# PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

*by* L. MUKHERJEE, M.A., B.Ed., Ph.D.,

Holder of the Certificate of Education (Harvard) and of Certificate of Educational Measurements & Administration (U. S. Government, Washington) UNESCO Expert in Methodology of Educational Research at Sao Paulo, Brazil. Former Lucknow University Teacher, and at present U. G. C. Research Professor of Education, Lucknow.


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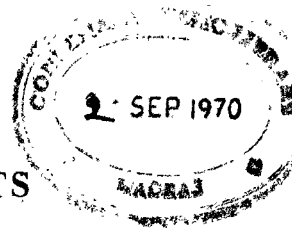


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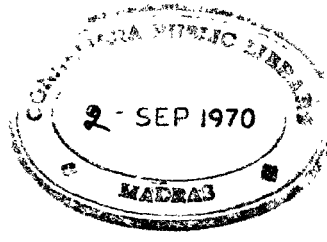

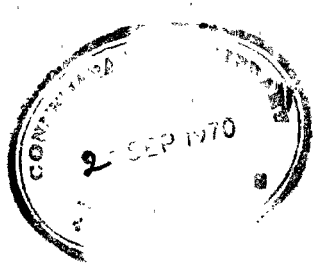
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# Preface to the First Edition

A study of the administrative machinery and an analysis of the basic problems of educational administration are needed by many. An administrator, of course, would need it, and very often within the narrow field of his speciality, he is unable to get a wider and over-all picture whose subtle influence affects his narrow field also. Without this wider perspective he will not be able to tackle his own problems successfully.

A senior student who wants to become a teacher or an administrator must get a preview of the total situation he has to face and the problems he has to tackle in future. An educationist who wants to be a reformer must locate the weak spots exactly, and must also know what possible resistances he may face to work out his schemes for reform.

A true picture of anything is seldom hundred percent complementary. When we hold a mirror before our own eyes, we often see a reflection of which no one but a confirmed narcissist would perhaps feel flattered. Yet these are the very defects we carry with us, and they are always clear to anyone who would care to look at us, except our own selves, and we should be thankful to the mirror to show us in time what we are, and help us to see a doctor or a plastic surgeon.

With that idea in view it has been the painful duty of the author to point out certain defects of long standing. They have all been treated as objectively as possible, tracing the historical facts that have been responsible for them. The author has also taken the liberty to suggest certain solutions himself or give publicity to certain solutions made by others, regarding some of these problems. This is particularly noticeable in the last chapter where most of the suggestions are the author's own. Yet the author has tried to trace the maladies as objectively as possible and lead them to their logical conclusions. Solutions have been given in several alternatives wherever that has been possible.

The author is indebted to the authorities whose references have proved helpful to his study, and the extent of help derived from each has been mentioned at the end of each chapter. The author here takes the opportunity to thank them all.

The author is also thankful for certain happy accidents in his rather versatile career which has helped him to study the problem.

(*i*) He has served the profession for twenty-seven years having had experience as a village primary school inspector, secondary school teacher, training college vice-principal and a university teacher for the last eight years.

(*ii*) His association with the editorial board of an educational journal of standing has made him acquainted with many facets of the problem.

(*iii*) His travels abroad to U.S.A., England, Scotland, Denmark, France, Nepal, Thailand, Burma, and Brazil gave him an opportunity not only of studying the educational problems of these lands, but also helped him to contact some of the leading educationists of these and other countries, who gave him an insight into some of these problems and the way in which these countries are tackling them.

(*iv*) His services in the Educational Reorganization Committees of State Teachers Association once in 1945 and then in 1958-59 (in State Government Committee for three years) and his services as a member of the Planning Committee of All India Federation of Educational Association in 1955 and in 1959 provided him a motive force and an opportunity to study the problem even more minutely.

(*v*) Chance conversations with his numerous friends in different parts of India, mainly during conferences and his participation in the deliberations of these conferences enriched his mental horizon and gave him a better perspective of many problems on an inter-State basis.

The book is thus the result of all these accidents; but the writing of this is not an accident. The author had, from a long time, thought of bringing out a book of this type which may prove helpful not only to students preparing for an examination, but also to a lover of education. If the book is able to meet the objectives even partially, it will more than repay the labours of the author.

*Department of Education*
*Lucknow University* L. MUKHERJEE
*July 1960*

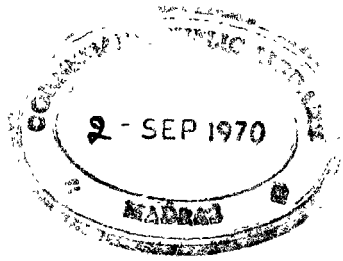
# Preface to the Second Edition

The first edition of this book was published about nine years ago and has been out of print for some time. The author is obliged to his many friends, the professors of education in different universities, who have written him encouraging letters. Many universities have recommended the book for the M.Ed. classes and finally the Division of Educational Administration, N.C.E.R.T., has recommended it as the standard book for M.Ed. students. Considering the limited number of students who offer administration for M.Ed., it may unhesitatingly be said that the book has been a good seller.

During the nine years many changes have been brought out by the two Five Year Plans (2nd and 3rd) and by the recommendations of the Kothari Commission. All the changes have been incorporated in this new edition bringing the book up to date.

The author thanks his friends and well wishers and hopes that the new edition will receive a better welcome than its predecessor.

*Mahanagar, Lucknow, 1969.* L. MUKHERJEE



# PART I. EVOLUTION OF OUR ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

## Chapter I

## Administration in Pre-British India

(*a*) *Importance of knowing our heritage.* In order to understand how education is being administered in India today, it is necessary for us to know how it has been administered in the past. What are the historical forces that have developed our present administrative set-up? If the present system shows certain anomalies or incongruities, if there are certain tensions or misgivings, perhaps its roots lie in the fact that either we were too much taken up with the forces of our heritage and as a result of it forgot to take account of the modern dynamic world, or that in a certain stage of our development we have not been able to translate our heritage properly which has created certain paradoxes. A study of administrative history would thus not only trace the gradual evolution of the present administrative set-up, but would at the same time show us how we should reform ourselves.

Indian educational organization has undergone certain basic changes in several well-set periods. The oldest system of our educational pattern was evolved in the *vedic* period, when we followed almost the same pattern as in all early civilizations of imparting instruction from father to son, at first orally and then the teachings were recorded in writing. It was at the end of this stage that teaching responsibility passed on from the father to a person who took up the responsibility—the teacher or instructor. It is from this *sutra* period that administration of education really starts. When Buddha preached his new religion, it caused a profound change and created a new organization for education as such. Thus the Buddhist system of administration of education became a new pattern altogether, and with the revival of Hinduism a third pattern evolved which was not entirely a carbon copy of the early Hindu pattern. Moslem invasion in India brought many changes not only in our political but also in our social organization, and the Moslem pattern of administration differed considerably from the patterns known earlier in certain respects. The fall of the Moslem empire brought with it certain changes. But through all these changes, as

we shall see, a certain basic pattern went on. It had its weakness as well as its strength. This became the heritage which the British changed later.

(b) *Educational administration of the ancient Hindus.* As has been said earlier, it was with the *sutra* period that educational administration of India as such really began. It is at this period that the responsibility for education of the young transferred itself from the father to the teacher, a class of persons who specialized in teaching the young. Again at this period the society was stratified into certain definite callings or professions, which soon became hereditary, and formed into the caste system. It was under the setting of this caste system that early Indian educational structure began. Caste being thus a sort of outgrowth of family life, the educational set-up naturally contained certain features as were common to the family life. Thus educational institutions were residential, where the child remained with the teacher as a member of the same family. The training was connected with the future way of life of the child, and therefore for Brahmins, the training was mainly connected with the teaching of *vedas* to which was added teaching of philosophy, which was intimately connected with theology. These could be studied only after certain basic groundings of language, grammar and logic. Kshatriyas were the warring class who were to be trained for being the rulers and defenders of the state. So, besides the basic course of language, grammar and logic as well as the *vedas*, they needed archery and civics (politics). Perhaps due to a common course that had to be followed by the two classes, that instruction for these two groups were almost similar, and were often imparted in the same institutions. Hindu genius was all in favour of giving the maximum amount of autonomy to the teachers, and therefore decided that there should be no interference of any outside body in the task of teaching. In order to make this independence a real thing and not a mere shadow, it was decided that the educational institutions should be fiscally autonomous also. This was ensured by a liberal grant of lands attached to the institutions of *ashramas* as they were called. The inmates of the *ashramas* had thus two duties to perform, to cultivate the land that was endowed, and grow enough food for supplying the needs of the inmates, and also to learn texts.

An autonomous organization like this placed a heavy responsibility on the teacher, who was required to maintain certain standards. Very often when the reputation of an *ashrama* grew, and a single teacher could not manage the whole affair, he took the help of assistant

teachers or *upadhayas*. But the responsibility for administration rested with the senior teacher or the *acharya*. To prevent a degeneration, and in order to maintain certain basic standards, a new method of control was evolved out of this system which had no outside control of any kind so far. This was done firstly through *charans*. As the ancient books were reduced to writing from the oral texts, there was always room for different interpretations cropping up, especially in those days when there was no printing press to standardize the records. Thus in course of time rose several orders which interpreted texts in their own way. Each *charan* consisted of a group which tried to interpret the text in its own way. In order to bring a more effective co-ordination, super-organizations called *parishads* were organized. *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* mentions the existence of at least two such *parishads* in the Upper Gangetic Valley alone, namely, the *kuru* and the *panchala parishads*. There were many more certainly. How the *parishads* actually controlled, is a matter of conjecture, and whether they were sort of federal universities giving instructions at a higher stage as some of the later educationists have guessed, or were periodically organized seminars and study circles giving opportunities for discussion and interpretation, has still to be found out. But one thing is certain, that they helped in standardization of instructions inside the *ashramas*. *Ashramas* were not always isolated; sometimes they evolved what may be called teachers' colonies. In these colonies naturally a certain amount of uniformity of instruction was maintained, and gradually the whole colony grew up into a sort of super-organization in which the most learned of the order of teachers acquired certain powers of control. That such colonies existed in Varanasi, Naimisharanya, Kanjiveram and at other places we have definite proofs. About Namisharanya we know that the whole organization became a well-knit body, forming what is known as a *mahasala*, under the control of a single leader called the *kulapati;* Datyatreya and later Sanuka were *kulapatis*, the latter is said to have, according to *Mundakopanishad*, as many as eighty thousand inmates under his control. If it be no exaggeration, it means the evolution of a residential university, the like of which the present world has yet to evolve.

We have discussed at length the organization of educational institutions for the Brahmans and of the Kshatriyas. The Vaishayas formed the merchant class which evolved renowned crafstmen who produced articles many of which became the early objects of export for trade. Consequently their education had to be more craft-centred. They did

not need much of academic instruction except the study of one text of *Veda* which was, it seems, given up later. Hence, here the instruction was carried on through a sort of apprentice system, where the learner resided in the house of an expert craftsman as an apprentice. Instruction was free, but the articles produced by the apprentice formed a ready market for sale. Consequently the educational centres did not need any state subsidy in the form of land grants. Sometimes the skill of trade was confined within a small family or sub-caste group called the *sreni* and this has been an unfortunate feature, for with the extinction of the small group, the skill was lost. But very often, the *srenis* were well organized and generated a sort of collective control or guild system which later formed the nucleus of what is known as the *panchayat* system of today, controlling not only the administration of the craft education, but the whole way of life of all members of the group. *Narada* and *Arthashastra* written by Kautilya show how this system of craft education was definitely controlled and regulated. Some of the crafts, like leather work, were considered too unclean for the Vaishyas to conduct and these were given to Sudras or the lower caste people. They imitated the *vaishya* organization of *panchayat* system of control.

From the above, we get a picture of administration of education in India in the ancient Hindu period except for two essentials: that some educated ladies like Maitrayee, Gargi, Vishwavara or Lilavati, did flourish in this period there are definite proofs, though we have yet to find convincing proofs of the organization of education of the women. As all these ladies were either wives or daughters of learned teachers themselves, they were probably taught by their educated husbands or fathers and it is just possible no organized sytem of education as such existed for women at this period. Anyway we have no definite proof one way or the other.

Another weak link is the evidence of the type of elementary education that was given and its manner. The institutions that we have mentioned were all residential ones, which could admit a child when he had attained a certain age. With the three higher castes, this admission to the educational course was preceded by an initiation ceremony which was not performed till he was at least nine years old. It is clear that before this period he had some elementary instruction in the three R's somewhere. We have yet to find definite proofs of the organization of these elementary schools, whether they formed a tutorial system like the Greek pedagogues, or community systems

like Roman *Ludi magisters* or were something altogether different from both. From the scanty evidence that is available, it seems that the early elementary schools of India were something like the *Ludi magister* system of Rome, where the local community employed a teacher and got the children instructed from five till the initiation ceremony.

(c) *Educational administration of the Buddhist.* Buddhism was evolved in India as a sort of proselytising religion making new converts, not by force but through teaching and persuasion. This needed preachers of both sexes who would not only be well educated themselves, but would be able to devote their whole time to teaching. This naturally necessitated their practising celibacy and living in monasteries or *viharas.* There were separate *viharas* for male and female preachers, *bhikshus* and *bhikshunis* as they were called. Being celibates themselves, they were under constant need for finding new recruits to maintain their order just like the Christian monks of medieval Europe. Thus in course of time these *viharas* became monasteries or residential centres of education for future monks. Some of them, it seems, grew out of a narrow religious atmosphere and began to give instruction, not only to monks but also to laymen, not only in a religious curriculum, but introduced certain secular subjects like Medicine, Chemistry, Toxology, Sculpture and Art. These later often expanded themselves into Buddhist universities.

Some hold that the earliest Buddhist university at Taxila existed even before the birth of Buddha, for there is a mention of this centre of learning in the *Ramayana.* Others hold that it is a mere later interpolation with which the early literature is sometimes made less trustworthy. Be that as it may, it is undeniable that this university did actually flourish in the early years of Buddhist period and admitted students who had some previous education at a local centre, and when they had attained the age of sixteen. It admitted not only the Buddhists but laymen as well and gave instruction in secular as well as in religious subjects. The university was residential, and a fee of a thousand gold coins was demanded of the scholars to defray their boarding expenses extending over several years. But this fee was sometimes postponed, and the students paid the same after they had entered life, sometimes the community paid for a certain student of their locality proceeding to Taxila, and sometimes fees were exempted altogether, if the scholar undertook to render some manual service in the university itself.

More definite information is available for later Buddhist universities like Nalanda and Vikramsila in Bihar,

Tamralipti in Bengal and Vallabhi in Gujurat. In all these universities there were both secular as well as religious courses, admitting monks as well as laymen, and sometimes Hindus of brahmanic faith as well. They were not only residential but free, being maintained out of grants of income from several villages which in the case of Nalanda University were as many as 134. This income met the basic needs of the inmates, teachers as well as the students, in food, clothing, medicines and books. These universities maintained definite standards and admitted students who could pass an admission test held by dwarapandits, which according to the Chinese traveller, Hieuen Tsang, was so severe at Nalanda that only a fifth of the aspirants were successful in getting through. From the account of Itsing, another Chinese traveller, it seems that besides the academic efficiency, there was also an age bar for Itsing himself, though successful, was not admitted till he was twenty, and had to pass the intervening period in a neighbouring *vihara*. This further proves that after the establishment of the universities, the *viharas* gave what may be called a sort of pre-university or secondary instruction. Nalanda University was fortunate in having a succession of eminent chief teachers or *sangharams* like Atish Dwipankar, Dharmapala, Gunamati and Sthirmati, and it seems that the chief teacher exercised control assisted by an order of senior teachers democratically elected out of 1,510 teachers who taught over 8,500 students in this university.

Thus the autonomy of the Buddhist universities, both administrative and fiscal, was fostered by a sort of democratic control of the teachers themselves. There is also some evidence of an outside control by the Buddhist order or *sanaha* which organized conferences to settle teaching and which transferred teachers from one university to another, though occasionally. Atish Dwipankar, was thus sent to Tibet there were more frequent exchange of teachers between Nalanda and Vikramsila and less frequently between Nalanda and Vallabhi.

The organization of the *viharas* was somewhat similar to the universities, being vested in the chief monk or *ther* assisted by a number of *uppajais* or senior monks. Since we do not have conclusive evidences for universities for female monks, it is probable that their education was limited to the secondary stage, that which was available in *viharas* for *bikshuhanis*.

The extent to which the *sangha* or Buddhist religious order as a whole controlled or co-ordinated the universities and secondary institutions, is not quite clear from the large

measure of internal autonomy that they enjoyed. But one thing is quite clear that when Buddhism was no longer the state religion in northern India, the universities did exist, thanks to the fiscal autonomy that was provided to them by the grant of revenue of villages. The absence of a central coordinating agency was, however, keenly felt, and each university seems to have gone in its own way. Nalanda, for instance, in later days developed a cult of art which was more sensual than sublime, and evolved a sort of mystic theological cult called the *tantras*. It was completely out of touch with the aims and aspirations of the people of the adjoining lands, and became an enclave held by a sort of an educational caucus. Thus when it was destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1197, it simply perished unwept, unhonoured and unsung. It had no vitality to revive again like some of the Hindu centres of learning of these days as Varanasi or Nabadwip, which were similarly sacked, but which soon recovered from the shock. From this indirect evidence, we may guess that in its heyday of glory the university derived its strength not only from its fiscal autonomy and a happy succession of teachers, but also from the powerful popular support which the mighty Buddhist *sangha* offered it.

(*d*) *Educational administration of the Hindus in the Buddhist and post-Buddhist period.* Even in the Buddhist period, the Hindu educational system of what may be called the brahmanic type co-existed. Buddhism was a state religion mainly in the north, and in the far south there were independent Hindu principalities which extended patronage to the local institutions which generally developed into teachers' colonies with munificent grants given to temples which not only received offerings from the devotees, but received revenues from endowed villages called *agrahara villages*. Thus a tendency of establishing temple colleges was established, and the curriculum generally narrowed down to teaching of religion.

In the north too, the brahmanic institutions, as they were called, sometimes enjoyed the earlier land grants and continued. They admitted only Hindus on a strict caste basis, and religious teaching was more prominent here. In the later Buddhist periods especially from the time of Harsha onwards, it seems that royal patronage was extended to the brahmanic institutions as well as to the Buddhist ones.

It was from the south that the banner of revolt against the Buddhists was unfurled. It was led by Kumaril Bhatta and by Sankaracharya. Sankaracharya was a great scholar himself and though he died quite early (said to be

at thirty-two), he did establish parallel monastic order of the Hindus to combat the Buddhist monastic system. He did not, however, combine education with preaching, and his monastic order was not given the responsibility to run an educational machinery beyond such religious teaching as the order itself needed for its supply of future recruits

It may be expected that with the revival of new Hinduism, the old educational system of brahmanic order was restored. It did so far as the number of institutions were concerned. But the co-ordinating agency of the *parishads* was absent. Autonomous institutions sprung up with liberal land grants. But the *parishads* were not revived. Probably the cause for this was the fact that rival religious subjects arose each of which was a semi-militant group. The *shaivas,* the *vaishnavas* and the Jains owed allegiance to rival deities, and any common platform for discussion would degenerate itself into narrow bickerings of rival faith. Indeed so they were when called on a smaller scale as a sort of study or discussion groups organized to mark some social functions like birth or death or marriage of some wealthy landlords which was utilitized to initiate a discussion of learned men of the locality.

The lack of a co-ordinating agency was keenly felt. There was nothing to maintain the standards. The original missionary zeal with which a certain religious institution was founded soon degenerated when mismanaged by a less worthy successor of the founder.

Thus the autonomy that was provided to the institutions instead of proving a boon, exerted aa sort of baneful influence inasmuch as a less efficient institution offered a lower grade of instruction. Also, by offering a lower standard of evaluation awarded the same title as the more efficient ones would do after a strenuous system of instruction and a difficult standard of evaluation.

The only ray of hope lay in certain teachers' colonies where a number of institutions co-existed, and which, though independent of each other, fostered a certain co-ordination and competition and maintained a certain standard. But these soon got isolated from each other, and each devoted itself to narrow curriculums studying a certain faith in its own way.

In this period the study of grammar seems to have received more attention than philosophy, while logic maintained almost its early position. Study of theology was narrow, being confined to the study of epics connected with a particular order of faith.

Mention should, however, be made that during the Buddhist period a sort of residential system for training of women must have probably evolved, as we find from *Malavikagnimitra* written by Kalidasa in which Malavika was being instructed in music and dancing, staying in the house of her guru, Vavarena. But apart from this single evidence there is no other instance of female institutions as such, and certainly with the disappearance of Buddhist *viharas* of the *bhikshunis*, there was nothing to replace the spread of female education in the new Hindu age.

Thus taken as a whole, the revival of Hinduism marked a rise of Hindu educational institutions lacking cohesion and solidarity, spread female illiteracy and narrowed down the curriculum for the boys' institutions. Instead of ushering a cultural renaissance, it thus marked a sort of decadent period which perhaps paved the way for an easy conquest by the Moslem invaders.

(*e*) *Educational administration of the Moslem period.* There was a difference between the manner in which state patronage was exercised in favour of educational institutions during the Hindu and Moslem periods. Land grants were given by Hindu princes personally, but the Moslem rulers appointed a special minister for this purpose who was called *sardar-us-sadur*. He was the minister of justice as well as the chief of the *ullehmas* or Moslem religious teachers. Historians like Jaffar feel that this was done by the slave rulers, the early sultans, simply to buy powerful support of Moslem *ullehmas* in favour of the royal throne especially because the slave kings being denied an aristocratic lineage had to depend on religious teachers for the support of their throne. Be that as it may, the practice of entrusting patronage of educational instiitutions to *sadar-us-sadur*, continued in the Slave, Khilji, Tughlak and Lodi dynasties and even in the Moghul period right up to at least the rule of Furrukh Sier as mentioned in *Seir Mutaqherin*. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, though Akbar tried to curtail the powers of *sadar-us-sadur*, he did not entirely abolish this office. There were just a few small gaps, one was during the reign of Balban, when it seems that this office was ineffective, another was during the reign of Alaudin Khilji, when in all probability this post was abolished. Perhaps during the reign of the Saiyeds also this post had no job to perform.

We thus find that during the Moslem rule of Delhi there was a definite bureaucratic organization to distribute patronage to educational institutions, though they merely extended this patronage only to Moslem institutions. These Moslem institutions were of two kinds, the elementary

schools were called the *mukhtabs* and the more advanced ones were *madrasas*. They were run by Moslem theologians, and hence religious teaching was compulsory. Some of the *madrasas*, however, taught some secular subjects as well, notably medicine. Education was free, and generally non-residential. The administrative function of the state, however, ended with the award of grants, which in most of the cases were land grants fetching an annual income for the maintenance of the institutions. This ensured permanence to the institutions no doubt, but there was no check against the deterioration of standards, when the institution was controlled by an unworthy successor of an eminent teacher who was the original recipient, for though awarded for the lifetime of a teacher, they were often continued. Moreover the institutions lacked cohesion and co-ordination, and therefore there was a great diversity in standards among the educational institutions at different places, for unlike the *parishads* of the early Hindu period, or the *sangha* of the Buddhist period, there was no centralizing agency. The state ceased to function, so to speak, once the endowment was granted. The order of Moslem *ullehmas* did not bother much about the quality of teaching available at the centres. It simply agitated for more centres being opened, so that more teachers might be employed. Probably it was partly due to the fact that proselytising activities were never conducted through persuasion and education, but the sword of Islamic rulers as well as the patronage of the royal courts available to converts did the job of getting new converts to the religion.

Be that as it may, a number of Moslem institutions were opened at various places under the patronage of the sultans of Delhi, and later on by the local autonomous rulers of the Bahamani empire of the states that emerged out of this empire, as well as by the rulers of Bengal, Jaunpur, Sindh and Kashmir in the early periiod, and under the patronage of the Nizam of Hydrabad, Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh at the end of the Moghul period. Of this, we have some evidence of a well-organized system of the spread of education by the Bahamanis, which seems to show that there was a definite State policy for opening more and more schools. As for the others, it seems that the whole thing was left to the caprice of the rulers; some enlightened rulers did open schools, while many of the successors did not do anything. Land once granted often continued, and the institutions once opened had some sort of permanence, but in the absence of any co-ordinating policy, there was neither any check against deteriorating standards, nor was any effort made to remove isolation.

The curriculum thus narrowed down to the study of elements of language, usually Arabic (though occasionally Persian) and the study of Quran. A few *mukhtabs* started teaching Urdu in the Moghul period and onwards.

As a rule the Moslems were not in favour of spreading education among the females beyond the elementary stage, though we find records of ladies of some of the royal courts being quite enlightened. Razia Begum during the early sultanate of Delhi, Gulshan Begam, Jehanara and Zebunnissa during the Moghul rule and Chand Bibi of Ahmednagar were educated not only in letters and arts, but in politics as well. How they were educated it is sometimes open to conjecture, but others it is clear were educated by enlightened tutors within the palace itself. In Fatehpur Sikri and in Ahmednagar there were special sites for schools for ladies within the *Harem*.

Moslem rulers were generally hostile to the spread of education through Hindu institutions, though their hostility was more manifest in the destruction of Hindu temples and the institutions attached to them. According to *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, *Nalanda* was destroyed, being mistaken for a fort. Occasionally some enlightened rulers, especially Zainul Abdeen of Kashmir in the thirteenth century and Akbar in the sixteenth century, did patronize the opening of Hindu institutions, and rulers like Feroz Shah Tughlak opened a bureau for translation of Sanskrit texts into Persian, a practice which was later followed by Akbar. But on the whole it can be said that the attitude of Moslem rulers to the Hindu educational institutions was generally apathetic rather than hostile unless they happened to be attached to the temples. This thus reduced the number of temple colleges in the areas under Moslem rule, and favoured opening teachers' colonies imparting a sort of more mundane type of education, especially in northern India. These were generally opened in such areas where there were wealthy Hindus to patronize them, either through land grants or through well-settled grants paid on the occasion of social ceremonies or annual religious festivals. Three such centres in the north are noted, namely, Varanasi, Mithila and Nawadwip. A few smaller centres at Kanauj, Muttra, Vikrampur and others also existed. These generally throve when the grip of the Moslem rule was weakened, due to internecine quarrels. The local colonies tried to maintain some standards, but were isolated, and as such very often mutual jealousies between two centres persisted. Some of the centres like Mithila were so parochial in their outlook as to prevent scholars from taking away notes of the lessons they learnt (beyond what

they could remember by heart) lest these scholars might open rival centres in their own places and threaten the supremacy of Mithila as a centre of learning. It is natural that under this atmosphere of suspicion, the production of creative literature was very much hampered, and more attention was paid to retain what was supposed to be the heritage rather than to improve upon them. Commentaries and compilations rather than original works evolved at this period.

In the far south, the land was free from Moslem invasions and hence temple colleges throve not only in Kanjiveram, Madura and other places, but also in the regions less accessible to Moslems like Tirupati and Dharwar. But these also suffered from a lack of cohesion and co-ordination even during the enlightened rule of some of the rulers of Vijaynagar empire, probably because some of these became citadels of rival faiths, *shaivas* and *vaishnavas*, and were engaged in mutual opposition.

Early marriage became a custom among the Hindus, probably to prevent forcible marriage of Hindu virgins by the Moslem officers, and this naturally affected female education, which thus became almost nil for Hindu women under Moslem rule.

With the fall of the Moghul empire, two powerful non-Moslem administrations arose. One was that of the Sikhs in the north and the other was that of the Marhattas in the south. The former like the Rajputs in the earlier period consisted of warlike tribes, united only once under Ranjit Singh, and were so much occupied with warfares as to devote no attention towards the spread of education.

The Marhattas, on the other hand, were different. Though illiterate himself, Shivaji did realize the value of education, and made one of his ministers responsible for the award of annual subsidies in the shape of *dakshina* grants. This was a departure from the older methods of land endowment made by either the Hindus or the Moslems. To a certain extent it was necessitated by the conditions of Marhatta State, where good cultivable lands were always in demand to feed the Marhatta soldiers. Consequently they could not be blocked by being given over to educational institutions. It also suited the variable finances of the warring Marhattas, for they could adjust the amount of grant that was available. But besides this, it had one good point in support of it. It provided a means of annual assessment of the efficiency of the institutions.

Though we know very little about the immediate successors of Shivaji, it is definite that Peshwas who be-

came the ultimate successor of the vast Marhatta power, did continue the practice, and organized annual conferences whereby the grants were disbursed according to the ability of the participants. When Baji Rao II was deposed the amount of money disbursed as grants through the Poona ministry was something like two and a half lakhs in Indian currency.

Thus at the end of the Moslem rule we find that though educational institutions existed at various places, they lacked both cohesion and co-ordination with varying standards, for they were all assured of fixed grant mostly through the income from endowed lands. This was true both of Hindu and Moslem institutions. Within the Marhatta empire alone some sort of efficiency was maintained through *dakshina* grants which were liable to vary. Corruption, intrigues and nepotism, however, affected their proper and equitable disbursement, and it was not always that consideration of justice alone settled the amount of grants that were paid.

(*f*) *Summary.* In studying the pre-British structure of administration, we find certain common features which need to be noted.

(1) There was always an effort to impart free education. This not only enhanced the prestige of the teacher, but at the same time made the learner feel his obligation to the community as a whole, and the state which bore the expense of this education. The 1,000 coin fee charged at Taxila was an exception ; but it was mainly spent for defraying the expenses of the boarding, and it was sometimes paid by the community as a whole, and sometimes paid in the form of personal service rendered by the learner. General rule of free tuition was followed both in the Hindu and in Moslem institutions ; the learner, if he paid any fee at all, did so in the form of *guru dakshina* at the end of his studies.

(2) In Hindu and Buddhist educational centres instruction was given in residential institutions and the expenses of boarding too was not charged. The learners, however, worked in the fields attached to the institutions and grew the food they consumed. The Moslem institutions were mostly non-residential and as such the land maintained the teacher only.

(3) Religion generally formed an important subject in the curriculum.

(4) There was plenty of autonomy given to the teacher to devise his curriculum, and to base his instructions therein. The final evaluation of the pupil was also done by the teacher himself.

(5) In order to maintain the autonomy, the schools were given a certain amount of fiscal autonomy by liberal land grants. This had its advantage as well as its disadvantage. On the one hand, it made the schools independent and ensured a sort of perpetuity, on the other hand, there was nothing to check deterioration of standards in the hands of a less worthy successor, whose attainments were below the standard of the original recipient of the grants. The standards thus differed from institution to institution.

(6) Co-ordination was maintained during the early days, through the centralizing force of *parishads* and Buddhist *sanghas* controlling the universities, but they disappeared later on.

(7) Certain standards were, however, maintained in teachers' colonies, which existed in later Hindu and in the Moslem periods, but these themselves were isolated local centres, and had very little contact between each other. Education under the system became more conservative rather than creative.

(8) The Moslem institution of *sadar-us-sudur* as an office to give grants to the schools, had chances to develop into a strong centralizing force, but this was missed for the state was afraid to interfere in the work of the religious divines or *ullehmas*. It was therefore thought expedient to oblige as many as possible with a liberal award of grant without attaching any conditions for their efficiency in future.

(9) Shivaji's system of *dokshina* grant was originally devised as a measure of political expediency, but this was the only exception to this rule, for it provided a means of annual assessment of efficiency. Corruption and nepotism, however, soon spoilt the efficacy of this system, and grants at the time of later Peshwas were based more on the grounds of expediency rather than efficiency.

(10) Taken as a whole, the arrangements for education for women lagged much behind those for men. As regards early Hindu period, though we hear the names of certain educated ladies, we get no authoritative proof for an organized effort for female education. In the Buddhist period, from so far as evidence is available, it seems that a sort of secondary education was available to ladies, but in all probability it was mostly confined to those who would later renounce the world and enter the religious order. In the later Hindu period, even this facility it seems disappeared. In the Moslem period, the Moslems generally were hostile to female literacy and except for a handful of ladies in court who were in all probability taught by

private tutors, there was no effort for education of the women. Hindus began the custom of marrying their daughters early, and early marriage prevented whatever facilities there were for female education.

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# Chapter II

## Educational Administration During British Period

(a) *British traditions of educational administration in the 18th and 19th centuries.* The tradition of educational administration in the British Isles, especially in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been the policy of non-interference commonly known as the *laissez faire* policy.

This started from the Tudor period when the monasteries of the Catholic Church were suppressed under the orders of Henry VIII and no parallel system evolved to replace it. Education was merely a parental concern, and the quality of instruction that a child got was determined mainly by the amount the parent was willing to spend. Thus evolved several types of education. The more well-to-do could afford to send their children to residential schools called public schools followed by the higher education available at the two residential universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The comparatively less well-to-do could send their children to non-residential grammar schools which charged less fees and which also prepared for entrance into the residential universities though very few succeeded in doing so. For the masses, no provisions were made except as were available in cheap Dame schools and day schools which served more to keep children detained, than to help the children receive adequate instructions even in the three R's.

All schools were administered internally, there being no external control. Public schools had their own governing bodies, while Grammar schools were either private properties of the head masters or were under the control of certain religious organizations. Admission requirements of the universities prescribed certain standards, and that alone provided some uniformity.

It was only when factory laws were passed, prohibiting child labour in the early nineteenth century, that some concern was felt to keep the children busy through educational institutions; and after many preliminary experiments, first with the monitorial system and then with pupil teacher system that the present structure on education in England finally evolved.

We are apt to forget that the first state grant that was given in England was in 1832, twenty years after it was contemplated in India. The system of inspection started only in the seventies of the nineteenth century, and school boards were started later and it was only in 1902 that they were organized into local educational authorities.

Thus the British tradition that was available in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the policy of non-interference in educational administration and a policy of making parents pay for the education of their children. The quality of instruction offered depended directly on the amount that the parents themselves paid for the education. The latter was diametrically opposed to Indian traditions, and when this was grafted into India, it resulted not only in creating a large diversity in the quality, by reducing education as a vendible commodity, but it also removed whatever little interest the general public in India would have shown, had these schools been maintained entirely out of public funds.

(*b*) *Educational policy of the East India Company.* For nearly two centuries of its existence, the East India Company showed very little interest in the spread of education in India. Whatever effort was made to spread western culture in India was done through the Christian missionary organizations, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British. Fired with a proselytising zeal, they used these educational centres as channels for religious conversion, and perhaps due to this, they could not be popular among the masses in general, though a small section of the community took advantage of the facilities so offered. The officials of the East India Company did not always like these efforts on the part of the missionaries, but that did not persuade them to open rival institutions of their own.

Prior to 1772, there were only three institutions maintained by the East India Company, and these were concerned with imparting education to Eurasian children of the Company's officers, some of whom had Indian concubines. Fort William College, opened in Calcutta soon after 1772, was meant to give education in Indian languages and customs to the new European recruits of the Company. The Calcutta *madrasa* and the Sanskrit college opened first in Benares and later also in Calcutta were designed to provide competent Indian assistants for judicial service. Thus prior to 1813 there was no effort on the part of the East India Company to look into the general education of its subjects. and even later the administrative considerations seem to have influenced their policies greatly.

Through the efforts of a retired official, Grant, and a Bishop, Wilberforce, the British Parliament, while renewing the Charter in 1813, stipulated a condition that a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 100,000 according to the rate of exchange then prevailing) should be spent towards the spread of education in India. For the first ten years, from what it seems, very little was done to spend the amount, though a few institutions received some token grants. From 1822 a controversy started as to what policy should be followed in the award of this grant.

Munro in Madras and Elphinstone in Bombay favoured patronizing institutions giving instruction through modern Indian languages, but the two governors differed in the type of institutions to be helped. While Munro was in favour of opening schools directly under government control, Elphinstone favoured the policy of giving assistance to non-government institutions also. Princep in Bengal was in favour of granting aids to institutions giving instruction in classical languages. A section of British officials were, however, more inclined towards opening English schools, for it was likely to solve the problem of getting more efficient subordinates from among the Indians. A section of Indians headed by Raja Ram Mohan Roy seemed to favour it, partly because of the freedom that this policy would ensure from the proselytising influences of the schools run by the Christian missions, the common type of institutions that offered instruction in English.

The policy was set at rest by Lord Bentinck in 1835 when he declared that the state assistance towards spread of education would be confined to English schools only, and that all the money to be granted would be spent in opening such institutions. This policy was the result of several factors:

(1) Administrative necessity of getting English knowing clerks.

(2) Influence of Macaulay who had an aversion to all Indian or eastern culture, and he was not only the law member, but the president of the Council of Education.

(3) Influence of politicians like Trevellyan who wanted to create a class of an English-knowing minority isolated from the masses and attached to the English, just as the Romans tried to Romanize the provincials of Gaul or Britain, in first century A. D.

Whatever might have been the original motives, the practical considerations of getting educated assistants

seemed to have outweighed all other motives of opening English schools, for very soon a machinery was set up to assess the finished product. Within 10 years, by 1845, the General Council of Education was actively considering how to set up an effective evaluative machinery, and two sets of examinations, senior and junior were proposed. This involved opening two types of institutions, the schools preparing for the junior examination and the colleges preparing for senior examinations. By 1855 the government had opened 15 colleges and 169 high schools all over India, besides 9 colleges and a number of high schools opened by various missionary agencies. There were a few high schools under Indian management also.

In 1854 Mr. Charles Wood, the then president of the Board of Controls, suggested that the government efforts should better be directed towards subsidizing schools under private management rather than opening new schools of their own. But before anything was done in this direction, the first step that was taken was to perfect the evaluative machinery, by opening three universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. These universities unlike those at Oxford and Cambridge or the Universities of Scotland had no teaching responsibilities, but resembled rather the London University and were purely examining bodies. It was an historical necessity, namely, the dissension between the secular and religious bodies at London that caused the opening of the London University, as has been shown in the author's *Comparative Education*. No such conditions weighed in the minds of the organizers of the Indian universities. They suggested the opening of examining universities before teaching universities, simply because they were more concerned with the finished product rather than the process of education. The consequence of such a policy has been that examination requirements dominated the curriculum, and teaching methods were subordinated to them. As the medium of expression was a foreign language, in which the examinees lacked the natural mode of expression, the system encouraged cramming, so that set passages could be reproduced in a presentable manner, and it did not matter very much whether the students really understood what they wrote. We have already seen that the force of circumstances since the Buddhist period made Indian schools more reproductive rather than creative, and this system simply added to the general deterioration of intellect by making cramming, sometimes unintelligent cramming, the only device to attain success. If by extending new horizons of education, by throwing the gates of western culture open, it was possible that a new humanistic era could have been ushered thereby, its effect was

very much hampered by changing humanism into formalism very soon.

(b) *Progress of education in the Victorian age.* In 1858 the British Crown assumed the direct responsibility for education in India, and a secretary of State of the cabinet rank replaced the president of the Board of Control as well as the directorate of the East India Company. Soon after this change of power, Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, issued a memorandum. This memorandum supported the view of Wood's Despatch inasmuch as the policy of assisting non-government institutions was concerned. It did not, however, discourage opening government institutions. There was just a mention of assisting the spread of vernacular education through elementary schools.

Need was by now felt for having a whole-time officer looking after education in every province, and so directors of Public Instruction were appointed by this time, but they were attached to the Home Department. The principles underlying government grants were soon formulated. In fact they preceded the publication of the memorandum. In Bengal, Madras and N. W. P. (as a large part of U. P. was then called) it has been stated that grants would be given only to such institutions as were levying some fees on the students, and should in no case exceed half the deficit needed to defray the cost. The underlying idea seems to have been that this would make some local contribution inevitable.

These conditions made it difficult for many Indian institutions, poorly endowed as they were, to qualify for the grants, and the early beneficiaries of this system were mostly the mission schools and colleges, especially in Bombay, C. P., Punjab and N. W. P. Within twenty-four years, the number of colleges under missionary organizations were increased from nine to eighteen, while the number of colleges under Indian management were only five, and that too in Bengal and Bombay.

The province-wise statistics of non-government high schools and the amount of grants that they received in 1882, will show how the grant-in-aid system benefited the missionary institutions rather than others, at least in early years.

TABLE I

**Comparative Statement of Private Indian and Christian Mission Schools, 1882**

| Provinces | Schools under Indian management No. | Amount of grant Annually | Schools under the missions No. | Amount of grant Annually |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Bengal .. | 542 | 1,98,911 | 23 | 16,420 |
| Bombay .. | 13 | 14,563 | 40 | 37,343 |
| N.W.P. (U.P.) .. | 17 | 18,643 | 104 | 74,571 |
| Madras .. | 698 | 88,248 | 418 | 85,289 |
| Assam .. | 25 | 10,771 | 45 | 16,657 |
| C. P. .. | 4 | 4,053 | 9 | 11,126 |
| Punjab .. | 2 | 1,522 | 118 | 51,472 |
| Whole of India .. | 1,301 | 3,36,711 | 757 | 2,92,878 |

On an average each school under Indian management thus received a grant to the extent of rupees 259, while a missionary school got one and a half times the amount, namely, rupees 387 annually.

By 1882 a new university was opened in the Punjab and it was also an examining university. The total number of colleges had by then increased to 68, 38 of which were run by the Government, 18, were under the Christian missions, 5 were under Indian management and the remaining 7 were situated within the state under Indian princes.

In 1882, the Government appointed a commission of 21 members, under the chairmanship of Mr. Hunter to enquire into the condition of secondary education in India. This commission recommended that instead of opening more schools under government management, it should be the policy of the government to divert the money towards encouragement of privately managed non-government institutions being opened. It is a question indeed to speculate how far was this finding influenced by a circular issued by the Home Department of the Government of India which not only expressed the inability on the part of the government, to meet the requirements of expansion of primary education, but also the desire to offer incentives in the field of private managements to come forward to open new institutions in the field of secondary education. These instructions appear on pages 2 and 3 of the report. Be that as it may, the recommendations of the commission were :

(1) In the field of secondary education, the government policy should be to assist privately managed

institutions by a more liberal system of grant-in-aid.

(2) Secondary schools should be encouraged to charge fees.

(3) More liberal grants should be given for women's education and for industrial and technical education.

The result of the first policy was that more non-government high schools were opened, and the existing schools had greater enrolment than before. Within twenty years, by 1902, the number of non-government institutions increased by 33 per cent, totalling to 5124 from 3916, but the enrolment was 214,077, in 1902 it was 590,129. Further most of these new schools were under Indian management, more secular in character rather than ones opened under the Christian missions. But these institutions had very little financial backing of their own, and the extra expenditure inasmuch as they could not be met with increased grants, were offset by reducing the pay scales of teachers, with the result that teachers of non-government schools were more poorly paid than those in government schools.

The commission did not suggest any change in the medium of instruction which continued to be English, and thus the method of cramming resorted to earlier continued, and examinations continued to dominate teaching methods.

Certain changes introduced before this commission published its report continued. One was the policy of giving some assistance to the elementary schools which were also supported by a system of grant-in-aid. How much did this amount to in 1881 as shown in Table II.

TABLE II

**Comparative Financial Account of Primary Schools in 1881**

| Provinces | Government contribution | Local bodies | Donation |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Bengal .. .. | 5,97,000 | 13,000 | 4,45,000 |
| Bombay .. .. | 3,46,000 | 1,81,000 | 63,000 |
| N. W. P. (U. P.) .. .. | 2,16,000 | 5,44,000 | 84,000 |
| Madras .. .. | 1,68,000 | 5,02,000 | 2,81,000 |
| Assam .. .. | 24,000 | 57,000 | 20,000 |
| C. P. & Berar .. .. | 2,25,000 | 2,33,000 | 34,000 |
| Punjab .. .. | 97,000 | 3,45,000 | 84,000 |
| Whole India .. .. | 1,673,000 | 1,875,000 | 1,011,000 |

Another great change was the appointment of inspectors; this was not done simultaneously in all provinces. It was necessary that certain field officers should be appointed to visit the schools, and see for themselves the quality of instruction that was being offered, and the manner in which the public money given in the shape of assistance was being utilized. From these points of view this was perhaps justified. Yet the system produced two great evils in the Indian atmosphere.

The inspectors in India, like their counterparts in England in those days, were obsessed with the idea of "payment by result" policy, and to a certain extent this obsession continues in India even today though it has been given up in England. The inherent defect of this policy is that it encourages a sort of window-dressing and got-up show. To a certain extent it also encourages artificial stimulation of results in the public examinations through an elaborate process of cramming, guess papers and other more objectionable devices. All these appeared in the Indian schools, and this further deteriorated the healthy and beneficial effects that spread of education should have otherwise ensured.

Perhaps the very name "inspector" was rather unfortunate. It has a rather unhappy association with police inspectors out to trace a criminal. Perhaps in England where a policeman is looked upon as a friend and servant of the people, this connotation did not have so baneful an influence as it had in India, where the police was an agency of an alien administration, often tyrannical and exacting. The result of all this was a system of hide and seek game between teachers and inspectors, instead of a free exposition of problems with a view to finding a healthy solution thereof. The teacher tried to hide his difficulty, and it was the inspector's job to outwit him. The process of this hide and seek game was not hidden from the student, who lost whatever little respect he had either for the system of education or for the teacher or inspecting authorities.

While education in the schools thus deteriorated, it may be supposed that perhaps college education was free from this evil. But there too cramming continued, because the mode of expression was a foreign language and this discouraged the evolution of suitable text-books for higher education in Indian languages. This further encouraged cramming, and students concentrating on those portions of their study as were likely to be asked in an examination and neglecting all other portions. Thus as the number of colleges increased from 68 to 179 (including 9 in Ceylon,

2 in Burma and 32 in Indian states) of which 136 were in British India, the spread of education was quantitative rather than qualitative.

At this time five universities were functioning, for besides the three original universities and the University of Punjab, a fifth was opened at Allahabad in 1887. But all of these were examining bodies, and examination was supposed to be the sole function of the universities. This made education more reproductive rather than creative, and it is no wonder therefore that research work of any kind was almost absent in the period. If a few men like the late Sir J. C. Bose conducted some research, it may be said that their achievement was in spite of the system rather than because of it

(*d*) *Educational administration from 1901 to 1921.* The period between 1901 to 1947 marks an era of two policies of the government which may sometimes appear as contradictory and yet was consequential. The first was an effort of checking the growing spirit of nationalism. True, by spreading the English language, a class of people had been created who were completely different in their outlook from the masses, as Trevellyan had anticipated in 1835, yet this proved a blessing in another way. Divided by language barriers, there was no unity in the thoughts and outlook of people of different provinces in India, and the spread of English created a class of English-knowing persons who started agitating for self-government and reforms in every walk of life, political, economic and educational. The agitation started from the sixties of the nineteenth century, but after the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the local agitation took the shape of all-India agitation. So long as this agitation remained non-violent, perhaps appeasement in the shape of progressive reforms would have served the purpose, but the Plague Administration Agitation of Bombay and the Partition Agitation of Bengal turned many to the channels of violence, and two camps were formed, one extremists and the other moderates. It became the policy of the government to curb the extremists and to appease the moderates

It is this that marks two opposing tendencies of the government. On the one hand, they wanted to give more powers to their trusted officials, the directors and inspectors, with a view to curb the growing spirit of nationalism in the schools, and also looked with suspicion to any efforts at extension of educational facilities, for it was this that brought about a fermenting agitation. On the other hand, they were willing to offer concessions by way of reform in the contents of education so long as these reforms would

not interfere with their policy of administering discipline, which in the context of the situation then prevailing was synonymous with the process of curbing the growing spirit of nationalism.

In 1902 the first commission to look into university education formed under the chairmanship of Raleigh suggested two things. On the one hand, it increased the power of government interference by limiting the size of senates, and by increasing the number of nominated members by making the tenure of the fellows limited to a specified number of years; on the other, it suggested that the universities should undertake some teaching functions also, instead of remaining mere examining bodies. It also provided periodic inspection of affiliated colleges so that a college once registered could be disaffiliated, either when its standards of instruction deteriorated, or when the activities of its staff or student body were objectionable. The affiliations were to be made on the recommendation of a committee in which the Director of Public Instruction should be an important member. Similar powers for affiliation of high schools were delegated to government officials, the inspectors, who could also recommend a certain school to be disaffiliated.

The tendency to concentrate powers in the hands of trusted government officials, the director and the inspectors continued throughout the period. Scholars' registers introduced in 1904 were mainly motivated with the idea of preventing a boy who proved undesirable in one school being admitted into another, and the main criterion of undesirable and desirable conduct was the part played by the student in some political agitation. From 1904 onwards the government seemed to pay more attention to primary education, as is apparent from a resolution adopted by the Home Department that year, and endorsed by the Education Department that soon took up the functions of the Home Department so far as education is concerned. Yet in 1911 when the late G. K. Gokhale proposed to extend the facilities of primary education by suggesting that the government should bear two-thirds of the cost of introducing compulsory education in those municipalities as were willing to try this experiment, the government members of the legislature opposed it and defeated the bill.

In order to tighten their control, executive officers like district magistrates were given the right to visit educational institutions in Bengal. This was in keeping with the policy of holding a tighter control over educational institutions.

In 1917 a commission was appointed under the chair-

manship of Sir Michel Sadler to enquire into the conditions of Calcutta University, which it was alleged had become too unwieldy to manage. The terms of reference of Sadler Commission were later extended to suggest reforms for higher education in other universities as well. One reason for appointment of this commission, it seems was to curtail whatever hold the universities had over the schools by taking away from them the control of school education and to entrust the task of evaluation and examination of high school and intermediate education to newly appointed boards. Sadler Commission, however, suggested that the universities should transform themselves into residential and teaching units confining themselves with the degree and post-graduate courses and undertake research work, while the task of administration of the intermediate and high school examinations should be entrusted to autonomous boards which would control both the high schools and newly formed intermediate colleges. The commission, however, suggested that the boards would consist of representaatives of the universities, government departments of education as well as of schools and colleges. Their powers would not be limited to mere prescribing of courses and of conducting examinations, but the inspectorate should be made subordinate to the boards which would determine the grants that would be paid. The commission suggested a whole-time chairman and a whole-time secretary for each board, the former being a non-official.

If the recommendations of the commission had been accepted in toto, they would have at least ensured some co-ordination and centralization, which the earlier practice had denied. So long as evaluation was being done by the universities, which prescribed the standards of instruction through examinations they conducted, and actual administration and financial control rested with the inspectors and directors, there was no co-ordination. If the boards could control the inspectors and decide the amount of grants to be paid, the boards would have become effective co-ordinating agencies. But this the government did not approve. They kept the financial strings and administrative control under their own hands, and the boards were merely to supplement the function hitherto performed by the universities, and appeared as if designed to reduce the importance of the universities; and by making the office of the chairman sinecure with the director of Public Instruction who was vested with wide emergency powers, it seemed to officialize the evaluating machinery. No wonder therefore the Calcutta University for which the commission was appointed did not accept the changes, and only transformed itself into a teaching unit so far as post-

graduate and research work was concerned, and the entire structure of the undergraduate studies was left as it was. Bombay, Madras and Punjab Universities did not consider the scheme worth-while at all. So did the newly formed Patna University. Two other new universities, Benares and Aligarh, though unwilling to give up the function of examining the high school and intermediate education, introduced the residential and teaching functions at the degree and higher levels. Only the Allahabad University accepted the scheme, and it was also introduced in the newly formed Dacca University. As a result of Allahabad University's acceptance of the scheme, another residential university had to be started at Lucknow. Later the colleges affiliated to Allahabad University in U. P. and C. P. were regrouped by the formation of two affiliating and examining universities at Agra and Nagpur. As the work of the U. P. Board was extensive, comprising U. P., C. P. and Rajputana, a separate and autonomous board was later established at Ajmer and the control of examinations in C. P. was also taken away from this board. When new universities were established at Mysore and Delhi and later in Andhra and Annamalai, they did not entirely accept the Sadler plan, but introduced certain modifications.

Thus the Sadler plan, accepted as it was with modifications, failed to produce that co-ordination which would have otherwise ensured, if no political considerations stood in its way to increase the official powers.

So far as the university education is concerned, the scheme had one useful feature to commend itself, it introduced teaching and research as functions of the universities (even Bombay, Madras, Punjab and Patna had to open research departments). But as most of the universities (except the residential universities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Dacca) retained some purely examining features in their fold, teaching and research became subordinate to examining work which was still considered to be the main function of the universities. Even in purely residential universities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Dacca due to force of opinion of other universities, examination still remained the most important function, and teaching and research were considered at best allied and subordinate functions. Perhaps this was partly due to the fact that at least fifty per cent of the examiners were external which meant that not all the teachers were entrusted with the examination work. Evaluation was kept remunerative and even for those teachers themselves, who were appointed examiners, teaching and evaluation became two distinct

jobs performed at different times apparently with different ends.

(e) *Educational administration from 1921 to 1947.* With the passing of Montague-Chelmsford reforms implemented in 1921, the power to control education was transferred to the provinces. Though it was administered by ministers responsible to the legislature, yet the ministers themselves did not have fiscal autonomy, the Finance Department was still administered by a government official, usually a European civil servant, and the director of education as well as his assistants were not under the complete control of the minister of education. Even with this limited power and authority it is clear much improvement was affected within sixteen years that the diarchy functioned as the table would show.

