' education have a broader range of

content and dividing line between adult and workers' education becomes somewhat tenuous. In deciding on a suitable objective for workers' education in India, it is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind the special traditions of the working class movement and of its peculiar situation in the country.

One of the weaknesses of the working class movement in India which has been pointed out by a great many observers has been that the working class movement is closely tied up with political parties and the issues placed before the workers often tend to have a political bias, frequently not necessarily in consonance with the immediate interests of workers. As a result, workers have had no opportunities to develop a sharp trade union consciousness nor lead the movement themselves.

The International Team which studied this problems appears to have believed that strengthening of the movement can be achieved if trade unions are run efficiently. But this may not be so. For to expect either trade unionists, to whatever party they might belong, to give up a political approach or political bias in the trade union work will be futile because trade unions constitute pressure groups and as such will naturally attract political parties. Under the circumstances what appears necessary is primarily to create among the ranks of the working class an understanding of wider issues. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, who presided over the Seminar, therefore, rightly, tried to correct the tendency to over emphasise this aspect of workers' education. Summing up at the conclusion of the Seminar, he pointed out the need to stress on educating the rank and file and said "I must confess that this Seminar has been practically devoting itself to this aspect—how to train the trade union members and ensure that they operate an efficient and healthy trade union movement". For this purpose it is somewhat unrealistic to expect that the trade union movement would become efficient if merely the office bearers and the trade union officials are trained, and Dr. Rao rightly pointed out that to talk of training up leaders is "something fantastic". "Why should top leaders", he said, "get training and then become leaders. You do not train top leaders, it is a totalitarain society that would do this."

The view that the workers' education in India is to be conceived more as specialisation in certain directions reflects itself in the creation of a suitable agency for implementing appropriate programmes. Here again, while there is no doubt that the setting of a Central Board as has been recommended would go a long way in stimulating the development of workers' education in the country, it is open to question whether its composition as has been recommended would be the most suitable one.

The membership of the Board has been so conceived as to provide it with the sanctions from the different sources involved in workers' education. Thus, the Board consists of representatives of the four national organisations of trade unions, representatives of employers, the Government and one representative of the Adult Education Association. It is obvious from its composition that its bias is on promoting a

type of education which will deal with the exclusive problems of workers. It is doubtful if this would really meet the needs of the working class.

Here again, Dr. Rao has pointed out a slightly different composition which would make the Board akin to the Workers' Education Association in U.K. capable of putting across programmes of a wider character. The Board, according to Dr. Rao, should have representatives of workers, employers and teachers sitting together. It will function in cooperation the Government, Universities and educational institutions. He has also suggested that the Board should be autonomous and free of governmental influence, and has accordingly commended the possibility of having a statutory organisation on the lines of the University Grants Commission and such other bodies. Such a body as Dr. Rao pointed out, would be free of governmental influence and would not be suspected of being controlled by the Government. It is a body of this type that would be perhaps be most effective in raising the general intellectual standards of workers. This should precede or accompany any attempt to project the more specialised trade union education as has been envisaged by the Board. Only then would trade unions acquire strength and an understanding of the broader role the Planning Commission has envisaged for the working class in making the Plan a success.

ADULT AND WORKERS EDUCATION — Their Relationship

A. S. M. Hely

Director, Department of Adult Education, University of Adelaide.

Adult education covers all the learning processes of adults after the completion of the period of formal schooling, whether that formal schooling ends with the primary school, post-primary school or includes University training. In this sense it is taken for granted that education is a lifelong process. The knowledge and skills acquired during the years spent in primary or secondary schools or even at University cannot provide the adult with a stock of knowledge which will enable him to master all the problems he will meet throughout the rest of his life. As Lyman Bryson puts it in his book 'Adult Education', "it is impossible to teach a college youth of eighteen how to meet all the problems of a middle-aged man of fifty." Throughout life there is a constant need for adjustment to vocational responsibilities, to marriage, parenthood and to social and political responsibilities.

Individuals may cease to learn, or fail to learn all that is necessary if they are to adjust themselves to the demands of a changing environment, but on the whole the adult community does attempt to meet this challenge. Adults in general are eager to learn although they may fail to recognize these learning processes as being 'education'. Much adult education, after all, is a rather informal unorganised affair far removed from classroom instruction. Through day-to-day experience in living, through trial and error, through knowledge transmitted informally from the old and the young, through endless exchange of experience between colleagues, neighbours and friends in casual discussions, the adult is brought into contact with new ideas, new ways of doing things, new concepts and new facts. The individual throughout life is constantly being forced to such fresh knowledge and skills to aid him in meeting the problems which rise to trouble and perplex him as a responsible adult. The process is continuous and lifelong, it is clearly an educational process and, as it is concerned with the adult after the period of normal schooling, it must be counted as adult education.

Even if we agree, we must still ask whether this is in fact what we have in mind when we talk of 'adult education', particularly when we are seeking to examine the relationship between 'adult education', on the one hand, and 'workers education', on the other. The term 'adult education' today is used perhaps in a more restricted and technical sense to cover 'organized' provision for the education of adults. It embraces the whole complex array of educational institutions, professional or semi-professional bodies and voluntary organizations concerned with providing educational services to adults.

The greater awareness of the truth that adults have educational needs which cannot be satisfied by the educational training they may have received during the period of their formal schooling, no matter how adequate or comprehensive such schooling might be, has concentrated attention on the provision of organized adult education services. The tendency to restrict the meaning of the term 'adult education', in a limited sense at least, to 'organized' adult education is doubtless a natural if not inevitable by-product of the change in stress.

Adult education is concerned then with all the many agencies of adult education and with the bewildering range of educational programmes they provide. A few organizations both voluntary and public concern themselves with the whole field of adult education. None, however, no matter how wide the range of their interests, in practice attempt to provide educational services which meet all needs. The adult education needs of adults are so varied and must be serviced at so many levels that no single organization or institute could possibly provide complete coverage. There must be specialization of function. Some institutions e. g. public schools or universities cover a wide range of subject interests at a particular level. Others cover a narrower field but offer services within that field at a number of levels. Some concentrate on a single interest field such as music, drama, international affairs, ornithology. Some concentrate on vocational and professional training. Others limit their activities to the humanities or liberal arts while others are concerned with family and parent education.

A number of organizations and institutions are created to meet the educational needs of special community groups and are characterized therefore not by the breadth or narrowness of the subject fields they cover but

rather by the nature of the community group they set out to serve. Obviously 'workers' education' comes within this category. The organizations active in the field of 'workers' education', irrespective of the scope of their programmes, are concerned with the provision of educational assistance to a limited, though large, section of the adult population—the workers. Here we find the relationship between 'adult education' and 'workers' education'. Workers' education represents a special branch of adult education concerned with the organizations which set out to provide all or part of the educational services required by a special adult group in the community. Some institutions concerned with adult education arise to meet a specific need. It might be useful at this stage to draw a distinction between such special needs of a temporary character and the more continuing and permanent, for such a distinction is not without relevance to the present position of workers' education. Much of the earlier work in adult education in most countries (and in fact much of the work in some countries today) was designed to help adults overcome deficiencies in education. It was remedial in character and aimed at helping the educationally underprivileged adult to overcome the lack of reasonable schooling as a child or adolescent. Adult literacy programmes of the Adult Schools of the 19th Century in Great Britain and the literacy campaigns of the fundamental education programmes in a number of countries today are examples. A high proportion of the services provided by adult education agencies in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were concerned with the assimilation of migrants from other lands.

Many of the programmes in workers' education too were designed to provide adult workers with the educational opportunities which members of other social groups had open to them in their youth. With social changes and with greater stress on educational equality, the old needs may become less urgent. Workers' educational organizations set up to meet the earlier need may continue to exist but their programmes and policy gradually change. Their name and constitution remain but the purposes and people they serve have altered. They become part of the general adult education pattern, they are concerned with the 'continuing' education of adults rather than 'remedial' education for workers, if they differ from other adult education organizations it is in terms of name and historical development rather than in terms of the group they serve or the services they provide.

Workers' education is then part of adult education—i. e. is concerned with adult education services for a special community group—the adult worker. So long as the worker feels part of an underprivileged or exploited group he is unlikely to be satisfied with the educational facilities made available by the State or by other community groups. He will want educational facilities directed at meeting his own special needs. He will insist upon the educational organization being controlled by those in whom he has confidence and he will need some assurance that he can influence the nature of the policy followed or the programme provided.

In considering the relationship of adult education to workers' education it will be convenient to examine workers' education under two headings:

(a) educational services provided for adult workers by special workers' educational organizations which do not differ to any marked degree from those provided by other adult education agencies for other sections of the community.

(b) those services which meet special needs of workers' needs which are quite distinct from the needs of other social groups in the community.

There are a number of reasons why workers may feel reluctant to take advantage of the adult education services provided for the community generally. Because of difference in speech, educational training or cultural background they may feel both uncomfortable and at a disadvantage when they try to participate in educational activities with other sections of the community. They may feel that the general adult education services may have a conscious or unconscious bias in favour of the status-quo whereas they see 'workers' education' as 'a dynamic of social change'. They may feel suspicious of the programmes and policy of general adult education organizations and prefer to create their own educational agencies which they can influence or control. The strength of these attitudes depends to a great extent upon the degree to which workers feel conscious of being members of a depressed and exploited group and will, therefore, vary from country to country and from time to time according to social and economic developments.

In many of the newer countries the educational system has from the beginning been a little more democratic and equalitarian than is the case in some of the older countries. This is true of the United States, for example, and as a result workers there are more accustomed to taking advantage of the educational facilities provided for the community as a whole. There has been little demand for the creation of a special workers' education organization of the type established in Great Britain or many European countries. The American Labour Education Services differ markedly from the European workers' educational organizations and lack the network of branches and student workers characteristic of the English Workers Education Association.

With the widening of the franchise, with the increasing power of workers' organizations to influence political policy, with the emergence of the welfare state and a greater degree of adult educational equality, the worker no longer feels quite the same need for a separate workers' educational organization. As the workers' status and position in society improve he is more inclined to satisfy most of his needs for continuing education through the services made available to the community as a whole, rather than to seek it through specific workers' educational organizations aimed at him as a member of a particular social group. His needs for additional vocational training can be met through technical institutions or evening institutes. He will share with other citizens the facilities of libraries, museums and art galleries. He has access to the programmes of radio and television. He joins the community organizations in his neighbourhood and on the whole prefers to join those which appeal to him as a member of a social group. In shop, mine or factory, he is a worker; in his suburban or neighbourhood community he is a citizen. His class loyalty will still reflect itself in membership of workers' organizations such as trade unions and political parties, but it no longer colours every activity and action.

This has been true for some time in countries like the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It is becoming increasingly true in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries and there are signs of the same development in other European countries. In some of the so-called economically underdeveloped countries, where giant efforts are being made to catch up with the more advanced countries in the social and educational fields, as well as industrially, there will be for some time to come the need for special

workers' education programmes. It is possible that confidence in the intentions and integrity of government will obviate the need for the creation of special workers' educational organizations. There will be special programmes aimed at workers but they will be provided through the normal community adult education facilities or institutions.

So much for workers' education of the first type i. e. the services which do not differ in any marked degree from the adult education services provided for other sections of the community. But even if many of the workers' needs for continuous education in the vocational, recreational and cultural fields may in time be met most satisfactorily through facilities provided for the whole community and through institutions serving all social groups rather than through those established to meet the needs of single social groups, it does not follow that the need for workers education will no longer exist. One of the lessons the workers' movements in various countries are learning is that the provision of a more equalitarian educational system does not necessary solve the problems of a trained and educated leadership for workers' organizations. While wider educational opportunities may cut down the number of workers' children who are excluded from the advantages of higher education by economic factors, there is no assurance that the bright children from workers' families who reach university will return to the workers' organizations as leaders. They are more likely to study for a professional career and move into another social group. Leaders for the workers' movement must still emerge from pit or bench and receive their educational training as adults.

Workers' education under these circumstances tends to concentrate on the practical training of leadership in workers' organizations at all levels. This represents a continuous need from generation to generation and from stage to stage during life. Much of the most successful work undertaken today in the field of workers' education lies in this area. Much of it is organized directly by trade unions, some is financed by trade unions in co-operation with workers' educational associations, some arranged by trade unions or workers' organizations in direct co-operation with universities and other educational institutions.

However, narrowly or broadly we define the term 'workers,' the workers will remain one of the largest social groups in the community. No

matter how far we equalise educational opportunities, workers will still have educational needs of their own which can best be met through adult education services. In a democracy the workers, as one of the largest social groups, will exercise great influence, their organizations and leaders wield increasing power. It is important to the stability and advancement of the state that their power be used wisely and justly. It is to the advantage of the community that the leaders of the workers' movement get the educational training which will fit them to shoulder their responsibilities. Their training is within the sphere of adult education. Special thought and effort must be given to 'workers' education' in the future even though social, economic and educational changes appear at first glance to make the distinction between 'adult education' and 'workers' education' less necessary.

—*From material supplied by the Educational Clearing House, UNESCO, Paris.*

URBAN SOCIAL EDUCATION AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

(Among delegates, who had gathered at the Seventh National Seminar of the Indian Adult Education Association, held in December last, there was a wide spread feeling that while social education in rural areas had been receiving considerable attention, Social Education in urban areas ought not to be neglected and that there was a need to work out suitable and well thought-out programmes for this purpose. This they felt was particularly urgent at the present juncture in view of urbanising forces that would follow in the wake of industrialisation under the Second Five Year Plan. Consequently, such of the delegates as were concerned with work in urban areas met together informally and discussed a paper that had been prepared by Shri B. M. Kapadia, Social Education Officer of the Bombay City Social Education Committee. After exhaustive discussions, the meeting, which was presided over by Shri K. T. Mantri, Vice-President of the Bombay City Social Education Committee, authorised Shri S. C. Dutta, General Secretary of the Indian Adult Education Association to prepare a Memorandum in the light of the discussions and obtain views of prominent social education workers before formulating a suitable plan of action. We give below excerpts from the paper submitted by Shri B. M. Kapadia, and the Memorandum of Shri S. C. Dutta. (Ed).

Shri B. M. Kapadia in his note discussed problems in urban areas with which social education had to contend and pointed out that while urban areas offered many more amenities than those available in rural areas, urban populations had to face the problems of an industrial milieu. Among these, perhaps, the most conspicuous was the clash of interests between different groups in the urban communities and a lack of social cohesion which was coupled with a relatively sharper realisation of the effectivity of political action. As a result, often religious, linguistic or narrow economic issues developed into political conflicts. Social education, therefore, had to instill among people a consciousness that the interests of his community and country were much wider than his personal interests or the interest of the group to which he belonged. The philosophy of *Panch Shila* which is

now accepted in the international sphere had to be made applicable to individuals and to the groups within the community. Besides this, social education had also to face the problem of enabling the urban population to keep pace with an environment that changed faster in cities than in villages.

For social education to be effectively in urban areas its programmes had to be such as would serve the needs of three distinct groups—*viz* ; the labour class ; the middle class and the higher class. Social education programmes must be so divided that it helps these groups to play their part in maintaining the efficiency of the whole community and at the same time foster better understanding among them.

With regard to social education programmes among the labour class, Shri Kapadia pointed out that this class was an important unit in the body politic of the country for it played a vital role in the country's economic development. This group, however, was faced with difficult problems. The most serious was perhaps the lack of proper accommodation. In a city like Bombay the industrial worker lived in small dingy rooms in backward areas which were often the slums of the city. Frequently he shared a room 10×10 with 10 or 15 other workers. Because of the lack of adequate accommodation and other problems he had had to leave his family behind and was deprived of normal domestic life.

Another problem was that only a small sector of the working class population was literate and was prone to be swayed by propoganda of different sorts. Also most workers were economically insecure and this constantly preyed on their minds. Furthermore, they did not possess adequate amenities either for recreation or for education. Their being unskilled affected national production. These broadly were the problems which an appropriate social education programme for workers should take into account.

In this context a programme of worker's education should consist of :

1. Training for selection of work-occupation or vocation, i.e. vocational guidance, selection, training placement and follow-up.

2. Education for adjustment to work-life. Study of the conditions of work including physical condition, work hazards, rest, recreation etc.
3. Study of employment conditions, including pay scale, increment, provident fund, accident insurance and personnel management of industries. Responsibility of the employer in developing labour welfare programme.
4. Essentials of collective security including the methods of forming unions, union leadership, organisation and control. Rights and responsibilities of workers, methods of removing grievances of workers through collective bargains of workers.
5. Study of the Trade Union Movement, its different philosophies historical development of the concept of trade unionism and the present varying indologies.
6. Study of the social and cultural structure of the social life of the worker and his family in the society.
7. Opportunities for recreation and cultural and social development as they exist and as they should.
8. Use of leisure time opportunities for recreation and cultural development.
9. Political life of the workers. His rights and duties as a citizen. His responsibilities and privileges as an important source of economic wealth of the community.

The middle class was the most important section of the urban population and was its most vital element. Equipped with education, the middle class was fairly advanced intellectually. Politically they were conscious and could form their own political opinions and exert influence on others. They were, however, not well organised. Furthermore, they lacked an enduring economic status. Social education for this class should develop a sense of solidarity amongst its members. It should also create more facilities for their economic betterment. They should be so trained that they become strong pillars for the democratic set-up of the society and the state. The class as a whole was, however, the most neglected as far as social education is concerned.

In organising programmes of social education among this class of people, the universities could play an important role. However, not much had been attempted by the Universities in this direction. Extension courses, like the ones organised by the Bombay University could go along away in providing educational opportunities to this class. Social education should also help the members of this class "to keep on growing so as to become better parents technicians and citizens". Facilities for this purpose could be provided through community centres. These community centres ought to provide opportunities for healthy recreation. Programmes among middle class women was also necessary.

The higher class, though numerically small, exerted a tremendous influence on the economic development of the country with its money, talent and experience. Facilities for their education are necessary so that their outlook and attitude changes towards national problems. Social education must create among them a better understanding of the need of the other classes. Their voluntary cooperation and assistance in form of material resource will go a long way to solve the problem of social education of other two classes.

Shri Dutta's Memorandum:

The above points raised by Shri Kapadia occasioned a lively discussion and many constructive suggestions were made. Based on this Shri S. C. Dutta circulated the following memorandum among the members.

"The social education movement has so far been operating mostly in rural areas. Under the Second Five Year Plan there is need for intensification of activities in urban areas also. This is necessary in view of the fact that the main emphasis in the Second Five Year Plan is on industrialisation which will consequently accelerate the growth of cities and the working class population.

The purpose of social education in urban areas should be to help the citizen to improve his educational attainments, help him to play an intelligent role in the political and social life of the city, provide him with cultural and recreational activities so that he is able to utilise his leisure in the best way possible. It should also help him to improve himself

economically. Social education in urban areas should also cater to the needs and requirements of workers' education :

- 1) further education :
- 2) activities for proper utilisation of leisure time :
- 3) literacy:
- 4) trade union education.
- 5) training in community life.

For further education it seems desirable that workers' institutes be set up. The main functions of the workers' institute should be

- a) starting of evening classes to help people to complete their education. These evening classees should provide education from middle school to the University stage.
- b) Polytechnics—to provide vocational training and to make better workers
- c) starting of short-term courses. This would give citizens general educational to supplement their vocational interest as well as provide them to fulfil their social and civic responsibilities.
- d) correspondence courses.

For utilisation of leisure-time it seems desirable that centres for recreational and cultural activities should be set up. These centres could also organise youth camps, excursions, hobby corners, games, discussions, debates, should be one of the functions of these centres, which should serve as centres imparting training in citizenship and community life. The purpose of group activities should be to enrich the moral, social, intellectual and cultural life of the people.

For trade union education, it is desirable to make an appraisal of the achievements of the Asian Trade Union College, a pilot project run by the ICFTU at Calcutta. The college, if found suitable, could be duplicated in the three other regions of the country—south, west and north, with necessary modifications.

It is necessary to co-ordinate these activities and therefore it has been suggested to set up co-ordinating Councils in the major industrial cities of the country. The Indian Adult Education Association which has

done pioneering work in the field of social education in the country could take up this work and it might be possible to have these Co-ordinating Councils in some of the major industrial cities of the country in the first instance and later on, on State basis, the central direction being provided by the Indian Adult Education Association. The Ministry of Education could be associated at each stage.

As a preliminary step, we might set up two workers institutes one in Calcutta and another in Madras or Coimbatore to help it to develop some of the programmes listed above. These institutes could be conveniently run by a statutory autonomous Board, consisting of the representatives of the Union Ministeries of Education and Labour, local Corporations, Universities in the area and representatives of the Indian Adult Education Association.

It may be profitable to start an Evening College for working people in Delhi. The college may admit only those who have passed the Higher Secondary examination. The B.A. course may be of three years duration and M.A. of four years. The college could be affilated to the Delhi University and could complete the normal B.A. course of three years duration in four years. This would serve a great need and could also serve as a centre for promoting activities for the development of social, intellectual and cultural life of the citizens of Delhi.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION COURSES—The English Tutorial Class

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The university tutorial class is, by general consent, the most important contribution made to English adult education, including workers' education, in the twentieth century. It is a class sponsored by a university, and usually organised by the Workers' Educational Association. It lasts for three sessions of part-time study, each session comprising twenty-four weekly meetings, usually held in the winter months from September to March. Each meeting lasts two hours, and the members of the class, normally not more than twenty-four in number and often fewer, are required to do private study between meetings, under the tutor's direction.

This is the bare bones of the tutorial class. Its importance lies in the association thus established between working-class students and university teachers, and in the influence exercised by that association on the thought and outlook of many of the active spirits in the British Labour Movement, both workers and intellectuals. To understand how this association came to be established, it is necessary to look at the situation in English adult education at the beginning of this century, when the W.E.A. came into being and the universities, or some of them, had been engaged in adult education for a quarter of a century.

The first University to accept responsibility for extra-mural teaching was Cambridge, which sponsored University Extension courses for the first time in 1873. It was quickly followed by the Universities of London and Oxford, and later by some of the new Universities and University colleges in the provinces. The University Extension Movement flourished in the 1880's and 1890's, but although some of its most active organisers were very desirous that it should reach working-class students, generally speaking, it was

not successful in this aim. This failure was one of the factors, probably the most important one, leading directly to the establishment of the W.E.A. in 1903. The founder of the Association, Albert Mansbridge, was a young clerk in the Co-operative movement who had been a student in University Extension classes and at the summer schools held at Oxford and Cambridge for Extension students. In this way, and as a result of his strong religious interests, which brought him into close contact with eminent figures in the Church of England who were also for the most part influential members of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, he became acquainted with leading university men. On the other hand, his zeal for the principles of consumers' co-operation and for working-class advancement in general linked him with active co-operators and trade unionists at a formative period in the history of the British Labour Movement. Before the end of the nineteenth century he was agitated by what he thought was irresponsible and ill-informed trade union leadership, particularly in the famous Taff Vale dispute of 1902, which resulted in a legal judgement which threatened the whole structure of British trade unionism. In 1903, drawing on this experience, he wrote three articles advocating a close association between the University Extension Movement and working-class organisations, and later in the same year founded the W.E.A., at first with another title, to further such an association.

For some years one of the principal activities of the new body was to try to arrange Extension facilities for working-class groups; but although here and there some success was achieved, on the whole progress was slow, and it began to be apparent that the character of the Extension Movement as it had been formed since 1873 was not suited to the outlook and needs of working-men and women. A new start was needed, and it came in 1907, partly as the result of a conference at Oxford organised by the W.E.A., on the theme of "Oxford and Working-class Education", and partly as a result of action taken at Rochdale by a group of students, largely working-class, who, in Mansbridge's words, "reached out for something more than attendance at lectures". The Rochdale initiative, in asking for a special class to be provided under university auspices, led to the organisation of the first tutorial class, the Oxford conference to the establishment of a university W.E.A. joint committee to put the new work on a permanent basis as a part of the extra-mural activity of Oxford, additional to its Extension provision.

