

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHEDULED CASTE  
STUDENTS

BAINS

M.A.

SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

AUGUST 1978

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD  
SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS:  
A STUDY OF SCHOOLS IN PUNJAB (INDIA)

Balbir Kaur Bains

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts (Education)

McGill University

June 1978

This Thesis is Presented  
to the Almighty  
for His Constant Help

## RESUME

L'enseignement scolaire de "Scheduled Castes" a reçu une très grande importance de la part du gouvernement de l'Inde, qui a adopté une politique de discrimination "protectrice" à leur égard. Cependant, les privilèges libéraux offerts aux étudiants "Scheduled Castes" semblent avoir été peu avantageux et ont créé des différends politiques. Cette thèse a pour but d'évaluer les attitudes des professeurs à l'égard des étudiants "Scheduled Castes" afin d'être en mesure de déterminer si les professeurs appuient les politiques de discrimination protectrice. Des professeurs de quatre écoles privées et gouvernementales de la région de Patiala, furent étudiés. L'hypothèse est que les professeurs des écoles gouvernementales auraient des attitudes plus favorables envers les politiques de discrimination et les étudiants "Scheduled Caste", que les professeurs du secteur privé. Peu de différences significatives furent notées entre les deux groupes. Les deux groupes de professeurs ont manifesté des attitudes négatives à l'égard des étudiants "Scheduled Caste", et un certain cynisme envers les politiques de discrimination protectrice.



## ABSTRACT

The education of the Scheduled Castes has been accorded a high priority by the Government of India which has adopted a policy of protective discrimination on their behalf. However, the liberal educational concessions made available to Scheduled Caste students seem to have had little beneficial effect and have stimulated much political controversy. This thesis examines the attitudes of teachers toward Scheduled Caste children in an attempt to ascertain whether teachers are supportive of the policies of protective discrimination, which they are asked to implement. Teachers affiliated with four government and private schools in the Patiala district of the Punjab were studied. It was hypothesized that, teachers affiliated with government schools would be more supportive of protective discrimination and would have more favourable attitudes toward Scheduled Caste students, generally compared to their colleagues working in private schools with sectarian managements. Few significant differences were observed between these two groups of teachers. Both groups exhibited predominantly negative assessments of Scheduled Caste students and a cynical outlook toward the policy of protective discrimination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Educational experience in a foreign land is thrilling indeed. My sincere thanks are due to each and every person at McGill University who landed stimulus and support to my endeavour.

Of course, I feel myself fortunate to have worked for this thesis under the able supervision of Dr. Thomas O. Eisemon, Programme Director, Department of Social Foundation whose humane understanding, ever willing cooperation and rich scholarly abilities made things a lot easier for me. I gratefully acknowledge my sincere gratitude to him. I also wish to acknowledge with thanks the indispensable contribution that Dr. Ratna Ghosh made in going through the first copy of my research report.

Appreciation is also due to officers in the Punjab Education Department and my friends in India who extended whole-hearted cooperation in collection of data for this project.

Last, but not least, I express my thanks to my brother who financially sponsored my studies in Canada and thus enabled me to fulfil a long cherished desire.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	v
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
The Study	1
Scope	1
Purpose	2
Scheduled Castes and Untouchability	3
Nomenclature	3
Social Position	5
Origin of Untouchability	6
The Untouchables in Punjab	9
Education of the Untouchables	11
Christian Influence	12
British Rule	14
National Influence	16
The Policy of Protective Discrimination	19
The Welfare Measures	20
The Policy in Punjab	22
Economic Benefits	22
Job Reservations	23
Educational Concessions	25
Present Conditions	29
Summary	30
CHAPTER II THE PROBLEM, STUDY DESIGN AND THE POPULATION	35
The Problem	35
Previous Studies	35
Need for the Present Study	41
The Educational System in Punjab	43
Teacher Recruitment	44

	<u>Page</u>
Hypotheses	46
Hypothesis 1	46
Hypothesis 2	47
Study Design	47
Area of Study	48
Questionnaire	51
Data Collection	52
The Study Population	55
Biographical Information	57
Social Composition	58
Educational Characteristics	59
Summary	62
CHAPTER III SCHOOL MANagements AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS	66
School Management and Teachers	66
Biographical Characteristics	67
Professional Characteristics	71
Attitudes Toward Scheduled Caste Students and Their Parents	74
Perceived School Performance	74
Parental Cooperation	76
Attitude Toward Protective Discrimination	78
Educational Concessions	79
Attitudes Toward Untouchability	84
Social Practices	85
Personality Characteristics	86
Social Relations with the Scheduled Castes	91
Summary	92

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER IV BIOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS	96
The Biographic Factors	96
Hypothesis	96
Teachers' Attitudes Toward	97
Untouchability	
Attitudes By Sex	97
Attitudes By Age	99
Attitudes By Level of Education	99
Attitudes by Caste-Community	102
Affiliation	
Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective Discrimination	103
Attitudes By Sex	106
Attitudes By Age	111
Attitudes By Caste-Community	111
Affiliations	
Attitudes By Level of Education	115
Summary	117
CHAPTER V REVIEW OF FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATION	119
Review of Findings	120
Policy Implications	126
BIBLIOGRAPHY	129
APPENDICES	
Appendix I	140
Appendix II	151
Appendix III	152
Appendix IV	153

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Distribution of Sample by Institutional Affiliation	54
2	Biographic Information	55
3	Teachers' Education, Teacher Training and Teaching Experience	60
4	Biographic Characteristics of Teachers in Government and Private Schools by Managements	68
5	Educational Level, Teacher Training, Subject Specialization, Grade Responsibility and Teaching Experience by Management.	72
6	Perceived Performance and Behaviour of Scheduled Caste Students by Management	75
7	Teachers' Attitudes Toward Protective Discrimination by Management	81
8	Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability Reaction to Social Practices by Management	87
9	Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Sex	98
10	Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Age	100
11	Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Level of Education	101
12	Teachers' Attitude Toward Untouchability by Caste-Community Affiliations	104
13	Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective Discrimination by Sex	107
14	Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective Discrimination by Age	112

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Study

This study focuses on the attitudes of school teachers working in the State of Punjab. The intention is to explore the extent to which teachers nourish traditional sentiments against the Scheduled Caste community and to assess their readiness for the new role of helping in the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes.

#### Scope

The study seeks to probe teachers' attitudes toward the practice of untouchability in general and toward Scheduled Caste Students in particular. It basically questions to what extent teachers identify with the socio-political goals emphasizing the abolition of untouchability and whether their perceptions of Scheduled Caste students are in accordance with these goals. The study also seeks to determine whether variations exist in attitudes toward Scheduled Castes among different kinds of schools or on basis of certain social and educational characteristics of teachers themselves. In this connection, teachers have been compared with respect to the forms of management of their institutions and also by their age, sex, level of education and caste or community affiliation.

### Purpose

The findings of this study, it is hoped, will serve a useful purpose in assessing the extent to which the equalitarian goals of independent India embodied in its educational policies have been internalized by those who are entrusted with providing the means by which the untouchable community is to "uplift" itself. Teachers at school level deal with children at the most vulnerable stage of their growth. As such, teachers' attitudes essentially reflect the future of the nation and are undoubtedly most important in terms of the national interest. In no way less important is to study the influence of school management toward teachers' attitudes on a social issue like the present one. Findings in this respect might be of some interest to educational policy makers.

### The Scheduled Castes and Untouchability

Before proceeding to describe the actual study, however, it is necessary to give a brief account of the social position of Scheduled castes in Indian Society, the origin of untouchability, the various efforts made in the past to remedy this social evil and the policy of protective discrimination. This will explain the social situation in which teachers work.



### The Scheduled Caste: The Nomenclature

The term "Scheduled Caste" owes its origin to the Simon Commission appointed by the British government in India in 1927. It was first used in the Government of India Act, 1935 to designate those people who were formerly known in official terminology as "backward classes", "untouchables", "depressed classes" or "exterior classes". Thus, the term "Scheduled Caste" refers to a legal classification in respect of those Indian communities which had most acutely suffered certain socio-religious disabilities and were denied equality of status in the traditional Indian social order. In preparing these lists, a meeting of the Provincial Superintendents of Census operations in 1931 recognized two basic categories of social disabilities relating to access to public utilities and access to religious places. Accordingly, those castes were included in the lists which were denied service by Brahmin priests, water carriers, tailors or from whom a 'high caste' Hindu would refuse water or who were debarred from using public conveniences such as roads, ferries, wells or schools or who were denied entry into Hindu temples or whose contact or proximity polluted a 'high caste' Hindu.<sup>1</sup> The final list

---

<sup>1</sup>John H. Hutton, Caste in India (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 194.

included 429 communities and was attached as a schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. The communities included in this schedule, thereafter, came to be known as a single community - "The Scheduled Castes".

Dr. Ambedkar, the first great political leader to rise from this community originally did not accept this nomenclature, "the Scheduled Castes". He considered it "degrading and contemptuous"<sup>2</sup> and preferred to describe his community as "Nonconformist Hindus" or "Protestant Hindus" or "Non Caste Hindus".<sup>3</sup> But later Ambekar became so critical of Hinduism that he began to consider the untouchables as a distinct and separate element in the national life of India. He not only advocated large scale conversions of untouchables to other religions, especially Buddhism, but also prescribed a militant attitude toward Hinduism, urging his followers to "educate, agitate and organize".<sup>4</sup> Later, as a chairman of the Drafting Committee for the new Constitution of India, he preferred the continuance of the old name for his community - The Scheduled Castes".

---

<sup>2</sup> Bhim Rao Ambedkar, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables (Bombay: Thacker and Co. Ltd., 1945), p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; p. 306.

<sup>4</sup> D. Keer, Dr. Ambedkar, Life and Mission (Bombay: Popular Parkashan, 1971), p. 351.

The name Scheduled Castes is, therefore, a legal rather than a social classification.

### Social Position

The Scheduled Castes are those people, who from the point of view of traditional Hinduism are impure.

As Dr. Ambedkar pointed out, impure they lived; they died the death of the impure; they gave birth to children who were impure with the stigma of untouchability affixed to them.<sup>5</sup> He described them as a "class", not in a position to sustain itself in the struggle of existence. The religion to which they were tied, instead of providing them an honourable place, branded them as lepers, not fit for an ordinary intercourse.<sup>6</sup> However, in the present democratic era, there is no place for any distinctions based on caste divisions. The preamble of the Indian Constitution promises social equality and dignity of the individual. It assures all Indian citizens justice and liberty.<sup>7</sup> In order to realize these provisions, the Constitution provides a number of protections and safeguards with

---

<sup>5</sup>Bhim Rao Ambedkar, The Untouchable (Lucknow: National Herald Press, 1969), p. 21.

<sup>6</sup>Bhim Rao Ambedkar, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables (Bombay: Thacker and Co. Ltd., 1945), p. 312.

<sup>7</sup>India; Constitution (1969) Preamble, i.

a view to protect and promote their educational, economic and social interests. In the light of this new social philosophy, formal education has been given the highest priority. The paramount role of education in counteracting divisive social trends has also been acknowledged forcefully by the latest Education Commission of India (1966). It has recommended the establishment of common schools so as "to bring the different social classes and groups together and to promote the emergence of an egalitarian and integrated society"<sup>8</sup>, outrightly rejecting the evil of untouchability.

#### Origin of Untouchability

The present destitute condition of the Scheduled Castes is the product of Indian social history. There is no agreement how and when the idea of untouchability emerged. Historians and anthropologists advance different interpretations. Some believe that untouchability is a pre-Aryan phenomenon in India, but the most accepted explanation is that it emerged as a result of interaction between Aryans and the original inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent.

---

<sup>8</sup> India; Ministry of Education, Report of the Education Commission - 1964-66 (New Delhi: Manager Publications, 1966), p. 10.

About 2,000 B.C., on the entry of Aryans in India, a distinction between conquerers and the conquered was made in terms of division of labour. It elaborated into a complex system of social stratification. In the original fourfold classification, the three upper strata were composed of those of Aryan descent. They assumed the designation of 'twice born' or 'regenerate' and underwent Upnayana, the ceremony of wearing a sacred thread. Wearing of this symbolic thread was denied to the fourth segment of society, the Sudras, who were admitted to the Aryanfold from the conquered aborigines on extremely humble terms. This arrangement, which was originally to regulate social living effectively, characterized non-interference in the functioning of other classes and this was customarily justified as "righteous living". Towards 1,500 B.C., the four Varnas: Brahmins, Kashatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras came to denote a hereditary and endogamous system of social segmentation associated with occupation.

The customs regulating relations among these Varnas received religious sanction through the Hindu law contained in the Dharam Shastras and Smritis. The hierarchy of Varnas received support from the twin concept of Dharma (duties) and Karma (actions). According to this concept, present life status of a person is a reward for how one performed in the

previous life. Good Karma promised a brighter future in the next life. It prescribed observance of certain norms in food, occupation, marriage and intercommunity relationships. In this way, social customs subordinated the individual to the claims of the group.<sup>9</sup> Any breach of the set regulations led to punishment in the form of excommunication. The persons so excommunicated or the unclean aborigines who were not previously admitted as Sudras or the progeny of the mixed marriages were considered not fit for any social intercourse with higher Varnas. They were looked down upon as defiling and ritually unclean people. They performed polluting jobs like grave digging, the cremation of corpses, disposal of dead animals, the flaying and tanning of hides, scavenging, sweeping, butchery, etc. Their position "outside" the Hindu society was confirmed by compelling them to keep distance from higher Varnas. These "untouchables" were banished to live in segregation on the outskirts of villages, a practice that still prevails to various degrees in many parts of India, including Punjab.

---

<sup>9</sup> Jawahar Lal Nehru, The Discovery of India (Calcutta: The Signet Press, 1946), p. 213.

### The Untouchables in Punjab

Punjab, which etymologically derives its name from its five rivers is situated on the north-western tip of the Indian subcontinent. It is one of the smallest states of the Indian union encompassing 50,376 sq. kilometres and with a population of 13 million - just 2% of India's geographical area and 3% of the country's population.

Being the gateway of India for most invaders, traders and diplomats until the nineteenth century, the soil of Punjab presents a rich fusion of different cultures. Muslims dominated this state for over a thousand years. The attraction of Islamic brotherhood and forcible conversions by the Muslim-Indian rulers drew a large number of Punjabi untouchables to the fold of Islam. However, the most important outcome of Muslim rule in this part of India is the emergence of Sikh faith in early fifteenth century which synthesized Hindu and Muslim cultures. It began as a reformatory sect within the Hindu pale, discarded the sacred thread, rejected the hereditary principles of priesthood, objected to hierarchical gradation of humanity and many Hindu social rituals. Adherents of this new faith preached that all men are alike and that the dignity of man lies in noble deeds and not in birth. It was purely an

Islamic influence. The Langer, (the free community kitchen in the Sikh temples) which is an important feature of Sikhism to this day, was introduced to affirm the sect's equalitarian ideals. It contravened intervarna food restrictions imposed by traditional Hinduism. Instead, the Sikhs honoured the downtrodden by including in their holy scripture, the Ad-Granth, hymns composed by three untouchable saints - Ravidas, Kabir and Sadna. The untouchables who opted for this sect were accorded equality of social status and designated as Mazhabi Sikhs. They were allowed to sit in religious congregations and their touch was not considered polluting. During the Sikh rule in Punjab in the nineteenth century, the Mazhabis were freely admitted to government services, especially in military service.

But, with the passage of time, both Islam and Sikhism were deeply influenced by Hinduism, the dominant religion of the land. In social practice they acquired an outlook quite similar to traditional Hinduism. Matrimonial alliances with untouchables were never favoured and caste taboos regarding food soon returned. The practice of untouchability began to be strictly observed, especially by the Sikhs. While there were few Hindu untouchables in the



estern part of Punjab (now Pakistan) and the occupations traditionally assigned to untouchables were performed by Muslims<sup>10</sup>, in the eastern Punjab, the untouchables whether they belonged to Hindu or Sikh religion suffered from the identical social and economic disabilities, as they did in any other part of India. The extent to which the untouchables were despised and subjected to humiliations can be judged from the fact that as late as 1911, a scavenger passing through the streets of the towns of Punjab was required to keep a broom either in his hands or under his armpit to make high caste people around him conscious of his polluted presence. In passing closeby, he was expected to shout aloud so that the high caste persons may get aside to save themselves from his polluted touch or shadow.<sup>11</sup>

#### Education of the Untouchables

Before the annexation of Punjab to the British empire in 1849, most of the educational institutions served their own communities separately. There was no provision for the education of the untouchables in the province, as elsewhere in India.

---

<sup>10</sup>Parkash Tandon, Punjabi Century (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. 78.

<sup>11</sup>India, Census Superintendent, Census of India; Punjab Report, 1911, (Calcutta: Government of India Printing, 1911), p. 413.

### Christian Influence

Christianity enjoys credit for spreading literacy among the untouchables from 1800 onwards. Catholicism made little headway in this province.<sup>12</sup> However, Protestant missions serving untouchable communities in Punjab established "Stations" at Ludhiana in 1834, in 1848 at Ambala, in 1849 at Lahore, in 1854 at Multan and Peshawar, and at Rawal-Pindi in 1856.<sup>13</sup> Thus, their influence remained mostly restricted to the western part of the province (now Pakistan). It was only in the 1920's that the Christian community schools working in the eastern part of the province had a significant educational impact. For instance, the community school at Moga (Punjab) trained primary level teachers from the Scheduled Caste Communities who could undertake teaching as well as missionary work in the villages of the State. But, perhaps the most important contribution of Christianity in Punjab is that it inspired a number of socio-religious movements of an equalitarian character.

The Nirankari movement in 1850, the Sikh educational movement in 1908, the Kooka movement in 1922 endeavoured to free Sikhism of Hindu social practices emphasizing the

---

<sup>12</sup> Parkash, Tandon, Punjabi Century (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), p. 115.

<sup>13</sup> Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, A History of Education in India During the British Period (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1951), p. 70.

role of education and literature as media for reforms.

Among Hindus, four Sabhas (societies) founded in the 19th century sought to attract the depressed classes to their fold. All of these movements - the Brahmo Samaj in 1863; Sat Sabha in 1866; Dev Samaj in 1887 and the Arya Samaj in 1878 were organized and modelled to a large extent after the Christian missions. These repudiated the caste system (an extensive form of Varna System) and promoted equalitarianism through education.

The Suddhi (Purification) movement sponsored by the Arya Samaj, for instance, reclaimed the untouchables to the rank of touchables and provided for their education. In Sialkot, 36,000 of Megh Sub-Caste; in Lahore, hundreds of Rohtias; in Wacchowali and Gurdaspur, hundreds of Kabirpanthis and Ad-dharmis were "upraised".<sup>14</sup> Some Aryan organizations such as Dalit Uddhar Mandal established special schools for them. It was observed that in Lahore and some other places, "high caste Hindus had no scruples in sending their children to schools which were maintained mainly for depressed classes. The children mixed freely on equal terms".<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> India, Home Political Department Proceedings, D.C.I. Weekly Report on Political Situation 1907-1918 (National Archives of India), No. 154-56, p. 80.

<sup>15</sup> Sri Ram, ed., A History of Arya Samaj (Bombay: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1967), p. 127.

Inspired by these movements, the untouchables began to organize themselves for self help. The Valmik Samaj, a depressed class Sahba, (society) the first of its kind in Punjab was formed in 1903 in Jullundur. Later Megh Udhar Sabha was organized. It established a central school for Scheduled Caste students<sup>16</sup> and freely propagated education among its community.

#### British Rule

The British colonial government during this period followed a policy of non-interference in the socio-religious matters of Punjab. Although, the Caste Disabilities Act was passed in 1850 which accorded legal sanction to conversion of low castes, only "ineffective efforts were made by the government to secure the claims of outcastes to educational facilities".<sup>17</sup> Instead, it held, if the higher castes refuse to admit the children of low castes to schools which their own sons attend, it is the business of the enlightened leaders of the community to explain to them that they are retarding a cause which ought to be dear to them."<sup>18</sup> It was

<sup>16</sup> Sri Ram, ed, A History of Arya Samaj (Delhi: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1967), p. 126.

<sup>17</sup> A.I. Meyhew, "The Christian Ethics in India", in Modern India and the West, ed. by L.S.S. O'Malley (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 321.

<sup>18</sup> India, Government of India. Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1918. (Calcutta: Central Publication Bureau, 1918), p. 97.

in the 1920's that a shift in the government policy occurred.

The Punjab government passed the Compulsory Education Act in 1918 and five years later required that only those local bodies which allow the benefit of education to all communities alike would receive grants-in-aid. The Government of India Statutory Commission in 1929 observed that Caste prejudice in Punjab was rapidly disappearing. According to its report, of 19,502 Scheduled Caste school children in the State, 15,308 were reading in common schools and the rest in the forty seven segregated schools.<sup>19</sup> In comparison, there were as many as 10,470 segregated schools in the State of Madras.

The Provincial Government which granted exemptions from the payment of fees, also supplied free textbooks and sanctioned special scholarships to the deserving Scheduled Caste students. It contributed greatly to the educational advancement of this Community. In order to examine periodically the educational progress of the Scheduled Castes,

---

<sup>19</sup> India, Government of India: Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Review of Growth of Education. (Calcutta: Central Publication Bureau, 1929), pp. 218-225.

inspecting staff in the education department were ordered to maintain separate lists of the Scheduled Caste pupils.<sup>20</sup> As a result of this effort, by 1936, not only had the number of the Scheduled Caste students swelled to 28,870<sup>21</sup>, but also according to Coupland, "untouchability in the educational field had become virtually an anachronism".<sup>22</sup> However, it appears, that this comment applies basically to admissions. In actual relations, the distance between the Scheduled Castes and the high castes continued as ever before. Even in educational institutions in Punjab, there were instances where "even drinking water was refused to these students"<sup>23</sup>. Apparently, informal education of the general public was as important as formal schooling.

#### National Influence

Beginning in the second decade of this century, however, two new but divergent forces began to shape the destiny of the untouchables in Indian society. Under Gandhian influence, the Scheduled Castes not only received

---

<sup>20</sup> India, Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Review of Growth of Education in British India (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Bureau, 1929), p. 223.