TABLE III

**Comparative Statement af Primary and Secondary Schools 1921-37**

| Type of education | Condition in 1921 | | Condition in 1937 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of schools | Enrolment | No. of schools | Enrolment |
| Secondary Schools | 7,530 | 1,106,803 | 13,056 | 2,287,872 |
| Primary schools | 1,55,017 | 6,109,752 | 1,92,244 | 10,224,228 |

Compulsion was introduced in certain experimental areas except Bengal and Assam. Most of the areas were small, and it was easy to escape its provision by migrating into contiguous areas. Except the Punjab which had 1499 of 1571 rural and 57 of 114 urban areas, other provinces, Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P. and Bihar had only 72 rural and 57 urban areas all put together and the experiment was foredoomed to failure.

With the delegation of control to provincial bodies, the Central Government ceased to take much interest in education and as the Hartog Committee appointed in 1929 remarked, the policy of decentralization was not an unmixed blessing, for it created provincial and communal bitterness. The revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education, closed in 1923, as suggested by the committee was given effect to only in 1935. This and inter-universities board formed in 1924 remained at best as advisory bodies without any effective power for control.

By 1935, unemployment became so great a problem as to attract the attention of the government, who first appointed a committee under Sir T. B. Sapru and later appointed a commission consisting of two experts, Messrs. Wood and Abbot, published a report which is known as the Wood-Abbot Report of 1935. This report suggested that physical activity should be the centre of instruction at the elementary stage, and a vocational bias should be given to secondary education to open up more avenues of employment other than mere academic and administrative jobs to which the existing system of education was suited. The report did not however, plan any organization, and did not suggest any well-set way to implement these recommendations.

In 1937 the first non-official scheme for educational reform was envisaged at Wardha under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi by a committee of experts headed by Dr. Zakir Hussain. This is known as the Wardha scheme for basic education. The Wardha scheme envisaged a seven-year plan of instruction through the mother tongue of the child. A craft useful to be undertaken for vocational purposes was at the centre of the scheme forming the core subject. All subjects like mathematics, science and social studies (integrated studies of history, geography and civics, as well as literature were to be correlated with craft. Hindustani as a compulsory subject was to begin from class IV. The products made in the school would be sold in the market, by which the schools would be self-sufficient, independent of the government grants and the political strings attached to them.

With the Congress party assuming the responsibility for forming ministries in eight out of eleven provinces in 1937, it was hoped that the scheme would be experimented. But the ministries were short-lived, and even the U. P. government which appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the late Acharya Narendra Deva could not publish a report before the ministries were out of office in 1939. The report of the First Narendra Deva Committee (as it is now called) envisaged a diversity of courses in the secondary stage: academic, commercial, technical and agricultural. It also suggested co-ordination between vernacular schools which so far taught for seven years, four elementary and three post-elementary, and the Anglo-vernacular secondary schools which had a separate system of elementary education through four-year preparatory classes followed by four years of middle school, and two of high school. The suggestions of the committee were to introduce a uniform course for primary education called

junior basic course for five years. This would be followed by a senior basic course of three years in vernacular schools, and a college course for six years in the colleges, organized in such a way that the courses for the first three years of the colleges would be corresponding to those available in senior basic schools. It was only in the course of the last three years that the changes envisaged were to be introduced.

Just as in England, where the Butler Act of 1944 envisaged a complete change of the educational structure during the war period itself, in India a scheme for postwar development was envisaged by the Central Advisory Board of Education. This is commonly known as the Sargent Report as Sir John Sargent happened to be the educational secretary then. The Sargent Report planned that the cost for introducing compulsory primary education would amount to Rs. 114,29,00,000. The corresponding cost for expansion of the facilities for secondary education would be Rs. 86,50,00,000., for middle schools only and a further sum of Rs. 78,80,00,000 for high schools. Universities would need Rs. 9,60,00,000. The cost for adult education would be Rs. 3,00,00,000; that for technical being Rs.10,00,000,000. Pre-primary would need Rs.3,18,00,000 and teachers training facilities would need Rs. 6,23,00,000. The whole expense would be Rs. 313,00,00,000 for British India and Rs. 417,00,00,000 if the states were also to be included, and would ensure complete literacy. As this huge annual expenditure was clearly beyond the means of the Indian taxpayer, it was suggested that the scheme should be introduced by stages within a period of forty years and the entire amount would be needed only at the end of the period, by which time with sufficient industrial development, it was hoped that it may not be difficult to incur the expenditure.

A group of industrialists at Bombay drew up a complete plan for post-war development which included educational development also. The Bombay Plan, as it was called, envisaged an expenditure of Rs. 86,00,00,000 for establishing a primary school in every village, Rs. 82,00,00,000 for expansion of high and middle school education, and Rs. 19,00,00,000 for expansion of adult education facilities. This would all be initial capital investment, followed by an annual expenditure of Rs.88,00,00,000 for primary, Rs. 129,00,00,000 for secondary and Rs. 20,00,00,000 for higher education. This assured complete literacy within a period of fifteen years.

Both the Sargent Scheme and Bombay Plan, however, remained on paper, and nothing was done by way of re-

forms till India was partitioned and given independence in 1947.

(*f*) *Summary.* For the first two hundred years of its existence, the East India Company did nothing to spread education in the country and whatever effort in that direction was done was undertaken mainly by Christian missionary organizations mainly with a view to strengthen their proselytizing activities.

In 1813, at the time of renewal of the Charter it was settled that a sum of Rs. 100,000 should be provided for the spread of education. This was done even before the British Government introduced the scheme in England, and at a time when in England it was held that education was a parental concern, and the type of education a child would receive would depend on what the parent could afford.

For the first twenty-two years, however, very little was done, for the policy for disbursement was not settled. While some advocated the spread of instruction through Indian languages, others were in favour of classics, and the rest favoured English.

The issue was settled once for all in 1835 when it was decided to encourage English education. There were at least three distinct reasons why this decision was taken, but the practical benefit of this scheme was to ensure the supply of English-knowing junior officers for the Company. Hence much stress was given to evolve an evaluative machinery, and after preliminary experiments with senior and junior examinations, finally in 1857 three examining universities were established. The effect of this was to put a premium on the end-product rather than on the process of education. As the medium of instruction was a foreign language in which the pupils lacked the natural mode of expression, it was clear that this would encourage cramming of selected portions from the book, so that the answers would appear presentable, whether the student understood what he wrote or not.

Up to 1854, the policy of the Government was to spend the entire sum on government institutions, and non-government institutions were all unaided. From 1854, however, it was decided that aided institutions would also be subsidized. It was also settled that some assistance would be given to increase the facilities for primary education. Though in 1858 the administration was transferred from the Company to the Crown, yet the basic policy remained unchanged. It was decided that one of the conditions which would qualify a school to receive government assist-

ance of grants should be that it should levy some fees on the parents. This was in keeping with the British practice as it existed then, but was completely different from the Indian practice of earlier years.

As the work connected with administration of schools expanded, directors of Public Instruction assisted by inspectors were appointed in all provinces. This would have ensured co-ordination between the work done in the schools had the system worked in the right spirit of co-operation between the teaching and the administrative staff. As it worked, however, the administrative officers were more feared than trusted by the teachers, and the latter looked to the teachers with suspicion. Got-up show and window-dressing thus replaced a free and frank discussion of problems.

In 1882 the Hunter Commission endorsed the policy of helping private institutions by giving more grants and discouraged opening more government schools. The Commission also suggested some measures to provide technical education as also measures for spreading female education. The recommendations of the commission had the immediate effect of an increase in the number of aided secondary schools, although progress of female and technical education was slow.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the policy of the British administration in India had been to tighten its grip over educational institutions to prevent extremist elements using the students for agitation, and at the same time to think of some reforms, partly to appease the more moderate demands and partly to ensure future control. The Raleigh Commission brought the universities into tighter official control and ensured that recognition of new institutions would be made through government officials. Its suggestions to open certain teaching facilities in the universities was followed only by opening law classes in certain universities.

The Government claim to spend more money for primary rather than secondary at this period did not seem to have been seriously made, for the government opposed a scheme of introducing compulsory education as suggested by Mr. G. K. Gokhale. In 1917 the government appointed the Sadler Commission to look into higher education. The commission suggested a unified board to look after education up to the intermediate, giving it power to disburse grants-in-aid and to control the inspectorate. It also suggested that universities should be teaching and residential confining themselves to degree and post-graduate

stages and research. The government, however, were not willing to give the boards any power more than the universities then enjoyed, namely, evaluation and examination besides prescribing courses. The Director of Public Instruction as the official chairman was to wield all emergency powers. It is no wonder therefore that the Calcutta University for whose inquiry the commission was first formed did not accept its recommendations, and many other universities followed suit. Only in U. P. and in Dacca was the scheme implemented. The recommendation of the commission had, however, one effect, namely to increase research facilities in many universities. Though for historical forces and under the pressure of adjoining universities which did not implement the scheme made teaching subordinate to examining even in teaching universities.

In 1921 diarchy was introduced in India with ministries responsible to legislature put in charge of education. The ministers had, however, limited powers to control their subordinates, and moreover had no control over the purse-strings. In spite of this, there was some progress in both primary and secondary education though not so much for the spread of female education. The Hartog Committee Report, however, deplored the absence of the co-ordinating influence of the Central Government as a result of this policy of decentralization and suggested that co-ordinating bodies like the Central Advisory Board of Education should be revived.

In 1935 when unemployment became a national problem, the government appointed Sapru Committee to tackle it from an economic point of view. Earlier they had appointed Wood-Abbot Committee to tackle it educationally. Sapru Committee proposed a diversified course at the secondary stage and this was endorsed also by the Wood-Abbott Committee which suggested manual bias to education in the elementary stage and vocational bias to the secondary. These recommendations, however, remained mostly on paper.

In 1937 under Mahatma Gandhi's direction, Wardha Scheme of basic Education was envisaged. This envisaged seven years' education through the medium of mother tongue with Hindustani introduced from the fourth class. All education was to centre round a craft with which it was proposed that other studies would be correlated. The income derived from the pursuit of crafts would be utilized in maintaining the schools, so that education could be self-supporting. Though when it was published the Congress ministries were functioning in eight of the eleven provinces,

out soon they were thrown out of office making any experimentation or implementation impossible. Same was the fate of the First Narendra Deva Committee Report of U. P. which proposed an eleven-year secondary education with five years, common primary or junior basic schools followed by three years' studies in either senior basic schools or in colleges running parallel to each other. In the last three years which would be confined only to colleges, diversified courses in literacy, scientific, commercial, agricultural and technical courses were proposed.

The post-war education reforms envisaged by Central Advisory Committee aimed at full literacy up to 14, with an annual expenditure of 417 crores of rupees though the full expenditure would be due after 40 years, and the Bombay Plan of spending 277 crores of capital and 237 crores annually also remained on paper.

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# Chapter III

## Administrative Reforms of free India

(a) *Some of the initial problems for India.* Though India had attained her independence in 1947, yet some of the conditions for her attainment of independence began with April 1946 when the Congress ministries were restored in the provinces, and when in September of that year a Congress minister took charge of the education portfolio in the Centre. Yet at that time very bold steps could not be taken for the political uncertainty that remained. The tendency at that time was to leave as much initiative as possible to the provinces and to do as little as possible in the Centre, for in the interim government, the portfolio of the finance was not in the hands of a Congress minister.

Even when freedom actually came, many problems stood in the path of the new government. The large influx of refugees as a result of partition created the problem of their immediate rehabilitation, and consideration of other problems had to be postponed. The second problem was that of food. Some of the best rice-growing areas were in East Bengal and some of the best wheat-growing areas were in West Punjab, both of which went to Pakistan. This created a deficit in the food supply, and a large quantity of food had to be imported from foreign lands which drained the currency reserves created in the war period. To add to the problem, Kashmir was invaded by Pakistan making severe demands not only on the military personnel, but also on the economy of the country. The position of the Indian states had to be settled. This took nearly a year, and only in the month of September 1948 the last and the biggest of Indian states ceded to India. The merging of the states had entailed problems of their own, they needed adjustment of revenues and settlement of administrative personnel. Very few of the states were educationally advanced. While four of them, Travancore, Cochin, Mysore and Baroda were educationally more advanced than any of the provinces of India, yet all the remaining ones were much behind. When some of them merged into contiguous provinces, they created heterogeneous areas requiring special attention. To add to this, the country had inherited the administrative machinery of the British with a bureaucratic outlook, and it took some time to infuse a democratic outlook into them. As some of the officers from India opted into Pakistan and

some of the officers formerly serving in areas that formed Pakistan were brought into India, it was clear that all these changes produced many square pegs to be fitted into round holes, and officers had to serve in such departments for which they had no previous experience.

The outcome of all these was a tendency to maintain a sort of *status quo* in education. Education as a large spending department remained mostly a provincial subject, but the revenues of the provinces being more inelastic, were not enough to meet the demands. Centre had more elastic sources of revenue and could spare more. It could, for instance equalize the educational opportunities, for some of the educationally backward provinces had less resources and bigger liabilities than some of the educationally advanced ones with bigger resources and less commitments. Yet the Centre was fighting shy to take effective steps in the initial years. The boundaries of the provinces themselves were not settled, and areas of the older provinces became the A grade states, almost completely autonomous of the Centre in the matter of education. So were the larger areas carved out of the former Indian states which formed the B grade states. Some of the smaller areas forming C grade states had their education controlled by the Centre, and perhaps Centre could do much in them had it been that their local administrations were a little co-operative. As it is, the local administrations created in these areas proved to be veritable clogs in the wheel of progress, creating hotbeds of intrigues of power politics and pressure groups.

Indian constitution was finally adopted in 1950 and education, though remaining mostly a state subject, had some areas of concurrent responsibilities, which were shared by the Centre and the states. The limitations of the states themselves were finally settled late in 1956, when the whole area was divided into fourteen large states with a number of centrally administered areas in which the local advisory councils were so formed as not to degenerate into pressure groups. Two Five Year Plans that were devised were more occupied in developing the country's resources economically, and making her self-sufficient in her food economy. If the plans work well then the fourth is expected to pay more attention to welfare activities including education.

The problems that yet remain to be solved without which much cannot be done for welfare are :

(1) Evolution of a happy formula in the allocation of the educational responsibilities between the Centre and

the states. Because all the states are not equally advanced and because all do neither have equal resources, nor equal liabilities, this has to be done with no common formula, but more equitably so that the citizens of all states ultimately inherit equal opportunities.

(2) A broader outlook among the administrative officers in the Centre as well as in each of the states, which may create an atmosphere for this equitable allocation.

(3) A happy solution of the food economy of the country not only for a certain year, but for some years to come, so that undivided attention could be paid to welfare problems. It must be noted that at the close of the first Five Year Plan, through some favourable conditions of the monsoons, India grew enough food for her people. This brought about a state of complacency, but it was soon found to be short-lived as the second plan proceeded.

(4) A happy solution of her border problems, especially with Pakistan and China, for so long as border tensions remain, a large amount of her resources are bound to be drifted to buy military equipment.

(5) Successful working of the plans as would increase national income with which the welfare schemes can be worked out.

How many of these will be fulfilled, it is for the future to tell. But so long as some of them remain unfulfilled, it is feared that satisfactory progress may not be made.

(b) *Some of the reforms suggested in the pre-plan period.* Even before attaining her independence in 1947, the Central Advisory Board of Education had appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the late B. G. Kher of Bombay in 1938-39 to examine the basic education scheme. The Kher Committee was to examine particularly the objection raised in some quarters that over-emphasis on the craft subject occupying two-thirds of the school time would affect the efficiency of studying other subjects. It must be noted that when the problem was being examined by the Kher Committee, the political necessity of schools to be self-sufficient did not exist. By then responsible ministers had the charge of educational administration unhampered by the activities of their subordinates whom the former ministers in diarchy prior to 1937 could not remove.

Kher Committee suggested that the allocation of time between the craft and academic subjects should be half and half. This would give the necessary craft education

without impairing academic efficiency. By this of course the schools would no longer be self-sufficient. In spite of the suggestions of Kher Committee, it may be noted that basic education scheme though accepted as the standard pattern of elementary education in India did not make sufficient headway for certain reasons which we shall examine later.

In 1948 in U. P. a new scheme for reorganization was evolved. To a certain extent it was based on the recommendations of the Narendra Deva Committee's report. It envisaged a uniform pattern of primary education for towns as well as for villages in basic schools for five years. These basic schools, however, differed from the basic schools of the Wardha pattern inasmuch as, though a craft was taught, yet neither the craft teaching was given half the school time, nor was the principle of correlation developed to a very large extent. Secondary education up to the intermediate stage was to cover a period of seven years, the first three of which, would be called the junior high schools, and the last four higher secondary. In the latter there was to be four diversified courses, literary, scientific, constructive (commercial, technical and agricultural) and aesthetic. Two public examinations, high school and the intermediate were both retained and they virtually divided the higher secondary course into two well-marked stages. This scheme presupposed that the students passing out of the constructive and aesthetic courses would enter life making their secondary education terminal, while those coming out of the literary and scientific courses would enter higher education, as their education would be more of a preparatory nature. The scheme failed as there were not sufficient openings for those who entered a terminal course, and many of the students passing out of the terminal course tried to enter the doors of higher education and were found unfit to profit by the same. The scheme had to be considerably modified by the recommendations of the second Narendra Deva Committee report.

It must be noted that Bombay Government also engaged itself in certain organizational reforms, and evolved what is known as the Ghate-Parulekar Scheme.

The scheme for a diversified high school course, one terminal and the other preparatory, has also been evolved by the Madras government and is working still. In the Madras scheme, it must be noted, the changes introduced were neither so sudden nor so radical as to render the scheme unworkable.

The Centre did not remain idle, for in 1949 the report of a committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education under the chairmanship of Dr. Tara Chand was published. The main recommendation of the Tara Chand Committee did not differ from the U. P. reorganization scheme of a year earlier. It also envisaged a twleve-year secondary education, first five or elementary being called junior basic, the next three was to be called senior basic rather than junior high school and the last four secondary stage. Like the scheme in U. P., the secondary stage was to be of the multilateral, though schools themselves could be unilateral, bilateral or multilateral. The great difference lay in the period at which the second language was to be introduced. In the U. P. scheme, there was no conflict between the regional and the federal language, for both are one and the same. In the Tara Chand Scheme, it was proposed that although teaching at the junior basic stage would be through the medium of the regional language, yet the teaching of the federal language should begin at the last year of the junior basic stage and would remain a compulsory subject throughout the senior basic stage. At the secondary stage, however, it would be made compulsory when English ceases to be the medium of instruction at this stage. Another great change suggested by the Tara Chand committee was to reduce the number of public examinations at the secondary stage. It suggested only one examination instead of two to be taken at the end of this stage. The suggestions of the Tara Chand Committee were, however, not implemented, as very soon a more comprehensive report on secondary education was published by the Mudaliar Commission about which we shall read later.

Late in 1948 the Centre appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan to look into the conditions of university education. The Radhakrishnan Commission published its report in 1949. The commission agreed with the suggestion of Tara Chand Committee that the secondary education should terminate with twelve years' study, and that higher education should confine itself with degree and the post-graduate studies. It suggested that the degree course should extend for a period of three years both for pass and honours students. Pass students would study some general courses and would, besides concentrate on two subjects for intensive studies, while the honours students would undertake even more advanced studies in one subject and offer the other as a subsidiary subject. The post-graduate course would end with the master's degree to be taken by the pass students two years after the bachelor's degree and by the

honours students a year after the bachelor's degree. Thus the period of university studies would be extended by one year for the pass students, the honours students would study the same number of years as they do at present.

The commission also suggested the model composition of administrative bodies of the universities, the academic and the excutive council, which would, however, differ slightly according as the university is a residential, affiliating or federal type, all the three types being envisaged.

Lastly the commission suggested that fifty per cent of the seats of the university should be free places alloted to really bright students strictly on merit. To defray the costs, other seats would be offered to ordinary students possessing minimum qualifications for admission at double the present rates of fees.

The revision of pay scales for teachers and other expenses for reorganization, it was expected, would cost about Rs. 105,000,000 annually.

As the recommendations of the commission are yet to be implemented, it is perhaps merely academic to consider its recommendations. The main defects of the report are, however, these:

(1) It spent too much space on pay scales and less on the studies themselves. In the pay scales too, it sought to introduce a hierarchy of four grades of university services which is not quite happy.

(2) It did not deal with the technical studies in as great a detail as they should have been done in a country which is industrializing itself so rapidly, and whose technical education had been so much overlooked.

(3) It sought to create a class feeling among the student body by suggesting 50 per cent places and fifty per cent seats at double the existing rates. The latter would then be crowded by less worthy children from more well-to-do homes, who would look down on the former.

(4) It extended the period of study for an ordinary student by a year, which, however, may not be quite undesirable.

(c) *Some of the changes suggested during the plan period.* In 1951 India launched her first Five Year Plan. In 1956 at the close of the first Five Year Plan, the second plan was launched. The targets of the plans are: Economic self-sufficiency by development of food resources, and industrialization; development of communication, progressive reduction of illiteracy and improvement of health and sanitation.

Under a multiplicity of objectives, it was perhaps natural that education occupied a comparatively less significant place, and only 7 per cent of the total resources of Rs. 209,00,000,000 was devoted to education, and yet the amount was not insignificant, for it became Rs. 1,530,000,000. As this amount was to be shared between the Centre and the states, it was natural that the immediate result of this was to ensure a greater spirit for co-operation between the Centre and the states.

The first effort on the part for educational reform was displayed by appointment of a commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Mudaliar in 1952. The Mudaliar Commission visited the different states of India and in 1953 it published its report. Recommendations of the commission are :

(1) Secondary education would begin after a course of primary education which should be uniform throughout India, extending for a period of four or five years in which the regional language should be the medium of instruction.

(2) Secondary education itself would be divided into two stages, the junior for three years, and senior preferably for four years but at least for three years. One year of the present intermediate, and not two, to be included in the senior stage.

(3) As a consequence of this, the first degree course of the university would extend over a period of three years' study.

(4) Admission to professional course should be open to those who would pass out of the senior stage of the secondary (called higher secondary course).

(5) In the junior stage, a student would study two languages, his mother-tongue or regional language, and either Hindi or English besides mathematics, craft, social studies, science and physical education.

(6) In the higher secondary stage diversified courses would be offered for humanities, science, technical, commercial, agricultural, fine arts, or home science, two languages being retained. The schools should be multipurpose wherever possible.

The findings of the Mudaliar Commission Report were examined by a committee of experts and then sent round the states for implementation. The states re-examined the findings in 1954-55 and then the position was re-examined. The main difficulties were :

(1) In many states it would mean extension of school

education by a year. The consequential reduction of college education would be more than outweighed by this, and this would mean extra expenses and extra personnel.

(2) In a state like U. P., it would mean abolition of intermediate education and retrenchment of the staff for intermediate colleges by fifty per cent. All the retrenched staff would not be absorbed in the degree colleges, for different type of qualifications are needed there.

(3) The non-Hindi-speaking areas had one further objection to the provision of two languages, the regional language and either Hindi or English, in the junior stage. This would mean an advantage for the Hindi-speaking areas, where students would read both Hindi and English, whereas non-Hindi-speaking areas would have to give up either Hindi or English, both of which are useful. Particularly in the southern states (Madras, Andhra, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin) was the protest loudest. There, the people felt that it was introducing a sort of cultural imperialism from the north, and the demand was that as the South Indians will have to study one North Indian language, the North Indians should be forced to learn a South Indian language also.

(4) The implementation demanded money and better training facilities for its adaptation, and particularly the increase of the year in the degree stage needed suitable expenditure on the facilities for higher education which would not easily be provided by the corresponding curtailment of the facilities at the intermediate level, for the type of work done at the university degree stage and the type of teachers wanted for the same could not be provided by the intermediate college teachers.

In 1956 the Central Advisory Board of Education met the second and the third objection partly by the following measures :

(*a*) By suggesting that each child in the junior stage should take three languages which in non-Hindi speaking areas would be English, Hindi and the regional language and in the Hindi-speaking areas would be English, Hindi (the regional language) and one other Indian language or classics. This suggestion has, however, not been wholly acceptable to Hindi-speaking areas yet.

(*b*) As for the question of training suitable teachers for organizing the extra one year's course, it was proposed that a co-ordinating body, All-India Council for Secondary Education, should be started with the help of Ford Foundation meeting its expenses for the first few years which would work out a scheme for co-ordination and of training teachers. Ford Foundation financed the scheme for nearly

four years and now the Government of India is continuing the scheme. The Centre has also agreed to share with the states the cost for opening multipurpose schools, though it is proposed that only a limited number will be opened every year, and it will take a long time to convert most of the existing schools into multipurpose schools.

U. P.'s objections for implementing the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission Reports were manifold :

(1) It would, as has been said, mean scrapping out of the intermediate colleges functioning in U. P. since 1917 with consequent retrenchment of the staff all of whom could not be employed in the degree colleges as a different criterion of qualification existed there.

(2) It would mean compulsion of U. P. students to learn another Indian language.

(3) Almost simultaneously with the Mudaliar Commission, the government of U. P. had set up a committee under the chairmanship of Acharya Narendra Deva and the report of the Second Acharya Narendra Deva Committee (the first one being in 1939) was published almost simultaneously with the Mudaliar Report in 1953. This removed some of the anomalies existing in 1948. Reorganization scheme, inasmuch as it again made the study of mathematics compulsory for boys (girls may read domestic science instead) and introduced at least one subject termed as humanities in all the four courses of higher secondary. By this, a constructive or an aesthetic course student could fall back into the course of art studies at the B. A. level if he or she found that the constructive or aesthetic courses did not bring for him or her the required opening for life. Further the committee recommended that the existing structure of secondary courses ending with the intermediate in U. P. should continue. In 1964 the Government of India appointed an education commission under the chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari which published a report in 1966. Its main recommendations are :

1. Work experience should be an integral part of education.
2. Sixty days social service should be obligatory to undergraduates.
3. National consciousness should be promoted along with an international understanding, and democratic values should be inculcated. Instead of concentrating

on the finished product we should build up interests, attitudes and values and capacity for independent judgment by the students.

4. A spirit of tolerance in our multiracial state is essential.
5. New education structure should be (*a*) 1-3 years preschool, (*b*) 10 years general education in three stages: Lower primary—4 or 5 years; higher primary—3 or 2 years; lower secondary—3 years. (*c*) Higher secondary for academic students—2 years vocational—3. (*d*) College education—3 years for first degree, 2-3 for next. Thus it recommends 12 years pre-university plus 3 years first degree.
6. Schools should teach for 39 weeks and colleges at least 36 weeks in the year and vacation to be used in social service.
7. By periodic exchanges of teachers of schools and teacher training courses and by introduction of the element of research in teacher training courses, the content would be enriched.
8. Every child should be taught through his mother-tongue or the regional language upto the first degree stage, and this should be provided within five years. At the secondary stage he should read (*a*) national language or English as the first alternative, (*b*) an additional Indian or a foreign language as the second.
9. There would however be at least six universities, one higher technical and one higher agricultural college where the medium of instruction would be English so that they may coach students going abroad for education.
10. Part time and correspondence courses should be provided to help the working people who cannot devote whole time courses.
11. Students can drift over to technical courses at three stages: (*a*) After 7 years primary education, (*b*) after 10 years schooling and (*c*) after full secondary course of 12 years. Post graduate research courses would be opened in technical courses also.

In 1954 the Government of India established a committee to find out to what extent facilities for higher education could be provided in rural areas of a somewhat different nature than that available in the universities. The committee suggested the provision of a three-year diploma course in rural services, besides one-year diploma and

certificate courses for teachers and two-year certificate courses for rural health workers, for agricultural science and for overseers. The facilities for this have so far been provided in about twenty centres.

One noticeable change that has taken place in all these years is the progressive elimination of the universities as the agency for evaluation at the end of the secondary stage. As has been said, already in 1922 U. P. and Dacca formed their secondary education boards called Board of High School and Intermediate Education, and this prescribed the courses both of high school and of intermediate examinations of these areas. Madras and Mysore boards were running their parallel school certificate examinations even earlier than that since 1913, but the universities also conducted their matriculation examination there. Same was the condition in Nagpur since 1922, but after reorganization in 1956, the board took away from the Nagpur University the power to conduct any matriculation examination. Delhi and Ajmer boards were constituted since 1926 and 1929. The other areas that formed their boards to conduct the matriculation examination sometimes called the high school or school final examination are given below :

TABLE IV

**New Secondary Boards with the Years of Establishment**

(1) Board for Public Examination, Trivandrum for Kerala State. (1949)
(2) Secondary School Certificate Board, Bombay State at Poona. (1949)
(3) Board of Secondary Education, Madhya Bharat Region at Gwalior. (1950)
(4) Board of Secondary Education at Calcutta for West Bengal, and Tripura. (1951)
(5) Bihar School Examination Board, Patna. (1952)
(6) Board of Secondary Education, for Andhra at Kurnool. (1954)
(7) Board of Secondary Education for Orissa at Cuttack. (1956)
(8) Mahakosal Board of Secondary Education (Eastern M. P.), Jabalpur. (1956)
(9) Board of Secondary Education, Rajasthan at Jaipur. (1957)

With Dacca going to Pakistan, there are now fifteen boards functioning in India, of which Gwalior, Nagpur,

Mahakosal are regional boards, while Ajmer has extra-territorial functions. Delhi has a small area to administer, all others are full-fledged state boards. Thus in eleven out of the fourteen states of India, the function of the matriculation examination have been taken by board the exceptions being Kashmir, Punjab and Assam. Four of the boards, namely, Ajmer, Allahabad, Gwalior and Jaipur also conduct intermediate examinations, while Delhi and Kurnool boards conduct two examinations : one high secondary and the other called high school or Secondary School Leaving Certificate, the former being one year after the latter.

(d) *Some special areas of education.* Three special areas of education deserve special mention and perhaps we could study them for the British and post independance periods together.

(i) *Women's education.* The first of these is women's education. As has been stated before, facilities for female education lagged behind that for males all along. It was only in the Buddhist period that some organized efforts were made, and after that these disappeared, and the picture was gloomy in the Moslem period. Some efforts were made by the missionaries in the British period, but these were not adequate ; moreover the conservative elements were afraid to take the opportunities offered because of fear of proselytising by Christian missions. It must be said, however, that when the Ladies' Society, for Native Female Education was formed in 1824, the object of the sponsors was not proselytising, though as the missionary ladies formed the majority of the executive the effort was looked upon with suspicion. Up to 1850, initiative for the efforts in this direction was taken mainly by the missionaries. In 1851 two girls' schools were established at Poona and two years earlier a school was established at Calcutta called the Bethune School which were the pioneers for secular education for girls. After the mutiny, the more progressive communities like the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal and the Parsees of Bombay and some of the more enlightened government officials, Indian and European, encouraged the opening of more and more girls' schools. So by 1871 there were 134 girls' secondary schools and 1790 primary schools in the country, but the conservative elements prevented girls to sit for public examinations, and it was only in 1877 that the Calcutta University removed the ban, while it took the Bombay university seven more years to do so. Though Hunter Commission had advocated that encouragement should be given for spreading female education, yet in 1902 there were only 12 colleges, 467 secondary schools and 5,628 primary schools.

In the light of this background, we must study the progress made in the following years. The position of women in society, however, improved, when during the freedom movement more and more women came to play their part in the national struggle. This automatically helped to remove the restriction of the *purdah* system in North India which was already disappearing, though slowly, under the impact of the western culture. One barrier for female education was thus removed. Late marriages in the middle classes and the chances of openings offered in war and post-war years have also helped the spread of female education and the figures given here must be studied in the light of all those circumstances in addition to more and more progressive attitudes in the administration.

TABLE V

**Growth of Women's Education, 1902-1966**

| | 1902 | 1917 | 1927 | 1945 | 1955 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of institutions of all types | 6,107 | 21,320 | 31,009 | 26,437 | 23,088 | .. |
| Enrolment .. | 4,44,470 | 1,23,049 | 1,842,356 | 1,975,004 | 2,735,979 | 13,582,652 |

We thus see that the number of institutions especially for girls reduced a bit since 1927, probably as a result of co-educational facilities being offered and consolidation of smaller schools into larger ones. Increase in enrolment has been marked between 1902-1917, somewhat less marked between 1927-1945, and again more marked after freedom. At present there are over 30,000 institutions, exclusively thirteen for girls while total enrolment of girls in all schools exceed millions. Still, compared with the total enrolment of boys being 110 millions, we must say that female education is lagging behind and deserves special encouragement.

(*ii*) *Vocational education.* The second area to be considered is the vocational education. As has been stated earlier, craft education in ancient India was conducted by a sort of apprentice system and the whole organization was controlled by sub-caste organizations or *srenis*. These later degenerated into family groups and certain families, in order to maintain certain skills, confined the education to the members of their own groups. Thus while skilled workmen were available, there was no organized system

of craft education. The process continued in later Hindu and the Moslem periods, with the only change that in the Moslem period the craftsmen were not Hindus alone, but some were Moslems too. Certain areas, however, acquired a reputation for craft work more than others, as they formed sort of craft colonies. With the industrial revolution in Europe, it was natural that this craft work had to face severe competition from the mass production of the machines, and it is also claimed that the East India Company actively suppressed the industry here. It is natural that for a country like Britain whose economy depended so much on her manufactures to pursue a colonial policy, making her dependencies perform the two-fold task, as a supplier of raw materials for her industry, and as a market to purchase her finished goods. Under the circumstances not only apathy but perhaps a certain amount of antipathy has to be shown to industries in this land. Perhaps under the circumstances very few professional institutions would be opened, and so it is not surprising that in 1858 there were only three medical and only one engineering colleges and with this the professional education ended. Even as late in 1921 there were just forty-four centres for professional education divided as follows :

TABLE VI

**Facilities of Professional Courses in 1921**

| | Law | Medicine | Engineering | Technology | Agriculture | Commerce |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of centres.. | 13 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 2 | |
| Enrolment .. | 5,895 | 1,833 | 806 | 123 | 326 | 4795 |

Besides this there were a number of training schools for primary teachers, but there were only 12 training colleges for secondary teachers which trained 479 graduate teachers.

Within six years, however, the number of centres for agriculture rose to 16, though most of them were schools, and the number of centres teaching commerce similarly increased to 158, though many of the centres were teaching mostly shorthand and typing.

The progress made in the post-independence period can be better judged if we compare figures for 1945, just before

independence and 1956 at the close of the first Five Year Plan. This appears in Table VII.

TABLE VII

**Growth of Professional Institutions 1945-1956**

| Type of institution | 1945 | | 1956 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Institutions | Enrolment | Number of institutions | Enrolment |
| Law .. | 15 | 6,857 | 25 | 20,268 |
| Medical college .. | 18 | 7,283 | 78 | 16,754 |
| Medical schools .. | 33 | 5,024 | 84 | 6,873 |
| Engineering college .. | 7 | 2,950 | 40 | 10,823 |
| Engineering schools .. | 9 | 1,855 | 61 | 27,512 |
| Technological colleges .. | 4 | 499 | 5 | 789 |
| Industrial schools .. | 460 | 21,572 | 777 | 46,330 |
| Agricultural colleges .. | 23 | 2,902 | 77 | 5,230 |
| Commerce colleges and schools .. | 301 | 13,313 | 898 | 79,567 |
| Teachers' colleges .. | 36 | 2,365 | 107 | 14,280 |
| Teacher training schools .. | 471 | 28,891 | 930 | 90,914 |

The figures thus show that within eleven years there has been much improvement in professional education. Yet the supply is much less than the demand especially when all who were admitted did not pass. The position of technical education after the second plan is given below where the differentiation has been made in terms of colleges teaching a four-year degree course, and schools admitting high school students offering three-year diploma courses and non-high school students for certificate courses of varying lengths.

TABLE VIII

**Centres of Technical Education in 1961 & 1966**

| | 1960-61 | 1965-66 |
|---|---|---|
| Number of colleges for degree courses .. | 97 | 133 |
| Number of students in the colleges (degree and post graduate) .. .. | 11,510 | 10,100 |
| Number of schools (diploma and certificate) .. .. .. | 193 | 274 |
| Number of students for diploma course .. | 21,370 (together) | 12,900 |
| Number of students for certificate courses .. | | 11,470 |

In some cases, as in engineering, the supply has been more than the demand resulting in unemployment beginning with 1967.

(*iii*) *Mass education for adults.* The problem of adult education to spread literacy did not receive any attention till 1921. As all students did not get even elementary schooling, illiteracy spread in the country. In 1892 it was ascertained that 13 per cent of the males and only 0.7 per cent of the adult females could just read or write. Thirty years after, in 1922 it was seen that the corresponding figures rose to 14.4 for the males, and 2.0 for the females. Some of the Indian states, Travancore, Cochin, Mysore and Baroda, however, made some initial progress in the field of adult education. When education was entrusted to Indian ministers in 1921, definite programmes for wiping out illiteracy were chalked out, but they suffered for want of funds. Punjab took the lead and Madras followed. After the Congress ministries came into office, steps were taken by all the provinces through mass literacy movements and establishment of libraries.

After independence, controversy arose as regards the objectives of adult education and it was decided that literacy alone should not be made the target. Five-point schemes for social education, namely, (1) literacy, (2) sense of citizenship, (3) improvement of health and hygiene, (4) healthy recreations, (5) improvement of economic status, were adopted as the objectives, and *janta* colleges have been established so far, besides a college to develop techniques for research in fundamental education at Delhi. A national book trust and a library institute are also being established. The problem is being tackled not merely by the Government, but local bodies, and private agencies are also helping in the programme. In 1956 there were 46,901 such centres, 13,274 being run by the Government, 740 by local bodies, and 32,077 by private bodies subsidized by the Government. They enrolled 12,78,827 adults, 11,42,926 being men and 1,35,901 females. Block development schemes for block welfare had taken up the adult education work in many places, but because of their preoccupation in other areas of village welfare did not succeed in doing much. In many areas especially in M. P. and U. P. the work has since been curtailed. The progress is slow no doubt, for it will take many years still to wipe out illiteracy at this rate, yet it is reassuring that definite steps are being taken. One thing is clear. Unless we can get a larger number of female workers, the facilities for removing female illiteracy will ever remain a problem, and the tempo of literacy programme for females will ever lag behind the males in a conservative country like India.

(e) *Summary.* Post-independence period in India has several handicaps for a rapid educational move, however urgent it had been. The large influx of refugees had to be rehabilitated, food shortage problem had to be tackled, a large portion of the revenue had to be diverted for defence projects, when some of the neighbours were hostile, and greater efforts had to be made for industrialization, for with that alone could national income increase, and unless that increases there will not be enough funds to carry out the welfare projects.

But at the same time it was unwise to neglect education altogether, for it is our schools and colleges alone which will produce sufficient man-power to carry out the reforms. The first set of reforms that were made had been carried out by the state governments, for education was a state subject, but very soon the Centre began to take an initiative. It first appointed a commission under Dr. Radhakrishnan to suggest reforms for university education. The suggestions made by the commission were, however, shelved. The second commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Mudaliar attempted to bring a sort of uniformity in the pattern of secondary education, where much diversity existed from state to state. Unfortunately all features of the report of this commission had not been implemented for the hostility of the states had to be overcome. The formation of a council for secondary education with generous bounty of the Ford Foundation at the initial stages, and the diversion of some of the funds in the Centre for the states had gradually reduced the barriers. It is unfortunate, however, that development of primary education which should have had the precedence over the secondary and the university came last in the list, and it is feared that it will take a long time to implement the recommendations of this commission after its publication. Be that as it may, number of schools has increased and so has the enrolment. At the close of the first Five Year Plan it was estimated that 53.1. per cent children of the age group 6-11, 19.2 per cent of the group 11-14 and 9.4 of the group 14-17 were in schools. It is reported in 1966 that 72.2 per cent of the age group 6-11 are in primary schools but as only 54.7. per cent of the girls are attending such schools, about half of the future adult females are going to be illiterate. The percentage of the age group 11-14 attending middle schools is 28.7. and the boys outnumber girls by 2:1. Only 13.5 per cent of the age group 14-17 are in schools, not necessarily in high schools, and here boys outnumber girls by about 3:1.

With the increase in facilities of school education, a larger crowd gathers at the doors of higher education. Not all of them should go in for higher educaton, for soft col-

lared jobs cannot absorb so many. It was therefore necessary that facilities for technical and vocational education should be increased considerably. So far, proportionately speaking, there has been much improvement in this direction. But then, we must remember that the facilities present in the days of British regime were quite insignificant. Whatever increase has been made, has been done to meet the demands of the Five Year Plans which needed technicians and engineers to work them. The tempo should be much increased, if we want to open up fresh avenues of employment for our youth.

The post-freedom period shows a marked improvement of the spread of female education, but still it is a long way to attain equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls.

We have another problem to tackle, that of adult illiteracy. Countries of West Europe and North America have tackled this in the last century with the opening of more schools for children and by providing schooling for all children for the last three quarters of a century. Southern and eastern European countries are tackling the problem today with us, and U. S. S. R. tackled this two decades ago. As a bit more than half the children of the school-going age are provided schooling, our problem for adult education is dynamic still, for more and more illiterate adults would spring up from the children who are being denied schooling today. However, it is gratifying to note that we are taking some steps to tackle the problem, but the efforts made so far are not only slow, but rather unbalanced, attempting to solve the problem much more quickly for the males than for the females.

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## Chapter IV

## Role of the Central Government in the Administration of Education

(*a*) *Centralization versus decentralization.* There are two roles that a Central Government can play in the administration of education. The first is that of centralization, in which all orders are issued from one source and all policies are directed from the Centre, and the local bodies merely execute those orders. The other is complete decentralization leaving all initiative in the hands of local organizations. For a small country, there is hardly any difference between the two, but in a large country centralization has distinct advantages as well as disadvantages. The main advantages of centralization are:

(1) Not all parts of the country are equally advanced and have equal liabilities. In a large country some parts must be more backward than others, due to certain historical and geographic influences or a large population. These need special attention, so that ultimately they may catch up with the more advanced areas. It is often seen that backward tracts have poor resources, indeed backwardness may be due to this poverty, and left to themselves they will never catch up with an advanced tract with greater resources and less liability. It is only through a central agency which pools out all the resources that an equalization is possible, though by its policy, it may be accused of "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

(2) A Central policy brings certain uniformity of structure and of curriculum. This may bring a dull uniformity, but has its distinct advantages, for in case of transfer of a child from one area to another, there is no material change in his curriculum.

(3) A centralized agency can make an effective allocation of its man power; it knows well ahead of its time how many citizens are required for which profession in future. It diverts the school children accordingly to the courses so that future employment is assured. But this function can be effectively performed only by a totalitarian regime which denies the child and his parents the free choice of courses. A democracy can at best persuade. It cannot force a parent to submit to the choice.

(4) Centre acting as a co-ordinating agency can settle differences.

As against the advantages, there are certain disadvantages also of a centralized control. These are:

(i) The Central administration is too far away from many of the local units, and hence does not know the local requirements. It ignores the local traditions and aspirations, and imposes a system of education which is not properly suited to local conditions. The danger becomes great when the country is divided into several sub-cultural regions, each having a tradition of its own and speaking a language quite distinct from another.

(ii) As all policies are directed from the Centre, the local participation is limited to carrying out of the policies dictated from the Centre. This does not evoke a feeling of enthusiasm for the local community, which no longer feels that it owns the schools. The apathy of the local community is detrimental to the progress of the school.

(iii) A centralized system brings a sort of dull uniformity for the sake of uniformity which damps the spirit of free experimentation, and very often the centralized agency discourages it in the name of economy and efficiency. It must be noted that for education to remain dynamic and progressive, free inquiry and frank discussion is necessary. Education is not only conquered by the environment, but is very often the conqueror of the environment, it is the product of the social order and is at the same time the pioneer of the new. This function has to start with a spirit of exploration and experimentation which an organization sworn to uniformity cannot well tolerate.

(iv) In its attempts to level down the educational opportunities, the Central Government damps the ardour of the more advanced areas, for they would feel that their extra exertions and sacrifices are not to benefit them, but some other areas. The more backward areas, being assured of a Central subsidy will not pull their weight properly, for they would feel that the Centre would come to their rescue in time of need, no matter how much is the shortage. The process thus may encourage indolence both in advanced as well as in backward areas.

Looking at other countries, we find that those which have favoured centralized policies are or had once been totalitarian. The great bulwark of a centralized policy is France. Its centralization began with Napoleon's regime, when the military necessities of a totalitarian regime dictated a highly centralized structure. In later years, France continued this policy in order to prevent disintegrating influences interrupting it. It must be noted that political, economic and educational policies of France

since the days of Napoleon had been much influenced by the fear of its powerful neighbours, Britain at first and Germany afterwards. It must, however, be said to the credit of the French educators that within the rigid framework of centralization, they have given enough scope for diversities and experimentation, and this has probably helped France to retain to this day a core of centralization, but with enough room for decentralized experimentation.

Another example of centralization was post-Bismark Germany. This was necessitated by a desire to create a powerful State out of a number of principalities, and Germany was influenced by the doctrine of Hegel, inasmuch as State requirements overruled individual interest. The regime was totalitarian, and the centralized structure brought efficiency as well as uinformity, that continued almost unchanged from the regime of Kaisar to the Nazis, the brief period of democracy after the First World War affecting only patchwork reforms. Fascist Italy also followed the policy, as it was totalitarian.

U. S. S. R. also advocated a centralized structure, and is still following it, although of late it has found it necessary to leave some initiative to local Soviets, for it finds the task too great for a Central agency to manage. This again is a totalitarian regime, and it is undeniable that this policy of centralization has brought in a certain efficiency, but at what cost and with what sacrifice of local enthusiasm, it is difficult to assess at present.

On the other hand, complete decentralization into small and isolated local units as was found in our dark ages is harmful, for it leads to fissiparous tendencies. A *via media* has been found by those who favour decentralization by leaving the control and initiative to states. These are fairly compact units having a certain linguistic and cultural integrity and having a certain amount of economic entity. U. S. A., in its pioneering days when the ruling power with a colonial outlook neglected the responsibilities for education, had perhaps complete decentralization. Later on, the function of education was delegated to the states. When thirteen of these states combined to fight for liberation of the British yoke, they were equally suspicious of the Central Government being given too much power, lest they would lose their own identity. They thus delegated only limited powers to the Centre like defence, foreign policy, customs and currency. Education was retained as a State subject with no Central interference. The consequence of this was a diversity of patterns evolving in different states, with the result that even today it appears to

a casual visitor as if U. S. A. has no national system of education at all.

But the Centre could not remain an idle spectator very long. Besides military education, it had to consider large areas like Alaska which were undeveloped, and for which special educational programmes had to be chalked out. There were backward people like the Red Indians for whom special measures had to be adopted. The states had to be kept informed of the progress made in different areas, so that slow ones could be pulled up. The task of acting as a clearing house for information had to be taken by the Centre. Again when the states were too much concerned with mere academic education, vocational and especially agricultural opportunities had to be thrown open, and this was done firstly by passing the Morrell Act in the seventies of last century, and by the establishment of a council for vocational education immediately after the First World War. Attempts to bring a certain amount of uniformity in higher education as proposed by the Truman Commission being thwarted, the Centre looked to another area where it should work to remove social injustice. This was in the field of Negro education. It was after a stiff resistance of the south eastern states resulting in a civil war that the Negroes were emancipated in the sixties of the last century. But in these states the Negro children were not admitted into public schools meant for white children. It was only after nearly a century that the Centre ventured to remove this disparity, and its efforts are meeting with a stiff resistance in the southern states, which may temporarily reduce the pace of Central interference.

The example of U. S. A. shows that while too rigid centralization has its dangers and drawbacks, yet complete isolation of the Centre is not possible. A happy integration of decentralization with an admixture of centralization is probably the best policy that a progressive nation should follow, so that it inherits the benefits of efficiency and uniformity, and at the same time does not sacrifice the local initiative and freedom obtained from local participation.

(*b*) *Part played by the Central Government in our educational administration so far.* In the early stages the policy of the government was for complete centralization. When Munro suggested that education in Madras should be conducted through development of modern Indian languages through one school being opened in every *taluka,* it was the Central Government which disapproved it. Elphinstone's move of development of Indian languages and of opening schools both by the government itself as

well as by private agencies subsidized by the state was likewise negatived. The Central Government had not then developed a policy of their own, and when ultimately it was developed in 1835, it was imposed all over India. Later in 1852, the Central Government vetoed the suggestion of Thomason to open *tahsildari schools* in North Western Provinces (as a large part of U. P. was then called). Wood's Despatch, Lord Stanley's Memorandum, implementation of a policy of grant-in-aid, implementation of the recommendations of the Hunter and Raleigh Commissions are all the results of the centralizing force that existed in those days. But with the growing spirit of nationalism, the Centre thought it wise to execute some of its policies through the state agencies, and reduce the tendency of too much interference. It was thus that when circulars were issued by the Bengal government, they were not followed by other provincial governments early this century. The recommendations of the Sadler Commission were not imposed upon the Calcutta University, and they were experimented in another area.

When Montford Reforms were granted, it was decided to delegate the responsibility of education to the provinces and to leave it in the hands of elected ministers. Perhaps this was done with many motives. Education being a spending department, offered no attraction, and it was expected that with limited funds at their disposal, with the purse strings in the control of the finance department, perhaps the ministers would not become too extravagant. This silenced the demands of certain nationalist elements (the moderates) also, who not being able to attain complete autonomy, were temporarily appeased in getting a chance to organize the development departments at the provincial level. In their limited sphere of opportunities the ministers did their best, and the period between 1921 to 1937 certainly shows a marked educational development.

While the responsibility for education was delegated to the provinces, the Central Government completely divested itself of any educational responsibility except for the Chief Commissioners' provinces. The co-ordinating body, Central Advisory Board of Education, established in 1921 was abolished in 1923. Perhaps the decentralization did not work as the Central Government wished it to work. There were some extravagant expenses caused by rapid expansion, and so in 1929 when the Parliamentary Commission came to enquire into the political condition of the country, Hartog Committee enquired into the educational aspect. The recommendations of this committee wanted the Centre to curb the activities of the provinces, where need would

arise, and recommended re-establishment of the co-ordinating agency of the Central Advisory Board consisting of the Central and the provincial representatives. The board was actually revived six years later in 1935. This indicates hesitation on the part of the Central Government to assume any responsibility for this spending department. This suited the nationalist elements which found that the British, though willing to grant provincial autonomy, were unwilling to give effective autonomy in the Centre. Consequently a subject like education, so vitally connected with development, should better remain at the provincial level so that the provinces could set their houses in order. In 1937 when the Congress party assumed the responsibility of seven and later eight of the eleven provinces, it was natural for the ministers to resent Central interference, when the Central Government was not responsible to the people, but to the British Parliament. Some of the provinces like U. P. therefore tried to work out their own plans for educational reorganization.

The outbreak of the war, however, removed the Congress ministries and replaced them by advisory regimes which would conform to the wishes of the Centre, and the progress of war demanded close co-operation between the Centre and the provinces. It was in this atmosphere that the post war educational development scheme or the Sargent Scheme was evolved, which if implemented would have needed considerable Central direction. It was the financial implications rather than provincial hostility that prevented the scheme from being even experimented. Immediately after the war in 1946, the provincial autonomy was restored, but in the Centre only an interim ministry was formed. Under the atmosphere of uncertainty that prevailed for future condition of India, politicians and educationists thought it safe to leave the reins of education as far as possible in the hands of the provinces, where at least a certain amount of stability was assured.

It was under this atmosphere of uncertainty that the country earned her freedom. Though worried with the problem of the influx of refugees, and scarcity of food, besides border problems, the Centre wanted to look into the educational set-up of the country. At the provincial level, the leaders though belonging to the same Congress party were unwilling to part with the power and initiative. The tussle went through at the time of framing the constitution, and only a limited sphere of activity was delegated to the Centre, namely, looking after central universities, scientific researches, certain centrally administered institutions, acting as a clearing house for information and administration of education in part C states. All other

branches of education were left to the states as the provinces were then called. Perhaps this policy appeased the former. Indian states which merged into the Union, and many of which formed part B states, and were unwilling to part with the initiative for educational responsibilities which they had so far enjoyed.

Prior to the passing of the constitution, the Centre had appointed two inquiry commissions to suggest certain uniformity in educational set-up. These were the Radhakrishnan Commission for university education and Tara Chand Committee for secondary education. The recommendations of both these were shelved, because of the lack of agreement among the bodies that would be affected by this change. Simultaneously with the Centre's appointing a commission to look into the condition of secondary education *de novo* under the chairmanship of Dr. Mudaliar, at least one State Government, U. P., appointed its own commission, and many other states passed acts whereby they transferred the task of evaluation of secondary schools from the universities to the secondary education boards. This accounted for the sluggish rate at which the implementation of the recommendation of the Mudaliar Commisssion had to proceed.

The immediate effect of the passing of the constitution seems to have been an isolationist tendency on the part of the Centre at least fiscally, and no help was at first offered for educational developments even in the poorest states.

