

PERSPECTIVE ON EDUCATION IN INDIA

Professional education for social work in the country may be said to have begun with the establishment of a school of social work in Bombay in 1936 which is now known as the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.¹ But there were prior efforts in the 1920's to organize short term training courses for those who wanted to render social services by the American Marathi Mission and Social Service League in the city of Bombay and also by certain Neighborhood Houses in other large cities as well. Actually at this time, it was the tradition of self-sacrifice and dedication to the cause of the poor which dominated the preparation of individuals for a life of social service, and there was little acceptance of any organized form of training in social work training for positions which offered cash remunerations.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The main inspiration for the establishment of formal training programmes came from Western countries, particularly the United States of America. It was Dr. Clifford Manshardt, an American Director of the Nagpada Neighborhood House in Bombay, who conceived the idea of organizing a post-graduate school of social work in India.

He was successful in persuading the trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust to start a training institute which was named as Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work.² This school did not seek any relationship with the local University of Bombay as its sponsors felt that such a tie would deny it the freedom of experiment, and even after thirty-three years it still functions independently of any affiliation with a university. Between the years 1939-42, the Institute admitted a small number of students every alternate year. Initially, the teaching staff consisted of the Director who was an American, and two Indian social scientists who had their training in the United States. The training given now in the Institute is of post-graduate level for two years, and until 1967 the Diploma awarded was in Social Service Administration. In recent years the Institute has acquired the University status and will award its own degrees leading to the Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work and Social Sciences, the Master's of Arts in Social Work and the Master's of Arts in Personnel Management-Labour Welfare.³

For ten years between 1936-46, the Tata Institute was the only school imparting professional education in social work. In 1946,

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¹For a brief review of the development of social work education in India, M. S. Gore, *Social Work and Social Work Education in India* (Bombay, 1965) and Hans Nagpaul, "Social Work Education in India," in S. K. Kinduka (ed.) *Social work in India* (Allahabad, 1965), pp. 241-268.

²See Clifford Manshardt, "Education for Social Work," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, June, 1941.

³See Bulletin of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Bombay, 1965-66). In April 1964, the Institute was declared as an institution of higher learning and was deemed to be a university for the purposes of the Section (3) of the University Grants Commission Act 1956 of the Government of India.

the second school was established in Lucknow under the auspices of the National Y.W.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon with a substantial grant from the Foreign Division of the Y's of the United States, and the founder-director was again, an American. Later, it was shifted to Delhi, and after nearly two years of experimentation, the school, in 1948, organized a regular two year programme of training in social work and was affiliated as a post-graduate institution to the University of Delhi for the Master's of Arts degree in Social Work. Subsequently, in 1960, the School was merged with the University and became, for administrative and financial purposes, one of the Departments under the Faculty of Social Sciences. Soon after the establishment of this school, Shri Kashi Vidyapith, Varanasi, opened an Institute of Social Sciences for the training of social workers in 1947. Like the already established schools, the Institute set up a two year programme in Social Work but designated its degree as Master's of Applied Sociology unlike the others; the Institute also introduced Hindi as a medium of instruction, unlike other schools, but it continued the use of textbooks and study material primarily published in English. Another Institute, i.e. the Bombay Labour Institute, was also established in 1947 to offer training in the field of labour welfare; it restricted its admissions to the labour officers deputed by the employers or governmental agencies. Between 1947-55, the Institute offered both short-term and long-term courses of one year and two years respectively; in 1955, this arrangement was replaced by a single-two-year course leading to a diploma in labour welfare.

In the next two decades (1947-67) the establishment of new schools had been fairly rapid both under the auspices of the existing universities and outside as independent

institutions. During this period the number of schools increased from four to thirty. In 1950, the University of Baroda created a full-fledged Faculty of Social Work to provide two years professional training in Social Work; in the same year (1950) the Xavier Labour Relations Institute, Jamshedpur, was established to offer training in Labour Welfare and Industrial Relations. By 1966, training in Social Work was provided in Bombay, Delhi, Baroda, Lucknow, Agra, Jodhpur, Ahmedabad, Ranchi, Madras, Calcutta, Coimbatore, Dharwar, Bhagalpur and Waltair. In addition to the Schools and Institutes for Social Work and Labour Welfare, a large number of Social Education Centres, Village Level Worker's Training Centres, Agricultural Institutes for Rural Welfare Workers and Family Planning Training Centres, primarily under the auspices of the Central Government, along with some centres by voluntary organizations, had also sprung up during this period, which offered courses on Social Work based upon the pattern followed by the schools of social work earlier established.

COMPONENTS OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Broadly speaking, there are three components of social work education: social work curriculum offered in the classroom, field work offered in a social agency and research experience provided by a combination of the classroom and field work agency. Within this general pattern, diversity does exist in terms of the emphasis given to each of these components at different schools. The availability of resources and facilities also exerts a good deal of influence on the actual organization and administration of these components.⁴ Further, within each of these components, there are many variations despite some efforts towards uniformity during the last few years.

⁴See Report of the Review Committee on Social Work Education in Indian Universities (New Delhi, 1965).

The academic preparation is generally centred around courses dealing with (a) basic social sciences, (b) human growth and development, (c) social welfare services and social policies, (d) methods of social work, and (e) special areas of study. Increasingly there has been a trend since 1960 to develop a single course in social sciences under the name of Man and Society with the result that the coverage given to such themes as those of Indian culture, social structure, social institutions, and social change within the total curriculum has been considerably reduced. At the same time, a greater emphasis has emerged for courses on human growth and development which has led to an overriding importance of such methods of social work as social casework and social group work on the one hand and such specialities as family social work, medical social work and psychiatric social work on the other.