<sup>21</sup> Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, A History of Education in India During the British Period (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1951), p. 622.

<sup>22</sup> R. Coupland, The Indian Problem 1832-1935 (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 145.

<sup>23</sup> India, Report of Indian Statutory Commission, Review of Growth of Education in British India (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Bureau, 1929), p. 226.

a new name, Harijan, but also their complete assimilation in Hindu order was advocated;" I recognize only four Varnas - there is to me no fifth Varna called untouchables".<sup>24</sup> To him, untouchability was "a custom repugnant to the moral sense of mankind."<sup>25</sup> He, therefore, characterized untouchability "a sin, a great crime".<sup>26</sup> He appealed to the conscience of high caste orthodox Hindus to soften their hearts, toward the Scheduled Castes. It was under Gandhian influence that the Jat Pat Todak Mandal (Caste Breakers Association) was organized in Punjab in 1922. It was at its insistence that practice of recording information about caste in the census was abandoned in Punjab from 1941 onwards<sup>27</sup> and the assimilation of the Scheduled Caste in the national mainstream was propagated.

The second influence was embodied by Dr. Ambedkar, the accredited spokesman from the same community. Ambedkar

---

<sup>24</sup>India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XXVII, 1925, (Ahmedabad; Government Publication Division, 1956), p. 384.

<sup>25</sup>India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XV, 1933 (Ahmedabad; Government Publication Division, 1965), p. 119.

<sup>26</sup>India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. XIV, 1933 (Ahmedabad; Government Publication Division, 1965), p. 73.

<sup>27</sup>S. Natranjan, Social Problems (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 11.

objected to any appeal to the pride and vanity of the high castes. They must voluntarily accept what on a rational basis they would resent as a cruel discrimination against him.<sup>28</sup> He insisted that "the only path for a community so handicapped to succeed in the struggle for life against organized tyranny was some share of political power in order that it may protect itself."<sup>29</sup> It was under this influence that Ad-dharmi Mandal, a Scheduled Caste organization was formed in Punjab. In 1931, it petitioned the government to consider the untouchables as a separate religious sect.

Thus, the Gandhian plea for educating the masses and Ambedkar's demand for reservations were duly honoured by the post-independent India. The policy of protective discrimination was adopted in favour of the Scheduled Castes.

---

<sup>28</sup> Bhim Rao Ambedkar, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables (Bombay: Thacker and Co. Ltd., 1945), pp. 303-304.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid; p. 312.



### Protective Discrimination

The new constitution of India which became effective from 26th January, 1950 declared "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".<sup>30</sup> It empowered the President of India to specify the Scheduled Castes. Once such a list is promulgated, it can be changed only by an Act of the national Parliament. The first list was drawn up by the President in 1950. It contained only four castes of the untouchables from Punjab because untouchability was considered a phenomenon peculiar to Hinduism only. The Sikh untouchables were not included in it. But, the Backward Class Commission appointed by the central government in 1956 to determine the criteria for social backwardness of a class observed, "the Sikhs constitute an integral part of the broader Hindu religion -- racially, culturally and traditionally Sikhs are an integral part of the Hindu fold --- Although, in theory, they do not subscribe to the caste system, in actual

---

<sup>30</sup>India; Constitution, (1969 ed). Art. 46.

practice, they cling to many of the Hindu traditions and practices including that of untouchability".<sup>31</sup> Consequently, an amendment in the 1950 list (of the Scheduled Castes) was made by the Indian Parliament in 1956. It extended the protective safeguards to thirty-nine communities in the State of Punjab. In its amended form, the Act says, "No person who possesses a religion different from the Hindu or Sikh religion is deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Castes."<sup>32</sup> Since 1971, however, the concessions permitted to the Scheduled Castes under the policy of protective discrimination have been further extended to Buddhists whose ancestors at any time in the past belonged to the Scheduled Caste communities.

#### The Welfare Measures

The welfare of the Scheduled Caste communities is a shared responsibility of the States and the Centre. The special concessions allowed to the Scheduled Castes through Centre-State schemes include reservation of seats in legislatures, in institutions of higher learning and in services; monetary help to the Scheduled Caste students in the form of

---

<sup>31</sup> India; Home Ministry, Report of the Backward Class Commission - 1956, Vol. II (Simla: Government of India Press, 1956), pp. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> India; Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1961-62 (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1962), p. 83.

free tuition, award of stipends, scholarships for professional and technical training abroad, educational loans and grants for purchase of books and equipment.

The social interests of the Scheduled Castes have been safeguarded by the Untouchability (offences) Act, 1955 which has been recently revised as the Civic Rights Act, 1976. This law has greatly increased punishments for crimes of untouchability. Collective fines have been prescribed for repeated crimes of untouchability by a person. The list of offences has been expanded to include preaching of untouchability in any form or shape, denial of access to a Scheduled Caste person to a private place of worship which is otherwise open to the public, compelling a person to perform a job on the basis of untouchability etc. A person guilty of an untouchability crime shall be debarred from holding a public position or fighting an election for Central or State legislatures. The offences as before will continue to be cognizable but will not be compundable. This means, once a case pertaining to untouchability has come up for hearing in a court, it cannot be withdrawn.

### The Policy in Punjab

Inspite of its preoccupations with mass migration and rehabilitation of refugees to and from Pakistan immediately after independence in 1947, one of the first acts of the Punjab government was to protect the civic rights of the Scheduled Castes. This took the form of the East Punjab Removal of Disabilities Act 1948, which forbade any discrimination against the Scheduled Castes. To ensure its implementation, Scheduled Caste Welfare officers in each district of the State were appointed. The Punjab is predominantly an agricultural state and landless Scheduled Castes formed the major portion of low paid, unskilled labour, and most of them lived far below the poverty line as serfs. So, the Punjab Tenants Tenure Act, 1950 was passed to give them security of livelihood. It secured them tenancy for at least four years at a time.

### Economic Benefits

To improve their living standards, the Punjab government has enacted several pieces of legislation including the Cess Act of 1950, The Security of Land Tenure Act of 1953, and The Backward Class Loans Act of 1957. Such legislations promised the Scheduled Castes better living conditions. They offered subsidies to the Scheduled Castes to improve sanitary conditions in their Bastis, for the construction of Harijan Dharamsalas (rest houses for

Scheduled Castes) and for the purchase of land by the landless Scheduled Caste labourers. Such legislations also raised the minimum agricultural wages to a level which are now the highest in the country. The State owned surplus agricultural land has been distributed to the Scheduled Castes. They have also been given free house sites. More recently in 1971, the Punjab government has created the Scheduled Caste Land Development and Finance Corporation which is "entrusted with the work of agricultural development, marketing, processing, supply and storage of agricultural produce, promotion of small scale industry, construction of buildings and other business and trade"<sup>33</sup> for the Scheduled Caste Community. An amount of Rs 1,262,250 was sanctioned to finance this corporation during 1975-76.

#### Job Reservations

In pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution, the State carries out its obligation to reserve posts for the Scheduled Castes. To ensure a fair share of public sector employment for this community, since 1963, 15% of the State government posts were reserved for the Scheduled Castes. This quota has now been raised to 25% and in some categories

---

<sup>33</sup> Punjab, Finance Department, Punjab on the March, 1975.  
(Chandigarh, Government Printing Press, 1975), p. 99.

(like Police Constables and Patwaris) to 50%. In addition some other concessions are allowed in this respect. The maximum age limit prescribed for a post is relaxed by five years in their favour and the fee charged for sitting in a competitive examination or fee chargeable for submitting employment applications is reduced by one fourth. In certain categories of posts, the standard of suitability is lowered in favour of the Scheduled Castes' candidates. If no suitable candidate is available for the reserved posts, these are considered as unreserved, but the same number of reservations are carried forward for three consecutive years. Despite these measures, a disproportionately small percentage of the Scheduled Caste candidates entered high level public service. Service jobs that are filled by competitive examinations. Consequently, in 1967 the Punjab government established a pre-examination training centre to improve their performance in competitive examinations for Indian Administrative Services, Indian Police Services, Indian Foreign Services and Allied Services examinations etc. Conducted by the Union Public Service Commission and the State Public Service Commissions.

### Educational Concessions

The policy of positive discrimination in education was initiated in Punjab following the introduction of the first Compulsory Education Act in 1918. Only after national independence, however, did the government embark on an ambitious programme to remove obstacles to the educational progress of the Scheduled Castes. The Post-Matric Scholarship scheme started by the Central government in 1945-46 was decentralized in 1959-60 and is now being administered by the Punjab State for the benefit of the Scheduled Caste students attending universities, general education colleges and technical and professional institutions. Under this scheme, 6563 students received scholarships in 1970-71.

Within the Pre-matric Scholarship Scheme adopted in Punjab, all the Scheduled Caste students studying in classes IX, X and XI whose parents' income did not exceed Rs 1800/- per annum were given stipends of Rs 6/- per month each. During 1969, to provide further incentive for hard work, the amount was raised to Rs 10/- per month for first divisioners and it was extended to those students whose parents' income was below Rs 3600/- per annum. In 1973, the eligibility was further increased by raising the parental income

limit to Rs 6000/- per annum so that a larger number could benefit. However, a more liberal policy was adopted in 1975-76 when the availability of stipends was extended down to Class VI and the amount was greatly enhanced.

Under the new policy, a distinction has also been made between more deserving and less deserving categories of Scheduled Caste student.<sup>34</sup> A minimum amount of Rs 5/- per month has been allowed to all children of the Scheduled Caste families reading in Classes VI to VII. But since 'Balmik' students belong to the economically poorest section of the Scheduled Caste population and Scheduled Caste girls are educationally more backward than boys, a higher rate of stipend i.e. Rs 6/- per month has been allowed to them. Similarly, the Scheduled Caste students in Classes IX to XI will now receive higher amounts of stipends than ever before. All Scheduled Caste students in these classes are entitled to receive Rs 25/-, Rs 22/- and Rs 19/- per month depending on their academic performance i.e. whether they were placed in their last examination in first, second or third divisions. The Balmik and female Scheduled Caste students in these classes will get Rs 26/-, Rs 23/- and Rs 20/- in accordance

---

<sup>34</sup>Punjab, Education Department, Stipends to Children belonging to Scheduled Castes - Scheduled Caste Welfare Scheme 1975-76, D.E.O. Patial No. L-12/4346(76) 8.6.76.



with their academic attainment.<sup>35</sup> The unique feature of this scheme of stipends for the Scheduled Caste children is that the amount is not predetermined in the form of a fixed number of concessions. Instead, the total number of stipends depends on the number of eligible students applying for them.

In addition, the Scheduled Caste students are exempted from payment of all tuition fees. Examination fees were previously reimbursed by the State Government. But since 1975, the government has decided to accord exemption<sup>36</sup> in this respect too. The Scheduled Caste students also receive book grants, boarding and uniform grants, free hostel facilities and travel grants in professional courses where travel is a part of the program of study. Twenty percent of the available places are reserved for the Scheduled Caste students in admissions to institutions of higher learning including technical and professional colleges.

---

<sup>35</sup> Punjab, Home Department, Stipends to Children belonging to Scheduled Castes-State Harijan (Education) Welfare Scheme, Secretary to Punjab Government NO 2472-Ed III.76/7716, 9.3.76.

<sup>36</sup> Punjab, Education Department, Examination Fee from Harijan Students, Director of Public Instruction No: 4611-5C-355/11018, 3.6.75.

Two very ambitious schemes, book lending banks and pre-matric coaching, were initiated in 1976. Many, (11,400) book banks are now functioning in Punjab government schools. These will benefit over 50,000 Scheduled Caste students annually by lending books for full academic terms.<sup>37</sup> Under the coaching scheme, the government arranges special coaching during the winter (September to February) school-term for the Scheduled Caste children studying in the final grades i.e., classes eight, ten and eleven. However, the scope of this coaching scheme is as yet very limited i.e. it covers three academic subjects only - English, Mathematics and Science.<sup>38</sup>

The intention of the government in granting special concessions to the Scheduled Castes was to help them to improve their economic and social status so that they may reach the general standards in the country so no reservation will be required. The concessions were originally granted in 1950 only for a period of ten years. But after the passage of the stipulated period, in 1960, it was realized

---

<sup>37</sup> The Tribune (Chandigarh); April 17, 1976, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Punjab, Social Welfare Department, Pre-matric Coaching, Director Welfare Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes, No. 2470-90, 24.5.76.

that the desired progress had not been made by the Scheduled Castes. The period of special concessions was, therefore, extended in the first instance to 1970 and then to 1980.

#### Present Conditions

During the last two decades, many studies, surveys and committee reports have pointed out that the Untouchability Law of 1955 needed sharper teeth to cope with the social situation and thus the Central government was obliged to pass 'The Civil Rights Act 1976'. The title of this legislation in itself is sufficient to explain that the Scheduled Castes still experience victimization in the exercise of their civil rights. A single instance will explain the situation. Recently, the marriage of a Jat Sikh lady lecturer to a Scheduled Caste Sikh colleague at Hoshiar Pur (Punjab) infuriated the college authorities to such an extent that they dismissed the two. It was only with the interference of the Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) and the Prime Minister that justice was done to the couple.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Sarojni Sinha, "The Untouchables", Caravan, October 1976, p. 26.

Moreover, if public sector employment can be used as a measure to assess the advancement of the Scheduled Castes, the flood of special concessions and reservations in their favour seems to have failed in bearing the cherished fruit - "equality". According to the Central Five Year Plan 1974-79, the percentage of the Scheduled Castes from Punjab serving the Central government is 0.44%, in the State government employment is 0.48%, in quasi government employment is 0.48% and in local (bodies) governments employment is 0.16%.<sup>40</sup> Thus, only 2.04% of the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State of Punjab is employed in public sector. Surely, poverty and degradation of the Scheduled Castes has continued and the gap between Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes still exists, only a small percentage of the Scheduled Castes has been successful in improving their lot.

#### Summary

The structural distance that the traditional Hindu society maintained among its various segments has been responsible for the present extremely disadvantageous position of the Scheduled Castes. Their suppressed position "outside" the fourfold Varna System found support in mythological ex-

---

<sup>40</sup> India; Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1970-71 (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1971), p. 4.

planations and condemned them to social degradation admitting no channels for economic, cultural and educational improvement.

Basically, this social stratification was meant to ensure economic security and social solidarity for the privileged. But, this section of "inferior beings" was kept "outside" of this social arrangement and were labelled as "untouchables". Those who failed to submit to inter-Varna regulations were excommunicated, condemned and unfit for the four Varnas, they were obliged to join the ranks of the untouchables. These untouchables were considered unworthy of any social relations, with the four Varnas. Slave to all, they were humbled down to perform only dirty and undesirable jobs. Socially and educationally handicapped, these "untouchables" could do little to improve their awfully depressed condition.

History witnessed many socio-religious movements that took notice of their miserable plight and moved for their upward mobility in the Hindu scheme of social life. In order to escape from social degradation, some of them

were tempted for conversion to Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Sikhism. But no enmass improvement could be achieved till in the second decade of the present century when their numerical strength began to be felt important from the political point of view. The British Government in India prepared a list of such "backward people" as were denied access to religious places and to whom service by high castes was denied. Enumerated in a Schedule attached to the Government of India Act, 1935, these backward castes were named as a single community - "The Scheduled Castes". With time few concrete legal steps were taken in their favour and they were granted educational concessions. While separate schools were opened for them, steps were also taken to facilitate their admission in common schools. Nevertheless, the traditional prejudices kept this community at a social distance from the higher castes.

The Indian Constitution, sworn to secularism and social justice, has forbidden untouchability in any shape or form. Any disability arising out of this practice has been made punishable by law. To give a fair deal to this downtrodden section of Indian society, seats in institutions

of higher learning, government services and political institutions have been reserved for them till 1980. A liberal scheme of scholarships operates both at school and college/university level so that the future generations of Scheduled Castes are able to catch up with the non-Scheduled Castes. What all that aims at is social equality.

It was hoped that social legislation accompanied by spread of education would help the Scheduled Castes in improving their self-image and economic status. But, the situation today proves that neither Christian liberalism, and indigenous socio-religious reform movements, nor rising national sentiment and the secular law of the land has been successful in loosening the grip of religion in favour of this community of downtrodden people. Even in Punjab, where the historical factors have considerably contributed in the softening of the iron bonds of casteism, social prejudice still remains rampant against them and they occupy the lowest rung of the Punjabi society. Before they are socially absorbed in the national mainstream, there is a dire need of what Mahatma Gandhi called "change of heart" on the part of so-called high caste people. This assigns a special responsibility to the teaching community. The promise of "special care" to this community, made by the national Constitution, cannot be fulfilled only through the grant of certain monetary concessions. Teachers are supposed to

incorporate democratic values in the future generation so that they accept the principle of "equalitarianism". This is possible only if the teachers, themselves, first accept this norm.

Therefore, it is important to know the teachers' attitudes on this social issue. Their attitudes will express their readiness for the new role in the uplifting of the Scheduled Castes.

Again, the schools in Punjab function under two different types of management: government and private. It is of great interest to study whether the teachers under these two types of managements respond in a similar fashion to the question of Scheduled Caste students studying under their care.

As such, this study seeks to assess the attitude of teachers toward Scheduled Caste students in Punjab, particularly because in spite of three decades of the implementation of the policy of protective discrimination, the Scheduled Caste Community has failed in achieving a level of educational and social equality.



## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

#### THE PROBLEM, STUDY DESIGN AND THE POPULATION

##### The Problem

Whether the Scheduled Caste community has made the most effective use of the special educational concessions granted to them is an issue of much concern to Indian educators and policy makers. Not long ago, virtually no information was available about the outcome of these programmes: "No one had information on how many of the scholarship holders were performing, how many were falling by the wayside, how many were finishing and what were their grades."<sup>1</sup> Inadequate attention was paid to analyzing the outcome of the policy of protective discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Caste community.

##### Previous Studies

Initially what little study of the policy of protective discrimination in the field of education was done, focused on the admissions of the Scheduled Caste children to educational institutions. One of the earliest studies of this nature was made by Gadgil in 1952. It pointed out

---

<sup>1</sup>Harold R. Issacs, India's Ex-untouchables (New York: The John Day Company, 1965), p. 18.

that "the depressed classes do not show an improvement in their respective position at the school stage as great as the proportion of improvement among the intermediate classes".<sup>2</sup> Gadgil noted further that, with respect to higher education, there was no enrolment at all of the backward classes in medical schools and professional colleges. Less than one third students of backward classes availed of the educational facilities.

Similarly, I.P. Desai's study (1953) of high school students in Poona emphasized the dominant educational position of Brahmin caste in comparison to the backward classes.<sup>3</sup> While Brahmins were only 19% of the population of Poona, 59% of the students were Brahmins. In another study of university and college students in Poona (1960), it was found that the Scheduled Caste students were under-represented and 56% college students came from Brahmin families. It follows that the initial problem of the Scheduled Caste education was seen mainly as a matter of admitting them to educational institutions. It was believed that as more and more Scheduled Castes received schooling, traditional prejudices would disappear and the Scheduled

---

<sup>2</sup>D.R. Gadgil, A Socio-Economic Survey (Poona; Arya Bhushan Press, 1952), p. 291.

<sup>3</sup>I.P. Desai, High School Students in Poona, Poona: Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute. Monograph No. 12, 1953.

Castes would get integrated into the mainstream of Indian society. But, this view was increasingly questioned. An intensive study sponsored by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and conducted by Chauhan in 1966-67 observed that, while the educated section of the Scheduled Castes could serve as a reference group for upward social mobility, Scheduled Caste students generally exhibited low occupational aspirations. They lacked motivation. Instead, education created a gap between them and the older generation which posed a problem of adjustment within the home, in their own caste and in the society in which they had to get new jobs.

Similar views were expressed by Varma in 1962 in his study of the attitudes of 300 students from eight higher secondary schools of a major city of Punjab (Patiala). He holds that certain negative caste traits in Scheduled Caste students are responsible for their lack of assimilation in school life, and later in civic life.

Several studies, on the other hand, indicate that traditional attitudes toward untouchability still persist in educational institutions. K.M. Kapadia (1954), for instance

examined attitudes of 589 school teachers in Bombay<sup>4</sup>. Their dining, marriage and religious habits were studied. He describes teachers as quite "traditional" in their outlooks, expressing strong disapproval of customs associated with untouchability. However, more liberal attitudes toward the Scheduled Caste community have been reported by Uma Tamta (1969) who examined the perceptions of the Scheduled Caste students and their parents in Almora (U.P.).<sup>5</sup> According to Uma Tamta, both the Scheduled Caste students and their parents were satisfied with the treatment they received from the school authorities. Almost three fourths (73%) of the parents felt that on their visits they were treated at par with non-Scheduled Caste parents by the school teachers. The only Scheduled Caste community which experienced extreme prejudice were the Sweepers.

Of great interest, in this connection, are studies which have probed caste differences in students' attitudes toward untouchability. Among students, Rath and Sircar (1960), in their Cuttak investigation, observed that upper

---

<sup>4</sup>K.M. Kapadia, "Changing Patterns in Hindu Marriage and Family. Sociological Bulletin, No. 3 (1954), pp. 61-87, 131-157.

<sup>5</sup>Uma Tamta. "Educational Progress of the Scheduled Castes in Almora (U.P.)." M.Ed. dissertation, Allahabad University, 1969.

caste students were more liberal, more opposed to untouchability.<sup>6</sup> Lower caste students, in their opinion, asserted caste status in their prejudice toward the Scheduled Castes.

