CHAPTER X

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COLLEGE:
THE RESPECTIVE AREAS OF THEIR INFLUENCE

THE UNIVERSITY Vs. THE COLLEGE

The University functions through its colleges, and the rules, regulations and requirements of the University are, operationally woven in with those laid down by the college. As a result, it is difficult to sort out the respective spheres of the influence of the college and the University. However, our data offer some broad clues to the relationship between the teacher-role and the University on the one hand and the college on the other. The major clues to the extent to which the college can influence a feature of the teacher-role lie in the cumulative figures for teachers from all the three colleges and in inter-college variations. Wherever the teachers from all the three colleges exhibit a quality or attitude or conform to a behaviour pattern in large numbers, we may consider the quality, attribute or behaviour to be typical for the University. On the other hand, wherever we find such conformity lacking we may conclude that the structure of the University organization allows for variations. When teachers from a particular college exhibit a quality, attribute or behaviour pattern in large numbers, and when further, these teachers or a group vary significantly in
the matter of the feature under consideration, we may conclude that the feature is significantly influenced by the college in which the teachers function. By this logic, we have sorted out the spheres of the influence of the college and the University as follows.

In the composition of the population of the teachers at a college we can clearly see the influence of the college. Although the minimal qualifications required of a teacher are defined by the University, the educational level of the teachers seems to be heavily influenced by whether the college has a postgraduate department or not, and by other specific factors such as the conditions governing the employment of teachers. The age, sex, religion and the linguistic composition of teachers are other factors that seem almost exclusively, to be determined by administrative practices governing employment at a college and by the biases and the preferences of the management.
The activities and the attitudes of teachers as employees seem also, to be mainly influenced by the management and by the administrative structure of the college. Although the University defines working conditions, such, for instance as the maximum hours of teaching that a teacher may be required to put in, and although it exerts a close control over colleges by laying down strict financial requirements. Colleges are free to evolve their own administrative patterns. For instance, colleges are free to involve or to exempt teachers from responsibilities for extra curricular activities. Similarly colleges are free to develop their own administrative norms and establish their own patterns of administrative relationships, with their employees. Our observations indicate that this freedom is reflected in the variations between the pattern of administrative relationship, at the different colleges. As may be expected these variations, in turn, make for conspicuous variations between the attitudes that
teachers at the different colleges bear towards the college administration. Teachers seem to be generally more satisfied with their status, and more attached to the college as an institution at the colleges at which the administration is more personal, and provides teachers with better facilities for work and for recreation. The employment of alumni as teachers and promotion of tutors and demonstrators to the position of teachers are other practices by which colleges seem to be able to obtain loyalty and satisfaction on the part of their staff.

The character of the college community or, more specifically, the nature of the relationships that teachers have with their colleagues within a college is also determined by the nature of the college organization. Interaction between teachers is marked at colleges which provide facilities for teachers to meet and to relax together. Where such facilities for teachers are not provided interaction is minimal. The character of the interaction between teachers is also influenced by such factors as whether employment is permanent or temporary and by the manner in which the time table for teaching is structured. On the whole, the structure of the college has a great deal to do with whether teachers meet with each other or not and whether or not they have friendly exchange and lasting relationships.
In contrast, the role of the teachers as pedagogues seems to be an aspect over which the college has very little influence. At all the three colleges interaction between teachers and students, both in and outside the classroom is extremely limited. Teaching is largely examination-oriented, and few teachers are able to reach out to an advanced level of instruction. The situation observed seems largely to be the consequence of the character of University examination and of University requirements making for large classes, compulsory attendance and the pressure to cover the syllabus within a set time. The nature of the position accorded to the Intermediate examinations in the organization of higher education and the failure to forge dynamic links between the first stage of college and the last years of school seems to accentuate the examination-oriented character of teaching at the First Year/Intermediate level. Our study indicates that the impact of the University structure is so strong that student-teacher interaction continues to be limited and teaching to be largely examination-oriented even in the college which is strongly committed to the "all round education" of youth and in the two colleges which are explicitly committed to an "excellence that is not purely examination-oriented". Inter-college variations suggest that interaction outside the classroom is marginally
greater where there is linguistic and cultural homogeneity between teachers and students. The students' proficiency in the medium through which instruction is imparted at college and their ability to ask and answer questions may promote interaction within the classroom. Similarly it seems that teachers are more likely to reach out to an advanced level of instruction if their students value efforts in this direction and if the management of college encourage it. But the influence of these factors is not strong enough to alter the overall pattern.