Supervised field work is considered an integral part of the total social work training. But it is still true that most of the schools themselves have not been able to work out specific goals of field work programmes as yet. There exist marked differences both in terms of field work practices and field work content. The field work ranges from weekly observations of work in different agencies to fifteen hours per week of regular work experiences for two years; other practices include institutional visits, study tours, work camps and block field work. In his work, the student after he is assigned to an agency, the time spent in observing or learning about problems and services is frequently far more than on helping him to learn to use himself as a worker. Actually, there are uneven patterns of field work which have resulted in uneven standards of training. Moreover, the schools have not been able to resolve the issue

whether the field placements should be method-oriented or field-oriented. Even if the schools could find some agreement about this issue, there will remain at least three basic problems with regard to field work training. These are: (a) that of finding suitable social welfare agencies in which the student can get appropriate work experience; (b) that of finding qualified supervisors who can help the student learn from experience; and (c) that of developing a suitable criteria for the evaluation of the student's performance in his field work.⁵

As regards the third component, it may be stated that almost every school of social work requires the completion of a research project based on "field investigation" of a social problem or other related areas as one of the requirements for the master's degree in social work. The topic of the student's research project is usually concerned with the student's area of interest of specialization. Although the usual practice followed by the schools emphasizes the individual research project by each student, some experimentation with the idea of group research projects is being undertaken at least at one school since July, 1960. Almost all schools offer a minimum of one course on social research which is usually of an elementary level. In some schools the completion of a research project is closely tied up with the social research course itself, which means that the student is encouraged to select the topic of his project and to develop his prospectus of research while he receives formal instruction in the research course. The main objectives for the requirement as identified in the Bulletins of the schools are: (1) to provide some training in the use of research techniques, and (2) to collect data about different facets of Indian life to assist social

⁵For a detailed account of field work practices, see *Field Practices in Schools of Social Work in India* (Delhi, 1959), and *Proceedings and Papers read at the Seminar on Field Work in Social Work Education*, Association of Schools of Social Work, 1964.

welfare agencies in planning their programmes or to develop teaching material.

An examination of the Bulletins of the different schools reveals that the teaching of a single course on social research combined with elementary statistics can hardly provide any useful training to the student in the use of various research techniques or methodology of research. Moreover, the selection of a topic for research and the designing of the project by the student require proper guidance from the teacher who is usually so much burdened with the teaching and supervising activities that he cannot render it. Consequently most of the research projects written at the schools are on topics or subjects which are of little importance and do not contribute substantially to new knowledge. From the methodological point of view, their deficiencies are even greater.⁶ The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, is the only school where there exists a separate Department of Social Research and which offers a programme of specialization extending over a year beyond the regular two year programme of social work. In view of the existence of this Department, students in the regular programme also seem to receive a somewhat better orientation in research techniques as compared to other schools of social work.

SPECIALISED FIELDS OF STUDY

An analysis of the Bulletins of the schools of social work indicates that they offer training in such specialized fields of study as labour welfare, tribal welfare, rural welfare, medical social work, family social work,

psychiatric social work, institutional and correctional administration and community organization. The growth of many of these areas has been largely influenced by the American pattern of social work education, having little regard to the prevailing social, cultural, economic and political conditions in Indian society. It is an accepted fact that at the present time there are no well-defined categories of welfare personnel for which social work training is considered essential except in the case of labour welfare.⁷ As a field of social work, medical social work is practised in not more than two dozen hospitals in the entire country and which are almost all located in the large metropolitan cities of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Delhi. In a society where elementary forms of medical facilities and personnel are still grossly inadequate to meet some of the basic health needs and where incidence of morbidity and mortality is still very high, the development of medical social work as developed in the United States and other Western societies seems to be completely irrelevant and its acceptance will remain a wishful thinking. It is therefore not surprising to note that students specializing in medical social work often find employment opportunities in other related fields. Even those who are employed by hospitals as medical social workers are in most cases assigned to non-professional activities such as milk distribution or directing patients to appropriate departments in the hospital or helping them to form queues in the waiting halls ! As a matter of fact it will be fair to say that the medical profession in India has yet to accept medical social work because the

⁶For details on the teaching of courses on Social Research in Indian Schools of Social Work, see S. Zafar Hasan, "Social Research, Social Science and Social Work Training," Proceedings of the Seminar for Faculty of Schools of Social Work Training held in 1961, (New Delhi, 1961), and G. G. Dadlani, "Methods of Teaching Research Sequence," Paper presented at the Seminar on Teaching Methods in Social Work Education, held in 1962, Association of Schools of Social Work (Bombay, 1962).

⁷See Report for the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of the Backward Classes (New Delhi, 1959).

workers already recruited as medical social workers in some of the large hospitals in cities are not being used on the jobs for which they possess specialized training.⁸ It may be pointed out here that in recent years many Departments of Social and Preventive Medicine in medical colleges in the country have begun hiring professional social workers as social scientists for undertaking social researches in the field, which has come to be known as Medical Sociology. The social workers are however least equipped to do this job by virtue of their training because the schools in general do not offer suitable courses in social research and almost no course is given in the field of Medical Sociology. Moreover, it is well known that most of the Indian hospitals which are run under the auspices of government provide mainly free services and are generally very over-crowded whereas few private hospitals exist in which services are usually expensive, though in some cases, private hospitals are functioning on a charitable basis as well. Generally speaking, hospitals are primarily treatment oriented and very little preventive or rehabilitative work is undertaken by them. Even in terms of treatment they are constantly confronted with chronic shortages in physical equipment, personnel and medicines. In the context of the prevailing massive health problems and inadequate medical facilities, the various roles of the medical social worker as are often proposed by our social work educators seem to be totally unrealistic. As a matter of fact neither the medical profession nor the leaders of the society have ever visualized the provision of such extensive social services in the various Five Year Plans which will promote demand and opportunities for the

medical social worker. Even if one accepts for a moment that a vast amount of resources of all kinds would become available some day through a miracle, the need for the medical social work to help patients with their emotional and other psycho-social problems will still be debatable. Any type of medical social work based on social case-work technique and therapeutic orientation which will become widespread in our hospitals seems to be rather out of the question for a long time and perhaps time will never come when all hospitals or a substantial number of large hospitals will ever, have medical social work services at their disposal. Even in the United States where medical social work is fairly well-developed, it is far from being widespread and not all hospitals have separate departments of medical social service. It is a sheer wastage of national resources to create therapeutic medical social work based upon social case-work technique as a specialised field of study in our schools of social work.

Another specialisation which some schools of social work offer is that of psychiatric social work. In the United States and some other Western countries, psychiatric social work seems to be practised on a wider scale, though it is not defined in precise terms. Psychiatric social work practice, we are told, occurs in hospitals, clinics or under other psychiatric auspices and its essential purpose is to serve people with mental or emotional disturbances. O'Keefe points out that the psychiatric social worker carries responsibility in relation to both the patient and his family through all phases of diagnosis, care, treatment, and rehabilitation.⁹ As in the United

⁸See S. H. Pathak, "Medical Social Work," in A. R. Wadia (ed.) *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 388-392. G. R. Banerjee, "Medical Social Work in India," *Social Welfare in India*, (New Delhi, 1955), pp. 375-382, also see her "Medical Social Work in Children's Hospital," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 14, pp. 178-184.