Once started, the tutorial class movement grew rapidly and attracted widespread interest and commendation. The Rochdale class began in January, 1908, by which time a similar class was organised at Longton in the Potteries and actually held its first meeting a day before the first Rochdale meeting. The tutor of both classes, appointed by Oxford, was R. H. Tawney, then an Assistant Lecturer in Economics at the university of Glasgow, and presently to become one of the most eminent of English economic historians, as well as President of the W.E.A. In the following winter Oxford started six more classes and established the joint committee already referred to, and in both respects its lead was quickly followed by other Universities and University colleges of the country. Classes were organised and joint committees with the W.E.A. established, and as early as 1909 a Central Joint Advisory Committee on Tutorial Classes was established to "combine the experience of the Universities in regard to tutorial classes and...approach, when authorised to do so, bodies which affect more than one university"—bodies such as the Board of Education, which gave grants in aid of the classes, prescribed regulations to govern the grant-aid, and appointed inspectors to visit the classes. It is a measure of the importance attached to this work by the Universities, that the inaugural meeting of the Central Joint Advisory Committee is said to have been the first occasion on which representatives of all the Universities in the country came together. In the winter before the First World War began, 1913-14, the number of tutorial classes meeting in England and Wales had risen to 145, with 3,234 students in attendance. The war checked the expansion, but by no means destroyed the movement. On the contrary, it served to demonstrate its vitality, particularly as compared with the older University extension work which was still being carried on, by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London in particular. During the war the number of tutorial classes never fell below 99, and towards and after its end the numbers of both classes and students rose rapidly. By 1928-29 there were 592 classes, with 10,167 students attending them. After that date, expansion continued, but less rapidly, partly because of a stabilisation of Board of Education grants in the early thirties. Nevertheless, in 1938-39 the number of classes had risen to 810, with 12,941 students in attendance.

In and for some years after the second world war trends were similar to those of the corresponding period twenty-five years before. There

was at first a rapid fall in numbers, to 6,749 students in 1941-42, and 480 classes in 1942-43; but recovery began in the following year, and continued uninterruptedly till 1948-49, in which session the record number of 14,395 students were in attendance. In the next year or two the number of classes continued to rise, to a maximum of 936 in 1950-51, but the number of students fell a little. Since 1952-52 the numbers of both classes and students have fallen in each session, but in the last year, 1955-56, for which at the time of writing statistics are available, both were still slightly higher than in any pre-war year, at 844 classes and 12,966 students.

More is said near the end of this article about the present position and recent trends; but it is time to turn from statistics to consider methods and results.

The characteristic methods of the tutorial class derive partly from the fact that it is a type of adult education sponsored by Universities and partly from the characteristics and needs of the students and from the special purposes of the W.E.A., which represents the students' point of view and organises the classes. Education at Oxford was, and is, conducted partly by means of lectures, but largely by means of the tutorial system, that is by an arrangement under which students write essays regularly on themes set by their tutors, for criticism by them. When the first tutorial classes were started, they combined both methods: class meetings usually began with a lecture, lasting an hour or so; but the students were also required to write essays regularly—one a fortnight—and these were criticised by the tutor, always in writing, sometimes in class as well. Arrangements were made for books to be available for study at home, and detailed syllabuses of work were prepared which included synopses of the ground to be covered in lectures, and advice on reading.

Mansbridge once said that the W.E.A. was founded to provide educational facilities for "labouring men and women"; and in England in the early part of this century such men and women usually received no full-time schooling after the age of fourteen, often none after thirteen, and sometimes none after twelve. Whatever their natural ability, therefore, they were frequently deficient in the capacity to study effectively and to express themselves accurately and cogently in speech or writing. It was partly in order to train them in these skills, as well as to teach them a "subject", that the

of the tutorial class was planned to extend over at first two, and later three years, and that regular written work was insisted upon. Experience showed that while progress was often slow in the first year, or even the first two years, of a course, the work done in the third was often of a much higher quality than could have been foreseen at the beginning.

Class meetings did not, and do not, consist only of lectures given by the tutor. On the contrary, it is an almost sacred rule that at least half the time of each class meeting be devoted to class work, which usually, although not always, take the form of questions and discussion on the material treated in the lecture. The purpose of the questions and discussion is not simply to enable the students to elicit more information from the tutor. On the contrary, it is assumed that the students themselves have knowledge and experience of the subjects being studied which should be made available to the rest of the class, and to the tutor, and the "right" of each member of the class to contribute to its work in this way is jealously guarded. Mansbridge once expressed the principle involved by saying that a tutorial class does not consist of one tutor and thirty students, but of thirty-one students. A later observer suggested that it was more accurate to say that it consisted of thirty-one tutors. In either case, the idea is the same; that the method employed in the class should not be wholly didactic, since the students are mature persons who often have first-hand experience of the subject matter of the course.

This assumes that the subjects generally studied in tutorial classes are aspects of personal or social behaviour. This is, in fact, the case, as is to be expected in the light of the avowed aims of the W.E.A., to promote "education for social purpose", and to further the "social and industrial emancipation" of the workers through appropriate education, as well as to assist the personal development of individual students. The work is non-vocational in character, and no examinations are set or qualifications granted. The curriculum of the W.E.A. and therefore of the Tutorial Class Movement, comprises on the one hand social studies such as history, economics, politics, international relations, industrial relations, sociology, and social philosophy; and on the other subjects such as English literature, music, psychology, and philosophy, with always a relatively small number of classes in such sciences as botany, biology and geology. Throughout the history of the Movement the

social studies have predominated, and it is here that the first-hand experience of worker-students of the impact of social, industrial and political institutions and policies has been most valuable, and has most affected the outlook of the tutors as well as other students.

It would be surprising if the passage of fifty years, especially fifty years full of social and educational change, had left no mark on the Tutorial Class. The figures given earlier, and especially those relating to the years since 1948-49, which show that for the first time (except in periods of war or financial restrictions) numbers of classes and students have tended to fall rather than to rise, themselves constitute one important change—how important and how significant, it is not yet possible to determine. A second striking change is in kinds, or proportions, of students recruited. The W.E.A., has never been concerned only with manual workers; but the percentage of such workers in tutorial classes has always been regarded as an index of the extent to which its special purposes were being furthered. In the 1930's that percentage was never less than 32; since the end of the war it has never been more than 24; and in 1955-56 it was under 14. It is to the good that other kinds of students should wish in increasing numbers to avail themselves of the opportunities for prolonged and disciplined study under university auspices; but it will be a loss to the working class movement, to the universities, and to English society if the links established by the tutorial class movement between the universities and rank and file industrial workers are weakened.

—*From material supplied by Education
Clearing House, UNESCO Paris.*

WORKERS IN AHMEDNAGAR SUGAR FACTORIES—A Study of their Educational Problems

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In a country which is democratic and which is being industrilised, the worker has a four-fold role to play. Firstly, as a worker he must be able to work efficiently and help to raise production. Secondly, as a citizen of democratic country he must be able to vote judiciously and know his responsibility. As a trade unionist he must be able to assume leadership of trade unions. Finally, most important of all he must lead a peaceful, happy and intelligent life at home. Education for workers, accordingly, has the objective of equipping the worker to fulfil himself effectively in this four-fold responsibility.

With a view to study the problem of workers' education for this purpose, a research study was undertaken of workers in the sugar factories of Ahmednagar. The study consisted of investigation into the workers living conditions and interviews with representatives of workers and employers.

The survey of their living conditions reveals their economic condition is dismally low—average earning being Rs. 55.5 per month with five people dependent on this earning. In 75% of the families there is only one earning member though 2.3 persons per family do not earn at all despite their capacity to do so. 27.1% of the 60% workers who have come to Ahmednagar from outside districts to find jobs find only temporary employment while of the remaining, 72.9% find only seasonal employment for six to eight months. About 50% of these engage themselves in some sort of manual labour to keep going and 29.4% do not find any out-of-season employment.

The poor economic conditions of workers affects their education in two ways. Firstly they are not in a position to spend on education nor is there any desire on their part to do so unless it helps them economically. Secondly the insecure economic status of workers creates an

atmosphere of conflict between factory owners and workers as a result of which factory owners do not care to introduce educational facilities for the workers.

Another factor that affects the education of workers is their home and community life. A healthy and happy home is always a beautiful place for learning. From this point of view, we find that the worker never gets an encouraging background for learning from their homes. Their huts, known as 'kopis' are made of hay and dung, without ventilation of any sort. 88.5% families live only in a single room. The natural result of this dreadful home is that life to the worker is a process of drudgery and despair without the bliss of a happy home. He cannot change this muddled atmosphere because in the community there are no organisations which can guide him to utilise his leisure time in a better way. This is well borne out by the fact that 39.4% workers have no leisure time activities and 68.8% workers do not spend a single farthing on these activities. There are, no doubt labour welfare centres in these factories, but their work is very limited and the workers scarcely appreciate it. And hence it is essential that there should be a properly guided, systematic agency to conduct leisure time activities for the workers.

The actual educational background is also not at all satisfactory. 55.3% workers are almost illiterate. 33.1% have got some primary education while 12.1% workers are fortunate enough to have some secondary education. Only 1.5% workers have had the benefit of post secondary education. In all 80% of these workers still wish to continue their education but are handicapped mainly due to the lack of proper facilities. And hence we see that in spite of their desire to take some further education, 95.28% workers cannot do anything in that direction.

Two questions arise from the foregoing discussion. First, why did the workers stop their education in the middle and enter the factories? Secondly, what are their present difficulties in taking education? As regards the first, we find the following reasons which made the workers discontinue their education—i) economic ii) parent's death, iii) closure of schools, iv) guardian's negligence, v) sickness, vi) lack of a school, vii) fear of punishment, viii) participation in strikes, ix) lack of a teacher in the school, x) no arrangement of the courses required.

It is found that 93% workers had to discontinue their education due to economic pressure. As regards the second question, again it is found that 69.4% workers are prevented from taking to education due to their poor economic condition. 20.8% workers do not get sufficient time for this purpose. 8.7% workers honestly feel that there is no use of education and hence they are not ready to continue their education.

If we examine all these difficulties, we find that most of them can be easily removed. Even the poor economic condition cannot be a stumbling block as 51.5% workers are ready to spend something on education. 3.2% workers are enthusiastic enough to spend more than Rs. 100 per year if prospective courses are made available to them. But against this background, the actual position of their education is very disappointing. Only 3% workers are taking some kind of education and 95.7% workers are not spending any time for education. The reason of this deplorable situation is that there are no suitable provisions for the education of the workers in the factory area. But we can not blame only the government or the factory managements for this peril. Really speaking this work must be shouldered by voluntary organisations like the trade unions. But it is a very sad thing that all these agencies are more or less silent over this important problem.

The study undertaken raises certain other issues. Some of these are as follows:

- 1) We must find out the means and the ways in order to lengthen the school period of the workers.
- 2) We must find out a suitable link between the school and the factory.
- 3) We should make arrangement of giving vocational guidance to the workers.
- 4) We should also consider the possibilities of some financial assistance to the workers through our scheme of education.
- 5) In order to remove the feeling of job-dissatisfaction, fear and general insecurity prevailing among the workers, the problem of the creation of a job-satisfactory situation should be tackled.

6) Attention should also be paid to the problem of the health education of the workers.

7) Recreational activities social education should get due attention.

8) The problem of literacy should be also tackled efficiently.

9) The arrangement of providing general education along with technical education should be considered seriously.

10) We must then find out what role should be played in the field of workers' education by

a) government

b) factory-owners

c) workers

d) workers' unions

e) other organisations

f) educational institutes like universities and schools with particular reference to

i) incentive

ii) finance

iii) facilities regarding time, place etc.

iv) teachers.

The first stumbling block is our defective school system and curriculum which scarcely prepare boys to be good workers and good citizens. Another handicap from the educational point is the lack of different psychological tests in the modern Indian languages standardised to suit conditions in India and the experts who can administer them. But both these difficulties cannot be removed in a very short period of time and we shall have to be satisfied with the status quo for the time being. Then comes the problem of the funds. Really speaking it is not so grave as it is always shown. Have trade unions or the factory owners ever thought that to promote education is one of their responsibilities and some part of the funds, however small, must be kept aside for the educational purposes? Has the government or the university tackled this problem seriously? The answers to these questions are definitely negative and hence the greatest difficulty that we now face is not the lack of funds but the apathy towards this problem. The natural result of this apathy is an overall lack of voluntary zeal which really is responsible for making tremendous progress in this field in

the foreign countries. Another serious difficulty is the lack of co-operation among all the agencies. Similarly there exists a lack of the sense of duty among the workers in the factories. In this sugar factory area we find that the workers are not conscious. Due to their sheer ignorance, they cannot understand what is beneficial and what is harmful to them. Many of them follow the directions of the trade union leader blindly. Then we are badly wanting the enthusiastic and patient teachers who can identify themselves with the workers and do their duty calmly and selflessly. Another difficulty is that of the lack of suitable group leaders among the workers themselves who always infuse enthusiasm into the workers to take education. We shall have to solve the problem of the lack of suitable educational material. In the sugar factory area, the existing shift system and the heterogeneous nature of the workers due to their different religions and native provinces are the other two problems which we shall have to tackle before beginning educational work.

Among others, another important difficulty arises out of apathy on the part of workers. We can remove it only by creating an overall spirit among the workers and the other agencies of education. How this is to be done should be considered seriously.

Everything considered, following suggestions regarding responsibilities of the various authorities concerned is worth considering.

1) *Government :*

- i) should appoint a commission to investigate into the problems of the workers education.*
- ii) should start apprentice schemes in the factories.
- iii) should set up circulating libraries and museums.
- iv) should compel the factories to provide educational facilities and the workers to take education.

2) *Factory owners :*

- i) should start schools for the young workers in co-operation with the other factories.

* This has been done since this study was completed.

- ii) should start a scheme of apprenticeship individually or in cooperation with the government.
- iii) should give workers facilities like those of a gymnasium, suitable rooms for classes, off days with pay, relief etc, for taking education.

3) *Workers' Unions :*

- i) should give the best possible cooperation to the government, factories, universities and other organisations while promoting education among workers.
- ii) should provide efficient, enthusiastic and intelligent group leaders who can carry out the work of education among other groups.
- iii) should teach the workers to behave with responsibility along with demanding due rights and wages.
- iv) should carry out the work of education through (a) industrial trade unions (b) local federations or councils of trade union branches (c) national trade union centres (d) special educational organisations set up under trade union auspices.

4) *Universities :*

- i) should prepare suitable literature for the workers.
- ii) should make provision of the training of teachers.
- iii) should start extra-mural classes for the workers and also allow them to attend the university lectures at moderate fees.
- iv) should start correspondence courses.
- v) should take an active part in starting some cooperative practical work among workers.
- vi) should make arrangement for the courses of special activities designed for the training of trade union officers and representatives in the field of industrial relations.

5) *Other organisations :*

- i) The temples, mosques and churches should use part of their funds for the sake of the education of the workers.

- ii) the neighbouring high schools can be used as community centres.
- iii) the high schools should cooperate with the factories for opening technical schools and preparing suitable psychological tests.
- iv) other voluntary organisations in the surrounding area i.e. the organisations like the music club, doctors' association etc. should lend their cooperation in their particular fields to the workers.

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Dr. V. S. JHA

Democracy presupposes an attitude of mind which will be liberal—liberal enough to accommodate different view-points, liberal enough to tolerate and put up with inconveniences caused by the well-known delays of the democratic process. Because democracy allows for dissenting opinions, the only test of correctness of opinions in public affairs is that of a fair trial. People who aspire for a democratic political system must be therefore disposed to give every opinion a fair trial before forming their judgment. Finally, it is only through persuasion that a minority can become a majority.

If these basic attitudes are to become a part of people's ways of conducting themselves and their affairs, they must train themselves in a manner that will make these attitudes a normal feature of their lives. Social education, therefore, if it should help democracy sustain itself in India, must seek to achieve the objective of helping people cultivate an emotional discipline and develop among them capacity of discernment. It must help them view their problems and opinions in a manner which will be consistent with the mechanics of democracy.

This is the priority role that Dr. V. S. Jha would assign to social education. He is clear in his mind about the precise nature of the discipline that is required of people if they are to make democracy viable and a success. He is clear, too, of the code of conduct the people should adopt in a democratic order.

First of all, Dr. Jha would like to create among people what he calls "a reserve of nervous energy". This will enable people retain their poise in the face of problems which are likely to unnerve them. Nothing perhaps is more disastrous to democracy than a loss of emotional balance, for, then people lose confidence in themselves, confidence in the system and finally succumb to the impact of irrational factors. It was this situation that brought about the rise of Hitler in Germany. On the contrary, it was the vast reservoir of nervous energy which the British possess that helped them tide over the crisis during the days of Battle of Britain when almost certain defeat stared them in the face. It is this feature of the British character that has given them renown for their doggedness and perseverance in retrieving from the last ditch position. What saved Britain during its darkest days was not merely the heroism of a few but also the heroism of the great mass of British people, who did not allow their morale to flag nor their courage to fail.

How this nervous energy to be created?

Dr. Jha firmly believes that it can be done if people develop a sense of humour—a sense of humour which is at once grand and noble, which helps people laugh at their difficulties and not behave as though the world was coming to an end with every small

error of judgment, or a difficult situation. Here again Dr. Jha, admires the British, whose capacity to make light of adverse circumstances is well-known. This is another trait of character which Dr. Jha would like to see social education inculcate among people.

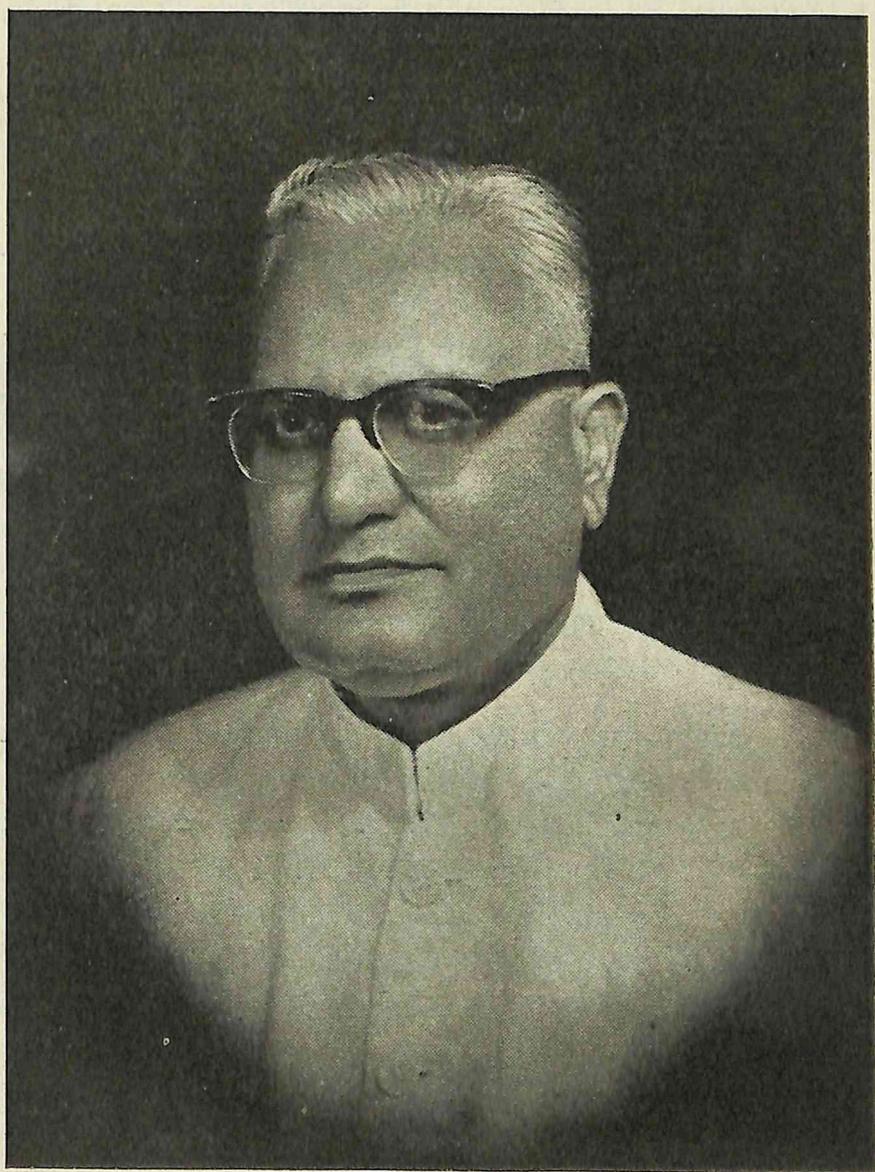
Then, there is the art of conducting public debate. Dr. Jha would like to see public controversy carried on in a manner consistent with the democratic temper. This can happen if all criticism is *fair* criticism—without irony, malice or illwill and is aimed to win a friend, not make an enemy. Only then would criticism maintain its high level, without degenerating into unseemly accusations or into whining complaints. Only then would criticism be constructive and meaningful.

Dr. Jha's devotion to social education derives its faith from the conviction that it is only through social education that people can be helped to cultivate these qualities essential for democracy. His experience, as a pioneer in social education, has shown that, given the proper approach, social education *can* achieve these objectives.

Dr. Jha's devotion to social education is the expression of an intellectual conviction; his faith in its methods is the expression of his deep and warm regard for human sentiments. A scholar of classics, both eastern and western, Dr. Jha has the bearings of the finished man. Chivalrous and polite, Dr. Jha personifies the classical conception of a gentleman.

Dr. Jha has been connected with educational administration all through his life and has been successively Director of Public Instruction, Education Secretary of M.P. Government. He was also Chairman of the M.P. Public Service Commission, and now as a Vice-Chancellor, he presides over the destinies of a University, well-known for its traditions of patriotism. Besides all this, Dr. Jha is widely travelled. He was India's Representative at the Unesco Conference at Peking in 1946. Last year he visited the Soviet Union as the member of the Indian delegation to study educational conditions in that State.

Dr. Jha's connection with the Association dates back to the early years of its formation. He was the Director of the First Seminar organised by the Association at Jabalpur in 1950. The Seminar because of its success, much of which was due to the leadership provided by Dr. Jha, set a tradition for one of the most effective activities of the Association. He was elected, at the 13th Annual Conference held last year, President of the Association, and he brings to it the vast experience which he has acquired as teacher, educational-administrator and as one of the highest functionaries of the State.



Dr. V. S. Jha

WORKERS EDUCATION IN THE WEST—A Study of the movement in some countries

What is workers' education? A special kind of education, or just adult education among workers? That the term "Workers' Education" has been introduced and is commonly used alongside with "Adult Education" argues some historical reason.

There are no doubt special needs for education among large groups of workers who, in most countries, are educationally "under-privileged". It is natural that programmes for such education are partly shaped to equip the workers for responsible work within their own organisations (co-operative societies, trade unions, etc.). In many cases such a purpose has been the stimulus for workers' organisations to start educational activities among their members, and, at the same time, for individual workers to respond willingly to such initiatives, even to demand them. It has generally proved the case, however, that educational programmes among workers grow wider in scope where workers standard is also raised. In these cases the borderline between workers and general adult education vanish.

Programmes, contents and purpose of workers' education are, however, still in dispute. Some maintain that activities should be strictly limited to subjects directly connected with the organisational interests of workers and to studies of social and political problems of workers, while others argue that workers education should try to meet all interests and educational needs of workers in their daily work, as trade unionists, as citizens, and as individual persons in a changing world.

The forthcoming issue of the Quarterly, Adult and Fundamental Education presents a number of articles on different aspects of workers' education, its methods and programmes. The articles express in most cases experience from countries where workers' education already has had certain traditions, and broadly speaking the articles in the Quarterly are of two kinds. Some present a general survey of workers' education in a given setting; others attempt to describe and analyse special methods which have proved useful and applicable in this work.

A study of the articles bring out differences in approach between workers' education in different countries and it is interesting to compare them. For instance, the approach in the United States indicates a rather clear distinction between workers' education and general education, whereas, in Finland, workers' education appears to be given so wide a scope that it forms a part of general adult education. The reason for these different approaches may partly be found in traditions. In Scandinavia, workers organisations from their beginning have laid much stress on the education of their members and created educational organs of their own. In the United States, Universities have shown great interest in general adult education and taken the responsibility for an activity which is accessible to all groups. This may be one reason why the workers organisations have risen to organise educational activities in subjects of their choice. In both cases, however, it has been possible to make a considerable contribution to raising the educational standard of other groups.

Adult Education and the Workers in the U.S S.R.

In the U.S.S.R, workers education developed as a result of different challenges before it. In pre-revolutionary Russia, the great part of the population had no access to primary education, still less to secondary and higher education. In 1897, only 24% of the people could read and write. This was the situation even in 1917. Consequently, the Soviet regime during its first years deemed that the removal of this grim heritage of the past—the illiteracy or the semi-literacy of the adult population was one of its most urgent task.