Over the activities and the attitudes of teachers as scholars and as academics again, the college seems to have very little influence. The University sets the tone of academic life for the teachers. Our observations suggests that scholarship on the part of teachers is inhibited because of the fact that the courses and syllabi, organized by the University at the undergraduate level are hardly of a character that require scholarship or deep study on the part of teachers. Also, because the structure of the University organization is such that there is no room for the recognition and the reward of teachers as scholars. What is probably even more important is that the system of rewards in terms of promotions or raise in salaries is so closely defined by the University that
there is very little scope for college to institute their own rewards with a view to advancing the level of the scholarship of the teachers. In fact we find that it is only where colleges have post-graduate departments, or where college teachers have for their reference groups a circle that expects and appreciates a high level of scholarship that teachers are active and productive as scholars.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE COLLEGE - SPECIFIC FEATURES

We have broadly indicated the areas in which the college influences the teacher-role. Since the college has been conceived of in terms of its management, administration, ethos, culture and student population, it may be pertinent to sum up our findings by highlighting the influence that each of these factors in the structure of the college organization has upon the teacher-role. Inter-college variations in the qualities, attitudes and the activities of teachers can be explained in terms of variations in the sponsorship, aims, objectives, programmes, facilities, administration, management, ethos, culture and student population of the colleges concerned provide us with clues to the manner in which the different features of the college organization affect the teacher role.
The Sponsorship of the College

The variation in the sponsorship of the three colleges is clearly reflected in the religious composition of the teachers. The over representation of Christian teachers at St. Xavier's and the preponderance of Hindus at Ruia reflect, respectively that St. Xavier's is sponsored by a society of Christian missionaries and Ruia by an education society that is composed almost exclusively of upper caste Hindus. The mixed character of the religious composition of the teachers at Elphinstone fits in with the fact that Elphinstone is a government college.

The variation between the sponsorship of the three colleges is also reflected in the linguistic composition and linguistic abilities and preferences of the teachers. St. Xavier's sponsored by a missionary society with an European parent body has the largest number of teachers who quote English or some other European language for their mother tongue. It also has the largest percentage of teachers who prefer to teach in English and are unable to teach in a language other than English. Ruia, sponsored by an educational society composed almost exclusively of Marathi speaking Maharashtrians which has its headquarters in Poona, the cultural centre of the Marathi speaking Maharashtra has the largest percentage of teachers who quote Marathi as their mother tongue. Of


the three colleges it is also the college with the smallest percentage of teachers who prefer to teach in English and are unable to teach in a language other than English. The teachers at Elphinstone stand between the two extremes exhibited in the case of St. Xavier's and Ruia, both, in the matter of their linguistic composition, and their linguistic ability and preference.

Programmes

The variations between the programmes of the colleges and the facilities that the college offers are reflected in the qualifications of the teachers, their academic activities and output, the character of their interaction with their students and with each other, and their general outlook upon college education.

St. Xavier's with a programme for post-graduate instruction in several subjects has the largest percentage of teachers who are highly qualified. In contrast, Elphinstone which has no post-graduate departments at all and which restricts instruction in Science to the Intermediate level has the smallest percentage of teachers who are highly qualified. Again, while more teachers at St. Xavier's than at Ruia or Elphinstone are academically active in terms of the research and writing they produce, it is at Elphinstone that we find the smallest number of
teachers who are academically productive.