⁹Daniel O'Keefe, "Psychiatric Social Work," *Social Work Yearbook*, 1960 (New York, 1960), p. 454.

States, social work is primarily geared to helping the individual or family through social casework, it is quite understandable why knowledge from the fields of psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis has proved to be fruitful in social work practice. In Indian social work literature, we are told, that the first psychiatric social worker was employed in 1937 at the child guidance clinic of the Tata Institute, which also happened to be the first one of its kind in the country. We are further told that during the next ten years, not more than three or four psychiatric social workers were ever employed and that in subsequent years there had been a steady, though extremely slow, utilisation of the services of psychiatric social workers in different settings.¹⁰ In India the magnitude of mental illness is unknown as "no reliable statistics of any kind are available regarding the incidence of mental morbidity. Neither the admission rates nor the number of beds occupied in mental hospitals can be considered reliable indices of the actual number of patients suffering from mental disorders in the areas served by these hospitals."¹¹ True, problems of mental morbidity do exist. But it is well known that in the field of mental health, our level of services is extremely poor. As a matter of fact, provision for the treatment of persons suffering from mental disorders and mental deficiency is not only inadequate, but there are scarcely enough institutions and workers to provide barely elementary forms of custodial care. In this context, the need to create a class of functionaries, called psychiatric social workers who will study the patient as a person in his social situation and analyze environmental factors does not seem to be justified. Our primary objective

should be to strengthen and improve the existing institutions so as to provide better care and treatment to such patients who are severely affected by mental illness and give lowest priority to psychiatric social work, even if it is considered an important component of treatment from the point of view of the Western standard of medical services. Some schools of social work have developed combined courses of instruction for medical and psychiatric social work and offer very elementary knowledge based upon American concepts of social work. It is debatable if such courses serve any useful purpose in a country where medical as well as psychiatric social work are conspicuous by their very absence from the totality of health services available at present.

It is beyond the scope of our discussion to examine the applicability of psychiatric concepts as developed in the West to Indian settings or to enumerate some of the reasons for the slow development of psychiatric services in the country. Two types of forces which seem to have played an important role deserve special mention nevertheless. One relates to the therapeutic value of Hindu religion and Hindu psychology which have developed several system of yoga practices to promote emotional balance, physical poise and peace of mind; and the other, which places emphasis upon the indigenous medicines to relieve both physical and mental illness. In addition, it may be noted that the problems of physical health and economic deprivation are so overwhelming that they completely overshadow mental health and emotional problems, with the result that the growth of psychiatric social work on a wider scale seems to be improbable. There

¹⁰See K. R. Masani and Indira Renu, "Psychiatric Social Work," *Social Welfare in India*, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-438.

¹¹M. V. Govindaswamy, "Socio-Psychological and Mental Hygiene Problems," *Social Welfare in India*, *ibid.*, p. 441, also see Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee (New Delhi, 1946), Vol. 1, pp. 130-131.

are hardly, at present, any out-patient psychiatric clinics or psychiatric wards for in-patients in general hospitals or independent psychiatric out-patient clinics for adult or child guidance clinics for children except in very few large cities. Even in these cities, we are told, that the psychiatric social worker "has been regarded as a person who explains to the families of the patients the psychiatrist's recommendations and finds jobs, boarding homes, schools and recreational centres. Often she has been regarded as an errand girl attached to a psychiatric clinic to carry out specific behests of the psychiatrists."¹² In spite of the fact that we neither know enough about the usefulness of Western conceptions of psychiatry to Indian settings nor do we have adequate services to provide even custodial care to many of our most severely affected patients, our social work educators have been advocating the development of psychiatric social work and have provided courses of instruction in it at the schools of social work either as a major field of specialisation or as a subsidiary one.

Family social work is yet another specialization which is offered by many schools; in some cases it is combined with child welfare. In the United States, family social work is well-developed and both public and private social welfare agencies offer family services. The main objective of family social work is to help the individual and members of his family in attaining harmonious relationships in their family life so as to prevent individual and family disorganization. This is achieved through the use of social casework which includes marriage counselling, family

life education and financial assistance. Friedlander reports that in public welfare agencies, family casework, as a rule, is offered in connection with the granting of public assistance, particularly in the programme of aid to dependent children whereas private family welfare agencies are primarily concerned with personal problems and emotional maladjustment of members of the family.¹³ Although it is claimed by the leaders of the American family social work that family welfare agencies provide services to all social classes, yet it will be fair to say that these agencies mainly serve persons from low income groups-

Many Indian social work educators and professional social workers have been advocating the establishment of family social work services during the last ten to fifteen years on the assumption that the basic structure of the joint family system and its traditional functions have changed. One writer has gone to the extent of suggesting the need to develop marriage counselling services which in her view are "a long process of help, right from the adolescent age to adulthood, including education in sex, preparations for marital life and parenthood and helping the young couples to play their important and significant roles in the upbringing of a new family."¹⁴ Another scholar tells us that "a Family Welfare Agency, if run by a trained staff, can be of immense help in counselling on family relationships, and marital maladjustments and can also provide financial assistance and vocational guidance, etc. A Family Welfare Agency can also be helpful to unmarried mothers, sex delinquents, alcoholics and

¹²G. R. Banerjee, "Psychiatric Social Work," A. R. Wadia (ed.) *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India*, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405.

¹³Walter Friedlander, Introduction to Social Welfare (Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 349-350.;

¹⁴Freny R. Gandhi, "Family Welfare," in *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India*, *op. cit.*, p. 152, also see G. R. Banerjee, "Family Social Service", *Social Welfare in India*, *op. cit.*

delinquent children in the family."¹⁵ It seems that these scholars forget that the joint family is the central institution in Indian society and it is still a great source of security to its members. Perhaps it has changed considerably both in its structure and function as a result of increasing urbanization, industrialization and modernization. But even today the joint family provides all the services to its members in time of need. Problems of marital conflict, disturbed parent-child relationships, fatherless families, unmarried mothers, single adults who are separated from their families and the aged may exist in India though little is known about the magnitude of these problems and no reliable statistics are available. At the same time, we do know that the magnitude of these problems is not so great because they have neither weakened the existing structure and functioning of our society nor have they got any recognition in the Indian Five Year Plans which are aimed at achieving social and economic development of the country on a planned basis in the years ahead. Moreover, the existence of family welfare agencies in the sense in which family social work is interpreted in the United States is still unknown in the country.