In the 1960's and 70's research on Scheduled Caste students has focused on their assimilation into the mainstream of national life. The Indian Council of Social Science Research has conducted a survey regarding the education of Scheduled Castes in fifteen provinces and informative memoirs have been prepared on the collected data which shed light on the treatment these students receive in the Indian educational system. In an illuminating report, based on this data concerning 233 college students of Rajasthan, Lal points out (1975) that while most Scheduled Caste students are the first generation of educated Scheduled Castes and have high academic aspirations, their teachers describe them as poor students.<sup>7</sup> Teachers seek explanation of the learning difficulties of the Scheduled Caste students in their adverse home environment. They cannot study hard because most of them are required to supplement the income of their parents, while continuing their own education. M.S. Adiseshiah's investigation (1975), based on a sample of Scheduled Caste students, lecturers and principals in Tamil Nadu describes the Scheduled Caste

---

<sup>6</sup>R. Rath and N.C. Sircar. "Intercaste Relationships as Reflected in the Study of Attitudes and Opinions of Six Hindu Caste Groups." The Journal of Social Psychology, no. 51 (1960), pp. 13-25.

<sup>7</sup>S.K. Lal. "Scheduled Caste College Students in Rajasthan." Journal of Higher Education, No. 2 (1975), pp. 244-246

students as late starters in education.<sup>8</sup> Teachers of such students were found to have an unfavourable view of the intellectual capabilities of Scheduled Caste students and to attribute this to their adverse social and family background. These findings closely parallel to those of Karlekar's study in which Scheduled Caste students from Assam, Bihar, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu have been included. Again, inadequacies in the socialisation of Scheduled Caste students were felt to be responsible for their poor performance. Teachers, however, were found to be sympathetic to the special needs of the Scheduled Caste students.

Chitnis has studied the impact of the policy of positive discrimination in education (1972).<sup>9</sup> Her analysis based on a survey of 2,176 college students points out that "new" inequalities in education are appearing. Among them, she mentions poor academic performance, poor retention in educational institutions and clustering of the Scheduled Caste students in inferior places of learning. Like Chavan (1966), she stresses that the policy of positive discrimination has been solely directed to the quantitative aspect of the problem and quality has been ignored. In one of her other studies (1975), Chitnis points out some intercaste, interstate and

<sup>9</sup>S. Chitnis. "Education for Equality - Case of Scheduled Castes in Higher Education." Social and Political Weekly Special number (1972), pp. 1676-1681.

intersex disparities.<sup>10</sup> According to her findings, only 6% of the Scheduled Caste females were literate as compared to 26% of the male. The progress of the Scheduled Castes was most pronounced in the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Kerala compared to Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, Bengal and U.P. In view of the persisting educational problems of the Scheduled Caste education, she not only advocates the continuance of financial assistance to the Scheduled Caste students, but also suggests adoption of unspecified new strategies to help those who are still comparatively "backward".

A review of the above studies reveals two things. Firstly, few attempts have been made to probe factors influencing the outlooks of teachers toward Scheduled Caste students. To what extent, for instance, are teachers' attitudes influenced by their institutional environment and by such biographic factors as age, sex, level of training, etc? Secondly, there appears a need to study this issue against the social background of Punjab where the Scheduled Castes, numbering 3,348,21 persons, comprise a sizeable portion of people of this State.

#### Need for the Present Study

The present study deals with the attitudes toward Scheduled Caste students among teachers in public (government) and private schools in Punjab. According to the latest census

<sup>10</sup> S. Chitnis. "Education of the Scheduled Castes". Journal of Higher Education, No. 2 (1975), pp. 167-178.

in India (1971), the Scheduled Castes account for almost one fourth (21%) of the Punjabi population but 15% of the country as a whole.<sup>11</sup> If the State neglects their interest and considers them only second class citizens, it would deprive itself of the best use of its large potential. Aware of this fact, the State has managed the best welfare coverage for the Scheduled Castes.<sup>12</sup>

Under the Punjab Compulsory Education Scheme (1961), the State government has endeavoured to enroll all children up to the age of eleven in educational institutions. As a matter of fact, it has already (1975) achieved a major breakthrough by enrolling 98% of them in schools.<sup>13</sup> This is in part a reflection of the massive expansion in educational facilities within the last two decades in the State. The number of primary schools has increased from 6,992 to 8,544, middle schools from 870 to 1,537 and higher (and high) secondary from 1,040 to 1,570.<sup>14</sup> According to the Director of Public Instruction's (schools) official records, in 1975 there were 587,765 students belonging to the Scheduled Caste community who were attending schools in Punjab. It is the foremost duty of the teachers to accept them, instil self-confidence in them

<sup>11</sup> India; Ministry of Planning, Statistical Abstract of India, 1972 (Government of India Printing, 1972) pp. 31-32.

<sup>12</sup> The Tribune (Chandigarh); March 18, 1976, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> The Tribune (Chandigarh); December 30, 1975, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> The Tribune (Chandigarh); November 3, 1976, p. 7.



and to help them to complete their education. Therefore, it is important to study if teachers in Punjab have the determination to do so. In order to correctly assess their attitudes, it is pertinent to first acquaint ourselves with the education system in which the teachers work.

#### The Educational System in Punjab

The educational system in Punjab functions under the control of two Directors of Public Instruction - one for the university level and the other for school education. After the reorganization of the educational system in 1958, the State of Punjab has now three levels of school education: namely, primary education from grades one to five, lower secondary education from grades six to eight and higher secondary education from grades nine to eleven. Because of high expenditure involved, not all schools have been extended to higher levels. As such, there are also some schools with only ten grades, known as high schools.

Most schools in Punjab are directly managed by the State government and are known as "Government Schools". Since, constitutionally all minorities, whether based on religion or language, have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their own choice in order to conserve their script and to promote their language

and culture, individual philanthropists, social reformers, religious bodies, denominational trusts also run their own educational institutions. These are called "private schools". In the post-independence period, these private schools have contributed considerably to the expansion of secondary education.

The Punjab government exercises full control over the privately-managed institutions. They are entitled to subsidies and grants-in-aid to meet such expenses as teachers' salaries, school construction, furniture, equipment and teaching material etc. They are required to fulfil conditions and to follow strictly all the rules and regulations prescribed by the State government. To maintain educational standard at par with those of government schools, they are subject to government inspection.

#### Teacher Recruitment

Teachers for senior classes are generally post-graduates and are recruited through the State Public Service Commission. Those who teach middle and high classes are usually trained graduates with the Bachelor of Teaching or the Bachelor of Education degree. The primary level teachers are mostly matriculates (or holders of higher

secondary certificates) with two years Junior level diploma training. In addition, there are teachers who have special professional qualifications, for instance Drawing masters, Home Science and Domestic Science mistresses, Sewing and Tailoring teachers, Language teachers, National Defence Service teachers, Physical Education instructors, Arts and Crafts teachers, etc. With the diversification of curricula which accompanied transformation of the secondary system, more specialized teachers have joined the profession. The State Subordinate Services Selection Board makes all appointments for the teaching personnel, in primary and middle classes.

Since there is a system of co-education in the primary sections of all schools, both men and women can be recruited to these classes. But, at post-primary level, girls' and boys' schools function separately and, typically girls' schools recruit female teachers and vice versa.

In principle, private schools are also required to follow the same pattern of recruitment regarding qualification of teachers that exist in government schools and no distinction in their selection is allowed on account of caste, creed, race, religion, place of birth, sex or family affiliation. But, in practice, usually private schools are

established to promote certain sectarian interests viz spread of particular religious values, to promote language and script, to propagate a certain culture etc. Thus, in practice, usually private schools recruit teachers using "particularistic" criteria. Compared to government school teachers, teachers in private schools are, therefore, likely to think or act differently depending on their school administration's interests.

#### Hypotheses

In view of the possible variations between teachers in government and private schools and also among different categories of teachers (regarding their sex, age, caste affiliation, level of education, etc.), the present study plans to test the following two hypotheses:-

##### Hypothesis I

Teachers affiliated with private schools, compared to those at government schools are likely to be less critical of the traditional practice of untouchability, to be less sympathetic towards the policy of protective discrimination and to have less positive perceptions of the Scheduled Caste students in their schools.

### Hypothesis II

Male teachers, those from high Jatis, (Castes and Communities), those younger in age and those with higher level of formal education will be more liberal than others in their attitudes toward untouchability and toward the policy of protective discrimination in education, in favour of Scheduled Caste students, specifically.

### Study Design

In deciding upon the study population, care had to be taken in view of the cultural variation of the various regions of Punjab. A reference to the previous chapter reminds us that this State is a land of cultural fusion of various races and nationalities. This explains the fact that the thirty nine constitutionally declared Scheduled Caste communities in Punjab are not uniformly distributed in all the twelve districts of this State. In the districts of Amritsar, Bhatinda, Ferozepur for example, Mazhabis are the most numerous among the Scheduled Castes. In the Doab district of Hoshiapur and Jullundhu, Addharmis constitute the largest group. In Kapurthala, the Balmiks are the most important sect numerically.<sup>15</sup> (Each of these sections of the Scheduled Caste population differs in its relationship to high

---

<sup>15</sup> India; Superintendent of Census Operations, Punjab, Census of India vol. XIII, Part IV, 1961 (Government of India Printing, 1961), p. 325.

castes). Statistically, the district of Jullundur has the highest number of Scheduled Caste persons (477,853) which accounts for 33% of the total population of the district.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the district of Ferozepur has only 189,918 Scheduled Castes representing just 18% of the total population of the district.<sup>17</sup>

#### Area of Study

Taking into account the area, the total population, distribution of Scheduled Caste communities and the general districtwise literacy standard in the State, the district of Patiala was selected for study. According to the Punjab government Statistical Abstract (1974), the population of this district is 1,211,303<sup>18</sup> including 250,310 persons of Scheduled Caste origin, representing 21% of the total population in the district.<sup>19</sup> The general literacy rate<sup>20</sup> of the district is 32% which is neither as high as 41% in the district of Jullundur, nor as low as 22% in Bhatinda district. Obviously, Patiala district is not an atypical district in Punjab.

---

<sup>16</sup> Punjab, Economic Advisor to Government of Punjab, Statistical Abstract, 1974 (Punjab Government Printing, 1974), P. 40.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid; P. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid; P. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid; P. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid; P. 21.

In the district of Patiala, in September 1976, there were 7,995 teachers working in 1,309 schools of different kinds and levels.<sup>21</sup> These include 1,414 higher secondary schools, 150 middle schools and 1,018 primary schools. This number includes 27 denominational institutions. The private schools are mainly located in big towns.

In consultation with the educational authorities of the district, four schools were selected for the study, the criterion being the highest number of Scheduled Caste students in each category of boys, girls, government and private schools. These four schools are: (1) Government Boys Higher Secondary School, Nabha; (2) Government Girls Higher Secondary School, Patiala; (3) Ashoka Higher Secondary School for Boys, Sirhind and (4) S.D. Kumar Sabha Girls Higher Secondary School, Patiala. All the teachers working on the staff of these institutions were included in the study population. This way, the total number of respondents was limited to 196 teachers from three different towns - Patiala with a population of 151,903 persons, Nabha with

---

<sup>21</sup> This information was obtained from the District Education Officer, Patiala on September 16, 1976.

34,225 persons and Sirhind with 18,031 persons.<sup>22</sup>

Both the girls schools are located in Patiala which is considered as the educational centre of the district, with a university and a number of colleges of various types. The private girls school is managed by a religious body - the Sanatan Dharma Sabha, a Hindu organization promoting the revival of Vedic culture. One of the boys schools studied is a government school located in Nabha which is an important town in the district with one-coeducational degree college and a number of higher secondary schools, both government and private. The town of Sirhind in which the boys private school is located is a small historical town surrounded by a number of villages. Compared to the other two towns, there are limited educational facilities (up to the school level only) in Sirhind. Although, the management of this school is private, the managing board is a secular charitable trust.

Out of a total of 50,163 Scheduled Caste children studying in schools in the district, there were 150 in government boys' school, 95 in government girls schools, 195 in private boys school and 56 in private girls school<sup>23</sup> included in this study.

---

<sup>22</sup> Punjab; Director Information and Publicity, Facts about Punjab, 1971 (Punjab Government Printing, 1971, P. 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> This information was obtained from the Office of the District



In order to collect data from the respondents, a cadrewise seniority list based on the total number of teaching experience was prepared for each school. From it, every sixth teacher was selected for a face-to-face interview. The rest of them were administered a questionnaire (Appendix I) through the mail.

#### Questionnaire

The questionnaire was accompanied by an introductory letter (Appendix II) assuring that the collected information shall be utilized for research purposes only. This was necessary because the practice of untouchability being a cognizable offence in India, there was a possibility that teachers would not respond at all or they would hesitate in expressing frankly their actual beliefs. It was emphasized that no answer is right or wrong. Only their personal opinion, without anybody's consultation, was needed. They were also assured secrecy of their responses.

It was realized that more spontaneous responses would come if the questionnaire was presented to teachers in Punjabi, the regional language. So, the original version of the questionnaire prepared in English, was translated into Punjabi and retranslated into English to ensure comparability. The questionnaire was pretested on ten teachers of different academic qualifications working in higher secondary schools

other than those included in this study. The questionnaire was revised after removing a few ambiguous terms and misinterpreted words noted in the pretesting process. In its final form, it contained 75 items in four sections. The first section sought biographic information including teachers' familial background. The second section related to the teachers' school affiliation, responsibilities, teaching experience and subject speciality. The third section collected data on teachers' impressions of their Scheduled Caste students and how they felt about the policy of protective discrimination. The final section asked teachers about their social relationships with other castes and communities. It included items to elicit teachers' views on the meaning attached to untouchability and social relations with the Scheduled Castes, both within and outside the schools.

#### Data Collection

The three basic sources of data utilized in this research are literature on the subject, interviews with teachers and responses to the questionnaire. The teachers to be interviewed were contacted personally either in their schools in their free time or in their homes. The interviews were structured, following items contained in the

questionnaire, except that a few followup questions were asked to obtain more explanatory responses. Each interview took between one and one and a half hours. Some teachers were at **first** reluctant to give personal data regarding their age or their parental education and occupation. So, the biographic data was collected at the end of the interview. In general, the teachers found the subject interesting and their responses were very free. As a principle, so far as it was possible, the interview responses were recorded verbatim.

There was a little trouble in getting back the completed questionnaires for which the respondents had to be reminded again and again and in some cases had to be personally contacted. Nevertheless, a very high response rate (98%) was obtained for the four groups of teachers. The breakdown by schools is given in Table I on the following page.

Despite the diversity in composition and nature of management (Table I), these institutions share certain common features which are quite pertinent to the present investigation. In the first place, all the four institutions function in the urban areas, under somewhat similar social conditions and are open to all castes and creeds alike.

Table 1: Distribution of Sample By  
Institutional Affiliation

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Management</u>	<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Response Rate</u>
1	Government, Boys	State Government	Higher Second Secondary	63	90%
2	Government, Girls	State Government	Higher Secondary	76	100%
3	Private, Boys	Secular Trust	Higher Secondary	33	100%
4	Private, Girls	Denominational Religious Body	Higher Secondary	24	100%

"No distinction among students on any ground is permitted by law. Although, the girl's private school has a denominational character, yet it cannot afford to assume a sectarian outlook. The Indian Constitution explicitly holds, "No citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution maintained by State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them."<sup>24</sup> In other words, all private schools, whether denominational or otherwise secular are at par with government institutions in all respects. Secondly, each of these institutions represents a category of its own with the highest number of the Scheduled Caste students on its rolls.

### The Study of Population

Table 2

Characteristic	Number of Teachers	% of the total
1. <u>Sex</u>		
Male	69	35
Female	127	65
Chi sq = 191.64, 1d.f; $P < 0.01$		
2. <u>Place of Birth</u>		
Urban	125	64
Rural	69	36
Chi sq = 10.64, 3d.f; $P < 0.01$		

<sup>24</sup> India; Constitution, (1969) Art. 29, Sec. 2.

Characteristic	Number of Teachers	% of the Total
----------------	--------------------	----------------

3. Mother Tongue

Punjabi	160	82
Hindi	36	18

Chi sq = 16.25, 3d.f;  $P = < 0.001$

4. Age

Less than 30 years	54	28
31-40 years	97	50
41-50 years	36	18
51-60 years	9	4

Chi sq = 19.46, 12d.f;  $P = < 0.05$

5. Communities

<u>Sikhs</u>	68	34
--------------	----	----

<u>Hindus</u>		
Brahmins	35	18
Kashatriyas	45	23
Vaishyas	38	19
Sudras	9	5

<u>Others</u>		
Ayra	1	1

Chi sq = 52.62, 18d.f;  $P = \text{N.S.}$

6. Fathers' Occupation

Professional & Managerial	59	30
Clerical & Junior Services	40	21
Artisan & Personal Services	28	14
Shopkeepers	35	18
Wage Labour	3	2
Agriculturists	30	15

Chi sq = 18.15, 15d.f;  $P = \text{N.S.}$

Characteristic	Number of Teachers	% of the Total
----------------	--------------------	----------------

7. Fathers' Education

No schooling	40	20
1-10 years schooling	105	54
11-14 years schooling	31	16
15-16 years schooling	13	7
14 and professionally trained	7	3

Chi sq = 19.17, 12d.f;  $P < .002$

8. Mothers' Education

No schooling	99	51
1-10 years schooling	96	49
15-16 years schooling	1	1

Chi sq = 23.43, 6d.f;  $P = N.S.$

Biographic Information

An examination of the biographic information obtained from the teachers (Table 2) indicates that there are comparatively more women than men teachers (65% vs 35%). The most likely reason for this difference is that women teachers are frequently employed to teach primary level children in boys schools and that men are recruited to girls schools only if a woman teacher is not available to teach a particular subject. In the present study, 29 women teachers teach in the boys schools, while there are only two men teachers on the staff of the girls schools. Almost two thirds (64%) of the teachers are from urban areas.

Punjabi is the regional as well as the official language in the State. A large majority (82%) of the teachers in the study have declared this language as their mother tongue. The only other language declared as mother tongue is Hindi (18%). These two languages are quite akin to each other and their teaching is started in schools right from the elementary level.

#### Social Composition

The study population contains a significant number of young people. A large majority (78%) are either in their twenties or thirties. The concentration of young staff in the educational institutions finds explanation in the fact that there has been tremendous expansion of educational facilities in Punjab in the post-independence period, especially since 1960, when free and compulsory primary education was introduced in the State.

Since Sikhs predominate the population (78%) in the State, teachers from this community also dominate the study population (34%), followed by Kashatriya Varna (23%) from amongst Hindu communities. Sudra teachers account for only one twentieth (5%) of the teaching personnel in the study. The study population contained only two Scheduled



Caste teachers. One of them flatly refused to respond to identify his caste-community, while the other answered in the caste column "Sudra". This probably indicates a strong aspiration of upward mobility in the Scheduled Castes. There was also one Arya teacher on the staff of schools included in this study. Considering familial background, the majority of teachers' fathers (51%) are either professionals or doing managerial or white collar jobs. The others being agriculturists, shopkeepers, artisans or those performing personal services belong to lower middle "class" of the population. A reference to Table 2 shows that a little over half (54%) of fathers have a modest amount of schooling up to matriculation. Only 3% were professionally trained graduates. Mothers have still a lower level of education. Just over half (51%) of them are uneducated. In a nutshell, so far as teachers' familial affiliations are concerned, there appears to be a good variation in the sample.

#### Educational Characteristics

As Table 3 indicates, the level of formal schooling teachers possess varied enormously, ranging between eight and eighteen years. Almost three fourths (74%) of the teachers are moderately well educated with schooling between eight and fourteen years. Among the rest, about one quarter (25%)

can be considered highly qualified with sixteen years of schooling or more.

Table 3

Teachers' Education, Teacher Training and Experience

Characteristic	Number of Teachers	% of the Total
1. <u>Education Level</u>		
Matriculation or less (10 years)	79	41
BA/B.Sc. (14 years)	64	33
MA/M.Sc (16 years)	48	24
More than post-graduates (above 16 years)	2	1
Others	3	1
2. <u>Teacher Training</u>		
<u>Degree Courses</u>		
M.Ed.	6	3
B.Ed.	65	35
B.T.	17	9
D.P.Ed.	5	3
<u>Certificate and Diploma Courses</u>		
Junior Basic Training (J.B.T.)	66	36
Art and Craft (A/C)	5	3
Certificate in Physical Education (C.P.Ed.)	7	4
Drawing Masters (D.M.O)	2	1
Industrial Training (I.T.I.)	3	2
Oriental (Language) Training (O.T.)	8	4
National Defence Services		
3. <u>Teaching Experience</u>		
5 years or less	51	26
between 6-10 years	43	22
between 11-20 years	74	38
more than 20 years	28	14

In terms of level of teacher training, there was much variation also. Broadly, the teachers fall in two categories of teacher qualification: (a) degree holders i.e., those who received teacher training after at least fourteen year's schooling; and (b) diploma holders or certificate holders, who have academic qualifications of the matriculation (or its equivalent) level only. In this study, Bachelor of Education (B.Eds.) predominate (35%) among the senior level trained teachers, while Junior Basic Trained teachers (J.B.Ts) constitute the largest portion (36%) of the lower level of teachers. Thus, 93% of the teachers can be considered professionally trained. All the teachers are assigned their school duties according to their professional qualifications. About half of the teachers in this sample (49%) teach their own specialized subjects, while the rest of them teach subjects in various combinations. Junior Basic Trained (J.B.Ts) teachers who constitute nearly two fifths (36%) of the total population teach all primary level subjects. A little over one tenth (11%) of teachers teach middle grades, 16% are for higher grades, while others (37%) share responsibilities at various levels of teaching.

Although, we have noted previously that respondents were generally young, most could be described as experienced teachers. Almost two thirds (60%) have taught between six and twenty years and 14% have been teaching longer than twenty years.

#### Summary

In accordance with the declared policy of protective discrimination, substantial funds are being earmarked each year by government for educationally uplifting the Scheduled Caste students in order to bring them on par with more progressive sections of society. Though it may seem a bit strange, very insignificant efforts were made to weigh the outcomes of this policy in the field of education.