**Aims and Objectives**

The influence that the aims and objectives of the college, exercise upon the teacher role is most conspicuously exhibited in differences between the patterns of teaching. Taking into consideration the overall performance of teachers in the course of lectures and tutorials we find that teaching is least examination-oriented at Elphinstone. This fits in with the Principal's reference to "a striving to measure up to the traditions of the college, and to the expectations of "the intellectually sophisticated students who are not merely examination-oriented in their expectations". At St. Xavier's lectures are examination-oriented but the teachers make an effort to reach out at an advanced level of instruction during the course of their tutorials. This fits in with our observation that in the articulation of the goals of the college by the Principal and by members of the management we find an explicit reference to commitment to excellence, not only in terms of a good performance at examination but in terms of "something broader". It is probably this same objective of providing for excellence which is something more than doing well at examinations that motivates some of the teachers at St. Xavier's to offer "open"
lectures for their students, to provide them with assignments and guided reading, and generally, to make efforts towards an advanced level of instruction.

At Ruia although lectures are less examination-oriented than they are at St. Xavier's the examination-oriented character of tutorials marks the teaching at as highly examination-oriented. This fits in with the fact that unlike as at Elphinstone and St. Xavier's the Principal of Ruia emphasized good results at examinations and in fact did not make any distinction between excellence in terms of good performance at examinations, and excellence of a more liberal kind.

We see that the academic objectives of each college in terms of whether excellence is defined in terms of a good performance at examinations, or whether there is a more liberal definition of excellence are clearly reflected in the pattern of teaching at each college. So are the other objectives. Since there is no formal articulation of goals at Elphinstone the question as to whether the teacher-role does or does not conform to the objectives does not arise with respect to this college. But at St. Xavier's and at Ruia the formulation of goals and objectives is quite explicit, and it is interesting to observe the manner in which these findings are reflected in our findings.
At St. Xavier's the management are committed to the service of the Catholic community and to the all-round development of youth. At the same time the management are also committed to cosmopolitanism. While the presence of a large number of Christian teachers at St. Xavier's reflects the commitment to the Christian community, the heterogeneity of the composition of the teacher population reflects the commitment to cosmopolitanism. Obligation to the all-round development of youth is expressed through the liberal provision of sports and library facilities, the provision of a Students' Counselling Centre, through the Sophia Xavier Scheme, the Summer School, Vacation Camps, and a series of religious activities and services. It is important, from the point of view of our analysis of the manner in which the college affects the teacher-role, to note that teachers are not "required" to participate in these activities or in any other way, to carry an additional work-load in order to keep the facilities that the college so liberally offers. Participation in, and work for such activities is largely voluntary, and for the major part the burden for their organization and operation is borne by two or three Jesuits teachers who are helped by one or two lay teachers who take a lively interest in the programmes. In fact, observation of the conduct of the activities and services provided by the college suggests that, but for the resources available
in the Jesuit personnel, it may not be possible for the management of St. Xavier's to fulfil the goal of providing for the all-round education of youth.

At Ruia the management express their commitment to the provision of good and cheap education, to the promotion of Marathi language and literature and to the service of the local community. The fact that Ruia has the largest percentage of teachers who quote Marathi as their mother tongue and who are able and willing to teach in Marathi reflects this commitment of the college to the promotion of Marathi. The fact that the linguistic and religious composition of the teachers corresponds closely to that of the residents of the locality may be interpreted as evidence of the management's conscious identification with the community. As regards the goal of providing good and cheap education, fulfilment of this goal is partly reflected in the fact that inter-college comparisons of the college population indicate that while Elphinstone college and St. Xavier's college may be characterized as colleges for the upper-classes, Ruia college may be characterized as a college for students belonging to the middle class.

If we view the pattern of the teaching at Ruia in the context of the fact that the college is committed to the service of a white-collar middle class neighbourhood,
the finding that it is at this college that excellence of performance at examinations is most emphasized by the Principal and in the college programme acquires an entirely different order of significance. In a society in which the degree is primarily valued as a requirement for a job, for marriage, or as a mark of special status, it is inevitable that all students and teachers emphasize the certificate aspect of education, concentrate on success at examination and grow indifferent to the content of education. However, the extent to which this happens is likely to vary from one section of the society to another. As between the upper class student and the student from the middle class a good performance at examination has real and practical implications to the latter. His future depends on it. For him a degree with a good class is the principle mechanism for upward mobility and the sole prop for economic security. Not so for the upper class students. To an extent their future is assured, regardless of their performance at examinations. More often than not, status and security is derived from the family. For instance, while the family property and business provides economic security for those who come from families of businessmen, students from upper class professional or service backgrounds can depend upon "contacts" and "connections" to fetch them good position. Of course in the case of these students too the degree counts as a
passport to status, and as a qualification for a good match in marriage, but doing well at examinations is somewhat less crucial as a condition for employment and for social placement.

Facilities

Inter-action between teachers and students seem to be heavily affected by the nature of the facilities that the college provides. Elphinstone, with the most liberal provisions for tutorials and the largest proportion of teachers teaching small classes has the maximum of inter-action between teachers and students in the classroom. Ruia college with the largest number of teachers teaching large classes has the smallest degree of inter-action between teachers and students in the classroom.

In our findings regarding the nature of the inter-action between teachers at each of the three colleges we have yet another instance of the manner in which the provision of facilities may affect the teacher-role. At Ruia where common room facilities are most liberally provided inter-action between teachers is most pronounced. At Elphinstone where they are meagre, interaction between teachers is least evident.

The Management and the Administration

In the differences between the extent to which teachers at the three colleges are attached to their colleges, and more specifically in the characteristic that the teachers at each of the three colleges quote as special advantages of the colleges in which they teach, we have a clear indication of the influence that the management and the administration of the college have upon the teacher-role.
At Elphinstone, where the management and administration are bureaucratic and impersonal and where hierarchies, rules, regulations and relationships are highly formal and rigidly structured we find the smallest percentage of teachers with an attachment to the college. The constraints of the bureaucratic structure of the administration are also evident in the paucity of inter-personal interaction, both between the teachers and their students and between the teachers and their colleagues.

The attachment that the teachers at St. Xavier's and also to a large extent at Ruia indicate for their college, and their pointed reference to the consideration shown by the management stand out in marked contrast to the attitude of the teachers at Elphinstone. In both cases, it seems to be due to the fact that the management and administration of these two colleges is not impersonal or purely formal. There is ample room for the Principal to use his discretion in administrative matters. Although formal hierarchies at St. Xavier's and Ruia are much the same as at Elphinstone, there operates, at both these an informal hierarchy which is less mechanical. At both colleges this informal hierarchy provides for better appreciation and reward of lectures. Indirectly, it offer teachers encouragement to write, do research and to take part in social and civic activities.
The influence that the administrative structure of the colleges exerts upon the teacher role is evident in small but significant ways. For instance, at Elphinstone the practice of making temporary appointments makes for a situation in which females and young persons are over-represented on the teaching faculty in contrast teachers at St. Xavier's and Ruia are mostly males and belong to an older age group. This, could be interpreted as a consequence of the administrative concern to obtain staff that are "dependable" in terms of their continued service. Variations between the administrative structure of Elphinstone college on the one hand and St. Xavier's and Ruia on the other, are also reflected in the productivity of teachers as scholars, and in the self-image that teachers carry of themselves as professionals. At Elphinstone college, where teachers are required to share with the college any additional income that they may obtain from academic activities, their academic productivity is extremely meagre. However, it is in the image that they carry of themselves as professionals that variations between the administrative character of the three colleges is most conspicuously reflected. The percentage of teachers who hold a high image of their social status is distinctly larger at St. Xavier's and Ruia than it is at Elphinstone. This could partly be due to the fact that
at least some teachers at St. Xavier's and Ruia have a share in the management. At St. Xavier's this right was, until recently, restricted to the Jesuits. But now it has been extended to lay teachers. At Ruia too it has been restricted to life-members but in principle it is open, inasmuch all teachers are eligible for invitation to join life-members. Between St. Xavier's and Ruia, it is at Ruia that teachers have more open chances of sharing in the management of the college, and therefore, it is important to note that the percentage of teachers who consider themselves high in social status is even larger at Ruia than it is at St. Xavier's.

Another factor worth noting is that both St. Xavier's and Ruia seem to make it a practice to pick persons who have served as tutors and demonstrators to the position of teachers. The opportunity for upward mobility that this practice provides for could be important as a factor contributing to the superior image that teachers at these two colleges carry of themselves. Finally, it is important to take into consideration the fact that at St. Xavier's and Ruia the administration is generally more efficient and more respectful of the teachers. If teachers at Elphinstone are inclined to rate themselves on par with clerks and third class government servants it could well be due to the fact that the administration of the college treats them as such.
The Student Population

We have already indicated the manner in which the social class of the students seems to affect teaching at each of the three colleges. The social class of the students seems, also to influence the self-image of the teachers. At Elphinstone and St. Xavier's where a large number of students come from the upper classes, more teachers place themselves in the lower rungs of the social ladder than do the teachers at Ruia where most students come from the middle class.

There are many other factors with respect to which we can identify the influence of the composition of the student population upon the teacher role. For instance interaction within the classroom between teachers and students is marginally greater at Elphinstone and St. Xavier's where students are better equipped in English. On the other hand interaction between teachers and students outside the classroom seems to be more marked at Ruia where the cultural composition of the student population is more akin to that of the teachers, than at Elphinstone and St. Xavier's where teachers and students are less homogenous in their cultural composition.

Apart from affecting interaction in the classroom, the quality of the students seems to have a definite
impact on the character of teaching. The percentage of teachers who recommend reference books is larger at Elphinstone and St. Xavier's the two colleges at which students are better equipped in English and less examination-oriented in their expectations regarding classroom teaching.

The Ethos and the Culture of the College

St. Xavier's which is the most Westernized of the three colleges has the largest percentage of teachers educated at European and American Universities, the largest percentage who quote an European language as a mothertongue, and the largest percentage of those who are unable to teach in a language other than English. Ruia which is most Indian in ethos and culture has the smallest percentage of these who quote an European language for a mother tongue and are unable to teach in a language other than English.

At Elphinstone we notice a general lack of involvement and concern that is typical of the slow tempo of bureaucracy. We notice frustration and apathy as well. We came across atleast two senior teachers who were extremely bitter and frustrated about the purely mechanical manner in which their destinies as teachers had been determined throughout the course of their career as
we came across several teachers who seemed to accept without complaint an eight or ten month delay in the payment of their salaries. This apathy on the part of the teachers at the college, to the administrative inefficiency of which they are victims seems to extend into a general indifference and lack of involvement on their part. This is reflected in the fact that between the teachers from the three colleges it is the teachers from Elphinstone college who are most insensitive to the obstacles they face, and least enthused about future plans and reforms.

Finally, in keeping with the general spirit and the ethos of St. Xavier's we notice that the teachers at this college are more lively, sociable and spontaneous than the teachers at the other two colleges. At Ruia this kind of spontaneity and liveliness is less marked. Camaraderie between teachers is open, and amiable at St. Xavier's. So is it at Ruia college. We do not notice at either of these colleges the reserve, the division by statuses and the general indifference to personal interaction that is typical of Elphinstone college. But again, there is a major difference between St. Xavier's and Ruia colleges. The relationships between teachers is marked by a respect for age and for authority that is typical of Indian culture and tradition.