The proponents of medical social work, psychiatric social work and family social work seem to have been highly influenced by the experiences of Western countries especially the United States. Social work education, and educators in particular, who advocate the teaching of such courses at the schools of social work seem to have been fascinated by what has come to be known as social casework in American social work. It is unfortunate that they fail to take into consideration the socio-cultural and religious values of Indian society and the existing

level of social welfare services in the country. Moreover, they do not recognize the complete absence of study material on these subjects based upon Indian conditions, and inevitably they are driven to use American literature, concepts and methods derived from the fields of psychology, psychiatry and social work. This practice has introduced unrealistic elements in the training programmes for social work and one of the heads of a school of social work, while portraying the image of a professional social worker, comments that he is a person who has read and learned much during his two year period of training but the difficulty arises because he has not been able to perceive any meaningful relationship between his own experience and much of what he has read and hence knowledge is not yet completely a part of his working apparatus despite the long hours he has spent in attending his field work. Another educator who is now head of another school, while he was in the United States, had described the professional social worker in India as one who was, mentally isolated from the dominant cultural folkways and mores of his society and who lacked the basic orientation to the prevailing conditions of the country. This situation, he considered, was responsible for the existence of suspicion and hostility between the untrained and professionally trained social workers at many different levels. The recently completed study of the Indian Conference of Social Work has also indicated that not all graduates get employed in the same field of social work in which they undergo specialised training. The study further points out that "if this switch over is of a large magnitude, then it may amount to a rejection of the concept of specialisation in so far as employment is concerned."¹⁶

¹⁵D. Paul Chowdhry, A. Handbook of Social Welfare (New Delhi, 1965).

¹⁶Draft Report of the Indian Conference of Social Work on the Employment Position and Functions of Professional Social Workers in India (Bombay, 1967).

All schools of social work in India place a great deal of importance on academic courses concerning social group work and on field work practice in group work settings which are mainly recreational centres. In American social work, social group work has come to be accepted as one of the basic methods which uses group experience to help individuals improve their social functioning. Essentially, "it is a way of serving individuals within and through small face-to-face groups in order to bring about desired changes among the client participants."¹⁷ This method is used by social workers with children, youth, adults and the aged, with the physically or mentally well or ill, with persons whose adjustment to life is progressing normally or has been handicapped. In the United States, a large number of group work organizations exists where people are engaged in group work activities, and offer employment opportunities to social workers who are specialized in social group work. Although most of the group work activities are recreational and leisure-time activities, American social work claims to make certain distinctions in theory between social group work and recreation which are often not maintained rigorously in practice because social work overlaps with such other fields as adult education, physical education and camping, and that a large number of social workers in group work settings do not have professional training in social work even till today.

In India the field of leisure-time activities falls under the scope of adult or physical education, and Indian social work has failed to develop any collaborative arrangements with them, with the result that there are few group work agencies where social group

work is really practised. Accordingly, there are almost no employment opportunities for social group workers in India in the sense in which American social group workers are engaged in group work organizations to render direct service to the members. Moreover, as specialisations in social work in India are still in terms of fields of practice rather than on the basis of methods of social work as in the United States, social work curriculum is unnecessarily overburdened with several courses concerning social group work. Similarly, field work practice of students in the recreational settings which are usually supervised by instructors from physical education provides little meaningful experience to them.

Another specialisation offered by many schools of social work is designated as institutional and correctional administration. The care of the destitute, the handicapped, the delinquent and the criminal is mainly provided through institutions, both public and private. The ultimate goal of the institutional care is said to be the prevention of the incidence of social problems and rehabilitation of persons who become inmates of the institutions. But if the existing level of social services is any indication, it is fair to say that even our institutional services are far from being satisfactory and are constantly experiencing chronic shortages of adequate space, decent housing, proper equipment and qualified staff. The survey of social welfare agencies completed by the Central Social Welfare Board several years ago revealed that not many agencies had even a single professional social worker on their staff.¹⁸ Specifically in the field of correctional administration, the impact of professional social work seems to be insignificant. The level of

¹⁷Robert Vinter, "Social Group Work," *Encyclopedia of Social Work*, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 715.

¹⁸See *A Statistical Study of Social Welfare Agencies*, Central Social Welfare Board (New Delhi, 1964).

services in terms of probation and parole, separation of the juveniles from the adult criminal, provision of vocational training and after-care and training of personnel for correctional administration is extremely low even today.¹⁹ The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, organized short term training courses for prison officers on, an ad hoc basis. Under its revised training programme, the Institute has established a master's degree in Social Work with a specialization in Criminology and Corrections. The schools of social work at Delhi, Madras, Lucknow, and Varanasi also offer some form of specialised training programme in the field of institutional and correctional administration. The basic orientation of this training programme seems to be conditioned by American social casework approach, with little emphasis upon the practice of social administration. Banerjee has presented a case in favour of the introduction of social casework service for the juvenile delinquent notwithstanding the general absence of elementary social services for the delinquent in our society.²⁰ Chaturvedi tells us about the contents of field work in correctional administration by assuming the applicability of American social work philosophy and methods to Indian settings.²¹ It may be noted here that in the United States itself the professional social work has not made considerable progress in the field of correctional administration despite the fact that the level of services

is fairly well-developed at least in the institutions which function directly under the auspices of the federal government.²²

As regards the specialization designated as labour welfare, historically the rationale for including this field with social work has been due to the fact that industrial labour was looked upon as an under-privileged group for which special amenities and welfare services were provided through social legislation. The importance of welfare activities for industrial workers has been fully recognized in the various Five Year Plans. Even before the introduction of the First Five Year Plan, several commissions and committees had recommended the intensification of social welfare activities in the context of the prevailing lower levels of living in general. The term labour welfare has however no precise definition and includes many types of activities undertaken for the economic, social, intellectual or moral benefit of the industrial labour. The Factories Act of 1948, requires the appointment of labour welfare officers in factories employing five hundred or more workers, and according to the rules framed under the Act, for every two thousand additional workers, one additional welfare officer is to be appointed. The rules provide that a welfare officer should possess a degree or diploma in social sciences from an institution recognized by the State or Central Government in this behalf. The welfare

¹⁹See J. J. Panakal, "Correctional Work," *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 21; also see selected articles in Vol. 13, Vol. 14, and Vol. 15 of the Indian Journal of Social Work regarding the training of officers for correctional administration and introduction of prison reforms; B. K. Dasgupta, "Scope of Application of Probation in Correctional Work," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, March, 1959, and J. J. Panakal, "Classification in Correctional Institutions", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Dec. 1961.