Earlier studies were mainly directed towards quantity is how many students go admission in the educational institutions. With the exception of a few investigations which examined the social perceptions of the Scheduled Caste students, most of the studies till 1960's concentrated on a few problems of the Scheduled Caste students, for instance, their social adjustment and their comparative social status in schools. These studies basically explored caste differ-

ences in students attitudes toward the practice of untouchability. In the 1970's, however, the Scheduled Caste students' actual academic performance, aptitude, capabilities, handicaps in learning, the influence of their home environment etc. merited attention. Inter-State comparisons in the field of Scheduled Castes' education were also made. More recently, in 1972, the impact of the policy of protective discrimination has been studied. This aspect of educational research boldly points out that inspite of over thirty years special educational concessions granted to the Scheduled Castes, "inequalities" in the field of education still exist between the Scheduled Castes and others. Such students are reported not only to achieve poorly academically, but also tend to cluster in the lower levels of learning. Evidently, there is a need to study the factors responsible for the persisting inferior educational status of the Scheduled Castes. The question arises as to whether there is something wrong with the attitudes of teachers toward Scheduled Caste students. This points to the need to study teachers' perceptions of the Scheduled Caste students, and what influences them. The present study, therefore, focuses on two influencing factors viz. (a) influence of school management, (b) influence of teachers' own background.

The pattern of teacher recruitment in both government and privately managed existing educational system of Punjab was examined in order to ascertain differences in their practices. Though in principle, no differences exist; in practice however, the private sector keeps in view the special interests for which a particular institution is established. As such, the present study includes both types of institutions - government and private.

Considering Patiala district as a typical administrative unit in Punjab, the study was confined to this district only. Only four schools were included which had the highest number of the Scheduled Caste students in each category of boys, girls, government and private schools. All these schools are higher secondary institutions located in urban areas. All the teachers on the staff of these schools were included in the population of this study. Data were gathered through administering a questionnaire and also by structured interviews.

To review the characteristics of the population, though there is much variation, the teachers are young but moderately well-educated, professionally trained and most of them have taught for several years. Women teachers are

in the majority. Most of them are born in urban areas. Teachers come primarily from families in which the father has received some schooling and is pursuing a middle class occupation.

The study population also exposes some striking features of the Punjab education system. Sikhism is the dominant religion of the State (as seen previously). However, it is only in government schools that the majority of teachers belong to this religion. The Kashatriya Varna predominates in the private sector. The Sudra Varna is significantly under-represented on the teaching staff, there being only nine Sudra teachers in the four institutions covered by the present study. This is perhaps because of their inferior socio-educational position in the society.

### CHAPTER III

#### SCHOOL MANagements AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

##### The School Management and Teachers

This chapter compares the attitudes of teachers in government and private schools toward Scheduled Caste students. The teachers working in government schools, we have noted previously, are civil servants recruited by a State agency on the basis of their academic and professional excellence. But, those recruited to teach in private schools have also to satisfy the additional requirement of sharing the special interests of the managements that run these schools. Typically, private schools are established with a specific purpose; e.g. to promote a language, propagate a religion or culture of a sect. Teachers in these schools work in more conservative atmosphere, the recruitment process "selecting out" individuals with socio-religious views contrary to those of the management. In so far as the problem of Scheduled Caste students' acceptance is concerned, teachers working in communal and orthodox private managements are likely to have more traditional outlooks than those in government schools. The following hypothesis will be tested in this chapter:



Teachers affiliated with private schools, compared to those at government schools are likely to be less critical of the traditional practice of untouchability, less sympathetic towards the policy of protective discrimination, and to have less positive perceptions of the Scheduled Caste children in their schools.

Since our analysis is planned from the point of view of management, it is essential to first explore in greater detail differences in the recruitment patterns of the government and private schools included in this study. A persual of their biographic factors will sufficiently expose "particularistic" criterion (if any) adopted by private managements.

#### Biographic Characteristics

As Table 4 indicates, the teachers working in private schools were significantly younger than their colleagues in government schools. This was particularly the case at the private girls school where over one half (54%) of its staff was under thirty years of age. That government schools have older staff, may in part be attributed to conditions pertaining to the greater security of service and better pension benefits of government service in Punjab. For this reason, many teachers in private schools find it attractive to shift to government schools when the opportunity arises, even though they may have to forfeit several years of seniority.

Table 4: Biographic Characteristics of Teachers  
In Government and Private Schools by Management

Characteristic	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
<u>1. Age</u>				
Less than 30	22	20	37	54
31-40 years	51	57	42	34
41-50 years	24	20	12	8
51-60 years	3	3	9	4
chi sq = 19.46, d.f. = 12, P < .05				
<u>2. Sex</u>				
Male	72	1	67	4
Female	28	99	33	96
chi sq = 191.64, d.f. = 1, P = N.S.				
<u>3. Place of Birth</u>				
Urban	60	65	52	92
Rural	40	35	48	8
chi sq = 10.64, d.f. = 3, P < .01				
<u>4. Mother Tongue</u>				
Punjabi	91	87	61	71
Hindi	9	13	39	29
chi sq = 16.25, d.f. = 3, P < .001				
<u>5. Communities</u>				
Sikhs	35	47	15	21
Hindus				
Brahmins	19	14	24	17
Kashatriya	9	26	28	42

Table 4 (Cont'd)

Characteristic	Govt. Boys <u>N = 63</u> %	Govt. Girls <u>N = 76</u> %	Private Boys <u>N = 33</u> %	Private Girls <u>N = 24</u> %
5. Communities (cont'd).				
Hindus (cont'd)				
Vaishya	29	12	22	20
Sūdra	8	0	0	0
Others				
Arya	0	1	1	0

chi sq = 52.62, d.f = 18, P = N.S.

The sexwise distribution of the respondents does not show any marked difference. Under both types of managements, there are more women working in boys schools (31%) than vice versa (3%). This simply reflects the practice of permitting women teachers to teach primary level children in boys schools, while men are employed in girls schools only if a female teacher is not available to teach a particular subject.

A large majority of teachers in all the four institutions was born in urban areas, yet, there was a marked difference between the two private institutions. Almost all teachers (92%) in girl's private schools were born in urban areas as compared to just over half the teachers (52%) in the boy's private school. What seems to be responsible for this difference is that the girl's private school is situated in a large city considered to be an educational centre and thus the staff in this school is recruited locally. The boy's private school, on the other hand, is located in a relatively small town surrounded by villages. The difference bears no relation to the managements.

In regard to mother tongue, the majority in all the four institutions are Punjabi speaking. Comparatively, however, the private schools had the highest proportion of Hindi speakers. This may be related to hiring practices

favouring Punjabi speaking in government service and Hindi in private sector education.

It is difficult to draw generalizations concerning differences in the Caste composition of teachers in the four schools. There is a wide distribution of all Punjabi castes and communities in all the four schools. Even two Scheduled Castes were encountered, one each in the government boys and private boys school. Nevertheless, the Sikhs are the largest group (35% in boys government, 47% in girls government school) in government schools, the Kashatriya community predominates in both the private institutions, (28% in boys private and 42% in girls private). This suggests that some weight is perhaps attached to caste or community affiliation, at least in practice for recruiting teachers either in government or in private service.

#### Professional Characteristics

A reference to Table 5 confirms that there is no significant difference in the level of education of teachers or amount of teacher training between the government and private schools, nor were there significant differences in subject specialization and grade level they taught. However, in regard to teaching experience, government schools are better off than the private ones.

Table 5: Educational Level, Teacher Training, Subject Specialization, Grade Responsibility and Teaching Experience by Management

	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
1. <u>Educational Level</u>				
Matriculates or Less	41	41	43	33
Bachelor of Arts	24	38	36	33
Master of Arts & above	32	21	18	34
Others (technical subjects)	3	0	3	0

chi sq = 19.30, 15=df; P = N.S.

2. Teacher Training  
Degree Courses

M.Ed.	9	0	0	5
B.Ed.	30	34	36	52
B.T.	7	14	6	4
D.P.Ed.	4	3	3	0
<u>certificate &amp; diplomas</u>				
Junior Basic Training	32	37	52	23
Art and Craft	2	3	3	4
Certificate in Physical Edu.	7	2	0	4
Drawing Master	3	0	0	0
Industrially Trained	1	1	0	4
Oriental Training & National Defence Services	5	6	0	4

chi sq = 29.52, 27=d.f; P = N.S.

Table 5 (Cont'd)

	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
<u>3. Subject Specialization</u>				
Languages	45	57	58	39
Mathematics	6	3	8	8
Physical Sciences	18	10	8	18
Physical Education	7	7	8	5
Home Science	0	2	0	4
Technical Subjects	3	0	3	0
Social Sciences	13	10	15	18
Fine Arts	8	10	0	8
Library Science	0	1	0	0

chi sq = 21.19, 24d.f; P = N.S.

<u>4. Grade Responsibility</u>				
Primary (1-5)	24	25	33	25
Middle (6-8)	13	9	16	13
Higher Secondary (9-11)	25	15	6	4
Primary and Middle	0	1	3	4
Middle and Higher Secondary	38	50	42	54

chi sq = 13.78, 12d.f; P = N.S.

<u>5. Teaching Experience</u>				
Below 5 years	24	20	40	34
Between 6-10 years	16	21	30	29
Between 11-20 years	44	41	21	33
Above 20 years	16	18	9	4

chi sq = 13.55, 9d.f; P = N.S.

In short, private schools do not appear to operate at a much "competitive disadvantage" in recruitment. In most respects, their staff is comparable to that of government schools.

Attitudes Toward Scheduled Caste  
Students' School Performance,  
Behaviour and Parental Cooperation

An important dimension of teachers' attitudes toward Scheduled Caste students are their perceptions of the academic performance of these students, their classroom behaviour and interest in extracurricular activities. In a series of questions, the teachers in government as well as private schools were asked to evaluate their Scheduled Caste students vis-à-vis other students.

Perceived School Performance

There was very little variation in the evaluation of Scheduled Caste students' academic performance and classroom behaviour (see Table 6) among the four schools, judged in terms of the type of their management. Interestingly, however, while most teachers in all the four schools described their Scheduled Caste students as "moderately well-behaved", except in the government boys school, a majority of teachers felt that their academic performance was just "moderately poor"



Table 6: Perceived Performance and Behaviour of Scheduled Caste Students by Management

	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
<u>1. Academic Performance</u>				
Very well	2	0	3	0
Moderately well	51	30	40	25
Moderately poor	25	30	27	29
Very poor	22	40	30	46
chi sq = 12.28, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
<u>2. Classroom Behaviour</u>				
Very well-behaved	8	3	15	0
Moderately well-behaved	56	49	46	62
Moderately poorly behaved	30	30	21	25
Very poorly behaved	6	18	18	13
chi sq = 13.87, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
<u>3. Interest in Extracurricular Activities</u>				
Very much interested	9	5	24	21
Moderately interested	46	45	46	54
Moderately disinterested	29	28	6	17
Very disinterested	16	22	24	8
chi sq = 18.24, 9d.f; P = .05				

or "very poor". It was only in boys' government school that more than half (51%) of teachers thought the academic performance of their Scheduled Caste students "moderately or very well". In relation to interest in extracurricular activities, the majority of teachers in all the four schools studied, reported them "moderately interested". However, those in private schools especially in the girls private school, find Scheduled Caste students a little more interested than what was reported by government school teachers. The difference was significant at the  $P < 0.05$  level.

#### Parental Cooperation

The involvement of parents in educational matters is always necessary from the point of view of getting better returns from educational efforts made by teachers in schools. It was, therefore, relevant to the study if the Scheduled Caste parents' adequate evidence of interest in the education of their children, what contribution they were prepared to make for it and how teachers under the two managements feel about it.

In so far as parental cooperation for the education of the Scheduled Caste students is concerned, teachers do not seem to be very satisfied. More than two

fifths (42%) of the teachers from the boys government school and a little less than two thirds (64%) of the teachers of the boys private school think they "rarely cooperate" in planning the education of their children. The response from the girls' institutions is still less favourable. More than half of the teachers in both the girls schools feel that the parents of their Scheduled Caste students "never cooperate". However, there does not seem to be a major difference between the responses given by the government and private institutions.

Teachers were asked to evaluate the importance the Scheduled Caste parents give to the education of their children. Almost half of the teachers (49%) from the government boys' school find them "moderately interested". However, three fourths (74%) of the teachers from the government girls' school, about three fifths (58%) from the private boys' school and over three fourths (79%) from the private girls' consider the level of parental interest "very poor".

Two important observations emerge from the present analysis. Firstly, there does not appear to be much difference between the responses from the private and the government institutions. On the other hand, there is an indication of differences between the responses given by the teachers in the boys schools and those in girls schools, in regard to

their attitudes toward the Scheduled Castes. Secondly, teachers tend to evaluate the behaviour of their Scheduled Caste students favourably, but find their academic performance dissatisfactory. A large majority of them find the Scheduled Caste parents disinterested in the education of their children. That is why a vast majority report that the Scheduled Caste parents do not give adequate financial support for their studies. Financial difficulty of this community has been ranked as the major hinderance responsible for disinterest of Scheduled Caste parents in the education of their children.

Attitudes Toward Protective  
Discrimination

In view of the reported low academic performance of the Scheduled Caste students and disinterested attitude of their parents, it is instructive to know how teachers feel about the special concessions granted to the Scheduled Caste community. To ascertain teachers' beliefs, a set of eight statements relating to various aspects of protective discrimination policy expressed in four levels 'agree'-'disagree' format were included in the questionnaire. These sought to secure their opinion about the desirability of the continuing of the policy of protective discrimination and whether the present concessions should be increased in their favour.

Educational Concessions

Considering teachers in four schools together (Table 7), over half of the teachers (55%) strongly believe that the Scheduled Caste students receive more attention than they deserve. A little less than half of them (44%) strongly feel that the Scheduled Caste students complain about discrimination, when there is none. A considerable majority (70%) are of the firm opinion that the policy of reservation of seats in the institutions of higher learning is an injustice to others for it snatches a good number of seats from the open competition for admission to the colleges and universities. Instead, a considerable majority (68%) believe that the present policy of protective discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Castes will lead to Caste perpetuation because the benefitted Scheduled Castes will be tempted to avail themselves of these concessions and will not try to get out of this community. However, one third of the teachers strongly feel that more liberal scholarships should be given to the Scheduled Caste students, in view of the poverty of their parents. More than half (57%) of the teachers strongly recommend the need of special coaching for the Scheduled Castes students after the school hours and that about two thirds (62%) believe that Scheduled Caste students should be kept in hostels by compulsion to

provide them with better educational atmosphere. A large majority of teachers (69%), however, feel teachers cannot contribute much to uplifting Scheduled Caste students, if their parents do not realize this need. This response compliments the one given by teachers earlier regarding the question of parental cooperation and interest in planning the educational activities of Scheduled Caste children.

A comparison of teachers' attitudes in the four schools (Table 7) indicates that there exists several differences in the responses of government and private institutions. Significantly more teachers from private schools are of the strong opinion that Scheduled Caste students receive more attention in schools than they deserve. They also more strongly tended to believe that the present policy will perpetuate casteism and disagree that the Scheduled Caste students should be given liberal scholarships. As compared to those in government schools, a higher percentage of private school teachers strongly opine that the policy of seat reservation in the institutions of higher learning is an injustice to others. These responses primarily suggest that teachers belonging to private schools are critical of the concessions granted to the Scheduled Caste students.

Table 7: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Protective Discrimination  
By Management

Statement	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
1. Scheduled Caste students receive more attention in schools than they deserve:				
strongly agree	43	66	61	50
moderately agree	29	24	6	25
moderately disagree	6	2	6	8
strongly disagree	22	8	27	17
chi sq = 17.14, 9d.f; P = <.05				
2. Scheduled Caste students complain about discrimination, when there is none:				
strongly agree	36	50	49	42
moderately agree	13	12	18	12
moderately disagree	21	4	0	8
strongly disagree	30	34	33	38
chi sq = 16.97, 9d.f; P = <.05				
3. The policy of seat reservation in higher education is an injustice to others:				
strongly agree	57	67	82	75
moderately agree	19	13	3	17
moderately disagree	3	4	15	0
strongly disagree	21	16	0	8
chi sq = 22.18, 9d.f; P = <.001				

Table 7 (Cont'd)

Statement	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
4. The present policy towards the Scheduled Castes will perpetuate casteism:				
strongly agree	55	72	82	62
moderately agree	13	11	6	4
moderately disagree	13	1	3	13
strongly disagree	19	16	9	21
chi sq = 14.82, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
5. Teachers cannot contribute much in uplifting the Scheduled Castes, if they themselves do not feel its necessity:				
strongly agree	57	78	70	71
moderately agree	16	8	21	12
moderately disagree	13	5	0	0
strongly disagree	14	9	9	17
chi sq = 15.16, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
6. Scheduled Caste students should be given scholarships more liberally:				
strongly agree	36	22	46	33
moderately agree	32	24	18	25
moderately disagree	19	12	15	8
strongly disagree	13	42	21	34
chi sq = 19.57, 9d.f; P = .05				



Table 7 (Cont'd)

Statement	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
7. Scheduled Caste students should be given extra- coaching after school hours:				
strongly agree	49	49	61	67
moderately agree	21	17	6	8
moderately disagree	17	14	12	0
strongly disagree	13	20	21	25
chi sq = 11.61, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
8. Scheduled Caste students should be compulsorily kept in hostels to give them a better educational atmosphere:				
strongly agree	57	63	58	71
moderately agree	24	16	12	13
moderately disagree	11	8	9	4
strongly disagree	8	13	21	12
chi sq = 7.18, 9d.f; P = N.S.				

On the other hand, more teachers from the private schools are of the opinion that Scheduled Caste students should be compulsorily kept in hostels to provide them with suitable educational atmosphere, and that Scheduled Castes should be given extra coaching after school hours. In brief, teachers in private schools exhibit a critical attitude toward protective discrimination.

#### Attitudes Toward Untouchability

In traditional Indian society, the practice of untouchability is responsible for physical avoidance of the Scheduled Castes. The social distance between so-called high caste Hindus and the untouchables is strictly observed in matters of drinking, dining, touching, housing, smoking, marrying and travelling. The reaction of teachers toward these social practices will expose their attitudes toward the Scheduled Caste community in general, which in its turn would largely influence teachers' perceptions of the personality traits of their Scheduled Caste students. Therefore, teachers' views were sought on eight such practices which are considered taboos in traditional Hindu society. The responses were obtained in the four-level "approve-disapprove" format.

### Social Practices

Traditionally uncooked food (in raw form) touched by a Scheduled Caste is considered less polluted than food in cooked form. Again, cooked food touched by a Scheduled Caste carries less pollution than that cooked by or served by a Scheduled Caste person. In this study only 7% of the teachers strongly disapprove of accepting uncooked food from the Scheduled Castes, one tenth (12%) strongly disapprove of accepting cooked food from a Scheduled Caste and 15% strongly disapprove of dining in a restaurant run by the Scheduled Castes. About 2% of the teachers strongly disapprove sitting near a Scheduled Caste person in a religious or social gathering and 10% of the teachers strongly disapprove employing a Scheduled Caste person as domestic help. Twenty-two percent of the teachers strongly advocate the practice of maintaining separate water facilities for the Scheduled Castes and almost the same percentage (24%) approve the continuation of present practice of housing segregation of the Scheduled Castes. However, it is in the area of matrimonial relations that the greatest prejudice prevails. More than two thirds (67%) of the teachers strongly disapprove matrimonial relations with the Scheduled Castes.

A reference to (Table 8) reveals that excepting the practice of sitting in a religious gathering, the responses by teachers in boys schools are surprisingly more liberal than those from girls schools. Again, responses from government schools are generally more liberal than those from private schools. This is particularly true with regard to matrimonial relations and dining practices.

#### Personality Characteristics

In order to see if the social attitudes of teachers effect their perceptions of the personality traits of their Scheduled Caste students, a list of twenty-five (emerged while pretesting the tentative questionnaire) was included in the questionnaire, containing positive and negative qualities. Teachers were requested to indicate which characteristic was most applicable to Scheduled Caste students; which applied most to non-Scheduled Caste students and which applied equally to both. The pattern of response in all the four institutions was nearly identical (see Appendix I). Almost all teachers (92%) feel that Scheduled Caste students possess more socially negative traits in their character in comparison to non-Scheduled Caste students. The negative traits most commonly assigned to the Scheduled Caste students

Table 8: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability -  
Reaction to Social Practices By Management

Practice	Govt.Boys N = 63 %	Govt.Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
1. Acceptance of uncooked food from a Scheduled Caste person:				
strongly approve	68	51	67	46
moderately approve	29	31	27	21
moderately disapprove	1	14	3	12
strongly disapprove	2	4	3	21
chi sq = 25.61    9d.f; P = <.002				
2. Acceptance of cooked food from a Scheduled Caste person:				
strongly approve	67	49	67	42
moderately approve	29	33	12	21
moderately disapprove	1	8	12	12
strongly disapprove	3	10	9	25
chi sq = 21.15, 9d.f; P = <.01				
3. To dine in a restaurant run by a Scheduled Caste:				
strongly approve	59	47	61	37
moderately approve	32	30	21	17
moderately disapprove	8	12	12	4
strongly disapprove	1	11	6	42
chi sq = 32.96, 9d.f; P = <.001				

Table 8 (Cont'd)

Practice	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
4. To sit near a Scheduled Caste person:				
strongly approve	75	76	76	71
moderately approve	22	16	21	21
moderately disapprove	3	5	3	4
strongly disapprove	0	3	0	4
chi sq = 4.56, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
5. To employ a Scheduled Caste person as a domestic help:				
strongly approve	64	45	58	58
moderately approve	24	25	21	25
moderately disapprove	9	9	15	8
strongly disapprove	3	21	6	9
chi sq = 14.64, 9d.f; P = N.S.				
6. To accept matrimonial relations with a Scheduled Caste person:				
strongly approve	19	10	9	0
moderately approve	22	15	15	8
moderately disapprove	5	10	24	8
strongly disapprove	54	65	52	84
chi sq = 19.40, 9d.f; P = < .05				

Table 8 (Cont'd)

	Govt. Boys N = 63 %	Govt. Girls N = 76 %	Private Boys N = 33 %	Private Girls N = 24 %
7. Continuance of separate water supply system for the Scheduled Caste:				
strongly approve	13	32	9	33
moderately approve	13	13	12	17
moderately disapprove	8	2	12	8
strongly disapprove	66	53	67	42
chi sq = 16.14, 9d.f; P = < 0.05				
8. Continuance of living segregation for the Scheduled Castes:				
strongly approve	13	41	15	29
moderately approve	12	9	18	17
moderately disapprove	5	5	6	17
strongly disapprove	70	45	61	37
chi sq = 23.80, 9d.f, P = < 0.001				

were shy, passive, rude, aggressive, extravagant, irresponsible, materialistic and greedy. Only a bare minority of twelve teachers (6%) felt that the Scheduled Caste students have more positive qualities than the non-Scheduled Caste students.