In 1919, the Soviet Government, therefore, issued a decree signed by V. I. Lenin which made it obligatory for all citizens between eight and fifteen to learn how to read and write in Russian or in their mother tongue. With the publication of this decree, the literacy campaign developed considerably and was placed under the direction of the All-Russian Special Commission for the Eradiction of Illiteracy. As a result of intense activity in this direction, by 1926, 51.1% of the total population had become literate, and by 1939 this figure had risen to 81.3 per cent.

So far as education of workers is concerned, adult workers are provided opportunities at the schools for young workers and peasants and at schools for adults. Schools of latter type began to spring up even during the first years of the revolution, but schools for young workers and peasants

were established for the first time during the last year, with a purpose of providing education to young people whose education had been dislocated because of the war. These attract not only the young people but also the much older workers who were anxious to have access to secondary education. Besides this, numerous adults study by themselves, as external students for the secondary school examinations. Correspondence courses are also available to such adults, which are open to persons already employed in productive work or in offices. Over seven hundred thousand persons benefitted by correspondence and evening courses during the year 1956, and it is estimated that this number will go up to a million by 1960.

Workers education which is not differentiated from adult education, in the Soviet Union aims to provide cultural services to the people to meet various needs. Great efforts, therefore, are made to propagate political, scientific and technical knowledge throughout the country; various public cultural and educational organisations as well as scientists, university staff etc., play an active role in this. For this purpose, an institution—All Union Association for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge was instituted in 1947. The Association organises public lectures, scientific exhibitions, debates etc. During 1956, almost two million lectures were delivered in various languages and covered different subjects like social politics, philosophy, economy, natural science, literature, technology, etc.

Trade Union Education in U.S.A.

In the United States, workers education and adult education fall under two distinct categories. Workers education is not usually meant to include cultural studies or pursuit of knowledge of the humanities. Likewise, vocational education, educational apprenticeship programmes are a thing apart.

American usage of the term “workers’ education” includes in it education in trade unionism, as such, and all of the broad interests of a free trade union. As unions have broadened out from exclusive concern with collective bargaining to consideration of wider social, economic, and world problems, so their education programmes have expanded in scope.

Workers’ education in the United States mainly developed through the trade union movement. Its rise has been rapid. A decade ago there

was not a single state federation of labour or state industrial union council with an education department. Today, 21 state central organisations have educational directors. 12 years ago, only a handful of national and international unions had educational directors. Today, fully one half of the 139 international and national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO have education departments with most of the others, assigning to the top officers responsibility for union education.

At the grass-root level, dozens of city central organisations, operating through education committees, carry on continuing education programmes. Usually these take the form of week-end institutes and classes for the delegates. Literally thousands of locals conduct ongoing education programmes for their officers and members throughout the year through their own education committees.

The scope of subjects reflect the growing organised labour interests. A basic goal is that of helping trade unionists understand the history of the labour movement. Traditional bread-and-butter subjects, such as collective bargaining and grievance procedure, are usually included, as are tool topics as public speaking and parliamentary law.

Educational projects include consumer guidance and studies of medical costs and facilities. Political action and the facts behind the issues are of particular importance, with the voting records of candidates forming the basis for these discussions. Social problems such as inter-group relations, housing and community service work are gaining in popularity as study subjects.

The study of basic economic concepts is a usual agenda item. A subject of growing concern is that of problems of the aging member and his family. One of the paramount topics in workers' education today is the study of world affairs—the struggle of liberty against Communist totalitarianism and the role of the free trade unions in this life-or-death contest.

These projects are conducted in whatever form and with whatever techniques are best suited to the organisation to be served. The hallmark of workers' education is flexibility. Standard forms are the resident school on a campus or at a summer camp, the week-end institute and the discussion session in the union hall.

Correspondance Courses of Swedan.

In Sweden, workers' education has considerable scope. Practically all trade unions, workers' political organisations, youth associations and consumers' co-operatives conduct educational activities in addition to their own ordinary work. They also combine in a central educational organisation called the Workers' Educational Federation (ABF), the object of which is to provide free, voluntary education, non-political and non-denominational, for the purpose of training workers for the community and the labour movement and of bringing cultural values within the reach of all. In practice, its function is to supply study material, conduct propaganda for study, administer the State contribution to the work, supervise the work, and assist its member organisations in their educational activities.

One of the essential forms of this branch of education is the study circle or study group. In 1956, the number of such study groups operating in the whole country was about 45,000, of which 22,000 with a total membership of 220,000 students belonged to the Workers' Educational Federation. Of these, 15,000 worked in urban and 7,000 in rural areas. The number of female students was 1,06,000 or 48 per cent. Students under 18 years of age numbered 20 per cent, and the remainder were adults of various ages. There are even some study groups consisting of old-age pensioners.

These figures show the popularity of this form of study and the wide field it covers, also the problems raised by the provision of suitable study material and study-group leaders. A glance at the choice of subjects completes the picture. Religious history, philosophy, psychology and languages are studied by 20 per cent, technology by 18 per cent, and economic geography and science by 9 per cent. Occupational training is given only exceptionally.

Obviously the difficulty of providing suitable study material and teachers is great. Trained teachers are available only for some groups. It is therefore necessary to provide study material which will meet the needs of both simplicity and quality and will guide students in their work. In study groups with members used to this free method of study, the problem is not so difficult: they need only supervision of studies and a suitable bibliography. In most cases, however, there is need for an ampler study

material, the setting up exercises and of questions for the group to answer, revision of exercises, and help with them where necessary. This is where the correspondence course proves its value. Without it, study-group activity could hardly have reached its present dimensions.

Correspondence courses can be held in any country with a literate population and a regular postal service. Where illiteracy has been defeated or is declining, the method can be used to replace or supplement instruction given by teachers.

The main feature of the method is that the school comes to the student or the group and not vice versa. In sparsely populated countries with great distances the organisation of instruction often presents a problem. The situation may, however, be the converse. In a densely populated country with a high living level, many persons may desire to improve their education, but teachers may not be available in sufficient numbers or there may be a shortage of school buildings. In all these circumstances the correspondence method may be most helpful and valuable.

In Sweden, there are three large correspondence schools, each with over 100,000 students. Two of these are private, the third is owned by the trade unions, Consumers co-operatives and the Workers' Educational Federation, and is called the Letter School. Though it is the property of these organisations, it is completely independent in its activities.

The contents of correspondence courses cover subjects like languages, culture, trade union administration, economics, sociology, etc. A person interested in trade union matters can study the history of the trade union movement, or trade union administration—i.e., how to conduct a meeting, write minutes, draft a collective agreement, and the like. It is also possible, however, to study wages policy, social policy, national and international workers' safety legislation, national economics; industrial democracy, psychology or geography; rationalization and automation. Practically any matter affecting a trade union can be studied. This helps to spread interest in trade union questions. Federations of unions very often organize correspondence courses on their own activities. Such courses usually contain a general survey of the branch of industry within which the particular federation works, the industrial geography and

economic conditions of its activity, and practical advice on trade union work. The federation's officials generally assist by undertaking the revision of the answers to the study letters. Thus contacts are established within the federation which are not only valuable for educational purposes but foster general co-operation throughout the federation.

Besides articles describing the form workers' education had taken in these countries, the Journal contains an analysis of the movement in in other countries. Finland, Poland, France, Germany and the United Kingdom have all have well-developed movements and eminent authors have examined the most significant aspects in all these countries. The Journal thus covers the ground comprehensively and is certain to stimulate new ideas in countries where the workers education movements are just beginning to take shape.

—*Adapted from material supplied by Education Clearing House, UNESCO Paris.*

BOOK REVIEWS

"The Highway and Byways of Adult Education in Russia" by Sohan Singh : Published by Indian Adult Education Association, Delhi. Price Rs. 1.50; 59 pp.

Sardar Sohan Singh, Assistant Educational Adviser to the Government of India visited the Soviet Union in September-October, 1956 as a member of a Team of Indian Educationists. On his return, the Ministry of Education permitted him to write and publish his observations on the work being done in the field of adult education in Russia. The booklet under review is a record of what his "eyes and ears" saw and heard in the Soviet Union.

Russia has many types of schools for adults like Schools for Working Youth, Correspondence Schools, External Schools, Schools for Rural Youth etc. Sardarji has graphically described each one of these categories of Schools except the Schools for Rural Youth. As the representative of a primarily agricultural country it would have been more beneficial had he studied the working of the schools for Rural Youth as well.

It would be of interest to the adult education workers in India to know that there are as many as 9000 schools for working youth and this figure includes as many as 4000 schools for the rural youths. The total number of students in the schools exceeds 21 lakhs of which about 6 lakhs belong to rural areas. The greater majority includes youth between the ages of 18 and above, although there are youth below the age 18 in these schools. The largest single age group 23-29 covers as much as 45% of the total membership of schools situated in urban areas. Only 8% students are above 30 and significantly 40% of the number of students in all these schools are women.

The industrial plants and firms from which the students are sent for studies help the schools with the required apparatus, equipment, and money. The workers are given a month's leave to take their examination; they also get exemption from night shifts. These schools prepare workers for university education, where they at times receive preferential treatment. In all these schools, however, there is no special literature prepared to teach adults but "the text books in all subjects in all classes are the same as in childrens' schools".

This seems startling for a country which takes a great deal of pride in the work of eradicating adult illiteracy, for, even in a so-called backward country like ours we are making earnest attempts to evolve literature for adult illiterates and neoliterates. Or are we mistaken in our assumption that adults require a special type of literature ?

As one intimately connected with the working of libraries here, Sardarji, has devoted a lot of space in his book to the working of the libraries in the Soviet Union.

Statistical details about libraries, like statistical details regarding all other aspects of Soviet life, are quite impressive. There are 3.9 lakhs libraries, we are told, with 139 crores books between them. There are all types of libraries—schools libraries, libraries run by collective farms, factories, cooperatives, etc; and 60,000 general libraries at state, regional, district levels and in rural areas. The children have 5,100 libraries exclusively meant for them. These general libraries are managed by the Departments of Culture.

Sardarji goes into organisational details of these libraries, training of personnel for them, etc; Lenin Library, the biggest in the Soviet Union, and which like all other libraries in the country, follows, a “free a adaptation of the Dewey system’ of classification” is now trying to work out a classification system based on Marxist philosophy”. Sardarji was also excited at the news though he does not say what the fate of libraries would be if this attempt also proves abortive like attempts at Marxist interpretation of drama novels, painting—and biology.

Sardar Sohan Singh was very impressed by the work done by the Soviet Union in the field of childrens’ literature. He gives us a detailed description of the working of these libraries, the way these libraries work at the local regional or district level, different kinds of services offered to children through the libraries, “training” arrangement for would-be-authors, reunion of authors and children where the books are discussed etc. This, he thinks, is a part of the “deeper attitude to children” which pampers them and which he liked, though one does not know what he means by this. At no stage has Sardarji commented on the contents of childrens’ books; perhaps he did not have the time and the necessary facilities to do so but without this it is difficult to say whether the preferential treatment given to them is a genuine pampering of the children or an attempt to keep them within ideological limits and make available for their use only such material which the “consultant” approves as suitable for them.

This brings us to the system of book-producing and book selling in the Soviet Union to which Sardarji has paid a compliment by calling it “rationalized and streamlined”. In 1955, with 50,109 books published, the Soviet Union was declared by Unesco to be the largest book producing country in the World. Various public organisations like academies and youth leagues, have their own publishing houses. The highest authority in the field we are told is the Main Editorial Board functioning directly under the Soviet Ministry of Culture. It prepares supervises and coordinates the yearly and five yearly plans of publications, lays down the norms for various types of works regulates prices of books, guides the work of specialists in the selection of books and supplies paper and other material needed by the publishing houses to carry out their approved plans. A careful reading of the above will show the vital role that the Board plays in book-trade in the Soviet Union. With a simple (though legitimate some times, to be sure) excuse of shortage of raw material it can prevent the publication of any book in the country, if it so chooses.

The childrens' Publishing Houses also "discovers and trains young authors". The Union of Soviet Writers, obviously an officially approved organisation also "assists" them in this task. It would seem that this training does not include only training in the techniques of writing but also "guidance" as to the content. This objective can also be achieved by pattern of payment system. Sardar Sohan Singh writes: "Different types of literature are paid at different rates. Scientific literature carries the highest remuneration. A Council goes into the manuscripts submitted by a writer and advises the Director of a publishing house on the payment to be made to the author who receives 25% of it at the time he enters into contract with the publishing house, 35% when the manuscript submitted by him is approved and the rest 40% as soon as the book is published". All this seems to point to the hidden hand behind all publications in the Soviet Union which Sardarji would have done well to examine.

Sardarji has devoted a Chapter in discussing the working of the Society for Dissemination of Knowledge, which he has described as a "fine example of this Russian Culture trait" of "planning and organisation on an ambitious scale". Within nine years of its establishment the Society's membership has exceeded 3,50,000. He has collected and given many interesting details like the way delegates are elected, how they meet in an All Union Congress, the functioning of Boards at various levels, role of the Presidium etc. The Board prepares a plan of lectures and the table giving the details of the subjects on which lectures were delivered (mind you, not discussions were held!) is very impressive. International Affairs with three lakhs ninty-six thousand lectures heads the lists. The second in line is history with two and a quarter lakhs lectures and the communist ideology with only a lakh of of lectures can easily be counted among the 'also ran'. It is interesting to see the way statistics are manipulated to create an impression of an atmosphere of free discussion and of intellectual 'give and take'. But it is a fact commonly accepted in non-communist world, that there is only one source of information in the Soviet Union on foreign affairs, and that history has been sufficiently falsified to suit the rulers there. The choice of speakers is also generally made in a way that will meet the desired end. Sardarji was told "that good care is taken to select only able lecturers".

Interestingly enough the Society is organised on the principle of democratic centralism which Sardarji describes as "simply that the higher rung body is composed of delegates from the lower rung bodies" but he has forgotten to add the second and the more important part of the pattern that unalterable decisions are taken at the highest rung and are communicated to be carried out by workers at the lowest rung.

The booklet is written in a very simple and lucid style. It contains a lot of statistical and informative material. What is required today is not so much of statistical information as an insight into the quality of the work being done whatever may be the subject or area under consideration. Sardarji has done a service by sharing with us his experiences and although he "has seen what he wanted to see"; the document would have been much more valuable had he covered a smaller area of study and observed it more minutely and critically.

H. S. TAKULIA

"Leadership in Educational Administration" by Chitra Naik; Published by Ministry of Education, Government of India; Publication No. 267, Price 37 Np; 22 pp.

This brochure is a critical study of how old bureaucratic administrative principles and practices have changed under the stress and strain of democratic conditions.

The booklet is divided in five sections. The first section differentiates between the new and old pattern of the administration and its functions. The second section touches the qualities of the administrative leadership. It also deals with the various philosophies of life and political ideologies which influence social behaviour. The third section touches upon the equipment essential to the administrator and basic elements of the administrative structure of which the administrator must have a clear grasp. Section four discusses human relations, its relation to culture, the economic structure and religious mores and of behaviour at the different social levels which sets the context in which the administrator operates. Section five briefly sketches some of the projects and experiments that are being carried out by a younger set of educational administrators in the interest of democratic administration and its social welfare objectives. These projects and practices relate to several areas of work and administrator has always to work with five varied groups; people, teachers, pupils, school-board members and his own assistants. Besides this he has to work to maintain and improve his own level of knowledge and work.

A lesson that emerges from a study of brochure is that it is possible—and desirable—to avoid a clash between the old bureaucratic ideas and concepts and the new. The evolution of the new, however, has to be a conscious process and the administrator must ever be ready to adapt himself. Towards this, the brochure defines principles and practices essential to adjust the administrative process to the democratic social pattern. The brochure, dealing as it does with the essential functions involved in educational administration is sure to provide a glimpse of what good and effective administrative leadership means and will more than fulfil the modest ambitions of the author.

JAGDISH SHARMA.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR—Some Comments on “Social Education in Planning”

Can voluntary agencies deliver the goods ?

“Ulhas” in the article on the role of Social Education and Planning, which appears in the June issue of the Journal, has attempted to emphasise the imperative need to activate masses into a positive participation in planning so that dangers of totalitarian prospects, inherent in any attempt on large scale planning, can be avoided. However, a certain heaviness of style, which indicates confused thinking, has blurred some of the main points which presumably he had at the back of his mind. These points are :

- (i) Social education should aim to strengthen the democratic trends in society and at the same time combat totalitarian tendencies.
- (ii) If this is to be achieved masses should be associated both in the formulation and implementation of planned programmes, and these programmes should have the maximum possible local content.
- (iii) Voluntary organisations should be mobilised for the purposes of planned participation.
- (iv) Technological advance should not lead to an eclipse of democratic values.
- (v) Social education should encourage among people self-analysis and conscious search for healthy social changes.
- (vi) Social prejudices and caste attitudes should be fought on a

subjective level but on the basis of sound social research.

The third section about motivation for technological progress is particularly confused and vague. To say that technological progress derives motivation from environmental and socio-political factors is to ignore the main aspects of the industrial revolution which came in Europe during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Problems created by technological revolution in under-developed countries are vitally different in our times from the problems created by the European Industrial Revolution. The main task for under-developed nations is to attain industrial progress by introducing technology within a very limited period, say in ten or fifteen years, what other countries could accomplish in fifty years. This inevitable speed involves many types of social conflicts and changes which have to be simultaneously tackled. This aspect has not been developed in the present paper. The old traditional society with its many prejudices and attitudes is under a multipronged attack, economic, political, cultural and social. It has to be examined what role social workers can play in making the course of this multipurpose revolution as smooth and humane as possible.

Section four has been admirably written. The distinction made between caste prejudices and attitudes is important and the need of scientific social research in caste and group attitude in their relation to political power has been rightly emphasised.

About the role of voluntary agencies, it is not quite certain if for the purpose of social work much reliance can be placed on voluntary organisations. The experience of the Planning Commission and also the Community Projects Administration in this regard has not been encouraging. The difficulty is the lack of bonafide voluntary organisations, whose co-operation could be mobilised to advantage. The mushroom voluntary organisations which are found to come forward are, in most cases, bogus in

character and their leaders are often motivated by selfish purposes. Voluntary organisations formed with official patronage like the Bharat Sevak Samaj etc. are more wasteful than useful. The few effective organisations like the Rama Krishna Mission and Arya Samaj are unsecular in character and objectives. This is a formidable difficulty which has not been emphasised in the article.

July 25, 1957
Delhi

S. GUPTA (Miss)

Is a Techological "Revolution" necessary?

"Ulhas" has done well to recapitulate in his article many things which have already been defined and accepted, but which needed to be restated in the context of planning. He has brought out fairly clearly at what point democracy is likely to prove inadequate for planning and when it is likely to succumb to totalitarian pressures. The role of voluntary agencies, the limitations of governmental agencies if they are to take on the role that people's organisation, the need for change in attitude of officialdom to voluntary efforts and the need for educating voluntary bodies to assume their role in planning have been clearly defined—even if a little laboriously.

However, where he has tried to analyse the dynamics of technological change, I am not sure he is on firm ground. For one thing, he seems to assume that there is need to import higher forms of technology and seems to believe that this is inevitable. Hence he has suggested that a certain resilience needs to

be brought into the apparently immobile character of the present Indian social mind. Personally I am not sure whether these assumptions are correct. What if the Indian society is able to evolve more efficient technological modes out of the present ones? In fact, it seems to me that, considering that modern innovations in the villages have made but a poor impression on the villagers, the "reachability" of complex technological advances is remote. At any rate it appears as though these cannot be made into a part of people's lives in a facile manner. Under the circumstances what seems to be the role of social education is to help the evolution of higher levels of existing technology rather than attempt to reach to villages entirely foreign modes. The social-education-for-democracy-concept would become realistic, I feel, only if it is related to factuality of prevailing conditions and not based on deductions.

May 22, 1957
LUCKNOW

DR. KRISHNA BAI
NIMBKAR.



Feed the child to build the nation

Students all over the country will be delighted at the news that the Gujerat University Senate has unanimously resolved to allow them to dip into text books during examinations. Were this 'open book' system to become general, 'Examination Nerves'—a painful malady—would no longer plague so many examinees. Teachers will be happier, too; much less prone to irritation when correcting papers.

But while parents and teachers see to it that the student—from eight to eighteen—feeds his mind on prescribed studies, do they insist on a routine of correct nourishment for his body? A balanced diet during these 'growth years' lays a firm foundation for future health, and growing youngsters—concentrating hard on studies and sports, using up energy all day—need food that replaces this energy and helps them develop into strong, active adults.

A balanced diet, consisting of essential food factors, must include fats and vitamins. Fats provide twice as much energy as wheat or rice, and set up reserves against illness. Vitamins are 'protective foods' necessary for normal growth; Vitamin A protects the eyesight and keeps the skin clear, while Vitamin D builds strong bones and teeth. Teen-agers need two ounces of fats and 3000 International Units of Vitamin A per day.

Dalda Vanaspati is a wholesome fat made from vegetable oils, containing Vitamins A and D. Seven hundred International Units per ounce make Dalda as rich in Vitamin A as pure ghee. Dalda is untouched by hand during manufacture and packed in airtight, double-lidded tins to keep it pure and fresh. Because Dalda adds *extra nourishment* to food cooked with it, it has a place in the health routine of every teacher—and, of course, every pupil, for today's child is tomorrow's citizen.





The idea of Rabindranath

That, education to be effective, must be imparted in an atmosphere of freedom and reality, has found full support from all authorities in education.

With this aim, the new Education Scheme of the Government of West Bengal, given effect to from 1948, provides for the craft-centred Basic Education for all children between six and seven.

About 500 Junior Basic Schools capable of teaching agriculture and other crafts, according to the locale of each, have already been set up. Basic Education will also prepare the students better for technical training—scope for which is rapidly



developed by the State. The cost of this system of education is Rs. 21.6 as against Rs. 16.6 per child per annum in the old type of Primary Education.

For adults,—past the age of school education, or otherwise handicapped with domestic pre-occupations, various Social Education and Youth Welfare schemes are being given effect to, supplemented by Jatra, Kavigan, Kathakatha, Open Air Camps, etc.

The State has raised the provision on education from Rs. 2.97 crore in 1947 to little over Rs. 11 crore in 1957-58 to accelerate its onward march to

build a Better Bengal

Issued in public interest by the Government of West Bengal

ORISSA INVITES YOU

A land of sublime beauty and sombre grandeur studded with places of pilgrimage and architectural splendour :

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IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES BY

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao

Prof. G. D. H. Cole

Dr. V. K. R. Menon

Dr. Richard M. Kirby

Dr. Bert Hoselitz

Prof. S. D. Punekar

Shri Bagaram Tulpule

Shri Meher C. Nanavatty

and

**WORKING PAPER OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL SEMINAR
ON WORKERS' EDUCATION**

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of articles from this Journal in all regional languages.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Eighth National Seminar

In this special issue of the Journal on the eve of the Eighth National Seminar, an attempt has been made to provide background material on the different facets of Workers' Education and it is a privilege to us that so many eminent men have cooperated with us. Since this will be the first Seminar on the subject to be convened by the Association certain basic issues have been discussed in the articles. Thus, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao poses certain fundamental considerations which need to be borne in mind while planning the development of Workers' Education. Prof. G. D. H. Cole, with an insight born out of life time's devotion to the cause of Workers' Education has examined, if briefly, the currents and cross currents which have created the history of the British working class movement while Mr. Kirby has etched for us a clear picture of Workers' Education programmes in the United States. Shri V. K. R. Menon tells what the I. L.O. has done and can do to help the movement.

If Prof. Punekar has analysed and examined in detail the concept and contents of Workers' Education in India, Shri Bagaram Tulpule has wisely emphasised the need of trade unions taking initiative in developing the movement and has warned of the dangers inherent in trade unions remaining aloof from the Workers' Education movement. Shri Nanavatty has brought into focus some of the problems which have cropped up in the social education movement and has pointed out the need to take cognizance of them in launching upon a wide spread movement of Workers' Education. Finally, the Working Paper of the Seminar which will form the basis of deliberations has presented the basic questions before the movement.