²⁰G. R. Bannerjee, "Social Casework Services and the Juvenile Delinquent", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 15, pp. 22-24.

²¹H. R. Chaturvedi, "Contents of Field Work in Correctional Administration", Seminar on Field Work in Social Work, *op. cit.*

²²See Curriculum Study Report on Education for Social Workers in the Correctional Field, Vol. V, (New York, 1959), and Manpower and Training for Corrections, Proceedings of an Arden House Conference (New York, 1966).

officer is appointed and paid by the employer; he works under him and can be removed by him, though in some cases only by the approval of the Commissioner of Labour of the State or Central Government.

Since the establishment of the first school of social work in 1936, formal training for labour welfare has developed a close relationship with the growth and development of social work training programmes in the country.²³ As this school was started under the auspices of the Sir Dorab Tata Trust in Bombay which was financed by the House of Tata, one of the largest industrial concerns in the country, training for labour welfare took its roots there. Moreover, some of the progressive developments in the field of industrial labour during the 1920's and 1930's had influenced the introduction of welfare activities in a few large industrial centres by the employers themselves, who had pioneered some form of in-service training for labour welfare officers in such industries as the cotton textile and the jute industries. Although the curriculum and teaching material adopted in the first school was categorized as generic and no major areas of specialisation were created till 1944, yet the training programme was entirely based upon American social work on the one hand and reflected the need for the training of labour welfare officers on the other. The provision for the appointment of welfare officers in industries under the Indian Factories Act of 1948, gave a considerable stimulus to training for labour welfare, industrial relations and personnel management. The schools which were established in subsequent years included this specialisation as a part of the professional training for social work with the result that labour welfare specialisation has been the

dominant feature of social work education in India as much as the Study completed by the Indian Conference of Social Work revealed not only the preponderance of those respondents who had specialised in labour welfare but also of those having social work training without specialisation in labour welfare, to have found employment opportunities in the field of labour welfare.²⁴ In the past decade some institutes mainly for labour welfare outside the field of social work have also come into existence and continue to function. As a matter of fact, there has been an increasing trend toward the establishment of new centres or institutes for specialised training in labour welfare outside social work which includes not only courses on labour welfare but in industrial relations and personnel management as well. With the changing conceptions of personnel management, new institutes for training in management have also been established at several places.

For a long time professional social work has been highly correlated with the field of labour welfare not only by some of the schools themselves, but by the employers, government officials and leaders of voluntary social work. The emergence of the fields of personnel management and business administration on the one hand and the development of social insurance, growth of trade unionism and social security measures and increasing acceptance of welfare activities by the employer on the other, have confronted the schools of social work with fundamental dilemma as to whether new roles of industrial relations and personnel management belong to the field of social work. From the description of functions, as presented by social work educators, which the welfare officers are usually called upon to perform today, it seems

²³See M. V. Moorthy, "Labour Welfare", in *A. R. Wadia (ed.) History and Philosophy of Social Work, op. cit.*, Chapter 13, and also E. J. S. Ram, "Duties of a Labour Welfare Officer", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, December, 1957, pp. 183-190.

²⁴Draft Report of the Indian Conference of Social Work, *op. cit.*

doubtful if these functions belong to the field of professional social work. Gore tells us that the job of a labour welfare officer as defined by the government in recent legislation on the subject can hardly be identified as a social work job.²⁵ Kudchedkar points out that the designation of the welfare officer in industry is sometimes regarded as a misnomer because the duties of this officer as laid down under the Factories Act, not only deal with welfare functions, but also substantially cover the increasingly important responsibilities of industrial relations and personnel administration at the factory level. He has further commented that the welfare officer is often required to handle manifold responsibilities in addition to his function of having familiarity with labour legislation and labour case law whose complexity is baffling and which are increasingly so rapidly changing that the so-called labour welfare officer cannot completely cope with it and also maintain professional efficiency.²⁶

The controversy about the training programmes for labour welfare as a part of social work education has received considerable attention in recent years. At the Seminar of the Schools of Social Work in 1961, sponsored by the Technical Cooperation Mission of the United States Government, this question was debated and the general opinion of the delegates from the schools was that the industrial settings could provide sufficient opportunities for students to practise social work.²⁷ However, in 1963, the Study Group on Labour Training Re-Organization of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, which examined the place of social work in industrial settings in terms of labour welfare, personnel management and industrial rela-

tions and the contents of training programmes for labour welfare, could not come to any final conclusion.²⁸ Recently the Institute, nevertheless, instituted a separate degree programme for personnel management and labour welfare apart from the social work degree, but within its existing framework. The other schools are still hesitant to change the established pattern or to abolish this field of specialisation from their training programme because this specialisation is the only one for which social work training is statutorily recognized, and for which major demand exists among the applicants seeking admission to the schools of social work and for which employment opportunities are relatively more available and with better salaries. It may also be pointed out here that labour welfare specialisation happens to be the field of study for which the schools are generally ill-equipped in terms of training because most of the faculty members usually do not have the requisite experience of working in industrial settings, the field work consists mainly of observation and courses of instruction are not necessarily consistent with the philosophy and methods of social work.

The other specialisations offered by many schools of social work relate to the fields of rural welfare, tribal welfare and urban community development, and at least in one school, specialisation is provided in social research as well. Almost 80% of the Indian population still lives in rural areas where levels of living are very poor and that large-scale programmes of rural development have been introduced throughout the country. Although the schools

²⁵See Gore, *Social Work and Social Work Education*, op. cit., p. 90.

²⁶L. S. Kudchedkar, "Training for Labour Welfare," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, April 1967, p. 73.