The conditions, however, changed as the Five Year Plans were conceived. This had to be a joint venture, where all resources would have to be pooled, local as well as Central. In the first plan it was decided to allot Rs. 153,00,00,000 for educational development. It .was also decided that for certain educational developments, especially for compulsory education at the primary level and for social education for adults, the Centre would assist those states as would need grants, provided they could supply the matching grant. It was through administrative control of these grants that the Centre entered into the field of supervising the local initiative. Meanwhile in the field of secondary education as well as in the higher education, the resources of the Centre were called for help. Foreign assistance was available to the Centre, and through the assistance of the Ford Foundation, the Centre established an All-India Council for secondary education in which State representatives were also invited to attend. This council in trying to increase educational facilities has given some grants to secondary schools and provided some opportunities for inservice training of teachers through

extension service schemes. At the university level, the Centre appointed a University Grants Commission to disburse grants to the universities, for university education was a concurrent responsibility. Perhaps the states were at first a little suspicious about the working of this commission, fearing that it would confine its activities to the centrally administered universities alone, and thus they formed their own State University Grants Committees. But the Central University Grants Commission has now shown that it looks after not only the centrally administered universities but other universities as well, provided the state bodies are prepared to meet the matching grant. The appointment of a committee to look after higher education in rural areas and another for basic education are signs of increased Central participation which is also evident by the appointment of Council of Vocational and Technical Education, Council for Development of Women's education and recently a Committee to survey the facilities for primary education. All these do not point to a policy of centralization, but to increased central participation in the field.

(c) *Analysis of the present role of the Central Government in the field of educational administration.* After the death of Maulana Azad, the Ministry of Education has been divided into two ministers of State, one looked after scientific researches, technical education, management of national laboratories, of archives, scholarships and UNESCO. The other takes up the general educational administration which includes, (1) administration of education in the centrally administered areas of Delhi, Tripura, Manipur, Andaman and Nicobar, Himachal Pradesh, (2) supervision of the central universities of Delhi, Aligarh, Varanasi (Hindu University) and Vishwabharati, (3) basic and social education (4) publications, (5) promotion of Hindi cultural division, (6) co-ordination of the work done in the States.

But the device did not work and since 1962 both the branches of the ministry of education are again under an education minister who is a full fledged cabinet minister.

In the first Five Year Plan, the Centre proposed to spend a sum of Rs. 32,00,00,000, out of which a sum of Rs. 12,50,00,000 was for basic education, Rs. 7,50,00,000 was for social education, Rs. 6,80,00,000 was for technical education, Rs. 52,00,000 were for stipends in industrial schemes, Rs. 48,00,000 were for research training scholarships and Rs. 4,20,00,000 for development of higher education and research. There were no special allotments for primary and secondary education as such, and these were left for the state government to undertake.

In the second Five Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 320,00,00,000 was originally allotted to education; this was later pruned to Rs. 307,00,00,000. The original allocation was as follows: Administration, Rs. 7,40,00,000; primary or junior basic education, Rs. 82,60,00,000; middle school education, Rs. 24,20,00,000; secondary education, Rs. 42,50,00,000; university education, Rs. 66,90,00,000; technical education, Rs. 49,30,00,000; social education, Rs. 5,00,00,000; miscellaneous, Rs. 42,10,00,000. Pruning reduced the sum proportionately.

In each of these spheres, the Central and the state government had to act in close collaboration and the working of the plans brought the two administrations, Central and the state, closer together. It was decided as a matter of policy that the grant to be given by the Centre would depend on the matching grant provided by the states themselves. The ratio was first fixed at 70 per cent for the states and 30 for the Centre, and later changed to 50: 50 in some. The same policy is being followed even today.

The arguments in support of this policy of matching grants are as follows :

(1) Unless it is required that the states should exert and make some sacrifice themselves, Centre's munificence will be misplaced. Some states being assured of Central bounty will do nothing and try to get the maximum benefits out of the Central assistance.

(2) It will be unfair to those states which are trying to do their best, if they will get the Central subsidies reduced, simply because they have been able to raise a certain sum; while the amount so saved is diverted to other states which have done nothing to improve their positions. In case of a uniform matching grant there will be no objection of this type.

(3) It will evoke a certain amount of local enthusiasm, when the local authorities feel that they too are contributing their mite for the educational development.

As against this, there are certain weighty arguments in favour of the Centre being more generous towards the backward areas discarding a uniform policy and these are :

(1) Educational development is not uniform throughout India. A big disparity exists between state and state in this respect. In 1956, Kerala could provide primary education to 99.8 per cent of her children of that age group, thanks to the progressive policy pursued by the states of Travancore and Cochin in the British regime. 33.3 per cent of her secondary age group children were also in schools.

The corresponding figures for West Bengal were 87.1 and 18.5, and for Bombay had been 87.0 and 17.1, a bit reduced with the merger of Marathwada and Vidarbha. At the bottom of the ladder of progress are Uttar Pradesh with 33.5 of her primary age group children and 12.2 of the secondary age group ; Kashmir with 22.8 and 7.7 ; Rajasthan with 22.6 and 7.0 ; and Orissa with 30.9 of the primary age group, but only 4.2 per cent of her secondary age group children in schools. It is impossible for the backward states to catch up with the progress made by the advanced states unless the Centre is over liberal with the matter of her grants.

(2) The ability to meet the matching grants depends on the resources of the states. It can be said generally that the more backward the state is, the less are its resources. Perhaps an idea can be had from the *per capita* expenditure on education made by the states at present. While the industrialized states of Bombay and West Bengal could afford to spend Rs. 8 and 7.7 *per capita* per annum on education, Orissa could spend only Rs. 2.5 *per capita;* Rajasthan only Rs. 2.3 and Kashmir only Rs. 2 *per capita* per annum. It denotes the paying ability of the states concerned. The insistence of a matching grant from the poorer states will either mean unusual hardship on the tax-payer or depriving the state of the opportunity to qualify for the Central subsidy, both of which are unfair to the undeveloped poor states.

(3) The scheme benefits the centrally administered areas, which have no responsibility for finding matching grants, and which thus get a large amount of Central subsidy without the corresponding condition being fulfilled. It is no wonder therefore that Delhi could spend as much as twenty-five rupees *per capita* on education in 1956, when it had the bountiful Central subsidy to help it to spend so much.

What should be a desirable *via media* needs careful consideration. Perhaps a co-ordinating agency like the Central Advisory Board of Education which contains the representatives of the Centre and the states should invite financial experts who should work together, not with the spirit of rivalry and inter-state jealousies, but under the friendliest atmosphere of mutual help and co-operation and work out an equitable formula for determining the quota of matching grants state by state. The recommendations of the Kothari Commission, appointed in 1964, were published in 1966 but these have yet to be implemented.

Be that as it may, we find that since 1947, the Centre has come out of its isolation in the matter of education

of the states, and is actively helping the states in working out the educational policies. It is also acting as an effective co-ordinating agency. If the states are not taking the full advantage of this co-operation, the reason behind it is either the suspicion that still exists in the mind of some of the permanent administrators in the states against the Central *bona fides*, or because all the states are not equally advanced to qualify for Central assistance. There is a proposal now to revive the cadre of an all-India educational service on the lines of an all-India Administrative service. If it materializes, it is sure to bring the Centre and the states closer together, and would help to bring a wider outlook among the educational officers who will no longer think in terms of the state only, as they have been unfortunately doing since 1921 when the all-India service was abolished.

(*d*) *Summary.* The comparison and analysis of a centralized and a decentralized control show us that there are certain advantages as well as grave drawbacks of a centralized control. Complete decentralization is perhaps most democratic, taking us back to the city states, but is undesirable in modern days, for it lacks cohesion and co-ordination, giving rise to fissiparous tendencies. It is disadvantageous specially to an heterogeneous area (which every large country is bound to be), when all its areas do not have the uniform resources and uniform liability.

A *via media* in which the initiative rests with fairly large and culturally homogeneous units, the states, assisted by the Centre seems to be the best solution, provided the assistance of the Centre to the state is not guided by a uniform formula which would ultimately benefit more advanced units. The assistance should be equitable taking into consideration the resources and liabilities of each unit.

Studying the history of Central participation in India, we find the administration was highly centralized till 1921, when the provinces were subservient units, merely carrying out the policies of the Centre. Montford reforms entrusted the task of education mostly to the provinces and left very little for the Centre to do. This resulted in a complete indifference in the Centre, but the public opinion seemed to favour this arrangement as in the Centre the Government was not responsible to the people nor was it thought likely to be in the near future. During the war years, the Centre was coming out of this isolationist tendency, but very soon the power passed out of the hands of the British regime.

In the post-independence period, at first there was an overlapping effort of the Centre and the states in educational reorganization. This was partly due to the fact that the states wanted to retain the power they had so far enjoyed, and also partly because of the fact that the Centre was interested in issuing directives without coming forward to share the responsibility. The close co-operation with which the Centre and the states worked, because it was one political party that was at the helm of affairs at both ends, and because of the commitments of the two Five Year Plans broke the barriers, and by the time the second plan started, there was enough evidence of close co-operation between the Centre and the states. As foreign bounties were available to the states only through the Centre, perhaps that also paved the way of closer co-operation between the two wings of administration, the Centre and the states.

At present the Centre has assumed only limited functions, namely :

(1) Scientific researches, (2) technical education, (3) management of national laboratories, (4) archives (5) foreign scholarships and welfare of students who are abroad, (6) international education in connection with UNESCO, (7) administration of education in centrally administered areas, (8) supervision of central universities, (9) promotion of basic and social education, (10) publications acting as a clearing house for information, (11) promotion of Hindi and maintenance of a cultural division, (12) co-ordination of work done in the States in the field of primary, secondary and higher education, (13) Educational Research by NCERT.

It is in the last two that the Centre and the states are coming closer together and it is hoped that greater co-operation will ensure in future.

(e) *Selected references :*

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3. Ministry of Education, *Education in India*, 1955-56 ; gives the state of primary and secondary educational facilities in its charts facing pages 36 and 39.
4. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists ;* gives the extent of centralization in France, Germany, Italy and U.S.S.R., in the past and now.

5. Mukerji, S.N., *History of Education in India: Modern Period;* gives an historical account of the period up to 1957.
6. Patwardhan, C.N., *An Introduction to the Study of Educational Administration in India;* discusses central participation before 1952.
7. Planning Commission, *Draft Outline of the Second Five Year Plan;* gives the allocation in the second plan.
8. Planning Commission, *The First Five Year Plan;* gives some account of the allocation of funds.

# Chapter V

## State Government as the Unit of Administration

*(a) Advantages and disadvantages of state governments as units of administration.* Apparently it may seem quite satisfactory to delegate the educational authority to the state governments. On the one hand, the states are not so big as the Central Government, that the regions would be too far flung for the government to be able to assess the local necessities or aspirations. On the other, the states are not so small as local units, as to be unable to carry out a definite plan for improvement with the limited resources that a local unit can marshal. Coming as it does between two extremes, the centralization of the Union or Central Government, and decentralization with the resulting fissiparous tendencies of the local units, the state governments may be said to offer a suitable *via media,* combining the advantages and moderating the disadvantages of both.

When we, however, examine the role that the state governments have played in such countries where they have been the units of administration, we find that they have displayed certain weaknesses. Let us first take the case of U. S. A. Here from the colonial days the states have been the units of administration, and the states did not give up that right when thirteen colonies formed the United States to fight for the War of Independence. The fact that educational authority remained with the states, has been responsible for certain diversities in the educational structure which are so sharp that a casual observer coming to U. S. A. would feel that U. S. A. has no national system of education at all. True, in all states of U. S. A. the combined period of school education, elementary and secondary, consists of twelve years of study, but here too, while most of the states have adopted the new plan of six years' elementary, three years' junior high school and three years' high school, there are some states with no junior high school stage at all, and stick to the old pattern of eight years' elementary and four of high school. There are yet a few which though limiting the elementary to six years, have curtailed the junior high school stage to only two years, so that the old high school stage of four years could be retained. Then again the function of educational administration is entrusted to a board in every state. But

the manner in which the board is constituted differs from State to State. In some states the chief executive is elected by a popular vote as the Governor, in some others he is appointed by the state legislature, while there are States in which he is a mere nominee of the Governor. The members of the board are sometimes elected by the legislature and sometimes appointed by the Governor, and sometimes a mixed procedure is attempted with part election and part nomination.

Besides these organizational differences, sometimes severe administrative conflicts are also possible, as was seen recently. Till 1860 in the southern states, the Negroes were slaves, but not so in the north. After the civil war, the Negroes were emancipated, but the south eastern states denied the claim of equal educational opportunities to the Negro children by refusing to admit them in the public schools meant for the white children and forced special schools being opened for Negro children. In 1954 the Supreme Court of U. S. A. ruled that this kind of class distinction is objectionable and Negro children should be admitted in all public schools. This decision of the Supreme Court had to be implemented in at least nine of the south eastern States with considerable opposition as they claimed that they have the right to disobey the Supreme Court mandate. This shows how local and purely parochial outlook can sometimes be detrimental to wider and truly national interests.

In a way, we may say that in the United Kingdom too, the educational administration is not quite centralized. Though here is now a Minister of Education and in the past a president of the Board of Education, yet Scotland and Ireland could evolve their own patterns independently. In fact, even with the Union, Scotland kept three things separate, law, religion and education. Consequently, the Scots in particular and to a certain extent the Irish developed their own organization. While the first arts degree in Scotland is a Master's degree offered after three years of post-school study, in England the Bachelor's degree is given after this period and Masters degree is offered after two more years. In science, Scotland offers the science degree after two years of post-school study, but the English universities offer it after three years. The senior and the junior schools of Scotland are quite different from the Grammar and modern schools of England.

Wales is an area long associated with England, and has so far the same educational structure. But the people of Wales claim that they have a culture and language distinct from the English, and are now demanding that their educa-

tional structure should suit that culture. It is rather too early to say whether this would be another Celtic revival movement which resulted in the formation of an independent government in Ireland, but this definitely shows that even within one state there may be certain subcultural differences, which it may not be safe to overlook.

If in India, we leave the function of educational organization entirely to the states with no co-ordinating influence of the Centre, there is a danger that each state will develop in its own way and create sharp divisions in the structure. We have even today certain differences which are too sharp, and which cause severe inconvenience, when a child transfers from one area into another. While most of the states require a child to study for five years to finish his primary education, Bombay, West Bengal, Manipur and Tripura require only four. The secondary stage ends with the high school, in U. P. it ends with the intermediate, Delhi takes a student midway ending at the higher secondary stage. The total period spent in a secondary school is seven years in Assam, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, U. P. and Delhi. But within this period Delhi covers a one-year course beyond, the high school, and U. P. covers a course up to the intermediate, unlike the three others which merely cover the high school stage. In all other states, except Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andaman and Nicobar, the period spent in a secondary school, and ending with a high school is only six years, while in these four areas it is only five. Perhaps some of these diversities would be resolved when the states adopt the structure suggested by the Kothari Commission, but the implementation of the recommendations of the commission is being delayed, no doubt owing to these complexities that exist, and the confusion that would arise when an attempt is made to resolve them suddenly.

One must also remember that the states in India are quite large units. Except Russia in Europe and with Germany divided, there is no country in Europe which has as many people as the two most populous states of U. P. and Bihar. Then again in area, there are no States in Europe except Russia as large as Bombay, Rajputana or Madhya Pradesh. Perhaps because of their vast size, some states have complexities of their own. The past traditions are also keeping the Nagpur or Vidarbha area somewhat separate from the rest of the Marathi-speaking areas. In Bihar, the Jharkhand area has certain cultural heritages different from the rest of the state. Punjab has been divided into two areas, speaking Hindi and Gurmukhi but the division brought its own problems. Perhaps much of the conflict in Kerala is as much due to regional

differences between the old states of Travancore and Cochin and British Malabar as it is due to religious and political differences.

There is yet a third fear which we must guard against. If each state is permitted to develop its educational structure up to the highest stage as it likes, there is a fear that it would do so at the cost of national solidarity. In their zeal to introduce Hindi to the highest stage, the universities of U. P. have made this language the medium of instruction up to the degree stage, and are taking it right up to the master's degree. This would have been good, if all other states had agreed to give the same status to the federal language. But this is not so. Already there is a move in Madras to make Tamil the medium of instruction at their universities. If other states follow suit, it will divide the whole country into a group of linguistic islands, devoid of any means of inter-communication of thoughts and ideas, emotions and aspirations. It must be noted that whatever had been the motive of introducing English, a foreign language, as the medium of instruction, and whatever evil effects that might have resulted in, there was at least one good result, that it gave India a common language to communicate, whatever few might have been benefited by it. If the states do not come into some agreement among themselves about a common language they should adopt for communication, at least in the highest stage of education, it is feared that linguistic Balkanization of India will soon result in political Balkanization of this great country. And yet if the entire control of the educational policy remains with the states, there is no chance of an understanding. Our dangers in this respect are more than what happened in U. S. A., for there is at least a common language in which the people there communicate, while we have as many as fourteen languages threatening to develop into fourteen cultural islands.

(*b*) *How state governments in India have functioned so far as units of administration.* Though centralizing forces were quite strong, it may be said that the real beginning of state governments as units of administration began with the appointment of separate Directors of Public Instruction for each province in the fifties of the nineteenth century. It was the directors who had issued circulars specifying the conditions of grant-in-aid in 1958. Directors had inspectors to assist them, and they not only inspected the schools, but recommended the amount of grant each should get. From the beginning of this century, the recognition of a new school was made subject to the favourable report of the inspector. These gave certain powers to provincial and local units no doubt, but they were all

entrusted to carry out the policy directed by the Central Government which had a director general of education since 1901 and a member of the Executive Council since 1910 who replaced the director general. Perhaps as all the senior educational officers of the state belonged to all-India services, who may be transferred from one to another state, cohesion was possible.

In 1921, the ministers of the provinces responsible to legislature took charge of the educational portfolio, and the Central Government had very little to do in the matter. The powers of these ministers were very much limited owing to the fact that they had only limited financial resources. Further, they had to work with secretaries who were generally Europeans and members of the Indian Civil Service, who though subordinate to the ministers could go over their heads to the Governors and get the ministers' orders vetoed. To add to this, the Directors of Public Instruction were also Europeans and members of all-India Educational Service. So in spite of the diversity, there was still some room for cohesion though the forces for cohesion acted more for British interests than Indian. Perhaps to give the ministers certain liberty in the execution of their policy, the all-India services were abolished in 1924, and a superior grade of provincial service was introduced. It took some time, however, to replace the old hands of all-India services, and in fact even up to the time of gaining her independence, there were a few persons belonging to the old All-India Educational Service. The replacement of all-India service by the provincial service men had, however, one effect, namely, that it introduced a narrow parochial and provincial outlook among educational administrators. This was at least partly responsible for certain states to develop their educational structure in their own way, quite unmindful of the common pattern that the Centre was drawing.

Nevertheless, the trend of events at present are drifting towards a closer co-operation between the Centre and the states, and it cannot be denied that this change of attitude has been brought about to a large extent by the fact that the Centre is now in a position to render financial assistance to the individual states to develop their own educational facilities.

The Centre has, however, been wise enough not to push things too fast. It invites the co-operation of the states every time there is any change in the organization or a policy is to be decided. There are conferences of the ministers of education when a radical change is needed. Then the Central Advisory Board of Education is an agency

that suggests many changes, and this contains the representatives of the Centre as well as the states. Even at the lower stages, there are opportunities for interchange of ideas through conferences of executives and through seminars that are arranged.

Thus we find that though in the present pattern the initiative of affecting a major educational change lies with the states, yet efforts are being made to bring about certain cohesion through Central intervention. This is indeed a hopeful sign, for though state direction of educational policy has certain advantages, yet in the present set-up of India complete state direction has certain dangers which we must try to avoid. Already as has been shown in the previous section, there are certain danger signals, which show which ways things will drift if the states take a narrow and parochial outlook. But this narrow outlook can be prevented only when the Central agency intervenes wisely and tactfully, without being offensive or authoritative, and try to modify the extreme views taken by certain states, for the result of one state taking an extreme view is very often the cause of another trying to outdo it. Every action is followed by a reaction.

This, we must avoid at all costs, and it is gratifying to note that steps are being taken in the right direction.

(c) *The State machinery of educational administration.* At the head of educational machinery in every state (except the centrally administered areas) is a minister responsible to the legislature. He is chosen by the chief minister from among the members forming his party or group of parties for his interest in educational affairs. But, nevertheless, he generally lacks the administrative experience, and has to depend on the permanent officials for his guidance. In this respect the government of the state does not differ from the system followed in other countries where the party system prevails and where too the education ministers are generally non-technical men.

The difference lies in the nature of his immediate subordinates among the administrative officers. During the British regime, it had been the policy of the government to entrust all responsible and policy making tasks to the members of the Indian Civil Service. In fact in 1922, the late Mr. Lloyd George described the members of Indian Civil Service as the "steel frame" which held together the entire structure of administration. Perhaps this "steel frame" was necessary when the British ruled, for it meant a group of officials, mostly British, who were loyal to their masters. But the trouble is that even today this basic structure is being retained, though an Indian member of

the Indian Administrative Service has replaced the British civil servant. The trouble with this system is that though this brings a certain amount of apparent administrative efficiency, yet that efficiency lies mostly on the surface, in the presentation of neat reports. The administrators, called the secretaries, themselves lack the necessary technical training and also lack the foresight which an educationist should have, and are often led away by narrow and immediate considerations overlooking a wider, more comprehensive and far-reaching view which is sometimes necessary to take in initiating educational changes. True, some states have supplied the secretaries with Deputy Secretaries who are technical men, but this does not remedy the state of things so long as the secretaries remain as the eyes and ears of the ministers who are non-technical men themselves.

While the policy making is left to the secretariat, the execution of the policy is left with the directorate. The director is now generally called the Director of Education rather than the Director of Public Instruction in many states, but this has been a change in the name only, and not in the function. The director is assisted by a number of Deputy or Assistant Directors depending on the size of the State, for each region comprising several districts is formed into an administrative unit under the charge of a senior educational officer. One senior officer is given the charge of looking after the teachers' training, where this is not left with the universities, while another, a lady, is kept in charge of the women's education.

The director has manifold duties to perform. He supervises the work of the government officials, and is in charge of the leave and transfers of all of them, no matter whether they are teachers of the government institution or members of the inspecting staff. As most of the institutions, especially at the secondary level, are run by non-government agencies supported by the government grant-in-aid, the director is the final authority to determine the amounts of grant, though normally he agrees with what the inspector recommends, provided the same does not exceed the budgeted amounts. In most of the states now, the task of evaluation of high school students (in some states as has been shown in chapter III the higher secondary and the intermediate also), has been taken over from the universities to secondary education boards, the director, who is usually the chairman of this board, has to exercise a large measure of emergency powers, though the routine work of running these boards is usually delegated to a whole-time official called the secretary of the board. In the field of primary education, the director usually has a

limited authority, for the administration of primary schools is generally given to local authorities, the District and the Municipal Boards, who get block subsidies from the education department. The director's responsibilities do not end with the school education alone. Ever since 1904, he has been associated with the universities, and is usually a member of the university executive body, the Syndicate or the Executive Council, as it is called. He has also to disburse the government grants to be given to colleges for higher education, though of late much of function in this respect has been taken over by the State university grants committees. The concentration of so much work in one person, though the director often delegates some of his functions to his deputy or deputies is rather too heavy, and leaves very little room for him to formulate a new policy of his own, the routine work taking most of his time. Even if the director does have a far-reaching policy, he has to get the minister's sanction through the secretary who is a non-technical man. Further, he has to work within the limitations of the budget, and in framing the budget, the original proposals of the director, if any, are much pruned, firstly by the educational secretariat and then by the finance department. It is no wonder therefore that in post-independent India, though much was expected when Indian directors replaced the European counterparts, yet they could not live up to the level of expectations for them, and this is true for almost every state in India.

While Deputy and Assistant Directors perform the work delegated to them by the director, the function of inspection of schools is left with the inspectors. They visit the schools and submit a report to the director. They are in charge of the administration of the schools, inasmuch as the headmaster of a school, government or non-government, is directly responsible to the inspector for administration and discipline. In a non-government institution, however, the functions of the inspector and the managements overlap to a certain extent. For non-government institutions, the inspectors have one more responsibility, namely, to recommend the amount of grant-in-aid. In a government institution the inspector is often a supervising officer over the headmaster, especially if the head of the institution happens to be comparatively a junior man which is often the case in most of the government schools. Though usually he has nothing to do with colleges (except intermediate colleges of U. P.), the inspector has certain responsibilities over the field of primary education. The work there is the primary responsibility of the local bodies, the municipal or the district boards, yet the government often supplies the inspecting staff for the district boards and these are

deputy and sub-deputy inspectors (or their prototypes called under different names) whose work is supervised by the inspectors. The area controlled by the inspectors depends on the volume of work, in some states he has to look after a single district and in others he has a number of districts under his charge. Often when his work is heavy, he has an assistant inspector to help him. But the routine work of the office is sometimes too heavy, and as the structure is at present, perhaps the remarks of the first Narendra Deva Committee are too true, "The office often swallows the man."

The work of the deputy and the sub-deputy inspectors (or their prototypes) being connected with the administrations of schools under the district boards should better be discussed in the next chapter.

Secondary institutions in India are really of four categories, some are run by the government, others are run by the local bodies though a large majority of the latter are just middle schools. A large majority of the schools are run by private agencies and most of them have separate managing bodies of their own, though some run by the Christian missions have a certain amount of co-ordination. Not all the private schools are aided, though a majority are so, there is a number of unaided institutions also. When a managing body runs an institution, the responsibility becomes a shared affair between the government and the managing bodies. Perhaps this may be better discussed in a relevant chapter on secondary education which may provide us with the opportunity of seeing both the advantages and disadvantages of the system. In a chapter on financing education, we may better discuss the financial consequences of the policy of grants-in-aid. Suffice it to say here, that because of this sharing, the control of the government administration so far as it relates to non-government institutions cannot under these circumstances be as effective as it can be in respect to the government institutions. When the non-government institutions form a majority, this factor effectively checks the government from taking any radical steps for educational reforms, unless they can carry the support of a large number of private managements with them.

As has been mentioned, most of the states have now formed their own university grants committees for disbursing grants for higher education, but since these institutions had already been enjoying grants from the state governments in the past, the function of these grants committees is limited to examination of additional demands of grants rather than in the examination and administra-

tion of routine grants, an arrangement which is not working quite satisfactorily.

(d) *Summary.* To some it appears that to entrust the task of controlling education to the State Government would produce the best results. The States, on one hand, are fairly culturally homogeneous and regionally compact units. They would bring the administration nearer to the people than a Central Government can do with its far-flung areas. On the other hand, they are economically self-sufficient, at least to a large extent so as to make it effective for them to carry out certain policies. An examination of the state of things in U. S. A. and in U. K., however, show that sometimes this brings about a diversity in the pattern of education in different States, and sometimes narrow and short-sighted policies of certain States may run quite in an opposite direction to the wider national outlook of the country at large. The danger is more enhanced in case of States having heterogeneous cultural groups among them, which may lead to unnecessary friction as has been the case in England and Wales.

In India the danger has been great because of three things. The States have in the past created patterns of their structure which are different from one another and this especially refers to the structure of primary and secondary education. Then like England and Wales, some states have minorities within them, and the groups existing within the states are quite large. An analysis of the trouble of Negro problem in U. S. A. or minority problem elsewhere shows that the real problem arises when the minority forms at least a fifth of the total population. Small and microscopic minorities do not create so great a threat, political, economic or cultural. The resistance of the majority to the aspiration of the minority is also stronger when the minority forms a significant part of the population, because the economic rivalry then assumes a significant factor. To a centralized structure therefore these minorities would not matter; to more decentralized regional units perhaps some of these would not exist, for within a region carefully constituted, only one group will predominate. To the states, however, these minorities existing as they do in considerable proportions, constitute a real threat to solidarity and integration. The third danger arises out of the fact that in India, there is a multiplicity of languages each spoken by several millions. The accepted federal language, Hindi, is the language of only about 40 per cent of the people, while another 30 or 35 per cent understand it somewhat imperfectly. Over a quarter of the people residing in the southern provinces do

not understand it at all. While this has made the Union Government proceed cautiously towards the spread of Hindi, some of the Hindi-speaking states in their enthusiasm are proceeding rather too swiftly and have already introduced this as the medium of instruction even at the university stage. This has created a feeling of reaction in the southern states which are trying to push up their regional language up to the university stage. It is feared that if this state of rivalry proceeds unchecked, it may divide the whole country into a number of linguistic islands, without any means of communication between one another. The unity and the solidarity of the nation as a whole will suffer thereby, and it is therefore necessary that the enthusiasm and emotional attachments to their local languages do not stand in the way of wider national interest. It is only a strong centralizing force which would take a forward step tactfully and cautiously that could prevent this.

A study of the history of the role of the state government in the educational administration shows that though the start was made with the establishment of separate Directors of Public Instruction in each province in the early fifties of the nineteenth century, yet effective control of education by the state authorities began in 1921 with the transference of educational portfolio to the provincial ministers. The ministers themselves enjoyed very little autonomy owing to the influence exerted by their secretaries usually members of the Indian Civil Service and the Directors of Public Instruction who were invariably Europeans belonging to the Indian Educational Service. Recruitment to the latter service was stopped since 1924, and new entrants belonged to superior cadre of provincial services. Although it took over two decades to replace the last member of all-India services, yet the progressive introduction of a larger number of provincial service men created a separatist tendency resulting in separate educational structure for different states and at the initial stages of our freedom these separatist tendencies were more manifest in each state formulating its own scheme for education. Certain exceptional forces like the national planning and the availability of foreign subsidy through the Centre have, however, brought the Central Government into playing the role of an integrating unit, and it is taking its steps slowly, cautiously and tactfully.

An analysis of the machinery of the state government shows that though the minister responsible to the legislature is at the helm of affairs, yet being a non-technical man, he has to depend on his permanent officials for

technical advice. Unfortunately the officer immediately available to him is the secretary who, being a member of the Indian Administrative Service, is not a technical man himself. His presence in the office may have brought in certain apparent administrative efficiency, but this on closer look would be found to be mere window-dressing. It is necessary that this office should go to one who knows the technicalities of the educational problem. While the policy making is done by the secretariat, the execution is left with the directorate. The Director of Education is saddled with a number of routine jobs which make heavy demands on his time in spite of the fact that he often delegates many of his functions to his deputies. This and the limitations of the budget under which he has to work, and in the final framing of which he has very little voice himself, makes it difficult for him to devote his time and energies on a far-reaching plan.

Like the director, the inspectors have a number of routine jobs to perform and these hamper their effective functioning as local planners. Further, in the field of primary education the plans have to be worked through the District and Municipal Boards; and in the field of secondary due to the existence of a large number of non-government institutions, no plan can be worked which is opposed by a large number of private managements. All these decrease the tempo, making one work along the line of least resistance. The conditions are therefore such as to make it hard for doing anything effective, except working out patchwork reforms.

(*e*) *Selected references:*

1. First Narendra Deva Committee Report: *Report of Primary and Secondary Education Committee of U. P.;* gives the reason why inspectors cannot work effectively.
2. Hans, Nicholas, *Comparative Education;* raises some of the problems arising out of cultural and religious minorities in Europe which may be worth noting in India.
3. Kabir, Humayun, *Education in New India;* the first chapter shows the efforts made by the Central Government towards educational betterment.
4. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists;* gives an idea of the problems in U.S.A. and U.K.
5. Mukerjee, S. N., *History of Education in India; Modern Period;* gives the history especially after independence.

6. Nurullah & Naik, *History of Education in the British Period;* gives a general history of the period.
7. *Progress of Education in India: Ninth Quinquinnial Review,* 1922-27; shows some of the disintegrating effects of early decentralization.
8. Richney, J. A., *Selections from Educational Records Part II,* 1840-1859; shows when directorates were introduced in provinces.

## Chapter VI

## Local Units as the Centres of Administration of Education

(a) *The theory and practice of local units being placed in charge of educational administration.* That the most effective democracy can be exercised only when the self-governing units are small is an ancient experience. Democracy originated in the West with the city states or *civitas* in ancient Greece, which gave an individual maximum opportunities for participation. This refers to all spheres of administration, including educational administration. It was therefore that in the pioneering days in U. S. A. effective organization of education was left to local initiatives of the communities, a term which signifies the entire local population in a certain area in U. S. A., rather than a group professing a certain faith as in India. The obligation for the local area to provide educational facilities for children was codified by state laws beginning with the law enacted in the colony of Massachusetts in 1647. The provisions of this act were further amplified by the Massachusetts State Law of 1827, which made it obligatory for every group of hundred families to maintain an elementary school and every group of five hundred to maintain a secondary school. The local community was empowered to raise taxes for the maintenance of these schools. When the areas developed, the local units were no longer determined in accordance with the number of families, but on a certain area basis, called school districts. A school district in U. S. A., it must be noted, is much smaller than a district in India; the size being roughly 90 to 150 square miles.

In France, the local municipalities called the *communes* organized the educational facilities within small areas and maintained not only elementary schools but also secondary schools called *colleges*. The latter thus ran parallel to the secondary schools provided by the Central Government known as *lycees*. In England, by an act of 1870 school boards were formed to look after elementary education and in 1902 these boards were also empowered to look after secondary education in certain areas, the names of the boards changing into local educational authorities. The area of effective control of the local educational authorities can be judged from the fact that though England and Wales have an area much smaller than U. P., yet there were before 1944 as many as 315 local educational authorit-

ies, 169 of which were looking after only elementary educational facilities, and the remainder for facilities of both elementary and secondary education. Even in 'Russia, during the Czarist days the municipalities or *zemestovs* maintained their schools.

One weakness for the local units to organize education is that these units lack the legal sanction which a larger body like the state or Central Government only can have. The power to raise taxes in U. S. A. had to be given by the states to make it obligatory for everybody to pay. In England educational cess could be raised by the local educational authorities only through an act of Parliament. Another weakness is that they lack enough resources to develop themselves. If the people living in a certain area are rich, they are able to pay more taxes and would thus provide better educational facilities for their children than an area where poorer people live. It is the function of the larger body, the state or the Central Government then to come forward to help the poorer area. Then even in an area where rich people live, the resources may not be sufficient to ensure the maximum development and the government, Central or the state, must supplement the needs through award of grants. Thus the rates and taxes of the local educational authorities in England or in U. S. A. are to be supplemented by government grants. In France the salaries of teachers appointed by the *communes* are being paid by the Central Government. With the award of grants comes a certain amount of control, and it is no wonder therefore when the salaries of teachers of *communes* of France were being paid by the Central Government, the *communes* had to submit themselves to the centralized pattern, and today there is hardly any difference between a *college* maintained by a *commune* and a *lycee* except the historical traditions behind their origin.

The local units have to run between two paradoxes. If the areas are made small, they provide more effective democratic participation ; but their size limits their activities. and they cannot hope to expand the sphere of their activities, their resources, both in man power and in money are so small. On the other hand, if they are large, they provide more resources ; but then the effective local interest becomes too diffused, and the chances of participation for an individual becomes at best indirect and ineffective. There is yet another danger of local pressure groups acting to spoil efficient and impartial administration. An important prerequisite for the success of local units is that there must be competent persons available within the area who should be able to run the administra-

tion, and the task of administration should be left to such persons only.

(*b*) *History of local administration in India.* Administration of education by local units in India dates with the reforms made by Lord Ripon who passed the Local Self-Government Act in 1883. This was the consequence of the recommendations of the Hunter Commission of 1882, which though primarily concerned with secondary education had suggested that the administration of primary education should be left to self-governing units; District and Municipal Boards. Perhaps the idea was to copy the British example of school boards which were functioning in England since 1870. The recommendations of the commission which were subsequently implemented in the act had, however, several defects:

(1) The task of administration of schools was delegated to a committee of these boards known as the Education Committee. This made educational administration a mere appendage of the board. Members of the committee were elected not because of their educational ability, but because of certain mutual considerations made among the members of the board themselves. The more competent members wanted to remain in the finance or other committees which exerted more political power.

(2) It was an initial mistake on the part of the government to entrust the responsibility of education to these committees and in not making suitable arrangements for their effective supervision and guidance, till a late date. The task of inspection was the only function that the government left in their own hands, and, that too related only to District and not to Municipal Boards.

(3) The financial responsibility of the government ended with the giving of grants-in-aid which amounted to half, and sometimes one-third of the expenses and took no heed of the future developments. This demanded enough local exertion for funds, which was quite beyond the capacity for some of the local units and hence the paucity of finance stunted their activities and hampered development.

(4) In the award of grants to the individual schools, the local bodies were asked to decide the issue on the basis of results. This was a bad system, for it introduced the process of unhealthy efforts on the part of schools to show falsely better results. The emphasis was not on education but on the results. Thus the mistake made by over-emphasis on results by making universities evaluating and examin-

ing units was followed at the level of primary education also.

(5) So far as the rural education was concerned, the responsibility was placed on District Boards. These were large areas, some of them as large as some of the smaller countries in Europe (like Denmark), and contained as many people as these countries had. The communication at many places was difficult, and many of these areas were quite backward. It must be noted that this system was not quite suitable for effective local participation. The units of school districts in U. S. A., it may be pointed out, were quite small and manageable. The units of local educational authorities in England were also much smaller. It was a mistake to make the units so large in India, especially at the time when means of communication were not developed. Generally, it may be said for all branches of administration, not merely educational, in India, the units should have been villages, or at the most a group of contiguous villages. That was the real unit in India which had a sort of self-contained entity. Today with a certain amount of mobility, a district may have a meaning, but it was not so eighty-five years ago.

(6) The government method of rectification of the original weakness of the committees having only third raters among the members of the boards by a system of nomination also defeated its end. For these nominated members hoping to seek a continuity of tenure looked to the nominating authority, usually the district magistrate for approval of their actions; and eventually turned to be veritable "yes men" with no independent outlook of their own. Thus instead of being a help, they usually proved themselves a hindrance to the progress of education.

(7) In later years when communal representation was provided in the local bodies, the educational committees became a veritable area of communal tangle, and if a member suggested a certain improvement of the facilities in a certain area, his suggestions were not judged on the merits of the case, but on the communal implications that they may be alleged to have.

The results, it may be noted were therefore not satisfactory. In 1854 in the Wood's Despatch the responsibility for opening primary schools was adopted. Within a year 1,202 primary schools were departmental institutions under the direct charge of the government. By 1882 their number rose to 13,882; in 1883 they were all transferred to the local units to manage, and in 1902, the number was just 16,968. Thus within the first twenty-seven years under direct control of the government as many as 12,680 schools

increased, and in the next 20 years the increase was only 3,086 and that too when the need for increase was very far indeed from reaching a point of saturation. Among the provincial governments, Bengal was never in favour of opening departmental schools, nor did it encourage opening schools under the local bodies; consequently in 1882 it had only 28 such schools and as many as 47, 374 schools were in the grant-in-aid list; the administration being private. In 1902 the number of schools directly under the local bodies in Bengal decreased from 28 to 26, while private schools supported by grants also decreased from 47,374 to 36,046. Thus in Bengal there was no progress at all, and so was in N. W. P. as far as schools under local bodies were concerned, only in Madras the progress was marked.

Besides the schools directly administered by the local bodies, there were a number of schools run by private managements with grants-in-aid given by the local bodies under a system of payment by results as a result of examination conducted by the inspecting authorities. An analysis of their conditions in 1882 and 1902 shows that except for Bengal (which included Bihar and Orissa at that time) in all other provinces, they showed a definite trend for increase as the table would show.

TABLE IX

**Growth of Schools Under Local Bodies 1882-1902**

| Provinces | 1882 | | 1902 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Schools run by Govt. or local bodies | Private aided schools | Schools run by Govt. or local bodies | Private aided schools |
| Assam .. .. | 7 | 1,256 | 1,260 | 1,482 |
| Bengal (Bihar, Orissa) .. | 28 | 47,374 | 26 | 36,046 |
| Bombay .. .. | 3,811 | 196 | 4,670 | 1,929 |
| Central Provinces and Berar | 1,363 | 577 | 1,571 | 1,264 |
| Madras .. .. | 1,263 | 7,414 | 2,836 | 11,125 |
| Punjab and N.W.F. .. | 1,549 | 278 | 1,937 | 653 |
| U. P. (then N.W.P.) .. | 5,561 | 243 | 4,598 | 2,463 |
| Coorg .. .. | 57 | 3 | 70 | 4 |

The overall picture is that the progress of primary education was not satisfactory, and it has at least been officially said to be one of the reasons for Lord Curzon's government issuing a circular in 1904 that more attention would be paid to primary than to the progress of the secondary, though in the political atmosphere then prevailing it was considered by many to be motivated at curbing the facilities for higher education. Even today we are not sure which of the considerations, progress of primary education or the retardation or facilities for secondary and higher education using primary as the excuse was the actual motive. There is, however, one thing to be noted. Seven years after 1904, in 1911 when the late G. K. Gokhale wanted that the state should help those local bodies as were willing to launch a programme for compulsory education by meeting two-thirds of the cost of additional education, the official members of the imperial legislature opposed it, and as they then held an absolute majority the motion was negatived.

Be that as it may, from the Decennial Review of the Progress of Education in India published in 1947, we get some information of the growth of primary schools in the earlier decades of this century. The number of schools grew from 1,11,000 (both managed by the local bodies as well as private ones aided by them) in 1912 to 139,000 in 1922. In 1932 they were raised to the peak figure of nearly 169,000 and there was decline to 158,000 in 1942. All these figures are given in round numbers to the nearest thousand. For 1947, however, we have more exact figures of 167,841 primary schools, but not all of them were under the District or Municipal Boards. A small percentage was maintained directly by the provincial governments. Only 3,141 of the schools were thus under the governments directly, forming 1.9 per cent of the total. The remaining 164,700 were under the local bodies, 91,458 being directly managed by these boards and 73,242 being aided. It is to be noted that in 1902 there were more schools run by private agencies and subsidized by the boards, than those run by the boards themselves. The ratio of the board schools to private aided schools was roughly 3:10, the board schools being actually less than one-third. In 1947 there were more board schools than those under private management, the ratio by that time was 4:3. Board schools had increased nearly five and a half times, while the number of private schools had not increased even one and a half times.

After freedom, there was a rapid increase in the facilities for primary education. It was felt that there should be two-pronged drive, for while the local boards would

be encouraged to open more schools, the state governments should also open their own schools.

In 1956, 23.3 per cent schools were directly managed by the provincial governments as against 51.2 by local bodies, 24.2 were aided and only 1.4 were unaided. Perhaps we can get some idea of the expansion of the facilities from the following table :

TABLE X

**Distribution of Primary Schools by Managements, 1956**

| Management | Number of schools | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Directly by state governments .. .. | 64,827 | 23.3 |
| Run by district boards .. .. | 133,296 | 47.9 |
| Run by municipal boards .. .. | 8,927 | 3.2 |
| Private schools aided by local bodies .. | 67,263 | 24.2 |
| Private schools running without aid .. | 3,822 | 1.4 |
| Total .. | 278,135 | |

The analysis shows that the schools under the local bodies had increased by 56 per cent, while the private schools declined by 5 per cent compared with the corresponding figures of 1947. The total number of schools, however, increased by over 65 per cent, as a result of state governments' entering into the field of the management of primary education.

The result of government directly entering into the field of primary education had not been quite happy for the local bodies ; more and more sums were diverted by the government to maintain their own schools, and the expansion that the board undertook did not give them a proportionate increase in grants. At the same time, the government in many states had fixed pay scales for teachers, which was necessary to meet the steep rise of living index. The net result on the board's funds was, that while the municipal boards with their expansion of urbanization and the resultant increases in taxes were mostly able to meet the additional costs, the district boards were generally unable to do so. The teachers' salaries were often in

arrears, and this resulted in an unhappy tangle between the boards and teachers in many districts in several states.

It must be noted that the function of educational activities of the local bodies, though mainly concerned with the primary education are not entirely confined to it. The district and the municipal boards maintain some institutions for higher education also. In 1946 the district boards maintained one arts college, as many as 223 high schools and 5,267 middle schools, of which 4,307 were vernacular middle schools. The municipal boards maintained one arts college, one teacher's college, 144 high schools and 261 middle schools of which 100 were vernacular middle schools. The Decennial Review published in 1947 states that the condition has been more or less consistent with the general progress during the decade. In 1937-38 the total number of high schools in India was 3,416 and nine per cent of these, i.e., 305, were maintained by the local bodies. In 1947 out of a total of 5,298 institutions, 451 were managed by the local bodies. This formed 8.7 per cent of the total, and represents an increase of 121 institutions all over India. In the administration of the middle schools, however, there was a fall. While 57 per cent of such schools mostly vernacular schools in the rural areas were managed by local bodies in 1937-38, 49.3 per cent were managed in 1946-47.

After freedom, while there is a rise in the number and percentage of high schools managed by the local bodies, there is a fall in the percentage of the middle schools. The number of high schools maintained by district boards in 1956 was 1,050 which represented 9.7 per cent of such schools; the number of those maintained by the municipal boards was 352, *i.e.* 3.2 per cent of the total. As for middle schools, 8,104 or 37.3 per cent were maintained by the district boards and 884 or 4.1 per cent were maintained by the municipal boards. The figures represent an increase of a hundred high schools. and 3,413 middle schools in a single year, if we compare the figures with statistics of the previous year.

So far as the financial condition was concerned, the secondary schools, especially the vernacular middle schools shared the same fate as the primary schools. Municipolities were getting more and more prosperous due to a rapid trend towards urbanization, and hence were able to pay the teachers regularly. The district board schools were poorer. Some of the secondary schools which were in direct-grant list as other non-government aided schools received the grants and were not so badly off. The liberty to charge fees at the secondary stage also helped the

schools partially, but still there was a paucity of funds resulting in reduced and irregular payments in certain places especially in rural areas.

Thus, it may appear that the main defect of local administration in education in India had been :

(1) Paucity of funds (2) large and unmanageable areas for district boards, (3) election of members into the educational committees of boards on grounds other than educational and (4) a narrow and rather parochial outlook which is always associated with local administration.

(c) *Administration of education by local bodies in India.* As has been mentioned, the responsibility for administration of education lies with the educational committees of the local bodies, whether they are committees of district or municipal boards. Grants are paid to the boards by the state governments, and they utilize a portion of these grants for developing educational facilities. They also utilize a portion of their revenue for educational purposes, but the revenues of the district boards are limited. A few of them (not all) also levy educational cess. In case of primary education, since no fees are charged, the amount thus amassed through government grants, diversion of a portion of the board's revenues, and educational cess, if any, becomes almost the sole source for running the schools ; fees charged, if any, is after all nominal. A portion of this money is also utilized in giving grants to privately managed schools also.

In case of secondary institutions managed by the local bodies, there is an opportunity to earn some fees ; and further, in some states these institutions being treated as non-government institutions, earn a certain amount of grants.

While the responsiblity for running the institutions or for giving financial help to private bodies lies with the government, the evaluation is done by the inspecting officers. Most of the municipalities, and certainly the larger ones, which have formed themselves into corporations have their own educational superintendents. Their responsibilities for inspection, however, end with inspection and evaluation of the primary schools ; though they are also associated with the administration of all types of board schools, primary or secondary, as secretaries to the educational committees. The responsibility for inspection and evaluation of the secondary schools managed by the boards rests with the inspecting authority of the government.

In case of schools run by the district boards, the government inspector is called the deputy inspector of schools in Andhra, Madras, Assam, Rajasthan, U. P. and Orissa ; deputy educational adviser in Bombay and Madhya Pradesh ; district inspectors in Behar, Punjab and West Bengal ; district educational officer in Mysore ; tahsil education officer in Kashmir and inspector of primary and middle schools in Kerala. In the three centrally administered regions of Delhi, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh, an assistant inspector of schools performs this function, while in Manipur and N. E. F. A. a sub-inspector does this work.

In many of the states, the officer is assisted by a number of junior officers called the sub-deputy inspector in U. P. and Rajasthan ; sub-inspector in Assam, Behar and Orissa ; assistant inspector in West Bengal ; assistant district inspector in Punjab and assistant deputy educational officer in Bombay.

The presence of a separate staff for evaluation, assessment and recommendation of grants, and another body, the educational committees, for disbursement of salaries and for general administration, creates a sort of diarchy whose effect is not always healthy. In the past during the British regime, due to the communal composition of the boards as well as due to the fact that the elected members formed a block different from the nominated members, the government official in some areas created a tangle both within and without the educational committees. It was not uncommon that the majority of members in the educational council took one decision, which was against what the inspecting officer wanted ; this delayed matters, and very often took matters to the state level for arbitration. The teachers serving under two masters were not slow to take advantage of the situation. Even after independence, this diarchical composition is still retained, while the inspecting staff feels itself free to act in its own way, the education committees anxious to please certain local pressure groups may act in a different way. Sometimes it is the other way; while the committees have a more liberal outlook, it is the inspecting staff with a narrow bureaucratic outlook that is creating the difficulties. Thus the successful working of the local units is hampered by this idea of divided responsibility. If we want to increase the sphere of local participation, the remedy that lies is to take the following steps all at the same time :

(1) To evolve a machinery through which more competent persons, than there are found at present, come in charge of administration of the educational committees.

(2) More funds to be placed in the hands of the bodies to carry out reforms and expansion schemes effectively.

(3) Placing greater trust and authority on these committees, and abolition of dual control where they exist. The function of the state government should be one of guidance and assistance and not of interference.

(d) *Summary.* The study of the history of local administration of education in U. S. A., England, France and Russia (Czarist) shows in all these places the local administrative units had to submit themselves to the direction and assistance of the government, be it state or Central. This is partly because of the fact that the local units can function so long as there is local agreement; in time of disagreement, be that organized by a small group, it can force its decisions on the group only with the legal authority, and the government is the only law-making body. They also need some assistance from the bigger body, as their own resources are not enough for all the phases of expansion, and this is certainly the case when the local residents are poor. With the governmental assistance comes governmental control, for "He who pays the piper has a right to call the tune," as the saying goes.

The history of the local administration in India during the British regime, shows that they were ill conceived from the start At first there were no adequate arrangements for their guidance and supervision, and later these were introduced, they were more to safeguard the interests of the ruling power, than serve the real interests of the people. They were also inadequately financed. The way in which the committees were composed, did not attract suitable talents in them. And lastly, the district boards were units which were too large as to call for effective popular participation. The control was dual, a part of the authority being vested in the committees and another part of the control rested with the government inspecting authorities. This created both conflict and confusion. As a result all schemes of expansion and reforms suffered, either because of a paucity of funds or for internal dissensions.

With freedom, there is an expansion of facilities for primary education, and schools managed by the boards as well as private institutions supported by them have increased. The government have in some places opened primary schools directly. This has been somewhat detrimental to the progress of local units, for a big portion of the funds at the disposal of the government earmarked for primary education is being diverted to the govern-

ment institutions and the boards, especially the district boards with their limited sources of revenue and saddled with the additional responsibility of maintaining many more schools than in the past, are finding it hard to meet. True, their grants have increased, but not in proportion to what they need.

In addition to primary schools, the local boards are maintaining some secondary schools, the position of the local bodies in this respect is somewhat anomalous, for these are neither state institutions, nor exactly privately aided ones. They are, however, in some ways being treated as the former, and in others as the latter.

The sources of internal conflict have not disappeared, with freedom. There is still some dual control exercised by the education committees and by the government inspecting officers, and this is acting detrimentally to the institutions and to the teachers who have virtually to serve two masters. It is now for the government whether to encourage or discourage local control and to define the limits within which it should work. Once that is settled and if it be proposed to retain them, then certain organizational changes are necessary and the best would be a a happy combination of ensuring better quality of members and giving them more authority and more money.

(*e*) *Selected references:*

1. Government of India, *Education in India,* 1954-55, Vol. II; gives the designation and powers of inspecting officers.

2. Government of India, *Education in India,* 1955-56; gives the information regarding the period ending the first Five Year Plan.

3. Government of India, *General Educational Tables,* 1946-47; gives some of the statistical figures of the period on the eve of independence.

4. Hans, Nicholas, *Comparative education;* gives the working of the communes in France and L.E.A. in England.

5. Help has been taken from the reports published in various journals of education especially those between 1945 and 1958 wherein the conflicts have been discussed.

6. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists;* gives the working and problems of the local authorities in U.S.A. and England.

7. Mukerjee, S. N., *History of Education in India: Modern Period;* gives an historical account of the period especially post-independence period.

8. Nurullah & Naik, *History of Education in India in the British Period;* gives the information regarding British regime.

9. *Progress of Education in India: Decennial Review,* 1937-47 ; gives valuable statistical information of the pre-independence period.

10. *Progress of Education in India : Ninth Quinquinnial Review,* 1922-27 ; gives statistical information of the period.

# Chapter VII

## Private Agencies as Administrative Bodies in Education

(*a*) *Public and private enterprise in education.* To what extent should the control and administration of education be left to purely private enterprise, and how far should they be entrusted to bodies answerable to the general public is the question that must be clearly understood. In its extreme form the private enterprise becomes the enterprise of one single person. He offers to teach children and receive payments for the same, either from the parents, or from the state, or from a rich philanthropist who offers him either a permanent land grant or some donations. Whether he will manage the whole show alone, or he will employ assistants to help him, will depend on the size of the institution, and the magnitude of the task.