The characteristics which both Scheduled Caste and non-Scheduled Castes were reported to share were, however, more positive than negative and included such qualities as obedience, cooperation, honesty, kindness, politeness, cleanliness, cheerfulness, confidence, optimism, hospitality, assertiveness, hardwork, independence, friendliness and devotion.

In this respect, no significant difference seems to exist in terms of school management.

It was important to know whether the attitudes of teachers regarding the personality traits of their Scheduled Caste students emerged as a result of their impartial judgment or was it a negative perception of the Scheduled Caste community as a whole? For this, it was necessary to study the social relations of teachers with the Scheduled Caste people, both in and outside their institutional premises.



Social Relationships with the Scheduled Castes

Teachers were asked whether they mixed freely with all castes, including the Scheduled Castes, in their childhood (Appendix IV). A little less than three-fourths (70%) of the teachers responded positively. No significant difference on account of school management was observed. In another question, teachers were asked if they had Scheduled Caste colleagues in their institutions. About a quarter (48 teachers) of the study population responded in the affirmative. In actual fact, however, each boys schools had one Scheduled Caste teacher on its staff, the girls schools had none. This indicates that teachers employed either in government or private schools are ostensibly not very particular about caste affiliation of their colleagues. Teachers were further required to report how frequently they visited their Scheduled Caste colleagues and what were the social occasions of their visits. The most common occasion of visit was reported "in the hour of need". Courtesy visits were not common. In terms of management, about one fifth (22%) from the government schools and a little over one tenth (14%) from private schools have social relations with their Scheduled Caste colleagues. However, in both of the cases, the majority of teachers see their Scheduled Caste colleagues only in school hours. It follows that non-

Scheduled Caste teachers still keep distance from their non-Scheduled Caste colleagues. Though not quite significantly, the teachers in government schools are a little more liberal than their counterparts in private schools. However, such marginal differences point to the need for further analysis of factors other than school management.

#### Summary

Although the basic policy in recruiting teachers in government and private schools is the same, i.e. the selection of teachers depends on their professional capabilities, yet private managements when hiring staff for their establishments also keep in mind their own "special" interests. Teachers in the latter category are constrained to think or act less independently. As such, it was presumed that teachers in the private institutions would be more conservative in their outlooks as compared to those in government schools. They would be less critical of traditional practices, including the practice of untouchability and therefore more critical of the policy of protective discrimination that benefits the Scheduled Caste community. Their perceptions of the Scheduled Caste students were expected to be less favourable.

Examining the biographic factors of teachers in the two types of schools, viz. government and private, it was found that teachers in the private schools are younger in age and have less teaching experience. But, no significant variation exists on account of education, professional training, subject specialization or community affiliation of teachers in the sense that there exists fair representation of all castes and communities in the schools. As such teachers in private schools, compared to their colleagues in government schools, do not appear to be "disadvantaged" in any significant manner.

Asked to evaluate the work and conduct of their Scheduled Caste students, the responses from both types of managements are identical. They perceive the academic performance of the Scheduled Caste students less favourably than their behaviour in the classroom. Teachers in all four schools included in the study agree that Scheduled Caste students show moderate interest in the extra-curricular activities of their schools. They share the opinion that the Scheduled Caste parents do not feel interested in the education of their children. The level of their cooperation to the school staff has been reported to be dissatisfactory by most teachers irrespective of school management.

Teachers under the two types of management also have a similar perception of the personality traits of their Scheduled Caste students. Their assessment is predominantly 'negative'.

The reported negative attitude of teachers in both government and private schools toward the Scheduled Caste students also finds expression in the responses made by them regarding the educational concessions these children enjoy under the policy of protective discrimination. Although most of the responses in this connection are similar from the private and government institutions, teachers in the private sector are comparatively more critical though they are more approving of compulsory hostel living and special coaching arrangements for the Scheduled Caste children.

With regard to attitudes toward the practice of untouchability, prejudices continue especially in the field of matrimony and dining practices. Those working in the private institutions seem to adhere to the traditional practices more closely than those in government schools. Responses given by teachers regarding social relationships with the Scheduled Caste community also complement this observation. A slightly higher percentage of teachers in

government employment have social relations with the Scheduled Castes. Nevertheless, the general trend in both the sectors is that of "non-acceptance".

It follows, therefore, that with the exception of a slight difference of degree, there seems to be a few major differences in the attitudes of teachers working in government and private schools. The general tendency of responses in the two cases is the same.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### BIOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHEDULED CASTE STUDENTS

##### The Biographic Factors

The previous chapter indicated that no substantial differences exist among teachers in government and private schools in regard to their attitudes toward the Scheduled Castes. The general trend of responses is similar. This chapter explores the effect of such biographic factors as sex, age, educational level and caste-community affiliations on teachers' attitudes. The hypothesis to be tested in this chapter is:

##### Hypothesis:

Male teachers, those from higher Jatis (castes and communities), those younger in age and those with higher level of former education will be more liberal in their attitudes toward untouchability and toward the policy of protective discrimination in education in favour of the Scheduled Caste students, specifically.

As such, the present chapter will concentrate on biographic factors of teachers in order to study the attitudes toward practice of untouchability and toward the policy of protective discrimination and, in addition, examine teachers' assessment of their Scheduled Caste students' personality traits.

Teachers' Attitudes Toward  
Untouchability

Since the practice of untouchability is rooted in traditional Hindu social practices, it is proposed to first study teachers' attitudes toward these practices. This is to assess in what way, if any, teachers' biographic factors produce variation in their outlooks.

Sex

A reference to Table 9 clearly indicates that male teachers are more liberal in their attitudes regarding untouchability than their female counterparts. In almost all social practices which were considered major taboos in traditional Indian society, they are not as strict as women. A higher percentage of male teachers are ready to accept food (both in cooked or uncooked form), ready to dine in a Scheduled Caste restaurant, employ a Scheduled Caste person as domestic help and accept matrimonial relations. The more traditional attitude of female teachers is again evident from the fact that more women (35%) than men teachers (12%) hold the view that the practice of housing segregation in respect of the Scheduled Castes should continue. Similarly, as against about one tenth (11%) male teachers, more than a quarter (28%) of female teachers are in favour of separate system of water supply for the Scheduled Castes. It is only in the field of sitting near the Scheduled Castes, that responses of female

Table 9: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Sex

Statements	Men N = 69				Women N = 127			
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. To accept uncooked food from a Scheduled Caste person.	70	28	1	1	62	28	11	
2. To accept cooked food from a Scheduled Caste person.	68 59	25	3	4	51	28	9	1
3. Dining in a restaurant run by a Scheduled Caste person.	59	30	10	1	48	27	9	1
4. To sit near a Scheduled Caste person.	75	20	4	1	75	19	4	
5. To employ a Scheduled Caste person as a domestic help.	60	24	12	4	52	23	10	1
6. To accept matrimonial relations with a Scheduled Caste person.	20	24	12	44	7	13	9	71
7. Continuance of separate water supply system for Scheduled Castes.	11	12	8	69	28	14	5	52
8. Continuance of living segregation for the Scheduled Castes	12	11	5	72	35	13	7	45

Note: SA = strongly approve; MA = moderately approve; MD = moderately

1 of



rs' Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Sex

	Men N = 69				Women N = 127				Significance
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
led	70	28	1	1	62	28	11	8	chi sq = 10.92; d.f. = 3 P = <.01
i	68 59	25	3	4	51	28	9	12	chi sq = 8.44; d.f. = 3 P = <.01
led	59	30	10	1	48	27	9	16	chi sq = 9.59; d.f. = 3 P = <.02
	75	20	4	1	75	19	4	2	chi sq = 1.96; d.f. = 3 P = N.S.
	60	24	12	4	52	23	10	15	chi sq = 5.16; d.f. = 3 P = N.S.
	20	24	12	44	7	13	9	71	chi sq = 15.72; d.f. = 3 P = <.001
	11	12	8	69	28	14	5	52	chi sq = 10.93; d.f. = 3 P = <.01
	12	11	5	72	35	13	7	45	chi sq = 16.76; d.f. = 3 P = <.01

ve; MA = moderately approve; MD = moderately disapprove; SD = strongly disapprove

teachers compare well with their male counterparts.

#### Age

In order to study the influence of age factor, the study population was categorized in four groups (Table 10). Interestingly, the middle age group (31-40) seems to be more sympathetic than the rest toward weeding out the practice of untouchability. More teachers in this age range hold liberal attitudes in respect of dining practices and the employment of a Scheduled Caste person as domestic help. But, they are not as liberal in matters where a closer personal relationship with the Scheduled Caste community is involved. For instance, almost two thirds (61%) of them (like those in age group 41-50) reject matrimonial relations with Scheduled Castes as compared to only 33% of those in the group of teachers under thirty years of age. In a similar fashion, the younger the teachers are, the more strongly they disagree with the continuance of the practice of housing segregation and separate water supply arrangements for the Scheduled Castes.

#### Level of Education

Teachers' level of education (Table 11) is perhaps the most important factor in so far as professional influences on their attitudes is concerned. The present study population was divided into three groups according to their years of schooling - (a) matriculates or less; (b) B.A.s; (c) M.A.s

Table 10: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability By Age

Statements	30 or less N = 54				31-40 years N = 97				41-50 years N = 36		
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD
1. To accept uncooked food from a Scheduled Caste person.	34	60	3	3	62	26	9	3	44	39	0
2. To accept cooked food from a Scheduled Caste person.	33	58	5	4	60	26	6	8	39	39	0
3. Dining in a restaurant run by Scheduled Caste.	30	56	7	7	56	27	7	10	44	14	6
4. To sit near a Scheduled Caste person.	90	8	1	1	78	18	3	1	61	25	11
5. To employ a Scheduled Caste person as a domestic help.	30	9	6	55	56	26	9	9	50	25	8
6. To accept matrimonial relations with a Scheduled Caste person.	8	55	4	33	11	18	10	61	11	14	14
7. Continuance of separate water supply for the Scheduled Castes.	14	7	4	75	25	11	4	60	8	11	11
8. Continuance of living segregation for the Scheduled Castes.	12	5	3	80	29	14	6	51	26	11	2

Note: SA = strongly approve; MA = moderately approve; MD = moderate

1 of

# Attitudes Toward Untouchability By Age

ss		31-40 years N = 97				41-50 years N = 36				51-60 years N = 9				Significance
MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
3	3	62	26	9	3	44	39	9	8	33	44	12	11	chi sq=12.11 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.
5	4	60	26	6	8	39	39	8	14	33	33	11	23	chi sq=15.61 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.
7	7	56	27	7	10	44	14	6	22	22	45	11	22	chi sq=20.24 d.f. = 12 P = <.05
1	1	78	18	3	1	61	25	11	3	66	44	0	0	chi sq=12.58 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.
6	55	56	26	9	9	50	25	8	17	22	45	22	11	chi sq=16.14 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.
4	33	11	18	10	61	11	14	14	61	11	11	11	67	chi sq=7.16 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.
4	75	25	11	4	60	8	11	11	70	11	33	11	45	chi sq=13.05 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.
3	80	29	14	6	51	26	11	2	61	11	22	22	44	chi sq=8.43 d.f. = 12 P = <.05

rove; MA = moderately approve; MD = moderately disapprove; SD = strongly disapprove

Table 11.: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability By Level of Education

Statements	Matric or Less N = 79				B.A. N = 64				M.A. or more N = 50		
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD
1. To accept uncooked food from a Scheduled Caste person.	53	29	14	4	67	24	6	3	82	12	4
2. To accept cooked food from a Scheduled Caste person.	52	28	16	4	67	22	3	8	81	11	2
3. Dining in a restaurant run by Scheduled Caste.	41	37	19	3	62	22	5	11	77	13	2
4. To sit near a Scheduled Caste person.	62	34	2	2	84	13	2	1	88	8	3
5. To employ a Scheduled Caste person as a domestic help.	45	36	16	3	56	19	8	17	80	9	4
6. To accept matrimonial relations with a Scheduled Caste person.	3	6	7	84	16	17	6	61	31	13	6
7. Continuance of separate water supply for the Scheduled Castes.	13	19	5	63	24	9	3	64	34	6	27
8. Continuance of living segregation for the Scheduled Castes.	17	7	15	61	26	11	3	60	34	6	27

Note: SA = strongly approve; MA = moderately approve; MD = moderately

# Attitudes Toward Untouchability By Level of Education

Less than High School N = 64		B.A. N = 64				M.A. or more N = 50				Others N = 3				Significance
MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
14	4	67	24	6	3	82	12	4	2	67	0	0	33	chi sq = 16.13 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
16	4	67	22	3	8	81	11	2	6	67	0	0	33	chi sq = 19 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
19	3	62	22	5	11	77	13	2	8	100	0	0	0	chi sq = 20 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
2	2	84	13	2	1	88	8	3	1	67	0	0	33	chi sq = 11.94 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
6	3	56	19	8	17	80	9	4	7	33	0	0	67	chi sq = 15.53 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
7	84	16	17	6	61	31	13	6	50	33	0	0	67	chi sq = 19 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
5	63	24	9	3	64	34	6	27	33	33	0	0	67	chi sq = 16.6 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
5	61	26	11	3	60	34	6	27	33	33	0	0	67	chi sq = 22.4 d.f. = 15 P = .05

ove; MA = moderately approve; MD = moderately disapprove; SD = strongly disapprove

and above. The few "others", (e.g. Technical Teachers) were omitted from the analysis.

A study of Table 11 will point out that the higher the level of formal education, the more liberal are the views of teachers in social matters. Almost one half of those with matric level or less education find acceptance of food from Scheduled Castes, dining at a Scheduled Caste restaurant or employing a Scheduled Caste person as domestic help strongly undesirable. This was the case on the question of "matrimonial relations" as well. The same practices are strongly approved by a very significant majority (82%) of those who are either M.A.s or possess academic qualifications above this level. Such teachers disapprove of the continuance of separate water supply systems for the Scheduled Castes and housing segregation.

#### Caste-Community Affiliations

In the traditional Hindu hierarchy, Brahmins, Kashatriyas, Vaishyes and Sudras were respectively graded in order of higher social status. Aryas and the Sikhs who had rejected this social gradation were supposed not to consider the Scheduled Castes as inferior persons and therefore were expected to be more liberal towards those practices. In the present study, however, as compared to those from Hindu castes,

Sikhs are in no way distinctly liberal (Table 12). Their attitudes are similar to Brahmins and Kashatriyas. Among Hindus, contrary to what has hypothesized, Sudra teachers, followed by Vaishyas appear to be more sympathetic toward Scheduled Castes in their views on traditional social practices. The attitudes of Brahmin and Kashatriya teachers are somewhat similar although more Brahmin teachers than Kashatriyas disagree with the continuance of housing segregation and separate water arrangements. Kashatriyas are also slightly less unwilling to accept food with which Scheduled Castes are involved in one way or the other. As such, higher caste Hindu teachers (Brahmin and Kashatriya) cling to old practices more meticulously than Vaisyas or Sudras.

Teachers' Attitudes Toward Policy  
of Protective Discrimination

The policy of protective discrimination in education as has been pointed out earlier implies special assistance to be given to the Scheduled Caste students so that they can obtain a fair share of the benefits of educational development in the country. While this 'special assistance' was intended to narrow down the socio-economic gap between the Scheduled Caste community and others, it also invites criticism from non-Scheduled Caste circles.



Table 12: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Ca.

	Sikhs N=68				Brahmins N=35				Kashatriyas N=45				Vais N=	
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MD
1. To accept uncooked food from at Scheduled Caste person.	55	25	12	8	63	31	0	6	53	31	12	4	67	3
2. To accept cooked food from a Scheduled Caste person	56	23	8	13	57	31	3	9	49	31	11	9	63	27
3. Dining in a restaurant run by a Scheduled Caste person	56	21	10	13	52	37	6	5	42	35	7	16	61	21
4. To sit near a Scheduled Caste person.	74	18	5	3	71	29	0	0	77	18	5	0	77	18
5. To employ a Scheduled Caste as domestic help.	56	23	6	15	46	39	12	8	44	27	16	13	69	16
6. To accept matrimonial relations with a Scheduled Caste person.	12	18	9	61	3	26	8	63	7	11	9	73	18	10
7. Continuance of separate water supply for the Scheduled Caste.	27	14	5	54	11	11	9	70	20	17	9	54	11	14
8. Continuance of living segregation for the Scheduled Castes.	31	14	6	49	14	11	9	66	26	18	9	47	28	8

Note: SA = strongly approve; MA = moderatley approve; MD = moderately disap

# Attitudes Toward Untouchability by Caste-Community Affiliations

Brahmins N=35				Kashatriyas N=45				Vaishyas N=38				Sudras N=9				Aryas N=1				Significance
SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
	31	0	6	53	31	12	4	67	33	0	0	67	33	0	0	100	0	0	0	chi sq=10.95 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
7	31	3	9	49	31	11	9	63	27	2	8	78	11	11	0	100	-	-	-	chi sq=14.03 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
2	37	6	5	42	35	7	16	61	21	10	8	67	11	22	0	100	-	-	-	chi sq=21.47 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
1	29	0	0	77	18	5	0	77	18	2	3	77	11	11	0	100	0	0	0	chi sq=9.32 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
6	39	12	8	44	27	16	13	69	16	8	7	78	11	11	0	-	-	100	-	chi sq=15.97 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
3	26	8	63	7	11	9	73	18	10	16	56	44	22	11	23	100	0	0	0	chi sq=15.97 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
1	11	9	70	20	17	9	54	11	14	12	63	11	11	11	67	100	-	-	-	chi sq=11.99 d.f.=18 P=N.S.
4	11	9	66	26	18	9	47	28	8	2	62	11	11	0	78	100	-	-	-	chi sq=20.70 d.f.=18 P=N.S.

SA = strongly approve; MD = moderately disapprove; SD = strongly disapprove

Under the policy of protective discrimination, all Scheduled Caste students irrespective of their interest in studies, vocational aspirations and capabilities obtain generous educational concessions and monetary benefits. Many "other" students who actually deserve such concessions on account of their poverty do not get them simply because they do not belong to the Scheduled Caste community. This situation can be interpreted in two different ways. Some may believe that the present concessions are too meagre in view of the extreme poverty of the Scheduled Castes and the rate of scholarships and stipends should be increased, their children should be given special coaching and be kept in hostels compulsorily in order to provide them with proper educational atmosphere. On the other hand, many critics of the policy may feel that all recipients are not equally capable of utilizing these concessions and the special assistance should not be provided to all Scheduled Castes. It is argued that these generous concessions are likely to lead to caste perpetuation in as much as the concessions may tend to become permanent rather than be temporary. The Scheduled Castes will develop a lethargic attitude toward self improvement in view of easy access to the permitted benefits. Therefore, the question arises - are teachers committed to the policy of protective discrimination in the spirit in which is intended or is it simply imposed on them? More importantly, to what extent do their attitudes toward the policy of

protective discrimination and Scheduled Caste students in special, reflect aspects of their educational background?

Sex

Table 13 compares the attitude of men and women teachers toward protective discrimination. Although sex differences were significant for only two statements, women registered a higher level of agreement on seven of the eight statements. More than three fifths (61%) of the women teachers, for instance 'strongly agree' that the Scheduled Caste students receive more attention in schools than they deserve. The corresponding percentage for men teachers is only 46%. Many women teachers explained during the interviews that Scheduled Caste students often fail to make the best use of the concessions granted to them. The majority of them attend schools irregularly, are truants, give minimum class responses, often repeat grades, drop their studies in between, distract other students, etc. Government money spent for Scheduled Caste students, they added, was a national wastage. A majority (51%) of women teachers as compared to about a third (33%) of men teachers strongly agreed that Scheduled Caste students complain unduly about discrimination in schools, when there is none. These teachers often answered that the Scheduled Caste students who failed to cope with the academic work tended to blame their low performance on negative discrimination toward them.

Table 13: Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective

Statements	Men N = 69				Women = N 10			
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
1. Scheduled Caste students receive more attention than they deserve.	46	22	7	25	61	23	4	
2. Scheduled Caste students make complaints unduly.	33	19	19	29	50	10	4	
3. The seats reservation policy in higher education is an injustice to others.	55	16	10	19	74	13	2	
4. The policy of protective discrimination will perpetuate caste system.	59	12	9	20	72	9	5	
5. Teachers cannot improve the performance of Scheduled Caste students, if their parents do not realize its needs.	59	19	9	13	74	10	5	
6. Scholarships should be given more liberally to Scheduled Caste students.	39	29	17	15	28	24	13	
7. Scheduled Caste students should be kept compulsorily in hostels.	56	17	12	15	64	17	7	
8. Special coaching should be given to Scheduled Caste students after school hours	50	16	17	17	55	15	11	

Note: SA = strongly agree ; MA = moderately agree ; MD = moderate

# Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective Discrimination By Sex

Men N = 69				Women N = 127				Significance
SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
46	22	7	25	61	23	4	12	chi sq=6.46; d.f.=3 P=N.S.
33	19	19	29	50	10	4	36	chi sq=18.80; d.f.=3 P<.001
55	16	10	19	74	13	2	11	chi sq=9.83; d.f.=3 P<.05
59	12	9	20	72	9	5	14	chi sq=3.09; d.f.=3 P=N.S.
59	19	9	13	74	10	5	11	chi sq=5.18; d.f.=3 P=N.S.
39	29	17	15	28	24	13	35	chi sq=9.82; d.f.=3 P<.02
56	17	12	15	64	17	7	12	chi sq=1.68; d.f.=3 P=N.S.
50	16	17	17	55	15	11	19	chi sq=1.73; d.f.=3 P=N.S.