²⁷See Proceedings of the Seminar of the Faculty of Schools of Social Work in India, held in 1960, and K. N. Vaid. *The Labour Welfare Officer: An Account and Analysis of his Job and Training and of Social Work Component of Labour Welfare Practice* (Delhi, 1962).

²⁸See Report of the Study Group on Labour Training Reorganization, Tata Institute' of Social Sciences, (Bombay, 1963).

of social work have been offering courses on rural welfare from the very beginning and at least seven schools claim to have specialisation, it is a well known fact that the Indian professional social worker has failed to establish its role in the field of rural welfare. The very fact that a large number of centres, institutes and orientation camps are functioning for the training of different categories of rural welfare personnel outside the professional social work indicates the failure of the schools to assume responsibility for the training of such personnel. In 1961 Dasgupta wrote that "the time is, therefore, not far when social workers and institutes offering training in social work should plan to reorient their curriculum of studies to meet the coming challenge of the growing rural society in India."²⁹ The study completed by the Indian Conference of Social Work in 1967 has observed that in the field of rural welfare, limited employment opportunities exist for social workers. In recent years there have been some collaborative efforts among all the institutions which are training welfare personnel for the field of rural welfare. However, it is true even today, that no particular preference is given to social work graduates in this field nor do the schools of social work have reoriented their basic curriculum to the special needs and problems of Indian rural settings. In the field of rural welfare, the problems of social administration, community organization and development, directed change and social research seem to be the most important areas for which social welfare personnel is needed. Essentially, it is the administration of rural welfare programmes which is of prime importance in the context of the prevailing conditions in India.

Tribal welfare is considered a major field of specialisation by at least four schools of social work, though Tata Institute of Social Sciences used to be the only school where adequate training facilities had existed in the past and even here this specialisation has declined.³⁰ In all the Five Year Plans, the welfare of backward classes including tribal welfare has been given special attention. This is understandable in view of the fact that almost one hundred million persons are classified as belonging to backward classes in the country. The various welfare programmes specifically established for this section of the population require a group of qualified persons to administer them. The study completed by the Indian Conference on Social Work has, however, revealed that the number of social workers working in the field of tribal welfare is very insignificant. As a matter of fact, out of the total number of 1107 social workers included in this study, only eight workers, have been listed against tribal welfare. One of the major reasons why social workers do not take up positions in this field relates to the fact that the tribal welfare settings are generally inaccessible and demand hard work on the one hand but provide inadequate monetary rewards and little comforts of life, on the other. Further, a number of Tribal Research Institutes exist outside the field of social work which offer training facilities for tribal welfare workers, and as these Institutes are located in such places where comprehensive programmes for tribal welfare have been established, the field of tribal welfare has not been able to attract many social workers. In addition, Indian anthropologists have been also interested both in the study of tribal life and in the provision of welfare activities in-as-much-as that the

²⁹Sugata Dasgupta, "Rural Welfare in India," *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India*, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.

³⁰See B. H. Mehta, "Tribal Welfare," *History and Philosophy of Social Work in India*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 17. Since the retirement of Professor Mehta in 1965 from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the training programme in Tribal Welfare received a setback. Under the revised plan, the Institute has abolished this specialisation from 1967.

Government of India maintains a special Department of Anthropology for the purpose of research and training. Indeed, it is the development and administration of tribal welfare programmes which demand a group of qualified persons to assume the necessary responsibilities and it is this area of tribal welfare to which the schools have not given adequate attention.

Again, at the present time, one-fourth of the Indian population lives in urban areas and cities having 100,000 and more inhabitants have been on the increase in the last two decades. The need for specialised programmes of urban redevelopment and urban community development has been accepted in the Draft Fourth Five Year Plan; social welfare programmes are also being intensified at least in large cities, family planning programmes are being introduced on a wider scale than ever before; and slum clearance and improvement programmes have been initiated to improve the living conditions in Indian cities. It is true that all schools of social work are offering courses on urban community development and organization; but the Tata Institute of Social Sciences is the only school which has a well-established specialisation in this field. The working of the Delhi Pilot Project established by the Delhi Municipal Corporation in 1959 to promote the growth of community life and to encourage the development of citizen participation in the programmes of social welfare has demonstrated that we need several categories of welfare personnel in the field of urban community development. Moreover, the professional social workers

have not yet established their specialised roles in this field on the basis of their competence.³¹ The study of the Indian Conference on Social Work has reported that very limited employment opportunities exist for social workers in the field of urban community development at *the* present time. In the context of Indian society, as the fields of health, education and social welfare co-exist and often interpenetrate at a local level, community development both in the urban and rural areas is essentially a multi-dimensional activity. Accordingly, any specialisation offered in community organization needs to be established on an inter-disciplinary basis and which should take into consideration all the basic social sciences. The existing courses of training in community organization at the schools of social work rely heavily on American social work and tend to neglect contributions from the fields of economics, political science, and sociology and cultural anthropology.

CULTURE AND SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Higher Education in India as we know today had its origin in the middle of the 19th century when it was introduced by a foreign political power. This system of education was primarily based on the culture and society of the West, especially that of the English. The forces of nationalism and the growing power of the national leadership which emerged between the two World Wars produced some major changes in the system of education. But the system in practice continued to predominate till the Independence of the country in 1947, and in the main it

³¹See B. Chatterjee, "Urban Community Development in India: The Delhi Pilot Project," in Roy Turner, *India's Urban Future* (Berkeley, U.S.A., 1962), Chapter IV. Evaluation Study of the Vikas Mandals, First Report (1962) Second Report (1965) issued by the Department of Urban Community Development, Municipal Corporation of Delhi, Marshall Clinard, *Slums and Community Development* (New York, 1966), Part III, and Report of the Committee on Rural-Urban Relationship, Government of India, (New Delhi, 1966), Appendix IV. For a critical appraisal also see H. Nagpaul, "A Community Development for Urban Areas in India," in *International Review of Community Development* (Rome), Number 9, 1962.

still exists today, with some modifications here and there. The foreignness of higher education was so much all-inclusive that the very language in which higher education was imparted or acquired or expressed had been foreign. For this reason the higher education system had come to depend completely for its growth and development on the Western culture, and it still continues to derive an over-riding inspiration from it.³² But nothing reveals more clearly the alien aura of higher education than the manner in which social work curriculum is organized today. The existing system of social work education is largely unrelated to the conditions prevailing in Indian society and there exists a wide gulf between its content and purposes, and the needs of national development.