Perhaps we may say that in a way the original *ashrams* of ancient India and the *madrasas* and *mukhtabs,* as well as isolated schools of medieval India were private enterprises ; the payment being given by the state in the form of land grants. In ancient India, these private enterprises were not allowed to remain uncontrolled for long, their isolation was broken, and co-ordination was secured through the formation of *charans* and *parishtas.* Whether this control was always voluntarily sought in the formation of a type of guilds as they were alleged to be, or whether they were sometimes created with the power of the state behind it, it is difficult to say; specially for the days when, the combined force of the religious order or of the caste performed some of those functions and had the same authority as the state today has. In the formation of teachers' colonies we find a definite effort on the part of donors of endowed or *agrahara* villages, which would minimize the action of private enterprises, and the schools forming a colony were no longer purely private enterprises.

In the Buddhist *vihars* and in the universities, we find a definite co-ordinating influence of the *sangha,* and these can in no way be called private enterprises.

In the West, though Plato advocated state organization of education, yet the *academy* that he opened was a sort of a model private enterprise, probably because he could do no better in the prevailing period. The monasteries in the

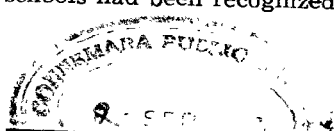
medieval period were, however, not private enterprises in the sense that they were responsible to the Catholic Church, a definite religious order. The control was authoritative, and yet the enterprise was not private. The universities of Paris or Bologna or Oxford or Cambridge rose out of teachers' colonies and as such they lost the character of pure private enterprises. In England after the destruction of the monasteries, there was no organized body to take charge of the institutions; but in Scotland, the force of public opinion roused by George Knox brought about the change. Consequently private enterprise could come forward only in England and fill up the gap. The grammar schools in those days were private properties of the headmasters. Nine of these grammar schools formed self-perpetuating governing bodies, and since they thereby no longer remained private properties of individuals, they began to call themselves "public schools," simply because in the circumstances then prevailing they were more public than the private proprietary schools of the day. By and by, many of these grammar schools came under self-perpetuating governing bodies and a few under religious denominations, but they did not call themselves public schools, for the public schools in England had by that time acquired a definite character peculiar to them alone. These bodies coming under governing bodies, however, did not become public properties, for they still belonged to a body whose membership was exclusive. Even the denominational schools were not public properties, for they did not belong to all Christians but to a certain sect professing a particular faith and as such excluding others from them. Besides these, even today there are certain private proprietary institutions in England. So far as the charactership of a private institution is concerned, there is very little difference between these private proprietary schools on one hand, and the Grammar schools controlled by self-perpetuating governing bodies, the so-called public schools similarly constituted, or the schools owned by a certain religious denomination, on the other, for in each case the membership of the controlling body is an exclusive affair. That some of them have built self-perpetuating bodies rather than let them stay in the hands of individuals merely show that they were not intended to die out with their owners, but remain for ever, if it be, under the command of a body which is self-perpetuating.

Though in U. S. A. the general feeling was to make the running of an institution the concern of the entire community and answerable to its duly elected representatives, yet a few private institutions did spring up. This was firstly

due to certain minority groups, particularly Catholics, who wanted to establish schools of their own, for they felt that religious education being a part of general education should be taught within the schools. This was not possible in a common school where children of different religous orders study. So eager were these groups to maintain their religious identity, that they did not mind spending extra amounts running these schools, while they were being compelled to pay taxes to maintain common schools along with others, though sometimes agitating for exemption. Another group of persons also favoured exclusive schools; these were the parents who felt that the standard of education given in a common or a public school, which in U. S. A. has a completely different connotation from that in England and is truly public, were not up to their expectations. They too would like to send their children to such schools as would give them more individual attention. They, like the religious minority groups, continued to pay taxes for the upkeep of common schools under protest, and yet paid for the maintenance of private schools.

To what extent should these schools maintained by individuals or private bodies receive assistance from the state, is a question which has been largely decided by the historical accident of their formation. In England, the board and the L. E. A. schools came along after the schools maintained by private bodies. The building grants were first offered to private schools in 1832, and later in 1870 the boards organized their own schools which came to be known as schools under local educational authorities since 1902. Consequently both the L. E. A. and the private schools continued to receive grants, provided the latter fulfilled certain conditions. The philosophy developed in England in the award of the grant was that any institution which offered education to a group of future citizens of the land, provided that it fulfilled the elementary requirements laid down and opened the institutions to inspection, was entitled to public assistance. Yet later it was found that all of them were not desirable ones. When the Hadow Commission in 1926 black-listed certain higher elementary schools, it was found that the schools maintained by private bodies were over two and a half times the number of schools directly under the L. E. A. Consequently with the re-organization in 1944, a number of private schools unable to meet the cost of reorganization, had to be "controlled" by the Local Education Authority Schools.

In U. S. A., private schools came after the common or public schools, and even after the right to levy taxes to maintain common schools had been recognized. Thus those



who wanted separate schools for their children did so, not because there was no means for education of their children, but because they were not satisfied in some way or the other, with the education that was imparted in the common schools. Being unable to change the character of public schools, as they happened to be in the minority, they opened separate schools for their children. The government or the general public did not encourage this tendency, but at the same time they did not put any obstacles to their opening such separate schools. U. S. A. thus developed the philosophy that it is the state's duty to provide educational facility for all, and to subsidize the local enterprise that undertook to do it. But should any groups of parents like to teach their children in their own way, the state would neither oppose such an attempt nor encourage the tendency with grants. The parents who opened separate schools for their children could not claim exemption from taxes that were levied to maintain the common schools. After a long drawn out discussion the issue was finally decided in the famous Kalamazoo case in 1874. No parent could secure exemption from paying taxes for the maintenance of common schools simply because his own children were not deriving any benefit out of those schools, for they had every opportunity to enjoy those benefits and had of their own accord denied the same. On the other hand, bachelors having no children cannot claim exemption either, simply because at the moment they are not able to enjoy those benefits directly, for indirectly all are receiving those benefits as the nation at large progresses through.

The American philosophy has been accepted in Japan even before the war, and after World War II, Burma has accepted it. Thus in these countries private schools are allowed to function but receive no state assistance. In the totalitarian countries, especially in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, private institutions were not permitted to exist at all, education being a state monopoly. Some communist countries like China have, however, permitted these schools simply because the state is yet unable to bear the burden of entire responsibility for education.

(b) *Private enterprise in education in British India and today.* Since in its early days, the East India Company assumed no responsibility for educating the people of the country, it was natural that education in India could develop only as a private enterprise. Older institutions of Hindus and Moslems continued as private enterprises, and the institutions for teaching English were first opened by the Christian missionaries. As these were divided into

several groups or sects, the membership of each of which was exclusive, and since the Christians themselves were a small minority, the efforts of these organizations were justly called private. In 1813 the East India Company was asked by Parliament to earmark a sum of one hundred thousand rupees every year for the progress of education. Yet very little was done during the first eleven years to spend the amount. By that time, a few non-missionary institutions had also cropped up as private enterprises, because many aspiring young men wanted to receive English education, and were afraid of the proselytizing influences of the mission schools. The period between 1824 to 1835 was mostly spent in deciding what would be the policy to guide the administration. Munro in Madras was in favour of the states opening schools in every *taluka* and spread education through modern Indian languages. Elphinstone in Bombay, though agreeing with Munro in all essential points was, however, in favour of a few schools being run under private enterprise in addition to government schools. The Bengal group was divided, one section led by Princep was for encouraging classics and did not seem to be quite clear whether it would be imparted through state schools or private enterprise. The other led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy advocating English schools was equally vague. In the midst of this controversy, it seems a few institutions began to receive some grants. In 1835 when the policy was settled to support English education, the intention was to spend the sum mainly on government schools. Nevertheless we find that by the time Wood's Despatch was published, or shortly after it (by 1858) there were 15 arts colleges, 13 professional institutions, 169 high schools and 1,202 primary schools besides seven normal schools under the list of grants. The primary schools were placed under the list after the despatch, but most of the others were enjoying it from earlier days. Wood's Despatch regularized a custom and gave fillip to the principle of encouraging private enterprise by promising government help. though when the rules were published in 1858 they further stipulated two conditions; namely that, the government assistance should not exceed that raised from private sources. and that each school in order to qualify for a grant should charge some fees. As has been said earlier, in most of the provinces, the main beneficiaries of the scheme were the institutions run by the missions. In 1882 the Hunter Commission reviewed the entire field of education. and not merely the field of secondary education. The recommendations of the commission were against opening government schools further, and to use the ones opened so far as models. Greater encouragement was to be given

towards opening more private institutions with a more liberal promise of grant-in-aid. It also suggested that the control and administration of primary education should be vested with local bodies. Thus within twenty years, the number of private secondary schools increased by thirty-three per cent, rising from 3,916 to 5,124. Most of these were under Indian managements, the missionary institutions losing the race.

In the twentieth century, the policy of encouraging private institutions through award of grant-in-aid continued, though some control was effected in the administration as has been said earlier. The position in 1945, just two years before the transfer of power, was thus :

TABLE XI

**Distribution of Institutions by Managements, 1945**

| Types of Institutions | Govern-ment | Local bodies D.B. or M.B. | Private aided | Private unaided |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Colleges and centres of higher education .. .. | 130 | 1 | 247 | 121 |
| High schools .. .. | 412 | 364 | 2,796 | 923 |
| Middle schools English .. | 125 | 1,183 | 3,794 | 1,095 |
| Middle schools Vernacular | 189 | 4,748 | 495 | 176 |
| Primary schools .. | 3,077 | 89,363 | 69,897 | 5,534 |

This would show that private enterprise exceeded the public provision, whether maintained by the government or by local bodies in every field except the vernacular middle schools and the primary (in the latter too it was sufficiently large). In high schools, the ratio of public enterprise to private (aided and unaided) was 1:5, in English middle schools it was 1:4, in higher education it was nearly 1:3. Only in vernacular middle schools did private enterprise lag behind. It must be remembered that figures refer to undivided India and the former Indian states are excluded.

After freedom, the general drive has been towards expansion both vertically and horizontally. While the number of institutions at one level increased, it was seen that an institution belonging to a lower level had added up classes of teaching at higher level. Many former middle schools became high schools, and many high schools

became intermediate or degree colleges. The efforts of upgrading was more common in private institutions than in public, it is not surprising therefore, that some of the former ratios have been changed as the figures for 1956 would show :

TABLE XII

**Distribution of Institutions by Management, 1956**

| Types of institutions | Government | Local bodies D. B. M. B. | Private aided | Private unaided |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Colleges and centres of higher education .. .. | 160* | 2* | 414* | 81* |
| High schools .. .. | 1,612 | 1,402 | 6,224 | 1,600 |
| Middle schools .. .. | 4,961 | 8,988 | 5,408 | 2,373 |
| Primary schools .. | 64,827 | 142,223 | 67,263 | 3,822 |

The comparison of these figures with the corresponding figures of 1945 show certain interesting results. In the field of higher education, the increase in public institutions had been 31, while that in private sphere has been nearly four times as much, that is 127. It must be mentioned that in both the lists, universities as corporate bodies are shown in the list of private enterprise, though established by acts of legislature they should be included in the public sphere, for the organization of the universities is as much regulated as the local bodies are in a way. Be that as it may, the previous 1:3 ratio is still maintained, though it is now slightly more than 1:3 instead of being slightly less. High schools maintained by the government and local bodies have increased by four times from 776 to 3,014. High schools under private managements increased from 3,719 to 7,824 nearly doubling themselves. The ratio of public to private enterprise is now 1:2½ instead of 1:5. This has been due to several factors. Some of the areas where private enterprise was greatest as in East Bengal have gone over to Pakistan. On the other hand the integration of the former Indian states, where formerly nearly all the educational institutions, at least at the high school stage, were government ventures, made them government institutions, and this has swelled the ratio in favour of public institutions.

* Figures for higher education refer to condition of 1955 and not 1956

The table also shows considerable upgrading of former middle schools under local bodies, especially municipal boards into high schools. So far as middle schools are concerned, there is little distinction between the old English and vernacular middle schools. It has been seen that since in the days of British regime, vernacular education did not bring much economic returns, vernacular schools could not charge high fees. Moreover they were mostly in rural areas. These conditions perhaps discouraged participation of private agencies, for they were uneconomical. Such is not the case with the middle schools today, and hence even unaided institutions nearly doubled their previous number, and aided institutions nearly increased by 30 per cent. The government effort in this direction is evident by a large increase from 334 to 4,961 which is nearly sixteen times the former number. No doubt a part of the increase is due to the incorporation of the middle schools in many of the former Indian states, which were all government ventures and which have been government institutions since, but this at the same time shows an effort at opening more government middle schools in rural areas, where perhaps the district boards failed to offer facilities. The present ratio of public to private enterprise in middle school education works in favour of public schools, for in place of every thirty-nine centres under public control there are only twenty-two under private control. In the field of primary education, it is seen that government have clearly entered into competition with the local bodies for the government institutions are now twenty-one times as many as they were in 1945. a figure which cannot be explained by stating that integration of schools of former Indian states run by the governments have swelled the figures. The expansion of facilities by the local bodies have also increased, by nearly sixty per cent. Private enterprise in the field of primary education has declined, there being a reduction in the number of both aided and unaided institutions by 2, 624 and 1,712 respectively. This is no doubt due to the fact that primary education being made free, private agencies do not find them economic propositions. Thus it is evident that the result of freedom has encouraged increased public participation replacing private enterprise in education.

(c) *Working of private enterprise in the field of education in India.* If we study the working of private enterprise in pre-British days, we find that they worked most satisfactorily when they were brought under some coordination, either self-imposed or imposed by external authorities. Left to themselves, they degenerated when they became isolated units responsible to none. The first

to suffer perhaps were the centres of craft education which made skill in crafts family secrets, and which laid the seeds of their being forgotten later on. Academic education also suffered wherever private enterprise was unchecked and isolated, and this led to the progressive deterioration of standards in later Hindu and Moslem periods defeating the honest intentions of some of the rulers who donated liberally towards the spread of educational facilities. The land grants could provide their permanence but could not assure their maintaining the old standards at least in many places.

In the early days of British rule private enterprise did the pioneering work, when there was no government effort at all. When government effort was inadequate, it was private agency that supplemented it, and this happened throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Perhaps in those days the private enterprise could foster free spirit necessary for the awakening of the nationalistic zeal. While government institutions in the late nineteenth century curbed the nationalistic spirit, private institutions had a little bit more freedom. But this difference did not fail to attract the notice during the regime of the ruling power then. Sweeping powers were given to the inspecting officers and even to magistrates, as in the case of Bengal where the agitation at that time was highest, to curb the nationalistic spirit. The nationalist leaders of those days therefore saw no prospects of the spirit of nationalism being awakened through institutions aided or recognized by the government and independent national institutions were opened. But such institutions could run only when emotions ran high, and suffered as soon as there was a lull in the political storm. Some of the national institutions sought government aid under the conditions imposed by the government, and disappeared as national institutions, many more simply vanished. Sadler Commission appointed in 1917 did not have many good words to say in favour of private enterprise. "Private agencies," says the report, "looked more to immediate profit rather than ultimate good." It did not agree with the suggestion made by the Hunter Commission thirty-five years earlier that if all institutions were government-managed, it would lead to a dull uniformity. Sadler Commission pointed out the instances of Germany and France where at that time all the institutions were State-managed and all the teachers were State servants, and yet the system did not lack originality. The commission, however, overlooked, that in spite of a large number of institutions being run by private enterprise at all stages from the primary to the level of higher education, dull uniformity rather than

originality has been generally the rule in India, then as well as now. It is possibly because private enterprise being forced to look to the government for assistance and recognition has always been forced to submit to conditions that prevent independence and originality, and their proverbial paucity of funds have always prevented them to risk in such ventures of experimentation as would foster originality. The weakness of the private schools in the spheres compelled Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders to start national schools and colleges again in 1921. But these then followed an academic curriculum not much unlike those followed in other institutions, except perhaps that they made spinning compulsory and that they permitted free discussion on the matters labelled as political. By their nature they could not but attract those very persons who were anxious to get services, and needed a university diploma as the passport for the services. These were not available in the national institutions. The result was that national institutions all over India languished for lack of students, and the few that remained were the only evidence of their once flourishing state in the wave of national enthusiasm. The national schools of Burma which were started at that time, accepted government aid and recognition and thus remained national only in name. This weakness in the organization of national education was taken note of by Mahatma Gandhi when he evolved the scheme of selfsufficient basic schools in 1937. By one master stroke he sought to kill two birds, and perhaps sought to solve three problems. By emphasizing the importance of craft education, where skill rather than a university certificate matters in life, he made these institutions independent of whatever recognition that the government would or would not give. Probably, side by side, he sought to solve the problem of unemployment by attempting to drift a large number of scholars from soft-collared jobs. Then the institutions depending on the sale of craft would become self-sufficient. Basic education scheme may have its good points as well as its weaknesses, the scheme of self-sufficiency in education may have some drawbacks, but there is no doubt that it was advocated at a time,when it was felt that the way in which private enterprise was acting in the field of education was not at all satisfactory. The government of the day allowed the private enterprise to function, for they acted as buffers to the popular demand of increasing educational facilities especially in backward areas for the patent excuse would be that the government would simply watch the local contribution which must first be forthcoming, knowing full well that in such area there was very little local enthusiasm. To support private enter-

prise by grant-in-aid was more economical also. And of course armed with the powers that the administration had, there was no danger of these institutions going "astray" according to their political ideology. Perhaps as a historical consequence, private enterprise still continues, but it is seen that when it comes to rapid expansion programmes, private enterprise cannot venture to take risks, and the governments have to start their own schemes for expansion. It is because of this, that we find that gradually the ratio between private and public venture is slowly working in favour of public institutions. In free India, when the thin difference that existed between government and non-government institutions since the beginning of the twentieth century in the manner of rendering national service has disappeared, there exists little difference between public and private enterprise, except perhaps that public institutions are better financed, better equipped and more stable.

There is yet one positive danger from the private institutions which are denominational in character, they may prove positive danger to unity and solidarity of a secular State. But while the government may disapprove, they are likely to face severe opposition from the organizations which may claim democratic right to maintain them.

(*d*) *Summary.* The part played by private enterprise in the field of education in two great countries, U. K. and U. S. A., is seen. These countries while not agreeing to the totalitarian plan of complete State monopoly in education, have permitted the private enterprise to function. The attitude of the governments towards private enterprise in these two countries, however, differs. In England, private enterprise was the forerunner, and when the government wanted to assist in educational effort, they were the only organizations to qualify for the grant. Public enterprise in the shape of board schools and later local educational authorities' schools came later, hence private enterprise is not only State-recognized but also State supported in England. In U. S. A., private enterprise came as a concession to the minority groups. By that time public enterprise in the shape of common or American public schools were well established, and were supported by State laws to empower them to levy taxes besides getting State grants. Hence private enterprise remained simply as institutions which were recognized, not qualified to claim for support. Further, one cannot claim exemption from taxes he pays to maintain the common schools simply on the plea that his children are studying in a private school. Japan and Burma, besides many other countries under American influence, follow this pattern.

While private enterprise was the main system in Ancient Hindu, later Hindu and Moslem periods, yet some efforts for co-ordination were sought in the early days, and even later on at least in the teachers' colonies. Wherever the co-ordinating force was absent, the institutions deteriorated.

In the early British period, private enterprise was the only form that existed, and though in 1835 the policy was adopted to open more government schools, yet since 1854 it was decided to encourage private enterprise also. Since 1882 more attention was paid to encourage facilities for private enterprise to function. The co-ordination that was sought since the opening of the examining universities have been mainly to evaluate the finished product rather than the process, the institution of a system of inspection also worked in the same manner, for the system of payment by results was the guiding principle of the day. Early in the twentieth century, the government took certain measures to ensure co-ordination, but they were directed more to stop the rising spirit of nationalism, than to help the development of true educational efficiency.

The more nationalist elements therefore tried to develop an educational system outside the field in which private enterprise was working, but this was twice unsuccessful and the third effort did not get enough time to work. Throughout the latter period of the British regime, private enterprise continued to work and "flourish, partly because the regime found it more economical to help an institution than to take the responsibility of opening any of its own. At the close of the British rule it has been seen that private enterprise outstripped public in higher education, in high school and in English middle school education. In the fields of vernacular middle and primary schools, however, they lagged behind, because such schools did not prove good economic proposition. Within nine years of independence, it is seen that public efforts far outstripped private efforts in both primary and entire middle school education, and even in high schools and higher institutions the public efforts are likely to catch up with private enterprise soon.

This is perhaps expected, for the private efforts lack the resources, and are always hesitant to take risks in fields, where the return is either poor or doubtful. New ventures were being taken up by public efforts unlike what the private enterprise did in the early days of the British regime.

The time has now come for us to adopt a definite policy towards private enterprise. While as a democratic State

we cannot deny an individual or a group to train its children in a certain way, to put them into a school of its choice, we cannot at the same time remain indifferent to the harm to a secular State that a denominational institution or an institution that is out to proselytise may follow. Perhaps we cannot stop them in a democratic State, but we can nevertheless stop encouraging them by drifting a portion of public revenues for their maintenance.

(*e*) *Selected references:*

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2. *Altekar,* A. S., *Education in Ancient India;* gives the example of the teachers' colonies as maintaining a high standard of education.

3. Basu, A. N., *Education in Modern India: A Brief Review;* gives an account of establishing national colleges in Bengal in 1905 besides giving a general survey of the entire period and also the principles of basic education.

4. *Government of Bengal, Quinquinnial Report,* 1902-1907; gives an account of tighter measures adopted by the government of Bengal for greater control of non-government educational institutions.

5. Government of India, *Education in India,* 1954-55, Vol. II; gives the tables of colleges by management in 1955.

6. Government of India, *Education in India,* 1955-56; gives in Part I the tables of distribution of various types of schools by management.

7. Government of India, *General Educational Tables,* 1944-45; gives the tables of institutions by management in 1945.

8. Hassan, Ibn, *Central Structure of the Moghul Empire;* gives the system under which grants were given to Muslim educational institutions not only in the Moghul period but earlier.

9. Mahatma Gandhi's articles in *Harijan,* July to October 1937, give background of the conditions under which the basic education scheme was evolved.

10. Mookerji, R. K., *Ancient Indian Education;* gives the co-ordinating forces exercised by *charanas* and *parishads.*

11. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education of Students and Educationists;* gives the history of the rise and fall of private enterprise in education in England and in U. S. A.

12. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organisation of Education in India* ; gives a general account of the private and public enterprise in India from the ancient times till 1949.

13. Nurullah & Naik, *History of Education in India During the British Period;* gives the historical account of the British period.

14. *Progress of Education in India: Fourth Quinquinnial Review,* 1897-1902 ; gives an effort on the part of government to increase the inspectorate to provide a tighter control.

15. Report of the Calcutta University Commission; *Sadler Report* in Vol. V ; gives the instances of France and Germany as providing room for originality.

*Sadler Report* in Vol. IV ; states that in India private agencies have looked more for immediate profit.

# Chapter VIII

## Problem of Financing Education

(*a*) *Different methods available for financing education.* How should our educational effort be best financed is the question that is intimately connected with the issue of administration. To run a school or a college we need money. It is not only the initial expense, buildings and educational equipments, but in addition to it teaching, clerical and menial staff have to be paid regularly, and paid fairly decently in order to attract competent persons; then buildings have to be repaired, equipments have to be replaced and at times facilities have to be expanded both in buildings and in teaching staff according to growing demands of more and more people seeking educational facilities. All these require money, and plenty of it. How should that money be procured is the problem that must be settled well in advance, before setting up an educational institution of any kind.

One simple method of financing education is by the award of land grants or income fetching endowments. Land grants financed not only the *ashramas* in ancient or medieval India, but the Buddhist universities like Nalanda and Vikramsila were maintained by grants of villages donated to them. *Agrahara* villages maintained not only isolated educational institutions, but entire teachers' colonies. In the Moslem period we find *madrasas* and *mukhtabs* similarly being maintained by land grants. In U. S. A. we find the federal government tried to popularize agricultural and vocational education through land grant colleges. As for income fetching endowments, this has been the asset of many universities and great public schools of England, and some of the older universities of U. S. A. Some of the universities in India, particularly Calcutta, Bombay, Shantiniketan, Varanasi and Aligarh universities, have endowments. While endowments are generally for a specific purpose, either to provide scholarships to meritorious students or to maintain a professorship on a certain subject. Award of land or building grants are, however, generally for the maintenance, either wholly or partly, of the entire institution. The advantages of the land grants and income fetching endowments are two-fold :

(*a*) They ensure permanence of the institution, an assured and fixed income is always available to support

the entire institution or that part of the scheme which is covered by the endowment grant.

(*b*) They provide the necessary autonomy to the institution, for the institution has not to account for and justify its existence, it can go on in its own way being sure of getting returns from the land grant or from the endowment.

The disadvantages of the system are :

(*a*) They cripple and stunt the growth of the institution. Being sure of the endowment, the institution does not seek to develop, the tendency being to live within one's own means and be comfortable. Of course there is nothing inherent in the land grants to compel this attitude, but nevertheless this attitude becomes a common consequence.

(*b*) While it may be held that grants provide a steady and constant income, it is not always so, the economic depression may lower the value of stocks and reduce the rate of interests, the general prosperity of agriculture may lower the prices. It has been seen that the general attitude of the institutions during these depressions is not to exert, but to economize and reduce the facilities once existing.

(*c*) Perhaps the independence and autonomy that is granted is not always an unmixed blessing, for it may bring irresponsibility and complete isolation with utter indifference to seek what the public demands. It must be noted that this was the fate of the Buddhist universities when Buddhism disappeared as the State religion and the powerful co-ordinating influence of the *sangha* was not present. The universities degenerated and became centres professing mystic cults of the *tantras*. Similar was the fate of the isolated *ashramas, madrasas* and *mukhtabs* in medieval India, for standards degenerated, and unworthy successors followed the able founders of the institutions, and there was no agency to check this deterioration. If a similar fate has not overtaken the public schools of England or the universities at various places, the reasons are two-fold. We have to watch and see how they stay for centuries before we may be able to say if the deterioration takes place or not. Further, they do not depend entirely on fixed income, but have to seek more from tuition fees, which will follow increased enrolment, and which again will depend on the quality of the work they show.

A second method of financing education is to make the students work in the institution and pay for its maintenance through their earnings. In the ancient Indian *āshramas,* students had to plough the fields donated to the

*ashramas* and to grow food for all. This naturally meant that at certain hours they studied the books, and at others, usually at the forenoons, they worked in the fields. More definite was the method used for financing craft education under the apprentice system followed in India as well as in some other countries including medieval England. These apprentices stayed with their teachers and worked under their direction. The products made by them met the cost of their training and upkeep during the apprentice period. The system is still being followed in some of the primitive craft training in villages of India. The Wardha scheme of education proposed by Mahatma Gandhi suggested this system of financing our educational institutions. By giving two-thirds of their time on craft work and only one-third on the academic pursuits, the students would, it was hoped, get sufficiently skilled in the craft work so that their products would fetch a market value and meet tuitional expenses. It is not necessary here to discuss whether the market value thus secured will be enough to attract a teacher of sufficient merit to stay in such schools. We have to consider the scheme as such on its merit. The merit of the scheme is, as has been mentioned earlier, that this makes the institutions free from government interference. Not only are grants unnecessary, but the certificates granted by the evaluating agency are of little value, the world would judge a skilled worker from the amount of skill he has acquired. Further, skill in some craft besides inculcating a sense of dignity of labour also ensures future occupation to prevent overcrowding in what is known as soft-collar professions.

The critics of the scheme have attacked this from the point of inadequacy of cultural training that this system would provide. But probably the two dangers pointed out by the late Dr. Zakir Hussain and Professor K. T. Shah at the Wardha conference itself are overlooked. The first danger is when products will have a market value, the temptation would be towards the finished product rather than the educational possibilities, that the process of learning provides. In their zeal to economize wastage, the teachers would merely set patterns and students merely copy them. This reduces the possibility of training which craft-centred education provides, where we may perhaps learn as much through failures at the initial stage, as success through a later stage.

A greater danger is perhaps the possibility of exploitation of child labour. It must be remembered that since the teacher's salary is to be earned through the craft work of the students, the teachers may force the children to exert beyond their capacities or even beyond what health regulations would permit them to do.

The third method of educational financing is by taking regular contributions from the public at large for the upkeep of the institutions. Some of the *ashramas* in the past, especially those during the medieval period, not covered by land donations, depended on this. *Vaikansa Dharma* Sutra mentions how even in remote past, institutions have been maintained thus on public charity called *bhiksha.* The practice of *bhiksha* should not be confused with mere begging; for it was considered to be one of the duties as well as privileges of the householders to give this, and this has been enjoined them even by *Manu* and *Shankhya.* There is evidence that this was taken only from approved households. The system has been claimed to teach children humility rather than subject them to humiliation. In the medieval days this practice was followed by award of stipends to students by some persons, generally well-to-do. In Burma this practice is still followed in *Hpoongy Kyaungs* or monastic schools, where students go out with begging bowls every morning, and before they arrive, the householders are ready with their quota of food, for it is considered to be an act of great merit and privilege to be able to help the institution with food thus. Clothing is offered on ceremonial occasions, birth of a child, earboring ceremony or marriage, when a number of scholars or teachers are given saffron robes. This system ensures co-operation and public responsibility, but perhaps the help thus rendered will be too inadequate to maintain the recurring expenses of a modern institution. It must be remembered that the more socialistic turn a State takes, the less is the available surplus wealth for any purpose, whether for luxury or for charity. In fact the welfare State itself takes up the responsibility of doing the jobs which individual philanthropists had done in the past. Hence it is feared that although individual donation and charity will always be welcome, it will not be substantial enough to maintain the multifarious needs of a modern institution.

The fourth method of educational financing is by levying fees on the parents of the students themselves. The *Ludi magisters* of Rome taught by taking fees from the students. In ancient and medieval India this method of financing did not find much favour. True, we find one single instance in *Jataka* of a fee of a thousand coins demanded from an entrant in (*Taxila*) university, but that is not only a solitary instance, but in the same place it is written that personal service rendered could be accepted in lieu of the payment, hence it does not prove whether the university expenses were met mainly from the fees or from personal labour rendered. It may as well be, that the fees would induce another person to do the quota of

personal labour. Levying of fees had, however, been the common procedure adopted in England till the government came forward to subsidize the institutions. In India, there are many unaided institutions, some of which are not well endowed, they depend solely on this method of financing. The private institutions of U. S. A., Japan or Post War Burma, from the elementary to the college level (some American private universities also) depend on this method of financing, especially when their endowments are poor.

The supporters of this method of financing hold that as the parents of the children have the obligation for the proper education of their children, and as they may be chief beneficiaries afterwards, it is up to them to pay for the education of their wards. Education, they hold, has a market value; better the education, greater is the chance to rise socially. Consequently, one must be willing to pay for this kind of service.

The opponents of this system of financing, on the other hand, hold that it makes education a vendible commodity rather than a sacred service. The consequence of this policy would be that the rich would pay more for the education of their children, they would thus secure the best type of education for their children, who would thereby monopolize all the best jobs in the country. The poorer parents, not being able to afford this kind of education for their children, will have to remain contented with whatever cheap facilities are available, and they will have no hope to climb the social ladder through better education. Not only is this procedure socially unjust, but this makes the society a loser; there may be talents among the poorer group who will never get a chance to rise. They will be condemned to remain in the dark for generations. Perhaps considering the loss to the society no less than the loss to the individuals, poet Gray wrote these lines in his Elegy:

But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with spoils of time did ne'er unroll,
Chill penury repressed the noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

Full many a gem of the purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air.

Because of the inequity in this method, efforts are sometimes made to mitigate it. Liberal scholarships are sometimes provided for meritorious sons of the poor so that they

may pay for their tuition through them. These may be provided either through special endowments or through savings in the income itself. Whatever be the method, it is undeniable that because of them, the cost for those who are paying for the education is raised, because the money that is being paid for scholarships would have otherwise been utilized for them. This naturally would create an ill-feeling between the poor students holding freeships and scholarships and the children of the rich who are made to pay for them, making the former's position far from happy.

The fifth method of financing an educational institution is by a combination of two resources: fees and State aid. This is known as the method of supporting education through the policy of grant-in-aid. This method is based on the principle of divided responsibility of education between the parent and the State. Just as the parent is responsible for the education of the child to make him an efficient member of the family, State is likewise interested to get a good citizen. The State therefore comes to the help of the parent in the upbringing of the child, by giving financial assistance to the institution, thereby relieving the burden on the parent. To carry this principle to practice, the State sometimes pays the entire amount of difference between the fee income and expenditure, which thus becomes a varying amount, or sometimes meets a part of the difference asking the institutions to meet the other part through other means, endowment, local contribution or the like. It also generally fixes a ceiling on fees, so that the burden may not be too heavy on the parent and that a parent of moderate means may be able to meet it. It further provides certain percentage of freeships or scholarships by which children of the less well-to-do may get an opportunity to come up and receive education of which they would have otherwise been deprived.

This method of financing is being generally followed in England. In the State universities of U. S. A. this seems to be the method adopted. In India since 1855 this is the method adopted, though with the provision of free primary education in many places. this method is operated only at levels higher than the primary. While in a way, this method is operated both for the government and for the non-government institutions in India, it must be noted that for government institutions, the government pays the entire deficit, that is, the difference between the total expenditure, and the income earned by the fees. In case of non-government aided institutions, the government requires that a part of the deficit is to be raised through private efforts. The difficulties that the working of this principle raises for the non-government institutions will be

better discussed in the next section. Suffice it to say, that this is a compromise between the two extremes, the State's responsibility for education and the parental responsibility. As such it combines the evils of both though mitigating the rigour of neither, perhaps. In the working of this principle it must be noted that by making elementary education free, the State has already accepted the principle of entire State responsibility for education at least up to a certain stage even in England and in U. S. A. How far should that stage go, depends on the needs, and also on the resources of the country. But it is clear that if education has to be made compulsory, it has to be made free also, for otherwise parents may try to evade the obligation on the grounds of financial inability. Anyway, up to the stage that education is to be considered the fundamental and essential for all to attain, it is the responsibility of the State. Perhaps further enhancement may be left to joint effort, but the joint effort will only succeed when the burden is not placed too heavily on the junior partner of the concern, the individual parent. Thus the State contribution from taxes must exceed the fees to a very large extent.

The last method of financing education is free tax-supported institutions. In this the individual parent has to contribute nothing, and taxes maintain the institution. Support may come either from the Central Government, or from the state government or from the local administration, or it may be partly shared between two or all the three units. It is clear that whichever authority bears the taxes gets thereby a voice in the administration, and this is what it should be, for the administration as the mouthpiece of the taxpayer must see that the money is being put to a greater centralization; if it is the state government more of expenses, it is natural that this method will lead to a greater centralization; if it is the state government which pays the money, it will result in more governmental interference at the state level; and if it be the local units that meet the burden, it is clear that local policies would prevail.

Tax-supported institutions are claimed to equalize educational opportunities, for the parents' means do not hamper the child from receiving any type of education. In U. S. A. this principle has been accepted up to the secondary stage from a long time, local units are permitted to raise taxes themselves and have a further claim on the State funds. In England, the local educational authorities have the right to levy rates and taxes and maintain free elementary schools; of late secondary is also tax-supported, except of course that available in public schools. The government supplements the local effort by a liberal grant to L. E. A.

schools. In India, the government maintains its own primary schools and at the same time helps the schools under the local bodies. The local bodies also raise some taxes themselves, but here in India the taxes raised by the local bodies are comparatively speaking less. Very few of them, for instance, levy educational cess of any kind.

The first consequence of the tax-supported system is that it will kill private enterprise, unless private enterprise is also subsidized; even when it is subsidized, it will generally receive less subsidies than the tax-supported institutions under public control. In England, the private enterprise though subsidized is fighting a losing battle with the L. E. A. schools, and is leaving the arena slowly but surely. The same is the case in elementary education in India, where, as we have seen in the previous chapter, there is a great deal of shrinking of private enterprise in primary schools of late. In U. S. A., private enterprise is not subsidized by the State or local taxes and consequently it has shrunk a great deal.

While it is not the purpose here to support private enterprise, it must be said, that private enterprise represents the efforts of the minority groups to fashion their education in a way not liked by the majority group. When private enterprise is thus crippled in competition with the tax-supported State school system, there is naturally a clamour which the State has to meet. When the minority group consists of richer taxpayers, the clamour becomes very loud to meet. The burden of taxation falls more heavily on them, even when their children are not enjoying the facilities offered by tax-supported public schools. Even if the rich people are sending their children to common schools, the grumbling of the taxpayer is not silenced. It has been seen that the wealthy generally have fewer children and the poorer group generally have more. Why this should be so may be discussed from sociological, biological and perhaps psychological points of view, but the fact seems to be quite evident. Thus even in the common school itself, the rich people paying more taxes are deriving less benefit than the poorer people with more children securing more benefit, though their parents are paying less taxes.

In U. S. A., the opposition of the rich went so far as to drag the issue to the Supreme Court. But the decision of the famous Kalamazoo Case in 1874 settled the right of tax-supported schools being maintained through taxes paid by even those parents whose children are getting no direct benefit from these institutions.

Any State which accepts the feature of tax-supported schools, would thus have to pass through the same ordeal

from the opposition of private enterprise sooner or later. If it enters into a compromise with private enterprise by subsidizing private schools, perhaps that opposition may come later, when the private enterprise feels that the subsidies are inadequate as they are likely to be. In case the subsidies are denied from the very beginning, and are diverted only to common schools, the opposition will come directly. If this method is accepted as the best and the most equitable method, the battle has to be faced sooner or later, and the purpose of writing this is to make us prepared for the eventuality.

How far should education be entirely tax-supported, will depend on the resources of the State. Even in U. S. A. it is not intended to make higher education entirely free. It was estimated that if the recommendations of Truman Commission were accepted, only eight per cent of educational expenses would come from fees, 47 per cent from taxes raised by the state government and 41 per cent from Central Government subsidies. The report of the Truman Commission of course, has only academic value, for it has not been implemented; but it shows that even when U. S. A. had a democratic party regime, it did not intend to make higher education entirely tax-supported. In England it is not tax-supported entirely, though largely tax-subsidized. So is the case in India. In Scandinavian countries of Denmark and Norway, though not entirely in Sweden, it is free. Thus, whatever be the upper level of tax-supported education (in making the education free one has to think not only of present commitments, but of future as well, for when education is made free, larger numbers will have to be admitted), it will depend on the resources of the State, financial and human. But it is undeniable that only to that extent can we say that educational opportunities are being extended equally to all, rich as well as poor.

(b) *Financing of schools and colleges in India, yesterday and today.* Since 1855, India has accepted the principle of tax subsidized education, though it was insisted at the same time that fees should be charged to qualify an institution to receive the support of grant-in-aid. Two types of institutions existed side by side, in one the government bore the entire responsibility for the deficit between the expenditure and the fee income, and the other, in which the government undertook to bear a part of the deficit. The other part was to be met by private sources. At first the government share depended on the results, the principle of payment by results was the accepted form in those days, even in Britain, and it was applied here. The

effect was greater insistence on the results of examination whether conducted internally within the institution by the inspecting authority, or conducted externally by the public examinations of the university. This encouraged more cramming and more window-dressing and had therefore to be given up in England.

The policy that was adopted in India later was a system of attendance grant, depending not on enrolment but on the average attendance of students. In some states in order to encourage employment of more trained teachers, it was decided that a certain amount of grant is to be paid for every trained teacher. All this insisted on a certain amount of local contribution to be raised by the school. The repercussion of this policy on the progress of primary education was observed in the fourth Quinquinnial Review of 1897-1902 which mentioned "The small indigenous village schools (especially of Bengal) are of a weak and ephemeral character, they are unable to withstand the occurrence of hard times and cannot comply with the requirements of an improving system. The causes which have arrested the progress of primary education have operated with greater force in case of privately managed schools than that of more stable Board Schools." In the field of secondary education too, the effect of limited financial resources of privately managed schools were noted in the following Quinquinnial Review 1902-1907.

"Sir A. Bourne speaking of privately managed secondary schools of India says, "The schools are too apt to depend for their maintenance exclusively on government grants and fees. Few of them are endowed in the sense the English foundations are, and none so largely endowed. The absence of endowment makes the school too dependent on fee collections and oblige them to have in mind not so much of an ideal education, as the demands of the pupils and parents.'"

Thus we find that a private aided school , whether it was a primary school or a high school was poorly financed and because of its poor finances it was not able to render real educational services. Two new changes, however, followed which made the position of these schools much worse. The first was the introduction of time scale in service. This was done in all services, and teaching profession got its benefit quite late. It opened up future prospects and thus prevented stagnation in the starting salary, for as responsibilities increased and as experience was gained the salary went on increasing. It was therefore well conceived and meant to improve the teacher's lot. But its introduction into the school was to deteriorate the

financial stability of the school, if not of the teachers themselves. The salaries thus became dynamic and went on increasing, the longer the teacher worked. The expenditure of the school thus went on increasing year by year. True, a few teachers retired and were replaced by less expensive substitutes, but this situation arose once in thirty years or so. While the expenses of the schools became dynamic, the sources of the schools were, however, more or less static. The income from tuition fees would remain the same, unless the number of pupils would increase, and the government grant, depending on the number of pupils and trained teachers, would remain the same so long as these were not increased. Thus the first efforts of the schools in urban areas, where there were some possibilities to increase were made to increase the enrolment. Perhaps with urbanization being increased especially after the war years, it was possible to increase the enrolment had there been only one or a few schools. But the trouble arose when there were too many of them. Enrolment could increase only after a sort of scramble and unhealthy competition for securing students, in a manner which was neither dignified for the institutions, nor quite in keeping up with the dignity of the teaching profession itself. Further, there was a saturation point for this, which once reached would not allow further increase, this depended on the number of available students as much as on the available accommodation and furniture. Before this point had been reached, however, this race for enrolment overcrowded the class to a point in which effective administration of discipline was impossible, and in which the quality of educational benefits available to the students from class room instruction also deteriorated. Thus fall in standards was the second inevitable result of this race for increased enrolment following the loss of dignity.

In the rural areas this was not possible, for there the number of available students remained more or less steady for a long time. But that left the managements with only two alternatives :

(i) Either to deny the increments and make the teachers sign for a salary they were not actually receiving. So that what they did sign for, became the basis of the schools getting the grant, but what the school actually paid to them was the real expenditure, or

(ii) To replace a teacher whose salary had risen high on some pretext, and to replace him by a new teacher who would cost less, the difference being utilized to pay the increments of many teachers.

Both these were unhealthy features. The former

introduced an element of dishonesty in which the teachers as well as the managements were involved besides robbing teachers of their dues, and the latter entailed insecurity in the teaching services, which was neither healthy nor conducive to efficient work. Thus both in urban and in rural schools certain undesirable educational consequences followed, out of a system to adjust a dynamic demand with resources which were more or less static. The fault here does not lie so much with private enterprise as it does with the system in which grants were being given.

As fees were abolished from the field of primary education, it was natural that private enterprise disappeared from the field, a few lagged behind charging fees in such areas where though fees were abolished in principle, yet continued in practice, especially where the persons from higher income groups were not quite willing to send their children into the schools opened by the local boards, and preferred more exclusive schools for their children, even on payment of fees. This was similar to the mentality displayed by certain parents in U. S. A. who wanted to send their children to private schools rather than to public schools. The only difference is that while in U. S. A. these private schools do not earn any state assistance, in India most of these exclusive primary schools, though not all, did receive some assistance either from the government or from the local bodies. But anyway, the private enterprise was fighting a losing battle in the field of primary education.

In the field of secondary education, to remedy the evils mentioned above, the government introduced a system of paying deficit grants from the surplus left over in the budget provisions. This surplus being a limited amount could not be expected to cover the entire demand, and to the extent they were unable to cover the demands the evil consequences of the system would prevail. In their race to take off the bigger morsel out of this deficit grants, it has now been the practice of private institutions to inflate the demands and claim more than they are really justified in claiming. Very accurate scrutiny may sometimes fail to detect this, unless on both sides trust and frankness replace suspicion and efforts to mislead. Thus if the government were to agree to pay the entire deficit, what they would then pay would really be far in excess of what the real need is. The fact that the demands are inflated is known to the government, but they are not able to spot where the inflation occurs. This, besides the paucity of funds is preventing the governments in accepting the demands of the managements and in agreeing to pay what-

ever deficits are being claimed. The truth of the whole thing is, that though on the whole very few of the schools are running as profitable concerns of a private enterprise, a large number of them do not, and perhaps cannot expect to claim any substantial local contribution to support them. Local contribution dwindles as the number of capitalists dwindle, and with a socialistic pattern of the State, not only luxury but avenues of philanthrophy are closed. Whatever local enthusiasm there still remains, it is displayed only at the time of opening of a new school or possibly at the time of expansion of facilities. It can never be expected, except perhaps on rare occasions, to display itself in day-to-day running expenses at least in modern conditions of India. Under such circumstances to expect a portion of recurring expenses out of local contribution is to make an impossible demand, and is likely to turn the management of private concerns to deliberate falsification of accounts. The sooner this truth is realized, the better it will be in the wider interests of education.

(c) *An analysis of educational finance since freedom.* Perhaps a comparison of the funds paid by government, by the local bodies, and that earned by way of fees and income from other sources in the three areas of education, primary, secondary and higher in 1947 just on the eve of freedom, and in 1956 after the first Five Year Plan period was over, would be helpful. The tables given below would show the thing more objectively. Let us take the 1947 figures first in the following table :

TABLE XIII

**Expenditure by Sources in 1947**

| Sources | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government .. | 10,54,10,940 | 12,12,25,917 | 2,82,16,623 |
| Local bodies .. | 6,01,64,588 | 4,69,32,387 | 3,58,681 |
| Fees .. .. | 73,19,215 | 14,67,72,372 | 3,91,51,537 |
| Endowments & other sources .. | 1,18,99,760 | 2,71,53,149 | 1,55,94,693 |

These figures had their own tales to tell, except in the field of higher education, government contribution was considerable. In higher education, government contribution was more than half of what all other sources brought, and

as such it cannot be called insignificant, in the secondary, fees formed the bigger source as in higher education, though not so much ahead of government contribution. Other sources including endowments brought the least sum in all branches except primary. In primary education fees occupied the bottom place. In primary, the contribution of local bodies was considerable, though government contribution was as high as all others put together. In secondary, the contribution by the local bodies was much less, being spent mostly in maintaining the rural middle schools, and in higher education it was very little indeed.

The corresponding figures for 1956 given in the following table may now prove interesting :

TABLE XIV

**Expenditure by Sources in 1956**

| Sources | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Government .. | 39,55,10,671 | 24,68,26,952 | 13,49,37,728 |
| Local bodies .. | 11,74,67,345 | 3,56,92,309 | 7,96,195 |
| Fees .. .. | 1,75,27,127 | 20,04,92,267 | 11,18,99,727 |
| Endowments and other sources .. | 1,677,69,923 | 4,71,83,091 | 3,61,91,988 |

The comparison of these figures with earlier figures of 1947 would show that in each are now government contribution has outstripped the other heads. In primary, it actually meets 73.6 per cent of the total expenses, 2½ times as much as other expenses put together. Government contribution has increased nearly four-fold in primary, partly no doubt out of the necessity of governments' maintaining their own institutions, which have, as we have seen, increased. Government contribution has doubled itself of the 1947 figures in secondary and in higher education ; it is nearly five times the former amount.

Local bodies have increased their contribution at primary and higher, partly because they were maintaining institutions of their own at every stage, including even colleges in a few places. The expenses for higher education, however, remains still insignificant. It is surprising, however, that at the secondary level the contribution from the

local bodies has actually decreased from 1947 and compared with 1956 figures this decrease is in the order of 32 per cent. Fees income shows an increase everywhere; it has more than doubled itself in the primary (though it meets 3.3% of the total cost) and nearly quadrupled in the higher stage. In secondary, however, it has increased by less than 50 per cent. Income from other sources including endowments has increased everywhere being about 50 per cent in primary, 80 per cent secondary and had more than doubled itself in higher as compared with 1947 figures. In the absence of large-scale endowments, and added local enthusiasm on the part of philanthropists, they are in many cases just additional compulsory levies from the guardians in the shape of "voluntary" contributions or betterment fees that some institutions began collecting. In that case they are just part of fee income, and would thus mean that the actual increases in fees are more than what the tables show.

The position is almost unchanged even today. A comparative statement of the total expenditure for education according to sources (including cost of direction and inspection) for 1956 and for 1960 are here given below to show the position :

TABLE XV

**Educational Finances Before and After the Third Plan**

| Sources | 1956 | | 1960 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sum | % | Sum | % |
| | Rs. | | Rs. | |
| Government (Centre and State) .. | 1,17,20,00,000 | 61.8 | 1,67,43,00,000 | 65.6 |
| Local bodies (D. B. & Mun.) .. | 17,36,00,000 | 8.6 | 16,78,00,000 | 6.6 |
| Fees .. .. | 37,90,00,000 | 20.0 | 47,56,00,000 | 18.6 |
| Endowments .. | 5,69,00,000 | 3.0 | 7,74,00,000 | 2.9 |
| Other sources .. | 12,51,00,000 | 6.6 | 16,02,00,000 | 6.3 |
| Total .. | 1,89,66,00,000 | | 2,55,26,00,000 | |

The apparent higher share by the government is due to the fact that the entire expenses of direction, inspection

and overhead expenses are borne by the government, and it amounted to Rs. 40 crores in 1956 and over sixty crores in 1960. The fall both in amount and in percentage for contribution of local bodies are to be noticed. As other sources are mostly indirect fees, the burden of fees is still a quarter of total educational expenses and after deduction of expenses for direction and inspection would come to well over a third. Endowments though increased in amount have fallen in percentage. It is reported that in 1965/66 the picture has been considerably changed for 77.5% have come from the government and local bodies funds put together, 15% from fees, and 7.2% from other sources including additional fees. Thus instead of 72%, the first two sources are now spending 77.5% while the burden on fees have correspondingly decreased.

It must be noted, however, that during this period the indirect expenditure on education, on direction, inspection, building and miscellaneous have increased considerably. It used to be 20 % in 1950-51 and 25.1% in 1965-66. As the government bears most of this, the total increase in government funds can be explained.

Perhaps we may consider how much is being spent by the schools of different categories, those maintained directly by the government, those maintained by the local bodies, private institutions aided by the government and those private institutions which are still unaided. The following table gives the position in 1947 :

TABLE XVI

**Expenditure by Management in 1947**

| Management | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Government .. | 54,58,161 | 1,93,77,727 | 2,30,36,500 |
| Local bodies .. | 12,81,22,372 | 12,65,78,280 | 6,22,504 |
| Private aided .. | 4,93,56,793 | 11,16,96,161 | 4,09,79,658 |
| Private unaided .. | 19,29,177 | 1,32,30,857 | 60,91,692 |

It will thus be seen that though in 1947 there were very few government primary schools, the government secondary schools did cost something like two crore rupees. The

government colleges cost more. Local bodies spent considerably for primary and for rural middle schools. The greatest expenditure in private enterprise was in high schools; while that in higher education is somewhat vitiated, inasmuch as the universities were included in private aided institutions, and not in local bodies which they should be, being established by acts of legislature; unaided private enterprise lagged behind everywhere.

Perhaps we may consider the post-independence figures also in the following table:

TABLE XVII

**Expenditure by Management in 1956**

| Management | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Government .. | 12,25,59,646 | 12,54,97,236 | 9,52,39,951 |
| Local boards .. | 29,51,53,920 | 10,47,67,565 | 14,16,599 |
| Private aided .. | 11,31,78,531 | 25,53,34,174 | 18,71,69,138 |
| Private unaided .. | 63,79,869 | 4,44,95,644 | (No separate figures are given for this.) |

These figures have their own interesting stories to tell. While government expenditure on primary education has been in 1956 nearly four times the expenditure incurred in 1947, the expenditure for the primary schools run by the government have increased by over twenty-two times. Thus a large portion of increase in government expenditure for primary education is actually being spent to run the government-managed primary schools. Same is the story for secondary schools. The expenditure incurred by the government for secondary education in 1956 is double of that spent in 1947 but the expenditure for running government schools has been increased six-fold. A large part of the government grant is being diverted toward maintaining the government schools whose number has no doubt been swelled by the fact that almost all the secondary schools in areas administered by the former Indian states have become government institutions. The expenditure for maintaining colleges have however, increased by four times, while the total expenditure for higher education on the part of the government has increased five times. This

leaves a little surplus money for institutions for higher education run by other bodies, though perhaps most of this is being taken by the universities placed in the list of non-government aided institutions.