The Seminar is significant for more than one reason. It is a land mark in the sense that it constitutes the first attempt of the adult education movement to address itself to the needs of industrial workers. It derives its significance from the context of national reconstruction in which it is being held; India is on the threshold of industrial development. This is what gives to the Seminar its peculiar importance, for the subject of the Seminar concerns a segment of our community on whom will depend the success of industrial progress in the country. The Seminar, one hopes, will bear this setting in mind in conducting its deliberations.

The Fourth Asian Regional Conference of I.L.O.

The Fourth Asian Regional Conference of I.L.O. which has just concluded in Delhi has been acclaimed a great success and the Director General has asserted, with good reasons, that he was not being merely platitudinous in regarding it as "an

impressive success"; for one thing, the debates at the Conference were not, as it has become unfortunately the tendency at international gatherings, acrimonious; they were constructive, informed and imbued with a sense of purpose—to solve problems not be exacerbate those that exist. If this was the atmosphere at the Conference, the agenda before it was equally impressive and of immense and immediate import to the Asian countries which are engaged in ushering in a process economic development. Social aspects of industrial development, problems of small scale and handicraft industries, conditions of life and work of tenants of different types engaged in agriculture are all issues of obvious importance and foremost the minds of all those concerned with economic development of the region. Thus, the agenda at the Conference as well as the climate which prevailed all through the session contributed to impart to it great significance.

To begin with, the report of the Director General which was the first item on the agenda of the Conference was in itself a valuable document. It provided a comprehensive and lucid picture of developmental effort in the various Asian countries, brought into focus the right problems and analysed them with insight and grasp. The emphasis in his report on the social aspects of economic development was well conceived and, summing up, he pointed out the necessity to anticipate the changes which on the one hand are necessary to initiate a process of industrialisation, and on the other hand, to make society capable of absorbing changes which result from industrialisation without its foundations being undermined. Pointing out that industrialisation brings about changes of great depth and magnitude which touch the very core of society, the Director General considered that the real measure of our growth would be "our social capacity to make smoothly the social changes which are the inevitable counterpart of new forms of economic activities".

Great deal of thought was given, during the debate that followed, to this fundamental problem posed by the Director General who in reply referred to two aspects of the social question—first the material and secondly the moral and spiritual aspect. Economic data left no one in doubt that the material aspect was quite dismal for as the Director General said "the new capital investment in industries while increasing the opportunities for employment is hardly adequate to reduce unemployment because of continuing growth in numbers of those seeking jobs". Then there were the problems of urbanisation and the inability of providing adequate social amenities to the community. The serious problem of governments in the region was to decide how much of their scarce resources could be devoted to investments in social capital when requirements for basic economic development was so great. As against all this, however, was the encouraging fact that the process of economic development, including that of industrialisation, had been initiated in the Asian social scene. This process was unlikely to cease abruptly.

The Director General pointed out, however, that the successful industrialisation implied nothing short of a social revolution. "To set up industry and new technology",

he emphasised, "is not only a matter requiring capital and a knowledge of techniques", for, "modern industry calls into being its own kind of society". Analysing the implications of this society, he pointed out: "It requires attitudes towards work different from those of traditional rural communities; it functions at a different pace, and makes people organise their lives in a different way; it challenges old values and creates new ones. This social transformation which must accompany industrialisation affects, indeed, a man's whole view of the meaning and purpose of life and of his relations to his fellow man. In this sense it places a special charge upon those moral or spiritual qualities of men which have been referred to".

No body would challenge the Director General on these views. What, however, is likely to provoke a measure of disagreement is whether the direction of social transformation will be along the lines envisaged by him, for his assessment appears to be based on assumptions of a pattern of industrial development akin to that which has taken place in the West. Authorities on economic development are over-whelmingly of the view that industrial development in most of the countries of the Asian region needs to follow a pattern which will be quite different from that which exists in the West. The almost primitive nature of capital equipment at the disposal of the community with its consequent slow pace of capital accumulation, the low level of resources available for industrial development makes it almost certain that for quite a few generations, our programmes of industrialisation will be based on labour rather than capital intensive schemes. Also the capital resources needed for industrialisation on the large scale pattern, if it is to make so great or so fundamental an impact, is obviously beyond the realm of possibility for almost all Asian countries. The Director General furthermore seems to have assumed that the pace of change would be rapid and a marked contrast would become evident between "co-existing village and industrial life". This consequence does not necessarily appear to follow if the pattern of industrial development is to be based, in a large measure, on cottage industry and the small scale model. In the absence of factory industry or industrial units of mass production it is, therefore, questionable whether the impact of industrialisation will necessarily mean an organisation of peoples' lives in altogether a different pattern or whether it will really be a challenge to old values in as revolutionary a manner as the Director General would have us believe. The nature and scale of impact if this is to be the basis of our industrial growth is question which deserves detailed investigation.

Another issue raised by the Director General which is unlikely to find a unanimous acceptance is that handicraft and small scale industries should be regarded only as a transitional measure—indeed he emphasised in his reply to be debate, the word "transitional", and pointed out that if it was necessary to have regard to the need to employ the greatest possible number of workers, it is also necessary "to have regard for the ultimate objective of continuously raising production and living standards such as only modern industrialisation seems likely to make to make possible in the long run",

There could be no two opinions on this statement. However, considering the almost impossible economic difficulties of promoting industrial development on the large scale pattern, it is a challenge to our inventive genius to effect technological improvements on a small scale pattern so that the living standards do not suffer regression because of the inhibiting factors in the economy.

The Director General analysing the role of the ILO points out that the agenda of the Conference and the social problems that were discussed therein were, in a sense, not quite the same type the ILO had dealt with in the past. They were obviously not of a nature which could be dealt with by legislation. He pointed out that they involved social responsibilities of individuals, of Trade Unions, of Government Administrators and of many others and therefore rightly said that the ILO was not concerned with defining solutions to such problems. "We are concerned", he said "with developing capacity of these individuals and groups to work constructively towards the solution of their problems through democratic methods and on the basis of reason and fact". The most effective way of doing this, he pointed out "was a question of promoting a constructive response within the society to the problems confronting the society", and this was, "primarily a problem in education or what we might call training for social responsibilities". The Director General has in this context suggested a "promotional" approach to the various problems facing industrial development. The ILO would have to see how this could be done.

Another suggestion made by the Director General which deserves thought is that of the need for research into social problems and social changes. This would help everyone concerned with industrialisation to keep abreast of events and be prepared to revise thinking. The suggestion comes at an appropriate moment when we are seriously concerned with the problem of developing workers' education. For, if programmes of workers' education are to be effective and appropriate they need to be based on scientific data and only research can provide programmes with a sense of direction. It is to be hoped that authorities concerned with problems of labour, education and industrial development in this country will give earnest consideration to some of the issues which the Director General has raised in his remarkably lucid analysis of the social background in Asia.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN INDIA — Some Suggestions

V. K. R. V. Rao,

Vice-Chancellor, University of Delhi.

According to the 1951 Census, there were in this country as many as thirty million persons who lived on wages. Of these about eighteen million were agricultural labourers and about twelve million were in non-agricultural occupations. From the point of view of their residence, nine million of these workers were resident in the urban areas and twentyone million were in the rural areas. According to the figures which are available in the Labour Year Book and other publications, there were as many as nearly ten million wage earners classified under various occupations. The factory workers account for three million. Those working for the Government, C.P.W.D. and other constructional work are one and half million. Plantations account for 1.2 million. Workers engaged in commercial establishments account for one million. The Railways engage about a million workers. The Posts and Telegraphs Department employs 2,62,000 and so on. If you take these ten million workers, most of whom are in urban areas, you will find that as many as four million persons are in the public sector. Therefore, I think the subject of workers' education in this country is extremely important. No body can ignore the enormous potentialities of this country in terms of an organised labour force. The problem, however, is difficult in this country because our Government has, so to speak, a dual capacity.

Government as an Employer

On the one hand, it is the elected representative of the people including not only the thirty million workers, but the entire population with an electorate of one hundred and ninety million persons. On the other hand, Government is also an employer, a very big employer who has got at the moment four million workers employed in one capacity or another. This number is bound to increase in the context of our economic planning and socialist economy.

Normally it is the function of the trade unions to say that the trade union movement should grow. It is rather a strange thing that here, in India, we have a Government which has taken the initiative and expressed itself in favour of strengthening the trade union movement. We have a Planning Commission which deliberately sets aside a certain amount of money, may be the money could have been more, for the purpose of training these workers in becoming good trade unionists. Perhaps the workers in the public sector experience more difficulties than workers in the private sector, or may be, much more is expected of the employers in the public sector. Whatever might be the reasons, a Government which wants to spend public funds for education of workers and for the building up of trade unions is bound to recognise the principle of trade unionism in its own establishments. I do not think there can be two opinions about it. I do not think it can be said that the trade unions should only be meant for the workers in the private sector and not for workers in the public sector. I am sure that is not the position of Government and that should not be the position of Government. Knowing Shri Khandubhai Desai as I do for so many years, I very much doubt if any such position would be accepted by him that trade unions should only be meant for the private sector.

Peculiarities of our Economy and Society

Our economy and our society are different from the economy and society from which they—the foreign experts of the Team—come. I want to say this because we often hear foreign friends bringing out ideas which are not quite suited to this country. I am not necessarily referring to any of my friends in the Team of Experts. When our foreign friends talk of 'indoc-trination' or 'propaganda' I think these facts have to be recognised. We have decided as a nation to have a democratic society. We have also decided to have a socialist society which is not the case with the United States, and which, I am afraid, is also not the case with the United Kingdom at the moment. The Indian nation has also accepted the goal of a planned economy for the purpose of speeding up the economic growth and bringing about a rapid development of this country. The trade unions have to grow and any system of workers' education has got to develop within the context of these principles; otherwise they would not get public support. It is the community as a whole, represented by their Parliament, which has decided

that the kind of society we want to have is going to be a democratic society and not a totalitarian society, a socialist society and not a capitalist society. It is going to be a planned economy and not a laissez faire economy. This is something which has got to be kept in mind.

Workers' education is a part of the different needs of society. All these conceptions that there should be a class-war, that the employers are always the enemies of the workers, that we have to build up armies to fight them and so on—I would suggest all these conceptions are to be taken in the context of what we want. I hope I have not caused violent disagreement amongst my friends who are present here, but thought it was absolutely essential for me to state this, especially in view of the fact that words like 'indoctrination' and 'propaganda' were used so often. I think we have got to realise that as far as workers' education is concerned, the worker has a most important part to play in production and on their education depends the successful working of political democracy and growth of the Indian economy. That is why the Government wants the trade union movement to be built up.

Goals for Workers' Education

Among the goals which have been suggested for workers' education, we have got to include this goal, viz, preparing the industrial worker and his associated unions for playing legitimate role in the context of the democratic socialist society which has accepted planning as a technique for bringing about its economic growth. The greatest emphasis is to be placed on establishing properly administered democratic trade unions with capable leadership developed from within. Unless the workers are organized in the most satisfactory way possible there is the danger of totalitarian trends emerging. If the trade unions are not democratic, if they are not independent, then there is a danger that the trade union will not perform the task which is expected of them. Therefore, I do not agree with the suspicion that there is any danger towards democracy and I would urge on the people who belong to the Government point of view to understand this. I should always go all out to place as much emphasis as possible on the dissociation of Government from any agency which is set up for purposes of workers' education because of the peculiar position it finds itself in as a big employer. Also because of the need for building up democratic unions within the

country, I think it is essential that there should be as little influence as possible of Government in such agencies.

Agency for Workers' Education

Speaking for myself, I would not be too much in favour of setting up a Central Board on which the Government, the employers and the employees will be represented. I would think in terms of a Workers' Education Association or some kind of a body which would purely be an association of the workers. And this association can have representatives of workers, the employers and the teachers sitting there and working autonomously or semi-autonomously as described by one of the speakers. That is the ideal body which will have relations with Government, universities and other educational institutions and which will be organising classes, seminars, discussion groups and so on. But that is not possible today because the trade union movement is weak. The number of trade union members (I am referring to the 1951 figures) is 1.9 millions and not more than Rs. 3/8/- spent on one trade union member— a total expenditure of Rs. 70 lakhs for 1.9 million members. The trade union movement has not got the resources to take on the responsibility of workers' education at the moment. Therefore, I would like to commend the possibility of having something of a statutory organisation—may be on the lines of the University Grants Commission, may be on the lines of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research or the All-India Council for Technical Education— which will be as much separated from Government as possible and will not be suspected of being influenced by the Government. That is necessary to remove all possible doubts that the Government is trying to influence the trade union movement in a particular way. I would, therefore, suggest that the agency should be either a Council of Workers' Education on which labour and the different people will be represented or a Worker's Education Commission which would be provided with funds for distribution to the various workers' institutions and universities which are taking part in workers' educational activities.

Then, I think, there was agreement and, it is something which is very important, that the aim of workers' education is not merely to build up trade unionism, but also to build up good citizens.

Courses for rank and file

I would like to say some thing on what should be the courses for different workers—rank and file, members of union councils, etc. I was sorry that more people did not stress the great importance of educating the rank, and file, and I say, the non-member rank and file—because, today the number of trade union members is not more than 2.3 million. That would mean that 80 per cent of the workers are not union members. Unless the workers form themselves into unions, it is going to be extremely difficult to operate a democratic socialistic society. The workers get themselves organised into a union not merely for getting more wages (it is a 19th century point of view). As far as my country is concerned, the objective is not only the improvement of working conditions, but also organisation for the purpose of taking the country forward in a big way for its economic development. Therefore, it seems that unless there is voluntary organisation, it will be very difficult to make a socialistic society work in a democratic way. If there are not enough voluntary organisations, trends towards totalitarianism are bound to emerge because the logic of economic development is that there should be an organisation and there should be channels of communication and media of operation. Therefore, I say, it is absolutely essential that in any programme of workers' education stress must be laid on the extension of the trade union movement very widely by way of audio-visual aids, films, etc. so that every wage earner must become *ipso facto* a trade union member. I would say that not only about the manual workers, but also about the persons who belong to the so-called white-collared class. Every worker who works and earns his living by a wage must be enabled to become a member of a trade union. Trade unionism is a way in which he organises himself and at the same time brings the full force of his collective strength in the democratic running of the country. I would, therefore, attach the greatest importance to the subject of educating the rank and file.

Education of Trade Unionists

Then comes the education of the trade unionists. I must confess that this seminar has been practically devoting itself to this aspect—how to train the trade union members and ensure that they operate an efficient and healthy trade union movement. You only give education to the trade

union members and officials and not for outsiders. We cannot expect that outsiders should be educated. It is the trade union members and trade union officials who have to be educated regarding the techniques such as how to run the management, how to administer law, how to keep accounts, how to give talks etc. It is not, however, correct to say that trade union committee executives, presidents, secretaries and so on and also the trade union officials should be put on the same line. You cannot expect the trade union committee to go for training for 3 or 4 months. It is not possible. They are working on the job. They may be available for week only. They may attend some Seminars or lectures for about a fortnight in the evenings. In other countries, there are a number of officials who are helping trade unions. They are workers for the workers' organisations. It is that kind of people we want. Can we not depute some person for this work? Supposing an office contains 10 officials, one official can be deputed for this work each year. Employers should realise this difficulty. It takes a long period to understand the trade union system.

Training of Trade Union Officials

Training for the officials is extremely important. Trade union should be financially strong to employ officials and pay them a reasonable salary. Only then it will be possible to function very efficiently as in other countries. It is only theory that everything is to be done in an honorary way. It is not possible to get first class work free for all the time. It is most unfair to expect to do so. Only people who have silver spoons in their mouths or have rich relatives can come forward and do the work. The trade union movement must have a body of civil servants as in other countries. That can come as time goes by.

Training of Top Leaders Inconsistent with Democracy

I must confess I could not understand, why the top leaders should get training first. No body says that the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers or others should be asked to get some training before they become one such. I do not feel that such training is all required. Why should top leaders get training and then become leaders? They would have known before they actually became leaders. You do not train top leaders. It is a totalitarian society that will do this. You can do this in the capitalist society. But you

do not do it in the democratic society. What you should do is to give some opportunities to the top leaders. By virtue of their service, education and the hard work they have put in, they will themselves come up and there is no use in giving them training of any kind. You can give them opportunities by calling them to Seminars, Conferences etc. Seminars should be organised and financed by the Central Statutory Councils or social welfare organisations, If Government can place at their disposal some grant, that may be all right. Some houses may be vacant. It may be at Simla, may be at Dalhousie, may be in any other place. It can be made available for the Seminar. Such things are done in the United Kingdom. Last year, I had the occasion to visit such places. Similar is the experience in the United States also. I want to stress this. Either the Government or the capitalists can come forward to give facilities of this kind and it would be for the top leaders to make use of them. The seminars may last for 15 or 20 days. Officials, non-officials and experts should be invited for discussions. Only that kind of training may be necessary for top leaders. Having a college for top leaders is something fantastic. It cannot be compatible with a democratic or socialist society.

Who are the Teachers

The next question is who should teach? I was disturbed about the touchiness I was perturbed when I heard University Professors and educationists described as sitting on an ivory tower. Actually I was a little horrified. Suddenly I found myself puzzled. I was hearing the criticisms levelled against the professors and educationists on the same basis as criticisms levelled against Government by the members of the working classes. Perhaps there is reason for that. I suppose one reason may be this. I am confessing without any sense of shame, that this is the first time that I heard these criticisms by the working classes. It is true that we are isolated in the universities. Educationists are conscious of being in an ivory tower. They are anxious to link up with the working classes; they are anxious to link up with realities. I would suggest in all humility to my trade union friends that educationists in the universities are an agency which should be of the greatest value from the point of view of teaching in their trade union courses. I am not suggesting for a moment that they will do the bulk of the teaching. I do not think there should emphasis on differences between the workers and the teachers. I think the

teachers constitute a part of the working classes. In the United Kingdom, they form part of the trade union movement.

I would suggest that teachers can be and should be used. They are professional speakers. It is their job to talk. I can tell you that it is very difficult to present matters simply. Inspiration is useful, but it is not sufficient by itself for teaching. I would suggest that people should not have any suspicion towards these educationists, as they are essential.

It is also extremely important that the working classes should have neutral expositors of their cause. Whenever there is a struggle, the working classes find it difficult to settle by themselves. Without proper understanding it is difficult. Neutral expositors are required and educationists are source from which these expositors can be obtained. One has to take the help of educationists.

Finances for Education—Role of Trade Unions

Regarding finances I would just say one thing frankly, I was little disappointed at the attitude which was shown by practically all the members of the trade union group—I think, with the exception of Shri Tulpule. If the working class movement is to remain a democratic movement, it must pay something for workers' education. It is no good saying "We cannot pay anything". Of course, we are a poor country. If you take the per capita national income of this country, you can legitimately say we must not pay any taxation at all. There are so many in this country who ought not to pay. It is an abnormal country, but it will not remain abnormal for long. In any case, if you want to infuse a sense of responsibility, you must make this a real workers' movement. Whatever central agency you set up, sooner or later you must replace it by an agency of workers who will set up their own colleges, who will have their own working arrangements for correspondence courses, refresher courses and so on. If you want to do that, it is absolutely necessary that some share must come from the working class movement. I think it is a principle which is extremely important. There is no other way in which you can get real interest.

So much has been said about outsiders. It is not quite legitimate to say that because a person has worked with his hands or is continuing to work with his hands, he is the ideal person; that just because a person is a

spinner he is a miner he is an ideal leader of miners. You might remember what happened in the old Punjab, when the whole question of money-lenders legislation came up. They said all the urban classes, money lenders banias and so on were the people causing all the mischief. Therefore, no transfer of land, no alienation of land from the agricultural classes on to the non-agricultural classes should be allowed. It did not lead to the solution which it was intended to lead to. Instead, there emerged a large class of agricultural land-owning money lenders who went on extending their operations. Therefore, let us not attach too much importance to the question of outsiders.

Leadership of Education to rest on rank and file

If the workers—rank and file—do not come into the education movement, there is a danger that the leadership of worker's education may not become responsible. I am not saying it will become irresponsible, but since we are facing things in a realistic kind of way, let us not proceed with the assumption that everybody outside the labour movement is bad and everybody inside the labour ranks is good. Therefore, I think, it is important just from the point of view of democracy to make the leaders themselves responsible, if your rank and file is not going to sit on the boards, they are not going to determine the courses, they are not going to run the education movement, I am afraid they will not exert more influence and evince more interest and the workers' education system will not be democratic. I would very strongly urge on my friends in the trade union movement, if they regard me as a friend, for making some provision for their education. I entirely agree that there cannot be all Government grants. That is why I suggested an agency like the University Grants Commission a Working Class Education Commission with a certain amount of money at their disposal, at the disposal of different bodies in the country run by trade unions or universities or somebody else. But, I think, it is absolutely essential that some contribution should be made by the working classes themselves to the financing of their education.

—*Chairman's concluding address at the Seminar on Worker's Education held at New Delhi.*

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES—A Description.

Richard M. Kirby

Labour Management Relations Specialist, U.S. Technical Cooperation Mission to India, New Delhi.

Background and Meaning of Workers' Education in the United States

The term "workers' education" as commonly used in the United States refers to a type of education which is to provide workers an understanding of the political, economic and social status of unions, the growth and development of the labour movement, and the rights and responsibilities of men and women as workers, as members of a union, and as American citizens. Whereas vocational and professional education are concerned mainly with training for individual advancement, emphasis in workers' education is on group problems and the promotion of group interests.

Workers' education programmes in America are built around a core of subjects such as economics, political science, labour history, labour philosophy, union administration, collective bargaining, and various tool subjects such as law, English, accounting and public speaking. The workshop and discussion methods take precedence over the formal lecture method of education, and subjects are approached from the actual experience of the workers in order to provide a background for a deeper understanding of trade unions, labour problems and the labour movement as a whole. The objective is to make the programme functional in nature with an interpretation of specialized problems closely interrelated with action programmes.

Workers' education is for both union leaders and the rank-and-file members. For the latter the programme is designed to strengthen their bonds of loyalty to the union and to help them become intelligent, informed trade unionists. In recent years, major emphasis has been upon education of union leaders at all levels, from shop stewards, local officers and staff, to

top level national administrators and organizers. This is important in order to meet the concrete needs and problems which labour leaders face in their daily tasks.

Workers' education is carried on in short period institutes, summer schools of from one week to two months, and full year programmes including day and night school. Usually, the programmes are developed by the unions themselves although in many cases other agencies such as universities or workers' education institutions have assisted in organizing programmes. About seventy national and international unions have their own education departments, and over twenty state central organizations have education directors.

Origin of Workers' Education in the U.S.

About four decades ago, workers' education began to take root in America as an outgrowth of the needs of the labour movement as unions awakened to the fact that they have a strategic function to perform in the economic, political and social life of the nation.

Before unions introduced workers' education, the struggle for recognition and collective bargaining had to be successfully fought. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was the pioneer union in workers' education and began its educational efforts prior to the end of World War I. It was not until 1918, however, that workers' education began to make headway.

At the 1918 convention of the American Federation of Labour (AFL), a committee was appointed to investigate workers' education. In 1919 the committee submitted a favourable report, and the Federation decided to sponsor workers' education as one of its functions. Local unions and city federations of unions were urged to establish courses in workers' education. As a result, several labour colleges were founded by city central labour bodies, and unions gradually became interested in developing their own education programmes.

From the beginning labour unions have controlled the patterns of labour education in America. This education has been part and parcel of the labour movement with individual unions organizing the programmes.

During the 1930's particularly, the United States Government lent great assistance to labour unions in providing funds and personnel for the development of workers' education programmes, and today government assistance is still provided especially by tax supported state universities, almost all of which have workers' education programmes.

Growth of Workers' Education Institutions in the United States

The Workers' Education Bureau and the Brookwood Labour College, both founded in 1921, were the first important workers' education institutions in the U.S. The American Federation of Labour helped found Brookwood which offered courses in labour history, trade union problems, public speaking, etc. The AFL later withdrew its support when it developed that the institution was not primarily interested in education for bread and butter trade unionism. The college was closed in 1937 because of lack of funds.

The American Federation of Labour took over general supervision of the Workers' Education Bureau in 1923. It became an integral part of the AFL in 1950 as the Department of Education. The Bureau was active in the development of joint educational programmes between state federations and universities; it promoted lectures and study courses in local and central labour unions; it prepared educational literature and published books for workers; it provided union research and information services; it set up summer schools, and held regional and local conferences and institutes on economic and social problems for workers.