In every society, education at all levels is highly influenced by its culture and the various dimensions connected therewith. What a society wants its children and young persons to learn and practise, primarily depends on the cultural values it holds. The functions of education therefore rest not only on the prevailing social, economic, and political conditions but also on the ideals visualized and formulated by the society for its future which are usually reflected in the Constitution and legal structure on the one hand, and in the dominant mores of the society on the other. Basically, sociologists regard education as a distinctively social phenomenon or a social institution, which like other social phenomena or social institutions, is a product of the culture itself. Durkheim indicated, long before the modern sociology of education arose, that education was something essentially social in character, origins and functions. He was emphatic in pointing out that differences in socio-cultural needs would play a major role in the type of

educational programmes which would be established in various societies.³³ The emergence and development of educational sociology in the United States, which began around the First World War and continued till the Second World War, led to the publication of extensive and significant literature on social foundations of the American educational system. Although American sociologists in recent years have preferred to refer to sociological analysis of education as sociology of education, the old theme of socio-cultural foundations of education continues to receive considerable attention, emphasizing the educational system as a social microcosm of the larger social system.³⁴ The voluminous American literature which is available on the subject has, however, completely neglected the growth and development of educational systems in those countries of Asia and Africa which had been under the rule of European powers for hundreds of years. In such countries, the Western culture flowed all these years, with the result that modern educational systems took their birth, super-imposing themselves on the traditional patterns of education and life. As a matter of fact, the educational system in such countries, especially higher education, has not become part of the self-reproductive process of the dominant institutional system and has been unable to free itself from its foreign origins and connections; rather it continues to derive its inspiration from the intellectual output which emanates from the culture and society of the West. It is unfortunate that Indian sociologists have undertaken little research on the different facets of their own educational system. For the first time, Indian scholars showed some interest in the sociology of education when a Seminar was organized in December, 1964.

³²See Report of the Education Commission in India (New Delhi, 1966), Chapter 1.

³³Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, translated by S. D. Fox, (New York, 1956).

³⁴See William Stanley et al., *Social Foundations of Education* (New York, 1956) and William Cole and Roy Cox, *Social Foundations of Education* (New York, 1968).

It is beyond doubt that Indian higher education in general is still dominated by foreign elements, and the need for "Indi-ization" exists. But social work education presents a unique case where influence of foreign elements is almost universal and where there is a crying need for its "Indi-ization". Social work in any society is a product of its culture and is highly influenced by the prevailing social, cultural, economic and political conditions on the one hand and by the ideals which the society has for its future on the other. The very basis of social work as a helping activity lies embedded in the culture. American social work has traditionally accepted a frame of reference based upon the concept of personality for its practice, and, accordingly, knowledge from the fields of psychology and psychiatry has been sought and incorporated in social work knowledge and skills. Although the need for a sociological frame of reference has increasingly been advocated in the United States in the last few years, yet what Mills wrote almost twenty-five years ago seem to be still applicable to the large section of American social work which has, of late, claimed to have assumed the status of professional social work. Mills was critical of the dominant emphasis in social work on situational aspects of social problems and had deplored its failure to view flaws in the social structure as contributing to pathological situations. Even today, American social work is primarily individual-oriented, and courses on social casework, human growth and development and other courses connected with the psychological, psychiatric and psychoanalytical findings about human personality overshadow the role of socio-cultural factors and provide the basic foundation of social work professional training. As a matter of fact, it will be fair to say that most of the voluntary social welfare agencies in the United States

which are attempting to offer professional social work are essentially social casework agencies in practice.

The transmission and diffusion of American social work with its psychological frame of reference to other parts of the world have been fairly rapid. The four international surveys on training for social work published by the United Nations fully testify to this fact.³⁵ It is true that these surveys have emphasized the need for the development of a sociological perspective on social work and have recognized the importance of knowledge about the social, cultural, economic, governmental and legal framework of the community in the social work curriculum. But it is regrettable that even these surveys reflect considerable influence of the psychological frame of reference, with the result that there seems to be an imperceptible belief in the practice-oriented social work education as imparted in the United States. Moreover, these surveys, while admitting the existence of varied conceptions of social philosophy in different countries, have implicitly revealed their bias toward those social and political ideals which are held by American social work though they may not even be widely accepted in the American society itself. The cultural context of social work has received attention more as an article of faith, with meagre sociological analysis of the foundations and conceptions of social work in different societies. Again, these surveys, by and large, have made no attempt to examine the applicability of American social work methods in other societies and have instead accepted them as universal without much reservations. Even most of the American social work literature itself is replete with a basic assumption that its philosophical tenets, methods and skills are applicable to every culture.

³⁵United Nations, Training for Social Work, International Surveys, 1950, 1955, 1958, 1964.

American scholars have not yet presented a universal philosophy of social work nor have they demonstrated that the American model of social work education can meet the needs of such societies which have a different religio-philosophical orientation. When we attempt to analyze the philosophy of social work in any society, we find that it is related to something more basic which is called culture. It is the setting or framework of the cultural complex of a society which determines not only the conception of social work itself but its knowledge, skills and methods as well. Apart from the philosophical, social, economic, and political elements which dominate the cultural complex, social work is highly influenced by such factors as the type of welfare services available and the administrative structure of organizations providing welfare services. In this connection the First United Nations Survey rightly observed:

There appears to be some measure of agreement that the social worker should have an understanding of (a) the cultural political, social, economic forces affecting the lives of the people he serves and the social and economic problems that they face; (b) the legislation, services, and organizations created by the State and the community in order to promote social and economic well-being; (c) the patterns, both normal and abnormal, of the physical and psychological development of man; (d) the interaction of psychological and environmental factors in situations of cultural, social and economic stress; and (e) the

purposes, principles and methods of social work.