MA = moderately agree ; MD = moderately disagree ; SD = strongly disagree

Constant with such beliefs is the finding that a large majority of female teachers (74%) and over half the male teachers (59%) strongly feel that educators cannot improve the performance of their Scheduled Caste students if the Scheduled Caste parents do not realize the need. It appears, according to these teachers, that the policy of protective discrimination has imposed special responsibilities on the educational system which are perceived as unrealistic.

As much as three fourths (74%) of the women teachers and over half the men teachers (55%) find the policy of seat reservation in the institutions of higher learning an injustice to others. In the interviews, many teachers (70%) strongly argued that the reserved seat scheme penalizes non-Scheduled Caste students who have worked very hard and rewards the Scheduled Castes who may be indifferent to further schooling. Teachers expressed their apprehensions regarding low level of educational efficiency if the Scheduled Castes were given "push" in institutions of higher learning, regardless of their low academic merit.

A majority of teachers, 72% of the women and 54% of the men were concerned that special concessions will perpetuate the caste system, creating a class of "neo-Brahmins shirking work and depending on easy access to everything".

Over three fifths (64%) of the women teachers and more than half of the men teachers (56%) strongly approve of keeping Scheduled Caste students in hostels to overcome their poor home environments. Amidst crushing poverty and squalor, the teachers report most of the large Scheduled Caste families are huddled in small houses where a Scheduled Caste child has no private corner to concentrate on his studies. In addition, the Scheduled Caste parents often expect their children to supplement the income of the family. Under the constant care of teachers, hostels are thought to provide a better educational atmosphere so that these students might get accustomed to a healthy environment. This, by itself will lead to a "better self image and greater confidence". Most of the interviewed teachers, especially the men teachers, said that their (Scheduled Caste students') parents' occupation was responsible for their unacceptable qualities for which hostel living was recommended by the overwhelming majority.



Almost three fourths (70%) of the women teachers, and about two thirds (65%) of the men teachers advocate that Scheduled Caste students should receive special coaching after school hours; this, despite the fact, that most of them believe, as has been mentioned above, that teachers can do little to improve the performance of their Scheduled Caste students. The most probable reason for this difference could be that teachers believe the Scheduled Caste students need individual attention which is rather impossible in large classes, as is the actual case in schools at present.

The somewhat more critical attitude of women teachers may in part stem from their largely negative perceptions of the Scheduled Caste students. Although both men and women teachers listed more negative personality traits as a characteristic of the Scheduled Caste students, women were more likely than men to possess a negative image of such students (95 vs 87%). Most of the interviewed women teachers found Scheduled Caste students particularly lacking in civic qualities like honesty, truthfulness, hardwork etc, as compared to other students.

### Age

It had been hypothesized that younger teachers would have a more favourable view of the policy of protective discrimination. Although significant differences were absent on five of the eight statements (Table 14), those in age group 51-60 were generally the most critical. The teachers in age group thirty or less were the most supportive of protective discrimination. However, a significant percentage (83%) of them feel that teachers cannot improve the performance of their Scheduled Caste students if their parents do not realize its need. Their greater receptivity to measures to uplift the Scheduled Castes is a matter of degree. Younger teachers were simply more reticent to express strong negative opinions. The oldest group of teachers was much less inhibited.

### Case or Community Affiliation

In order to study the influence of teachers' caste or community affiliation in the formation of their attitudes toward the policy of protective discrimination in favour of Scheduled Castes, the study population was grouped into five categories - Sikhs, Brahmins, Kashatriya, Vaishyas, Sudras. Significant differences were noted. The Sikhs seem to be more critical than Hindus on some aspects of the policy (Table 15). For instance, only one fourth (25%) of

Table 14: Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective Discrimination

Statements	30 years or less				31-40 years				41-50 years			
	N = 54				N = 97				N = 36			
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Scheduled Caste Students receive more attention than they deserve.	29	6	53	12	60	22	4	14	39	39	5	1
2. Scheduled Caste students make complaints unduly.	31	7	52	10	41	14	6	39	28	11	22	3
3. The seat reservation policy in higher education is an injustice to others.	34	54	1	11	67	15	8	10	63	17	3	17
4. The policy of protective discrimination will perpetuate caste systems.	34	54	1	11	64	11	8	17	78	5	3	14
5. Teachers cannot improve performance of their students, if their parents do not realize its need.	83	6	3	8	69	13	5	13	64	17	11	8
6. Scholarships should be given more liberally to Scheduled Caste students.	20	62	2	14	25	29	13	33	45	14	22	19
7. Scheduled Caste students should be kept compulsorily in hostels.	30	54	51	5	61	16	10	13	69	6	11	14
8. Special coaching should be given to Scheduled Caste students after school hours.	30	4	53	13	52	17	14	17	53	22	14	11

Note: SA = strongly agree; MA = moderately agree; MD = moderately disagree; SD =

# Attitudes Toward the Policy of Protective Discrimination By Age

ess		31-40 years				41-50 years				51-60 years				Significance
		N = 97				N = 36				N = 9				
SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD		
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
12	60	22	4	14	39	39	5	17	67	22	0	11	chi sq = 29.12 d.f. = 12 P = <.01	
10	41	14	6	39	28	11	22	39	45	22	11	22	chi sq = 30.30 d.f. = 12 P = <.01	
11	67	15	8	10	63	17	3	17	89	11	0	0	chi sq = 16.01 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.	
11	64	11	8	17	78	5	3	14	78	0	11	11	chi sq = 9.79 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.	
8	69	13	5	13	64	17	11	8	100	0	0	0	chi sq = 7.55 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.	
14	25	29	13	33	45	14	22	19	22	11	56	11	chi sq = 29.87 d.f. = 12 P = <.01	
5	61	16	10	13	69	6	11	14	45	22	11	22	chi sq = 22.80 d.f. = 12 P = <.01	
13	52	17	14	17	53	22	14	11	45	0	33	22	chi sq = 19.32 d.f. = 12 P = N.S.	

SA = strongly agree; MD = moderately disagree; SD = strongly disagree

Table 15: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Policy of Protective Caste-Community Affiliations

Statement	Sikhs N = 68				Brahmins N = 35				Kashatriyas N = 45				SA
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
1. Scheduled Caste students receive more attention than they deserve.	61	26	3	10	60	20	0	20	49	27	7	18	50
2. Scheduled Caste students make complaints unduly.	42	22	10	25	43	11	12	34	38	4	9	49	55
3. The seat reservation policy in higher education is an injustice to others.	59	18	7	16	77	14	6	6	79	7	4	10	66
4. The policy of protective discrimination will perpetuate caste system.	62	7	7	24	63	14	0	23	78	9	4	9	71
5. Teachers cannot improve the performance of Scheduled Caste students if their parents do not realize its need.	62	14	4	20	66	23	6	5	80	7	7	6	71
6. Scholarships should be given more liberally to Scheduled Caste students.	25	30	17	18	43	11	20	26	24	31	11	33	47
7. Scheduled Caste students should be kept compulsorily in hostels.	56	21	9	14	57	20	14	9	64	16	4	16	63
8. Special coaching should be given to Scheduled Caste students after school hours.	45	17	18	20	52	17	11	20	58	18	6	18	61

Note: SA = strongly agree; MA = moderately agree; MD = moderately

1 of

Attitudes Toward Policy of Protective Discrimination By  
Caste Affiliations

Brahmins N = 35				Kashatriyas N = 45				Vaishyas N = 38				Sudras N = 9				Significance
SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
60	20	0	20	49	27	7	18	50	16	13	21	56	11	0	33	chi sq = 20.27 d.f. = 18 P = N.S.
43	11	12	34	38	4	9	49	55	13	8	24	44	11	0	45	chi sq = 18.9 d.f. = 18 P = < 0.05
77	14	6	6	79	7	4	10	66	13	13	18	45	22	11	22	chi sq = 31 d.f. = 18 P = < .05
63	14	0	23	78	9	4	9	71	8	16	5	56	22	0	22	chi sq = 21.55 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
66	23	6	5	80	7	7	6	71	8	11	10	56	33	0	11	chi sq = 23.66 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
43	11	20	26	24	31	11	33	47	16	21	16	45	22	0	33	chi sq = 28.69 d.f. = 18 P = < 0.05
57	20	14	9	64	16	4	16	63	13	11	13	78	11	0	11	chi sq = 8.7 d.f. = 18 P = N.S.
52	17	11	20	58	18	6	18	61	10	16	13	67	0	11	22	chi sq = 13.73 d.f. = 18 P = N.S.

e; MA = moderately agree; MD = moderately disagree; SD = strongly disagree

the Sikh teachers strongly recommend a more liberal policy of scholarships and special coaching schemes were approved strongly only by 45% of them. Instead, more Sikh teachers (61%) than any other caste or community believe that Scheduled Caste students receive more attention in schools than they deserve.

Contrary to what was predicted, among Hindus, Sudras were found more sympathetic to the cause of the Scheduled Castes. Surprisingly, however, a majority of Sudras (56%) accepted such statements as the policy of protective discrimination will perpetuate casteism. Although they are somewhat moderately receptive to compensatory policies as compared to the rest of the Hindu castes they vehemently endorse a change in the present policy. More Sudra teachers (78%) than any other caste or community consider it desirable that Scheduled Caste students be compulsorily kept in hostels and a large majority of them (67%) recommend that special coaching after school hours should be arranged for the Scheduled Caste students. These teachers are also relatively more confident of the teachers' role in uplifting the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps, their marginal position in the Hindu social system is responsible for the reported attitudes.

### Education

We had predicted that the level of education would be positively related to attitudes toward protective discrimination, especially that teachers with a higher level of formal education would have more liberal outlooks. Teachers were grouped by level of education and their responses compared (Table 16). Differences were found to be significant for two of the eight statements. On the issue of scholarships, fewer M.A.s (18%) strongly agree on the need for more liberal scholarships and B.A. holders were more likely to endorse keeping Scheduled Caste students in hostels. Level of education does seem to produce somewhat more favourable views of protective discrimination. Although because those who have received the higher education might be thought to believe that they have earned their present status through sheer hard work and that the undeserving should not be given such opportunities. The most highly qualified part of the sample are the most sympathetic to the Scheduled Caste students on most items. In contrast, sixty-five percent of the teachers with matriculation qualification or less than it think Scheduled Caste students receive more attention than they deserve, 89% are against seat reservation policy, 78% feel desperate regarding teachers role in "uplifting" the Scheduled Castes, 66% believe that the policy will perpetuate the existing caste system. The re-



Table 16: Teachers' Attitudes Toward Policy of Protective  
By Level of Education

Statements	Matric or Less N = 79				B.A. N = 64				M.A. or More N = 50			
	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Scheduled Caste students receive more attention than they deserve.	65	28	1	6	48	25	5	22	47	13	5	35
2. Scheduled Caste students make complaints unduly.	47	5	22	26	38	10	11	41	42	37	6	15
3. The seat reservation policy in higher education is an injustice to others.	89	5	2	4	56	16	10	18	54	9	2	35
4. The policy of protective discrimination will perpetuate caste system.	78	4	12	6	64	17	9	11	31	9	3	58
5. Teachers cannot improve the performance of Scheduled Caste students if their parents do not realize its need.	66	6	12	16	62	6	8	24	33	6	3	58
6. Scholarships should be given more liberally to Scheduled caste students.	29	12	45	14	26	33	11	30	18	10	8	64
7. Scheduled Caste students should be kept compulsorily in hostels.	56	22	15	7	75	8	6	11	55	8	5	32
8. Special coaching should be given to Scheduled Caste students after school hours.	38	5	36	21	52	21	11	14	50	7	8	35

Note: SA = Strongly agree; MA = moderately agree; MD = moderately disagree

1 of 1

Attitudes Toward Policy of Protective Discrimination  
of Education

B.A. N = 64				M.A. or More N = 50				Others N = 3				Significance
SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	SA	MA	MD	SD	
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
48	25	5	22	47	13	5	35	67	33	0	0	chi sq = 16.43 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
38	10	11	41	42	37	6	15	67	33	0	0	chi sq = 22.16 d.f. = 15; P = N.S.
56	16	10	18	54	9	2	35	100	0	0	0	chi sq = 17.47 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
64	17	9	11	31	9	3	58	100	0	0	0	chi sq = 10.25 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
62	6	8	24	33	6	3	58	100	0	0	0	chi sq = 9.43 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.
26	33	11	30	18	10	8	64	100	0	0	0	chi sq = 32.87 d.f. = 15 P = < 0.01
75	8	6	11	55	8	5	32	50	0	0	50	chi sq = 26.63 d.f. = 15 P = < 0.05
52	21	11	14	50	7	8	35	33	67	0	0	chi sq = 22.35 d.f. = 15 P = N.S.

erately agree; MD = moderately disagree; SD = strongly disagree.

sponses made by graduate and post-graduate groups on these statements are far liberal. It follows that the level of education that a teacher possesses has some bearing on their attitude toward protective discrimination.

The present analysis, therefore, partially supports the hypothesis in question. Men teachers, those belonging to lower castes, younger and more highly qualified staff were found to be more liberal than others.

#### Summary

Attitudes of teachers regarding the concept of untouchability and the policy of protective discrimination were examined with reference to four biographic factors viz sex, age, caste or community affiliations and level of education. The responses given by the teachers on eight statements regarding social practices concerned with untouchability and again the responses on the policy of protective discrimination were analyzed in respect of eight other statements. Compared to men, women teachers were somewhat more conservative in their attitudes both in respect of practice of untouchability and the policy of protective discrimination. Though age is not related in a linear fashion to teacher attitudes, younger teachers held more favourable

outlooks than older teachers. Caste and community affiliation was found to have some direct relationships to attitudes toward the practice of untouchability and the policy of protective discrimination. Sikhs in some aspects are more critical than Hindus. Among Hindus, it was observed that even Sudras were critical of the policy of protective discrimination, if not of the practice of untouchability. Although Sudras give the most liberal responses, still they believe that the present policy would perpetuate casteism. They appear in favour of a policy by which better educational facilities, rather liberal scholarships are provided to Scheduled Caste students. Finally, level of formal education had a slight relationship to teachers' responses. Better educated teachers were found with liberal outlooks. In summary, the hypothesis that younger, male, better educated, and teachers from higher castes and communities would be more favourably disposed to the policy of protective discrimination and more critical of the practice of untouchability is only moderately supported by the data analyzed in this chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### REVIEW OF FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The educational concessions granted to the Scheduled Caste community were expected to produce far reaching effects on the socio-economic structure of the Indian society. But, the earlier studies have disclosed that the present policy of protective discrimination has failed in achieving a measure of educational "equality" which could have brought the desired socio-economic change. Instead, some "new inequalities" within the Scheduled Caste community itself have come to light. What circumstances are responsible for this state of affairs is an important national question. Do teachers' attitudes in any way contribute to the negative achievement of the policy? The findings of this study are supposed to fill this lacuna in the educational research. It was presumed that teachers' professional attitudes are the product of two basic factors: (a) the institutional management, (b) teachers' own biographic characteristics.

Review of Findings

In the first instance, teachers' attitudes were analyzed in relation to the school managements in order to ascertain if private stewardship as compared to direct government control of the educational institutions in any way affects the attitudes of teachers toward Scheduled Caste students. It was observed that the recruiting pattern of teachers under the two types of managements did not differ significantly. Teachers working under private managements matched well in qualifications, subject specialization, professional training, etc. with those in government employment, though the latter were slightly older in age and possessing more professional experience. Constitutionally no distinction is permissible on account of caste affiliations in recruiting teachers, but in the present study population more teachers belonging to the Sikh community were found in government schools and Kashatriyas were in the majority in the two private schools. This indicates that in actual practice some weight is most probably given to caste-community affiliations of teachers while hiring their services. However, since the working of private schools is regulated through periodical inspections by state government officials, the caste affiliation of teachers seems a weak factor in so far as managements cannot compel

teachers to go contrary to statutory provisions made in favour of the Scheduled Castes.

Teachers, while holding a favourable opinion of the behaviour of their Scheduled Caste students, find agreement with earlier studies (Chitnis 72, 75 Lal. 75, Adiseshiah 75, Karlekar 75), regarding their low academic performance. However, in contrast to Adiseshiah's findings (1975), the teachers in this study do not believe that Scheduled Caste students are disinterested in extra-curricular activities. Those in private schools feel that they are a bit more interested than government school teachers. Irrespective of school management, teachers consider Scheduled Caste parents disinterested and incapable of guiding their children. Instead, they are reported shirking any expenses towards their educational needs. The stipends granted by government to Scheduled Caste students in most cases, teachers reveal, are a source of supplementary income to the Scheduled Caste parents. So far as the cooperation of Scheduled Caste parents in educational activities (planning, conducting, encouraging higher aspirations) is concerned, the teachers are equally dissatisfied.

Although, private school teachers are more critical than their colleagues in government schools regarding special attention paid to the Scheduled Caste students in schools and the grant of liberal scholarships, a higher percentage of them recommend compulsory hostel facilities and extra coaching for these students. No significant difference was, however, found between the two managements in relation to teacher assessments of the personal characteristics of the Scheduled Caste students. Their assessments are predominantly negative.

The picture that emerges suggests that teachers working under the two types of managements hold somewhat identical views toward the Scheduled Caste problem. Their perceptions of students from this community do not differ much. The differences noticed in their attitudes toward the policy of protective discrimination and traditional social practices are of degree and not of kind. It follows that hypothesis 1 positing close relationship between school managements and teachers' attitudes has not been supported.



Differences between teachers in boys and girls schools were more pronounced. There being more women teachers in girls schools, often the responses from these institutions are more conservative. Women teachers, as our second hypothesis predicted, were found to be more traditional in their social outlooks and more critical of protective discrimination.

The fact that Sudra teachers have tended to have the most sympathetic attitudes toward the education of the Scheduled Castes, and also the absence of such a disposition on the part of Sikh teachers partially rejects hypothesis II related to the influence of caste community affiliations. Contrary to the conclusions of earlier studies (Rath and Sincar 1960, Anant 1970), so called 'low' communities have been found more sympathetic to the cause of the Scheduled Castes. A modest, positive relationship was established between the level of formal education of teachers and their attitudes toward the Scheduled Castes; thereby supporting that part of hypothesis II. Findings of the study in this respect are in line with those by Saran (1969).<sup>1</sup> Age was shown to have a slight influence on such attitudes as well as with younger teachers more favourably disposed to protective discrimination and more critical of traditional caste practices.

---

<sup>1</sup>Saran, G. "Impact of Education on Social Structure". Ph.D. Dissertation, Punjab University, 1969.

The present study indicates that age, sex, level of formal education and caste affiliations effect the attitudes of teachers. But here again, the difference is one of kind but not of degree. Most teachers consider Scheduled Caste children an unintelligent lot brought up in their inferior cultural cocoon. They recognize their financial and cultural handicaps. They feel that the educational backwardness of the Scheduled Castes is a result of improper guidance at home. This is consistent with the findings of Kapadia (1954)<sup>2</sup>, Issac (1968)<sup>3</sup>, Anant (1970)<sup>4</sup>, that the sentiments of prejudice and discrimination are deep in the minds of teachers. Teachers are critical of the policy of the protective discrimination, especially job reservations and the granting of scholarships. In view of the perceived non-cooperative attitudes of the Scheduled Caste parents, their incapacity to properly guide their children, their lack of interest in their studies, the low academic performance of these students and their negative personality characteristics, the majority of teachers are convinced that the expenditure incurred on them is a colossal national wastage. In this light they feel that more attention is presently paid to students of this community than they

---

<sup>2</sup>Kapadia, K.M. "Changing Patterns in Hindu Marriage and Family" Sociological Bulletin, No. 3 (1954), pp. 61-87, 131-157

<sup>3</sup>Issacs, H. India's Ex-untouchables. New York: The John Day Co., 1965.

<sup>4</sup>Anant, S.S. "Caste Prejudice and Its Perception by Harijans". Journal of Social Psychology, No. 82 (1970), pp.165-177

deserve. Failing to come to the level of the rest of their peers, these students are seen to blame discrimination against them, when in actual practice there is none. What the teachers seem to resent is that the Scheduled Castes are passive beneficiaries of present policies. They should duly be helped and guided to attain general standards but not treated preferentially. The present policy will not prepare them psychologically for assimilation in the national mainstream. Instead, the teachers opine, it will cause caste perpetuation because the open and liberal approach presently adopted in favour of the Scheduled Castes would develop vested interests. They will resent, so the argument goes, parting with the monetary and monopolized job gains they are receiving at present. In this light, teachers advocate that a fresh thought should be given to the policy of protective discrimination. They are for "revision" of the policy. They stress the importance of providing such facilities as hostels and special coaching, etc rather than scholarships or reservations. Present policies, teachers characterize as nothing less than "political charity", "a bait" to attract favour of a community for political ends, and the "British legacy of divide and rule". In their opinion such steps legitimize untouchability and render educational efforts meaningless. This social consciousness on the part of teachers indicates their devotion to the Scheduled Caste policies.

Policy Implications

The basic educational strategy, teachers suggest, should concentrate on creating such qualities of "head and heart" in Scheduled Castes student as would ensure their natural acceptability as part and parcel of the national mainstream. Pointing to the lack of "civic sense" in their Scheduled Caste students, an overwhelming majority of teachers suggest that they should be kept in hostels compulsorily so that not only social qualities of head and heart are created in them within a suitable educational atmosphere, but they are also made to realize that "reservations" in their favour is no answer in uplifting their community. Reservations on the other hand would stand in the way of their self-confidence and self-respect. The present policy obviously has failed to win over the Scheduled Caste parents too. That is why teachers report their disinterested attitudes toward the education of their children.

Much still remains to be done before the centuries old social beliefs are wiped out in totality and replaced by new democratic norms. The importance of the role of teachers in transforming social values needs no explanation. They are not transmitters of traditional social values from

generation to generation, they also smoothe the way for social revolutions by creating new social norms suitable to the changing needs of the society. So, if deep-rooted prejudices against the Scheduled Castes are to be removed, the first condition is a more favourable attitude of teachers toward the Scheduled Caste community, and that the new policies must take into account the expressed attitudes of teachers for these are the outcome of their professional experience.