A second national agency which has been of substantial value in promoting workers' education is the American Labour Education Service, which was an outgrowth of the summer-school movement. Its contribution included advice and aid in organizing classes, in getting materials and teachers, publishing pamphlets, study materials, and bibliographies. It has served all branches of the labour movement, acted as a clearing house for information in this field, and organized sectional and national conferences on workers' education.

The Inter-University Labour Education Committee, which has received considerable grants from the Fund for Adult Education is another national workers' education agency. It has specialized in the promotion

of increased cooperation between unions and universities. State-owned and operated universities in the United States are aware that one of their functions is to serve labour as well to provide facilities for management. This makes the American universities more accessible than those in Europe as far as trade union is concerned. About one hundred universities and colleges offer programmes for labour. Eighty of these have year-round programmes, such as that at Harvard University. Others only publish pamphlets on wage incentives, grievance procedures, job evaluation and similar topics. Another service offered by universities is the undertaking of surveys for unions. Wayne University assisted the Auto Workers in Detroit by handling a survey of the attitudes of its members regarding the participation of research staff which sends out questionnaires and interviews union members. Union leaders are often able by this procedure to get valuable information which is not obtainable by any other method and has great educational value.

AFL—CIO Merger

With the merger of the two major labour federations in the United States in 1955, the education facilities of both organizations were combined. Education directors now meet and pool their resources in regular sessions, whereas previously they were separated. The AFL-CIO Education Committee has been enlarged and now includes staff members of the educational departments of the member unions.

The AFL-CIO Department of Education has a monthly organ "News and Views", which contains excellent accounts of current problems and new developments. It also contains up-to-date audio-visual materials and printed aids in the field of workers' education.

The United Auto Workers' and Workers' Education

The United Auto Workers makes a nationwide effort to reach its members through a biennial educational conference. The meetings are held in Chicago, or some other large city and every local of this great union, with 12 lakhs of members, is invited to send delegates. Outstanding economists, leaders, and other nationally known speakers are invited to address the delegates on questions vital to labour and workers' education. Following the address, workers meet in small groups with a discussion leader in

charge for a "buzz" session to thrash out problems raised by the address and formulate comments and questions which are reported later at another general meeting of all the delegates. The rank-and-file of the union are thus given a chance to express themselves on the formation of union policy when they formulate comments and criticisms on the subject under discussion. This gives union leaders a chance to find out the views of union members on important problems facing the organization. The delegates to the conference do not have the right to pass resolutions, but at the next official meeting to the union important matters are taken up as a result of the conference.

In addition to the biennial education conference, which is considered one of the outstanding events in labour education, the UAW has an education committee and an education chairman elected by each local to supervise the local union's education programme. The ULW constitution states that education shall be a mandatory part of the business of the international union and of each local union, particularly education in labour history, labour problems, the objectives and problems of the union, its members and their families. The UAW has an education department with a full time staff for the international union, and an educational fund is mandatory for each local as well as the international union. In addition, an education programme is required for the shop stewards of each local.

At the 1956 Convention of the UAW local unions were authorized to hold compulsory education classes for officers, stewards and committeemen in order to qualify them for their responsibilities. As a result, several local unions now are conducting compulsory programmes in workers' education. The subjects included are Dynamics of Human Relations, Collective Bargaining, Automation, Time Study, Labor Economics, Current Economic Demands and Union History. The local union's education committee is responsible for developing the specific content of the workers' education courses.

The international education department of the UAW is engaged in the following activities in addition to the biennial education conference: it publishes a monthly magazine, "Ammunition", which is sent free to every officer, steward, and member of each local union committee; publishes and

distributes pamphlets, posters, teaching outlines, etc, on workers' education do union members; produces and distributes films on subjects of interest to members; carries on a summer school programmes which offers one to two weeks' training to UAW members, at which about five thousand members attend each summer; conducts institutes in workers' education which had an attendance in 1956 of 60,000 persons at over 700 institutes; cooperates with universities and state, city, federal and private agencies interested in adult education for the purpose of enlarging educational opportunities for wage earners and their families; and finally prepares and presents radio and television materials on educational matters over these media of communication.

The I.L.G.W. Union Program of Workers' Education

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union was the pioneer in the field of workers' education in the U.S. As a large proportion of the members in 1914 were immigrants, recently in the States and more or less isolated, there was considerable emphasis on a broad cultural programme of workers' education. This was needed to help orient and acclimatize the newcomers as citizens, as workers and as union members. The ILGW has maintained this precedent, although its members are no longer mostly immigrants, and its workers' education programme, as contrasted with that of most other unions, still has a strong cultural note.

At the start of its programme in 1914, the ILGW appropriated \$1,500 for workers' courses to establish an Education Department. The purpose of its programme was to promote the methods and aims of unionism and to train union leaders for official duties. In 1918, the union established four education centers and a Workers' University. The ILGW gradually increased its contributions for education and by 1933, with the coming of the New Deal, devoted \$100,000 to the cause of workers' education. This was increased to \$200,000 in later years.

The Education Department of the I.L.G.W. has three general divisions: Mass Education, Class Education and Trade Union Service Education. Under Mass Education, lectures, excursions, and all kinds of recreational and cultural opportunities are included. This covers such activities as games, sports, dancing, choruses, mandolin clubs and dramatics. Class education includes courses in history, economics, labour problems,

and tool courses such as English, public speaking, accounting and law. Under Trade Union Service Education, union leaders are trained to organize, administer and operate union programmes and activities.

In 1950, the ILGW established a Training Institute for union leaders in which, after a year of study and field practice, the student receives a full-time appointive office. About 25 students are graduated each year. Specialized courses are given in the legal and philosophical problems of unionism including an intensive study of the Taft-Hartley Act, arbitration case studies, history of the ILGW and other unions, labor economics, political science, the American Corporation, and Communism. Much time is spent in learning such techniques as the use of the mimeograph, typing, use of filmstrips and movies, radio talks, parliamentary procedure, and how to use a sewing machine. Much of the teaching is done by visiting professors and outside experts. ILGW union officers also give practical courses on union affairs. The texts range from special material prepared at the Institute to such books as Brandeis' "History of Labor in the United States," and Woytinsky's "Employment and Wages in the United States."

The most important test the student must pass to be graduated from the Institute of the ILGW is a performance test in the field at various local union headquarters covering a total period of five months. This field activity may involve anything from acting as assistant business agent to single handedly organizing an independent shop in Pennsylvania, Kentucky or in the Southwest.

After finishing the course at the Institute, the graduate becomes a full-fledged union worker. He is assigned to one of the many areas in the garment industry and encouraged to try his wings in organizing or other union activity.

The ILGW has twenty-six educational directors who spend a great deal of their time just advising and helping members with their personal and family problems ranging from evictions by the landlord to garnisheeing of wages by creditor firms for unpaid accounts on installment purchases.

Workers' Education Programme of the TWUA

With the influx of lakhs of new workers into the unions who previously had no particular interest in unionism, there has been a shift in workers' education toward more practical purposes. The programme of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, represents this new trend. In its programme, the TWUA executive council stresses the training of local union officers, the local chairman, the shop delegate, the committeemen, the representative, or shop steward. The stewards are considered to be the nerve structure of the union by the TWUA which holds that unless they function well the whole union suffers. The training of shop stewards is a major point of concentration in the TWUA education programme.

The union also tries to make education available to as many members as possible. Special services are provided such as publishing teaching outlines for use by local union officers and education committees in running local classes. The union helps education committees plan their programmes and often arranges for a university to hold sessions in the local union hall.

The education department of the TWUA publishes pamphlets on grievance handling and other problems, handbooks for volunteer organizers and guides for local union officers on running successful meetings, what to do with new members, non-members and retired members.

The TWUA also conducts summer schools in the vicinity of important textile industry points in the United States. Classes use the workshop method as well as discussions and lectures in which textile economics, textile unionism, and political issues are emphasized. Problems of automation, unemployment, wages and working conditions are also given much attention.

Among other unions, the International Association of Machinists also has a programme of workers' education which places great stress on the education of stewards and committeemen.

U. S. Guidelines for Workers' Education

According to workers' education experts in the United States, there are certain basic skills required by every union leader. These include

handling grievances, union counselling and collective bargaining. They also include such skills as how to stimulate rank-and-file participation in a union, how to maintain the interest of union membership in current negotiations and how to improve union relations with the community. Workers' education should provide training in these basic skills, as well as develop an understanding and appreciation of the effect of union policy upon its members, upon the community, upon the nation, and upon international relations.

A workers' education programme should result in action. It must be planned so that information, skills, understanding, and broader attitudes lead to stronger and better unions.

The programme should be adapted to the needs of the participants. It should start with real problems which grow out of immediate shop situations. For example, in teaching grievance procedure, the course should begin with a simple but typical problem which everyone is able to talk about and that everyone is concerned about. A course in economics should not begin with an advanced treatise on economics, but rather with the family budget and cost of living.

No matter at what level the course begins, it should go a step further than the immediate experience and interest of the workers. The down-to-earth issues, such as shop problems, should be used as spring boards for discussing more basic issues. Discussing a grievance will automatically lead to more complicated problems such as human relations and collective bargaining.

Workers' education should make union members more effective and more loyal to the labour movement. True and lasting loyalty, however, cannot be developed by indoctrination, but rather through the training of informed union members. The education programme should encourage analysis and discussion of union policies and programmes likely to build intelligent and lasting loyalty.

The exchange of ideas through group discussion should be planned so that all members can participate. This means a chance to express opinions, a consideration of relevant facts and a group consensus based on

facts and discussions. A programme will be most effective, when a group starts with a local problem, receives relevant information and applies its knowledge to the problem at hand. Information, practice and know-how will help develop skills and technical abilities.

In order that the workers' education programme will fit the needs and problems of the locality, it must, first of all, be flexible. In order to meet group needs and interests, the subject matter, tools and materials must continually be modified.

In order to maintain interest in the programme, there must be a variety of techniques and methods used. These should involve active participation of the members of the group, directly, in order to provide maximum motivation. Where techniques and methods are varied, interest is maintained greater achievement is possible.

Workers should have opportunity for actual participation in a local union. Programmes should be introduced which will provide a transition into practical local problems through the use of projects, workshops, role playing situations, field reports and filmstrips.

A workable labor education programme may include occasional talks at union meetings, regular weekly sessions, week-end programmes, workshops, trips, tours, 10-day courses or longer sessions, depending upon feasibility.

Courses may include Human Relations and Psychology, Community Relations, International Relations, Sociology, Labor History and Economics, Legislation, Union administration, organization and structure, Contract Interpretation, Steward Training, Grievance Procedure, Collective Bargaining Political Science.

Techniques which may be utilized in teaching these courses include films, filmstrips, panels, forums, information-please programmes, discussion and sub-discussion groups, dramatics, recordings, group singing and workshop procedures.¹

1. India has used this procedure as developed by Gandhi. One of the best examples is at the Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram, Wardha. Here learning by doing is stressed which is the keynote of the workshop method of workers' education.

The need for workers' education has been stated by Mark Starr, the Education Director of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in the following words :

"No one ever questions the need for training the doctor, the teacher, the preacher, the lawyer. Men go through college in order to learn how to be good bond salesmen and to make effective talks in selling insurance policies. So much of education at all levels is devoted to the maintenance and perpetuation of the "status quo" that our mental health can be retained only if groups of people interested in making social changes by consent are recognized as agencies worthy of cooperation and assistance. Surely, it is as necessary for labor leaders and trade union activists to secure appropriate knowledge about their group and the skills to solve them as it is for men and women to be trained for their important professions in medicine, the law and science."

NATIONAL SEMINAR ON WORKERS' EDUCATION—Working Paper

I

What Is Workers' Education ?

The term workers' education is understood differently in different countries. In some countries, such as the United States of America, it is considered to be synonymous with trade union education, whereas the meaning taken of the term in the Scandinavian countries and in the United Kingdom is wider. In the latter countries it is to a great extent adult education for the workers. What then is workers' education? Perhaps the meaning it acquires in different countries is the result of traditions as well as the development of educational facilities available for the community.

We may approach the question of definition of workers' education from several angles. One way may be to define it by reference to the social group for which education is meant viz. the workers or working class. Then the question would be who are workers and what is the working class? The other approach may be to define it by the contents of education. For example, education in the problems of workers or education in a particular working class ideology may be called workers' education. The latter however raises the question of objectivity in education. Still another approach may be to define it by reference to the agencies providing education. For example, educational activities of trade unions or co-operatives may be covered by the term "workers' education". However, this raises the question whether there should be an institutional approach to define a field of work. The Seminar will have to consider what should be the definition of workers' education in the context of the Indian situation.

Whatever may be the definition of workers' education it appears we will in any case have to cover under it the special needs of the workers. Are the needs of workers any different from those of other sections of the

community ? We have to answer this question in the context of the Indian situation. Most of the industrial workers in the country have come from the villages. They do still continue to have firm roots in the villages, however long they may have lived in the cities. Some problems arise due to the change in their environment. Life in the cities is much different from that in the villages and it does call for lot of cultural and social adjustment on the part of the workers.

Apart from the problems of living in the cities, the whole atmosphere at the place of work is different. It is quite a change from the freedom of the fields to the industrial discipline of the factories ! Then there are other questions like those of wages and conditions of work which concern workers as a social group. Should workers' education help its beneficiaries to find a solution to such problems ?

Apart from the above aims of a rather utilitarian character, there may be more fundamental questions to be more considered. Should it be the task of workers' education to help workers to develop their personality ? Should it enable them to discriminate between good and evil and help them arrive at right values ? Should education lead them to the road to good life ?

These are some of the questions to be considered :

1. Should workers' education be defined by reference to the social group for which education is meant or by reference to the special problems of a social group which it is supposed to cover or both ? Should it be defined as education in a particular working class ideology ? Can we define workers' education also by reference to the agencies providing education ? How would the Seminar like to define workers' education ?
2. What, according to the Seminar, are the special educational needs of workers in India as distinct from other social groups ?
3. In the light of discussions on the above questions how would the Seminar like to state the aims and purposes of workers' education ?

II

Scope and Content

Scope and content of workers' education is different in different countries. In the United States it covers mainly trade union education, while in the countries of Europe such as Sweden, Denmark, France and England, it covers liberal and general education as well. Perhaps the difference in the contents is the result of traditions as well as the availability of educational facilities for the community. When workers in Europe began organising they were in every respect an under-privileged group-economically, socially and educationally. The situation in the United States has been different. The workers there have had schooling to a higher stage and perhaps a higher level of liberal education has been received by the whole community, including the workers. The Seminar should consider the scope and content of workers' education in the context of the Indian situation.

To a great extent the scope of workers' education is indicated by our conclusions about its aims and objects. For example, if the aim is to help workers to adjust to their new social environment perhaps workers' education would have to concern itself with programmes for the appreciation of the different cultures existing in a city. The problems of living in slums—the moral and physical hazards it gives rise to, may also have to be covered. Then we have to think of the problems of the place of work. Some of the problems we may cover are: the question of adjusting to new atmosphere of work and industrial discipline and the question of helping them to become good workers in the industry by improving their skill or to meet the situation created by technological changes. This raises the question how far workers' education should cover vocational education as well and, if so, to what extent? Is any distinction to be drawn between technical education provided for new entrants to a vocation and that provided to those already in the trade to improve their skills?

Then there are certain problems of workers as a social group such as wages and working conditions. It may be the aim of workers' education to help them find solutions of such questions. What should be the contents of education to cover these aims?

Finally, there is the inevitable question : how much to cover ? What factors would determine it ? Will the educational needs of the beneficiaries or the resources of the workers' educational movement to any extent effect the scope ? The Seminar may consider these questions.

There are number of terms with which we are familiar in this country such as social education, fundamental education and adult education. What is the meaning of each of these terms ? What are the fields covered by each of them as well as by workers' education ?

Finally, we have to consider the beneficiaries of a programme of workers' education. The name perhaps defines the group of people for whom this educational work is meant. However, the definition of the term 'worker' is not very easy. In trade union parlance only those persons who are employees are covered by the term. Other independent workers like artisans, rickshaw-wallas, pherry-wallas, and those who go from door to door selling their wares, are probably not covered by the term 'worker' as they are supposed to be self-employed, but in many cases they may even much worse off economically and educationally than the workers. Further, even in the case of employees there are various categories. There are some who are manual workers, some who may be called white-collar workers, like clerks, etc. and yet others who may belong to the supervisory or managerial cadre. Should workers' education cover all the above categories of employees or should we confine only to the manual employees ? Will any financial limit about means prove satisfactory ? What about the families of workers ? The questions for the consideration of the Seminar are :

1. In the light of the conclusions on the aims and purposes of workers' education, what should be its scope and content ? What, according to the Seminar, are the fields respectively covered by workers' education, social education, fundamental education and adult education ? To what extent, if at all, should the scope and content of workers' education cover vocational education as well ?
2. What factors would determine the scope of workers' education for a particular group ?

3. Who should be the beneficiaries of a programme of workers' education? Should we limit it to workers as understood in trade union parlance or should it as well cover independent or self-employed persons? In the case of employees should we confine to manual employees alone or should even those falling under clerical or supervisory category be also covered? Would any financial limit about the means prove satisfactory? What about the families of workers?

III

Methods and Techniques

There may be several factors determining the suitability of methods for workers' education. For example, the group of people for whose education they are to be used may influence the decision with regard to their suitability. Then there is the question of the contents to be conveyed. Certain methods may be more suitable for conveying a particular subject while others may be preferable in respect of some other subject. And finally, there is the question of availability of resources, both human and material, which may also determine, in a given situation, the selection of methods. The Seminar should examine some of the important yet common educational methods and list those which it considers more suitable, indicating as well the nature of subjects for which each has particular advantage over others.

The other question worth considering is the techniques of using the selected methods. How we could use a particular method so as to achieve the maximum possible results in a given situation? What advice would the Seminar like to offer with regard to the effective use of the selected methods. To sum up, the questions for the Seminar are :

1. Keeping in view the aims of workers' education and taking into consideration (i) the peculiarities of the beneficiaries ; (ii) the contents to be conveyed and (iii) the resources at the disposal of the workers' educational movement, what according to the Seminar are suitable methods for workers' education ?
2. What should be the techniques for effectively using each of the selected methods so as to achieve the maximum possible results in the given situation.

IV

Agencies

Trade unions and co-operatives in the west have been pioneers in the field of workers' education. Even today considerable educational work is being done by such organisations either directly or through agencies sponsored by them for the purpose. Such agencies not only initiate educational activities for members of unions but also canvass support for and seek help and co-operation in their work from universities and other educational, cultural and civic bodies. This has been the case to such an extent indeed that some even thought of defining workers' education itself by reference to the agency providing education. In India the position has been different. The trade unions in this country have not yet taken sufficient interest in the education of their members. They are only now slowly waking up to this need. A number of agencies sponsored by state or local governments or by employers have to some extent been trying to cater for the educational needs of the workers. The Seminar may consider to what extent they can be suitable agencies for workers' education. This, however, raises the question : what are our criteria of suitability ? Should suitability depend on the nature of the body sponsoring the agency ? Should suitability be judged by a comparison of aims and objectives of the agency with that of workers' education ? Should acceptability of the agency by the beneficiaries be any consideration ? Should the nature of contents to any extent determine suitability of a particular agency ? These are the questions which the Seminar may consider.

In case we come to some conclusions about the criteria and able to make a list of approved agencies, the other question still may be to what extent their help or co-operation should be acceptable. Then there is the question whether it is desirable to have a special agency to initiate or co-ordinate educational activities for workers. To sum up the questions are :

1. What should be the criteria for judging the suitability of an agency for workers' education ?
2. In the light of the conclusions arrived at on the first question the Seminar should list the agencies it considers suitable for workers' education as well as state the extent of help and co-operation it would be desirable to accept from each ?
3. Is it desirable to have a special agency to initiate or co-ordinate educational activities for workers ?

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE I. L. O.—Its Interest and Responsibility

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A worker as a citizen in the modern democratic state is the ruler as well as the ruled ; he has both rights and responsibilities. In order that he may be enabled to discharge his responsibilities to participate fully in the social, economic and cultural life of the community, he needs education and training. He needs general education as a basis ; he requires professional training to be an efficient member of the industrial or commercial enterprise in which he works. If he is a member of a trade union, he should know all about trade unionism and how it can advance his interests. As a trade union worker he may have to sit in joint committees for production, welfare, safety, labour-management relations, etc. and in order to be effective he must have proper educational background and grasp of facts. Even if he is not a member of a trade union he may still be wanted to act on joint committees. In any case, in modern industrial undertaking new techniques for raising productivity are being introduced increasingly and unless a worker keeps pace with these developments he cannot enjoy the benefits of higher productivity which may be the only hope he can have for improving his economic position. For all this, he needs opportunities to learn on the job or in his spare time. Further, in order to be a good citizen and also in the interest of his own life, he may engage in his spare time in such activities as physical culture, painting, music, dancing and theatricals. Then, there are activities, purely for his personal development, like the pursuit of knowledge, interest in hobbies, and travel abroad.

In short, a worker like any other citizen of a modern state has the need for advancing his economic interests and the need as a human being for self-expression and personal development.

Education and Training—a Life-long Effort

The old ideas about training and education do not hold good to-day. The days, for instance, when after taking a degree one joined service and forgot all about education are over. In the twenties or even thirties after a worker joined a mill, he used to learn his limited job and then go on rotating between his workplace and his residence. If a worker adopts that attitude today he will be left behind and younger workers will go ahead, and this will lead to deep frustration in his life. To-day the desire to go ahead is universal and if any one wants to participate in the life around him, the first obvious thing is to learn and keep pace with what goes on round him. Education and training are a continuous life-long process and their importance in modern life is recognised everywhere today.

Another conception that is outmoded today is that education or training is the privilege of a certain category of people ; a foreman or a worker, a member of management or an operative, all have needs of education and training, and in a progressive State all these needs must be fulfilled.

In countries where literacy is 100 per cent. and education universal, the workers themselves may look after their self-improvement. It is perhaps in Asian countries that the need for workers' education programmes is the keenest today. In advanced countries the trade unions have their own programmes of workers' education, but it is in Asian countries where even trade unionism is not so strong that the help of the State, the social organisations and the universities and educational institutions is essential.

Workers' Training in Asian Countries

In Asian countries various kinds of programmes have been developed for the training of trade union leaders and workers' education. In Japan trade unions operate their own programmes and it is estimated that 10 per cent of the union expenditure is on such programmes. Among the notable trade union programmes in India, I can think of no better example than provided by those of the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad. Since those who know these programmes much better may write about them in this special issue of the Indian Journal of Adult Education, I will not ex-

patiate on them myself. For the same reason I will not say anything about the programmes undertaken by the Indian Adult Education Association, by the trade unions in Nagpur, Madras, Jamshedpur and other places, the work of Y.M.C.A., Social Service League, Bombay, or the Indian Conference of Social Work, etc. Let me only say that while this work has been going on in India for decades, there is still no organised workers' education movement in this country. Two significant events of recent times which may ultimately lead to such a movement are perhaps (i) the establishment of the I.C.F.T.U. College in Calcutta which, I am sure, will wield an important influence on the establishment of trade union training and workers' education, and (ii) the interest taken by the Ministry of Labour and Employment in workers' education. Elsewhere perhaps one may find reference to the report of the Ford Foundation team which toured the country and submitted its recommendations to the Ministry.

Having said this, I may say that in a number of Asian countries the governments maintain permanent training and education programmes operated either by the government offices concerned or institutes or schools. In Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore, the Labour Departments give advice and assistance on trade union developments and administration, these functions being performed in the last two mentioned countries by trade union advisers who also sponsor and organise training courses for trade unionists. In Japan, the Labour Education Service in the Labour Policy Bureau of the Ministry of Labour undertakes various types of labour education programmes of trade unions. It may also be of interest to note that in the Philippines a Labour Education Centre has been established which gives training courses for trade unionists and also provides consultative services on workers, education programmes and problems.

Since those who are actually engaged in field work, either on behalf of trade unions or social welfare organisations, might be writing in this issue about the actual programmes and how they are working, I will now give a brief review of the I.L.O.'s interest in workers' education.