The expenditure incurred in maintaining institutions run by local bodies have increased both at the primary and higher levels, but it appears to shrink at the level of the secondary in keeping with the reduced level of expenditure incurred by the local bodies themselves, as we have noticed earlier. Expenditure for institutions run by private aided bodies have increased everywhere. In primary, it has been more than double and so in secondary. It seems in these stages the expenditure is not always in keeping with their expansion. To a certain extent they are also due to introduction of definite pay scales by the government. In the field of higher education, however, we are unable to come to any definite conclusion because of two factors. Firstly, the universities are included in the private aided institutions; and secondly, because some of the expenses incurred in 1956 include also the expenses for private unaided colleges which are not separately shown in the annual reports. But compared with 1947 figures (wherein universities are similarly listed) we get private institutions, aided or unaided, that have increased their expenditure four times.

(*d*) *Summary.* At first different methods of financing are discussed in this chapter. There are six types of financing educational institutions and their advantages and disadvantages are briefly as follows :

(1) *By land grants and endowments.* It ensures autonomy and a certain degree of permanence, but its tendency is to shrink within the limits of endowment, and permanence promotes irresponsibility, there being no check over future deterioration.

(2) *By economic returns of students' labour.* It inculcates a spirit of service and dignity of labour, and assures self-sufficiency, but brings the students' effort into the open market of competition, wherein more attention is paid to the finished products rather than the educative possibilities of the effort. It is also likely to lead to an exploitation of child labour.

(3) *By public contribution.* This ensures active public co-operation and interest, and helps an institution to maintain its standards, but the amount raised may perhaps be insufficient to meet the needs of a modern institution. It is also bound to dwindle as the state changes from a capitalistic pattern to a socialistic welfare type.

(4) *By fees paid by the parents.* This ensures somewhat more active parental participation no doubt, but it is a negation of the principle of equality of opportunities, the wealthy people will by providing better facilities for education of their children and maintain an oligarchic type of society, while the poor will ever remain backward.

(5) *By state subsidizing the fees or grant-in-aid system.* This really is the *via media* between the preceding and the following system. But it does not eliminate entirely the evils of the earlier system though it somewhat mitigates it.

(6) *By tax-supported free education.* This ensures equality of opportunity for all. It ensures public interest and maintains the standards. Its only defect is that as the richer people would provide more taxes and derive less benefit, they may oppose the scheme. The administration that launches the scheme should therefore be prepared to face the opposition. Whether higher education would come under its fold, will depend on the resources of the administration, not only in money, but in men and equipment.

Tracing the history of financing of education in India, it is found that India has taken the course of financing schools partly by tax and partly with fees levied on the students. The support given by the government to non-government institutions takes the shape of grant-in-aid which followed the principle of payment by results once, and now replaced by attendance grants and grants for trained teachers. This has the effect of making the grants more or less static, while the demands of the schools are dynamic owing to the increments they are committed to give to the teachers. It is impossible to meet this dynamic demand with static resources, and in their effort to do this most of the urban institutions had to take resort to increasing their enrolment, an effort which leads to an unhealthy scramble for students between rival institutions and also to overcrowding and the problems associated with it. Even this can proceed up to a point, and a state of saturation will soon be reached. In rural institutions, where there is very little possibility for increased enrolment, this practice is likely to lead to two serious malpractices. It can either make teachers sign for a higher pay than that given to them, or remove a teacher drawing a high salary and replace him by a less paid substitute so that the sum paid would be distributed to others by way of increments. To reduce this evil, some governments have arranged to pay certain deficit grants from the surplus left in the budget. The trouble is that the amount is small and the demands are high, so only a portion of the demands can be met. In their effort to carve out larger shares, the managements

inflate their deficits, and the result is that very little reliance can be placed on what they demand. All this is the result of expecting regular private contribution, which is sadly lacking in modern India. It must be noted that while private contribution may be expected at the time starting the institution, or of planning an extension as a part of capital expenditure, it cannot be expected to meet the recurring demands.

An analysis of the expenditure on education by sources as well as by managements shows that government contribution is now the highest individual source, and it is diverted more towards maintaining the government institutions which thus get more money per institution. Non-government institutions are depending more on fees than on the government grants for their maintenance, and their expansion has been at the cost of individual efficiency and financial stability.

The allocation to education is the 'lowest ever' according to the Ministry of Education's Annual Report for 1969-70, which will impede any vigorous drive to implement the national policy on education.

In the finalised fourth plan, education has been allocated a sum of Rs. 840 crore or 5.8 per cent of the total plan outlay.

In the Central sector, the proposed expenditure of 326 crores of rupees has been cut down to Rs. 271 crores. In the State sector, the proposed allocation of Rs. 884 crores has been cut down to Rs.569 crores. The axe has fallen very heavily on primary education, and generally on all programmes of qualitative improvement.

Under these circumstances one can have very little hope for betterment, in the next five years.

(e) *Selected references:*

1. American Council of Education, *Higher Education in the United States;* gives an account of financing of higher education in U. S. A.
2. *Education in India,* 1961; gives the list for 1960.
3. *Madras Epigraphic Record,* 1922; gives an inscription from Kuruppa referring to an *agrahara* village granted by the Vijainagar State to show how these financed teachers' colonies.
4. *Manusmriti* 3-55 and *Sankhya* chapter V; the support of schools as the sacred obligation to households.
5. Ministry of Education, *Education in India,* 1955-56, Part 1; gives the expenditure by management and

sources on primary, secondary, higher education in 1956.

6. Ministry of Education, *General Educational Tables* 1946-47; gives the expenditure on secondary and higher education by management and by sources as prepared from table III A & III B.
7. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists;* gives the methods of financing employed in different countries, mentioned rather briefly.
8. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organization of Education in India;* gives the administration of *ashramas, madrasas, mukhtabs, agrahara* villages, etc., so far as financing is concerned.
9. President Truman Commission, *Higher Education for American Democracy;* gives in Vol. V the proposed financial arrangements for higher education in U. S. A. not yet implemented, however.
10. *Progress of Education in India: Decennial Survey,* 1937-1947; gives the expenditure of primary schools by sources and by managements in 1947.
11. *Progress of Education in India: Fifth Quinquinnial Review,* 1902-1907; gives the condition of aided secondary schools.
12. *Progress of Education in India: Fourth Quinquinnial Review;* 1897-1902; gives the condition of aided primary schools in general and of Bengal in particular.
13. *Report of the Secondary Education Commission,* 1882, Hunter Commission Report; gives the policy of extending the principle of grant-in-aid.
14. Richney, J. A., *Selections from Educational Records, Part II,* .1840-1859; gives the principle of giving grant-in-aid adopted in 1858.
15. Sankalia, *Nalanda University;* tells how Nalanda University was financed.
16. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Federal Funds for Education;* gives the administration of land grants and general principles of the administration of federal funds.
17. *Vaikansa Dharma Sutra and Pravana Khanda: Khanda* 1 mentions the obligations of householders to give *bhiksha* and in *khanda* 3 the fact that they may be refused by households which are not approved, indicating that they were privileged to households.

# Chapter IX

## Inspection as a Feature of Administration

(*a*) *How the system of inspection developed.* Whenever an agency which is living far away from an educational institution or is itself preoccupied with many jobs undertakes to finance the education, either wholly or partly, it will naturally be interested to see that its money is being properly utilized, and therefore there will be a tendency to entrust someone to see on the spot that work is being satisfactorily done. It becomes particularly essential for the state which is utilizing taxpayer's money to see that the money that it spends on individual schools is being properly utilized for the purpose, and that efficient instruction is being imparted. The agency that distributes the money is usually answerable to someone, generally to the legislature, to whom reports are to be sent of the working of these institutions.

It is, therefore found that a system of trusted agents of the government, the inspectors, are usually sent to visit the schools and also to administer the control on behalf of the government. Thus inspectors are found in England, France and in many European countries. They all date from the time that the government undertook to finance the schools. In England there were no inspectors in the early stages, when the government did not assume any responsibility for the schools. Even when building grants were given in 1832, there was no system for inspection of schools. Inspectors evolved when the system of regular help was organized in order that the standards could be maintained. Otherwise,probably the government could not justify to the taxpaver through Parliament how the money given to schools was being utilized. The origin of the system of inspection in France and Germany was much earlier, and they became the agents on behalf of the government to carry on administration, since the schools in these countries were state-managed. and some sort of liaison was needed between the schools and the Central Government. In the Netherlands and in Belgium, inspectors were first appointed partly to look after the private institutions and partly as administrative liaison officers for state institutions, and also functioned as sort of administrative officers to visit the working of the aided institutions and report on their eligibility to qualify for the state assistance.

It may seem somewhat strange that in U. S. A. no system of inspection evolved when the state governments decided to help the institutions organized by the communities in a certain area or educational district. The reason for it is, that in U. S. A. the traditions of local autonomy were deeply ingrained since the pioneering days, and there was some assurance that each area was well alive to its responsibilities. Just as each state was zealous not to surrender any power to the federal government, in the same way each local authority resented any interference from the state government. The American tradition had been, "If you trust us that we are doing our jobs properly, you must help us financially that we are able to complete our task." Thus no conditions are tolerated which may lead to control when the federal government offers assistance to the state government, nor, are any conditions tolerated by the local bodies when the state governments help the schools. The only conditions are the submission of accounts by the local bodies which are of course checked by the state governments, and the requirement of selecting teachers of the right type who must receive the state government's certificate before they could be appointed. Even evaluation of the students in U. S. A. is done by the schools themselves. This has necessarily created a certain amount of diversity in the standards in the American schools, which was inevitable in the pioneering days, but which does not suit the conditions of a settled society. The accrediting agencies and the progressive use of standardized tests are now trying to maintain the standards which in other lands are assured either by a common evaluating agency or by inspectors.

In India too, inspecting agency started when the government laid down the policy of giving grants to non-government schools. Earlier, the government had opened their own schools. Since teachers who served in such institutions were all selected by the government, there was perhaps very little room for doubt that they would do their jobs properly. And after all, there was the headmaster who like the American superintendent of the school district was a person who was responsible for an internal evaluation. There was yet room for an external evaluation of the end-product by means of examinations conducted by the universities. The position was different with respect to non-government institutions. The teachers there were not appointed by the government nor was the headmaster. As only the high schools sent up the students for a public examination, it was found that the assessment by that agency was being done only to a limited number of students and that too at the end stage. Hence it was perhaps

necessary to evolve an agency for systematic evaluation which the system of inspection supplied.

From the foregoing, it may be said that the system of inspection evolved in Western Europe from a desire to keep a liaison between the local units and the Central Government, while in England and in India it evolved with a desire to examine the working of the grants given to the non-government schools. This difference brought in certain differences in the attitudes of the inspectors themselves. While the inspectors of continental Europe were just friends and guides to the schools, those in England and especially those in India came to the schools with a certain degree of suspicion and with a view to carry on evaluation. This difference in their original attitudes created a difference in the role that they played as part of the administrative machinery. We shall see later that between England and India, further differences were evolved in course of time.

(b) *Working of the system of inspection in India for a century.* It is now over a hundred years that the system of inspection is working in India ; as has been said earlier, perhaps the very selection of the term "inspector" was unfortunate especially in the Indian context. The term seems to be too closely associated with the corresponding rank in the police service which has to deal with the criminals. Perhaps in England where for a long time the police has been looked upon as the servant and friend of the people, the term did not cause so much harm. The conditions in India were different, the policemen here have been agents of foreign imperialism, and as such were dreaded by the people. The police officers on the other hand worked with a certain amount of suspicion and their attitude to general public was anything but that of service. It was associated with this connotation that school inspectors came, and there is no doubt that the attitude with which they looked upon the schools, and the attitude with which the teacher looked upon them was closely akin to the attitude of the people towards the police of those days.

Then again the most important task that was assigned to these was that of assessment and evaluation. Perhaps this was the order of the day then prevailing, for "payment by results" was in vogue not only here but in England as well. But very soon in England, this was given up, because of the artificial stimulation of the product and the sort of window-dressing that this method provided. The method was also found to draw the teachers and the inspecting authority away from each other, creating an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion and tempting teachers

to hide the real thing and to put on a got-up show. Perhaps the result of this move in England was responsible for a revision of grant-in-aid rules for the schools, and the new system provided grants not on results, but on the attendance of students and sometimes on the number of trained teachers in some states. But the system of evaluation did not disappear altogether. The spirit of evaluation continued, and even today some sort of evaluation is going on during inspection of the schools. This, as has been mentioned, creates an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion, where the teacher is made not to be frank. The practice of the inspector's submitting a report to the director for every inspection, has perhaps resulted in an attitude of fault-finding, and many inspectors genuinely feel unhappy till they find a single fault, which they can write in their report. This attitude has again created an atmosphere of antagonism between the teaching and the inspecting staff.

Early in the twentieth century, to curb the spirit of rising nationalism (as has been mentioned earlier) inspecting authorities were given more powers and authority. They thus became responsible elements of administration, performing a function more responsible than before, but the function further drew them apart from the teachers. They became in a greater sense parts of the British bureaucracy, rather than educational officers out to find real difficulties within the schools and suggest ways and means to eradicate them. Sadler Commission, in order to abolish the dual authority that existed, one of setting up courses of study and of evaluation by the university, and the other of carrying internal evaluation coupled with administration by the inspectorate, suggested that the inspectorate instead of remaining a part of the government machinery should be made subordinate to the boards of secondary education (in secondary of course, intermediate was included). Unfortunately the recommendations of the Sadler Commission were adopted as an experimental measure in only two areas, in U. P. and in Dacca, and in both these places the government were not willing to make the inspectorate a subordinate agency under the boards. Thus a wide gulf existed between three wings, the evaluating agencies which set up the standards and conducted the examination (the universities and the boards wherever they existed), the teaching staff and the inspectorate. This was not a happy state of affairs, mistrust in place of frankness and co-operation continued.

The inherent difference between the methods in which inspection was being carried on in India and that in England in those days, did not escape the notice of Messrs. Wood

and Abbott when they prepared their report during the thirties of this century. The first Narendra Deva report of U. P., quoting the Wood-Abbott Report says : "The chief duty of the Inspector is to inspect the schools. He must do this sympathetically and tactfully and *give advice* based on his own knowledge and experience. He should feel free and of course be qualified to praise or to criticize, but his criticism should be calculated *to encourage and not to intimidate.*" The words here are of the Wood-Abbot Report and the first Narendra Deva Report has merely italicized certain portions. The first Narendra Deva Report has also noticed the multifarious functions that the inspector has to perform and felt that perhaps many functions of a more routine nature may be taken away from him. Commenting on the work of an inspector (of course of U. P.), the report says : "The Educational Code makes the inspector's work too mechanical and too much occupied with the routine. The office swallows up the man." It has already been noted that in the working of the local authority the sort of diarchy that was introduced in certain provinces of dividing the responsibility between the inspecting staff and the district educational committees of the district boards was not working smoothly. This too has been mentioned in the first Narendra Deva Report thus : "In addition to the defective system of education, the failure of primary education in these provinces has also been the result of a very faulty system of administration. The system of dual control, by the Department of Education through its inspectorate on the one hand, and local bodies through the education committees and their chairmen on the other is extremely anomalous and is detrimental to efficiency."

But in spite of such comments, the inspectorate went in its old way, and during the national movement of 1942, inspectorate once again worked in the interests of British bureaucracy. In 1947 there were 277 officers of the class I service in the whole of India in the men's branch and 29 in the women's branch doing work in different provinces, besides a few deputed to the Indian states. The number of junior officers were many, but regarding their work the Decennial Report 1937-1947 says : "The lower rank of the Inspectors have not attracted the best men owing to the fact that the terms of that service have not been satisfactory."

After freedom, the spirit has not unhappily changed. The Mudaliar Report examining the condition five years after the freedom (1952-53) remarks : "In our view the true role of an Inspector,—for whom we would prefer the

term 'Educational Adviser'—is to study the problems of each school, to take a comprehensive view of all its functions and to help the teachers to carry out his advice and recommendations."

Be that as it may, the growth of freedom has witnessed a large increase on the strength of the inspectorate. Instead of 306 officers of class I and II in 1947, there were in 1955, 679 officers of whom 584 were men and 95 were women. The number of subordinate officers also increased more than two-fold. Just to quote a single instance of Assam, there were 138 officers of all ranks in 1947, while in 1955 there were 214 officers in Assam and 18 in N. E. F. A., a new administrative area carved out of it. It must be noted that Assam did not undergo any large-scale reorganization, and that it had due to partition suffered in a large tract of Sylhet district which had many schools, many more than in any other district remaining in Assam. Yet this truncated state had very nearly twice as many officers as it had in 1947. In U. P. on the other hand which did not suffer any territorial change as a result of partition or of reorganization, we find that the change has been much more in upper ranks and not so much in the subordinate ranks. Instead of 24 officers of the provincial grade in 1947, there were as many as 72 officers of the provincial grade and instead of 327 officers of the subordinate grade in 1947 there were 479 officers of the subordinate grade in 1955.

(c) *Working of the inspectorate in continental Europe: an example of another system.* Having mentioned, that in U. S. A. where the local agency is alive to its responsibilities, and that inspectorate has not been necessary though some methods of accreditation and use of standardized tests have been found necessary to maintain standards, let us examine the working of an inspectorate in continental Europe, where the evolution of the inspectorate has not been to see and inspect mainly the working of institutions receiving government money as an aid and otherwise independent of it, but to help the working of the government institutions themselves. As has been said this includes not only France and Germany, but the low countries as well where the inspectorate developed firstly to act as liaison between the Central agency and the schools, and later took upon itself the duty to help private institutions.

There is the tradition of help and advice and not of inspection, except perhaps in the totalitarian days of Germany when inspectorate assumed the same role as in India in 1905 or in 1942. In France, there are really

three sets of inspectors. One set known as general inspectors are really administrative liaison officers who collect information and statistics from the schools and pass them on to the central administration. They also convey the orders of the central administration to the schools, and finally they are the judges to decide disputes that may arise (though rarely) in the working of the schools. They are not connected with the teaching of the institutions as such. The latter is left to inspectors of the academies who form quite a bunch. Each person is a specialist of at least one subject and inspects only that subject of which he is a specialist. Inspectors of the academies have no administrative responsibilities at all, and are concerned only with the teaching facilities and devices. Their experience, as well as the fact that they do not carry any administrative responsibilities with them, induces teachers to discuss difficulties frankly with them without any fear of unhappy repercussion of such frank discussion. In case of primary schools, perhaps so many specialists are not needed, especially when the general tradition is for one teacher to teach most of the subjects, if not all. It is therefore not necessary to have an army of inspectors there (which is not feasible also as there are so many primary institutions), the work is therefore entrusted to a person in each area called the inspector of primary education who inspects both the *ecole unique* (primary school) and *cours complimentaire* or higher elementary, the administrative problems being dealt with by the general inspectors.

The French system thereby divides the function of inspection between two agencies bearing similar names, while one agency maintains the liaison, the other maintains academic efficiency through frank and free discussion. This pattern is followed more or less in the Netherlands and in Belgium and ensures efficiency both in administration and in teaching. It is in many ways better than the system we follow in India where evaluation has been associated with administration.

(d) *Summary.* Inspection is perhaps a necessity when schools are maintained either wholly or partly out of government money, for the disbursing authority is answerable to some agency like the legislature for the money that is spent. Thus the disbursing agency, which is generally too far away from the schools must ensure some means to ascertain that the amount is well spent, that there is no wastage of any kind and that the education that the institutions are imparting is of the right kind. The problem becomes all the more urgent when the

money is paid as grants to private agencies which have the liberty to appoint their own teachers. The administrative authority must ensure that these teachers are imparting the right kind of education.

If inspection as part of state system has not been developed in U. S. A., the reasons are perhaps four-fold:

(i) The traditions of local autonomy which resents Central interference are so strong in the country where pioneering activity was going on.

(ii) The interest that the community was taking and the care with which the superintendents were chosen made such inquiries unnecessary.

(iii) The schools run by private enterprise are not earning any grants.

(iv) By using the power of certification, the state governments were ensuring that only the teachers of the right type, as far as available, were being sent to the schools to teach.

But even then some unofficial means like the system of accreditation and the use of standardized tests are employed today to ensure that some standards are maintained.

The origin of the inspectorate in India and in England was more to examine the working of the aided institutions receiving government grants. Probably the term "inspector" was ill conceived in the Indian context. the system of inspection closely followed the system of payment by results. Though the grant-in-aid rules were revised, the tradition of evaluation as a feature of inspection still persists, and this draws the teaching and the inspecting agencies quite far apart.

With political agitation in the country, more and more powers were given to the inspectorate and in the administration of these powers as well as in the task of evaluation, a spirit of suspicion and distrust of misleading and hide and seek continued in the field of education. The suggestion of the Sadler Commission to bring the inspectorate under the secondary education board was ignored, and in the thirties, Wood-Abbot Committee remarking about the working of the inspectorate in the whole of India, and the Narendra Deva Committee examining the working in U. P. have both found certain fundamental defects which needed remedying. But these pieces of advice were ignored; even after freedom there is hardly any change in the spirit as evident from similar

remarks that the Mudaliar Commission was forced to make five or rather six years after the attainment of freedom.

It must be noted that since freedom there has been quite a rapid increase in the inspectorate, the new strength is nearly double of the old strength. Of course it must be noted that the work has also increased with the opening of new schools. The statistics of two states, Assam which actually suffered a diminution as a result of partition, with very little subsequent change as a result of reorganization except creation of N. E. F. A. (whose officers are included in the list, however), and U. P. which suffered no change at all territorially as a result of partition or reorganization have been taken as typical examples to show the expansion of the inspectorate (including direction) since freedom.

As a parallel case the working of the inspectorate in continental Europe especially in France is taken to show that by a separation of administrative and evaluative functions of the inspection to two agencies better results may perhaps be ensured, and a free atmosphere to discuss the difficulties may even now be created with very little change in the existing set-up. To what extent it has to be modified to suit the working condition in India has of course to be examined very carefully.

(e) *Selected references*:

1. Government of Bengal: *Fourth Quinquinnial Report*; gives some of the powers given to the inspectorate to combat the political agitation in Bengal during the partition days.
2. Government of India, *Education in India*, 1954-55, Vol. II; gives the strength of the inspectorate in the upper cadre of whole India (provincial service) and the total strength in Assam and in the Uttar Pradesh.
3. Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*: gives, as the title indicates, the extent of state interest in the running of educational institutions in England.
4. Mudaliar Committee, *Report of the Secondary Education Commission*, 1952-1953; gives the comments of the commission on the working of the inspectorate.
5. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists*; gives a general account of the administration of education in England, U. S. A.,

France and other continental countries, taking France in greater detail.

6. Narendra Deva Committee, *Report of the Primary and Secondary Education Committee, U. P.*, 1939; quotes the comment on the working of the inspectorate as observed by the Wood-Abbott Committee and also gives its own comments.
7. *Progress of Education in India: Decennial Review, Vol. II*, 1937-1947; gives the strength of the inspectorate in India and the total strength in Assam and in the United Provinces.
8. *Progress of Education in India: Fifth Quinquinnial Review*, 1902-1907; gives a few of the steps taken by other provincial governments to combat agitation.
9. Sadler Committee, *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, 1917; gives in Vol. IV, the suggestion to make the inspectorate subordinate to the Board of Intermediate Education.
10. U. N. E. S. C. O.. *World Survey of Education: Education in France*; gives a brief account of the organization of the inspectorate in France.
11. U. S. Office of Education, *State Boards of Education and Chief State School Officers: The Status and Legal Powers*; gives the limitation of powers imposed on the state by the autonomy of local units.

PART 3. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS ON DIFFERENT AREAS OF EDUCATION

# Chapter X

## Administration of Higher Education

(*a*) *History of administration of higher education in British India.* We have seen that in ancient India while there was an autonomy, there was yet some effort for co-ordination in order to maintain certain standards in higher education in India through the agency of *charnas* and *parishads.* Buddhist universities were controlled by the co-ordinating agency of the *sanghas* and when the co-ordinating agency disappeared, deterioration set in the Buddhist universities. In the medieval period, the standards of higher education definitely deteriorated, and we have no evidence of any creative effort of value being evolved. This was no doubt partly the result of the absence of a controlling agency, in addition to a general feeling of frustration that prevailed in India at that time. Muslim centres of higher education likewise flourished so long as the ruling chief took an active interest and dwindled as soon as the successor was more apathetic. This shows that a certain amount of co-ordination and a certain degree of restraint is perhaps necessary to maintain the standards of higher education.

But at the same time higher education by its very nature needs a certain amount of internal autonomy to organize its own activities, for without that autonomy the spirit of creation cannot thrive. In ancient India, that autonomy was provided to educational institutions at every stage, and whatever control was effected it was perhaps voluntarily agreed to by the teachers themselves.

With the British, the educational set-up changed. When English became the medium of instruction, higher education meant more advanced studies in English and of other subjects through English. A stiff line of demarcation was drawn between higher and lower education, first by the setting up of junior examination and then by university entrance examination. Nobody could enter the portals of higher education except by passing this barrier. While the universities were made responsible for conducting the entrance as well as other examinations at the successive stages of higher education, they had nothing to do with teaching which was conducted

through colleges, some of which were maintained by the government, others by missionary agencies and a few were run by private Indian managements. Prior to 1857, 18 of the centres of higher education were run directly by the government, four being professional. Missionaries had nine. Within the next twenty-four years, the number of colleges under the government increased to thirty-eight, the number of colleges run by the missionaries became eighteen, while five colleges run under Indian enterprise were also opened. By that time there were four universities, but each was an examining unit, and very soon a fifth was added which was likewise an examining body.

The policy of making universities merely units of examination without attaching any teaching and research functions to them had its natural repercussion on the Indian minds. To the Indian mind, evaluation assumed greater importance than teaching or research could have. The method produced persons with a standard hall-mark of efficiency given by a reliable body, yet to gain that hall-mark, the average student put in all his effort, not to understand and grasp things, but to acquire efficiency of preparing presentable answers which may help him through the ordeal of examination. The efforts of the colleges were also directed to help the student attain this efficiency, and hence the success of the examination became the be all and the end all of all education.

The universities themselves were official bodies. At the head was the chancellor, who was the governor of the province and in case of Punjab and Allahabad (opened later), the lieutenant governor. In an age when the head of the province was not merely a titular head, this arrangement meant considerable officialdom introduced into the universities, and when we consider that a large majority of the members of the senate were fellows nominated by the chancellor, we can understand the true character of the universities of those days. The actual administration was left to the vice-chancellor appointed for a definite term by the chancellor, and to the registrar appointed by the senate. As the senates were big bodies, they became rather unwieldy to conduct business themselves, and very soon appointed a sub-committee consisting of the vice-chancellor, the registrar and a few of the selected senators. This acquired the name of a syndicate though at first it had no official title to that effect. The chancellor was, however, kept informed of every decision of the syndicate and the senate and very often no important issues were decided without ascertaining the government view.

In a system like this, there was only one lacuna. The fellows nominated by the chancellor were members of the senate for life. Having once secured their nomination, it was no longer necessary for them to seek official patronage, and therefore they could take an independent view of things and would no longer look to the government for the approval. Though this was not done in practice, but there was yet a possibility. This was corrected by the recommendation of the Raleigh Commission which was appointed in 1902, and whose report was finally accepted by the government in 1904. The recommendations of this commission did not alter the basic examining character of the universities, though it suggested that the universities should open some teaching units directly under their control. It further limited the size of the senates of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras universities to a hundred each and of Punjab and Allahabad to seventy-five each. Fellows under the new laws were to be nominated for a definite term and could be renominated again at the end of the term, provided the chancellor so wished. Only 20 of these fellows in the older and 15 of the fellows in the newer universities could be elected. Syndicates obtained statutory recognition. The act, however, had some good results following them, for instead of the senates becoming unmanageable bodies became manageable, and further some of the universities at least opened law classes as the first example of teaching units. In 1915 the first university under Indian enterprise mainly through the efforts of Pt. Madan Mohan Malavia was opened in Banares and it was of a teaching and unitary type. In that year, the first university was opened in an Indian state at Mysore. A year later, a university was opened at Patna and in the following year, the state of Hyderabad had its university.

Though Banares was the first teaching university, yet the real rise of the teaching universities began after the recommendations of the Sadler Commission were published in 1919. This commission, as has been mentioned was in favour of separating the high school and intermediate education from the universities and of entrusting their evaluation to autonomous boards. The functions of the universities according to the commission were to teach, undertake research and evaluate their own product.

Perhaps, had the recommendations of this commission been accepted in toto, it would have resulted in radical change in the pattern of higher education. But as has been described, Calcutta University itself accepted

the recommendations only in part. It did not divest itself of the function of examination of matriculation and intermediate standards. It allowed the colleges to carry on the first degree classes, where it merely functioned as an examining body. The only change that was accepted was to limit post-graduate teaching to the university itself. Madras, Bombay, Punjab, Patna, and Hyderabad universities did not reorganize themselves very much, except that they attached some research functions and Hyderabad later experimented on teaching everything through Urdu. Allahabad University, however, accepted the recommendations, and so did the newly formed Dacca University. As Allahabad became a teaching university, naturally new universities had to spring up, the first to spring up were two universities both residential in character, one at Lucknow and the other at Aligarh in 1921 (where a college founded by Sir Syed Ahmed existed since the end of the 19th century). Rangoon had a new university which owing to a large concentration of all the educational efforts of Burma mainly confined in the city of Rangoon assumed a quasi-residential character just as Hyderabad University had been in a way. Delhi University was organized not exactly on a teaching basis, but more on a federal basis with teaching functions apportioned to colleges which retained their identity, and yet in a way combined to form the university. The colleges outside the site of the residential university of Allahabad first remained as the external side of the university, but later the colleges of the Central Provinces went over to the Nagpur University in 1923, the colleges of the remaining areas of U. P. as well as of Rajputana came under a newly formed Agra University in 1927, and similarly the colleges of the University of Madras situated in Andhra were brought under the Andhra University in 1926. Annamalai became a residential university in 1929. Thus within the third decade of the 20th century, India had eighteen universities, while in the 1st she had only five.

The administrative changes which thus ensued were:

(1) Some teaching and research functions were introduced in each university, though examinations still remained the most important function even of the residential universities.

(2) While many of the universities retained their old affiliating and examining character, six were unitary and residential (Allahabad, Dacca, Banares, Lucknow, Aligarh and Annamalai), at least three owing to local conditions became more or less federal bodies, namely,

Delhi, Rangoon and Andhra. Of the remaining nine as many as eight had attached some teaching function and only Agra remained purely examining in type.

(3) Except the universities of Bombay and Punjab, the older universities had suffered some territorial reduction as a result of the rise of the new universities. The territorial jurisdiction of the newer universities being small, these universities did ensure more local participation. The relation between the universities and the colleges could not remain there as impersonal as they had been in the older universities.

The changes suffered by the residential universities were:

1. The administrative bodies were now three, the Court usually replaced the senate, the academic council dealt with purely academic questions and at the top was the Executive Council.

2. Teachers got more chances in the participation of the university administration.

3. Vice-chancellors were now whole-time officers who were paid. The thing that still remained unchanged were:

1. Concentration of large and residuary powers into the hands of the governors who acted as chancellors and who had no need to consult even the elected education minister. In some universities like Banares and Aligarh the chancellor was not the governor, but one of the princes of the states, but this really meant that the government pressure was exercised through the political agents. Moreover the governor-general as the visitor had much power. Thus officialdom was retained in the universities, and each body had a number of nominated persons.

2. The director of education remained in the highest body, Syndicate or the Executive Council, and exercised his official influence.

3. The chancellor had a hand in the nomination of the vice-chancellor, even where the vice-chancellor was elected; and any person who was not considered desirable by the official block could not become the vice-chancellor.

4. The universities had to depend on the government for their money grants, and it was at the time of disbursement of the grants that official interference was felt most.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the system gave a certain chance for participation of teachers into the affairs of the universities. In residential universities, the senior teachers had a hand not only in shaping the courses of study, but in the appointment of examiners and in con-

ducting the examination. This participation was not always healthy, for in the days where the autonomy outside was very limited, this created a temptation to introduce power politics into the universities and the more ambitious members of the teaching staff found the power politics more paying than academic attainments. With examinations still retaining their predominant position for future success in his studies, the student body looked to more powerful elements in the universities than to those from whom sound knowledge was available. This in a way vitiated the healthy student-teacher relations that a residential university should develop, and a healthy thirst for knowledge that was the ideal of a teaching university.

The examining universities went in their old ways giving pre-eminence to examination, and new, mainly examining universities, were added in the fourth and fifth decades, namely, at Travancore, Utkal, Saugar, Sindh and Rajputana.

The number of colleges also increased, in 1922 there were 231 colleges, in 1932 they were nearly doubled to 417 and in 1947 the number of colleges were 933. With four-fold increase in the number of colleges, enrolment was also increased, but not so much, for in 1922 the enrolment was 59,591, in 1947 it rose to 199,253.

(*b*) *Higher education in free India.* Just before freedom it has been mentioned that with the separation of Burma earlier, there were 22 universities in India. In 1958 their number was 37. The enrolment in 1954 was 5,80,218. These figures will at once show a marked increase in the facilities for higher education and the opportunities seized thereby. But as the government report says, 78.9 per cent of the students enrolled themselves for Arts and Science courses, and only 21.1 for professional courses. The same trend is being followed even in 1966. There are now 66 universities and 1,550 colleges. But with an estimated number of 4,00,000 students in the universities and over 11,00,000 in the colleges, there is still nearly 3 to 1 ratio in the universities and colleges. The ratio of general to professional courses is 4 to 1 roughly. This may create an impression that perhaps we are training too many for general courses, all of whom are not going to be absorbed into profitable occupations, and many of whom may not be fit to acquire the full benefits of higher education either.

These doubts were created as early as in 1949 and hence a University Education Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan. The commission suggested certain organizational changes like:

(i) Beginning university education after the intermediate with three years' study for the first degree both in pass and honours' course, followed by a year's study for the master's course for the honours' students and two years for the pass students. The number of subjects for more intensive studies in the pass degree being two, with a number of general courses to begin in order to give a broader outlook.

(ii) Retention of three types of universities purely teaching, teaching and affiliating and federal, with a constitution of each as closely corresponding to the others as possible.

(iii) Creation of uniform pay scale for teachers who should, however, form four categories of service, the last being permanent research fellows.

(iv) Suggestions for University Grants Commission to disburse the money to the universities, who would not thus be compelled to approach the government for every sum. This method is being followed in U. K. and is found to eliminate wastage and at the same time ensure the autonomy to the universities.

(v) Creation of fifty per cent free places on the basis of merit, and making the other fifty per cent pay double the existing fees.

Only one recommendation of the commission has been implemented, namely, the formation of the grants commission. But here too, instead of one grants commission administering the entire sum, Central and State, there are separate grants committees of the states, as well as a commission under the Union Government.

The recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission so far as they related to higher education, meant to increase the period of study at the higher level by one year by certain readjustment at the lower level. Many universities have considered the scheme as worthwhile, and are prepared to try the experiment, though the actual implementation has been done in a few places.

The trouble that remains in the way of reorganization, is the existence of a large number of affiliated colleges, attached to most of the universities. Though by 1958 all universities have some teaching units either through university departments or through constituent colleges, yet a number of affiliated colleges are attached to most of them. In 1958 the university teaching departments numbered 350, distributed in 37 universities. The number of constituent colleges were 199, while the number of affiliated colleges were 955; besides 42

recognized post graduate institutions. The separate enrolments in the three units for 1958 are not available. But in 1954, while 31,137 students studied in university teaching departments, 94,368 studied in the constituent colleges. In the affiliated colleges 3,60,888 students studied. With the remaining 93,825 studying in colleges affiliated to the boards, we get the total figure 5,80,218 as mentioned before. Thus over 60 per cent of the students studied in colleges affiliated to the universities (besides 18 in colleges affiliated to boards) and if we separate the number affiliated to boards the percentage comes to nearly 75.

Thus to a large majority of students reading in the affiliated colleges, the university is merely an examining body, and even to the students within the orbit of the teaching unit of the university departments and constituent colleges, the examining function of the university predominates the teaching and other functions.

(c) *Some of the vital problems of higher education yet to be solved.* One vital problem that confronts the universities is the existence of party politics that acts detrimentally to the development of a true academic spirit in the universities. Perhaps freedom instead of damping, has aggravated this. To a certain extent at present it is the result of the party system of government in the country, and the opportunities that the government has in interfering in the affairs of the university. After freedom it must be remembered that the governors have become titular heads of the states and they act on the advice of ministers. This has been extended in the sphere of the work of the universities when though the powers are exercised in the name of the chancellors, yet it is the state government which functions behind that name. Opposition parties in the legislature sometimes exploit the situation, and try to enter into university controversies through some subtle means. If within the state government itself there are factions, that also affects the organization of the universities. Besides these there are ambitious teachers themselves who want to reap every opportunity that this atmosphere provides, for their personal advancement. The net result of all this is that to a great extent true academic atmosphere does not exist in many centres of higher learning.

Another problem is the undue importance still given to the results of one public examination at the end of the year. By the very nature of things, this promotes concentrated labour on the part of the student for a short time, and also introduces a great deal of chance in the proper

evaluation of the abilities. When teaching and residential universities were established, it was hoped that they would perhaps undo the evil by putting more credit on day-to-day work. This, they failed to do, and though some of them borrowed the feature of tutorial instruction from the Oxford and Cambridge universities, yet they did not work them properly, and gave no credit for the work thus done in the final evaluation. Later on whatever credit has been given in a few places is not only inadequate, but is carried on in a manner which does not evoke seriousness on the part of the students.

The third problem is want of funds, which prevents universities and colleges developing in a manner which would give the best results. The centres of higher learning lack equipment and library facilities at least to the extent they should have in keeping with the want.

The fourth problem is inadequate teacher-pupil ratio, which means that teachers have large classes to handle resulting in their getting no chance of paying individual attention to the students, and also in the overwork of a teacher leaving him no time to pursue survey and research.

The fifth problem is the limited number of the courses of studies offered and the limited facilities available for technical and professional work, that is responsible for drifting a large number of students into general courses, or into professional courses like law which are already overcrowded. This creates a sense of frustration in the minds of students and is not conducive to his putting his best labour.

The sixth problem is inadequate facilities for research, limited on one hand by equipment and the library facilities, and on the other by the amount of leisure that teachers have. The following table gives the number of doctorates conferred by different faculties in 1953:

TABLE XVIII

**Faculty-wise Distribution of General and Ph.D. Enrolment 1953**

| Faculties | Total enrolment in 1953 | Enrolment of Ph.D. D. Phil. students |
|---|---|---|
| Arts .. .. .. | 2,53,494 | 756 |
| Science .. .. | 1,48,676 | 772 |
| Agriculture .. .. | 4,798 | 21 |
| Commerce .. .. | 46,076 | 69 |
| Teachers' training .... .. | 6,104 | 69 |
| Engineering and technology .. | 14,162 | 27 |
| Law .. .. .. | 17,118 | Not given |
| Medicine .. .. | 17,920 | 51 |

Out of 4,38,327 enrolled for graduate studies and upwards in 1953 only 1765 enrolled themselves for the various doctoral courses which comes to a little over 0.3 per cent. Two years after in 1955 we find that only 27 appeared for D. Lit or D.Sc. examinations and 523 for Ph. D. or D. Phil examination. Besides this, there were a few students for M. D. courses in the Faculty of Medicine. The total comes to less than 600 and it is thus clear that out of the number of students enrolled in 1953, including some enrolled years earlier and some having completed their formalities, only a third could feel that they have completed their research work two years later. Not all of them, however, passed, for out of 27 submitting their D. Lit or D. Sc. thesis only 20 were adjudged fit for a degree and out of 523 submitting thesis for Ph. D. only 282 were found fit. Only 36 of the enrolled students were qualified for M. D. As four of the D. Lit, D. Sc. and 32 of the Ph. D. or D. Phil students were private, it is clear that of the students enrolled in 1953 only 302 got their degrees, which comes to 17 per cent outturn. The trend is the same even in 1966, though the numbers have increased.

A great deal of wastage is thus evident in the level of higher education and research, which can be avoided. According to the report of U. G. C. in 1965, out of 1.2 million students in the universities five-sixths or 1 million are in affiliated colleges, but mostly in the first degree stage, for in the M. A. or M. Sc., three-sevenths are in the degree colleges, thus at the first degree stage nearly 90 per cent are in affiliated colleges. Thus the standards of higher education is maintained largely by the standard that these affiliated colleges would reach. The University Grants Commission lays the following requisites which are, however, yet to be attained:

1. Pursuit of liberal values, irrespective of the courses of study.
2. Preservation and communication of existing knowledge as heritage.
3. Addition to the knowledge by extension of frontiers.
4. Reinterpretation of traditional values according to situation.
5. Provide intellectual and moral leadership of the area after making an intensive study of the problems faced in the neighbourhood and in the entire nation.
6. Creation of a national outlook by deliberately pursuing national ends in preference to local interests.

7. Courses must be related to well defined objectives.
8. Improvement of the average product for while the quality of the best product is as good as ever the average students in the field of higher education have considerably deteriorated.
9. Seminars and conferences of teachers should be held regularly in connection with the objectives of teaching and research.
10. Idea of a general education should be interpreted imaginatively.
11. Attempts should be made to select more promising students and give better facilities and libraries instead of dealing with all students having poorer facilities. Insist on quality rather than on number in the field of higher education.

(*d*) *Summary.* History of the administration of higher education in India shows that universities were first evolved, and remained so for a long time as mere examining bodies; some of the latter were under missionary managements, though later some colleges under Indian managements evolved and later they outstripped the missionary enterprise considerably.

Be that as it may, this sort of arrangement made teaching a function subordinate to examinations. In the administration of the university, the supreme body was the senate, consisting of an overwhelming majority of fellows nominated for life by the chancellor who was the executive head of the province. In 1904 as a result of the recommendation of the Raleigh Commission, this was revised, the size of the senate was fixed, and fellows were no longer nominated for life. The proportion of elected fellows being fixed at 20 per cent, meant that the official hold on the universities predominated.

Although Raleigh Commission had suggested that universities should start some teaching functions, very little was done in this direction except the evolution of a unitary university at Banares. In 1917 Sadler Commission was appointed to enquire into the condition of Calcutta University and this submitted its report two years later. This expanded teaching functions in the universities, and a few residential universities emerged. In these more scope was given for teacher participation in the university administration. But unfortunately this developed unhealthy power politics and the facilities were not always used for real advancement of education. A large number of universities still remained examining

units, and even in the teaching universities examinations at the end of the year or session continued to have their undue importance. Nothing was done to evaluate the day-to-day work for which there was scope in such universities. The effect of this situation on the student body too was not quite healthy, they not only concentrated on an intensive labour for a month or two at the end of session, but tried in some cases to abuse the opportunity for more personal influences that the situation of teaching universities offered, to get better results, than their merits and labour would perhaps otherwise justify Though the academic affairs were thus in a confused state, the purely administrative affairs were guided by the officialdom. The chancellor as the head of the province and with large executive authority which he could exercise even without consulting his education ministers, maintained the old atmosphere of officialdom.

With the advent of freedom, the governors still retained their positions as chancellors of the universities, but within the state itself they became constitutional heads. This meant that in university affairs they had to act as the ministries wished. The ministries, however, in this affair were not responsible to the legislature, for there was always the cover of the supposed university autonomy; and this, as well as the influence of politicians of other parties and the actions of more ambitious elements in the universities themselves, have prevented the real academic spirit which should otherwise have prevailed in our universities. Added to this are the problems of affiliated institutions, who have about three-fourths the total strength of the students of higher education and to whom the universities remain as mere examining bodies. Examinations still loom large in determining students' efforts, and high premium is placed on the results of a single public examination. Though the number of the centres of higher education increased by more than three-fold, yet it did not increase the staff and this has been responsible for overwork, poorer efficiency and less time for research guidance, where there is a great deal of wastage of efforts as the analysis of results show.

(*e*) *Selected references*:

1. Government of India. *Directory of Institutions for Higher Education*, 1958; gives the statistical details of the university departments, constituent colleges and affiliated colleges in 1958.
2. Government of India, *Education in India*, Vol. II, 1954-55; gives the number of students who got the doctorate degrees in 1955.

3. Government of India, *Education in Universities in India* ; gives the enrolment in general and for doctoral courses in 1953.

4. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organization of Education in India;* gives some of the problems for university education.

5. Mukerji, S. N., *Education in India Today and Tomorrow;* discusses some of the problems of university education.

6. Mukerji, S. N., *History of Education in India: Modern Period;* gives the history and certain statistical details.

7. Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in the British Period;* gives the history of the development of higher education in the period.

8. *Report of the Calcutta University Commission;* gives the recommendations of the Sadler Commission.

9. *Report of Indian Universities Commission;* gives the recommendations of the Raleigh Commission.

10. *Report of the Secondary Education Commission,* 1953 ; gives the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission so far as they relate to universities.

11. *Report of the University Education Commission,* 1949 ; gives the recommendation of the Radhakrishan Commission.

12. University Grants Commission, *Report On the Standards of University Education,* 1965.

# Chapter XI

## Problems of Vocational, Technical and Professional Education

(*a*) *Administrative problem of vocational and professional education.* We have discussed in chapter 3 how professional and vocational education remained neglected till 1947 and have seen that comparatively rapid rise has been made in them due to the fillip given to technical education by the Five Year Plans. But this should be judged in its true perspective, the education given in the technical centres is just preparing a person for a technical service, and the demand for services are regulating the admissions into the technical or engineering or even commercial centres. Law and medicine seem to be exceptions. This has probably resulted from the fact that in many states, the institutions for such education are not always under the ministries of education, but under the ministries of health so far as medical colleges are concerned. and ministries of industries so far as engineering on technical colleges are concerned. These ministries are considering expansion of facilities and orientation of courses in terms of the needs of their services, rather than educational needs of the country seeking to expand avenues of vocational education. not only to absorb the existing unemployed or under-employed youth, but to increase the country's productive capacity through a beehive of small industries springing up.

Planned development of India must keep two ends in view. On the one hand, it must have its targets of heavy industries fulfilled. so that it may not have to depend on the import of foreign manufacture. On the other hand. it has to think of the big pressure of the population of the country. Our available land for agriculture is after all limited, and it cannot support a higher population on agriculture than it does at present, except perhaps to a limited extent and that too through improved methods of cultivation. Even in agriculture we have to think of improved seeds and manures and better farming methods to ensure that the seventy per cent of our population that is dependent on agriculture directly or indirectly. may be usefully employed, and that their standard of living may improve. With the development of irrigation and other facilities, we are doing something substantial to free the

farmer from the caprices of the monsoon. But that alone will improve the yield per acre only to a limited extent In order to be self-sufficient in the production of our food, we want improved methods for agriculture. This is to be given to the farmers not through a handful of agricultural colleges which in 1956, could absorb only 5,230 students, but through a larger number of institutions demanding a lower type of academic qualifications, and requiring a shorter period of training for the sons of the farmers. This should not be given with a view to persuade them to come to the job market to seek jobs, but encourage them to go back to the fields so that they may improve their fields and increase the yield per acre. But with all that, we must so plan our agricultural education that the total number of persons engaged in agriculture or depending directly or indirectly on the agriculture or allied crafts do not exceed very much the present level of about 350 millions which includes not only agriculturists themselves but their dependents also.

This leaves us with a surplus of another 150 millions or so, together with an increase of nearly 6 millions every year. Certainly services, especially government services, including police or military or the railways, etc. can take up a part of this vast number. Large industries are being developed in the country and they will need men no doubt to run them, but how many can they employ? Even in the more industrialized countries like U. S. A. or U. S. S. R. not more than twenty million are absorbed in industries. In U. K. the number is less. And yet our new industries are to compete with these in the world market, when these countries have a certain start. This does not mean that we should be discouraged, and should not plan our industrial development in the way we are doing in our Five Year Plans. But it means that we must have some plan to absorb the extra population in some other productive occupations, and for which a suitable educational policy has to be developed.

The ideal enterprise in productive craft is in Japan where side by side with large industries, smaller industrial undertakings have also developed. Some of the industrial products of Japan like match making and toy industries are really co-operative cottage industries, where the so-called factory is really the assembly centre of the work which distributes the job in hand into smaller and manageable fragments to the cottage centres, and after collecting the products assemble them and send them to the market. The watch industry in Switzerland also follows these lines; and if we adopt this scheme, along our industrial develop-

ment of heavy industries, then and then only we shall be able to solve two problems simultaneously. We shall then increase the national wealth through our heavy industries and cottage industries together, and achieve the consequent freedom from foreign imports. At the same time we shall be employing our unemployed and under-employed through it. The whole thing has to be planned and the planning should be global, so that we may not increase the supply towards one single occupation and create the problem of overproduction.

The recent decision of the Government of India in appointing a team of experts to an all-India Technical and Vocational Council is a move in the right direction, for really we have to plan on an all-India basis. But this will be able to do really useful work provided there are state councils to provide it with information and to direct state policies in a proper manner. The control of all types of professional education including a type of vocational secondary institutions opened with the teenagers as apprentice scholars should be transferred to it. The body would therefore consist of representatives of the departments of education, industries, health, agriculture and finance and a complete orientation of programme beginning with secondary education of a practical type should be worked out by this body. At the all-India level, this is now connected with the Ministry of Scientific Education and Researches. The same should be the composition of the bodies at the state level, for though co-operation of other departments are needed, the problem is really an educational one. The co-operation between the bodies at the state level and that at the Centre should be closer than that which exists at present. It is only with such co-operation, that we shall be able to take a more long-term view of the project which seeks to solve the problem of the country's employment of man power and at the same time seeks to increase its national wealth by which alone the problem can be solved.

(b) *Some of our immediate needs unfulfilled.* A glance at the Tables VII, VII-A, will show that in spite of our present policy for expansion, we have not solved some of our immediate needs what to speak of a long-range plan.

In the field of medicine, it will be seen that while the enrolment in medical colleges has gone up by 2½ times, that of medical schools has gone up by only 40 per cent. Though it appears that quite a large number of medical schools have been opened, yet they are not proportionately as large as the medical colleges. What

different functions are these two serving? The medical colleges admitting students who have at least an intermediate education give a detailed training for a period of five years which most of the students take probably six years to complete, repeating some courses at a certain stage or other. The whole thing is expensive for the students and the guardians, and on passing the guardians want better returns. This is not possible in rural areas, where the scope for income is limited. It is not surprising therefore that the graduates of the medical colleges either seek employment in government services, or try to set up private practice in cities where they may be assured of better income in spite of the fact that the competition is keen. But the need for medical facilities is greater in the rural areas, where the government or local board dispensaries are so few, and where if there is at all a private practitioner he is usually a quack. The graduates from the medical colleges having had a long and expensive training cannot be persuaded to come where the returns are likely to be poor. There is thus a need for graduates having a less expensive and perhaps less elaborate training, who having put in less investments may not seek so much returns. This our medical schools can supply, and there is thus a need for a larger number of medical schools opened in our country than perhaps the medical colleges. Perhaps this is open to the objections that it will provide less qualified persons in the rural areas. But they will no doubt be more qualified than the quacks that are practising there now, and this is perhaps the only practical solution for the problem of better medical facilities in the rural areas. No amount of conditions for compulsory service in rural areas which some of the medical colleges are demanding from the future entrants will be of any use. Firstly, the colleges would not be able to enforce the conditions, except for those who enter government service, and even then there would be breaches and evasions. Secondly, those who go would not put in their hearts to the work, knowing that they would remain just for a short period of compulsory stay.

While it is gratifying that in our engineering facilities, there is now a preponderance of engineering schools whose enrolments have increased nearly 15 times so that they outnumber the college gradutes by 3:1 in place of pre-independence ratio, when there were 1½ times as many college students as there were in the schools, one must remember that probably a larger ratio is still necessary. The schools are turning out lower grade supervisors, whose number should be much more than the administrators which the colleges would provide. The

following list will show improvement in position between the second and third Five Year Plans. The overall position, needless to say, is still unsatisfactory. In the lower technical or vocational course, enrolment has really increased insignificantly:

| | 1960/61 | 1965/66 |
|---|---|---|
| No. of technical colleges at the degree course level | 97 | 133 |
| No. of students enrolled for the degree course | 11,510 | 10,100 |
| No. of technical schools at the diploma course level | 193 | 274 |
| No. of students at the diploma or vocational certificate courses | 21,510 | 24,370 |

Our facilities for technological education are still poor. The number of persons educated for technological course is still less than a thousand. We need many more to work out schemes for developing our Five Year Plans. The quality of instruction should be such as would not require a student to go out of the country to get a finishing touch to education. Only 46,330 students are getting a lower grade industrial training in 777 industrial schools. This is still inadequate, though it is gratifying to note that we have nearly doubled the number of such institutions and the number of students are nearly 2¼ times as many as they were in 1947.

While we have opened a number of agricultural colleges and schools, yet the supply is oriented towards agricultural services and not towards improvement of work in the ancestral fields. The improved farming methods that these colleges and schools are teaching, are perhaps not suited to help the farmer whose small holding and limited capital do not encourage adaptation of some of the methods of farming which these institutions teach. To what extent will the idea of co-operative farming help to solve the problem has yet to be seen. For such methods will probably increase the acreage of joint plantation which may justify the adaptation of some of these methods, but would not by itself supply the necessary capital to any large extent.

Commercial education has increased, but unfortunately it is limited in its diversity, being confined more to the supply of shorthand typists, who will face considerable adjustments when we switch over to Hindi as the official language in place of English at the Central and to regional languages at the state level. Some adjustments have started, but that would not solve the problems of those who had training in one form earlier. Banking is another

type commercial education that is given. There is need for specific commercial training associated with the different types of agricultural and industrial types of undertakings we propose to develop.

One great problem is law. It has already an over-production, and the problem is being aggravated by uncontrolled supply through our universities and colleges, and the facilities offered to take this with the M. A. course. While it is undeniable that a certain amount of legal knowledge is necessary for general refinement and for practical benefit of an average citizen, we are perhaps mixing up the professional and the academic need for teaching law. A certain amount of legal knowledge stands for general enlightenment, and helps us to perform our duties as citizens more usefully, and for this therefore there must be courses offered in the universities which must be made as popular as possible. But this alone should not be adequate to enter the profession. Professional orientation needs a thorough study in both theoretical aspects of the application of law as obtained from a study of judgments and important rulings and also a service of internship under an experienced lawyer. The latter is provided in many of the High Courts which require a certificate of internship to be provided from a lawyer before one can be called to the bar. Yet we seem to have mixed up the professional requirements of study of rulings, with the academic requirements of the knowledge of basic principles and require both from a law student and have permitted an unrestricted entry to the law courses. The remedy perhaps lies in making university law courses more academic, without burdening them with rulings and offer them as diplomas a year after passing the degree courses which can be taken simultaneously with the M. A. courses. We may also offer law as one of the subjects to be taken at the B. A. level. But the academic diploma will not qualify a student to enter the bar. For this, a professional course may be offered, where the entry will be restricted according to the needs of the profession. This will have to be run in closer co-operation with the High Courts and where some of the practising lawyers may be invited to give part-time lectures. They should be offered only to those who had the academic diploma or who had offered law at the B. A. level. Only when we arrange this, we shall be able to solve the complex problem of opening the door of legal knowledge to the maximum number on the one hand, and at the same time enrich the professional course and make its entry restricted to the needs of the profession without overcrowding the same.

(c) *One great need of technical and vocational courses.* One serious drawback of our professional and technical courses is that they tend towards specialization without any knowledge of broader correlation of cognate fields, and without any opportunities for general education which would help a technician to utilize his leisure properly. It is all the more necessary when the industry is getting more mechanized and industrial operations are making a worker mere automaton, that something be done for him to enjoy his leisure properly. This can be done when technical courses have some broadbased foundation of liberal courses attached to them. At the same time enrichment of technical courses with courses in cognate fields will help the worker to view his profession in a broader perspective. Medical courses, for instance, would be much enriched if a course of clinical psychology be attached to them, and this may further lead to a specialized branch of psychiatry which some of the members of the profession may offer in lieu of say surgery or midwifery or opthalmology. Technical and engineering courses will likewise be enriched by the introduction of industrial psychology and an elementary course of social relations and perhaps economics. Politics, psychology and elementary physiology are some of the areas which can be studied with benefit by an entrant to a legal profession. Commercial courses need not only some knowledge of applied economics but perhaps applied psychology as well. Some of the universities are offering diplomas in public administration, in foreign affairs and in social work. Only a few of them have enriched their diploma courses with courses of cognate fields, others may follow their examples.

The main objection to these broadbased courses are that they will unnecessarily burden the professional courses. If there are some courses in cognate fields as well as some courses of liberal arts, they can only be offered provided that we lengthen our professional courses as some of the countries like U. S. A. or U. S. S. R. have done. But then we must see the advantage that such lengthening offers. We must also see what heights of technical skill these two countries have attained, as a result of making their professional courses more broadbased and as a result of enriching them with courses in the cognate fields. Our technical courses are modelled after Great Britain, which by confining its technical and professional education within narrow fields has suffered a great disadvantage. It had the original start in its favour in the industrial revolution, yet while it has to a certain

extent kept up its standards in fundamental researches in sciences, it has lost the race in applied science first with Germany. and later on with U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. Perhaps this would teach us to see the writing on the wall with respect to technical courses in this world of rapid transition and fashion our own courses accordingly.

(*d*) *Summary.* A complete reorganization of our technical and vocational courses is necessary. This has first to be done at the administrative and organizational level. We have first to define our aims for imparting our vocational education. Are we giving this education simply to fill up the required trained personnel to run our newly developed industries and to provide men in other allied fields as a result of this industrialization? Or are we also planning more practical courses for suitable young men and women who may not be absorbed in services and who want to earn a decent living?

At present it seems that our aim is the former, and we somehow feel that industrialization will soon open up new avenues for employment which will absorb our unemployed. But in an overpopulated country like India, industries cannot be developed to such an extent as to absorb all the young men and women in services for long. Ours is not an underpopulated country with large tracts of land lying idle to provide total employment as in U. S. S. R. or U. S. A., Canada or Australia. Nor do we possess the colonies as Britain had early in this century to dump in its surplus population. Our agriculture has to develop no doubt, but that is necessary in order to secure our independence in our food supply. It cannot be expected to absorb more people in the agricultural fields. Our large scale industries can develop only up to a certain point depending on our resources in capital and also depending on the trend of foreign markets that we may capture in the midst of severe competition with other countries which had already a start before us in this race of industries. At any rate it is not possible to expect that a hundred million more people will be absorbed in the industries very soon. Yet that is going to be the additional pressure in our population perhaps a decade next, and after three decades a good part of this hundred million is going to enter employment market. We are then facing a dilemma; it is only through industrialization that we can survive; as an agricultural country we are already overpopulated, and yet our population is so large that in industry itself very soon we shall not have sufficient fields to provide all. Happily a solution still exists, and that by supplementing our programme of

heavy industries with a programme of cottage industries sufficiently modernized to adapt themselves to the world of today. These can provide employment to a larger population and can be organized with smaller outlay. They can be run singly or on a co-operative basis. Examples of Japan and Switzerland show us that variety of articles can be thus produced and they will not only supply our needs, but can compete in the world market.

It is on a proper approach to this economic programme that our educational schemes should be based. At present in several states, the management of vocational and professional education is left at least partly in the hands of other ministries like health or industries. In U. P., for instance, the University of Roorkee and all technical colleges are outside the control of the department of education, and are controlled by the department of industries. The medical colleges in most of the states are under the Ministry of Health. These departments are no doubt in a position to supply well trained personnel, but their outlook seems to be narrow, they think of immediate needs more than the ultimate ends of society. It is desirable that technical, vocational and professional education, being a global problem, be given a global approach. A good start has been made in forming a Council of Vocational and Technical Education at the all-India level. Its scope should be expanded by inclusion of professional education as well like law and medicine, and it must have its feeders in state councils which must include educationists, and representatives of ministries of finance, health, industry and social welfare. The council should, however, be attached to the department of education, for after all it is the ultimate responsibility of the educational administrators to organize effective courses on professional and vocational education.

One of the immediate short-term needs is the reorganization of some of our educational facilities in addition to any long-term policy such council can take up. In medicine there is need for more medical schools being opened than colleges. In commerce, there is need for more courses being offered in various types of commercial activities. In engineering, the number of schools must be increased. Technological colleges should be increased. Agricultural courses at a lower level should be so devised that in addition to more elaborate courses in the colleges, shorter courses may be available for farmers' children. In law, it is necessary to organize two types of courses; one more academic, offered in the universities as diploma courses or law being included as a subject for

the degree course. This academic course will not entitle one to enter into the profession though it may be regarded as one of the qualifications for the same. Entry into a profession may be regulated by special professional courses offered in closer collaboration with the legal profession and must include an internship.

Perhaps at the same time we may consider the broader issue of enriching our professional courses with some broadbased course on general education which is especially necessary for technical courses and also some courses in cognate fields needed by professional and technical courses, alike. So far we had been following the British pattern of technical education, it is time to modify the same and adopt a more modern outlook available in the centres of technical and vocational education in U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

(e) *Selected references:*

1. Basu, A. N., *Education in Modern India*; mentions how unemployment in India is connected with limited number of careers available in the country.
2. Government of India, *Directory of Institutions of Higher Education*, 1958; gives the detailed facilities of courses including vocational and professional, available at various centres in India.
3. Government of India, *Education in India*, 1955-56, Vol. I; gives the statistics on vocational and professional educational facilities now available.
4. Harvard Report, *General Education in a Free Society*; brings out the danger of a narrow curriculum and advocates broadbased curriculum at every stage.
5. Kabir, Humayun, *Education in New India;* raises the issue of student indiscipline and traces that frustration on account of limited scope of future employment is one of the causes of student indiscipline.
6. Mukherjee, L., *Comparative Education for Students and Educationists;* mentions how technical education in U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. is more broadbased.
7. Mukerji, S. N., *Education in India Today and Tomorrow;* gives an interesting chapter on vocational education and its facilities in India.
8. Radhakrishnan, Dr., and Others, *Report of University Education Commission*, 1949; raises some of the procedures by which the university curriculum may be enriched with suitable technical courses.

# Chapter XII

## Administration and Administrative Problems of Secondary Education in India

(*a*) *Some features of administration peculiar to India.* As has been mentioned earlier, due to the state policy of first opening government schools, and from 1859 of assisting private enterprise in the field of secondary education, two types of schools, some under government management and others private aided, co-exist. But this does not exhaust the complete list. Though local bodies are mainly responsible for primary education, yet some municipal boards, as well as a few district boards are maintaining high schools and even degree colleges. Large-scale participation of the local bodies in the field of secondary education is, however, confined to middle schools mainly. This was necessitated by the fact that vernacular middle schools were mostly organized by local bodies, as private enterprise did not wish to organize this type of institution. There are also a number of unaided institutions as mentioned in Table XI.

Thus 22.8 per cent of middle schools and 14.9 per cent of the high schools are directly under state management. 41.4 per cent of the middle schools and 12.9 per cent of the high schools are being managed by the local bodies, 24.9 per cent of the middle schools and 57.4 per cent of the high schools are under private management which are aided by the government, and 10.9 per cent of the middle schools and 14.8 per cent of the high schools are under such private managements which are not aided. This, however, does not give the entire picture, for so far as Andhra minus Hyderabad area, Gujarat minus Saurashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh are concerned, it is the local boards which had a large number of vernacular schools and now have a majority of middle schools. Government schools predominate in Rajasthan, Mysore, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Saurashtra area of Gujarat and Hyderabad area of Andhra. Private efforts predominate in Bihar only slightly in excess of the Board schools, but considerably in West Bengal, Madras, Orissa, Kerala, Manipur and Tripura and Assam. So far as high schools are concerned, private efforts predominate in all areas except Andhra, minus Hyderabad, Punjab minus P. E. P. S. U. area, Kashmir, and Rajasthan. While in

Kashmir and Rajasthan it is the government high schools that predominate, in the other two areas, the majority of high schools are under local bodies. In P. E. P. S. U. and in Hyderabad, it is the government high schools that predominate.

The preponderance of one type of school rather than another, will naturally create problems of administration peculiar to itself. Where government schools predominate, the task of determining the policy and of administration is entrusted to the government, and the conditions of service for staff remain uniform throughout the state or the region. Where local bodies have entered the field of education in larger numbers, the government policy is one of minimum interference allowing the local agencies the maximum liberty possible, unless of course when there is something fundamentally wrong with these bodies. Then they are superceded as has been the case in U. P. since 1957-58. In case of aided private institutions again, the government interference increases through the inspectors, while the private managements are also sharing in the policy making and administrative responsibility.

The responsibility for the secondary schools is thus hopelessly divided. Firstly, the curriculum and the standards of examination are determined by one separate agency, namely, the Board of Secondary Education in some states and the universities on the others. Secondly, the government has one unified pattern of administration for government institutions. It has a policy of very slight interference, when it comes to schools in local bodies unless there is a bigger conflict with the body itself, not merely with the educational committee. In case of non-government aided institutions, the responsibility becomes a shared one between the government and the management, though each party thinks that it has the major share, and this sometimes creates conflicts. In case of dispute between the teachers and the managements, it is now the general practice of the government to play the role of an arbitrator, and many states have of late issued definite directives and a few have passed laws to that end.

One great trouble of this diversified system of administration had been that long-term policies for improvement of the general pattern of education cannot easily be taken. Where non-government institutions predominate, any long-term policy has to be worked out with the active participation of those agencies As private bodies look more to immediate gains, it has been difficult for the state to devise more practical courses of secondary education for the large number of students who finish their education at this age,

for the simple reason that two courses will be more expensive for the private schools to manage. Thus we find one type of schools offering a course that is more bookish than anything else being offered to the students at the secondary level.

Mudaliar Committee has summarized the defects of the secondary education as given by the witnesses thus:

(1) It is bookish, mechanical, stereotyped and rigidly uniform which does not cater to the different aptitudes of the pupils or to pupils with different aptitudes.

(2) It does not develop these basic qualities of discipline, co-operation and leadership which are calculated to make pupils function as useful citizens.

(3) The stress of examinations, the overcrowded syllabus, the methods of teaching and the lack of amenities tend to make education a burden rather than a joyous experience of the youthful mind.

(4) The unilateral scheme of studies which concentrates almost entirely on preparing students for entrance to the university, is not calculated to bring out the best either in the teacher or the pupil.

(5) Failure to provide diversified courses of study makes it difficult for many students to secure suitable employment at the end of the course.

(6) Education given to the students in schools is isolated from life.

(7) It is narrow, one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student.

(8) Time tables are rigid and textbooks are unsuitable; these fail to develop the students morally or intellectually.

(9) Teaching profession does not attract a sufficient number of men of the right type and the recruitment has been haphazard.

(10) As there are large numbers of pupils in each class, it is impossible for the teacher to establish a close personal contact with his pupil or to exercise proper educative influence in their minds and character.

Indictments like these are too serious for any system of education. But on the whole, the report admits that these indictments are true, and shows that somehow or other this important branch of education, which dealt with

the teen-agers and which is said to form a sort of backbone to other branches, supplying students to the university and various vocational courses and also preparing many for a more direct entry into life, has been sadly neglected. Not that this feature escaped notice. In fact it was under the close scrutiny of the administrators, all along, but somehow the administration and organization have been defective.

That only a fraction of those who pass out of the schools go in for higher education is evident from the follow-up studies of matriculates, intermediates and degree students, showing how many matriculates of 1954 went up to the intermediate classes in 1956 and how many intermediates of 1954 went up to the degree classes in 1956.

TABLE XIX

**Wastage in Secondary Education 1954-1956**

| Number of students who passed the lower level examination in 1954, namely | | Number of students at the final year of the next higher stage in 1956, namely | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Matriculation | Intermediate | Intermediate | Degree |
| 3,82,584 | 1,12,606 | 1,98,308 | 63,385 |

In order to arrive at this table, those who passed the regular as well as supplementary examinations (boys and girls) in 1954 have been taken, and the number of regular students only who appeared in 1956 examinations are shown. The analysis shows that only 52 per cent of those who passed the high school or matriculation examination in 1954 are represented by the number of examinees from colleges in the intermediate examinations of 1956. Similarly only 56 per cent of those who passed the Intermediate Examination (Arts, Science or Commerce) of 1954 are represented as candidates in the B. A., B. Sc., or B.Com., examinations of 1956. As a number of the examinees are failures from previous years also, it will be safe to say that less than half of those who pass the matriculation examination find their way into colleges, and less than half of those who pass the intermediate find their way into degree classes.From matriculation to the degree stage therefore remembering that quite a number fail at the intermediate, it will be safe to say that less than

one-sixth find their way into the degree classes. Yet for this small number, the entire course in the secondary is fashioned according to university requirements. It is a historical consequence of the fact that until a few years ago, all the examinations from the matriculation upwards were conducted by the universities, and hence fashioned according to the university requirements. It is time now to change the policy and think of the larger number of students for whom the examination is going to be a terminal one, those who are entering life after the secondary examination.

(*b*) *Multipurpose schools and their shortcomings.* Mudaliar Commission as a panacea to this evil has suggested several courses like academic arts, academic science, commercial, agricultural, technical, fine arts and home science. These diversified courses should be offered to the students at the last stage of secondary education, i.e., for the last three or four years. The Commission has suggested that schools should offer several of these courses so that not only academic, but practical courses are offered in one and the same school. The purpose of such schools would thus be not merely to prepare for the university courses; but in addition to the preparatory or academic courses, there will also be practical courses offered that are more terminal in nature. At the start only 750 of these multipurpose schools will be opened in the next five years. Naturally these are being opened not to solve the problem of employment or diversion, which is so big, but just to try an experiment and to see how far this will be efficacious.

An experiment of this nature has already been tried in U. P. in 1948 when literacy, scientific, constructive (commercial, agricultural and industrial), and aesthetic (music and arts) groups were offered to the students for four years leading up to the intermediate examination. The result was that over ninety per cent offered arts, science and commerce courses. The few that offered constructive courses found that they were led into a blind alley. They were neither competent enough to seek jobs, nor had they resources and perhaps training enough to start business of their own. Consequently, simultaneously with Mudaliar Commission, the government of U. P. had to appoint a committee under the chairmanship of Acharya Narendra Deva. The report of the committee known as the second Acharya Narendra Deva Committee did among other things introduce one or more subjects labelled as humanities into constructive and aesthetic courses. This was done not merely to broaden the

culture, but mainly to provide suitable opportunities to the students offering constructive and aesthetic courses to fall back on the university courses when they find that their constructive or aesthetic courses are not paying.

Perhaps we may try to trace some of the reasons why the constructive courses or courses of a more terminal nature fail to become either popular or useful. The reasons are manifold:

(1) They will be popular only when they are really useful or paying. As it is, the students studying these courses cannot compete with students who had a more thorough preparation from technical schools, in the employment market.

(2) It is impossible for a school to provide the real practical training in practical life situations. If a candidate offers the course to earn a living, he must know the process of manufacture in such a way that his articles may compete in the market. This is not possible within the school room situation. Some attempt should be made to teach him to produce things in the life situation of open and competitive market.

(3) In order to take a course which will induce him to earn a living, the articles that he is taught to produce should need such implements which he should be able to procure with a modest outlay, for an individual is not likely to get enough capital.

(4) He must be provided with the necessary capital even for this modest outlay, which an average student lacks to start his life. It is not merely the lack of initiative, but a lack of capital as well that makes an average Indian student service-minded rather than business-minded.

These are some of the basic things which a multipurpose school is apt to overlook, and hence practical courses are not becoming popular in spite of the fact that academic courses are so overcrowded.

(c) *A suggested solution.* Perhaps in the light of the study of the problems indicated in this and in the earlier chapter, we are facing an apparent paradox. On the one hand, we need a diversion of a large number of our students from an academic into a practical course. We find that this diversion cannot be provided by merely opening a number of technical schools preparing candidates for services. While they should not be too early, they should not be put off till it is too late either. The higher secondary stages or the last four years of the secondary schools seem to be the right stage for it. And yet we find that

the solution offered by the multipurpose schools is not likely to be quite acceptable or useful.

Perhaps we can try another method, namely, Platoon System of Education as suggested by John Dewey and Ellenor Dewey, and adapt it to suit the Indian conditions. The main features are:

(1) By a thorough determination of abilities, intelligence and aptitude as may be available from the previous records, students fit for academic courses may be permitted to a limited number of academic schools, which will lead them to higher education. This selection should be done somewhere near about thirteen, after at least seven years' study in a common course with others.

(2) For the large majority, vocational schools should be opened, not merely to fit them for employment market, but to train them to produce things themselves, and thus contribute to the nation's wealth. By their very nature, the academic and vocational courses will be difficult to be offered in the same institutions, but the two types of institutions can be started close to each other, so as to make transfers from one course to the other, especially in the first year, quite easy.

(3) The number of years of study in the vocational course should be at least four. The students would not spend the entire time within the school, but would be attached to workshops or agricultural farms opened by state or private enterprise using such implements as the students can easily procure with a small outlay. Use of power to ensure economy of manual labour should of course be encouraged.

(4) It may be so devised that alternate batches may be studying in the schools and in these workshops or farms, so that the workshops are kept running throughout the year, and the schools can handle double the number of students they are handling now.

(5) The courses offered in the schools should be general and broadbased to offer general culture, without burdening a student with too much of academic details and abstractions which a student offering preparatory course may need. These courses will contain some subjects of direct use with his practical work as the basic theory and allied economics.

(6) Proper planning is necessary for opening the workshops and agricultural farms so that one type of occupation does not preponderate. We must remember if one profession is overcrowded, it means that not only it leads

to unemployment at that level, but proper distribution of the nation's manpower is thereby affected.

(7) During the period that a student works on a farm or in a workshop, he will be paid for his labour, of course on a varying scale depending on the skill he acquires. The amount should not be paid in the form of immediate cash, but be kept in deposit to be paid in the form of a lump sum at the end of the course. This will then be the necessary capital for him to start business of his own at the end of his course, either singly or as a co-operative venture in a group, depending on the nature of the job and the amount of capital needed.

(8) The administration of these vocational schools should be vested with the State Board for Vocational and Professional Education as suggested in the previous chapter, subject to the control of the Central body, as a good deal of co-ordination is needed at an all-India level for a venture of this type.

The advantages of this system are:

(1) It provides a really useful course of practical education, obtained not under the artificial condition in the schools, but in the actual life conditions of a competitive open market.

(2) It provides the student not only an effective practical training, but supplies him with the capital which he needs to start the business of his own. It will not lead him to a blind alley.

(3) It does not make him a narrow technician, but offers him some broadbased study of general culture as well.

(4) It will run as supplementary effort to the technical education at present provided in technical and agricultural schools.

(5) The workshops and farms attached to schools will work with a certain amount of profit, even after paying students their dues, and this may be utilized for the schools. With existing facilities, the schools will be able to teach double the number of students.

(6) The immediate effect of opening the workshops would be to increase the country's productive power; the profits, it should be noted, will reduce, when students compete with their *alma mater* eventually.

(7) It will succeed in diverting a number of students from the academic course which are already overcrowded.

(*d*) *Summary.* One great problem that lies before secondary education is the multiplicity of types of agencies that administer them. In case of government institutions it is the government that has not only to carry the routine administration, but also to decide the policies. In case of institutions run by local bodies these responsibilities are shared between the government and the local bodies. In case of aided private institutions, the private managements are associated in the field of making policies, and in case of private unaided schools the private agencies have a larger hand in determining the policies. To make matters complicated, there is no uniform distribution of these agencies; generally speaking in middle schools, the local bodies predominate, though in some states private agencies outstrip them. In case of high schools, the private agencies predominate, though in most of the former part B states, government schools outnumber them, and in a few states local bodies predominate. The result of this divergent distribution also prevents a uniform policy being adopted in different states. To make matters worse, evaluation and fixing up of the curriculum is being done either by the secondary boards of education, or in a few cases by the universities which conduct the public examinations.

The result of all this diversity has been beautifully summarized in the evidence tendered before the Mudaliar Commission, which has indicated the secondary education as aimless, bookish, examination-ridden and failing to bring out the whole personality of the pupils. The analysis of the number of students who pass out an examination at a certain stage, and those who appear at the next examination, show that only about a half or even less can find their places in the next examination. Considering the students who were at the high school at a certain stage and who had appeared in the degree examination four years after, it may be safe to estimate that only about a sixth or perhaps even less succeeded in doing so. This being so, it is time to plan a type of terminal secondary course for the majority, and a preparatory course for the minority. This will, on the one hand, reduce the number of failures in the academic course, and prevent overcrowding in the soft-collared professions. On the other hand this will make secondary education useful to a large majority who end their education at the secondary stage.

The Mudaliar Commission has suggested multipurpose schools, where academic and practical courses can be taught together in the same school. The scheme is being experimented upon now. But one apprehends that the experi-

mentation may not be successful, as had a similar experiment carried out in U. P. between 1948-53 with constructive and aesthetic courses been. Unless these courses are able to lead directly to employment, they are not likely to be popular. And the failure of these practical courses taught in the schools lie inherent in themselves:

(1) By their very nature, they cannot replace the technical schools which offer richer variety of practical courses. Hence the students from these schools cannot compete with those passing from technical schools in the employment market, even if the jobs are many.

(2) The limited and artificial type of education offered in practical courses, being far removed from the competitive world market, cannot, by their very nature, train students to start independent careers of their own, after finishing their education.

(3) In order to plan careers, the courses offered by the schools should not merely be of a practical nature, but should be so planned as to prevent overcrowding in one type of profession rather than another. Future trends of an expanding market must be carefully studied along with local facilities available.

(4) Even when these conditions are fulfilled, the students generally lack capital to start a business of their own.

A suggestion is given to combine school courses with the courses of a more practical nature offered in workshops and agricultural farms opened at government instance or with government subsidies. The whole thing being so planned, that while half the students would study in the schools, the other half would go to work in the workshops and farms. They would be paid for their work in these places on a rate varying with their skills, but the sum will be paid only at the end of their courses. While these schools will be for the larger majority, the selected minority with a special aptitude and ability for more academic type of education will go in for a more academic course which will be of a preparatory nature, richer in content than the general education offered during the theoretical studies of these terminal schools.

The advantages of this system are many. This will not only divert a large number away from the existing bookish type of courses, but will offer a broadbased practical type of cultural education in the practical schools. Schools opened under the system will moreover give such courses as may be learnt under practical conditions of a

competitive market. From the very nature of the workshops, in order to be really paying, they have to be opened with such variety and at such places with an eye to the market demands as may make them economic ventures, and hence overcrowding will be prevented because of the fact that only half the students will study in the schools at a time, and the other half be working in the factories or farms, the system will provide, on the one hand, a constant supply of workers at the centres and at the same time will enable us to expand the facilities for secondary education to twice the number with our existing resources. The fact that the students will get money for their work, will supply them with capital to start business of their own as a single venture or in a co-operative effort at the end of their course.

The organization, of this type of schools, will need some change in the administrative machinery. They need to be controlled by the Council of Vocational and Technical Education as suggested in the previous chapter. While private agencies may be encouraged to open such schools, they need considerable assistance financially, and perhaps a more rigid direction to open the type of school in a certain area as determined by a more global pattern of market needs than the private agencies can themselves foresee.

(e) *Selected references:*

1. Acharya Narendra Deva and Others, *Report of the Secondary Education Reorganization Committee,* 1953; gives the issue of constructive courses not being popular with students, leading them to a blind alley, and suggests technical courses to be so fashioned as to provide opportunities for reversion into general courses in chapters II and III.
2. Dewey, John, and Dewey, Elenore, *Schools for Tomorrow;* gives an idea of the Platoon System of education.
3. Government of India, *Education in India,* 1955-56, Vol. II; gives the number of students who passed the intermediate and degree examinations in 1956.
4. *Government of India, Education in India,* 1953-54, Vol. II; gives the number of students who passed matriculation and intermediate examinations in 1954, in regular and supplementary examinations.
5. Kabir, Humayun, *Education in New India*; gives in chapter III the need for reorganization of secondary education limiting the study to certain aspects of this problem.

6. Mudaliar, Dr., and Others, *Secondary Education Commission Report,* 1953 ; gives the defects of existing secondary schools and suggests multipurpose schools as stated in the chapter.

7. Mukherjee, L., *Planning for Education in Uttar Pradesh,* published in 1952; suggests adoption of Platoon System in U. P.

8. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organization of Education in India* ; incorporates the idea of this Platoon System and shows how they can be adapted to Indian conditions.

9. Mukerji, S. N., *Education in India Today and Tomorrow* ; gives a general historical background of the problem with reference to the recommendations of Mudaliar and Radhakrishnan Commissions in Chapter V.

# Chapter XIII

## Administrative Problems of Primary Education

(*a*) *How primary education is still neglected.* We have seen that the early efforts of British educators and administrators were directed towards secondary and higher education, rather than primary during the middle of the last century. We have also seen that the help given to primary education remained at best half-hearted, and in 1884 these were entrusted to local bodies; but the financial resources of these bodies were limited, and moreover the educational committees acted as mere appendages of the main body of these local boards to which members were selected, not in view of their educational interests or aptitudes, but on other considerations. Squabbles between the elected and nominated members were not uncommon, and later between the members selected on communal tickets. The system of dual control that the government introduced leaving the task of inspection either wholly or partly to their officers, and other branches to the committees, has not worked happily either.

But the main difficulty in the expansion of facilities for primary education had been financial. Many schools could not be opened, and the few that were opened had teachers who were poorly paid. The government sympathy for primary education expressed in the communique in 1904 was tested at the time of Mr. Gokhale's resolution which suggested compulsory primary education in certain municipalities provided the local bodies were prepared to meet a third of the expenditure, and the government were required to find the rest but they refused. No doubt there was some progress in 1921, and again in 1937 with successive grants of autonomy, yet in spite of all that, it was estimated in 1944 that less than a fifth of the students of the age group 6-11 were receiving education. Since independence there has been some improvement, and it has been claimed that 53.1 per cent of students of the age group 6-11 were in schools in 1956. In 1966 it is estimated that 77.8 per cent of the students of the age group 6-11 are in primary schools which is 6 per cent more than the previous year. The percentage of girls, however, is almost the same as in 1966, that is nearly 55.

Much has to be said regarding the quality of these schools. The teachers are on the whole ill paid. The pay scales differ from state to state, but are worse still in Andhra, Assam, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Mysore, Kerala and in private and local board schools of U. P. and West Bengal than in other states. The qualifications required from the teachers are generally low; and there are more untrained primary school teachers than there are trained ones in Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Mysore, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal. In Kashmir and in Himachal Pradesh, the number of untrained teachers is slightly in excess of trained teachers. In Bihar the number of untrained teachers exceeds half the number of trained teachers. In Andhra, Madras, Punjab and in Uttar Pradesh, untrained teachers exceed twenty per cent of the total; while only in Kerala and Delhi we find a large number of trained teachers with very few untrained ones.

Thus we have to think of this problem from two angles, how to provide minimum education to so many of our pupils, how to provide schooling to all children between the ages 6-11, — and how to ensure that those who are giving this education are at least fairly, if not quite well qualified, to do so.

According to the annual report of the Government, Education in India 1955-56: "Primary education, as its very name implies, constitutes the foundation on which the entire superstructure of education is built. Broadly speaking, education at this stage poses a two-fold problem in this country, on the satisfactory solution of which depends to a large extent the future of the country. The first aspect of the problem is to evolve a suitable system of education which may help to awaken the dormant faculties of the child, while the other is to provide this education to every child of school-going age."

Thus we find that we want a better type of education than is available at present, and also an expansion of the facilities to about twice the present strength. We want qualitative and quantitative development both together. While we want better type of teachers who should be better paid in order to make teaching effective, we want to have roughly double the number of teachers, perhaps a little more, to account for the increase in the population expanding at the rate of five million or so every year.

At the same time we must remember that the efforts of the different states in this direction are not uniform. While some states like Kerala, West Bengal and Bombay

have 99.8, 87.1 nd 85 per cent children in the primary schools, there are also states like Rajasthan 22.6, Jammu and Kashmir 22.8 Orissa 30.9 and Uttar Pradesh 33.9, which have one-third or less children of the age group in the schools. This makes the problem quite complicated for one to tackle. It is unfortunate, that after freedom, it was university education which was tackled first, then secondary, and now only primary.

(*b*) *A true appraisal of the problem before us.* How big is the task for increasing the facility for providing schools to every child of the age group 6-11, will be realized from a study of the following table which does not take into account increased birth rate and which provides one teacher to every thirty-three children which happens to be the present average number of pupils per teacher in the whole of India, being exceeded in Assam, Bombay, Punjab, U. P., Kashmir, Kerala and Delhi at present, in other states the present ratio is lower than this.

TABLE XX

**An Idea of the Implications of Compulsory Education**

| States | Number of children of age 6-11 years now in schools | Percentage to the whole age group | Additional no. of Pupils to be taught in round nos. | Additional number of teachers needed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra .. | 18,15,392 | 68.6 | 9,07,500 | 27,500 |
| Assam .. .. | 8,15,367 | 59.9 | 5,50,000 | 16,667 |
| Bihar .. .. | 18,60,760 | 35.9 | 34,60,000 | 1,04,848 |
| Bombay .. | 39,06,795 | 85.0 | 6,79,433 | 20,588 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 1,26,317 | 22.8 | 4,42,120 | 13,400 |
| Madhya Pradesh .. | 11,56,073 | 51.7 | 10,89,000 | 33,000 |
| Kerala .. | 14,86,576 | 99.8 | 30,130 | 913 |
| Madras .. | 31,62,270 | 68.5 | 15,84,000 | 48,000 |
| Mysore .. | 7,01,717 | 59.2 | 4,84,000 | 14,666 |
| Orissa .. .. | 6,80,979 | 30.9 | 16,79,000 | 50,880 |
| Punjab .. | 12,25,303 | 59.2 | 8,25,000 | 25,000 |
| Rajasthan .. | 4,79,965 | 22.6 | 16,80,000 | 50,909 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. | 28,04,041 | 33.5 | 55,00,000 | 1,66,666 |
| West Bengal .. | 21,93,525 | 87.1 | 3,13,500 | 9,500 |
| Delhi .. .. | 1,69,005 | 71.3 | 70,950 | 2,150 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 59,732 | 47.4 | 60,500 | 1,833 |
| Whole of India including Manipur, Tripura, N.E.F.A. | 2,45,11,311 | 53.1 | 2,17,36,626 | 6,55,644 |

Thus the total number of additional teachers needed is comparable with the present strength of teachers which is 6,91,259. If we consider the effect of increased birth rate

for the next five years or so, and also think of providing additional hands to our existing single teacher schools which number today 1,11,220, it means that we need more than the present strength of seven lakhs of teachers that we have in our primary schools today. With 77.8 per cent enrolment as estimated in 1966, it may appear that we have solved the problem of teacher shortage. But, as the second all-India survey of secondary school has revealed, the teacher-pupil ratio in our primary classes today is somewhere between 1:50 and 1:55. This is unfortunate. In order to bring it back to the healthy ratio, round about 1:30, we would still need 9,00,000 more teachers unless we take to double shift system as sugested. In 1966 we had 19,09,000 teachers and in 1975 we shall need 28,23,000 which really means 9.00.000 more. Shift system in primary will meet at least 6.94,000 of this shortage, making the remainder manageable with new training schools and colleges.

As has been said before, the salaries of teachers in the primary schools are quite low. They need immediate increase. An increase of fifty per cent of the existing salaries will mean a total cost of Rs.26,86,033, per annum for the whole of India. Over and above, we must consider the increased facilities that we must have providing another eight lakhs of teachers who will cost us nearly Rs.61,60.00.000 at the present rates, and if we think in terms of increased rates of salary to fifty per cent of the existing rates. it will mean Rs.92.50,00,000 per annum. Or, in other words, to provide education to every child at the age group 6-11 only and at the same time to see that the teachers are paid somewhat better than what they are getting at present. will mean an annual expenditure of more than Rs.119,36.00,000. This extra sum is more than double of what we are able to spend at present. As neither fees nor endowments can be increased, it means that either the present expenditure (1956 figures) of government funds amounting to Rs.39.55.10.671 or the local boards, contribution of Rs. 10.75,57.345 must be considerably increased or that the Central Government should come forward to help.

We must at the same time remember that our commitments do not end with merely providing salaries for the teachers. We have to think of training the existing untrained teachers, we have to consider the question of training the new eight hundred thousand teachers needed for expansion, we have to think of the capital expenditure involved in building new schools and in equipping them, besides thinking of such facilities as our existing schools badly need.

The magnitude of the task and the huge expenditure involved damps the ardour of an administrator. In 1952 Shri Saiyidain, Shri Naik and Shri Abid Hussain published a book under UNESCO, in which they calculated the cost and finally were forced to write, "One can see it is absolutely impossible for the State to take up the financial responsibility for launching a scheme of universal compulsory education in the form contemplated by our educationists." We must at the same time consider the trend in our villagers. Are villagers enthusiastic about the scheme of compulsory education? In 1929 Hartog Commission had shown that of those who enter the primary classes only about a third remain in class IV to complete the minimum course of four years. Similar studies made in 1948 by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics at Poona, showed that out of 3,108,447 pupils who entered the schools in 1944-45 only 1,567,174 remained in class IV to complete their studies, besides a few retarded in lower classes or given double promotion into class V. At any rate, there is a clear wastage of 40 per cent students and the reason for this wastage is economic. Children are withdrawn simply because they may help the family, having become economic assets by that time and capable of earning.

Thus in order to prevent this wastage we need some inducement. If we cannot compensate the parent from the possible loss of income, we may at least make school times more convenient and the school work a bit lighter for the child. so that he can yet be helpful at least partially in his household.

(c) *Suggestions for simpler school programme and change of school timings.* In the UNESCO Studies of 1952 Messrs. Saiyidain, Naik and Abid Hussain have diagnosed correctly the cause of parental unwillingness to keep the child in the school for a long time in the following words: "The most important cause of the failure to enforce compulsory attendance is the failure of the educational system to take into account the economic condition of the parents. The curricula are planned on the assumption that every pupil will be able to attend the school at the rate of five hours a day for about 240 days in the year. There is also a tendency, on grounds of administrative convenience, to fix uniform holidays and school hours for all areas."

The suggestions given by Shri Naik, one of the members, is also worth considering:

"If the working time of the school be reduced to four hours and be adjusted to the conditions of child labour of the locality, it will enable poor parents to send their

children to school without much disturbance to the work which the children are required to do for the family." Later on he holds that "three hours' formal instruction is quite enough at the primary stage." It is a pity that Shri Naik did not work up the practical benefits of his suggestions beyond working single teacher schools in two shifts.

In 1953-54 while Mr. Rajagopalachari was the Chief Minister in Madras, a scheme was worked out to have the primary schools in the mornings and to have a midday gap, so that a short afternoon session would be available. This makes the school time convenient to parents so that they can have the child during the middays, but provides no economy either in the number of teachers or of schools. Moreover it may be inconvenient for children to come to schools twice. The scheme was afterwards given up.

A suggestion has been made by Dr. S. N. Mukerji of Baroda in his book *Education in India, Today and Tomorrow* to start double shifts in the field of our primary education. Dr. S. N. Mukerji has shown how Egypt and Ceylon have adopted double shifts of three hours each and how Denmark, one of the progressive European countries has provided 18 hours a week programme for her rural schools. Dr. S. N. Mukerji's suggestions for two sessions of four hours each may be too strenuous for teachers, and one is tempted to suggest the following as an alternative.

(1) The school time should be of three and a half hours divided into seven working periods of twenty-five minutes each. and a recess period of another half an hour in which half the school will be required to take part in physical exercises and drill alternately for 15 minutes each.

(2) Seven periods would be divided in work as follows:

(*a*) Craft either a double period 50 mins, every day or a triple period 1¼ hours thrice a week for practice, and a single period for demonstration in other three days. The choiie of the craft will be determined according to the needs of the locality.

(*b*) Language study for two periods every day.

(*c*) Mathematics one period every day.

(*d*) Social studies four periods a week. Science and Nature Study thrice a week, drawing thrice a week and Hygiene twice a week.

(3) It is possible to reduce the teaching periods to 25 minutes without serious disturbance to work considering the fact that students in this age can concentrate only up

to 25 minutes at a time. Three and a half hours schooling will mean two shifts 7-30 to 11 a.m. earlier in summers and 1-30 to 5 giving the teacher two hours and half respite for his meals and short rest.

(4) Primary schools need not close during summer holidays, but two to three week respite may be given during reaping and harvesting season, other holidays being during important festivals only.

The advantage of this scheme will be:

(1) It will enable us to concentrate our resources on the increased amenities to the teachers, as we would not be worried to find many new teachers for the programme of expansion.

(2) It will affect economy in buildings and equipments as the existing schools can take up twice the number of students as at present and we have only to concentrate in such areas where there are no facilities for schools.

(3) The problem for training for teachers will be confined mostly to the existing untrained teachers and probably a few more.

(4) It will reduce the parental antipathy to the schools as the schools will work for three and a half hours, children will be available for helping the parents at home. The morning session being more convenient for boys and afternoon session for the girls, it may be possible for us to provide separate shifts within the same school for both boys and girls, especially for those areas which are opposed to co-education even at this stage, and that such areas do exist is undeniable.

(5) It will not reduce the efficiency as examples from other countries tend to show us.

It is needless to say that to work a scheme like this, it may be necessary to ensure changes in the administrative machinery so that the co-operation of the local units, of the state governments as well as of the Centre may be sought to work it properly, and more liberal Central aid must be available to backward areas like Kashmir, Rajasthan, Orissa, U.P., Bihar and Himachal Pradesh, where in spite of this shift system, we may have to go on with our programme of expansion. On the other hand, in states like Kerala, West Bengal and Bombay, we have to operate this double shift scheme only in a few selected areas. In Bombay and Kerala where the teacher-pupil ratio happens to be 40 and 54 respectively the scheme may be worked out to reduce that ratio.

(*d*) *Summary.* The existing problems of primary education are:

(1) The teachers are ill paid and many are not adequately qualified.

(2) In spite of our efforts, we have not yet succeeded in providing education to the age group 6-11 to an extent much beyond fifty per cent.

(3) This too is not uniformly distributed in all states, while some states have made more rapid advances, others are lagging behind.

(4) A truer appraisal of the problem is possible only when we consider the question of additional teachers needed for the task, which is more than twice the number of the existing teachers and this would mean increase in the training facilities also, which will be too much for training schools to undertake considering that about 40 per cent of the existing teachers are untrained.

(5) The problem is further aggravated by the fact that there is considerable wastage in the primary level. A study of 1948 shows that nearly 49 per cent students of class I in 1944-45 are not found in class IV in 1947-48. Of course a few have got double promotion and a few are retarded and detained, a fact which may be the result of their irregular attendance. The wastage is thus well over 40 per cent, and is mainly economic in nature, children at this age are economic assets, at least partially, and many parents need them for help at home.

Considering all these issues, it is time that we should think of radical reorganization of our primary education programme. Firstly, the school time must be made shorter and well adjusted to conditions of child labour, to induce parents sending their children to schools. Examples of Egypt, Ceylon or Denmark show that probably a three hour programme may not be inadequate. Periods in the primary schools should be made shorter in keeping with the psychological growth of the children, who cannot concentrate on one subject for such a long time as the older children can do. Three and a half-hour school will allow us to work in double shifts with convenient midday gap for the teacher for his meal and would give children ample time at home to help their parents. It will thus reduce wastage. It will help us also to organize separate shifts for both boys and girls in such areas where conditions so demand. It will reduce (not entirely eliminate) our commitment for constructing additional buildings and

finding equipment for new schools except in some backward states. The money thus saved may be utilized in enriching the existing institutions. It will reduce the problem of finding extra teachers, except in a few backward states and the money can thus be utilized in improving the conditions of the existing teachers who need much improvement.

One must know, that even to work out a scheme like this, much money is needed because:

(1) Salaries of teachers have to be considerably increased to induce them to work in two shifts.

(2) In some backward states, which are not providing education to 50 per cent students at present, there will still be some need to find extra teachers.

(3) Improvement of building facilities and equipments of the existing schools, what to speak of the new schools, will need much money. It was estimated in the UNESCO studies of Shri Saiyidain and others that as for the buildings which may be considered satisfactory house about 30 per cent of our children.

It is needless to say that at the administrative level, since the local administrations are not likely to find the money needed, and as state governments have sources of revenue which are more or less inelastic, Centre must come to the aid, and that the Central aid must be over-liberal with respect to backward states, whose commitments are large and resources limited.

The problem will be discussed from another angle in the next chapter.

(e) *Selected references*:

1. Government of India, *Education in India*, 1955-56; gives valuable statistical information regarding the state of literacy and number of children in schools at 6-11, the percentage they bear statewise to the total and cost.

2. Government of India, *Education in the Reorganized States of* 1955-56; gives the statewise statistics of untrained teachers.

3. Hartog, *Report of the Auxiliary Committee of Education in Connection With the Statutory Commission;* raises the issue of wastage at the primary level for the first time.

4. Mukherjee, L., *Memorandum on Likely Implications of the Problem of Teacher Education in the Third*

*Five Year Plan*, published in *Education*, June 1959 ; has worked out the number of teachers needed for cent per cent literacy statewise.

5. Mukherjee, L., *Planning for Education in Uttar Pradesh*, published in 1952 ; gives the details of the double shift scheme and its implications if applied to U. P.
6. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organization of Education in India ;* has suggested this double shift as the workable scheme for expansion of primary education in 1951 giving details of its working.
7. Mukerji, S. N., *Education in India, Today and Tomorrow ;* gives the example of shorter school hours in Egypt, Ceylon and Denmark, and suggests the scheme of double shift applicable here.
8. Saiyidain, K. G., Naik, J. P. and Husain, S. A., *UNESCO Studies in Compulsory Education in India;* gives the issue of retardation, paucity of buildings and the suggestion of Shri Naik.

# Chapter XIV

## Problems of Basic Education

(*a*) *History of the progress of Basic Education.* As has been said in an earlier chapter (chapter III), the concept of Basic Education evolved at Wardha in October, 1937 when a group of educationists headed by the late Dr. Zakir Hussain assembled at that place to consider the craft-centred scheme of education proposed by Mahatma Gandhi in a series of articles published in Harijan. The main points propounded by Gandhiji were:

(1) All children from 7-14 should be given free education.

(2) This education should centre round some handicraft.

(3) It should as far as possible be self-supporting: the product of the work done by the children should bring in enough to cover the total expenditure on their education.

(4) The medium of instruction throughout the period of 7 years should be the child's mother-tongue.

The conference actually modified the objectives of items 2 and 3 slightly, and passed them as follows:

(2) Education should centre round some productive manual work and all the other abilities to be developed or training given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft.

(3) The productive work done by the children should have some economic value. Efforts should be made to see that the price of objects produced by children covers the salary of teachers.

The speeches of two of the educators at the conference in respect to the last item are worth noting:

Dr. Zakir Hussain had said on October 23: "But there is a danger in overemphasizing the self-supporting aspect of education. Teachers may become slave drivers and exploit the labour of poor boys. If this happens, *takli* will prove worse than the books. We shall be laying the foundation of hidden slavery in our country."

Professor K. T. Shah said on the same date: "If you make self-supporting education your ideal, the ministers will naturally take full advantage of the situation, and

the result will be that instead of the present evil of cramming, the evil of overwork and undue extraction of labour from students will silently creep in, and the real aim of education will recede into the background."

In spite of these misgivings in the minds of at least two of the members of the committee regarding the principles of self-supporting features, the committee worked out a scheme of basic education. By allowing 3 hours and twenty minutes to the craft subjects, and 1 hour and fifty minutes to the study of other subjects correlated with it, the committee hoped that at least 85 per cent of the salary of a teacher, worked out at a modest figure of Rs. 25 per month, could be earned through the manual labour of the pupils.

In 1939, Central Advisory Board of Education appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the late Dr. B. G. Kher to examine the implications of the basic education. The main recommendations of the Kher Committee published in 1939 were:

(1) The scheme of Basic Education should first be introduced in rural areas.

(2) The total period of education of the scheme be extended by a year from 6 to 14 instead of from 7-14, earlier admissions at 5 being allowed in exceptional cases.

(3) Students from Basic Schools may be allowed to divert and join the other type of schools after 5 years, at the age of 11. This will mean that there will be two stages in Basic Education, the Junior Basic from 6 to 11 years and Senior Basic from 11 to 14 years.

(4) There should be no external examinations held, having completed his basic course, the student will be given a certificate from the school itself.

The actual scheme of co-ordination of Basic system with the traditional system of higher education was worked out by a second Kher Committee which published its report in 1946.

Due to the resignation of Congress ministries in 1939, the scheme suffered a setback, hardly had the experimental schools been opened. A few institutions, however, continued in Central Provinces and in Bihar, but they showed that only a fraction of the expenditure of the schools could be earned by the schools themselves, and this was nowhere above 28 per cent. In 1948-49, however, it was seen that some of the Senior Basic schools were able to

meet nearly 40 per cent of their expenses from the sale of school products.

These experiments prove that Basic Education cannot be entirely self-supporting, or 85 per cent self-supporting as it was claimed to be, by the educationists at Wardha in 1937.

Though after freedom, the Central and the State governments have evinced much interest in Basic Education and though on the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Central and the State Governments have already accepted that the education of the children of the age group 6-14 should be Basic, yet it is seen that Basic Education is not making a sufficient headway. In Bihar, for instance, it was seen that economic enrolment of post-Basic schools declined from 1,184 to 1,066 in 1952-53. The states seem to have two views regarding Basic Education. The orthodox group would prefer an integrated Basic scheme of eight years and favour the recommendation of Dr. Pires and Dr. Lakshami which would like to provide an integrated scheme of eight years. Others seem to follow the truncated scheme of only five years' Basic Education. On the whole, Bihar, Madras and Bombay Governments seem to be more enthusiastic over the scheme than other State Governments. From the annual reports of 1956 it is seen that there were no Senior Basic schools in Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, Hyderabad area of Andhra, Madhya Bharat area of Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra area of Bombay, PEPSU area of Punjab, and in NEFA. The number of students in West Bengal, Mysore, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and the Punjab do not show any marked increase. Assam and Andhra show only slight increase and large increases are only in three States of Bihar, Madras and Gujarat except Saurashtra. The full picture will be clear from the following table which gives the comparative figures of 1955 and 1956.

TABLE XXI

**Progress of Basic Education Within a Year: 1955 to 1956**

| | Number of schools (Basic) | | | | Enrolment in Basic schools | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Boys | | Girls | |
| | 1955 | 1956 | 1955 | 1956 | 1955 | 1956 | 1955 | 1956 |
| Junior Basic ... | 34.613 | 39,905 | 2,782 | 3,066 | 25.89 405 | 29.61.434 | 5,65 247 | 7,69,025 |
| Senior Basic ... | 1,097 | 4,506 | 23 | 336 | 169,975 | 9,75,520 | 45,972 | 3,54,288 |

It will thus be seen that out of 2,45,11,331 pupils in the primary schools only 37,30,459 are now reading in basic primary schools. Similarly as compared with 48,23,344 students in the middle school stage, only 13,29,748 are in Senior Basic schools, and this too after a great spurt in the activities of Madras, Bihar, and Bombay State, where in a single year the number of students in basic primary and secondary schools has increased considerably as a result of conversion of many schools into basic schools in 1955. The result of the increase in enrolment in these states in a single year is shown for each of the states separately in the following table which gives the increase in 1956 over the figures of 1955.

TABLE XXII

**Increase in Enrolments in a Year in 3 States**

| States | Increase in enrolment in 1956 over 1955 figures | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Junior Basic schools | | Senior Basic schools | |
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Bihar .. .. | 27,066 | 4,116 | 11,177 | 539 |
| B'bay with Gujarat | 1,23,018 | 63,311 | 7,04,966 | 2,71,864 |
| Madras .. | 81,878 | 63,463 | 36,302 | 21,131 |

We thus find that in spite of a large increase shown in only three states especially Bombay (in which Vidrabha and Marathawada areas have not shown much increase), the basic institutions are not able to absorb more than 20 per cent of students. With an estimated number of 75,00,000 students in the basic primary schools in 1966 it appears that the ratio of basic to non-basic is still 1:6, or the Basic Education has not made a very significant impression on the entire scheme. Moreover the estimate of 75,00,000 itself seems to be somewhat exaggerated.

The expenditure on basic schools for the whole of India in 1956 is given in the following table by sources:

TABLE XXIII

**Expenditure on Basic Education by Managements**

| Sources | Junior Basic schools | | Senior Basic schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Amount in rupees | Percentage | Amount in rupees | Percentage |
| Government funds.. | 2,33,20,513 | 84.5 | 3,27,15,227 | 76.2 |
| Local boards funds | 37,57,977 | 13.6 | 53,90,145 | 13.3 |
| Fees .. .. | 62,965 | 0.2 | 9,65,800 | 2.4 |
| Endowments .. | 2,45,192 | 0.9 | 2.50,667 | 0.6 |
| Other sources .. | 2,21,889 | 0.8 | 12,77,654 | 3.1 |

It will be seen .that the basic schools are more dependent on government assistance. While ordinary primary schools depend to the extent of 73.6 per .cent on government grants, Junior Basic schools need 84.5 per cent Local board grants are, however, providing somewhat less, that is 13.6 in place of 20.0. As the break-up of expenditure by sources for middle schools are not available (owing to the fact that a large number of middle classes are attached to high schools), it is certain that the government expense on Senior Basic classes is more than that in an average school. The cost per capita of a student in a Junior Basic school has been calculated at Rs.27.8 which is higher than a primary school, where it is Rs. 23.4 per pupil per year. The Senior Basic schools, however, work cheaper than a middle school, as the cost per capita for the former is claimed to be 30.5 and the latter 40.4.

From what is given above, if we think Basic Education to be a feature of self-sufficient system, paying its own way, we are likely to be disappointed, for it is not going to be self-sufficient. Perhaps the reasons that prompted it to be self-sufficient, at a time when government grant was attached with certain rigid conditions, are no longer present now. We have therefore to judge its efficacy as a system of education from other considerations.

— (b) *Merits and demerits of basic education scheme and its limitations.* A study of Gandhian philosophy of education can be best made from reading what Mahatma Gandhi thought of education. Some of his statements are collected here:

"I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, of hands, feet, nose, etc. In other words, an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and the quickest way of developing his intellect."

"Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy itself is no education. I would therefore begin a child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training."

Now the first of these is the accepted philosophy of other educationists also, like Pestalozzi, Montessory, Froebel or Dewey. This is the accepted device that we must proceed in our education from the concrete to abstract, and

teach through all the senses. As for the second, the teaching of a craft has several merits:

(1) It creates an interest, for the child is socially inclined to learn one of the processes it sees the adult world doing.

(2) It gives an opportunity for developing creative abilities of the child, who not only imitates the adult ways, but tries to put in something of his own individuality in it.

(3) Correlation of other subjects to the craft brings in a certain sense of motivation for the child. He finds the subjects worthwhile to learn, as soon as the utility of learning appears in their social setting

(4) Teaching of craft gives an opportunity for developing other senses, while bookish education only the eye and the ear.

(5) Craft education can help to develop a vocational sense quite early.

All these ends are weighty arguments for including a craft subject into the curriculum and of attempting such correlations as the opportunity offers itself. They do not require us to make a fetish of correlation, by itself. The suggestions given in the previous chapter of providing one-third of the school time-table at the primary school will provide all these uses of the craft and makes craft an important subject, though it will neither make a child an expert craftsman thereby, nor has the suggestion any pretence to making schools self-supporting.

Now that we find that our basic schools are not proving self-supporting and depending to a greater extent on the government grants, we should not feel disappointed. To be self-supporting by itself was not an unmixed blessing. It has the danger of exploitation of child labour for the teacher's personal gains, it has also the danger of emphasizing more on the finished products than on the process. The child has perhaps greater opportunity of learning through failures provided the causes of failures are later analyzed than through sure successes prompted by mere imitation. This having been given up, as the figures themselves show, let us examine to what extent should all branches of study be correlated and to what extent should craft taught at the elementary stage be included as the basis of a child's occupation.

It will be seen that the opportunities for correlation offered by a single craft are after all limited. Supposing

we take spinning as the craft subject, the amount of geography that we can teach through it is all confined to the production of cotton. This is only a limited aspect of geography, and may at the best cover a year's course in the subject. The portion of arithmetic that can be taught is also limited to the craft concerned. On the other hand, there exists internal correlation within the subjects themselves. All geographical studies are connected with each other, and make a complete whole. The child's own environment, apart from the craft he pursues, gives us some opportunities for correlation, which is perhaps necessary for us to bear in mind.

To what extent can craft teaching become the basis of determination of the child's future occupation would depend on a careful study of selection of the craft with a view of the available market, a careful study of his upbringing as to show disposition for one form of craft or the other. Aptitudes take time to develop, and aptitudes themselves to a certain extent are conditioned by our upbringing. These have therefore to be studied before we are in a position to determine which craft should be specialized and in which area. Perhaps in thinking of a craft as a subject for his future vocation, we may also remember, that it may act as a sort of supplementary means to increase his earning or spending his leisure hours usefully through it. Mahatma Gandhi himself had no misgivings about spinning as the only occupation. He wanted it as a mere supplementary means to increase one's earning in leisure hours as is apparent from the following statement of his:

"I have not contemplated, much less advised, the abandonment of a single healthy, life-giving industrial activity for the sake of hand-spinning. The entire foundation of the spinning-wheel rests on the fact that there are crores of semi-employed people in India. And I should admit, if there were none such, there would be no room for the spinning-wheel."

As a supplementary occupation, we have more liberty of selection, for there a study of the available market, though still important, yet does not assume such proportions as the principal vocation would ensue.

Insistence of very rigid correlation of the various teaching subjects with the craft subject and the demand of craft subject requiring to be a basis of future earning of the child makes a very rigid demand on the teacher. This may be very much lightened if we, admitting the utility of correlation, accept a simpler and more practical aspect of

this, and if we do not insist so much on the professional skill from the student.

The reason is quite clear. If we want that all subjects should be taught with rigid correlation with the craft subject, we would insist that the craft teacher should teach all of them. Which means that he should be a craftsman; and should besides knowing the theory in the craft, be able to teach other subjects according to the possibilities that his craft teaching at a particular stage offers. It will further mean that he has to be an expert craftsman himself, for otherwise he cannot train the skill sufficiently of children, so that the latter can become craftsmen themselves in future. The question is, can such teachers be found in millions that we need for our national schemes or should such a programme be left only to a few model schools?

(e) *Need for a more rational approach towards basic education.* A more rational and practical approach towards *Basic Education as some of the states have adopted,* and which has been indicated in the scheme offered in the previous chapter are:

(1) Principle of teaching the mother-tongue is insisted, and it occupies two-sevenths of the school curriculum for the first three years. At the fourth year a second Indian language, which will be Hindi, for non-Hindi-speaking areas, will have to be introduced, and this would mean somewhat less time devoted to mother-tongue, perhaps eight periods' study (still about a fifth of the curriculum) may be devoted to the mother-tongue and four periods (a tenth of the curriculum) to the new language from class IV.

(2) Craft will be given about one-third time of the school.

(3) Other subjects of Mathematics, Social Studies, Nature Study, Hygiene and Drawing, should occupy the remaining three-sevenths.

(4) In teaching other subjects including the craft, a fair degree of correlation should be expected between the craft subjects and other subjects. But opportunities of other means of correlation which is within the child's experience should not be lost sight of.

(5) The object of teaching craft to a child will be mainly educative and not vocational, at the primary stage it will give him the opportunity to learn with his hands and other senses, it will develop his interest and awaken his creative abilities. But opportunities for developing his

skill as a means of his supplementary occupation in life should not be lost sight of.

The advantages of this system are:

(1) It enlarges the scope of study in other subjects.

(2) Though still maintaining the class teacher system, so that one teacher handles as many subjects as possible in the same class, it provides the opportunity of craft being taught by a skilled craftsman, where the class teacher is not able to handle this subject. Thus the number of craftsmen needed are reduced to two-sevenths (as all teachers need not be craftsmen). Moreover it does not demand that the crafts teachers should know other subjects so thoroughly.

(3) By implication, it provides the opportunity to the crafts teacher to acquire greater skill in his subject by specializing in it.

(4) The study of the craft no longer remains an end in itself, but becomes a means to an end, and it has thus an enlarged possibility in developing the personality of the child.

(5) Skill acquired in the craft may still be useful to the child as a supplementary occupation.

(6) The whole scheme is developed with a view to incorporate the features of Basic Education within the fold of organization of primary education from 6-11 years. Subsequent stage of senior basic as a rival to middle schools with craft as a bias, rather than craft-centred may be advocated, as recommended in the Mudaliar scheme, the more rigid vocational education being provided in the secondary practical (terminal) schools as suggested in chapter 12.

(d) *Summary.* There were enough doubts as to the self-supporting feature of Basic Education as expressed in the speeches of two of the members of the conference, Dr. Zakir Hussain and Professor K. T. Shah. These did not relate to the practical possibility of the craft being paying but on the danger of exploitation of child labour, which the principle may lead to. In spite of certain modifications suggesed by the Kher Committee, the scheme could not be properly examined owing to the resignation of the Congress ministries. Meanwhile, during the war years, a few provinces attempted a substitute or modified scheme of basic education, while the followers of Mahatma Gandhi believed in a more orthodox approach. The modified form, however, is more practicable. It denied the requirement of

self-sufficiency and the feature of absolute correlation, introduced craft as a subject in the primary stage, but did not make entire education rigidly craft-centred. Examination of the conditions in 1956, shows that Senior Basic scheme has not captured the popular fancy in several states. Junior Basic seems to be more popular, but more perhaps in three states than in others. Even in these states the liberal school of thought seems to have captured the fancy of one state, and hence the large increase in enrolment there.

Examination of the financial aspect shows that Basic Education is no longer self-supporting, and in fact depends on government support much more than its counterparts, the primary and middle school education, do.

With this experience, the argument of the orthodox school was examined. From Mahatma Gandhi's own writings (except those that refer to self-sufficient features which are no longer practical possibilities), it appears that the propounder of the scheme himself was not so blind to the educational limitations of craft-centred education. This advocacy of self-supporting feature was a political necessity of the day we have since outlived and he would have perhaps required the skill to be developed as a supplementary craft rather than a principal one.

In the light of this, it is found that perhaps a rigid insistence or correlation would on the one hand reduce the educational possibilities of the subjects themselves, and on the other make such demands on the teachers as may not be possible to secure from those whom we want in millions, and to whom we may not be able to give enough pay.

A more liberal approach to the issue would not demand such rigid correlation, increase the educational possibilities of these subjects and of the craft itself, by not insisting on heavy demands on the skill. It will reduce the number of craft teachers to a third at least (making allowance for existing single teacher schools), and would still provide the pride of place in the curriculum to craft and may demand some vocational skill in the subject. While the liberal school demands this from primary schools, the substitution of middle schools to Senior Basic has to be decided separately according to demands, but there too probably a greater bias in the craft rather than craft-centred education is more practicable.

(*e*) *Selected references*:

1. Bose, Nirmal Kumar. *Selections from Gandhi;* the quotations of Mahatma Gandhi also appear in *All Men Are Brothers,* a UNESCO publication.

2. Government of India, *Education in India*, 1955-56, Vol. I; gives the views of the author on the subject.

3. Kabir, Humayun, *Education in New India* ; gives the views of the author on the possibilities of Basic Education.

4. Mukherjee, L., *Planning for Education: Uttar Pradesh*, published in 1952; gives the author's primary education scheme as applied to U. P.

5. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organization of Education ;* gives the author's views on the liberal approach and quotes the speeches of Dr. Zakir Hussain and Professor Shah.

6. Mukerji, S. N., *Education in India Today and Tomorrow ;* gives the author's views on the subject.

7. Saiyidain, K. G., Naik, J. P., and Hussain, Abid, *Compulsory Education in India ;* a UNESCO study ; gives the objectives of the scheme.

8. Saiyidain, K. G., *Problems of Educational Reconstruction ;* gives the views of the author on the subject.

# Chapter XV

## Problem of Teacher Education in India

(a) *Teacher education in India.* Perhaps we are apt to forget the peculiar form of teacher training that was in vogue in India from very early times. This was provided by what is known as the monitorial system in which senior pupils were employed to teach younger children, under the general guidance of the teacher. Andrew Bell took this system from Madras to England, and for a time monitorial system provided elementary education to many parts of England. The pupil teacher system of England was also a sort of modification of this system.

Before Wood's Despatch in 1854, missionaries in Bengal under Rev. Duff had established their normal school, and the Native Education Society of Bombay had made certain arrangements for training of teachers. Wood's Despatch, however, recommended no formal training but the introduction of the pupil teacher system by which intending teachers would be required to pick up the tricks of the trade serving with a stipend under an experienced teacher. After 1859, however, a circle system was introduced in which travelling instructors visited a circle of three or four villages at a time, and gave courses in the subject matter of the study like languages, mathematics, and in the art of teaching. This type of training was extended in other provinces, though more in Madras. In 1882 it was found that most of them had settled down to certain fixed centres and were known as normal schools. There were 106 such schools in the whole of India in 1882. Hunter Commission recommended a wider expansion of normal schools, but as the responsibility of primary education soon passed to the local bodies, the government were not willing to spend money for the training of teachers, and the local boards lacked both initiative and finance. Thus in the next twenty years very few training schools developed.

The first normal school to take up the task of training teachers at the secondary level was established by the Madras government in or about 1870. This was done by raising the status of a normal school opened in 1856. In 1880 a teachers' college was established in Lahore, up to 1882 therefore there were only two such colleges training some 60 teachers. Hunter Commission recommended a shorter course of training for secondary teachers, and between 1882 and 1902 only four new training colleges were

opened. In case of women teachers, a system of pupil-teacher system was followed mainly under the Christian missions so that in 1902 though the number of women teachers under training in the apprentice system was 1,412, only 416 were non-Christians and 996 were Christians. Most of the trainees had poor educational qualifications.

Between 1902 and 1922, however, the training facilities increased. The number of training schools rose from 106 in 1882 to 1,072 in 1922, and they were training 27,000 teachers in 1922, in place of 3,886 primary school teachers in 1882. The number of training colleges for graduate teachers rose from 4 to 13 in 1922, and there were also a number of training schools for undergraduate teachers being trained for teaching middle school classes. In 1922, it was seen that about 38 per cent of the teachers in primary schools were trained, but the general attainment of primary teachers being poor, many did not derive full benefits from training. Between 1922 and 1937 there seems to have been a reduction in the number of training schools for primary teachers, partly as a result of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee. So in 1937, we find that there were only 346 training institutions for primary teachers which trained only 19,742 teachers. Besides these, 191 were for women teachers, and were training 7,609 lady teachers for primary classes. The number of secondary training institutions were 15 with 1,488 students. In addition to them there were 8 institutions for lady teachers, training 488 students.

The progress since 1937 till 1956 is shown in the following table, which, however, does not show the position of men and women teachers separately:

TABLE XXIV

**Growth of Training Schools and Colleges, 1937-1956**

| | 1937 | | 1947 | | 1956 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Schools | Colleges | Schools | Colleges | Schools | Colleges |
| Institutions .. | 537 | 23 | 529 | 34 | 930 | 107 |
| Enrolment .. | 27,353 | 1,976 | 34,054 | 2,493 | 90,914 | 14,280 |
| Output .. | Not given | | 19,995 for both the categories (given together) | | 54,828 | 10,678 |
| | | | | | besides this number were 1,694 certified. | |

In 1964, 286 training colleges had an enrolment of 25,264 of which 19,327 passed.

Thus we find that in spite of the fact that provincial autonomy was granted, there was no remarkable progress in the decade following 1937, owing no doubt to the war conditions and the functioning of the advisory regime in many provinces. The progress since 1947 seems more rapid, but strictly speaking the figures are not quite comparable, as the figures of 1956 include the facilities in Indian states, and exclude some of the areas of 1947 which have since formed Pakistan.

(*b*) *Our present problem in teacher training.* That teacher training still constitutes a problem is evident from the following two remarks. The first is taken from the report of the Mudaliar Commission which stated in 1953: "It has been noted that there are considerable variations in regard to the teacher training programme in different states, and also that the number of institutions for teacher training is very inadequate compared even to the present needs."

The second is taken from the annual report, *Education in India* 1955-56. "The training of teachers constitutes perhaps the single most important factor in the reconstruction and expansion of school education."

In 1953 the Mudaliar Commission suggested : "In our opinion there should be only two types of institutions for teacher training; (1) for those who have taken the School Leaving Certificate or Higher Secondary School Leaving Certificates as envisaged by us, and for whom a two-year teaching course would be required; and (2) for graduates for whom the training should be of one academic year. In regard to graduate teacher training, we are definitely of the opinion that institutions for this purpose should be recognized by and affiliated to the universities, and that diplomas and degrees should be granted by the universities. In the secondary grade training institutions for which we have recommended a two-year course, the first year will be devoted largely to general education. In the second year, special subjects pertaining to pedagogy and practical methods of teaching should form a large part of the curriculum. Secondary grade teachers should be employed for the nursery schools and the primary or Junior Basic Schools."

One special feature of our effort in teacher training has been the provision of extension services. Mudaliar Commission had suggested. "Among the activities which a training college should provide, or in which it should collaborate are: (i) refresher courses, (ii) short intensive courses in special subjects, (iii) practical training in workshop and (iv) seminars and professional conferences

From 1955 the Government of India, in collaboration with the Ford Foundation initiated a scheme of extension services departments in training colleges and in university departments of education. By 1956 only 23 of such departments were established and All-India Council of Secondary Education, which ran these departments, held 8 regional and one special seminar during the year. Central assistance enabled the states to open training centres for craft instructors in certain states. By the end of 1956, the existing craft training centres of 13 training colleges were strengthened and 10 new ones were opened.

But the main issue that troubled every one was the existence of a large number of untrained teachers many of whom had put in several years of service and it remained unsolved. How inadequate are the present methods of training colleges to meet this demand in the field of primary education alone, is explained in the following table prepared out of the data found in Education of the Reorganized States of the Indian Union and Education in India, both of 1956.

TABLE XXV

**Problem of Training Primary School Teachers in 1956 With All-India Figures of 1966**

| States | Existing number of primary teachers | | Present output from training or Normal Schools |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Trained | Untrained | |
| Andhra Pradesh .. | 61,619 | 16,447 | 5,387 |
| Assam .. .. | 6,435 | 13,873 | 1,381 |
| Bihar .. .. | 29,849 | 17,084 | 5,335 |
| Bombay .. | 46,536 | 58,892 | 8,444 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 1,078 | 1,113 | 515 |
| Kerala .. .. | 42,519 | 3,228 | 4,812 |
| Madhya Pradesh .. | 11,833 | 29,426 | 2,632 |
| Madras .. | 77,733 | 6,375 | 11,172 |
| Mysore .. | 21,342 | 26,426 | 989 |
| Orissa .. .. | 9,805 | 13,779 | 847 |
| Punjab .. | 16,622 | 6,118 | 6,137 |
| Rajasthan .. | 5,889 | 8,843 | ,227 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. | 62,757 | 14,418 | ,062 |
| West Bengal .. | 24,833 | 46,913 | 1,543 |
| Delhi .. .. | 2,906 | 6 | 307 |
| Himachal Pradesh .. | 758 | 872 | 151 |
| Other areas .. | 588 | 4,026 | 1,997 |
| Whole of India .. | 4,23,192 | 2,68,057 | 54,828 |
| Whole of India 1966 (in thousands)* .. | 7,35,000 | 3,50,000 | 62,000 |

*Detailed Statewise Figures for 1966 have not yet been published by the Government.

TABLE XXVI

**Problem of Training Secondary School Teachers in 1956 With Figures Available for 1964-65**

| States | Number of Secondary Teachers in 1956 | | Output from the Teacher Colleges | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Trained | Untrained | 1956 | 1964-65 |
| Andhra Pradesh .. | 14,879 | 4,682 | 645 | 1,413 |
| Assam .. .. | 2,583 | 8,669 | 75 | 190 |
| Bihar .. .. | 13,030 | 15,633 | 494 | 716 |
| Bombay, Maharashtra .. | 37,505 | 20,765 | 1,613 | 1,576 |
| Gujrat* .. | .. | .. | .. | 588 |
| Jammu-Kashmir .. | 2,042 | 1,705 | 152 | 433 |
| Kerala .. | 15,166 | 9,113 | 597 | 2,112 |
| Madhya Pradesh .. | 8,382 | 12,446 | 688 | 1,011 |
| Madras .. | 20,907 | 2,947 | 1,112 | 1,557 |
| Mysore .. | 10,999 | 6,905 | 257 | 1,246 |
| Orissa .. .. | 2,755 | 3,453 | 141 | 460 |
| Punjab .. | 16,511 | 6,035 | 2,437 | 3,204 |
| Rajasthan .. | 5,193 | 7,747 | 285 | 486 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. | 32,359 | 16,308 | 2,395 | 3,317 |
| West Bengal .. | 7,812 | 21,193 | 915 | 2,238 |
| Delhi .. .. | 5,083 | 543 | 167 | 486† |
| Himachal Pradesh | 1,105 | 523 | 17 | |
| Other areas .. | 392 | 1,296 | 49 | |
| Whole of India .. | 200,114 | 138,074 | 12,139 | 19,327 |

It will thus be seen that the magnitude of the problem is different from state to state. It is most acute in Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal where the majority of primary school teachers are untrained. In Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Kashmir,

*Gujrat figures are included in Bombay for 1956, Bombay for 1966 includes only figures for the whole of Maharashtra.

† Includes the total figures of all Union Territories.

Punjab and in Himachal Pradesh, where the numbers do not make it unmanageable it is still an acute problem. In Madras, Kerala and Delhi we may have some grounds for complacency. In calculating the output from the training schools, however, we should be on our guard not to take the face value, for at least 5 per cent of the existing trained teachers are to be replaced every year by death or retirement and a large number of the students passing from the training colleges would very likely be needed to fill up these replacements. Thus we come to the conclusion that some extra effort and some additional emergency methods are to be adopted to reduce the large number of untrained teachers at the primary level who form 38.8 per cent of the total number of teachers today.

The position assessed in 1966 does not appear to be quite encouraging. True, the number of training colleges preparing high school teachers have increased to 286 which includes 4 regional colleges (which teach an integrated course for four years including the first degree and the professional courses together for four years).

The state-wise output is given below:

TABLE XXVII

**State-wise Output of Trained Graduate High School Teachers**

| States | Number enrolled (1965) | Number passed (1966) |
|---|---|---|
| Andhra .. | 1,413 | 1,264 |
| Assam .. | 288 | 243 |
| Bihar .. .. | 984 | 958 |
| Gujrat .. .. | 1,045 | 1,034 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 433 | 333 |
| Kerala .. .. | 2,405 | 2,007 |
| Madhya Pradesh .. | 1,659 | 1,620 |
| Madras .. | 1,557 | 1,143 |
| Maharashtra .. | 1,576 | 1,471 |
| Mysore .. .. | 1,139 | 1,079 |
| Orissa .. .. | 356 | 337 |
| Punjab .. | 3,460 | 3,030 |
| Rajasthan .. | 1,103 | 906 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. | 4,626 | 4,034 |
| West Bengal .. | 2,702 | 2,174 |
| Union territories .. | 486 | 420 |
| Total .. | 25,264 | 22,111 |

True there has been over 80 per cent increase in the output from total of 1956 (12,139), but this is to be seen against the background of the present position of 66.2 per

cent of the existing high school teachers who are trained. Or in other words out of 343,000 teachers only 228,000 are trained. Over half of the present output wil go to fill up the normal annual vacancies by death and retirement, others will be needed to make the existing unhappy teacher-student ratio smaller and hence none will be available for replacing existing untrained teachers. With 67.0 per cent existing primary teachers being trained out of 890,000 the position of the present output is such that it may not meet even the demand of annual vacancies normally created.

In calculating the present output, in secondary not only the diploma-holders, but certified ones are also taken. The problem at the secondary level seems similar to that at the primary level, and has roughly the same state-wise complexity. The states which have a large number of untrained teachers at the primary level, with the exception of Bombay and Himachal Pradesh, have the same problem for the secondary also; and if we subtract from the present output, 5 per cent teachers needed for replacement of the existing trained teachers, very little remains for expansion. Meanwhile we must also consider the larger enrolment at the secondary level due to our Five Year Plans, which have expanded the facilities for primary education. Just how much will that be it is perhaps difficult to estimate, but it may be safe to consider that boys' enrolment will increase by at least 25 per cent. The girls' enrolment will perhaps be higher, considering the interest now taken in female education. Anyway, the point that strikes us is that unless we increase our tempo of teachers' training programme we are not likely to make a headway in our programme of improving either the quality or the quantity of our educational output at either level.

(c) *A suggested scheme for syllabus revision and of inservice training.* The problem of improvement of the content as well as the method of teacher education has been engaging the attention of the two bodies of teacher education, the Association of Heads of Training Colleges, and the Teacher Training Section of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations. At the Delhi Conference in 1955 the latter body proposed that more attention should be paid to the practical work, and perhaps the theory syllabus may be made lighter by removing certain subjects. The former body met at Bangalore in 1957 and decided that subjects like history of education could be safely omitted from teacher training, and in its place more emphasis be given to methods of teaching and practical work. The conference decided that there should be the following

four papers: (1) Principles of Education and School Organization, (2) Educational Psychology and Health Education, (3) Methods of Teaching Two Subjects, and (4) Current Problems on Indian Education. These should carry 400 marks. Practical work which should carry 400 marks should include practice teaching, observation and criticism of lessons, study of types of schools, co-curricular activities, a follow-up assignment of case study, use of audio-visual aids and construction of an achievement test. Obviously the conference had only the question of secondary teachers in mind in drawing up this syllabus.

The teachers' training section of the All-India Federation of Education Associations, at the Madras session in 1957 considered the question of the existence of such a large number of untrained teachers and appointed a committee of five experts to go through the question of suitable inservice training for the untrained teachers. The committee came to the following conclusions:

(1) Most of the untrained teachers have put in a fairly long period of service and had incurred certain family responsibilities which makes it difficult for them to go to a training centre and get their training. (2) It will be difficult to provide adequate training centres for them, owing to difficulty of billeting arrangements made for them and also to the difficulty of suitable building, which are needed for temporary purposes. (3) The present facilities for the extension service is firstly limited only to the secondary teachers, and even to them it is able to offer only limited service. (4) It is therefore necessary to provide a scheme of inservice training through mobile squads which should go from place to place giving a number of lectures in the afternoon or evening and supervising the regular teaching of the teachers during the day time. (5) As these would be equipped with audio-visual aids for teaching, they would not offer such inadequate training as were given by travelling teachers for the primary schools in the last part of the 19th century.

How long would the training be, was a subject of grave discussion, and opinions differed on the issue, for it was held by some members that the scheme should not lower the standards. The issue was discussed again at the next All-India Educational Conference held at Chandigarh in 1958 (December) and finally a scheme was presented to the Planning Commission by the secretary of the teachers' training section as a member of the Select Committee of All-India Federation of Educational Associations. The scheme suggests that for primary teachers, the squad should consist of five teachers each of whom would teach

one theory subject and one method subject. The following theory subjects have been proposed: Educational Psychology; Problems of Education in India; Principles of Basic Education; Primary School Organization and Physical and Health Education. The methods subjects being: Language; Arithmetic; Craft; Social Studies and Nature Study and Hygiene. The scheme suggests 24 lectures to be delivered in each subject, so that a trainee offering at least 4 of the methods and all the theory courses

TABLE XXVIII

**Implications of Mobile Training Scheme for Primary Teachers**

| | Number of teachers to be trained in 5 yrs for expansion including untrained ones existing now | additional trainees needed per year after subtracting 5% of present trained teachers out of the present output | Number of squads that are needed to train them |
|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh .. .. | 43,947 | 8,600 | 57 |
| Assam .. .. .. | 30,540 | 4,100 | 27 |
| Bihar .. .. .. | 1,21,932 | 26,600 | 178 |
| Bombay .. .. | 69,480 | 11,300 | 76 |
| Jammu-Kashmir .. .. | 14,513 | 3,200 | 21 |
| Kerala .... .. .. | 3,910 | .. | .. |
| Madhya Pradesh .. .. | 62,426 | 13,500 | 90 |
| Madras .. .. | 54,588 | 6,000 | 40 |
| Mysore .. .. .. | 40,876 | 10,220 | 68 |
| Orissa .. .. .. | 64,659 | 15,800 | 105 |
| Punjab .. .. .. | 31,118 | 2,450 | 16 |
| Rajasthan .. .. | 59,752 | 14,000 | 94 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. .. | 1,81,484 | 45,371 | 303 |
| West Bengal .. .. | 57,413 | 14,100 | 94 |
| Delhi .. .. .. | 2,153 | 380 | 3 |
| Himachal Pradesh .. .. | 2,695 | 560 | 4 |
| Whole of India .. .. | 9,23,701 | 1,97,225 | 1 315 |

will get 216 lectures. There should be an opportunity of observing the practice teaching of the trainees in the day time while they are working in the schools. By staying at a place for three months at a time, it may be possible for the squad to finish training for 50 students. Taking holidays into account, it would thus mean training of 150 teachers per year, and 600 in a period of four years. The fifth year may be used to give a short refresher course of six lectures per subject, of 54 in all. The scheme involves three hours' evening lectures, and it has taken into consideration not only the existing teachers, to be trained. It has considered also the number of additional teachers needed for 100 per cent literacy, not considering the economy involved in the double shift system of primary schools which may or may not be accepted and gives the possible implications of the plan as given in the previous table:

The total expense calculated for the scheme including some conveyance given to the trainees for attending theory lectures is Rs.24,57,00,000 distributed over a period of five years which can be shared between the Centre and the states.

For secondary teachers too, a scheme for mobile training squads has been proposed. The squad consisting of six teachers who would give lectures on six theory subjects, one each, and six method subjects, a trainee being required to offer all the theory subjects and three method subjects only. The subjects suggested are: Theory: Educational Psychology; Principles of Education; Problems of Indian Education; Educational Administration; School Organization; Hygiene and Health Education. The subjects to be offered for methods would be: Regional Language; English or Hindi or a second Indian language; Mathematics; Social Studies; General Science; Craft. The number of lectures must be similar to that in case of primary teachers, namely, twenty-four per subject given in three months, followed by a refresher course of six lectures in the fifth year. The implications have been calculated as given in the following table XXVI.

It has been calculated that the scheme would need a total expenditure of Rs. 10,56,00,000 for the entire period of five years and this has likewise to be shared between the Centre and the states. The number of teachers needed to work the scheme would be 6.575 for the primary level, and 2.112 for the secondary level, besides 1,367 machinists for handling audio-visual equipments, plus 1,367 station waggons a number which it may not be difficult to procure.

## TABLE XXIX

### Implications of Mobile Training Scheme for Secondary Teachers

| States | Total number of teachers needed for expansion scheme only | Number including present untrained teachers trained | Annual quota for training for a 4-yr. | Number of squads needed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh .. | 4,798 | 9,660 | 2,415 | 16 |
| Assam .. .. | 2,284 | 10,943 | 2,736 | 18 |
| Bihar .. .. | 4,470 | 20,103 | 5,026 | 34 |
| Bombay .. | 13,573 | 33,874 | 8,469 | 57 |
| Jammu-Kashmir .. | 628 | 2,343 | 586 | 4 |
| Kerala .. | 6,011 | 15,124 | 3,781 | 25 |
| Madhya Pradesh .. | 3,173 | 15,619 | 3,905 | 26 |
| Madras .. | 8,310 | 11,257 | 2,814 | 19 |
| Mysore .. | 2,633 | 9,272 | 2,318 | 15 |
| Orissa .. | 2,867 | 4,483 | 1,121 | 8 |
| Punjab .. | 4,187 | 10,222 | 2,556 | 17 |
| Rajasthan .. | 1,134 | 9,081 | 2,215 | 15 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. | 9,180 | 25,488 | 6,372 | 43 |
| West Bengal .. | 7,092 | 28,285 | 7,071 | 47 |
| Delhi .. .. | 1,117 | 1,660 | 415 | 3 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 147 | 670 | 163 | 1 |
| Whole of India .. | 72,734 | 2,10,818 | 52,705 | 352 |

In order to improve the standard of training further, it has been proposed that the scheme to continue another programme of inservice training of twenty-four lectures per subject in a three-month period, in the Fourth Five Year Plan, if necessary be developed. At the end of this period, it will enable the teachers to acquire the same efficiency as an ordinary teacher trained in regular colleges, and it is hoped that refresher courses proposed in the scheme, coming as they do after the teachers had some

direct experience with practical problems, may prove particularly helpful to them.

In spite of one being unwilling to lower the standards, one feels that being confronted with the magnitude of the problem and faced with the choice training or no training, this may be the only practical *via media* which is feasible with our limited available resources.

Nothing has, however, been done so far in this direction.

(*d*) *Summary.* Like their effort in spreading English education, or the education of women, the missionaries were the pioneers in spreading the idea that teachers should have some professional training. Wood's Despatch of 1854 recommended a system of pupil teacher system in vogue in England in those days. Five years later, travelling instructors were entrusted with the responsibility of giving a course on the subject matter rather than on methods. By 1882, however, this system had been replaced by normal schools. Teachers' colleges for secondary teachers started in 1870, but at first they were open to men only. It goes to the credit of the missionaries again to have established the first normal school for lady teachers. While the growth of normal schools and training colleges was comparatively slow between 1882 and 1902, it was quite rapid in the next twenty years. Between 1922 and 1937, there seems to have been a setback so far as the training facilities for primary teachers were concerned, but the training facilities for secondary teachers, however, increased, though not with such a rapid tempo as in earlier years. In the next decade, owing to war conditions and to the fact that advisory regimes followed the Congress ministry in several states, the progress was not rapid at least for primary teachers. Since independence, we have made some progress no doubt, but the progress did not bring us near the ideal of every teacher being trained.

In 1953 Mudaliar Commission, realizing the importance of teacher training, felt that two-year training courses should be offered to teachers of primary classes, and a year's training to secondary teachers. It also suggested that training colleges should organize refresher courses, practical workshop training and seminars. Some of the facilities could be offered with the help of assistance received from Ford Foundation, which was administered by the All-India Council for Secondary Education. That the present output is short of the demand is shown from the figures. In 1956 there were 4,23,192 trained primary school teachers in which annually at least 21,000 teachers are needed for replacement of teachers due to death

and retirement, and so on. As the total output from the normal schools is 54,828 one fears to speak of the extension of facilities for primary education — it will take at least 8 or 9 years to replace the teachers with the present rate of output from the normal schools. But this is likely to cause some hardship to many untrained teachers. The problem, however, is likely to get complicated, when we think of the issue state-wise. Not all states are at the same rate of progress with respect to training of teachers.

In Assam, for instance, it will take nearly 14 years to get all teachers trained; in Bombay it will take about 10 years.; in Madhya Pradesh about 15 years; in Mysore no facilities are possible, as the existing teachers are not able to replace all the trained teachers who are retiring. Same will be the condition in Uttar Pradesh. In Bengal it will need 170 years. Thus the present system will prove inadequate to meet the needs of these states, even if there be no expansion due to extension of compulsory education.

In the level of secondary teachers' colleges, the 1956 output including the certified teachers is just 1,372, over a thousand of whom would be required to replace the existing teachers, and hence only 300 to 350 will be available to meet the requirement of replacing the untrained teachers who number 138,074, and this will take over 400 years. It is absolutely impossible to replace the untrained teachers in Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Mysore, Orissa, or West Bengal with the present rate of output, which are so far unable to meet the present replacement of trained teachers; in Kashmir it will take 40 years, Madhya Pradesh will take 50 years, Rajasthan 230 years, U. P. at least 20 years to train all teachers with the present rate of output. The method is likely to be complicated as we note the trend of expansion of enrolment at the secondary school level, and will moreover cause hardship to those teachers who have put in a number of years of service, if they are compelled to leave their homes for a year for training.

In 1966, it is estimated that there are still 115,000 high school teachers, 108,000 middle school teachers and 290,000 primary school teachers who are still untrained out of a total number of 343,000, 384,000 and 890,000 in the respective categories. The present output is just sufficient to meet the normal vacancies due to death and retirement or at the most in removing the disparity due to high teacher-pupil ratio.

The contents of the curriculum and the problem of training of teachers who are untrained have received the attention of two all-India bodies, the conference of principals

of training colleges and the teachers' training section of All-India. Federation of Educational Associations. The former has decided against the inclusion of such subjects as History of Education, reduction of the burden of Psychology and Principles of Education and adding a paper on Current Educational Problems of India. The practical work has also been revised considerably. But it is one thing to pass a resolution in a conference, and another to get it implemented. Many training colleges are going in their own ways.

The teachers' training section of All-India Federation of Educational Associations, has, however, suggested a solution to the global problem of teachers' training. Though unwilling to lower the standards, yet it felt that there is no solution to the problem except to provide mobile training squads. Each squad for primary schools would consist of five teachers each of whom would teach one theory subject and one subject on methods. Twenty-four lectures would be offered during evenings in each subject for three months. During the day time, the teachers under training would continue their usual teaching which would be supervised for their practical training. After running the scheme for four years, a short refresher course of 6 lectures per subject would be given in the fifth, when it is expected that with added experience of 4 years they would be profited by such discussion. The total scheme would take care of not only existing teachers, but of additional hands needed for cent per cent literacy, even if two shifts proposed for primary education are not accepted, and it is estimated that the cost would be Rs.24,70,00,000 in five years to be shared between the Centre and the states.

In the secondary level, it has been proposed to arrange for a mobile squad of six teachers, each taking one theory subject and one method, while the trainees would learn only three subjects for methods. The features of the scheme should otherwise be similar. It is estimated that it will need an outlay of Rs. 10,56 00,000 in five years between the Centre and the states. The whole scheme is now before the Planning Commission.

(e) *Selected references*:

1. D'Souza and Chatterjee, *Training for Teaching in India and England;* gives the history of the progress of training college facilities of the period.

2. Hunter Commission, *Report of the Indian Secondary Education Commission,* 1882 ; gives the recommenda-

tion of the commission with regard to teacher training.

3. Ministry of Education, *Education in India,* 1956, Vol. I; gives the statistics of output and literacy percentage.

4. Ministry of Education, *Education of the Reorganized States,* 1956; gives the state-wise problem of trained and untrained teachers.

5. Mudaliar and Others, *Report of the Secondary Education Commission,* 1952-55; gives the recommendation of the commission regarding training college facilities.

6. Mukherjee, L., *A Memorandum on Likely Implications of the Problem of Teacher Education on the Third Five Year Plan Education,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 6, June, 1959; gives the details of the scheme presented by him on behalf of A. I. F. E. A. as the secretary of Teachers' Training Section.

7. Mukherjee, L., *A Suggested Scheme for Inservice of Teacher Education,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 9, Sept. 1958; gives the first idea of the scheme.

8 Mukerji, S. N., *Education in India Today and Tomorrow*; discusses some of the problems involved from another angle of vision.

9. Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in India During the British Period;* gives the historical account of the period.

10. Richney, J. A., *Selections from Educational Records,* Part II, 1840-59; gives the recommendations of Wood's Despatch and Stanley's Memorandum.

# Chapter XVI

## Problems of Adult Education

(*a*) *Slow progress in adult education.* As has been mentioned in chapter 3 the tempo of progress in adult education in the British regime had been slow. Here too the missionary societies have been pioneers. They spread education among the depressed classes especially in Madras and Nilgiris. They started education among the tribal areas in Central Provinces and Chhotanagpur. Rural reconstruction was attempted in another way by starting modern ways of farming at Mogha (Punjab), Vellore (Madras), Naini (U. P.), Ankaleshwar (Bombay), Ushagram (Bengal), Madura (Madras), and Matandum (Kerala).

Early in the century, some of the more enlightened rulers of Indian states launched a programme of literacy among the adults by starting a movement of circulating libraries following a programme of education in reading. The efforts of four states, Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore, had been remarkable. But taken as a whole, the states were generally more backward than the provinces.

With the diarchy in 1921, night schools for adults were opened in several areas, but the rate at which the progress was maintained was not likely to bring us anywhere near literacy within two centuries. Another fillip to the movement was given with the grant of provincial autonomy in 1937, but war interfered with the effort, and the advisory regimes that replaced the popular ministries in eight of the provinces were not enthusiastic about this at first. The progress of adult education in ten years, 1937 to 1947, though then considered "remarkable" in the Decennial Report, was not at all impressive. In 1937 there were 1,532 schools for men and only 15 for women. They were imparting education to 44,713 men and only 83 women. In 1947 the number of schools had increased to 5,722 for men and 371 for women and they were educating 1,71,445 men and 7,719 women in the whole of India. As a contrast to this effort we may simply give the example of Mysore where in 1947 as many as 72,592 or more than two-fifths the number given for the whole of British India were educated. Thus when India was free it was found that only 14.9 per cent of the population was literate.

Literacy was poorer among females than males. Commenting on the effort Prof. Humayun Kabir states:

"The ' adults soon became bored with the types of children's books that they were required to read." This may also be one of the reasons for the reduced tempo of progress of adult education.

The province-wise account for British India in 1947 is given in the following table which would show the amount of success achieved within ten years.

TABLE XXX

**Progress of Adult Education in 1937-1947**

| Provinces of British India only | Figures for 1937-38 | | | | Figures for 1946-47 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Schools | | Enrolment | | Schools | | Enrolment | |
| | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women |
| Assam .. .. | 3 | .. | 146 | .. | 580 | 45 | 1,390 | 903 |
| Bengal (undivided) | 703 | .. | 19,659 | .. | 447 | .. | 23,433 | .. |
| West Bengal .. | (Figures given after partition). | | | | 412 | .. | 12,256 | .. |
| Bihar .. .. | | | (No figures given) | | | | | |
| Bombay .. | 204 | 73 | 7,513 | 608 | 2,740 | 281 | 71,006 | 5,601 |
| C.P. and Berar .. | 60 | 2 | 2,036 | .. | 17 | 1 | 721 | 200 |
| Madras .. | 4 | .. | 258 | 9 | 9 | .. | 400 | .. |
| Orissa .. .. | 2 | .. | 127 | .. | (No figures given) | | | |
| Punjab (undivided) | 153 | .. | 3,892 | .. | 96 | 3 | 3,002 | 45 |
| East Punjab .. | (Post-partition figures given) | | | | 26 | 3 | 652 | 45 |
| United Provinces .. | 350 | .. | 9,885 | .. | 1,825 | 41 | 59,347 | 970 |
| Delhi .. .. | 17 | .. | 269 | .. | 7 | .. | 126 | .. |
| Other Areas .. | 12 | .. | 233 | .. | 1 | .. | 20 | .. |
| Whole of India .. | 1,532 | 75 | 44,713 | 983 | 5,617 | 371 | 1,57,918 | 7,769 |

(1947 figures for divided India only are given here)

These figures would show one that the progress as alleged was notable only in three provinces, Bombay, U. P., and Assam. It was slight in undivided Bengal and in Madras. In Punjab (undivided), Orissa, C. P., Delhi and in other areas (Coorg, Ajmer, etc.) there was actually a fall so far as facilities for male education are concerned. Slight facilities for female education were, however, provided in C. P. and Punjab.

With the advent of freedom, the problem of adult education has assumed a new significance. All the persons above the age of twenty-one were given the right to vote. Thus the adults being vested with the right to elect the representatives, both of provincial (state) and Union Governments, were the potential masters of the country. "Educate your masters" became a slogan for spreading the adult education. At the same time the experience of the previous decade showed that the adults would not like to read the books meant for children which are full of childish stories. It was therefore settled that the books for adults should contain matters of interest to the adults. They would no longer contain fairy tales, but short accounts connected with their usual occupations. It has also been decided to increase the scope of adult education which should no longer be confined to mere literacy, but should include: (*a*) Literacy, (*b*) Education for Effective Citizenship, (*c*) Education for Improving their Vocational Status, (*d*) Improvement of Health and Hygiene, (*e*) Healthy Recreations.

Some, however, feel that this extension of scope of adult education has been far from healthy. Although intended for development of the all-round personality of the adults, what is done in practice is to take away the importance of acquisition of literacy as one of the targets of adult education.

In the first Five Year Plan, a scheme was undertaken for "Intensive Educational Development in Selected Areas." In urban areas, social education was directed to relieve educated unemployment since 1953-54. By 1956, 1,078 social workers were appointed in addition to 1,956 appointed earlier. The salary and other incidental expenses were shared between the Centre and the states to the extent of half and half, and these workers were placed under district social education organizers. Four literacy workshops were opened for the training of authors in the technique of writing for neo-literate adults on a monolingual basis. For visual education, educational films were prepared which would be shown to adult education centres. A national book trust and

a library institute are being established. Besides the centres opened directly by the government, the government assistance is also available to private agencies. By 1956 the total number of centres working for adult education were 46,091; out of these 13,274 were run by the government; 740 by the local bodies; and 32,077 by private bodies subsidized by the government. They together enrolled as many as 12,78,827 adults, out of whom 11,42,926 were men and 1,35,901 were women. Compared with 1947 figures, it means that the total number of centres have increased nearly eight times. The number of men who are receiving training has also increased nearly eight times and the number of women who are receiving training is over sixteen times as much as before. But our problems are vast, the number of adults who are to be educated is nearly 9,00,00,000 males, and slightly a higher number of females. Even at the rate at which we are proceeding, it will take nearly 75 years to educate all the males and perhaps several centuries to educate all the females, in our country. We are not able to wait that long.

The state-wise position of literacy at the end of the Third Plan is given below. It includes obviously school children as well as literate adults and hence adult illiteracy is naturally higher (as the school going population increases in the lower age group). The sex-wise disparity is still noticeable:

TABLE XXXI

**State-wise Position of Literacy at the End of the 3rd Plan**

| States | % of Men literate | % of Women literate | Total% |
|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra .. | 30 | 11 | 21 |
| Assam .. .. | 35 | 14 | 26 |
| Bihar .. .. | 29 | 6 | 18 |
| Gujarat .. | 40 | 19 | 30 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 16 | 5 | 11 |
| Kerala .. .. | 55 | 38 | 46 |
| Madhya Pradesh .. | 25 | 7 | 16 |
| Madras .. | 43 | 18 | 31 |
| Maharashtra .. | 42 | 15 | 29 |
| Mysore .. | 37 | 14 | 26 |
| Orissa .. .. | 35 | 8 | 21 |
| Punjab .. | 31 | 13 | 21 |
| Rajasthan .. | 21 | 6 | 13 |
| Uttar Pradesh .. | 27 | 7 | 17 |
| West Bengal .. | 40 | 18 | 29 |
| Whole of India .. | 32 | 11 | 22 |

The block development scheme had taken up all aspects of village welfare since 1956 in certain selected areas. This included social education for adults also. But the type of education given was not so effective in spreading literacy, as the teachers lacked professional training. In 1966 in many parts of India, particularly in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, the work of blocks have been much curtailed and whatever educational efforts were there, seemed to have suffered as the first casualty of this curtailment. It is, however, gratifying that part time education for industrial workers has been taken up and in 1965 as many as 30 regional and 42 subregional centres were opened in major industrial areas to offer part time inservice education to workers. Certain voluntary agencies as the Literacy House in Lucknow, All-India Adult Education Society, Women's Education Society in Bombay and Bombay Education Society are doing good work.

Our objectives are not merely to provide literacy. Many European countries which in the last century thought this to be mere targets to be achieved, have found that they could not rest there. Just as when we reach a place where we once saw the horizons, we find the horizon receding, the same is the case with education. Our horizon is ever receding. We have to provide opportunities for those adults in whom a thirst for higher education has awakened. So far our efforts for higher education are confined to train for local leadership through four Janata colleges and a College for Research in Fundamental Education. It is time now to think of a scheme of higher education for those adults who need it on the lines of extension courses in France or evening universities of Russia.

(b) *Some inherent problems of adult education.* One essential requisite to tackle the question of adult illiteracy is to provide compulsory education to all children of school-going age. So long as we are unable to do that, our adult education will ever remain a dynamic problem for us. We are bound to get future adult illiterates from the children who are being denied education today. In fact, if many Western European countries as well as U. S. A. do not have any problems of illiterate adults today, it is not because they all launched any definite scheme for adult education, but simply because most of them had tackled the issue of compulsory education of their children seven or eight decades (or more) earlier. Illiterate adults died out, and there was no further supply of illiterates from the children.

But we cannot stay contented with only this thing. We are today much behind the race with our literacy figures somewhere round twenty-five per cent, and we have put in tremendous responsibility on the common man by extending franchise to those who are not able even to sign their names. We must also remember that one of the factors for low economic output both in agriculture and industry is ignorance, which ranks higher than poor health, and which in its turn is perhaps partly responsible for poor health. Socially, when we see the labouring classes dissipating themselves in gambling dens or drinking booths, we feel how much of this can be prevented through an intensive programme of adult education; which will teach many of them, if not all, how to use their leisure hours more profitably. From all these points of view, it is imperative that we tackle the issue of adult education, and that too immediately *in addition* to the long-term plans for providing education to each child of school-going age.

The great problem for adult education is to find out the contents of the study. The books suitable for children are as unsuitable for teaching adults as the use of methods of teaching with a rod. We have to prepare books of special interest, and these books should be prepared for every region somewhat differently, for most of the things interesting to one set of adults will be found uninteresting to another. This prevents any centrally directed literature being prepared in one common stock and translated into different languages. If the task of preparing text books be undertaken by Centre alone, it must be the result of plenty of field studies locally made in every region.

Perhaps we must add some features of vocational training to attract adults to these centres, for vocational efficiency will be one of the reasons why they would come to the centres, and to them any literacy ability that they acquire there is of supplementary interest. We must also fix in hours of study such as not to be too strenuous to the adults. An ordinary adult engaged in some occupation and burdened with family responsibilities will not be able to give more than say two hours per day to the training. This must also be so timed as to make it convenient for him to attend. While most of the agricultural people may find evenings convenient, this will not suit all the workers engaged in factories under a shift system. Those engaged in shops, etc. will also find evening times inconvenient. Thus we must not stick to one single time for all. We must provide our classes in several shifts of two hours each.

More difficult is perhaps a follow-up programme. Our task is not complete by making adults literate, and then to forget about them altogether. The few in whom a taste for higher or further education is kindled must be provided with opportunities for the same, through evening colleges or the like. As we proceed with our efforts to increase educational opportunities for our children by extending the period of compulsion from 6-11 to higher age groups, as the European and American countries are doing, we have to remember that we shall be faced with the problem of educating some adults who did not have these facilities earlier, and who would not like to lag behind for that reason. For this a scheme of further education too we are faced with exactly the same number of problems, suitable books, suitable contents and suitable time, as we had for those for whom we started our literacy programmes.

The most important single problem for adult education, and this is more peculiar to India, is to devise a suitable programme for education of women adults. Our figures show that we have always lagged behind in our efforts at educating the female adults; and this is not unexpected, when we think of our Indian situation. A more detailed consideration of this will, however, be given in the following chapter, when we shall discuss the issue of education of women. Suffice to say here that adult education programmes must take this shortcoming on our part into view and organize programmes accordingly.

(c) *A suggested scheme for adult education.* A scheme was suggested for adult education in the *Indian Journal of Adult Education* in 1955. The scheme provided a course of 312 hours' instruction to the adults to be given to adult education instead of only 100 hours as suggested by Dr. Sargent. Literacy programme would take about 132 hours or possibly 135, 72 for various branches of Social Education and about 108 periods for a Craft Education the whole thing to be arranged on a fortnightly basis rather than on weekly, the classes being suspended on *Ekadasi* or *Parewan* (eleventh or first phase of the moon). Instruction would be confined to two periods a day, and to begin with three shifts would work during forenoon, afternoon and evening.

(a) Language studies would be given for eleven periods in a fortnight: one period for 9 days, two periods on one day, no language on three days when craft is to be given a double period.

(b) Craft work would be given three single periods followed by three double periods in a fortnight.

(c) Social studies and hygiene would get the remaining six single periods left in a fortnight. Thus there will be twenty-six periods of one full hour each arranged for the fortnight. The whole programme running for twelve fortnights, an extra fortnight being off from reaping season or harvesting season, would cover a six-monthly period.

The teachers for the adult schools should be well versed with the techniques of teaching adults and should also know how to manage the libraries.

The whole area of adult education should be divided into units of 2100 illiterate adults, if fixed in a twenty-year programme, and of 1050 adults if we fix a target of ten year programme. Where the area is not sparsely populated, we should encourage multi-teacher units. The adults will have to be divided into batches of 35 and so, at the first batch as many as 105 would be trained in one unit. As soon as the first batch has been trained, arrangements should be made to keep all supplied with books from the library attached to the units and to provide them with facilities to use the reading room. In a multi-teacher unit this can be provided by lightening the teaching load of one of the teachers so that he would continue to teach only 70 adults in two shifts, and the other taking three shifts. As more and more adults get their training, teaching loads of the teachers can be made progressively lighter, and the burden of library work would increase, so that at the end of the period when the last adult has received his training, one of the teachers would turn himself into a librarian. Perhaps in a multi-teacher unit, it may be possible to have one of the teachers acting as a librarian, and the other taking charge .of further education of a few adults who may volunteer for it.

Although nothing has been said regarding administration in the said article, one may venture perhaps to make a few suggestions regarding the effective administration of such units.

It is necessary for the success of the unit to ensure local co-operation. This may be arranged by organizing an advisory council consisting of the local *panchayat*, to which later some of the alumni of the centre may be attached. The task of this advisory committee should be to ensure local support, and to arrange for extension lectures, public demonstration of audio-visual equipments or the like. It will not be burdened with the task of providing finances which it can do by some sort of local taxation only, a device which will make the whole scheme locally

unpopular. It may, however, raise contributions to foot the bill for extension programmes, etc. Social workers attached to the district, and the district social organizers will visit the schools regularly and their visit may be an occasion to provide the villagers an opportunity to get acquainted with audio-visual programmes which these organizers may carry in mobile units. These should not behave themselves as "inspectors," but may call themselves "visitors." They will of course see the working of the units, but should as far as possible settle problems with advice, guidance and free and frank discussions. They should submit reports only in case of persistent neglect. The task of organization will be mainly entrusted to district units, which will effectively manage the affairs and take such disciplinary actions as some situations may need.

The whole scheme will have to be financed by joint effort of the organizations at the state level and at the Union level. Ordinarily the share between the Centre and the states will have to be half and half. But for some backward states with limited resources to finance the scheme, the Centre should come forward to help the extent of even three-fourths, if there be a necessity.

(*d*) *Summary.* Adult education remained a neglected field throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The only efforts were being made by missionaries, but as their scheme was connected with their prosyletising activities, it did not evoke much enthusiasm. The early efforts of our national leaders were not directed to this problem either, and the result was that India remained much behind many countries. The first move for adult education was made in the four Indian states: Baroda, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Interest in British India was awakened as a result of their success, and perhaps partially on hearing the reports of similar success achieved in Japan and in other countries.

Organized efforts to spread literacy started with the diarchy, when some night schools were subsidized by the government, and a few libraries were opened. The initial success achieved was poor during the first fifteen years. More organized efforts were made since 1937, but the war intervened. True, there was some progress, but the progress was marked in only three provinces, while in a few there was some deterioration. One of the experiences gained by this was, however, valuable, that books suitable for children would be of little use and interest to the adults.

After freedom, there is an eight-fold increase both in the number of schools, and in the number of male adults made literate. Literacy in females increased sixteen times,

though compared with the males only about one-eighth as many females were receiving education in 1956. The scope of education of the adults has been increased by the introduction of several features, the most notable among which are:

(1) Introduction of a five-point scheme for social education which includes besides literacy, education for citizenship, vocational education, health education and recreation; (2) preparation of suitable literature for adults and of provision of libraries; (3) initiation of Janata college and research centre to train workers; (4) preparation of film strips; (5)at the administrative level the programme is to be conducted through village social workers working under district officers. Though there is likely to be a number of centres organized by the government, such agencies as are working under private organizations are larger in number at the initial stage.

While we have made some progress, we should not be complacent, for the rate at which we are proceeding will still take decades to complete the programme. There are five basic points to be considered with the scheme which we must clearly understand:

(1) Any programme of adult education without a programme for providing compulsory education at the school level will keep the issue ever dynamic.

(2) Adult education programme must not, however, be left to the future on that account, because of its urgent social, political and economic need.

(3) Books must be suitable for the adults, and these have to be drawn up after a field study of local interest.

(4) Some features of vocational training should be included in the programme to evoke interest, time must be arranged shift-wise to suit all.

(5) A follow-up programme should include further education.

A scheme is suggested for provision of this unit-wise, where the education is to be given in three shifts of two hours each, the maximum time an adult can perhaps afford. Each unit will have also a scheme of library to provide further training. The programme of regular instruction will include literacy, social education and vocational training.

The control of the body will be left to district units, the local co-operation being sought for extension work.

The scheme is to be financed by the states and Centre on a fifty-fifty basis, more Central assistance for backward areas.

(e) *Selected references*: .....

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2. Government of India, *Education in India,* 1956, Vol. I; gives some valuable statistical details for 1956.
3. Kabir, Humayun, *Education and New India;* gives a chapter on social education useful for the study.
4. Mukherjee , L., *The Problem of Adult Education in India: Indian Journal of Adult Education,* Dec. 1955; gives the details of the proposed scheme in a more developed form.
5. Mukherjee, L., *Role of the State in the Organization of Education in India;* gives an outline of the scheme proposed.
6. Mukherjee, S. N., *Administration of Education in India,* chapter 12 on social education written by Shri Sohan Singh; gives a tabulated position of literacy.
7. Sidhanta, N. K., Mukherjee, L., and Jauhari, H. S., *Adult Education in India and Abroad;* gives some of the details of the work before 1950.
8. Styler, W. E., *Adult Education in India,* published in 1966; gives a critical survey of adult education in India.

# Chapter XVII

## Problems of Education of Women in India

(*a*) *Education of women, a neglected feature in India before independence.* As has been stated in chapter 3 education of women has been a neglected feature in the past. We do not know very well what had been the exact condition in the early *vedic* period, though it is commonly believed that women were given the same type of education as men in those days. In the *sutra* period there is mention of a few enlightened women but as they were all daughters or wives of eminent scholars themselves, it is very difficult to say whether there was any organized effort for female education. Some of the courtesans in the early Buddhist age, it appears, were educated, but that does not by itself signify that there was a general effort for female education in those days. In fact there is reason to believe that perhaps their education sometimes attracted eminent scholars to their houses, a fact which if proved, would mean that the general level of education among ladies of rank and respectability was rather poor. The credit goes to the Buddhists to make an organized effort for female education in *vihars,* where Buddhist nuns or *bhikshunis* lived. Perhaps as a counter-measure, there was an effort for female education among the Hindus of the period, as proved by the single incidence of Malvika receiving education under a residential system. When Hinduism revived again, all efforts to spread female education seem to have been discouraged, as Sankaracharya the leader of the revival movement was opposed to it. Though among the Muslims, there was some effort for female education in the *mukhtabs,* Muslims as a rule were opposed to higher education of the females. The Hindus at that time started the practice of early marriage as a measure of social protection, and this as well as the *purdah* system practised by the Hindus and Muslims alike was acting detrimentally to any organized efforts for female education. That some of the ladies of rank in the royal or imperial places were, however, educated, there is definite proof, from the records they have left. This is true not only of Mughal princesses, but a few of the Bahamani princesses and of Meerabai in Mewar, but in all cases it seems they received education through especially engaged tutors. The militant Marhattas were offering help towards the spread of education among the males, but we get no evidence of spread of female education among the race which

has produced a few examples of ladies who had been successful organizers or administrators like Jijibai, the mother of Shivaji; Tarabai, his daughter in law; Ahalya Bai, a ruler of Indore; and Laxmi Bai, of Jhansi of a later age.

Munro's account of schools in Madras and Adam's description of schools in Bengal, were mostly primary schools where males only read. The pioneers in the movement to spread female education in the British period were the Christian missionaries. Up to 1849 it seems that except in Bombay, where the Deccan Education Society made some efforts, and a few seminaries at Calcutta of a more secular nature, almost the entire field of women's education was monopolized by missionary organizations, but many parents were reluctant to send their girls, being afraid of the proselytising influences. While this prevented spread of female education among the more enlightened families in the large cities, among the more conservative population of the cities and the entire population of the villages, any effort for spreading female education was ridiculed.

It was in 1849 that the first school of a secular nature to provide English education was offered through the efforts of the then law member of the Governor General's Council, Bethune. It was therefore named after him. (The universities were, however, reluctant to allow ladies to appear as candidates in the examination at first.) Permission to appear in the entrance examination was refused to a Parsee girl in Bombay in 1857, and to a Christian girl by the Calcutta University in 1858. In spite of the fact that female education thus virtually led to a blind alley, (there were in 1871 as many as 134 secondary and 1,790 primary schools all over India. The banon appearing as candidates in the entrance examination was removed by the Calcutta University in 1877, and in the next year Bethune School became a college.) The Madras University, it seems had removed the ban earlier, for (the first girls' college in Madras Presidency was opened in 1876.) The Bombay University was last to remove this ban, which it did after the publication of the Hunter Report in 1883. (The same year, the Maharashtra Female Education Society was formed which has the distinction of opening a university exclusively for females in 1916 through the efforts of Dr. Karve.)

In spite of Hunter Commission's recommendations for suitable provision for female education and for the inclusion of Domestic Science as one of the subjects for examination, it seems that (the progress was not rapid for by 1902 the number of colleges was 12, the number of high schools was 467, and the number of primary schools was 5,628.

Compared with the figures for 1882 for colleges, and of 1871 for schools, this may appear high; but if we compare the corresponding progress for boys' schools, the difference will be significant. In 1902 as we have seen there were as many as 156 colleges and 4,761 high schools for the boys in India including states. Which means 13 times as much facilities for higher education and ten times as much facilities for secondary education available to the boys as there were for the girls in 1902. Partly due to want of encouragement, and partly due to conservative hostility towards girls' education, female education lagged much behind that of the males and in 1892 it was found that while 13 per cent of the males were literate the literacy figures among the females was only 0.7 per cent.

(Between 1902 to 1927 there was a steady rise in the facilities for female education,) and as has been said in 1916, a university was opened at Poona exclusively for females though its degrees were not officially recognized till recently. (The enrolment in 1922 was nearly three times that in 1902, and it was seen that year that the literacy figures of the males had increased to 14.4 per cent and that of the females to 2.0 per cent.)

From 1927 many of the primary schools became co-educational, and hence there was an apparent fall in the number of primary institutions. The enrolment, however, increased. Between 1937-1947 there was a marked social change, due to a more accepted position of females in society, partly as a result of passing legislations like Sarda Act, and the rise in the age of marriages due to it, and due to economic position of the land which tended late marriages There were two other factors also which hastened the change, one was increased participation of women in the struggle for freedom which enhanced their prestige in society, and the other was war conditions which prompted many women to take up services. All these were factors that would encourage female literacy, and we can see the effect of this by studying the comparative tables for 1937 and 1947.

TABLE XXXII

| Types of institutions | Figures for 1937 | | Figures for 1947 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of institutions | Enrolment of pupils | Number of institutions | Enrolment of pupils |
| Primary | 30,999 | 14,86,887 | 22,479 | 16,12,263 |
| Secondary high schools | 398 | 1,08,660 | 725 | 2,32,136 |
| Higher education; Colleges | 32 | 14,435 | 59 | 24,466 |

That co education was prevalent in all states is evident from the figures of 1947, for the enrolment in institutions for girls was considerably lower than the total enrolment for girls. In 1937, 12,01,817 girls studied in primary schools for girls which means that over 25 per cent studied in girls' schools. The enrolment of girls in high schools for girls was 1,82,752 which means nearly 22 per cent girls studied in high schools for boys. The centres for higher education for boys were really co-educational and only 7,105 girls studied in colleges exclusively meant for girls, and a large majority were in co-educational boys' colleges and universities.

(b) *Progress of education since independence.* After independence, the constitution provided absolute equality between the sexes, and threw the gates open for almost every branch of service to the women, except the fighting forces. The appointment of a lady as the governor in one of the large provinces showed that our progress in this field was at least more spectacular than in U. S. A. where so far no woman has been made a governor. A lady was appointed in the Central cabinet as the Minister of Health. Today too, the Prime Minister of India as well as the most important personality in Madhya Pradesh assembly, are ladies while till recently both the governor of West Bengal and the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh were ladies. As for cabinet ministers both in the Centre and in States quite a number of ladies have been appointed. This encouragement added to the practice of late marriages, has definitely helped the progress of female education. The progress will perhaps be better understood by studying the following table, which gives the figures for 1956 (not 1955 as in chapter 3):

TABLE XXIII

**Position of Women's Education in 1956**

| Types of institutions | Enrolment of girls in boys' institutions | Enrolment of girls in girls' institutions | Total enrolment of girls | No. of girls' institutions |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primary .. | 55,23,719 | 14,49,642 | 69,73,361 | 15,230 |
| Secondary .. | 7,52,010 | 11,18,016 | 70,026 | 1,583 |
| Higher education (general) .. | 44,285 | 39,144 | 3,429 | 105 |
| Higher education Professional course .. | 8,187 | 4,555 | 12,742 | 24 |

The figures show a marked rapid increase in the facilities for girls' education at different stages. The high percentage of enrolment of girls in co-educational or boys' institutions does not, however, show a trend in favour of common education among the people of the country, but rather a lack of facilities for separate institutions for girls in several states, which compels many parents to send their girls to boys' institutions.

That the facilities offered to the girls still lag behind that offered to the boys at every stage is clear from the following table which gives the figures for 1956:

TABLE XXXIV

**Relative Enrolment of Boys and Girls in 1956**

| Types of institutions | Boys | | Girls | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of institutions | Enrolment of boys | Number of institutions | Enrolment of girls |
| Primary .. | 2,62,905 | 1,70,24,645 | 15,230 | 69,73,361 |
| Secondary .. | 9,255 | 54,86,534 | 1,583 | 18,70,026 |
| Higher : General courses .. | 641 | 4,90,537 | 105 | 83,429 |
| Higher : Professional courses .. | 322 | 81,156 | 24 | 12,742 |

In the list given above, special courses are omitted, the professional courses offered are sometimes in the general colleges or universities, where the courses are offered from separate faculties or departments rather than full-fledged institutions. There is a slight over-lap of the students owing to the fact that the same student offering M. A. and Law is counted twice. But the trend is clear. Even in the primary stage the number of girls enrolled form about 29 per cent of the student population, or the ratio of girls to boys is 2:5. At the secondary stage girls form less than 25 per cent, or the ratio is 1:4. In the general courses of higher education there are hardly 14.5 per cent girls, or the ratio of girls to boys is 1:6. In the professional courses, girls form nearly 13 per cent with a ratio nearly 1:7.

The slow pace at which female education is proceeding is perhaps more evident in the sphere of adult education. We have seen in chapter 16, the number of females that are receiving education is 1,35,901 while the number of males receiving education is 11,42,926. The ratio for female to male is 2:17.

Recently the Government of India have appointed a Council of Women's Education to devise ways and means as to how the tempo of female education can be increased. We cannot think of providing educational facilities of one sex without thinking of the other. We have especially to remember that it is from the mother that the child is to get his early education and the success of the future nation depends largely to the extent to which we are able to spread education to the future mothers of the nation. Moreover as men and women have to take their place in a democratic country, it is essential that the benefits of education should be distributed equally to both.

(d) *Some basic problems of the education of women in India.* One great difficulty which is responsible for the facilities of female education lagging behind that of the male population is that the idea of the urgency of this problem is not yet realized in many households. The general feeling is that afterall marriage is the best career for the woman, and her right place is the home. But it is not realized that in order to make the home efficient, in order that the children may be allowed to develop properly, it is necessary to have a certain amount of education. Then we must also remember that in the profession also there is need for larger number of women to come and play their part, and that these would consist of women, some of whom would be married, others unmarried.

A great difficulty that is witnessed is to find the large number of lady teachers to run the girls' institutions. The argument in favour of spreading female education runs in a vicious circle: unless we can provide enough lady teachers, we cannot educate a large number of girls; and unless we are able to spread female education, we cannot get lady teachers for our institutions. What to speak of girls' institutions, it is desirable that at least in the primary stage, in boys' institutions too education will improve, if the lower classes are left in charge of ladies. But while in U. S. A. the number of lady teachers in elementary schools is roughly 87 per cent. in U. S. S. R. it is 67 per cent, in India in 1956 the male teachers numbered 5.74,182 and the lady teachers less than one-fourth their number, namely, 1,17,067. In the secondary schools,

the number of men teachers in 1956 was 2,79,259; the number of lady teachers was about one-fifth their strength. namely, 58,929. The disparity in higher education is still great, namely, while there were 33,907 men teachers in the universities and colleges. the number of lady teachers was nearly one-ninth, being 3,958 in 1956.

The problem becomes more acute when we think of the distribution. As a general rule, more lady teachers of all stages are found in urban and fewer in rural areas, but the need is certainly greater in the rural areas than in the former. At the primary level Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan have fewer lady teachers than the all-India average, which is itself quite low. At the secondary level Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and Rajasthan fall below the all-India average. In the field of higher education, Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh. West Bengal, Mysore and Rajasthan fall below the all-India average. Thus our average, low as it is, suffers from one further drawback, that the dearth of lady teachers is more keenly felt in the more populous areas of North-Eastern and Central part, namely, the states in the Ganges Valley and central states of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

One great problem with us in the past had been the rather unhappy experience of getting the lady teacher to serve in the schools only during the period of her forced spinsterhood. This meant that as soon as she was married her experience, her education and the skill that she acquired in her work was lost to the schools. It was, however, some consolation that she might have used them in bringing up her own children. But this meant a severe setback and uncertainty in the girls schools, for nobody knew when one would get married, and leave the profession. Now many married lady teachers are working. This however, entails several problems of its own, namely:

(1) Such teachers would work only in such places as their husbands work. and in case the former gets transferred. the latter would also like to get a transfer. This upsets the work considerably.

(2) Lady teachers who are married must be given maternity leave from time to time, for which few schools have reserve arrangements.

(3) As the husbands of lady teachers are generally employees in firms or are government servants or are professionals, they live mostly in towns. This will make a

surplus of available lady teachers in towns and a shortage in villages.

(4) As they have to look after their children too, which is their primary responsibility, and to look after their households, they cannot give their full time to school work.

Some of these problems may be solved, if we adopt the practice of appointing part-time lady teachers, with full service security as whole-time ones, though with a lower scale of pay. In many places two part-time teachers may be available, where it is difficult to find one whole-time teacher, on account of the rigour of conditions imposed for whole timers. Such teachers can so divide their responsibilities, that they can take care of their homes, and yet teach for three hours in schools.

This would not, however, solve the problem of shortage of lady teachers in the rural areas. One way to solve that problem is to engage both husband and wife in the teaching work, provided the wife is competent to be a teacher. Surely we cannot make it a condition at the time of appointment of a bachelor or a spinster to the teaching profession that he or she should marry a teacher, but we can encourage the practice, and perhaps employ the wife of a trained teacher provided she answers to the qualification of general education, even if she be untrained, and get her trained through the process of inservice training by mobile squads as suggested in chapter 16.

The same system if adopted for adult education teachers, may prove helpful, as we may get workers to carry on the programme of adult education among the females.

But our problem of spreading female education will not be solved simply by getting teachers. We must make the contents of this education acceptable also. Women need some education in Domestic or Home Science. This has been pointed out not only by Hunter Commission, but Mudaliar Commission while advocating that, "every type of education open to men should also be open to women" was forced to admit, "if greater attention is given to Home Science, with special emphasis on practical work of everyday needs and problems, it will help to bridge the gulf between the school and the life of the home and the community, and be a better preparation for a girl's life after school, in which home making will necessarily play an important part. An educated girl who cannot run her home smoothly and efficiently, within her resources, can make no worthwhile contribution to the happiness and well-being of her family, or to raising the social standards in her country."

If Home Science or Domestic Science be made a compulsory subject for the girls, it will naturally have two consequences, in the first place, it will mean compulsory appointment of one matronly lady teacher in a co-educational institution, a thing which is an absolute necessity, when there are girls studying in these institutions.

Another administrative change that will be necessary in such cases is the fact that with Home Science or Domestic Science as a compulsory subject for studies (for which graded syllabus will have to be made), there must be some change in the general syllabus for the girls. The girls may be required to drop in one subject perhaps from the list of compulsory or optional subjects offered by the boys at every stage. The other alternative will be to offer the same number of subjects as the boys (with Home Science as an additional burden) but to make the contents of each somewhat lighter. The latter may be more desirable in many ways, but its adoption will mean setting two types of "standards" for evaluation and teaching, separate courses for boys and girls, and this will make co-education impossible. Co-education is a dire necessity in places where separate arrangements for instruction for girls is not otherwise available, it is after all serving some useful purpose towards the spread of female education, and it will not be wise to strike at its root, until we have made some definite alternative arrangements.

Some of these suggestions may prove helpful in increasing the tempo of the progress of female education and may help the womenfolk in India to take their rightful place in the social economic life of the nation as mothers, as wives and as daughters.

(*d*) *Summary.* A study of the history of female education shows that it has been ever neglected in our country as a regular organized feature, except for a short time during the Buddhist period. It is to the Christian Missions that the credit for pioneering this in modern ages should be given. But as their efforts were somewhat tainted with their proselytising activities, they did not get many entrants to their schools. Nevertheless, their efforts drew the attention of the people to the dire need of female education, and to the social injustice that was being perpetuated in keeping the womenfolk in the dark. Credit should also be given to the contact of the western civilization which emancipated women, and showed the progressive section of the Indians what should be done to spread female education. At the outset, female education could be spread only with difficulty, for want of teachers and also

because of social opposition. Even universities refused to allow girls to sit for entrance examination for a time.

While the facilities for female education increased steadily throughout the twentieth century, the tempo was greater between 1921 and 1937, so far as primary education is concerned. Owing to the policy of opening common institutions rather than separate ones for girls, not only was the number of institutions for girls at the primary stage reduced, but the rate of progress was somewhat slowed down, no doubt due to reluctance of some parents to send even their younger girls to co-educational primary schools. Meanwhile social reforms, political conditions as well as economic structure of the country was passing through rapid changes, and these all favoured the progress of secondary and higher education among the females, and the decade between 1937 and 1947 showed not only an increased enrolment, but also increased facilities with larger number of institutions opened for them.

The absolute equality of opportunity provided for independence not only in theory in the pages of the constitution, but also in practice by opening some of the highest jobs for women, had its natural effects in increased tempo of progress of female education in India. Enrolments and institutions increased (enrolments had increased over four times in primary, over eight times in secondary and nearly five times in higher within nine years), but quite a number of girls were compelled to read in boys' institutions even in secondary, as separate facilities were not available. The disparity in educational opportunities for boys and girls, though not so sharp as in earlier years, still continues. There are nearly two and a half times as many boys as there are girls receiving primary education. As we go higher up in age group, the disparity increases, for there are three times as many boys receiving secondary education as there are girls. For university and college education the number of boys is six times that of girls. For adult education the ratio is 2:17.

While the Government of India have appointed a Council of Women's Education, it is felt that some positive steps should be taken for spreading female education.

The main difficulties are:

(1) Lack of a feeling of urgency that still persists in the minds of some, for which intensive propaganda is needed to remove the same.

(2) Lack of suitable number of lady teachers for the job. The problem was perhaps more acute in the past, when more lady teachers used to leave their jobs after

marriage. Now there are more married lady teachers available, but they have brought in problems of their own, owing to the divided responsibilities that they are bound to bear for their homes and schools. Perhaps this problem may be eased, if sometimes part-time teachers be required to share responsibilities, in which case more teachers might be available.

(3) Dearth of teachers in rural areas. This can be solved by encouraging the appointment of wives of teachers if they are educationally qualified along with their husbands and providing inservice training facilities for them.

(4) Enrichment of the curriculum for girls, by making a graded course of Home Science compulsory. The girls may be compensated for this extra subject, either by reducing the number of subjects they have to offer by one, or by making the courses of such subjects lighter. The former will be better from an administrative point of view.

By adoption of all these methods at the same time, we can hope to increase the tempo of the spread of female education in our country, and maintain a uniform rate of progress of education among the girls and boys.

(e) *Selected references:*

1. Government of India, *Annual Reports—Education in India*, 1955-56, Vol. I; gives the valuable statistics for the progress made up to 1956.
2. Government of India, *General Educational Tables for India*, 1946-47; gives certain statistics useful to study the condition in 1947.
3. Government of India, *Progress of Education in India: Decennial Review*, Vol. I, 1937-47; gives the spread of facilities between 1937-1947.
4. Mudaliar and Others, *Report of the Secondary Education Commission;* gives the recommendation of the commission for the spread of female education.
5. Mukherjee, L., *An Article On the Progress of Education Under the East India Company*, published in Shiksha of Calcutta (in Bengali) in Nov. 1945, throws some light on the historical background.
6. Mukherji, S. N., *History of Education in India: Modern Period;* its study may prove useful in getting an historical background of the progress of female education up to 1954.
7. Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in British India*. Its study may prove useful to the study of the progress of female education during the British period.

# Chapter XVIII

## Administrative Reforms Necessary in Solving the Problems

(*a*) *Suggested administrative reforms at the Central level.* We have discussed the problems from two levels, on at the level of administrative machinery, and the other at the functional end, the various fields of educational efforts. Our object in doing so has been to find out what practical ways are available for us to reform, or if necessary to extend the scope of administrative machinery to meet the needs of the levels of educational efforts. However objectively may one try to arrive at his conclusions, the suggestions at this level are bound to be personal, and tainted with a certain amount of subjectivity which no individual can escape, but because of this no author should shirk his responsibility in giving them.

We have seen in chapter 4 the advantages and disadvantages of a centralized administration, and have also noticed that under the present conditions, a certain amount of centralization is inevitable. To extend the principle of equality of opportunities to all areas, it is necessay for the Centre to offer help to the backward areas, on a scale more lavish than areas which can manage their problems with less help. To prevent wastage of the taxpayer's money, however. the Central authorities must scrutinize the demand and audit the expenditure, and these very acts would involve a certain amount of control. There should therefore be certain areas which should not be entirely at the state level, but within the sphere of concurrent responsibility of the Centre and the state, the share should ordinarily be on a half and half basis, with more liberal Central allotment for backward areas with limited resources. At present there are certain spheres under concurrent list, but this has to be revised in the light of our present experience of finding out the areas, where a difference of opportunity exists owing to the fact that resources of states are inadequate because of the comparative inelastic sources of state revenues. Again these are the areas that touch the people most and hence need pooling of resources of all agencies, Centre as well as the states. These are the fields of compulsory primary education and social education for the adults. The actual administration should be left to the states to manage, perhaps to a large extent transferred to local units, but it is for the

Centre to assume a portion of financial burden and when that is assumed, it is consequential, that the Central agency will have certain powers to scrutinize the accounts.

Another field of joint responsibility will be for vocational education. This is not really the technical education but the administration of secondary vocational schools, as suggested in chapter 12, would need a certain amount of co-ordination and planning, which is possible only when a central agency steps in. This necessitates the formation of a Central Vocational Council consisting of the representatives of Central and the state governments to assume the responsibility of framing policies.

The present absolute responsibility of the Centre with respect to the educational organization of centrally administered areas will continue to remain with the Centre, but for efficient working of this, it may perhaps be thought expedient to appoint a small advisory council consisting of one official representative from each of the educational units of these areas (*i.e.*, one from Delhi, one from Himachal Pradesh, one from Tripura, one from Manipur and NEFA as a unit, jointly or alternately, and one from other areas on a principle of rotation) two educational officers from the Centre and at least two non-official educationists nominated by the president.

The administration of research units as well as a few centrally managed institutions will have to be under the direct responsibility of the Centre. It would be good, if the educational responsibility of the institutions of defence units and other areas are brought under the responsibility of the Central Ministry of Education. It does not mean that the technical expert service will not be available to these categories of institutions. In fact that is highly necessary and must be ensured. But such officers may come under deputation to the Ministry of Education, while they are giving quasi-technical type of training. Only purely technical and inservice training facilities inside the department may be left with the departmental authorities. But wherever the technical training has to be somewhat broad-based, its administration should be under the department of education, with experts deputed to work under it.

Two areas which must be brought under the exclusive control of the Centre are technical education (apart from vocational education at the secondary level which has already been discussed) and the university education. As for technical education, the problem is really an all-India one, and must be tackled taking India as one unit. This will prevent the narrow local outlook that some of the

institutions are taking. The all-India Council of Technical Education should assume more powers to initiate policies and to take the more responsible role for administration. It will have the power to invite co-operation of other departments, Central or state, from which expert teachers may be borrowed at an all-India level on deputation. A certain amount of state participation may be necessary at the initial stage for adjustment, but the role that the state governments will play will be of a more limited nature, as opposed to the work in the all-India Council of Vocational Education, organized more or less on a federal basis, with limited Central participation for vocational secondary schools.

It is highly desirable under the present circumstances that all universities should be centrally managed rather than a few Central and many state universities, and the present divided and concurrent responsibility in this area. We have seen in chapter 10 how this has involved not only an unnecessary duplication of the Central University Grants Commission and state grants committees, but also what is still more undesirable, in different universities taking up different language policies which will ultimately result in a cultural fragmentation of India. It is highly desirable that there should be some unity at least at the highest level of education, and this can be ensured only when the Central agency assumes the ultimate responsibility for higher education, which has so far been left mainly to the states.

The universities in India will have to be of diverse types, for we cannot in the near future anticipate all places of higher education to be unitary teaching universities. Nor will it be desirable to give the colleges power to grant their own degrees. Purely examining universities will have to go, as it is inconsistent with the idea of a university being a centre of higher education and research. The present purely examining universities may be required to attach to themselves certain teaching or research units. This will thus mean three types of universities, those which are purely residential, those which are organized on a federal basis, and those which have a unitary teaching unit acting as a core with a number of colleges affiliated to the core. Basically then the problem resolves itself into two, namely, the administration of the teaching unit and that of the unit in which the university performs a mere examining function. In the residential and purely federal universities only the first exists ; while when a unitary or a federal university has affiliated units attached to it, it has a double role to perform. It is necessary that the two roles must

be clearly understood and the functions be clearly defined.

It is desirable that at least for the teaching units of the university, more emphasis be given to day-to-day work than merely to assess students through one examination taken at the end of the year. Perhaps this may be extended to affiliate units also. There is some apprehension that the way in which affiliated institutions are constituted, they may make their awards more liberal. This apprehension will be reduced, provided we carry out the much needed reform of conducting separate examinations for the internal and external side, and thus there will be two kinds of certificates or degrees issued for the internal and external sides. This would, on one hand, reduce the anxiety of the teaching side of their standards being lowered by the external side, and remove the apprehension that external side has of favouritism in the internal. Day-to-day awards will improve the discipline also, and make a student diligent in his work from the beginning of the session. As many of the universities have already tutorial periods, the same may be used as the starting point for periodic tests and essays, for this award.

One great problem of the universities is the presence of the teacher politician who often works with a political group. If the administrative posts are elective, these tendencies are increased, while if they are selective, then the aspirants are likely to neglect their teaching work to seek favours from the persons in power. Some universities are trying the principle of rotation, but this sometimes means that by the time a new entrant gains the necessary experience, his term is over. If on the other hand the term is kept long, many will not get a chance. Perhaps a more effective remedy may be to take away from the individual universities the patronage that the administrative posts hold and give it to a collective body.

There are three ways in which a person can possibly exercise his patronage in the university: Firstly, he may show his favours by prescribing books of his friends rather than prescribing books of others, so that when these books are sold in very large numbers, his friends may be benefited. Fortunately, this does not exist, at least in case of our universities, whch are still prescribing only standard books mostly of foreign authors. Secondly, he may exercise his patronage by appointing his friends only, in university posts, and this helps him further by making his party strong. To avoid this malpractice, the universities have adopted the system of taking the advice of experts, but that does not minimize the evil, for these experts are themselves nominated by the very

persons of influence, and this system has given the persons in power an additional opportunity in appointing examiners for examination is a remunerative job, and this patronage can be used both for the appointment of internal and external examiners. Luckily, both these functions can be performed by a central authority which can take upon itself the task of maintaining a register of competent persons on all-India basis, both for appointment of an expert and for appointment of examiners. Yet it will not be a good practice to leave this to the Central Ministry of Education. Perhaps under the circumstances it will be better to follow the practice of ancient India where the organization itself prepared its co-ordinating and controlling body in the shape of *parishads* and *charanas*. There exists today a body composed of the university representatives themselves called the Inter University Board. This body can take upon itself the responsibility of maintaining a register for a panel of experts for every department of the university and allot the sphere of these experts to different universities, maintaining a system of rotation to prevent a sort of perpetuity which creates sort of vested interests. In the same way, this body may maintain a list of competent persons who can be appointed as examiners, both internal and external, and for both the teaching and affiliating units of the universities. Perhaps it will be better to employ the method used by certain universities like Punjab and Calcutta in appointing two persons as examiners to each paper, one internal and the other external, and let each script be examined independently by both the examiners. This will reduce the element of subjectivity that remains in examinations. If these suggestions are accepted, it will remove the allegations of corruptions that are laid against the universities by their critics, and it is in the interest of the universities themselves to submit to these charges, for that does not mean an admission that corruption or abuse of power exists, but this will make the portals of higher knowledge unimpeachable.

Another reform that the Centre should do is to provide for more liberal grants-in-aid to the universities through the University Grants Commission, so that the universities may not be compelled to be dependent on fees paid by the students, so that more liberal award of scholarships may be provided for poor and meritorious students, so that the staff of the universities and the colleges be strengthened and so that more stipendiary research fellowships may be provided in the universities.

(b) *Suggested administrative reforms at the state level.* The suggestions given above requiring the Centre to play its part in the educational sphere more effectively than before, does not mean that the work and responsibility at the state level will be reduced. In fact the burden at the Central level is increased in order that at the state level more attention may be paid for effective organizational work with greater financial resources available to it through Central co-operation. In the first place the entire responsibility for financing and administration of academic secondary institutions will remain at the state level as its exclusive concern. In this, the state has to see how the institutions can work smoothly. Perhaps the state may perform this work through the boards of secondary education which would not only lay down the curriculum and conduct examinations, but also control the grants given to the schools and the inspecting agency. In fact they should be vested with the same powers as it was proposed to give them by the Sadler Commission. The state secondary board of education should thus have several wings or departments, one to lay down curriculum and conduct examinations, another to look after the financial side and the third administrative side. The members of the board should be whole-time officers or educationists of unimpeachable record who may be selected on the same terms as the members of the Public Service Commission. It will not be difficult to find such persons from either the secondary education level or from the level of higher education, and such persons should serve only for a period of six years at a time. This procedure would remove the vested interests that are sometimes created in the secondary education boards, and also eliminate too much officialdom, which appears when the effective control is through the secretariat. Care should be taken in the appointment of such persons who would have to perform the double role of Secondary Grants Commission and Inter School Board, and also to control the inspectorate. The ex-officio nominees to the board should be the director of education and a finance secretary, one acting as the secretary of the administrative wing and the other of the financial wing, the secretary of the examination wing being appointed by the board itself from among the educational officers of the state.

To remove the undue importance of the examinations, it may be desirable to allot marks for day-to-day work at the secondary level also. But this is possible only when the schools themselves are liberally subsidized by grants so that they are not to depend on the enrolment, and

fees. If the present system of financial arrangement continues, it is feared that most of the schools will try to abuse this authority for increased enrolment. It is desirable that a system of day-to-day evaluation is made, however, but for this as a prerequisite it is necessary to ensure that the state assistance to the schools is increased. If secondary education cannot be made entirely free as in American common high schools or British modern schools, are it should not depend on the fees to that extent as it does now, in complete negation to the principle of equality of opportunities.

It must be borne in mind that it is not the School Leaving Certificate examination alone that is to be entrusted to the boards, but if it is desired to drift a large number of students to more practical courses, it is equally necessary that this drifting be done on some basis of evaluation of their intelligence and aptitudes besides an examination of heir school records. This presupposes preparation of some sort of standardized tests, which should be prepared by a fourth wing of the board called the psychological wing which must consist of experts in test making, and should function as a psychological bureau. Its officials should have a longer tenure of office to be able to contribute something substantial, but its control should be vested with the Board of Secondary Education

Although the Centre will appoint a Board of Vocational Education, yet it will merely lay down the policy, the actual administration of the vocational education should rest with the state Board of Vocational (not technical) Education which will be constituted on the same lines as the state Board of Secondary Education, if the suggestion of having practical courses for secondary education as explained in chapter 2 be adopted. This board will have four wings, the three wings of evaluation (curriculum and examination), finance and administration being common. The fourth wing will be called planning and research wing which will have an eye to the future market, and adjust the type of workshops accordingly. It is necessary for after a time we may find that working in an unplanned way we might have put in more students on a line of vocation far in excess of market demands, and have neglected some vocations for which there may be demand.

The two fields where the Centre and the states are suggested to have concurrent responsibility are those of primary education and social education of the adults. In both these, the work itself will have to be done more at the level of local units than at the state level, but the

state must have a board which will lay down the policy and will also appoint the inspecting agency. Thus two state boards are necessary or the work may be entrusted to a single board of fundamental education at least in smaller states which may have two wings, one for fundamental education of the adults, and the other for compulsory education of the children. Each wing will be entrusted to prepare its own curriculum of studies and also supervize the administration at the district level. A third wing will look into the financial side and a fourth wing called bureau of text book preparation may prepare text books both for children and for adults, though it is necessary that the contents and approach of the two being so different, the bureau itself should be subdivided into two wings, each wing doing its job separately.

At the state level, it is necessary also to appoint a board of women's education, to look after the problem of women's education and to suggest ways and means to improve the same. This board will work in close co-operation with the three other boards, its three wings thus being the wing for secondary academic schools, secondary vocational schools and fundamental education. Each wing will be engaged in revising the contents of the curriculum for the girls, and also for planning and devising ways and means so that educational facilities may be available to the women at these stages. The board will have to work in close co-operation with the all-India Board of Women's Education whose function would be, firstly to maintain a uniform policy at the state level, and secondly to advise the areas especially entrusted to the Centre, namely, universities, research institutes and technical (as opposed to vocational) education.

It is necessary to say something about the inspectorate. The term is used to bear a similarity of the present connotation so as not to be misunderstood. It will be more desirable perhaps to have two sets of inspectors, one set may be called circle educational administrators who would work under the boards and administer the grants-in-aid and assume the role of administrative control which are at present under the inspectors. Technically, however, they must remain subordinate to the director who has to exercise his authority in the role of the secretary of the administrative unit of the board. If the work becomes too heavy, the director will have his assistants, one in vocational board, the other in the board of fundamental education and the third, a lady, in the board of women's education. The administrators may have likewise his assistants for each branch, if the circle be large and unmanageable. It is, however,

desirable that he should have at least a lady to assist him in the administration of girls' schools in his circle in any case. If private agency is permitted to function in the field of education as it does at present, then it may perhaps be necessary to have an assistant to the administrator whose job will be to look into appointments, disciplinary actions and dismissal made by the private agency, for the squabbles between the managements and teachers will be so common. Another and a better alternative will, however, be to leave this to the district educational boards as described later.

The educational administrators should be different persons from those who would visit the schools to look into the studies in the schools. These should be termed educational advisers, and there must be one adviser for each group of allied subjects, like Mathematics and Science, if not for each subject. They would be expected to visit schools and supervise the studies, not merely look into written exercises. Their visits should be more frequent than those of the present inspectors. In each case, if they find it necessary to comment, they would first discuss the issues with the teachers concerned, either individually or with groups of teachers teaching the same subject at different levels in the schools, in presence of the head of the institution if necessary. The first instance of defects observed will not entail any report being written, but if on a second visit the defects have not been rectified, or no attempt is being made for rectification, a report may be made to the circle administrators. A uniform policy should be observed in the manner of recruitment of circle administrators and educational advisers in different states, settled at the Central Advisory Board of Education. For circle administrators, it may be advisable to appoint permanent officials who may be transferred from one circle to another after a time. As for educational advisers, it may be more advisable to depute some teachers to this job for a period of three years and afterwards to revert them back to the teaching line as was done in case of postal inspectors recently. This will ensure a contact between teaching and inspecting staff in a degree not otherwise possible, though it will entail a lot of clerical work in maintaining a register of eligible and otherwise desirable teachers at the office of the director, if the appointment is to be made on a state-wise basis, or at the office of the circle administrators, if the appointment is to be made circle-wise. But its effect in breaking the barrier that unfortunately exists between the teacher and the inspectorate is wholesome.

Whether we would have the existing methods of teacher education or supplement the same by having mobile squads to meet the present emergency, it is necessary that the ultimate responsibility for teacher education will rest with the states, though the Centre may offer its financial aid. If teachers' colleges are attached to the universities, of course the responsibility for maintaining them under our suggested scheme goes to the Centre, but as their work will be mainly concerned with schools, they cannot but remain in close contact with the state machinery for administration. The training schools for primary teachers will, however, be more the concern of the state government. Perhaps the best way to discharge this responsibility would be for the state government to appoint one senior officer of the educational service, as the executive officer and with him there should be an advisory council consisting of representatives of training colleges and schools.

With the work being entrusted to several boards functioning with a certain amount of autonomy, the state secretariat will assume the role of more or less co-ordinating agency and a clearing house of information.

(c) *Suggested administrative changes in the local units.* The local units of administration would be the district educational councils acting independently of the district and municipal boards, and taking away the educational responsibilities from both. Its members may either be elected directly from the people by a popular vote or indirectly by members of the local bodies, district and municipal boards, not necessarily from among themselves. There should be a definite educational qualification for eligibility. The age restriction for a member in a legislative council being put at thirty, while the voters may be at twenty-one, shows that different qualifications may be expected from voters and representatives, hence while no educational qualification is being demanded from those who would vote a member into the educational council, yet it does not prevent us from laying some educational qualification for members of these bodies.

The main responsibility for this body would be to administer the primary schools and adult education centres. For this purpose there should be separate wings of this body and to each wing the inspecting agency or educational advisers for the primary schools and the district social education organizers should be attached as official members. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to attach a separate wing for adult education work among the females. If the private agency be allowed to run its own secondary

schools with the government assistance, two more wings may be attached to this body, one to look after the private academic secondary schools and the other private vocational secondary schools. It is possible to entrust day-to-day administration of these two last named wings to two whole-time secretaries appointed as administrative officers either by the boards themselves or by the state government. In either case, the officers must have dual responsibility, one to the board in carrying out the directions of the board, and the other to listen to the directives of the circle administrative officers. They would act as liaison agents between the authorities. If these latter wings function thus, it is possible to relieve much of the burden of the circle administrative officers in respect of appointment, dismissal or disputes between the managements and teachers which may be transferred to the district educational boards, which may handle them and the appointment of an assistant circle administrative officer may be unnecessary.

A word of caution is perhaps necessary regarding the dual responsibility of the district administrative officers. It may be apprehended that this would bring in a sort of divided loyalty for these officers, and may be creating a situation similar to that of the deputy inspector of schools or such officers who are at present functioning with the district boards. The danger is all the more prevalent when such officers are not direct employees of the boards themselves, but are employees of the state government. On the other hand, there is a distinct advantage in appointing employees of the state government who will be more independent of the local pressure groups, and whose presence as the whole-time executive officer is bound to remove some of the evil influences of the local pressure groups. Perhaps at the start, one may be tempted to keep their appointment in the hands of the state authorities for two reasons, firstly by this the existing cadre of district inspection staff will be absorbed, and then later as the boards learn to function smoothly and in a more responsible manner gradually their successors may be appointed by the boards and secondly for reasons stated above. Another solution will be to entrust the appointment to a small committee formed out of the boards' delegates at an Annual Conference and this committee can then act as the appointing authority for the district administrative officers on a state-wide basis, thus providing an opportunity for transfer when a particular district administrative officer and the board are not pulling on well together. This method combines the advantage of having officers appointed on

a state-wide basis so as to be free from local influences, and at the same time ensures a certain amount of autonomy to the boards, for after all it is the accredited representative of the boards, that does the act of choosing. These are two different ways of choosing the officers, either of them may be adopted but it is desirable that whatever be the procedure, it should be uniform in India.

The suggested areas of local participation whether restricted to the field of primary education and social education of the adults, or extended also to the administration of private secondary schools will, if carried out, mean that the district educational bodies will be somewhat analogous to the local educational authorities of England or the educational district organizations of U. S. A. There is, however, one thing to be noted. It may be argued that the sphere of these district councils will be quite large, in fact so large that effective participation of local interest may not be possible. To meet that argument, it may be advisable to have smaller units, *pargana, taluka,* town area or municipal educational committees. These may be constituted in the same way as the district educational bodies and undertake to manage the educational activities delegated to them by the district bodies in their areas. They will however, be subordinate to the district bodies, which must have the overall charge, and not independent of the district bodies. Perhaps by this method we may ensure more effective local participation, and at the same time co-ordinate local interest with the interests at the state level, the district bodies acting as a link in the chain.

(d) *Private agencies.* In chapter 8 we have discussed at length the weakness of private agencies, and have also stated the view that the plea for experimentation and variety cannot be used as a strong argument for their retention, for the way in which they are working with limited funds at their disposal, they are not able to carry out any scheme for experimentation effectively.

But there is another argument for their retention. A democratic state cannot deny the right to any individual parent to teach his child in any institution of his choice, so long as the quality of teaching is not below a certain standard and the contents are not harmful to the principles of a secular democratic state. There is another point to be noted. Monopoly of anything is bad, competition ensures certain improvement of standards, which benefits both the competing units. From that point of view the existence of private agency to compete with the public system may be useful to raise the standards of the state system itself.

It must also be contended, that with the disappearance of the private agency affecting a sort of brake, there is no alternative from any state-wise indoctrination that may start if the state becomes totalitarian. From these arguments, a private agency does perform, or at least is likely to perform, a useful function, provided it is well managed and well financed.

They can be well financed only when they are liberally subsidized by the state, and opinions differ as to whether they do at all have any claims from state funds. In U. S. A., Japan and recently in Burma, it has been held that while the state has no objections to private agencies functioning, they should receive no help from the State. The English tradition seems to support the view that private agencies are, by undertaking to educate a large number of children, performing a useful function of the State and as such they do have a claim on the State assistance. Here in India the tradition has always favoured assistance to private enterprise, and in the British days we had state enterprise or enterprise by local bodies co-existing side by side with private enterprise. That this co-existence did not prove healthy, is partly, if not mainly, due to the fact that private agencies were saddled with responsibilities which were beyond their means to fulfil. They were asked to meet the dynamic demands of progressively increasing recurring expenses, salaries mounting with experience of the staff, with more or less static resources at their disposal, namely fees and grants. Much of the malpractices which they were obliged to resort to has been due to this. Too much was expected from local contribution, which is not ordinarily available as a recurring contribution under modern conditions.

Under these circumstances, it is good to face the realities and adopt a definite policy. Perhaps opinions do not differ on the issue whether we should allow private enterprize to function in the field of education, as most of the countries are doing or prevent them altogether to ensure State monopoly in education as the totalitarion states are doing Perhaps we are likely to agree that they should be retained. Then comes the question, if they are at all to say, should they be aided as has been the custom in the past or as it is done in England, or should they be allowed to remain unaided organizations? The opinion here seems to be sharply divided and both sides can put forward weighty arguments. But very few will perhaps agree that they should be allowed to continue functioning as they are at present, with methods which they are adopting (or are being forced to adopt under the pressure of

circumstances perhaps) which are positively detrimental to the real interests either of the state or of education. Thus we must take a realistic view of the situation. If we cannot turn all schools into state schools overnight, we should at the same time not expect from the private agency that which is impossible for them to do. *Under the present circumstances it is well nigh impossible for the private agency to procure substantial sums by way of recurring grants except by making additional levies as extra tuition fees.* Let us face facts. It is possible to expect private contribution for capital expenses, either while establishing an institution, or while planning to expand it, but not for any day-to-day expenditure. That being so, the schools can run smoothly, efficiently and honestly, only if the government grants meet the entire deficit,

Under this situation the role of private agencies should be limited to find the capital expenditure, and their sphere of work in the administration should likewise be limited to the management and maintenance of this capital expenditure, to see that the buildings are properly kept and the furniture and equipment are well utilized. In other respects, their role should be that of advisory and not controlling bodies. This will not violate the terms in which the original donations of buildings and other capital expenses are given, for in that sphere they will retain an effective voice. It is only in the appointments, dismissal and payment of the staff which are met by recurring expenses, fees and grants, that their role will be that of advisory bodies, since they cannot be expected to contribute anything substantial, except through a jugglary of accounts. These functions will then devolve to circle administrative officers or to the district educational bodies Already in some states, like U. P., it has been provided that appointments, dismissals as well as stoppage of increments are subject to the approval of the inspectorate. In many states there are arbitration boards for hearing disputes which are presided over by inspectors or higher educational officers. It is now one step forward from this to the transfer of the operative power to the administrative officers or to district councils. One great advantage of this change will be that it will facilitate the transfer of a teacher from one institution to another, when adjustments become impossible otherwise, be that transfer within the district or within the circle. At present the only solution in such cases is the dismissal or removal of a teacher. That is an extreme punishment. While there may be a few teachers who will not fit in anywhere, there are many more who though misfits in one institution may fit well into another.

There is one thing which needs to be noted particularly—the existence of denominational institutions. We have seen that the pioneers in many fields of education were Christian missionaries. Many of them certainly had humanitarian motives, but at least in some cases they mixed humanitarian with proselytarian motives and this evoked reaction. The reaction took many forms. It established rival religious institutions like those run by Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj or Arya Samaj, which in turn started proselytising activities for their own sects. This in turn provoked the more orthodox sections to establish caste-wise denominational institutions. The awakening of the Moslem community in the later nineteenth century under the leadership of persons like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also synchronized with this last phase and Islamic institutions came up. Today the denominational institutions can be classified into four groups, namely, (1) those run by different Christian missions, (2) those run by different religious sects of Hindus and Moslems, (3) those run for different castes, especially orthodox Hindus, (4) those run for linguistic minorities in states other than their own.

So far as serving their own groups, in preserving the culture and heritage, is concerned, they are doing some service to which no one can take exception. The problem arises when they try to influence others by compulsory indoctrination. Though a democratic state cannot object to proselytization or conversion by open propaganda among persons who are under no pressure, one would feel that if they are adopted in the schools where conditions are authoritative, they may involve compulsion. While persuasion may be allowed, indoctrination must be stopped. Likewise institutions meant for particular castes may not be tolerated when our aim is to establish a casteless society. They must permit members of other castes into their schools. As for schools meant for religious or linguistic minorities exclusively they have a better case than these caste ridden institutions, for they maintain the traditions, heritage or culture of their respective groups and as such may be allowed to do so, provided they do not endanger the wider interests of national integration. They should run on tolerant lines without being too bigoted. This tolerent attitude on their part would provide opportunities for students outside their groups to come into them and share their traditions and heritage as well as the culture they have to offer, without being forced to denounce their own traditions and culture in the process.

(e) *The problem of financing education.* If we decide to reduce the burden of fees and increase greater assistance

from public funds, whether at the state or Central level, it means that we must evolve new ways and means for securing this extra money for running our educational institutions. In chapter 8 we have discussed various ways of financing education and have found that under the present conditions of India, financing by state or by taxation is probably the best method. It may be supplemented by fees, but fees cannot be levied in the stage where education is made compulsory, for that would provide an excuse to evade compulsion. At other levels also if we adhere to the principle of equality of opportunities, fees would vitiate it. If we cannot abolish fees totally, we have to reduce its burden considerably, and provide liberal scholarships and freeships to mitigate the resultant hardship. All these point out to greater taxation. But any method of taxation is introduced at the teeth of some opposition. Perhaps it may be desirable to make education somewhat fiscally autonomous by allocation of certain heads of revenue to be permanently used for educational purposes with the provision of additional grants voted by the state or Central legislatures, if and when necessary. This will prevent routine problems of educational needs to be voted by legislatures and at the same time allow the legislatures opportunity to examine educational administration at the time when new grants are voted.

As education demands contribution from the Centre, from states as well as from local levels, this means that at the Central level the direct taxation will take the shape of a form of educational surcharge on some of the revenue heads already imposed. This may be a surcharge on income tax and state duty or the customs. Perhaps we may reorient the death duties so that when the person getting the legacy is not either husband or wife or son or daughter of the person whose property they enjoy, the rate of duty may be higher. In Japan death duties vary for near and distant relations. In the Netherlands a distant relation may inherit the property but is asked to pay a higher duty than a near relation inheriting the property. In France two kinds of duties are imposed. Death duty is the same for all relations, but legacy duties vary according to the degree of relationship of the person inheriting it. We may try the same experiment here. This will be a compromise between the socialistic pattern of denying inheritance and the capitalistic pattern of unrestricted inheritance by making the duty flexible according to the degree of relationships of the legate.

If there be a surcharge on the income tax, they will benefit the state finances also, for the state government gets a portion of income tax levied within the state, and this

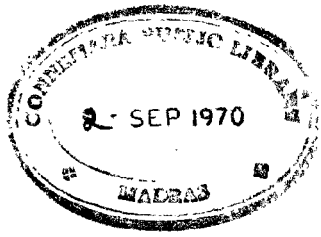
additional money should be given to the cause of education. State may further levy a surcharge on amusement tax and sales tax and on agricultural incomes also. The local bodies will, however, be compelled to levy a direct tax as educational cess to supplement what they get from state governments as grants-in-aid.

We must be on our guard against the opposition that is likely to arise as soon as we impose a surtax of the kind. It is especially so in education, where a person with more children will derive more benefits out of educational facilities, while one with fewer children will derive less, though they may be paying the same tax. Bachelors may try to evade saying that as they have no children to educate they should not pay any surcharge at all. As a rule moneyed persons are likely to have fewer children and at the same time bear a greater load of taxes than the poorer ones paying less, but with a larger number of children enjoying greater benefit. Other countries like U. S. A. which introduced tax supported public schools had to face such agitation as in the Kalamozoo case. But they have met the challenge. Today all agree that even when a poor man's child is educated, the benefits secured are not for his parents alone, but to the entire nation. In India when income tax was first imposed the Government had to face opposition but today all are convinced of the underlying equity. Intensive propaganda has to start in favour of educational benefits and all must look upon grants not as charity to parents but as investments to secure better citizens some twenty years hence, benefiting the entire community and not a particular family.

(f) *Conclusions.* From what has been stated, it will appear that many of our present educational problems have cropped up due to defective administrative set up. Some of these though suitable at the time of introduction, have become outmoded, some of these that were helpful to our foreign rulers are now injurious to the conditions of a free, secular and democratic State, while not a few have sprung up as the machinery deteriorated in the process of working, or as facilities widened. The method that was suited to just a few are unsuitable when many have joined together, in the same way as the management of a company run with a few partners would not suit when the company becomes a large joint stock business.

As the malady has manifold facets, it is not possible to remedy it by simple patchwork reforms. In the past twenty-two years we have tried to reform, but unfortunately we looked at the problem in a piecemeal way and

except in Kothari Commission we had never bothered to take a total view of the situation. In this book an attempt is made to show the total picture, and every reform that was suggested has been seen in the light of its impact on the total situation. If we have overlooked or dealt a bit casually with two features, pre-primary and the so-called "Indian public schools" of the British pattern, it is because they are still exclusive institutions for the affluent ones who can pay for the luxuries and benefits they confer. We have suggested solutions to the problems raised in our own way. They may be somewhat subjective, but they all invite thinking on the part of the reader and help him to arrive at a solution perhaps in a different way than what the writer has suggested. That will serve the purpose of the book, for though we may differ in details, we are all agreed in the fundamental aim ; that is, we all want to build a happy, prosperous and efficient "India of tomorrow."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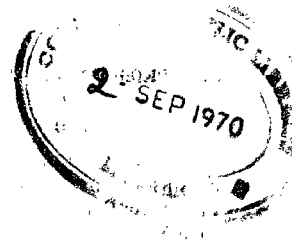


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