The need to develop Indian social work education on the cultural foundations of the Indian society thus becomes apparent.³⁶ It is from the culture itself that education should be created if it is to become meaningful. Culture embraces philosophy, religion and science as well as folklore and superstition, and it includes moral beliefs, standards of good and evil and those of right and wrong. As a matter of fact, every culture has its distinctive "way of life", which not only reflects the indigenous pattern on the explicit level alone, but on the implicit, half conscious, emotional and perhaps mythical level as well. Underlying this "way of life", every culture has a set of dominant values which exercises tremendous influence on all aspects of life. Education, too, is immersed in such values because it is always normative in character. All societies must cope with the task of transmitting their cultural traditions to the new generation and therefore develop formal educational institutions at different levels. These institutions and hence the education cannot become a social institution and an integral part of the culture if there is a wide divergence between the dominant religion-philosophical foundations and the basis of the educational system. In a society which is undergoing a rapid social change, education, in general, plays a vital role not only as a socializing process but as a dominant instrument to promote directed socio-cultural changes. In this context higher education, especially higher education in social work,

³⁶In recent years, several Indian social work educators have expressed somewhat similar views, but they have brought little change in the existing curriculum of the institutions for which they work. See K. D. Gangrade, "Conflicting Value Systems and Social Casework," *Indian Journal of Social Work* Jan. 1964, pp. 247-256; M. S. Gore, "Cultural Perspectives in Social Work in India," *International Social Work*, July, 1966, pp. 6-16. Also see Sindhu Phadke, "Values of Social Work and Cultural Impediments in their Acceptance and Practice," *Social Work Forum*, July, 1966, and K. Mukundarao, "Social Work in India: Indigenous Culture Bases and the Processes of Modernization," *International Social Work*, No. 3, pp. 29-39.

has to shoulder responsibilities of social statesmanship and to develop leadership, with commitment to social reform and social change. Social work education which maintains the traditional conceptions of working with individuals, groups and communities and which is primarily clinically oriented, facilitating and strengthening individual's capacity to cope with his problems, seems to have little relevance to Indian society and culture.

SOCIAL ADMINISTRATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Every educational system is exposed to a great variety of forces within the culture pattern of its society which determine its character and define the problems that the schools and universities must face. It is the cultural pattern with all its dimensions which determines the scope and direction of education. People who live differently think differently, perceive differently, believe in different values, adapt different ways to similar environment and find different solutions to the same problems. Hence, the cultural pattern of different societies differs, even though the form of government and the political ideals may be the same in all. Both anthropological and sociological studies have abundantly shown that each established group evolves a version of social life that is unique to itself, though all versions provide such basic arrangements as family, economy, religion, technology, health, education and welfare, and which have come to be called social institutions. The existing level of social and economic development and the nature of strategies and methods acceptable for the promotion of further advancement of this level seem to be the two fundamental factors which should influence the very conception of social work in every society. Some of the other factors which are rather implicit but underlie the strategies and methods of social

work relate to the general cultural beliefs, norms, values, attitudes and traditions built around different aspects of life. In a society where some of the basic problems of mass poverty loom large, where levels of health, education, housing, recreation and welfare are extremely low, where religio-philosophical beliefs and traditions are deeply rooted and where the political system is committed to promote industrialization and modernization through social and economic planning, conceptions of social work and social work education which have been formulated and nourished in Western countries, especially in the United States, have very little relevance.

In the context of Indian culture and society, we need to develop the social administration approach to social work. The scope and methodology of social administration are still ill-defined. But, broadly speaking, it has four major dimensions which may be described as: (a) administrative process, (b) community organization and development, (c) social research, and (d) social policy. The task of administering social welfare services, private or public, is concerned with the structuring of programmes, services and staff in such a way as to facilitate not only optimum efficiency and production of services but also the collective welfare of people in the society. As a matter of fact, the nature and objectives of social welfare organizations are different from other types of organizations, and hence they call for a different approach, though the managerial skills may not differ fundamentally from that of administrators in many other organizations. The demand for the organization and development of new social welfare services to meet the ever changing needs of people, especially in a society where directed social change has become a socially desirable goal, has to be taken into consideration in social administration. Moreover, in a society

where a large majority of people has little tradition of participation in the formulation of social welfare programmes, the elite group involved in social administration has a special responsibility to promote civic awareness about social problems and to enlist public cooperation from different sections of population. Social research provides the basic data not only on the effectiveness of services but also for such questions as why are they needed, why do they function in the way they do and what are their implications for the social, economic and political systems? Further, the very task of identification of needs and problems rests with social research, and the analysis of social institutions and of social change requires continuous study. Again, the subject of social policy must be considered as an integral part of social administration because social welfare services are no longer looked upon as an accidental growth. The development and establishment of statutory social welfare services have increasingly become important responsibilities of the State in every society and require a systematic formulation, planning and analysis in conjunction with the programming of economic development. The recent publications of the United Nations have also strongly emphasized the need for the integration of social and economic development programmes in the developing countries.

The need for the development of social administration approach to social work is further strengthened in view of the fact that the field of public administration, as developed under the British rule and which has continued without much modification till today, had little social orientation in the provision and administration of social welfare services. As a matter of fact, some of the basic social welfare services were lacking for a long time, and, whatever services were

established, their administration had rested heavily upon the nineteenth century British culture which was dominated by the classical school of economics on the one hand, and by the premises of colonial administration on the other. Moreover, the British approach to administration was not rooted in the cultural values of Indian society, and it did not promote any specific socio-economic goals for the betterment of levels of living in the country. Further, it has also neglected the development of democratic institutions at different levels of administration to enable local leadership participate in the planning, formulation, and administration of such programmes which affected the living conditions of people. The direction in which India has moved since the Independence, and is likely to continue in the years ahead, is reflected through her Constitution and the Five Year Plans. This direction has been reiterated in one of the publications of the United Nations as follows :

Enshrined in the constitution are the national objectives and tasks that the Indian people have set for themselves. The country is committed to evolving an integrated national community, a just social order and harmonious culture, assimilating the heritage of the past with the compulsions of the present. The underlying principle of the Indian Constitution is to enable people to attain, progressively higher levels of living made possible by developments in sciences and technology. It is also necessary to ensure that these developments are fully compatible with fundamental human values such as justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Directive Principles of State Policy underline the concept of social justice; prescribe that ownership and control of resources be so ordered as to promote the common

¹See R. M. Titmuss, "Social Administration in a Changing Society," in his *Essays on Welfare State* (London, 1960), David Marsh (ed.) *The Study of Social Administration* (London, 1965).

good; enjoin the recognition of the right to an adequate means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work; emphasize the need to ensure protection to childhood and youth against exploitation; and prescribe the responsibility of the State in providing

protection to all citizens against undeserved want. In short, it has been recognized that freedom of thought, expression, faith, and worship would lose its significance unless there was also freedom from want, fear and insecurity.³⁸