I. L. O's Interest in Workers' Education

The constitution of the International Labour Organisation places upon it the responsibility for promoting the organisation of technical and

vocational education and for furthering programmes aimed at ensuring equality of educational opportunity. At its 33rd Session in 1950, the International Labour Conference reemphasised this mandate by adopting a resolution calling on the I.L.O. "to take appropriate measures to promote opportunities for workers to be educated in order to enable them to participate more effectively in various workers' movements and to fulfil more adequately their trade union and related functions." For more than 38 years the I.L.O. has been elaborating international standards of working conditions, industrial relations, social security, etc. in the operation of which workers representatives are assigned a prominent role. This has been widely reflected on the national plane and workers' participation in a variety of joint or tripartite bodies—such as production committees, wage fixing boards, works committees—and collective bargaining has become a prominent and permanent feature of the industrial scene at all levels. The proper functioning of such bodies in a responsible and practical manner has become a stabilising factor in industrial relations. To carry out the responsibilities which educational development creates for workers' representatives it is necessary that they have a broad general knowledge of questions that are related to their professional interest. For without such knowledge their participation in consultative or negotiating bodies risks being ineffective and the presumed benefits of such participation dissipated in whole or in part. It is in the interests of governments and employers alike that the workers' representatives engaged in consultation or negotiation should have a basis of necessary knowledge in order to carry out their responsibilities and functions effectively.

In collective bargaining, such knowledge and understanding on both sides are an essential basis for mutual co-operation and stable relationship. During the long years of its existence, the I.L.O. has acquired and accumulated knowledge in the fields within its competence. The I.L.O. can thus make its contribution in the field of workers' education and questions dealt with by it which are directly related to the professional interests of workers, namely, their participation in labour-management relations and their relations with public authorities, local or national. Included would be such questions, for example, as principles of labour legislation, labour administration services, methods of joint and tripartite consultation, social security standards, problem of international migration, methods of dealing with

labour disputes, standards of working conditions, wage fixing procedures, etc. The I.L.O. realises that a programme of workers' education should be based on the standards contained in the I.L.O. instruments on the principles adopted at the International Labour Conference and within other organs of the I.L.O., with due consideration to the prevailing traditions, laws and practices in the countries concerned. The I.L.O. also recognises that a broad concept of workers' education would in some cases include general cultural education and literacy education and that some relationship exists between education and workers' education in the narrow sense. The I.L.O. is also working in collaboration with the Unesco in the field. Where workers' education is concerned, the interests of the I.L.O. and Unesco are joint. The I.L.O. is concentrating on the development among workers of the knowledge they need in order to handle with competence and responsibility the problems which are related to their professional interests.

The I.L.O. cannot obviously substitute itself for the trade unions ; actually the organisation of recruitment campaigns and the training of trade union leaders and that kind of special work must fall outside the scope of the programme.

I.L.O.'s Assistance to Educational Activities.

The I.L.O.'s activities in the field of workers' education cannot extend beyond the Organisation's own terms of reference, its Constitution and traditions, including principles and standards which it has adopted and advocated over the years. Since the I.L.O. has no direct access to the masses of workers, it can render help only through the agencies like the Indian Adult Education Association and the Trade Union College of the ICFTU in Calcutta and other organisations working in this field. It may also be of interest to note that the programme for future ILO activity in the field of labour-management relations now being developed by the I.L.O. has a direct bearing on the workers' education programmes. The Meeting of Experts on Industrial and Human Relations which met at Geneva from 2 to 11 July 1956 made some important recommendations regarding the programme of labour-management relations that the I.L.O. should develop. The Meeting recommended "that the I.L.O. should

prepare a series of manuals, monographs and comparative studies in a form readily accessible to the persons directly concerned, on various aspects of labour-management relations in the various countries. Such studies should deal in particular with methods of collective bargaining e.g. by industry or by undertaking, joint councils, or direct bargaining, the contents of collective agreements, the methods of ensuring their practical application, the actual working of mediation and conciliation systems, the methods of co-operation used at industry level and national level, the methods used by government to intervene in the policies of undertakings and industries, and the various problems concerning relations on plant level: determination of the various factors pertaining to employment which have a bearing on the workers' satisfaction, organisation of the undertaking as regards personnel matters, employees selection methods, adjustment of rural peoples to industry, job analysis, description and evaluation, further training and education of the staff at all levels, welfare services in the undertaking, the improvement of working environment and of the physical conditions of employment, systems of promotion and advancement, lay-off and dismissal procedures, information and two-way channels of communication, joint consultation, the working of grievance procedures, the status and training of workers' representatives, methods of drawing up works rules and problems of labour discipline, as well as problems of communication within the trade unions and of the application of social sciences and industrial engineering." Needless to say that such studies will be of great interest to workers themselves, and to those who are developing programmes of workers' education.

Workers' education benefits society as a whole, not only by helping the worker to equip himself for his job and for dealing with social questions, but also by creating a potential channel for better labour-management relations. These are the reasons why the workers' education activities of the I.L.O. have a direct bearing on its labour-management relations programme, as well as on the impact of its legislative and research work.

I may also refer in this connection to the workers' education manuals already issued; namely, those on co-operation and social security, which are being brought out besides English and French, in languages like Hindi, Japanese, Arabic, etc.

Finally, I would add that workers' education is being increasingly recognised as one of the essential programmes of workers' welfare for which governments, managements and trade unions have joint responsibility. "The provision of educational facilities for workers and their children", as the Report on Provision of Facilities for the Promotion of Workers' Welfare to the Asian Regional Conference, 1950 put it, "is a social service of particular importance in Asian countries, where not only is the standard of public instruction inadequate but long hours leave the workers little time or inclination for study and poor physical condition unfits them for the necessary effort". "Lack of Education" the Report stated further, "is at the root of many of the troubles confronting Asian countries and the need for it is especially urgent in an era of industrial expansion when the process of industrialisation may involve the transfer of workers in large numbers from agricultural to industrial occupations and the acquisition of industrial skills and techniques."

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM—Its Origin and Growth.

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The workers' education movement in the United Kingdom has a long continuous history running right back to the beginning of the present century. Moreover, this modern movement is the successor of much earlier movements covering most of the 19th century. The first large-scale effort was that of the Mechanics' Institutes, which, beginning in London and Glasgow in the early 1820s, spread rapidly in Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Industrial Midlands during the following twenty or thirty years, and then gradually died away, or lost their mainly working-class character, but in some cases played an important part in giving birth to the new Universities and University Colleges that came into being near the end of the century. Thus Brikbeck College, now a constituent of London University, traces its descent directly from the London Mechanics' Institute, of which George Brikbeck became the inspiring genius after the original creators, Thomas Hodgskin and Robertson, had been driven out. There was, in fact, at this early stage in the history of workers' education in Great Britain, sharp conflict of views concerning the purposes such education ought to serve, and concerning the basic principles that should inspire it.

Conflict on Objectives

The conflict was between those who valued workers' education as a movement for helping the worker to improve his technical and social knowledge and thus to advance his economic position and his social standing under the existing economic and social order, and on the other side those who wanted to overthrow that order and to educate the worker to play a more effective part in compassing its overthrow and its replacement by a radically different system. For the most part, the advocates of both these

attitudes regarded themselves as Radicals in a political sense ; but whereas the first group believed in the sanctity of the laws of orthodox Political Economy as laid down by Adam Smith and Ricardo, the second group, in which Hodgskin was an outstanding figure, damned the current economic orthodoxy as the defender of a system whereby the worker was robbed and exploited by the capital-owner, and wanted to induce him to rebel against his servitude and assert his human rights. Hodgskin's lecture on 'Popular Political Economy' was from beginning to end a challenge to orthodox economic doctrines ; and if Hodgskin had got his way, the London Mechanics' Institute would have become a school for rebels. Hodgskin and his supporters, however, lacked the money that was needed to keep the Institute alive, whereas the 'Philosophical Radicals' were able to raise funds enough to finance it.

The picture was much the same in other towns as in London ; and almost everywhere the Mechanics' Institutes turned more and more into places either of technical training or for education that offered no challenge to the capitalist social order. Under these conditions they continued for some time to perform useful service in providing working men with opportunities for cultural as well as technical education; but gradually the clientele changed and they found themselves in practice catering less and less for manual workers and more and more for 'black-coats' and even for members of the middle-classes. As this happened, the life went out of them, and such connections as they had had at the outset with the original working-class movement disappeared. After the middle of the nineteenth century most of them faded away, leaving the road clear for new developments more capable of attracting the interest of Trade Unionists or of other workers who wanted their educational activities to have more of social content and to embody a more distinctively working-class appeal.

Such aspirations were, however, in the conditions of the 1860s and 1870s neither widespread nor at all easy to meet. There was, after the decline of Owenism and of Chartism no organised Socialist movement in Great Britain; and though Trade Unionism was growing fast among the skilled workers and political Radicalism took a new lease of life in the campaign that led up to the Reform Act of 1867, neither the new Model Trade Unionism of the engineers and Co-operatives nor the largely Trade

Unionist National Reform League gave birth to any significant movement for workers' education. When the University Extension Movement began in the 1870s, its main purpose was not workers' education as such, but rather the offer of higher education to any group of adults that could not get it through the Universities as they then were. Some University Extension Courses were made up mainly or largely of working men (with a tiny sprinkling of working class women; but most of the women who came were definitely middle-class); but the Extension movement as a whole, despite the zeal of some of its active propagandists made very little impact on the working-classes. For a time, it seemed as if the Co-operative Movement, which from Robert Owen's day had had a strong educational impetus, might become the point of focus for a new movement of workers' education. But, the more successful the Co-operative Societies were commercially, the more their zeal for education cooled off and the less they attempted to educate their members. During the 1880s Socialist sentiments began again to spread rapidly, and in the 1890s the Independent Labour Party set up branches in all the larger towns. But, though the Socialists did carry on some limited educational activities through study-groups, they provided no distinctive educational movement.

Founding of the WEA

The next initiative in this matter came only in the opening years of the twentieth century, with the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association by Albert Mansbridge, an enthusiastic Co-operative Clerk from Lancashire, who was utterly dissatisfied with University Extension for its lack of social content and insisted that the workers needed a distinctive kind of education that would stimulate in them an understanding of the world around them, and so increase their sense of mastery of their environment. Mansbridge set out to achieve this, by a movement designed, not to break away from the established cultural values, but to build upon them and adapt them to the needs of a genuinely democratic social order. With this in view, he called, not for a purely proletarian movement, but for a "partnership between Labour and Learning," in which the best progressive elements in the educated classes would devote themselves to workers' education, not *de haut en bas* or in any spirit of patronage or condescension, but by allying themselves with the workers' organisations in a movement

which the workers would control and which would set out to bring home to the Universities their social responsibility for opening the doors of culture to working men on terms that would recognise their special needs and desires.

Mansbridge's W.E.A. achieved within a few years a most remarkable success. One University after another responded by setting up Joint Tutorial Classes Committees made up of equal numbers of working-class and academic representatives, and by offering through their lectures education of a really high standard to workers who were prepared to accept the not inconsiderable obligation of joining a Tutorial Class planned to extend over at least two consecutive winter sessions—and before long over at least three such sessions—conducted by tutors of high academic standard who were prepared to identify themselves with the causes the students had at heart. Side by side with these Tutorial Classes the W.E.A. itself founded many less ambitious classes conducted, broadly speaking, in the same spirit; and before long these achievements so impressed the public authorities that both the Universities and the W.E.A. itself began to receive substantial grants of public money to be spent on paying the salaries of the tutors who rallied to this form of social service.

Thus there grew up in Great Britain—and later in certain of the British Dominions—a kind of workers' education movement that had no parallel elsewhere—a movement in which the Universities played a recognised part in partnership with the W.E.A. and the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies associated with it, and to which both the State and a growing number of local government bodies made money grants that met a substantial part of the total cost—though not, of course, nearly the whole cost. Many foreigners have been astonished at these developments, and have regarded it as utterly out of the question for such a partnership with the Universities to come about in their own countries. But in Great Britain this thing was successfully done, without really formidable opposition. In the Universities, those who were hostile or uninterested, in the main allowed those who were keen to get on with the work without much interference. As for the State's participation, one—or rather, two—conditions were involved in the receipt of public grants. The W.E.A. and the Joint Committees had to declare that the education they were setting out to

provide was neither 'party-political' nor sectarian in matters of religion. These were conditions which Mansbridge and the W.E.As were entirely willing to accept, and indeed claimed to apply quite irrespective of any question of money help; for they were genuinely eager, not to indoctrinate the students with a particular set of doctrines, but to help them freely to make up their own minds by objective study. I was myself for many years a W.E.A. and Tutorial Class tutor; and I can say sincerely that I never felt hampered in my teaching or inhibited from expressing my opinions with perfect freedom. In my personal position as a teacher I regarded it as an essential bit of my job to tell my students as objectively as I could about views different from my own, and to leave them to make up their own minds without ramming my opinions down their throats. That was, I feel sure, the spirit in which most W.E.A. tutors did—and still do—their work; and I believe it to be the best way of teaching for anyone who respects the freedom of the human spirit.

The National Council of Labour Colleges.

The W. E. A, however, quite failed to satisfy certain ardent Socialists who considered that objectivity was entirely out of place in anything that could properly be called 'workers' education'. They demanded a kind of education that would take the stand firmly on certain Socialist doctrines—broadly speaking, those of Karl Marx—and would train its students to become well-instructed propagandists of Marxism and the class-war. They damned the W. E. A. for asking help from the capitalist Universities and for accepting grants from the capitalist State, and they appealed to the Trade Unions to find the money to finance its own education immune from all restrictive conditions save those which the movement chose to bring upon itself as the representative of an exploited class needing to be stimulated into throwing off its chains. This rival movement to the W. E. A. originated in a great dispute at Ruskin College, which had been founded by two Americans as a full-time institute for working-class students, but was accused of teaching capitalist economics instead of Marxism and of undue subjection to University influence. Out of a student strike at Ruskin, headed by the College Principal, Dennis Hird, arose a rival Marxist Labour College, and subsequently, a body called the National Council of Labour Colleges, which was in function an agency for organising

classes without University or State help. The N. C. L. C. appealed for Trade Union support against the 'tortuous' and 'reactionary' W. E. A; and the Trade Unions were rent into rival camps, some backing the N. C. L. C. and others the W. E. A. The rivalry between the two continues to-day, but has lost much of its former bitterness—especially because the N. C. L. C. and its Trade Union leaders showed themselves strongly hostile to the Communist view of Marxism and gradually shed much of their sectarian intensity. To-day both the W. E. A. and the N. C. L. C. are affiliated to the International Federation of W. E. A's, and waste much less energy than they did on mutual bickering.

Another thing that has helped to lessen the gulf between the rival workers' education movements is that, in these days, many of the bigger Trade Unions give a good deal of attention to the specialist tasks of training their own officers and members for more effective Trade Union work. In the main, each Trade Union does this for its own members; but both the W. E. A. and the N. C. L. C. co-operate with them, and provide an increasing number of courses and Summer or Weekend Schools designed specifically for Trade Unionists and dealing with problems of industry and collective bargaining. The Trades Union Congress also does work of this sort and has enlisted the co-operation in it of some of the Universities, which provide in some cases full-time courses for Trade Unionists in 'Industrial Relations'. The N. C. L. C., however, still holds aloof from co-operation with either the Universities or the State, and is therefore usually unable to pay fees to its teachers, except to a few who hold full-time posts.

The Ruskin College

I have left myself no space to deal in this brief article with that part of the workers' education movement that is concerned with providing full-time courses in independent workers' Colleges. The principal institution of this sort is Ruskin College at Oxford, which is under Trade Union control and is not part of the University, though most of its students sit for Diplomas at examinations organised by Oxford University and a substantial number usually win University scholarships and go on from Ruskin to the full-time degree courses. Former students of Ruskin who have gone on to take University degrees provide a substantial number of recruits to the ranks of the tutors in the Tutorial Class Movement, as well as contributing

considerably to the contingent of Labour Members of Parliament or of local government councils. Ruskin and the lesser Workers' Colleges, though their numbers are very small in comparison with those attaching spare-time evening classes, have made and are making to-day, a very real and important contribution to the development of working-class participation in community affairs. Though independent of the Universities, they, like the W.E.A., receive substantial grants of public money and many of their students get aid from public funds, which either are assisted by scholarships from the State or from local government bodies. The Co-operative movement also maintains, at Loughborough in the Midlands, its own Co-operative College, primarily as a place of training for Co-operative service, but also for more general education in civic and social subjects.

Has Workers' Education Lost its Utility?

There are some who hold that the workers' education movement outlived much of its usefulness because many workers who formerly needed its services are now able to stay longer at school and to get to a University without its aid. I do not hold this view, though I agree that changes in general education have made the workers much less isolated from opportunities for higher education than they used to be, and that this is leading to changes in the kinds of education that are most in demand from the workers' educational bodies. I agree too that the Universities have to a considerable extent altered their attitude, by extending their extra-mural work over a much wider field and giving much of it the character rather of 'adult' education open to all comers than of specific education designed to meet working class needs. The class-barriers have become much less absolute, and even the workers' educational lectures now cater increasingly for students, many of whom cannot really be regarded as members of the 'working-class' save in a widely extended sense. Nevertheless, the Tutorial Class movement still goes on undiminished under joint W.E.A. and University auspices and continues to achieve very fine results; and there is also every sign that Trade Union education, conducted mainly by the Trade Union members, is likely to grow rapidly to match the growth of Trade Union power and influence and to meet the need for large members of

skilled and trained Trade Union officers, shop stewards, and committee members, as well as to improve the general standards of civic and social knowledge among the active members. In these tasks, even if much of the work is done by the Trade Union members, the workers' educational bodies also have an important part to play; and I see no reason to believe that there is not a vast future for them, not only in this field, but also in meeting the cultural needs of those whose school education has been cut short too soon, and who come later to feel a keen desire to improve their cultural attainments by spare time study.

WORKERS' EDUCATION—Its Concept and Content

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One of the most serious handicaps, facing a student of modern social sciences, is the frequent utilisation of a number of terms, which are not conceptually clear. Most of these sciences are in the process of continuous growth and during their evolution, they throw out many words and phrases, without adequately defining them. This has resulted in an indiscriminate use of many terms, thereby leading to some confusion in respect of concept and ideas. Even then, the attraction of using new and novel words for old concepts is on the increase and not only individual social scientists but also responsible international organizations like the Unesco have contributed to this conceptual confusion.

The difficulties and confusion created by the lack of a standardized terminology can be well illustrated by the terms used in education of the people. We are now familiar with such terms as adult education, liberal education, general education, basic education and social education. The Unesco's latest recruit to this army is "fundamental education," which is defined as "a basic education, the education of the mass of the people". Though it would not be difficult to draw some fine lines of demarcation between these various types of education, it cannot be denied that the fields, as well as the terminology, are flexible and that they need to be properly defined. The same defect of vague and misleading terminology is found in the field of workers' education, which is often held as synonymous with vocational education, trade union education, labour education, or literacy programmes for workers.

Workers' education can simply be defined as education imparted to workers. The difficulty, however, arises when we try to define either the

“worker” or the “education” which is to be imparted to him. The problem before us are two : which classes of persons are to be covered by the workers’ education programmes? What types of education are to be imparted to these “workers” ?

Definition of a Worker

A legal definition of a “worker” is not only unhelpful, but is also liable to contribute to the confusion. The term “worker” has been so indiscriminately used that it has been differently understood in different countries and under different circumstances. For example, in India, the Factories Act, 1948, defines a worker as “a person employed directly or indirectly or through any agency whether for wages or not, in any manufacturing process, or in cleaning any part of the machinery used for the manufacturing process”. On the other hand, the definition of a workman under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, is : “Any person (including apprentice) employed in any industry to do any skilled or unskilled, manual or clerical work for hire or reward”. The definition of “workman” under the Workmen’s Compensation Act, 1923 and of “employee” under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, the Employees’ State Insurance Act, 1948 and the Employees’ Provident Funds Act, 1952 show a similar diversity in scope. A worker may thus mean in a narrow sense a manual industrial worker or in a broad sense any employee—a supervisor, a clerk, a shop assistant or even a person employed in a non-industrial vocation. However, even in the latter sense the scope is not sufficiently broad, particularly in an underdeveloped country, where industrial employees are in a minority. The following figures from the 1951 Census illustrate this statement, as far as India is concerned.

(Number in Lakhs)

Total population	3,566
Self-supporting persons	1,044
(a) in agriculture	710
(i) Owner-cultivator	457
(ii) Tenant-cultivators	88
(iii) Landless labourers	149
(iv) Non-cultivating owners and other rent receivers	16

(Number in Lakhs)

(b) in non-agricultural operations	334
(i) Employers	11
(ii) Self-employed	165
(iii) Employees	148
(iv) Non-agricultural rentiers and other income receivers	10

Thus, if we confine the scope of workers only to non-agricultural employees, only 148 lakhs of people, i.e. 4 per cent. of the population is covered. It is, therefore, desirable to broaden the scope to cover the peasants, artisans and other self-employed persons, as well as the workers' families. A seminar conducted by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Caicutta, 1954), therefore, rightly felt that workers' education should be made available to all organised or potential members of trade unions ; to all wage and salary earners, manual or non-manual, including civil servants ; and to families of workers, self-employed persons and similar categories belonging to the same economic and social group. Many of the persons thus covered may not be called workers in the strict sense of the term, unless we make worker synonymous with adults. In actual practice, however, no serious difficulty may be experienced. Any adult, who is willing to be trained and is able to comprehend the knowledge to be imparted, can be admitted, as a potential trade unionist, if he is employed. If the number of non-employed adults is usually large, preferential priority may be given to actual workers in industry. Ignorance is one of the giants obstructing the path of economic and social progress and education will enable us to kill this giant. India has already decided on planned economic development and a broad-based workers' education programme will enable her to make a rapid progress.

Scope of Workers' Education

After discussing the scope of "workers", it is necessary to study the various types, which can be included under workers' education. The movements for the education of workers assumed different varieties in different countries, because of the peculiar reasons prompting them. In the United States, for example, workers' education started as vocational education and later assumed the form of trade union education. On the other hand, in

Great Britain it has maintained its form of an extension of liberal education to the working classes and is at present practised as non-vocational education, designed for the workers. Workers' education programme of any country should adapt itself to the social structure, the economic resources, the political pattern and the existing educational facilities of that country; it should be a co-ordinating part of the planned economic development, improving the mental quality of the human resources.

If the principle that education of the masses should be adjusted to the needs of the economic development of the country is accepted, the scope of workers' education is clear. The First and the Second Five Year Plans lay down in detail the path of economic development and workers' education should facilitate the nation's progress on this path through active co-operation of the workers. The Second Plan desires to have "a milieu in which the small man who has so far had little opportunity of perceiving and participating in the immense possibilities of growth through organized effort is enabled to put in his best in the interests of a higher standard of life for himself and increased prosperity for the country". It is hoped that in this process, he rises in economic and social status. A well planned programme of workers' education can achieve this purpose by making the workers better individuals, more skilled operatives, active trade unionists and responsible citizens; it can enable the workers to fulfil the objectives of the Plan, namely, a sizeable increase in the national income and an appreciable rise in the level of living; rapid industrialisation; expansion of employment opportunities; and reduction of income inequalities and even distribution of economic power. Workers as the productive section of the population, can achieve this fulfilment by such means as increased production, harmonious industrial relations, constructive trade unionism, and co-operation with employers and the State. Workers' education can imbibe among the workers such virtues as discipline, efficiency and patriotism.

The content of the workers' education can be illustrated by the following statement, which indicates the type of education suitable to the view through which the worker is seen.

Worker viewed as
(a) An individual

Type of workers' education
(i) Literacy programme
(ii) Liberal or general education (school college and University)

<i>Worker viewed as</i>	<i>Type of workers' education</i>
(b) As a worker (member of the profession)	(i) Vocational education (ii) Trade union education (iii) Education in industrial and labour problems
(c) As a citizen (member of the community)	Urban social education (civics and citizenship training)
(d) As a member of the human race	International understanding.

Leaving aside the last type, which is not of immediate importance, workers' education can be said to comprise of four types of education : (a) literacy and post-literacy programmes ; (b) vocational education ; (c) trade union and labour education ; and (d) social education. It is necessary to examine the contents of these four types.

Literacy and Post-literacy Programmes

According to the 1951 Census, only 16.6 per cent. of the total population were literate. Though the percentage of the urban population was higher (i.e. 34.6 per cent), the magnitude and the complexity of the problem cannot be overlooked. Article 45 of the Directive Principles of our Constitution lays down that the State should endeavour to provide within a period of ten years for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. Such a provision provides for the future generation but not for the adults, who have crossed the school going age or who cannot afford economically to undertake the existing educational facilities. In India, Adult Education Associations, which have now become a part of the social education movement, have drawn attention to this problem though they could not tackle it adequately. A programme of workers' education can assist the social education organisations in the eradication of illiteracy.

There has been recently a school of thought, which desires to give preference to developmental programmes over literacy campaigns. According to these people, in an underdeveloped country, where the standards of living are so low, it is more important to teach people better citizenship, health and hygiene than to take time teaching them to read ; when they are better fed and are in better health, literacy campaigns could be started,

but initially priority should be given to practical demonstration of better methods of living. The opposite school of thought thinks that teaching adults to read and write would open their minds and make them receptive to new ideas about ways of living; when they have learned to read, they can be supplied with literature to extend their knowledge. In India, literacy can serve as the first step in workers' education, because it would be easy for literate workers to become better trade union leaders and better citizens. Though there are these two opinions about the priority to be given to literacy in adult education, there is unanimity about the importance of a literacy campaign in economic development.

When an illiterate worker is made literate, it is necessary to provide for him higher education, if he is willing to have it. There should, therefore, be provision for secondary, high school and college education for workers, who can have it with little cost and at convenient timings. At present, many night schools in the industrial urban areas are satisfying this need, somewhat inadequately and haphazardly. It is desirable to organize a programme of liberal education, which will cater fully to the needs of workers. A follow-up programme of the literacy work done seems also essential.

Vocational Education

In India, there has been a serious shortage of skilled workers, in contrast to the unlimited supply of unskilled labour. This has resulted in the paradox of scarcity of technical manpower in the midst of widespread unemployment and underemployment. Economic development implies optimum utilisation of material and human resources; lack of skill, however, prohibits the effective utilisation of a large labour force and thus obstructs economic progress. The Second Plan has made proposals for intensive training programmes for technical personnel at various levels. A workers' education programme can supplement the efforts of the State and the employers.

Education and vocational training, if properly imparted can make a significant contribution to higher productivity. According to the I.L.O. Report on *Higher Productivity in Manufacturing Industries*, "vocational training requirements, for industry include training for higher management;

training of scientists, engineers and technicians ; training of supervisors ; training for skilled workers ; training for operatives ; and induction courses for all categories of new employees". The training programmes can turn an unskilled worker into a skilled worker and the latter into a more skilled worker. The modern industrial system is getting more and more complex and simple manual operations are being replaced by high skilled technical methods. The ever-increasing division of labour and its consequent specialisation, arising out of the industrial trend from mechanisation to modernisation, and now to automation, has created an urgent demand for highly trained technical personnel. Workers' education, by the inclusion of vocational education within it, can promote the worker's understanding of his job.

Trade Union and Labour Education

Now-a-days the first priority in workers' education is given to trade union education, mainly because many of the economic and social problems of workers can be decided through strong trade unionism. Often the term "workers' education" is considered identical with "trade union education," on the ground that the chief aim of workers' education is to make the workers efficient trade unionists.

The Indian trade unions suffer from a vicious circle of political unionism, dominance of outsiders, rivalry and multiplicity of unions, low membership, unsound finances, lack of legitimate trade union activities, reliance on legislative machinery and absence of leadership from the rank and file. A programme of trade union education can break this circle by imparting training in trade unionism to actual workers in industry, who can then manage their own affairs. Organisation and administration of trade unions involve many technical matters, such as recruitment of members, framing the constitution, registration, collection of dues, maintenance of accounts, correspondence and other office work, propaganda, preparation of research memoranda, fighting the cases in labour courts, and negotiations with employers. For an efficient trade union work a trade unionist must be conversant with all labour matters and also with relevant economic and social problems. For example, he must know such matters as grievance procedure, methods of collective bargaining, determina-

tion of wages, productivity problems, recruitment and training, economics of employment and social security, planning for economic development, cost of living and wage indices, labour statistics, provisions of labour legislation and of labour welfare, and international labour movement. In the broader field, he must know the elements of industrial economics (particularly organisational and financial aspects of industrial units), industrial psychology, industrial sociology, cooperation and community organisation. As a labour leader, guiding the members of trade unions, he should be familiar with the tools and techniques of trade union education. He should also keep himself up-to-date with the current economic, political and social events.

It may be difficult for an illiterate worker to be an efficient trade unionist and hence literacy should precede trade union education. A programme of trade union education can enable the workers in industry to rise up to trade union leadership and thus a cadre of full-time career trade unionists can be built up to strengthen the trade union movement. The Second Five Year Plan has provided for a stipendiary scheme of workers' education, because "training of workers in trade union philosophy and methods becomes necessary, if the workers are to become self-reliant". Unfortunately, the scheme, sponsored by the Central Government, suffers from two serious defects: Firstly, it accepts the narrower definition of the worker and restricts itself in scope to actual workers in industry. A large number of employees and self-employed persons are thus excluded. Secondly, it is being imposed from above in three tiers—teacher-administrators, teachers and workers. The authorities in charge of the scheme will thus have little contact with the workers. The scheme will thus be a welfare measure imposed on the workers by a paternal Government, as part of "enlightened autocracy". At best, it will be a movement encouraged and promoted by state help and by a vigorous campaign of propaganda. It cannot be a movement of the workers and hence it may fail due to lack of co-operation from the beneficiaries. It may have the same fate as that of State sponsored social security measures, which use compulsion in bringing the workers within their scope.

Social Education

The worker is also a citizen and hence "workers' education" should aim to make him a better citizen, by instilling in him a sense of discipline

and patriotism and by training him in civics and citizenship. According to the Second Five Year Plan, "Social education embodies a comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems of the community, primarily through community action. Besides literacy, it includes health, recreation, and home life, economic activities and citizenship training". Most of the adult education associations have expanded their activities from mere literacy to social education.

Conclusion

This article deals only with the concept and content of workers' education. It excludes any discussion about other important matters like methods and techniques and agencies of workers' education, though the scope and content may sometimes vary according to the methods used or according to the agency implementing the programme. For example the content of workers' education under the State programme will be different from that of a programme organized by a Workers' Education Association. The differences can be seen in the aims and objects, in the procedure followed, and in the emphasis laid on the different subjects. It may, therefore, be desirable for the different agencies to co-ordinate their activities and implement a unified scheme of workers' education, comprising the various types like literacy, general education, vocational education, trade union education, labour education, and social education.

WORKERS' EDUCATION SCHEME—A Challenge to the Trade Union Movement

Bagaram Tulpule

General Secretary, Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

The initiative taken by the Government of India in proposing a programme of Workers' Education and earmarking a sizable amount of money for the purpose has posed a challenge and a problem to the labour movement of our country. That the general education and vocational training of workers is properly a responsibility of the Government is recognised universally. Indeed, this responsibility has to be borne by the Government in respect of all citizens, and workers and their children are also citizens. There is, in fact, a widespread complaint that the facilities provided by the Government in this respect need to be greatly enhanced.

Government Proposals—A Challenge and A Problem

What makes the present Government proposal regarding Workers' Education a challenge and a problem is the fact that it relates to objectives other than general education and vocational training. These objectives were generally announced by the Government in the very beginning and emerged more specifically in the recommendations of the Ford Foundation Team of Experts invited by the Government of India to advise it on the subject. One of the recommendations of the Team—all the recommendations were subsequently accepted by the Indian Labour Conference in substance—suggested the following heads in which instruction should be provided to workers :

1. Trade Union consciousness ;
2. The purpose, functions and administration of trade unions ;
3. Conduct of Union-Management relations and knowledge of Industry ; and
4. The development of a mature individual and his role a citizen.

In the early stages, it was urged by many that the primary objective to be aimed at through the programme of workers' education should be to build up among workmen the awareness of their responsibility towards the community and also to train them to undertake the task of participating in the management of industry. Indeed, it is quite probable that, that was the objective uppermost in the minds of the Planners since workers' willing co-operation is essential to ensure the success of their Plan and since the Plan itself has proposed to grant to the workers the right of participation in management through Councils of Management.

Objectives of Workers' Education Defined by Expert Team

It is clear that the recommendations of the Team of Experts emphasise a different objective—at least a different immediate objective—than the one of inculcating social responsibility or training in participation in management. The emphasis of the recommendation is on training the worker to become a better trade unionist and to build and run better unions. This objective does not necessarily conflict with the other. It does, however, imply a different order of priority. It does imply that the worker must first be able to build up the organisation which could act in furtherance of the collective interests of the working people and represent them collectively for all purposes. A broad understanding of this objective will necessarily include the protection of the organisations against various kinds of internal and external evils like racketeering, undemocratic functioning, interference by external influences, political control and so on.

The difference in emphasis is significant, for it has a bearing on the freedom of the trade union movement. It is true that workers and the labour movement should appreciate the interests of the society as a whole and their own responsibility towards it. It is also a salutary principle that workers should have the right to participate in management of industries. Unfortunately, however, it is never possible to reach unanimity regarding what concretely constitutes the interest of the society and what really is the responsibility of the working class towards the society. Various social groups and vested interests hold and voice different and even conflicting views. That is unavoidable in a free and democratic society. But, for this very reason, it is important that no agency, even if it is the elected Government of the country, must pontificate and lay down the

absolute law of what constitutes the interest of the society and the workers' responsibility towards the society. The workers as a distinct social group, must judge these things for themselves and act accordingly. It is out of such interaction of the judgments and actions of the various social groups that the interest of the the society must emerge and advance.

Priority on Better Trade Unionism

Hence, the consciousness of responsibility towards the society must presuppose the ability to judge what really constitutes social interest and also the organisational instrument to reach such a judgment, since in the case workers, the judgment has to be a collective one and not individual. It is in achieving such an ability and in building the organisational instrument for exercising collective judgment that the worker will be serving the genuine social interest. The priority must, therefore, rightly go to enabling the workers to build and run better trade unions.

The dangers of general vague appeals to social interests are especially serious in the present conditions in our country. The Second Five Year Plan professed to aim at certain objectives, among which was that of increasing employment. The detailed proposals in the Plan, however, laid emphasis on the development of heavy and centralised industries whose employment potential would not be high compared to their capital requirements. The Plan also gave certain assurances to workers regarding wage policy and other factors related with the workers' standard of living. During the months that followed the publication of the Second Plan, the Government has gradually cut down parts of the Plan on ground of financial and foreign exchange difficulties. The 'hard core' of the Plan which is now being given top priority by the Government is precisely that part of the Plan which holds out little promise to workers of higher wages, better houses or an improving standard of living, or of increasing employment. It is being seriously proposed that workers should desist from pressing any claims for higher wages on the grounds that it would be contrary to social interest.

Social interests—A Controversial Concept

On the other hand it is a problem whether social interest is better served by preserving the 'hard core' of the Plan by sacrificing the human

aspects, and whether the objective of increasing employment does not rate a higher priority than that of mere heavy industrialisation. Over such vital but controversial issues it would be easy for one school of thought to condemn the workers as anti-social and for others to support the workers in their demands for better wages and working and living conditions. Similarly, there is a school of trade unionists in the country which appears to feel that unions not agreeing with it are working against the interests of the society and should, therefore, not be granted recognition.

Clearly, when the Government or any other group demand that the workers should realise the interests of the society and act in furtherance of them, what they really demand is conformity with their own particular appraisal of any given problem or situation.

In the absence of a strong and healthy democratic trade union movement, such forced conformity with the official or any other particular viewpoint, would be a very real danger.

Lack of Enthusiasm in the Rank and File

One cannot, however, escape the feeling of a certain unreality about all the current discussion and planning of workers' education programmes. The subject has been in the air for quite a considerable period and has received a fair degree of publicity. It must, however, be admitted that it has not caught the attention of the workers themselves. It can hardly be claimed that it has really caught the attention of the ranks of even the trade union movement. There is little evidence of any keenness within the labour movement to follow the progress of the planning of the programmes or to take advantage of it. On the other hand the initiative taken by the Government does not appear to have induced the trade union movement as a whole to appreciate the risks in leaving the field of workers' education to a non-trade union agency. The movement has not been provoked into greater initiative and effort in the field.

Paucity of resources alone is not enough to explain this lack of greater interest and activity by trade unions in this field. It is true that the movement lacks both the money and the trained personnel to a great extent. There are, however, quite a few unions in the country which could run education programmes of their own, even if on a modest scale, out of their own

resources. Besides, the availability of fairly substantial and useful facilities provided by the Government should also encourage unions to undertake tasks which their own resources might not permit them to. Neither of these are much in evidence.

There are two other factors, one or both of which may be the cause of this apparent indifference. For the workers, and for most trade unionists, the priority job is to secure immediate benefits from the employers. This is due to the deplorable conditions of work and wages, the general attitude of hostility of the employers to a greater or lesser degree, and to the dilatoriness and ineffectiveness in the administration of labour laws. All these keep the trade unionist so tied up in pursuing disputes and grievances that he has little time and resources left for initiating education programmes.

Suspicion of Government Efforts

The other factor that may be responsible for the failure of the Government initiative to evoke any particular enthusiasm about workers' education within the labour movement is the widespread feeling within the movement that the policy of the Government is not conducive to the unfettered growth of the movement and that in the absence of a sound policy in this respect, Government sponsored programmes of workers' education may actually be no more than a diversion from the main issues. The industrial relations legislation that has been in force in the country for the past several years has laid great stress on compulsory adjudication and has cramped the initiative and the collective bargaining strength of labour. Administratively, the Government has always frowned upon any attempt by the workers to resort to any kind of direct action and strikes, no matter how peaceful. The Government has also failed to hold the scales even as among the various trade union organisations in the country, and has meticulously nursed and fostered one particular sect within the labour movement. Unless workers are convinced that the general policy of the Government in this respect is changing, they are likely to look with suspicion any programmes sponsored by it.

The Ford Foundation Team of Experts was also fully aware of this problem as can be seen from the following recommendation made by them :

“Consideration should be given to those matters which might

provide a more favourable climate to accomplish the goals of workers education by

- A. Instituting measures calculated to bring about a strong trade union movement ;
- B. Providing courses in labour-management relations in educational institutions ;
- C. Meeting the great need for the Government to set the example as an ideal employer to the workers and/or trade unions engaged in the public sector ;
- D. Encouraging a wage policy that provides for wages and/or incentive bonus adjustments as productivity rises and
- E. Undertaking a study of legislation at the Central and State levels with the objective of strengthening and co-ordinating all legislation affecting the trade union movement."

Such a feeling of distrust is strengthened by the failure of the Government to give due priority to the more pressing needs and demands of the workers like better wages, housing and social security. Only if workers and the labour movement are convinced that the Government is doing all that is possible to redeem its promises in these respects will they will be prepared to take all the other programmes of the Government seriously.

Role of External Agencies in Workers Education

Wherever in the world the free labour movement has grown to adequate strength and maturity it has built up workers' education programmes as integral parts of its organisation and activities. It has also jealously guarded against any external agencies interfering or seeking to take the initiative away from the movement. This has not prevented the trade union organisations from cooperating with other agencies like universities. But the organisations have never permitted themselves to become dependent upon the assistance or initiative of such external agencies. The very fact that in India the initiative had to come from the Government is in itself a measure of the weakness and lop-sidedness of the trade union movement here.

Need for Vigilance to Preserve Objectivity of Programme Content

The labour movement in India is, therefore, faced with a challenge. Will they allow the vital field of workers' education to be controlled directed and influenced by external agencies, especially the Government? Or will they put forth the effort that will generate a live education movement which will nurse both the strength and the freedom of the movement? It is true that even in relation to the Government proposal, it has been agreed by all concerned that the actual education imparted should be objective and that it should be done under the control and direction of autonomous bodies which will be largely manned by workers' own representatives. But it will not be easy to ensure that even this is achieved in practice. It is all too possible that the actual result may be only a new structure of bureaucracy and administrative apparatus scarcely different from the general pattern of Government departments, going about its work in a cold, mechanical manner without any deep understanding or sympathy for the purpose behind workers' education and the function of the trade union movement. Such an apparatus can do no more than 'sell' to the workers the policies of the established Government or of a particular sect in the labour movement. At the worst, the programme could degenerate into racketeering and jobbing.

Should then, the free trade union movement in India refuse to have anything to do with the Government proposal in the field of workers' education? One would be glad to be able to answer 'yes'. But the need for trade union education for workers is so real and urgent and the default of the trade union movement in this respect has been so complete and prolonged that the movement will have no justification for rejecting the Government proposal outright. Such rejection would be even less justified when it has been agreed in principle by all concerned that the financial assistance made available by the Government must be without strings of any kind. Besides, should the movement as a whole reject the proposal the Government will, with the participation of the section of the movement which is close to it politically, be quite prepared to go on with the proposal.

The most desirable course for the trade union organisations to follow under the present conditions appears to be to participate in the planning

and execution of the programme in order to vigilently guard against any bureaucratism or conformism dominating it, and to accept and utilise the education activities of the labour movement itself, so that even from the earliest stages, they will be able to make a beginning in the field without any dictation from outside and in course of time will be able to run their programmes entirely independently and on an adequately wide scale.

BOOKS ON ADULT EDUCATION

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WORKERS' EDUCATION—Lessons from Social Education

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With the organisation of the National Seminar on Workers' Education by the Indian Adult Education Association, the Adult Education movement in India launches on a new area of influence and responsibilities. Uptil now the movement had confined itself to general education of the adult citizen who has had no opportunity of formal education during his early period of life. The need for enlarging the area of influence comes from the acceptance of the programme of industrialisation of the productive resources of the country as the very basis of national development. Another consideration which underlines the need for Workers' Education emerges from the acceptance of the principle of workers' participation in industrial management as a positive step towards the development of a socialistic pattern of society.

The term "Workers' Education", like its early associate social education, is open many interpretations. Various connotative meanings are associated with the term beyond its denotative one. In its denotative sense, it simply implies education of the worker, either for a specific job that he is associated with or his general education as an adult citizen or both. The term has acquired through necessity another meaning. The industrial worker is not just an adult worker associated with a given job. He is a source of production. He is an economic unit. He has a contribution to make, not only to the economic development of productive resources of a given country but also to the very economic system of his own government. This realisation of the important role of an industrial worker also arises from the acceptance of collective bargaining by trade unions as a force in furthering the economic and social welfare of industrial workers in particular and of the country in general. Thus, the acceptance of the multifarious role of an industrial workers necessitates the inclusion of trade unionism along with his education as a worker and a citizen.

A cursory study of the programme of Workers' Education in different countries make an interesting revelation of the inspirations that contributed to their development under different auspices. Trade unionists interested in Securing the cooperation of the workers included the bias of trade unionism in the programme of workers' education. Industrialists interested in increased production acknowledge the importance of technical "know-how" by the industrial workers. They provide facilities for acquiring both general and technical education for their workers. Countries wedded to socialism recognise the place of the industrial worker on the management of industries on basis of equality. Thus different phases of the programme of workers' education found varying emphasis in different countries depending on the recognition of the industrial worker in their economy. Experience of the industrial countries both in the East and the West need, therefore, to be viewed from the stage of development of the concept and recognition of the need of education of the industrial worker. Any whole-sale adoption of such a programme in our country is fraught with danger.

While discussing the concept and place of workers' education in our country we need to recognise the three major areas of the learning of the industrial worker. They are: a) general education of the industrial worker as a citizen including education for communication and of citizenship which in turn includes education for social adjustment, social participation and social action; b) specific training of the technical "know-how" both for a given job in a given industry and for effective participation in industrial management; c) education for trade-unionism. In the country where the spread of literacy is limited to not more than 20% of the total population, the programme of workers' education will have to begin at the lowest level of education for communication along with other citizens. The learning is to be extended to the technical knowledge of the job and on the job. In some cases when workers are ready to extend their learning further, it has to include the knowledge of the management of the industry. He needs also to continue to learn to play his own effective role as a trade-unionist on the prevailing economy of the country.

For all these, the needs of the industrial worker and the level of his learning will determine the scope and the contents of workers' education

programme. This will differ from a worker to worker and industry to industry. Besides, the range of difference will be very wide, beginning with an illiterate worker and ending with a highly technically trained personnel.

In addition, the clarity of understanding of the place of the industrial worker in the management of the industry will influence the content of education. At present it is not clear what place will be "assigned" to him. There are three alternatives with various combinations. Either the industrial administration recognising the role of the industrial worker gives him an equal place in the management; or the trade union movement in and country exerts its influence in securing for him his position of equality on the management of industry; the government accepting the concept of socialist pattern of society allots an equal place by legislation to the worker on the management. At present, judging by public utterances, the place of the worker on the management of the industry is not clearly defined. This lack of clarity will, in turn, effect the contents of workers' education.

Delegates to the ensuing national seminar will discuss the concept, the scope, the methods and techniques and the agencies of workers' education. It is not the intention of the writer to pre-determine the decisions of the seminar. The article is meant only to draw the attention of the delegates to some of the past experiences in the development of the movement of social education in our country so as to avoid the repetition of history in case of the programme of Workers' Education.

The term social education, ever since it was adopted in the field of adult education, carries many meanings. In the beginning it was associated with literacy, latter with education for citizenship; along with which, the programme of informal education through recreational and cultural activities were tagged. This has contributed considerably in spreading confusion among workers as to their own role and the programme of work. It is not wrong to adopt a comprehensive term such as social education for the education of citizens in our country. The omission that was committed was with regard to the scope of the activities of the different levels of workers and the phase of development of the programme. Our attention to this neglect has been repeatedly drawn in the Evaluation Reports of the Planning Commission on the programme of social education in rural areas.

It is hoped that the delegates will keep this difficulty of the field workers in mind and define the phase of development of the programme of workers' education according to the needs, requirements and the stage of development of the industrial workers.

The second experience is in connection with the programme of social education. Different programme, both of formal and informal, were utilized without knowing the exact implications of the activities in fulfilling the objectives of education. Even today it is difficult to say which activity is utilised for what purpose and with what success. The lack of understanding of the dynamics of education in the process of learning and the limited knowledge of the workers in the methods and organisation have contributed considerably to the confusion and the resulting disappointment. There was hardly any research made in the methods of organising the programme. The experiences gained by certain organisations were not clearly analysed and the knowledge harnessed. It is therefore hoped that in adopting the programme of Workers Education, the importance of the dynamics of education of the worker and the technique of imparting the knowledge are not over looked in the hurry of either adopting the programme or spreading it far and wide. It is also hoped that a programme of experimentation in different methods of workers' education may be adopted during the early stage of development and the experiences so gained be analysed and utilised adequately in practice. The prevailing urge found in our country during the early stage of development since Independence, of "covering the earth" when one lacks the capacity, knowledge and resources "to cover one's own feet" may not be allowed to influence, let us hope, the new field of Workers' Education.

The third important experience of the field of social education that needs to be noted is the lack of adequate training facilities of the workers. The training of the social education workers has never known its own bearing. The confusion in the concept of social education and its functions and scope has extended itself in the sphere of training. Even the period ranges from one to six months. Almost all training programmes are in-service programmes. No university has adopted the subject for regular academic courses. The contents of the training are loaded with subjects much beyond the limitation of time that is provided for it and sometimes

the capacity of the learners. The manual of social education indicates the workers' role as a community organiser. The contents of training do not measure to this requirement. The whole question of training is viewed not from the point of view of adequacy but from the point of view of urgency of spreading the message of social education however thinly and inadequately. It may be said without exaggeration that the whole programme of social education suffers from inadequate thought and deliberation even today. It is hoped that similar development may not be repeated in the new field of Workers' Education.

In stating these arrays of limitation of the field of social education, it is not the intention of the writer to apportion blame on anyone. The writer is an integral part of the group of workers associated with the field for the present decade. Some of the problems enumerated above could have been solved by more deliberation and research; some of them are inherent in the stage of development of our country and the programme. Some others defy solution even today. What is hoped is that by making ourselves aware of the history of events in the allied field of work, we may try consciously to avoid repetition of the history of experiences in developing the new areas of influence and responsibilities. It is suggested that the adult education movement in assuming new responsibilities of workers' education programme in our country, may delimit the areas of responsibilities only to those that it is qualified to assume by its past experiences and present resources. Only when the programme is related to the needs of the people concerned and to the traditions of their life and developed in stages with clarity of concept, functions, methods and organisation that it bears reasonably good chances of becoming into a movement.

Professor M. MUJEEB

India today is on the threshold of a great change ; national progress demands the inculcation of new values among people so that the nexus of social relationships conduces to the evolution of new social institutions which will be in tune with the aspirations of the broad masses of people. It demands the cultivation of new attitudes among people so that social virtues consistent with the needs of the age become current in daily life. It demands training in new techniques for the mastery of nature so that the basis of material progress are laid.

Prof. Mujeeb believes that this is the context which, at once, lends to social education, its distinctive significance and defines its functions : the significance is historic, for it marks a crucial juncture in the unfolding of India's future ; the functions are important because they provide the means to effect the transformation to the next phase. Social education is thus faced with a challenge it faced never before. Will it emerge successful ? Experience in the past has brought to the fore number of problems which need to be solved if social education is to become competent enough to discharge the obligations has thrust on it.

For instance, despite years of work in the field we have yet to discover a way of arguing out with the people that literacy is essential if they are to improve the quality of their lives. Recreational and cultural activities we are inclined to take up, because they are the easiest and yet in organising them we bring into play little imagination and less ingenuity. Janta Colleges have succeeded but in a few places ; we have yet to find an adequate number of the right type of workers to settle down in the villages and influence people towards the right conduct. Most disturbing of all is, however, the lack of faith in what we are doing and the absence of devotion to what is essentially a cause ; this, more than any other, is the one single factor that is preventing the movement from becoming as effective as it needs to be.

What, then, is the remedy ?

The first is to create conviction in ourselves and in our methods. Not uncommonly, we are inclined to toy about with a programme without following it to its logical conclusion, and we never come to grips with real problems. This impulse to follow each fleeting thing without a genuine and well founded faith needs to be curbed.

The second is to develop amongst ourselves a consciousness for competence. Today the common attitude to work is one of nonchalance. We rarely want to excell.

This apathy—a feeling that nothing matters—must yield place to a will to efficiency. Without such a will our effort will come to nought.

The most important thing, however, is to cultivate ourselves before we aspire to help others cultivate themselves. This was perhaps the greatest single achievement of the late Shafiq-ur-Rehman Kidwai. Through suffering and struggle, he had made himself the prototype of the human being he desired others to become and radiated a profound impression on those who came in contact with him. Those who seek to serve social education as a cause must, therefore, subject themselves to a rigid discipline wherein emotions are refined and attitudes bespeak the cause they serve. It is not opinions that count so much as the strength of one's faith in them. This is the basic trait of personality that needs incultation amongst ourselves.

Tradition bestows on us a propensity to create myths. Mythology, to be sure, symbolises the values the myth-maker cherishes. The danger, however, is that frequently the myth becoming more gripping than the values it symbolises loses its significance; the myth thus ceases to have the sanctions of a moral command. Not until we realise in ourselves a devotion to absolutes will we be able to transform India into the picture of our dreams.

Prof. Mujeeb in no small measure reflects in himself the belief that "of all man's art, the final work of art is man himself". Prof. Mujeeb's life has been one an artist—liberally as well as figuratively and his creation extends not merely into the spheres of art but to life itself. Common wood he can chisel into exquisite shape; of common experience he can create a drama of great power; indeed all his life he has been engaged in moulding out of the ordinary, the extra-ordinary.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR—More Comments on Social Education in Planning

Can Social Education Change Values ?

Ulhas' article in the June issue of *Journal* reminded me of a remark in one of the works of Professor Raymond Firth, the well-known cultural anthropologist at the London School of Economics. Discussing acculturation, a special form of social change, Professor Firth writes that it is easiest to adopt new ways in the use of material objects, it is more difficult to adopt elements of a new social structure, but the last and most difficult change is one of values. Now it seems to me that the purpose of social education, as expounded by Ulhas appears to be directed precisely to change people's values and to achieve this result directly rather than through an intermediary.

It is granted that change in a society, which wants to avoid violent disorganisation, can be brought about only if it conforms to the values and beliefs of the people. This is even true of totalitarian regimes, and the threat to such regimes, which was manifested in the Hungarian revolt of a year ago, or in the unrest in Eastern Germany and Poland, arises precisely because the material and social-structural cultural elements of a people are being manipulated, even though its

values and beliefs are not changed. But we must admit that a change in the material culture and the social structure of a people will ultimately also effect its values, and those who propose a simpler method of change, are always inclined to manipulate the material environment, rather than to tackle the such more refractory realm of values and beliefs. To the extent to which this procedure provokes conflict or social disorganization, force is used, though propaganda and brainwashing methods are not lost out of sight. These methods were familiar to imperialist rulers who cared little about a people's beliefs, but cared much for their labor or their raw materials: they are in common use in all totalitarian countries, where, in the name of planning, resources are shifted so as to bring about vast changes in the material implements at the disposal of a society, regardless of whether these changes are accepted or even understood by the masses.

Ulhas sees the need for attacking the economic backwardness of this country through planning. He does not question the necessity of a change in the material equipment of this country

He sees the crying need for new and better tools, for more and better goods, since this will bring greater comforts to people and will assure the further growth of the nation. But he realizes at the same time that a process in which only the material achievements are considered may lead to results in which the values of the people of India become increasingly divorced from the material culture in which they live. Instead of being content to wait for the day when the change in technology and economic production will have slowly shaped the values of the masses of the population, a process which it is thought can be speeded up by totalitarian forms of planning, he wishes to attack the basis of India's economic and technical backwardness on two fronts. He agrees that planning, especially the planned development of industry, power plants, and various other utilities is necessary. But he warns that concentration on this task alone will not lead to a happy result, but that commensurate with the immense impending changes in technology and productive machinery, the attitudes, the beliefs, and the values of people must undergo change.

To bring about, or at least to facilitate this change in values is the task of social education. In designating this to be the most appropriate and noblest objective of social education he is at the same time assigning it a most stupendous task, a task of more gigantic proportions than all the five year plans of all planners combined. One's mind roams back over the history of man and asks whether such a task was ever attempted within

a generation or two. Did Asoka succeed in reshaping the values of his people during his reign? Did Constantine or Charlemagne? Surely these rulers only put the capstone into a religious edifice which man had started to build long before they came to power. And in spite of their human charity, Asoka Constantine, Charlemagne, and other great rulers who stood at a crucial cross road in the history of human moral evolution, were absolute rulers who achieved their results by decree rather than by persuasion.

From what I have said so far it may be implied that I consider the role which Ulhas assign to social education as flowing out of a sentiment with strong utopian coloring. But if social education cannot be expected to perform miracles, it certainly should be considered a tool, a method, which can lead us some way towards more satisfactory solution of cultural change than the disregard of people's attitudes and the execution of a plan regardless of the reactions towards it or the understanding of it by the masses. For this reason it is important to examine somewhat in detail the concrete proposals concerning the role and objectives of social education which Ulhas assigns to it.

There are three main issues which are raised in his article in this connection. The first is the relationship between formulation and implementation of plans. The second is the role of voluntary agencies in social education, as against the role of public agencies. And the third is the relationship between changing attitudes with respect to

technological, as against socio-structural features. In other words, the difference between acceptance of a changed technology and the acceptance of a society in which the problem of caste is overcome.

I wish to make a few brief remarks on these three points, but must insist in all humility that it scarcely behoves someone from another country to discuss these issues as they affect India and Indian conditions. My remarks should, therefore, be taken not as the express of any well-grounded knowledge of India, but rather as the application of some very general principles to Indian problems as seen by someone only very superficially familiar with Indian institutions and life.

Is mass participation in formulation of Plans possible ?

With reference to the first point, I wish to point out that one cannot pose the distinction between formulation and implementation of a plan in such general terms as done by Ulhas in his article. The formulation of a plan takes place with different degrees of concreteness, and on some level its formulation requires such a degree of expertise in economics or statistics that only a small number of specially trained persons can be entrusted with it. Clearly, we cannot expect the ordinary man in the street to have any valid judgment of how various forms of capital should be allocated as between different industries, or where new power plants should be located, etc. But if we are all agreed that the formulation of a plan on a very specific level

is a matter for experts, we may ask whether there is any level of generality at which even the relatively little informed and poorly educated can be expected to participate in the formulation of a plan. Here, I submit, the only answer appears to be that mass participation is possible only on a level of accepting or rejecting a plan placed before the public or amending it in its broad outlines. In other words, it appears to me that the only voice which the public at large can raise in the formulation of the plan is its acceptance or its rejection. This voice is raised in general elections, and parliamentary discussions and as long as the party which is responsible for the plan is kept in power, the people at large or their elected representatives may be presumed to be consenting to the plan. I am aware that in casting a vote for one party or another an elector is swayed by other considerations than a plan alone. But national planning for economic growth has had such a prominent position in Indian politics in the last few years that the popular vote in elections may be presumed to be a general assent to the objectives of the plan, as well as to the methods by which it is to be implemented. If this is granted I see very little that social education can do, except making people aware of the contents of the plan, its meaning to them, the advantages it may bring them, as well as the sacrifices it will impose on them. Of course, since representatives of governmental agencies have a stake in the plan they will tend to expound its objectives and its expected results perhaps in a biased way and here the role of a strictly independent agency might be preferred.

Are Voluntary Agencies competent?

This brings me to the second point, the role of voluntary agencies as against governmental agencies in the field of social education for planning. I will not enter into the question whether voluntary agencies have their own "axes to grind" and hence are equally partial as would be representatives of some governmental agency. This may be the case but I am not familiar enough with all the voluntary agencies which do or pretend to participate in social education to make a reliable judgment. I wish to base my case primarily on the question of competence. Are there voluntary organisations in the field of social education which have thoroughly competent and efficient staffs? I believe not. On the whole, most of the best talent is in government service, and although voluntary agencies command the loyalty and services of many able people, the overall level of competence among them is far below that of public servants. In part this is a mere matter of economics. Voluntary agencies rely on workers who will give their time without pay, or against a token pay, and even where the pay is a real salary it does not come to a level which can be earned in government service. Now there are in India (as also elsewhere) a number of idealistic persons and there are perhaps a higher proportion of such people in India than in most other countries—who will prefer a less well paid position, which gives them full independence of thought and full freedom of expression, to a better paid post in the government where their task is the implementation of official policy rather than its critical evaluation. But

there are too few such people, and many others prefer the security of a government job.

But the economic factor is only one part of the problem. Regrettably it must be admitted that there exists still a good deal of hesitation among many India intellectuals—and leaders in a social education movement must doubtless be counted among the intellectuals—of expressing informed, constructive criticism of governmental policy. Some feel that all the wisdom is accumulated among public officials, and it would be folly for private persons to question that wisdom. Others are too badly informed to express responsible critical thoughts, and other; again are disappointed or disgruntled people who will express biases worse than those uttered by some of the most subservient public servants. For these reasons I doubt whether at this time a sufficient number of leaders for a social education movement can be found among the voluntary organisation of India, who could carry an effective and responsible social education movement. And I believe that a competent though somewhat biased public servant may be preferred to a relatively incompetent, or even disgruntled and slightly irresponsible representative of a voluntary agency.

There appears only one possible method by which the incentives of a voluntary worker and the funds and organizational experience of government can be combined and that is by some form of cooperation between government and voluntary agencies in the field of social education. The precise nature of

such cooperation as this would need to be worked out in detail.

Can change in Values Preceed material culture.

Finally I come to the point of technical versus socio-structural change. Here I can only repeat what I said at the outset of this letter. Although some writers have looked at caste as merely an outflow of social structure, it must be regarded as a factor which affects powerfully social values. Any institution which discriminates between people not merely in their work, but in their most intimate relationship, such as marriage and taking food together, has a profound significance for social values and beliefs. This is the ground why all the appeal to reason, the repeated explanation that the caste system—whatever its past usefulness—has no proper role and function in the society of today, and even less in that of to-morrow, finds no real response.

But in observing the fate of caste in India, we are, at the same time, obtaining proof again of the proposition of Professor Firth that material culture changes first and that socio-structural change and change in values follows. It is in the cities, where the most profound changes in material environment have

occurred that the actual practice of caste distinctions is at its weakest, and there is little hope that propaganda or even social education is going to eradicate caste-oriented sentiment in the villages without widespread material advance of the farmer's life.

Now, none of these propositions is so much a criticism of Ulhas' ideas, as expressed in his article, but rather a look from a somewhat different angle upon the problems which he has raised. There is no question that he has mapped out a most ambitious and worth while programme for social education, but the trouble is that it is rather unlikely that it can "deliver the goods." And this would spell disappointment in the experiment, and might lead to discredit a programme of social education based on the unalterable principle that human dignity and freedom are the most sacred values to be preserved. As a statement of objectives towards which social education should aim, Ulhas' proposals seem admirable, but the difficult task now before him and other who support the social education movement is to spell out in detail on how, in the given refractory circumstances, one can approach and perhaps ultimately reach these objectives.

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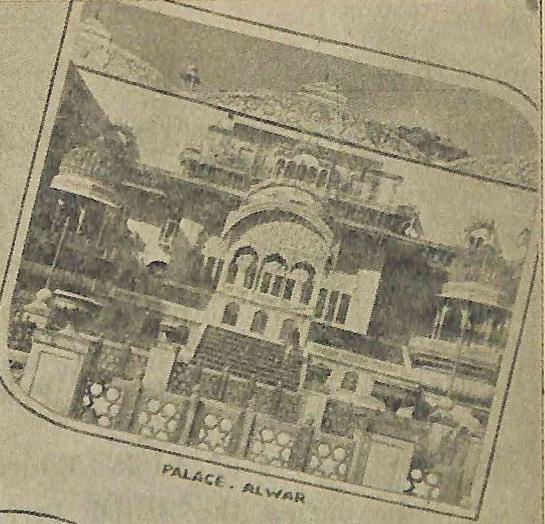
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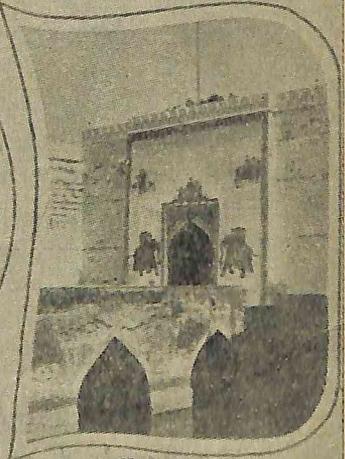
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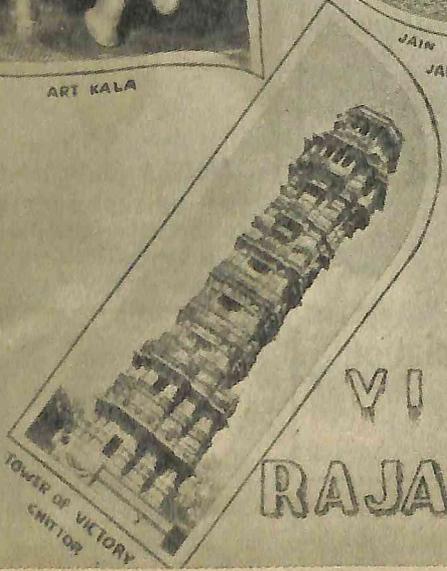
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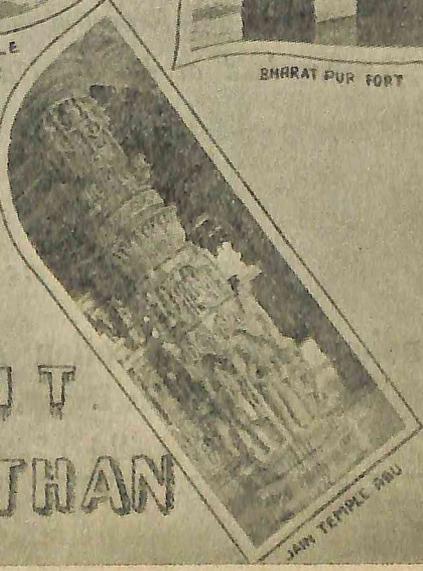
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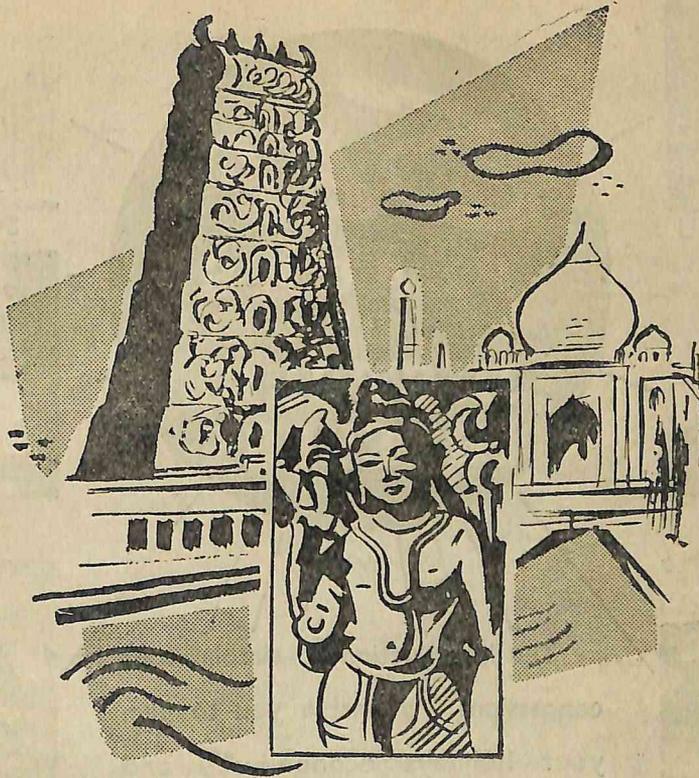


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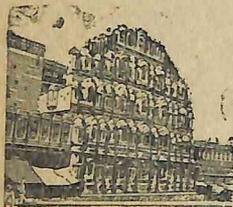
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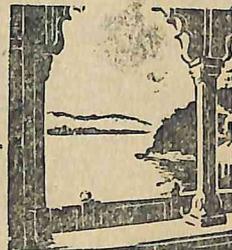
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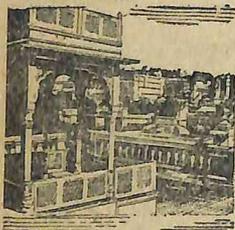
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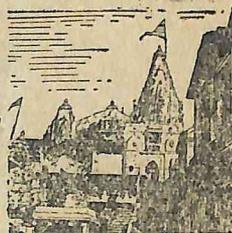
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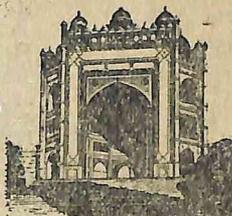
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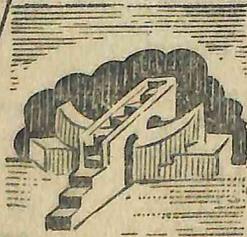
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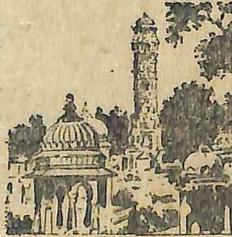
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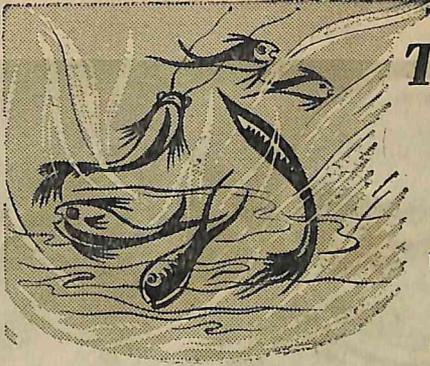
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"I rode into town," the merchant said, "the whole town saw me riding!" Just then he spotted his horse in the oilman's stable and exclaimed, "That's my horse!"

"No, that's my horse," the oilman said. "That wooden pole gave birth to it last night. It does so every year. Everybody in town knows about it."

The merchant complained to the magistrate, who asked him, "Have you any witnesses?" But everybody was on the side of the oilman.

Suddenly, the merchant remembered that he had helped a jackal on his way to town, so he replied: "Yes, my lord, I have one witness."

When the jackal came to court, he began yawning vastly.

"Didn't you sleep last night?" asked the magistrate.

"Last night," the jackal replied, "there was a great fire in the lake, and all the fish were burning in the blazing water. I spent the whole night eating them."

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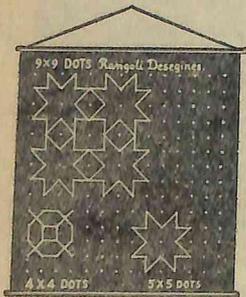
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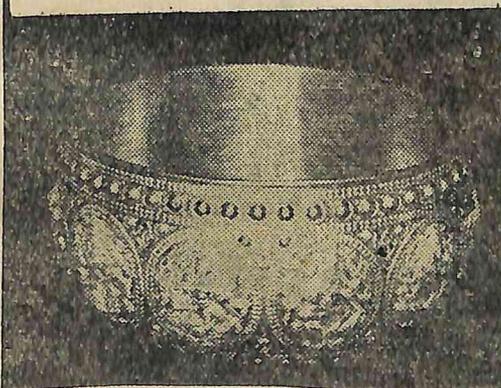
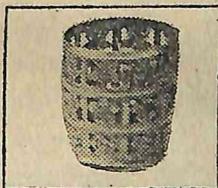


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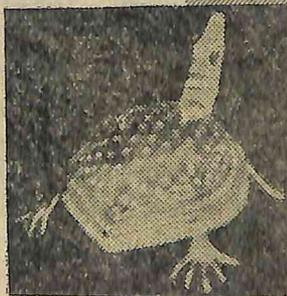
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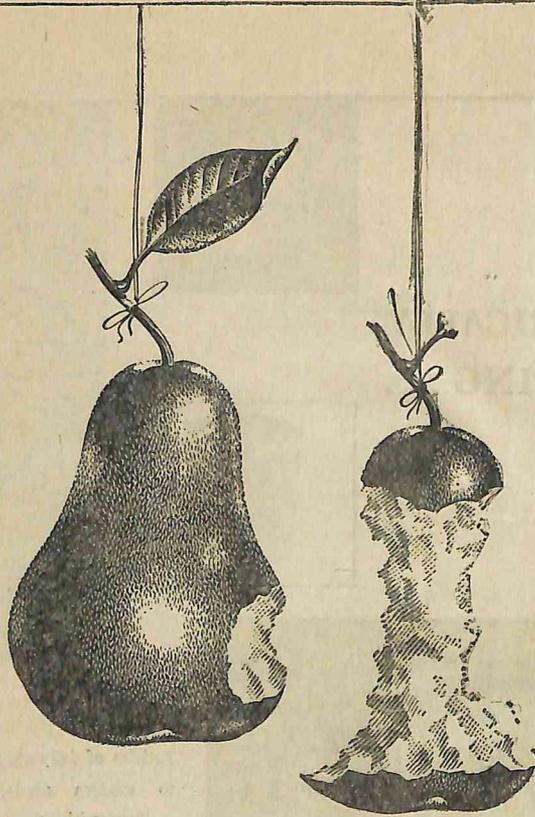


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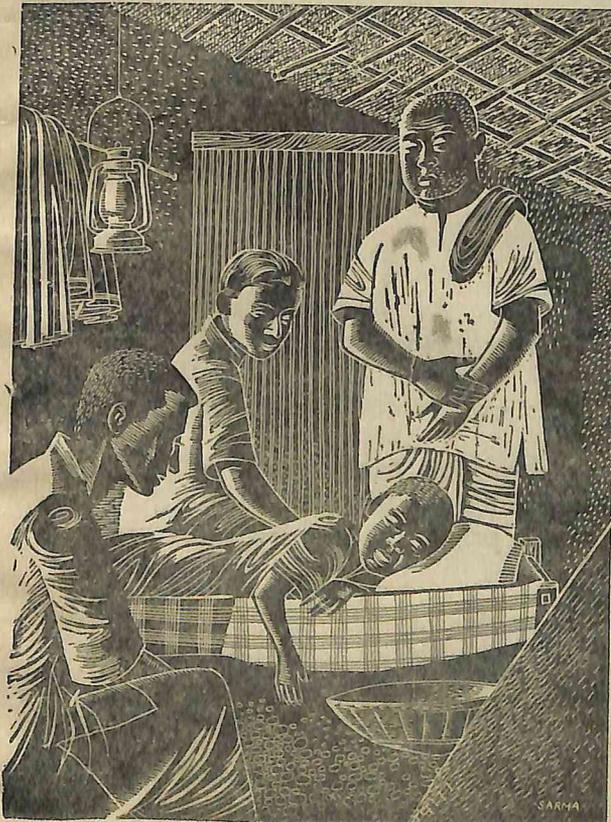
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