Of particular importance appears to be the utilization of inservice training programmes reminding teachers of their duties toward building a new social order. This is particularly indispensable for most of the women teachers and also for the older lot of teachers who still adhere meticulously to traditional ritual beliefs. This is equally important for the new entrants in the profession who lack adequate acquaintance with the national policy towards the Scheduled Caste community and thereby tend to think negatively. Recruitment of more Scheduled Caste teachers in the teaching profession would perhaps contribute more effectively in making the Scheduled Caste welfare programmes a success. At present, this community is only the recipient and not the contributor to their own cause. The present study acknowledges a very low percentage of the Scheduled Castes in the teaching profession.

In view of the lingering social gap between the Scheduled Castes and others, a well conceived programme must include some form of moral or religious education which has been excluded from the present school curricula in Punjab in view of the secular approach adopted by the national constitution. Such instruction can compel re-examination of the traditionally stigmatized social standing of the Scheduled Caste community and so that future generations can be made to accept the Scheduled Castes as they would any other caste or community. In addition, textbooks must emphasize the dignity of labour and inculcate tolerant attitudes among the various sections of society, irrespective of occupational engagements. Teachers in the present study have pointed out the willing participation in extra-curricular activities by their Scheduled Caste students. This situation can be exploited with gain by teachers involving the Scheduled Caste students in group activities which will help to reverse the adverse cultural effects of their poor family background.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Allport, G.W. The Nature of Prejudice, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958.

Ambedkar, B.R. Annihilation of Caste. Bombay: Bharat Bhushan Publishing, 1937.

\_\_\_\_\_. What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables. Bombay: Thacker & Co. Ltd. 1945.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Untouchable. Lucknow: National Herold Press, 1969.

Blunt, Edward, A.H. The Caste System of Northern India. Madras: Oxford University Press, 1931.

Borale, P.T. Segregation and Desegregation in India. Bombay: Jai Gujarat Printing Press, 1968.

Bowles, Chester; ed. A View from New Delhi. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

Carstairs, G.M. The Twice Born. London: Hogarth Press, 1957.

Chauhan, Bry Raj. "Special Problems Regarding Education Among the Scheduled Castes" in The Sociology of Education in India. Edited by I.P. Desai and Suma Chitnis. Bombay: Mauj Printing Bureau, 1967.

Cohen, B.S. The Changing Status of a Depressed Class. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1953.

Coupland, R. The Indian Problem 1833-1935. London: Oxford University Press, 1945.

Farquhar, J.N. Modern Religious Movements in India. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1924.

Gadgil, D.R. A Socio-Economic Survey. Poona: Arya Bhushan Press, 1952.

Ghurye, G.S. Caste, Class and Occupation. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1962.

Green, B.F. "Attitude Measurements" in Handbook of Social Psychology. Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1954.

Greenwald, A.G.; Brook, T.C. and Ostrom, T.M. Psychological Foundations of Attitudes. New York: Academic Press, 1968.

Heimsath, C.H. Indian Nationalism and Social Reform. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Hutton, John H. Caste in India. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1945.

Issacs, H. India's Ex-untouchables. New York: The John Day Co., 1965.

Kardiner, A and Oversey, L. The Mark of Oppression. New York: Norton, 1951.

Keer, D. Dr. Amedkar, Life and Mission. Bombay: Popular Parkashan, 1971.

Kuppuswamy, B. Social Changes in India. Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1972.

Lal, Mani; Nanvati, G.B. and Vakil, C.N. eds. Group Prejudices in India. Bombay: Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., 1951.

Lynch, Owen M. The Politics of Untouchability. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

Mahar, Michael, ed. The Untouchables in Contemporary India. Arizona: The University of Arizona, 1972.

Mayhew, Arthur. The Education of India. London: Faber and Gwyer Ltd., 1920.

Murphy, G. In the Minds of Men. New York: Basic Books, 1953.

Murthy, B.S. Depressed and Oppressed. New Delhi: S. Chand and Co. Ltd., 1971.



Natranjan, S. Social Problems. London: Oxford University Press, 1944.

Negi, B.P.S. "Social Integration of the Scheduled Caste Teachers" in Educational Challenges in Socialist India ed. Satya Pal Ruhela. Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 1975.

Nurullah, Syed and J.P. Naik. A History of Education in India During the British Period. Bombay: Macmillan and Co., 1951.

O'Malley, L.S.S. ed. Modern India and the West. London: Oxford University Press, 1941.

Riseley, Herbert. The People of India. 2nd ed. Delhi: Oriental Books, 1969.

Singh, K.K. Patterns of Caste Tension. London: Asia Publishing House, 1967.

Singh, Khushwant. The Sikhs. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953.

Sri Ram. A History of Arya Samaj. Orient Longman's Ltd., 1967.

Srinivas, M.N. Social Change in Modern India. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

Tandon, Parkash. Punjabi Century. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.

Zinkin, Taya. Caste Today. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Periodical Articles

Adiseshiah, M.S. "Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu". Journal of Higher Education, No. 2 (1975), pp. 240-244.

Alexander, K.G. "Changing Status of Harijans of Kerala". Economic and Political Weekly, No. 3 (1963), pp. 26-28, 1071-1074.

Anant, S.S. "Caste Prejudice and Its Perception by Harijans". Journal of Social Psychology, No. 82 (1970), pp. 165-172.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Intercaste Relations and Legislation. Attitudes Toward Special Privileges for Scheduled Castes." Psychological Studies, No. 2 (1971), pp. 19-34.

Beteille, A. "The Future of Backward Classes". Perspectives, Supplement to the Journal of Public Administration, No. 1 (1965), pp. 1-39.

Bose, N.K. "National Integration and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." Secular Democracy, No. 2 (1968), pp. 17-19.

Chauhan, B.R. "Recent Trends Among Depressed Classes." Agra University Journal of Research, No. 2 (1955), pp. 158-161.

Chitnis, S. "Education for Equality - Case of Scheduled Castes in Higher Education." Social and Political Weekly, Special number (1972), pp. 1675-1681.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Education of the Scheduled Castes". Journal of Higher Education, No. 2 (1975), pp. 167-178.

Duskin, L. "Special Treatment and Policy of Protective Discrimination". Economic Weekly, No. 43 (1961).

D'Souza, Victor. "Scheduled Castes and Urbanization in Punjab." Sociological Bulletin, No. 1 (1975), pp. 1-11.

Forrester, Duncan. "Initial Occupational Patterns of Scheduled Caste Graduates in India." New Frontiers in Education, No. 2 (1970), pp. 49-65.

Galanter, Marc. "Untouchability and the Law." Economic and Political Weekly, Annual number (1969), pp. 131-170.

Kapadia, K.M. "Changing Patterns in Hindu Marriage and Family." Sociological Bulletin, No. 3 (1954), pp. 61-87, 131-157.

Karlekar, Malavika. "Higher Education and the Scheduled Castes." Journal of Higher Education, No. 2 (1976), pp. 179-187.

Kulkarni, S.N. "The Great Betrayals." The Illustrated Weekly of India, No. 39 (1972), pp. 6-11.

Kuppuswamy, B. "A Statistical Study of Attitudes to the Caste System in South India." Journal of Psychology, No. 42 (1956), pp. 169-206.

Lal, S.K. "Scheduled Caste College Students in Rajasthan." Journal of Higher Education, No. 2 (1975); pp. 244-246.

Nayar, B.R. "Religion and Caste in Punjab." Economic Weekly, No. 14 (1962), pp. 1267-1276.

Rath, R and Sircar, N.C. "Intercaste Relationships as Reflected in the Study of Attitudes and Opinions of Six Hindu Caste Groups." The Journal of Social Psychology, no. 51 (1960), pp. 13-25.

Rose, A. "Intergroup Relations vs Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Change." Social Problems, No. 4 (1956), pp. 173-176.

Saberwal, S. "Receding Pollution: Intercaste Relations in Urban Punjab." Sociological Bulletin, No. 2 (1972), pp. 234-258.

Sinha, S. "The Untouchables." Caravan, No. 2 (1976), pp. 23-26.

Sinha, A.K.P. and Sinha, R.P.N. "A Study of Prejudice Among University Students." Indian Journal of Psychology, No. 35 (1960), pp. 159-166.

Singh, Khuswant. "Why is Punjab No. 1 State." The Illustrated Weekly of India, No. 1 (1975), pp. 6-10.

Sharma, G.B. "Enforcement of Untouchability Act in India." Political Science Review, Nos. 1-4 (1974), pp. 305-325.

Srinivas, M.N. and Beteille, A. "The Untouchables of India." Scientific American, No. 213 (1956), pp. 13-17.

Thakker, K.K. "The Problem of Casteism and Untouchability." Indian Journal of Social Work, No. 17 (1956), pp. 44-49.

Zachariah, Mathew. "Positive Discrimination in Education for India's Scheduled Castes." Comparative Education Review, No. 16 (1972), pp. 16-29.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Downtrodden on Themselves - The Seed of Revolt." Public Opinion Surveys, No. 6 (1974), pp. 1-4.

#### News Papers

The Tribune (Chandigarh) Dec. 30, 1975.

The Tribune (Chandigarh) Aug. 27, 1976.

The Tribune (Chandigarh) Oct. 10, 21, 1976.

The Tribune (Chandigarh) November 19, 21, 1976.

The Tribune (Chandigarh) April 17, 1977.

Government of India Publications

- India. Superintendent of Census. Punjab Census 1911.  
Vol. I Punjab Report, Calcutta.
- India. Govt. of India Central Publication. Report on  
Indian Constitutional Reform 1918 (1928 Reprint),  
Calcutta.
- India. Govt. of India Printing. Some Experiments in  
Indian Education 1927, Calcutta.
- India. Home Political Department, Director of Criminal  
Intelligence. Weekly Report on Punjab Situation  
1907-1918, Delhi.
- India. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. A Reference  
Annual(s), 1954 to 1975. New Delhi.
- India. Govt. of India. Annual Reports of the Commissioner  
for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1952  
to 1975, New Delhi.
- India. Govt. of India, Central Publication. The Untouch-  
ability (offences) Act, 1955 (Reprint 1969),  
Delhi.
- India. Ministry of Home Affairs. The Scheduled Castes and  
Scheduled Tribes List Modification Order, 1956  
(Reprint 1957), New Delhi.
- India. Central Publication Bureau. Report of Indian  
Statutory Commission, Review of Growth of Education  
in British India, 1929, Calcutta.
- India. Manager of Publications. Report of the Education  
Commission 1964-66, New Delhi.
- India. Govt. of India. Report of the Backward Class  
Commission Vol. I, 1956, Simla.
- India. Superintendent of Census Operations Punjab. Census  
of India Vol. XIII Part IX. 1961, Delhi.

- India. Registrar and Census Commissioner. Census of India. Vol. I Part VI(1) Special Tables for Scheduled Castes. 1961, Delhi.
- India. Govt. of India. Constitution of India (Modified up to 1st Oct., 1969), 1970 New Delhi.
- India. Registrar General and Census Commissioner. Census of India, 1971. New Delhi.
- India. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. XIV, XV, XXVI, 1965, 1968, Ahmedabad.
- India. Ministry of Planning. Statistical Abstract of India, New Series No. 19, 1972, New Delhi.

Government of Punjab Publications

- Punjab. Superintendent of Govt. Printing. Punjab Castes  
(compiled by Ibbetson Sir Denzil C.J.) 1961, Lahore.
- Punjab. Superintendent of Govt. Printing. Quinquennial  
Report of Education 1917-23. Lahore.
- Punjab. Superintendent of Printing. A Glossary of the  
Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North  
West Frontier Provinces 1911-1919 (compiled by  
Rose Horace). Lahore.
- Punjab. Superintendent of Govt. Printing. Land of Five  
Rivers, 1923, Lahore.
- Punjab. Director, Information and Publicity. Facts about  
Punjab, 1971, Chandigarh.
- Punjab. Economic Advisor to Govt. Punjab. Statistical  
Abstract, 1974, Chandigarh.
- Punjab. Economic Advisor to Govt. Punjab. Socio-economic  
Review of Punjab, 1974, Chandigarh.
- Punjab. Economic Advisor to Govt. Punjab. Statistical  
Handbook, Punjab, 1975, Chandigarh.
- Punjab. Finance Department. Punjab on the March, 1975,  
Chandigarh.

The Punjab Government Executive  
Departmental Documents

- Punjab. Education Department. Tuition Fee from the Scheduled  
Caste Students No. 15/12-72 Ska: Jan. 16, 1973.
- Punjab. Secretary to Govt. Punjab. Reservation of Seats for  
the Members of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes  
in All Educational, Technical and Professional  
Institutions for Admissions. No.: 2933 SWII-74/21145.  
Nov. 6, 1974.

- Punjab. Secretary to Govt. Punjab. Adoption of Bloc System for the Recruitment of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes in Services. No.: 1907 SWI-74/23071. Nov. 19, 1974.
- Punjab. Secretary to Govt. Punjab. Enhancement of Job Reservation. No. 4487 IS-74. July 11, 1974.
- Punjab. Education Department. Exemption from Examination Fees for Scheduled Caste Students No, 4611-5C 355/11018. June 3, 1975.
- Punjab. Education Department. Stipends to Children Belonging to Scheduled Castes - Scheduled Caste Welfare Scheme 1975-76. D.E. No. Patiala No. L-12/4346(76) June 8, 1976.
- Punjab. Secretary to Punjab Government. Stipends to Children Belonging to Scheduled Castes - State Harijan (Education) Welfare Scheme No.: 2472-EDII 76/7716, March 9, 1976.
- Punjab. Social Welfare Department. Pre-matric Coaching No. 2470-90, May 24, 1976.



Unpublished Material

- Grahm, J. Reid. "The Arya Samaj as a Reformation in Hinduism with Special Reference to Caste". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1942.
- Tamta, Uma. "Educational Progress of the Scheduled Castes in Almora (U.P.)". M.Ed. dissertation, Allahabad University, 1969.
- Saran, G. "Impact of Education on Social Structure". Ph.D. Dissertation, Punjab University, 1969.
- Varma, M.C. "A Critical Study into the Problem of Social Assimilation of Scheduled Caste Students in the School Community". State College of Education, Aptiala, 1962. MONOGRAPHS.
- Desai, I.P. High School Students in Poona, Poona: Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute. Monograph No. 12, 1953.
- Kathurkar, V.K. A report on Psychological Survey of the Secondary School Children in Poona, Poona University, 1962.
- Malhotra, S.L. Gandhi and the Punjab. Chandigarh: Monograph, Punjab University, 1970.
- Ministry of Home Affairs, India. The Dhanaks of Harayana and Punjab. N. Delhi: Census of India, Ethnographic Study No. 15, Monograph Series Part V-B (iv), The Manager of Govt. of India, 1974.

APPENDIX I  
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Biographic Information

1.1 What is your name?

\_\_\_\_\_ (first name)  
\_\_\_\_\_ (middle name)  
\_\_\_\_\_ (surname)

1.2 What is your sex?

\_\_\_\_\_ (Male/Female)

1.3 Are you single, married, divorced or separated?

\_\_\_\_\_ (married, etc.)

1.4 In what city/town/village and State were you born?

city/town/village \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

1.5 What is your date of birth?

\_\_\_\_\_ (Day) \_\_\_\_\_ (Month) \_\_\_\_\_ (Year)

1.6 What is your mother tongue?

\_\_\_\_\_ (mother tongue)

1.7 (a) What is your Jati?

\_\_\_\_\_ (Jati)

(b) (If married) what is the Jati of your spouse?

\_\_\_\_\_ (Jati)

(c) To which Jati did your spouse belong before marriage?

\_\_\_\_\_ (Jati)

1.8 (a) What is (was) your father's occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_ (occupation)

(b) How many years of schooling did your father complete?

\_\_\_\_\_ (years)

(c) How many years of schooling did your mother complete?

\_\_\_\_\_ (years)

(d) Is (was) your mother employed?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ (please tick one)

(e) If your answer is 'yes', what is (was) her occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_ (occupation)

1.9 What educational institutions have you attended?  
How many years of schooling have you completed?

S.N.	Name of School Attended	Exact Number of Years Spent There	Location (Name City/ Town/Village)	Certificate, diploma, or degree obtained.
------	----------------------------	---	--	--

1.10 Did you freely mix with children of all communities and castes (including the Scheduled Castes) in your childhood?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

1.11 What is your present home address?

House no \_\_\_\_\_ Street \_\_\_\_\_

Town/city/village \_\_\_\_\_

Post office \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

## 2. School Responsibilities

2.1 What are your present school responsibilities i.e. what subjects do you teach and to what standards?

S.No.	Subjects Taught	Grades
1		
2		
3		
4		

2.2 What extra curricular activities do you supervise?

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

2.3 (a) Are you a trained teacher?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', specify the training course you have completed.

\_\_\_\_\_ (training course)

2.4 (a) Are you specialized in a particular subject?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', specify the subject?

\_\_\_\_\_ (subject)

2.5 For how many years have you taught in your present school?

\_\_\_\_\_ (years)

2.6. (a) Have you taught at another school?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', for how long and where?

S.N.	Name of School	Location	Years
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

2.7 (a) Are you presently working in a government school?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'no', is it run by a religious denominational institution?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

3. Relationships With Scheduled Caste Students

3.1 (a) Are there any Scheduled Caste Students in your class?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', from what Scheduled Caste community are they drawn?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (community)
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

3.2 Compared to students from other communities, how well do the Scheduled Caste students perform academically?

- (i) very well
- (ii) moderately well
- (iii) moderately poor
- (iv) very poor

3.3 Compared to other students you presently teach, how much importance do the Scheduled Caste parents give to the educational betterment of their children?

- (i) very much importance
- (ii) much importance
- (iii) moderate importance
- (iv) poor importance

3.4 Compared to other students, in your opinion, how much academic support do the parents of the Scheduled Caste students give towards their children's school work?

- (i) very supportive
- (ii) moderately supportive
- (iii) moderately unsupportive
- (iv) very unsupportive

3.5 How often, do you think, the parents of your Scheduled Caste students cooperate with you in planning their children's education? (i.e. contact you regarding education of your children).

- (i) always
- (ii) very often
- (iii) rarely
- (iv) never

3.6 Compared to other students, how well behaved are the Scheduled Caste students in the classroom?

- (i) very well behaved
- (ii) moderately well behaved
- (iii) moderately poorly behaved
- (iv) very poorly behaved

3.7 Compared to other students you presently teach, how interested are Scheduled Caste students in extra-curricular activities.

- (i) very interested.
- (ii) moderately interested
- (iii) moderately disinterested
- (iv) very disinterested

3.8 Below is a list of some difficulties many Scheduled Caste students experience in schools. On the basis of experience, please rank these in order of importance (write one for the most important difficulty for the Scheduled Caste students. 2 for the next important and so on).

1. Financial problems
2. Problem of verbal expression
3. Poor study habits
4. Peer acceptance
5. Lack of initiative
6. Lack of study time in homes
7. No proper place for self study

- 3.9 How would you characterize the Scheduled Caste students in relation to other students you teach? Here is a list of characteristics, please indicate which apply most to the Scheduled Caste students and which apply most to other students and that which apply to both equally. (You may indicate your opinion by placing a tick (.) in the appropriate box)

Characteristics	Scheduled Castes	Non-Scheduled Castes	Both
obedient	( )	( )	( )
cooperative	( )	( )	( )
honest	( )	( )	( )
kind	( )	( )	( )
polite	( )	( )	( )
assertive	( )	( )	( )
clean	( )	( )	( )
cheerful	( )	( )	( )
confident	( )	( )	( )
optimistic	( )	( )	( )
shy	( )	( )	( )
hospitable	( )	( )	( )
aggressive	( )	( )	( )
independent	( )	( )	( )
devoted	( )	( )	( )
pushing	( )	( )	( )
passive	( )	( )	( )
hardworking	( )	( )	( )
rude	( )	( )	( )
extravagant	( )	( )	( )
friendly	( )	( )	( )
irresponsible	( )	( )	( )
disinterested	( )	( )	( )
greedy	( )	( )	( )
materialistic	( )	( )	( )

- 3.10 The following is a list of statements regarding the education of the Scheduled Castes. Please express the extent of agreement or disagreement with each.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Scheduled Caste students receive more attention in schools than they deserve.				
2. Scheduled Caste students complain unduly about discrimination, when there is none.				



<u>Statement</u>	Strongly	Moderately	Moderately	Strongly
	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
3. The seat reservation policy for the Scheduled Caste candidates in institutions of higher learning is unfair to others.				
4. The present policy of positive discrimination perpetuates the existing caste system.				
5. Unless the Scheduled Castes themselves realize the importance of education, teachers cannot improve performance of their children.				
6. The amount of scholarships to the Scheduled Caste students should be more liberal.				
7. Scheduled Caste students should be given special coaching, outside the school hours.				
8. To provide proper educational atmosphere, the Scheduled Caste students should be compulsorily kept in hostels.				

3.11 (a) Do you feel special difficulties in teaching the Scheduled Caste students?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', what are those difficulties?

---

---

---

3.12 (a) Do you give the Scheduled Caste students special coaching?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', is it on voluntary basis?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

4. Inter-community Relationships

4.1 (a) Are any of the teachers who work with you belong to the Scheduled Caste community?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', do you visit them socially?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(c) If 'yes' what are their names? and on what occasion do you see them socially? and how frequently?

Name of person: 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_

Occasion: 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_

How often: \_\_\_\_\_ per month.

4.2 (a) Are any of the individuals you see outside the school, members of the Scheduled Caste communities?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'yes', what are their names and occupations? on what occasion do you see them and how frequently?

Name of person: 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_

Occasion: 1. \_\_\_\_\_  
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
4. \_\_\_\_\_

How often: \_\_\_\_\_ per month

- 4.3 There are certain practices for which people react differently. Please indicate your personal feelings towards them, indicating the extent to which you strongly or moderately approve or disapprove them.

<u>Practices</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Approve</u>	<u>Moderately</u> <u>Approve</u>	<u>Moderately</u> <u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disapprove</u>
1. Acceptance of food at the hands of a Scheduled Caste person.				
2. Acceptance of food cooked by a Scheduled Caste person.				
3. Acceptance of food at a Scheduled Caste restaurant.				
4. Sitting close to a Scheduled Caste person in a social or religious gathering.				
5. Employing a Scheduled Caste person as a domestic help.				
6. Acceptance of matrimonial relationship with a Scheduled Caste person.				

Strongly Moderately Moderately Strongly  
Approve Approve Disapprove Disapprove

7. To continue separate water (wells and taps) arrangement for the Scheduled Caste people.
8. To continue living segregation of the Scheduled Caste people.

4.4 What does abolition of untouchability mean to you?

---

---

4.5 (a) Do you think the untouchability law is fully respected?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

(b) If 'no', what drawbacks do you notice?

---

---

4.6 Please give your personal opinion how a school can help in uplifting the Scheduled Caste people.

---

---

---

---

APPENDIX II  
TEACHERS' SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS  
WITH SCHEDULED CASTES

	Boys Govt. N 63 %	Girls Govt. N 76 %	Boys Private N 33 %	Girls Private N 24 %
1. Mixed freely with all castes during childhood.				
mixed freely	71	65	70	79
did not mix	29	35	30	21
chi sq 20.06, 3d.f.; P	N.S.			
2. Have Scheduled Caste friends.				
yes	31	32	45	21
no	69	68	55	79
chi sq 4.21, 3d.f.; P	N.S.			
3. Frequency of visit to the Scheduled Caste friends per month.				
between 1 and 10 times per month	74	68	67	60
between 11-20 times per month	-	-	-	-
between 21-30 times per month	26	32	33	40
chi sq 0.42, 3d.f.; P	N.S.			

# APPENDIX III

ਮਿਤੀ \_\_\_\_\_ ਸਤੰਬਰ, 1976

ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਾਨ/ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਤੀ ਜੀ \_\_\_\_\_

ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਪੱਤਰ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਨਿਜੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਲੋੜੀਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਉੱਤਰ ਗਲਤ ਜਾਂ ਠੀਕ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਹ ਕੇਵਲ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਵੱਡਮੁਲੀ ਰਾਏ ਜਾਨਣ ਲਈ ਹੀ ਹੈ। ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਨਿਭਿਜਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਪਸ਼ਟ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਦੇਣਾ। ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਵਿਸਵਾਸ ਦਿਵਾਇਆ ਜਾਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਪਤ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੇਵਲ ਰਿਸਰਚ ਹਿਤ ਹੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ। ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਪੱਤਰ ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਕਰਨ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਨਿਮਨ ਲਿਖਤ ਸੰਕੇਤ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਦੇ ਹਨ:-

1. ਕਿਸੇ ਦੀ ਸਲਾਹ ਲਏ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਨਿਰੋਲ ਨਿਜੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਦੇਣ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਨੀ।
2. ਜਿਥੋਂ ਤਕ ਹੋ ਸਕੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਉੱਤਰ ਇਕੋ ਬੈਠਕ ਵਿਚ ਦੇਣਾ।
3. ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਪੱਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਥਾਂ ਬੇਗ਼ਰ ਉੱਤਰ ਦਿਤਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਛੱਡਣਾ।
4. ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਪੱਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਥਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਸਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਉੱਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਇਕ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਕਰਨੀ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ। ਇੰਝ ਚੁਣੇ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੇ (ਕੇਵਲ ਇਕੋ ਇਕ) ਉੱਤਰ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ (✓) ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨ ਲਾਉ।

ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਪੱਤਰ ਛੇਤੀ ਪਰਤਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਨੀ।

ਧੰਨਵਾਦ ਸਹਿਤ,

ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਪਾਤਰ,

# APPENDIX IV

## 1. ਨਿਜੀ ਸੂਚਨਾ

1.1 ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਨਾਮ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਪਹਿਲਾ ਨਾਮ)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (ਵਿਚਕਾਰਲਾ ਨਾਮ)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (ਖਾਨਦਾਨੀ ਨਾਮ ਅਥਵਾ ਗੋਤ)

1.2 ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਲਿੰਗ ਕੀ ਹੈ ? \_\_\_\_\_ (ਮਰਦ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਇਸਤਰੀ)

1.3 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕੰਵਾਰੇ/ਸਾਦੀ ਸੁਦਾ/ਤਲਾਕ ਸਹਿਤ ਜਾ ਵਖਰੇ ਹੋ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਸਾਦੀ ਸੁਦਾ ਆਦਿ)

1.4 ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸ ਸਹਿਰ/ਕਸਬੇ/ਪਿੰਡ ਅਤੇ ਸੂਬੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਏ ਸੀ ?

ਸਹਿਰ/ਕਸਬਾ/ਪਿੰਡ \_\_\_\_\_ ਸੂਬਾ \_\_\_\_\_

1.5 ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਜਨਮ ਮਿਤੀ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ ਦਿਨ \_\_\_\_\_ ਮਹੀਨਾ \_\_\_\_\_ ਸਾਲ

1.6 ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਮਾਤ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਮਾਤ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ)

1.7 ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਜਾਤੀ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਜਾਤੀ)

1.7 (ਓ) (ਜੇ ਸਾਦੀ ਸੁਦਾ ਹੋ) ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ/ਪਤਨੀ ਦੀ ਜਾਤੀ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਜਾਤੀ)

1.7 (ਅ) ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਤੀ/ਪਤਨੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਕੀ ਜਾਤੀ ਸੀ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਜਾਤੀ)

1.8 ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਦਾ ਕਿੱਤਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ (ਸੀ) ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਕਿੱਤਾ)

1.8 (ਓ) ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਨੇ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਸਾਲ)

1.8 (ਅ) ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਨੇ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਸਾਲ)

1.8 (ੲ) ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੋਈ ਕੰਮ-ਧੰਦਾ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ (ਸੀ) ?

\_\_\_\_\_ ਹਾਂ \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

1.8 (ਸ) ਜੇ ਉਪਰੋਕਤ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਉਤਰ 'ਹਾਂ' ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਕਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ/ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਕਿੱਤਾ)

1.9 ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਕਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਵਿਦਿਅਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਕੀਤੀ, ਅਤੇ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ ?

ਕ੍ਰਮ ਨੰਬਰ    ਸਕੂਲ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ    ਸਹੀ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ    ਸਥਾਨ    ਡਿਗਰੀ/ਡਿਪਲੋਮਾ  
 ਜੋ ਇਥੇ ਲਗਾਏ    ਸਹਿਰ/ਕਸਬਾ/ਪਿੰਡ ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤਾ

\_\_\_\_\_

1.10 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਬਚਪਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ (ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਸਮੇਤ) ਦੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਸੀ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

1.11 ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਘਰ ਦਾ ਪੱਕਾ ਪਤਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ ?

ਘਰ ਦਾ ਨੰਬਰ \_\_\_\_\_ ਗਲੀ/ਮਹਿਲਾ \_\_\_\_\_ ਸਹਿਰ/ਕਸਬਾ/ਪਿੰਡ \_\_\_\_\_

ਡਾਕਖਾਨਾ \_\_\_\_\_ ਪ੍ਰਾਂਤ \_\_\_\_\_

## 2 ਸਕੂਲੀ ਜਿਮੇਵਾਰੀਆ

2.1 ਅੱਜ ਕਲ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਹੜੀਆ ਜਿਮੇਵਾਰੀਆ ਹਨ ?

ਅਥਵਾ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਹੜੀਆ ਜਮਾਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ?

ਲੜ੍ਹੀ ਨੰਬਰ

ਮਜ਼ਮੂਨ

ਜਮਾਤ

1

2

3

4

2.2 ਕਿਹੜੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਉਪਰਲੇ ਕੰਮ (Extracurricular) ਦੀ ਨਿਗਰਾਨੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿਚ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ?

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

2.3 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਿਖਿਅਤ ਅਧਿਆਪਕ ਹੋ ?

(ਹਾਂ)

(ਨਹੀਂ)

2.3 (ਓ) ਜੇ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਉੱਤਰ "ਹਾਂ" ਵਿਚ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਸਿਖਲਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਦਸੋ ?

(ਸਿਖਲਾਈ ਕੋਰਸ)

2.4 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਖਾਸ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਵਿਚ ਟਰੇਡ ਹੋ ?

2.4 (ਓ) ਜੇ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਉੱਤਰ "ਹਾਂ" ਵਿਚ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਦਸੋ ?

(ਵਿਸ਼ਾ)

2.5 ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿੰਨੇ ਸਾਲ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਇਆ ਹੈ ?

2.6 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਇਆ ਹੈ ?

(ਹਾਂ)

(ਨਹੀਂ)

2.6 (ਓ) ਜੇ "ਹਾਂ" ਤਾਂ ਕਿੰਨਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਥੇ ?

ਲੜ੍ਹੀ ਨੰ:

ਸਕੂਲ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ

ਸਥਾਨ

ਵਰ੍ਹੇ

1

2

3

4

2.7 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅੱਜ ਕਲ ਗੌਰਮਿਟ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿਚ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ ?

(ਹਾਂ)

ਨਹੀਂ

2.7 (ਓ) ਜੇ "ਨਹੀਂ" ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਕਿਸੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸੰਸਥਾ ਦਾ ਸਕੂਲ ਹੈ ?

(ਹਾਂ)

(ਨਹੀਂ)



### 3 ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸੰਬੰਧ

3.1 ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਸਕੂਲ ਵਿਚ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਦੇ ਹਨ ?  
(ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ) \_\_\_\_\_

3.1 (ੳ) ਜੇ 'ਹਾਂ' ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਕਿਹੜੀ ਸੰਪਰਦਾ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਤ ਹਨ ?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ (ਸੰਪਰਦਾ)

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

3.2 ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿਚ, ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਪੱਧਰ ਕਿਹੋ ਜਿਹਾ ਹੈ ?

(1) ਬਹੁਤ ਚੰਗਾ ਹੈ ।

(2) ਦਰਮਿਆਨਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਹੈ ।

(3) ਦਰਮਿਆਨਾ ਮੰਦਾ ਹੈ ।

(4) ਬਹੁਤ ਮੰਦਾ ਹੈ ।

3.3 ਦੂਜੀਆਂ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਜਿੰਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਜਕਲ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋ, ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਪੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਅਕ ਉੱਨਤੀ ਵੱਲ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਮਹਿਤਤਾ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ ?

1. ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਮਹਿਤਤਾ ।

2. ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਮਹਿਤਤਾ ।

3. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੀ ਮਹਿਤਤਾ ।

4. ਬਹੁਤ ਘੱਟ ਮਹਿਤਤਾ ।

3.4 ਦੂਜੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿਚ, ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ, ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਪੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਕੂਲ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਵਿਚ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਮਾਲੀ (Economic) ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ ?

1. ਬਹੁਤ ਸਹਾਇਕ ।

2. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੇ ਸਹਾਇਕ ।

3. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੇ ਨਾ-ਸਹਾਇਕ ।

4. ਬਹੁਤ ਨਾਂ-ਸਹਾਇਕ ।

3.5 ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਪੇ ਕਿਸ ਹਦ ਤਕ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਅਕ ਯੋਜਨਾਬੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਤੁਹਾਡਾ ਸਹਿਯੋਗ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ ? (ਭਾਵ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਮੇਲ-ਮਿਲਾਪ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ) ?

1. ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ।

2. ਬਹੁਤ ਅਕਸਰ ।

3. ਕਦੀ ਕਦਾਈਂ ।

4. ਕਦੇ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ।

3.6 ਦੂਜੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿਚ, ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਤੀਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਜਮਾਤ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਹੋ ਜਿਹੇ ਚੰਗੇ ਹਨ ?

1. ਬਹੁਤ ਚੰਗੇ ਵਤੀਰੇ ਵਾਲੇ ।

2. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੇ ਚੰਗੇ ਵਤੀਰੇ ਵਾਲੇ ।

3. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੇ ਮੰਦੇ ਵਤੀਰੇ ਵਾਲੇ ।

4. ਬਹੁਤ ਮੰਦੇ ਵਤੀਰੇ ਵਾਲੇ ।

3.7 ਦੂਜੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਜ਼ਾਦ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋ, ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਸਕੂਲ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਕਿਰਾਵਾਂ (Extracurricular activities) ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਨ ?

1. ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ।
2. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੀ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ।
3. ਦਰਮਿਆਨੀ ਨਾ-ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ।
4. ਬਹੁਤ ਨਾ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ।

3.8 ਹੇਠਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਅਜੇਹੀਆਂ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੂਚੀ ਦਿਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੇਸ਼ ਆਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ । ਆਪਣੇ ਤਜਰਬੇ ਦੇ ਅਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਦਸੋ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹੋ ? (ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਵਾਲੀ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਅਗੇ । ਨਿੱਥੇ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਘੱਟ ਵਾਲੀ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਲਈ 2, ਆਦਿ, ਆਦਿ)

1. ਮਾਇਕ (ਮਾਲੀ) ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ।
2. ਜ਼ਬਾਨੀ ਆਤਮ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵੇ ਦੀ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ।
3. ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਗਲਤ ਆਦਤਾਂ ।
4. ਨਾਲ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਦੀ ਮਿਤਰਤਾ ਦੀ ਘਾਟ ।
5. ਖਹਿਲ ਕਦਮੀ ਦੀ ਘਾਟ ।
6. ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਲਈ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੀ ਘਾਟ ।
7. ਉਚਿਤ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਦੇ ਸਥਾਨ ਦੀ ਘਾਟ ।

3.9 ਦੂਜੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋ, ਦੇ ਮੁਕਾਬਲੇ ਵਿੱਚ, ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਕੌਹੇ ਜਿਹੇ ਗੁਣ ਰਖਦੇ ਹਨ ? ਹੇਠਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਕੁ ਗੁਣਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੂਚੀ ਦਿਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ, ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਦਸੋ ਕਿ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਗੁਣ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ, ਕਿਹੜੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਠੀਕ ਬੋਠਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਲਈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਠੀਕ ਹਨ ।

(ਆਪਣਾ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਲਈ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁਣ ਦੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਸੰਬੰਧਤ ਖਾਨੇ ਵਿੱਚ (✓) ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨ ਲਗਾਓ)

ਗੁਣ	ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ	ਦੂਜੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ	ਦੋਵੇ
ਆਗਿਅਕਾਰੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਮਿਲਵਰਤਣ ਵਾਲੇ	( )	( )	( )
ਇਮਾਨਦਾਰ	( )	( )	( )
ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨ	( )	( )	( )
ਮਿੱਠ ਬੋਲੇ	( )	( )	( )
ਰੋਹਬ ਵਾਲੇ	( )	( )	( )
ਸਾਫ	( )	( )	( )
ਖੁਸਮਜਾਜ	( )	( )	( )
ਆਤਮ ਭਰੋਸੇ ਵਾਲੇ	( )	( )	( )
ਆਸਾਵਾਦੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਸਰਮਾਕਲ	( )	( )	( )
ਪ੍ਰਾਹੁਣਚਾਰੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਜੋਗਵਾਰੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਆਜ਼ਾਦਖਿਆਲੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਵੰਡਾਦਾਰ	( )	( )	( )
ਅਗਾਹਵਧੂ	( )	( )	( )
ਸੁਸ਼ਤ	( )	( )	( )
ਮਿਹਨਤੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਅਖੜ	( )	( )	( )
ਫਜ਼ੂਲ ਖਰਚ	( )	( )	( )
ਮਿਤਤਰ ਭਾਵੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਗੈਰ ਜਿਮੇਵਾਰ	( )	( )	( )
ਪਦਾਰਥਵਾਦੀ	( )	( )	( )
ਬਗੈਰ ਦਿਲਚਸਪ ਤੋ	( )	( )	( )
ਲਾਲਚੀ	( )	( )	( )

3.10 ਹੇਠਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ ।  
 ਦੱਸੋ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਕਿਥੋਂ ਤਕ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਜਾਂ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ ਹੋ ?

ਵਿਚਾਰ	ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹਾਂ	ਦਰਮਿਆਨ ਸਹਿਮਤ ਹਾਂ	ਦਰਮਿਆਨ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ ਹਾਂ	ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਅਸਹਿਮਤ ਹਾਂ
1. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਧਿਆਨ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਕਿਤੇ ਵੱਧ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ।				
2. ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਭੇਦਭਾਵ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਵੀ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀ ਇਸ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਸਕਾਇਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ।				
3. ਉੱਚ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੀਟਾਂ ਰਿਜ਼ਰਵ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਨੀਤੀ ਦੂਜਿਆਂ ਲਈ ਬੇਇਨਸਾਫ਼ੀ ਹੈ।				
4. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਪੱਖ ਵਿਚ ਭੇਦਭਾਵ ਵਾਲੀ ਨੀਤੀ ਜਾਤਪਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਖੇਗੀ।				
5. ਜਦ ਤਕ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਵਾਲੇ ਖੁਦ, ਵਿਦਿਆ ਦੀ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਮਝਦੇ, ਇਕਲੇ ਅਧਿਆਪਕ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਉਨਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ।				
6. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਿਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਵਜੀਫੇ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਜ਼ਿਆਦੇ ਹੋਣੇ ਚਾਹੀਦੇ ਹਨ।				
7. ਸਕੂਲ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਪਿਛੋਂ, ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਲਈ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।				
8. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਹੀ ਵਿਦਿਅਕ ਵਾਤਾਵਰਨ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਸਟਲ ਵਿਚ ਰਖਿਆ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।				

3.11 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਉਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਔਕੜ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ? \_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

3.11 (ਓ) ਜੇ "ਹਾਂ" ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਔਕੜਾਂ ਕੀ ਹਨ ?

3.12 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ (ਵੱਖ) ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਕਰਵਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋ ? \_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

3.12 (ਓ) ਜੇ 'ਹਾਂ' ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਵਲੰਟੀਅਰ ਦੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਹੈ ?

\_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

#### 4 ਅੰਤਰ ਜਾਤੀ ਸੰਬੰਧ

4.1 ਜਿਹੜੇ ਅਧਿਆਪਕ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ, ਕੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਤ ਹੈ ? \_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

4.1 (ਓ) ਜੇ 'ਹਾਂ' ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹੋ ?  
\_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

4.1 (ਅ) ਜੇ 'ਹਾਂ' ਤਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਲਿਖੋ ਅਤੇ ਦਸੋ ਕਿ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਅਤੇ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਕੁ ਵਾਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹੋ ?

ਨਾਮ 1.

2.

3.

4.

ਮੌਕਾ

1.

2.

3.

ਕਿੰਨੀ ਕੁ ਵਾਰ \_\_\_\_\_  
(ਮਹੀਨੇ ਵਿਚ)

4.2 ਆਪਣੇ ਸਕੂਲ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਜਿੰਨਾ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹੋ ਕਿਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਅਨੁ-ਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਰੱਖਦਾ ਹੈ ? \_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

4.2 (ਓ) ਜੇ "ਹਾਂ" ਤਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਕੀ ਹਨ, ਕਿੱਤਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ. ਕਿਹੜੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮਿਲਨ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹੋ ? ਤੇ ਅਕਸਰ ਕਿੰਨੀ ਕੁ ਵਾਰ ?

ਨਾਮ : 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_

ਕਿੱਤਾ : 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_

ਮੌਕਾ : 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_

ਕਿੰਨੀ ਕੁ ਵਾਰ \_\_\_\_\_  
(ਮਹੀਨੇ ਵਿਚ)

4.3 ਕੁਝ ਗੀਤੀਆਂ ਅਜੋਹੀਆ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਲੋਕ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਹਨ । ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਗੀਤੀਆਂ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਦਸੋ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ, ਜਾਂ ਦਰਮਿਆਨੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ, ਜਾਂ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਹੀ ਨਾ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ।

ਰੀਤੀ	ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ	ਦਰਮਿਆਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ	ਦਰਮਿਆਨਾ ਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ	ਜ਼ੋਰਦਾਰ ਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ
1. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਭੋਜਨ ਦੀ ਚੀਜ਼ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਨਾ।				
2. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਪਕਿਆ ਭੋਜਨ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਨਾ।				
3. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਰੈਸਟੋਰੈਂਟ ਤੇ ਭੋਜਨ ਕਰਨਾ।				
4. ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਜਾਂ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਇਕਤਰਤਾ ਵਿਚ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਨੇੜੇ ਬੈਠਣਾ।				
5. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀ ਦੇ ਬੰਦੇ ਨੂੰ ਘਰੇਲੂ ਨੌਕਰ ਰੱਖਣਾ।				
6. ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਸਬੰਧ ਕਾਇਮ ਕਰਨੇ।				
7. ਪਹਿਲਾ ਵਾਂਗ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਲਈ ਖੂਹ ਤੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਟੂਟੀਆਂ ਵਖਰੀਆਂ ਹੋਣ।				
8. ਪਹਿਲਾ ਵਾਂਗ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵੱਖਰੇ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਸਥਾਨ ਹੋਣ।				

4.4 ਤੁਸੀਂ ਛੂਤਛਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਹਟਾਏ ਜਾਣ ਤੋਂ ਕੀ ਭਾਵ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹੋ ?

4.5 ਕੀ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਛੂਤਛਾਤ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਲਾਗੂ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (ਹਾਂ) \_\_\_\_\_ (ਨਹੀਂ)

4.5 (ਓ) ਜੇ "ਨਹੀਂ", ਤਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਕੀ ਘਾਟਾ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹੋ ?

4.6 ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਿਜੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਦਿਖਾ ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਵਿਦਿਅਕ ਸੰਸਥਾ ਅਨੁਸੂਚਿਤ ਜਾਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਉਪਰਚੁਕਤ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ ?