

A PERSPECTIVE PLAN
FOR
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY
EDUCATION IN INDIA
(1966-1986)



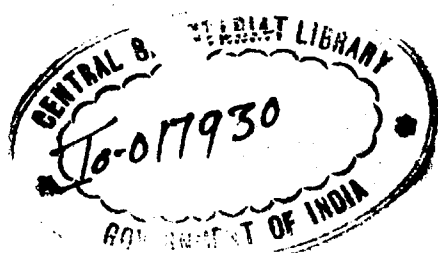
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
1968

A PERSPECTIVE PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA
(1966-1986)

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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
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MAIN FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Duration of Primary Education: The development of the programme of universal primary education in the years ahead should be oriented to providing a seven-year course, preferably from the age of 6 to the age of 13+. This may be divided into two sub-stages:

(1) The lower primary stage of four years (classes I-IV) to cover the age-group 6-9; and

(2) The higher primary stage of three years (classes V-VII) to cover the age group 10-12. (Para 4)

2. Four Aspects of Universal Primary Education: The emphasis has now shifted from 'compulsory' to 'universal' primary education. Its four aspects are:

(1) It should be free*;

(2) Facilities for it should be universal in the sense that a lower primary school (classes I-IV) should be available to a child within about a mile from his residence and a higher primary school (classes VII-VIII) within a distance of about two to three miles.

(3) Enrolment should be universal in the sense that every child should be enrolled in class I at the appropriate age which is generally 5+ or 6+.

(4) There should be universal retention in the sense that every child that is enrolled in class I should pass regularly from class to class and remain at school until he completes the primary course or attains the upper age limit for compulsory education. (Paras 5-8)

* The concept of free education now includes, not only the abolition of tuition fees, but the provision of free books and writing materials, free lunches, free health services and even free uniforms - at least to the needy.

3. Target date for providing universal primary education:

An important issue with regard to this programme is to decide the target date for providing universal primary education. (Para 9)

4. In deciding this issue, the difficulties that hamper the progress of primary education will have to be taken due note. These are physical (e.g. scattered or nomadic population and forest or bad climate areas which make the provision of facilities difficult and costly); social and cultural (e.g. social prejudices against education of girls or co-education even at the primary stage and problems like untouchability or large tribal population); administrative (e.g. difficulty of getting suitably trained teachers or teachers to work in tribal areas or women to work in rural areas); and economic and financial (e.g. poverty of parents which prevents their children from attending schools, or at least attending them on a whole-time basis and the large expenditure from public funds involved in the programme). All of these can be overcome through suitable measures. But the most insuperable difficulty will be for Government to raise the large amounts required for providing a programme of good and effective primary education to all children till they reach the age of 14 years (Paras 10-11).

5. In the developing countries, the cost of a programme of universal primary education requires an investment of a higher proportion of the national income than in the industrially advanced nations. (Para 12) In India, for instance, a programme of universal primary education would require, at the present time, an expenditure of Rs.80 per pupil at the lower primary stage and Rs.120 per pupil at the

(iii)

higher primary stage or a total expenditure of about Rs.17 per head of population per year or a little more than 3 per cent of the national income at its present level.

This is beyond our reach in the near future because we now spend only about Rs.16 per head or 2.6 per cent of the national income on education as a whole. Similarly, there will be immense difficulties in enrolling girls or children from the backward classes and these will take quite some time to overcome. The programme will also run into special difficulties in the six less-advanced States of Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh where the task to be done is vaster and the resources available to them poorer than in the other States. All things considered, it appears that the policy to guide the development of primary education over the next 15-20 years is best based on the following considerations:-

(1) In the long run, the problem of providing universal primary education in India will become comparatively easy, partly because the total number of children to be educated will be much smaller (about 15 or 16 per cent of the population as against 22 per cent at present) on account of the programmes of family planning, and partly because the national dividend will also rise making it possible to allocate a larger proportion thereof to primary education.

(2) In the short run, however, the programme is going to be very difficult; and it will be possible to solve it fairly early if -

(a) programmes of primary education are given very high priority and adequate allocations;

(iv)

(b) intensive efforts are made to overcome the resistances to the education of girls or to co-education and to enrol children from the backward classes and the very poor social strata such as the landless labourers; and

(c) if the class-size is kept fairly high so that the number of teachers employed is proportionately reduced and suitable methods of teaching and evaluation are evolved to maintain standards.

(3) It may not be possible to complete this programme by 1980-81 as is sometimes suggested. Probably the best plan would be to adopt the recommendations made by the Education Commission that education at the lower primary stage (Classes I-IV) should be made universal by 1975-76 and that at the higher primary stage (Classes V-VIII), by 1985-86. Even this is a very challenging task and can be fulfilled only if sustained, well-planned and intensive efforts are made right from now. (Paras 13-16).

6. A programme of action: In order to implement these recommendations effectively, it will be necessary to develop a programme of action on the following broad lines indicated below.

(1) Free primary education: Primary education (classes I-VII) is free in all States except four, Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The policy of reimposing fees at the higher primary stage, which is definitely a retrograde measure is unfortunately asserting itself (e.g. Punjab). It is therefore necessary to take a definite view on the problem and to ensure that primary education is made free in all

parts of the country at a very early date and not later than the end of the Fourth Plan (Para 19).

(2) Universal provision of facilities: On the basis of the Second Education Survey and the criteria suggested by the Education Commission, facilities for lower primary education (classes I-IV or I-V) should be provided as early as possible and at any rate, before the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Similarly a careful plan of perspective development should be prepared for each district suggesting the provision of universal facilities for higher primary education in a period of five to ten years, depending upon the level of development already reached. As much of this as is possible should be implemented during the Fourth Five Year Plan; and it would be a good target to provide one higher primary school to every five lower primary schools by the end of the Fourth Plan. (Para 20).

(3) Universal enrolment: A continuous effort should be made to ensure that enrolment in class I is largely of children in the age-group 5-6 and 6-7. Emphasis should be placed on the enrolment of girls and children of the backward classes or of such economically handicapped section as land-less agricultural labourers. Facilities for part-time education should also be provided to all children who cannot continue their education at the higher primary stage, for some reason or the other, on a full-time basis. (Para 21).

(4) Universality of retention: It should be an objective of policy to ensure that, of every 100 children enrolled in Class I, at least 80 reach Class VII seven years later. For this purpose, the highest emphasis should be placed on the

reduction of wastage and stagnation. The target should be to reduce them by about half by 1976 and to almost eliminate them by 1986.

(5) Keeping the cost per pupil within reasonable limits: It is necessary to keep the cost per pupil at the primary stage as low as possible, consistent with the maintenance of minimum standards, with a view to making the programme realistic and feasible. This may be done by :

- (a) keeping the salaries of teachers at a low level,
- (b) by reducing the non-teacher costs, and
- (c) by increasing the pupil-teacher ratio.

The first would be a wrong policy and it should be our objective to provide a good remuneration to primary teachers so that persons of high calibre and with good general education and professional training can be attracted to the profession. The second also will have an adverse effect in standards and the policy should therefore be to keep non-teacher costs at a fairly high level, say, about 20 per cent of the total expenditure on education. But in the third variable, namely, the pupil-teacher ratio, a much greater elasticity is possible; and by varying it suitably, the recurring cost per pupil can be kept down at a reasonable level. This will involve either the adoption of the double-shift system, at least in classes I-II, or the adoption of a larger class-size. If suitable teaching methods are evolved, this need not have an adverse effect on standards. (Paras 23-32)

(6) Primary teachers: There is a tremendous dissatisfaction among the primary teachers because their remuneration has remained inadequate for years and has now

become even more so because of the rise in prices. The situation is particularly serious in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. A bold programme of improving the remuneration of primary school teachers is thus called for. This may be done by providing a Central grant-in-aid to State Governments on the non-Plan side as, for instance, was done for improving the scales of pay of college and university teachers. Another alternative would be for the Finance Commission to take into consideration the expenditure that the State Governments will have to incur for providing a minimum scale of pay to primary school teachers while recommending its award of distribution of revenues and grants-in-aid to State Governments. (Paras 35-36).

(7) It is essential to improve the general education and training of primary teachers. The comprehensive recommendations made by the Education Commission on this subject should be implemented and State Boards of Teacher Education should be established in each State as the principal instrument for such implementation. (Para 36(a) & 36(c)).

(8) Improvement of physical facilities in Primary Schools: A sustained and intensive effort has to be made to improve the physical facilities in primary schools. A large-scale building programme should be undertaken and the cost of school buildings should be reduced to the minimum by the adoption of the designs and techniques developed by the Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee, and by the use of locally available materials. The effort of the community should be fully enlisted for improving equipment and other facilities and collections

should be made in cash and kind. The excellent work done in Madras State is a good pointer in this direction. It would also be desirable to institute a school fund in each primary school consisting of (a) a minimum grant for non-teacher cost given by the State, (b) collections made by the local community and (c) a matching grant of such collections given by the State on the basis of equalisation. (Paras 37-38).

(9) Finance: The capital expenditure on primary education should be shared between the State Government and the local communities on some basis of equalisation. The teacher-costs (as also such indirect expenditure as is incurred on teacher training or supervision) should be the exclusive responsibility of the State Governments. For the non-teacher costs, the State Government should provide a minimum expenditure and any increase on it should be shared between it and the local communities on a basis of equalisation (Para 39).

(10) An Elastic Approach: As the level of development reached in different areas of the country shows considerable variations, each State and district should be required to prepare a perspective plan for the development of primary education. In each area, the target should be to move forward at the best pace possible and to reach the goal laid down in Article 45 of the Constitution by 1986 (Para 40)

(11) Special assistance to backward States: Special attention will have to be given to the six comparatively less advanced States in primary education, namely, Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. These States have a much larger and more difficult

task to perform in primary education and their resources to perform it are comparatively limited. Unless some special assistance from the Centre is made available, it may not be possible for these States to fulfil the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution even by 1985-86. A definite policy decision in this matter should, therefore, be taken and programmes for this purpose should be drawn up and initiated in the Fourth Five-Year Plan itself. Although it is not a backward State, special assistance will also have to be given to West Bengal to enable it to make primary education free and to improve facilities in urban areas, especially Calcutta. (Para 41)

(12) The role of the Centre: The Government of India has a special responsibility to provide financial support to primary education. In addition, it has also a responsibility to give special assistance to the backward States. From this point of view, the minimum that needs to be done is to institute a special grant-in-aid for the backward States on account of primary education in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. A second and a more radical method would be to institute a permanent recurring grant-in-aid to all the State Governments on account of primary education, preferably on some basis of equalisation. The analogy of the grants-in-aid for equalisation given by State Governments to local communities in USA could be followed in this regard. (Paras 43-44).

7. It is too early to indicate the enrolments in and allocations for primary education in the Fourth Plan. By 1968-69, about 80 per cent of the children in the

age-group 6-11 and about 35 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14 have been enrolled. It will therefore be probably necessary to increase this enrolment to 95 per cent in the age-group 6-11 and to 45 per cent in the age-group 11-14. An outlay of about Rs. 11,400 million will be needed for this programme. But the outlay that seems likely to be available is about Rs. 3,000 million. There is thus a wide gap between the needs and resources available. This can be bridged only if

(1) the targets of enrolments are reduced (involving danger that we may not fulfil the directive of the Constitution even by 1985-86;

(2) the cost per pupil may be reduced by adoption of the double-shift system, larger class-sizes, etc., and

(3) the states are requested to accord a higher priority to primary education and a sizable allocation for it is also made in the Central sector. (Para 46)

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A PERSPECTIVE PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA

(1966-1986)

The object of this Paper is to show the social, financial and organisational implications of providing universal primary education for all children.

2. Duration of Primary Education: For some years there has been a controversy whether the duration of primary education should be seven or eight years. It turns round the interpretation of Article 45 of the Constitution which directs that 'free and compulsory education shall be provided for all children till they reach 14 years of age'. Those who argue in favour of eight years of primary education generally equate 'primary education' with compulsory education. They further assume that it will begin at six plus and finally come to the conclusion that the duration of the primary course should be eight years in order that children may remain at school till they are fourteen plus. Those who argue in favour of the seven year course point out that a eight-year primary course reduces the duration of secondary education to only 3 or 4 years and that a longer secondary course of 4 or 5 years (which is possible with a seven-year primary course) is needed to give a better preparation of young persons who desire to enter the university or even the world of work. There has been no clear-cut decision in this regard and both these view-points continue to be held and pressed.

3. The Education Commission examined this issue in

some detail and came to the following conclusion:-

(1) Article 45 of the Constitution merely indicates that every child shall be retained in the school system till he reaches the age of 14 years. The compulsory education which it visualises, however, need not be equated with primary education only. In fact, it may include primary and a part of secondary education also. This is the case in all advanced countries as well. In England, for instance, education is compulsory up to the age of 15 and it includes the whole of primary education and a part of the secondary. Similarly, in Japan, education is compulsory for 9 years - 6 years of primary and 3 years of secondary. It would, therefore, be wrong to use Article 45 of the Constitution to determine the duration of the primary education course, especially because it does not mention the year at which such education should begun.*

(2) The total duration of school education, in the opinion of the Commission, should be 12 years. This has also been the recommendation of the Sadler Commission (1917-19) and the Radhakrishnan Commission (1948-49). The Education Commission also found that the best way to sub-divide this period would be to provide primary education for seven years and secondary education for five years (which should be further divided into two sub-stages - three years of lower secondary and two years of higher secondary education).

*For instance, if primary education begins in a State at five years, its duration will have to be 9 years to make the child reach the age of 14.

(3) Primary education begins, in some States, at the age of five and in others, at the age of six. If the duration of the primary education course is to be of seven years only, an average child will be only 12 or 13 years old when he completes the primary school.

(4) A proportion of such children would continue their studies further and join the secondary schools. These do not present any problem because they would definitely remain within the system till the age of 14 years. It may be pointed out that the proportion of children who would thus continue their studies is as high as 85 per cent. Even in the years ahead, it is not expected to fall below 60 to 65 per cent.

(5) The remaining children who do not propose to continue their studies further and who would like to leave the school as soon as they reach the age of 14 (and these will mostly be the older children who have reached or are about to reach the age of 14 years) will not, in the opinion of the Education Commission, be benefitted either by continuing their general primary education or by joining a secondary school. The best course for such children would obviously be to join some vocational courses which will prepare them for whatever occupation they would like to follow after leaving school. The Education Commission therefore recommended that provision should be made for giving suitable vocational courses to children who have completed the primary

school and have not yet reached the age of 14 years, and who do not continue their studies further at the secondary stage. This would be far more worthwhile than giving them secondary education or a further course of primary education.

4. It is suggested that these proposals may be accepted and that the development of the programme of universal primary education in the years ahead should be oriented to providing a seven-year course, preferably from the age of 6+ to the age of 13+. As recommended by the Education Commission, this should be divided into two sub-stages: (1) the lower primary stage of four years (classes I-IV) to cover the age group 6-9; and (2) the higher primary stage of three years (classes V-VII) to cover the age-group 10-12.

5. Four aspects of Universal Primary Education: The problem of providing universal primary education has four important aspects:-

(1) It must be free: This does not mean that there should be no primary schools which charge fees. In fact there will always be some primary schools which will charge fees and to which some parents would willingly send their children on the ground that they provide good education. But what is insisted upon is that no fees would be charged in primary schools conducted by Government or local authorities (or even by aided schools) and that such schools will be so ubiquitous that every parent will have a free primary school in his neighbourhood to which he can send his child if he so desires.*

* For some important details and a discussion of the neighbourhood school concept, see Annexure I.

(2) Universal provision of school facilities:-

The first steps in providing primary education for all children is to create universal facilities. A lower primary school (classes I-IV) should be available to every child within about a mile from his residence and a higher primary school (classes V-VIII), within a distance of about 2-3 miles.

(3) Universal enrolment:- The next step in the programme is to ensure that the facilities thus created are utilised by all children. From this point of view efforts have to be made to ensure that every child is enrolled in Class I * at the appropriate age. (This is generally 5 or 6 in India.)

(4) Universal Retention:- It is not enough to enrol children in class I. Efforts have also to be made to see that every child that is enrolled passes regularly from class to class and remains at school until he complete the primary course or attains the upper age-limit for compulsory education. This is the third aspect of the programme.

6. Of these four aspects of the problem, the simplest probably is the first, to make primary education tuition free. Next in order of difficulty would be the universal provision of facilities. Enrolment of children is comparatively easy in the beginning. For instance, not

*To facilitate this, there are regulations in several countries requiring parents to register their children in schools one year before they are due to be admitted.

not much effort is needed to enrol about 60 per cent of the children. But as the saturation point is being reached, the effort to bring in additional children becomes more and more difficult. To raise the percentage of enrolment from 70 to 80 requires far more effort and cost than to raise it from 60 to 70; to a still greater effort is needed to raise it from 80 to 90; and the most strenuous effort is called for in raising it from 90 to near about 100. The programme of universal retention, however, is the most difficult of all. In all poor, un-educated and developing societies, wastage and stagnation rates at the primary stage are very high; and these get reduced only gradually as the attracting and holding power of the schools begins to grow (this costs a good deal of money) and as the general cultural, educational and economic level of the society tends to rise.

7. It may also be pointed out that the emphasis has now sifted from 'compulsory' to 'universal' primary education. In the nineteenth century, the emphasis used to be on the enactment of compulsory educational laws and on taking penal action against defaulting parents. This rather naive faith in legislation is no longer held. It is now realised that when a country like the present-day India is poor and largely illiterate, it is next to impossible to enforce legislation on compulsory education effectively. On the other hand, when the people become educated or school-conscious and economically better off,

the normal interest of the parent ensures the child's attendance at school and legislation on compulsory education becomes almost superfluous. The present view, therefore, is that the emphasis should now shift from the 'compulsory' aspect of primary education to making it 'universal'.

8. The concept of primary education has also deepened considerably in the last 200 years. In the early nineteenth century, it was looked upon as a matter of charity and its object was mainly restricted to the teaching of the three Rs. Today, it is regarded as the birthright of every child and its object is to help a child become a useful and responsible member of his society. The school has also assumed several 'residuary' functions of the home. For instance, it now provides free books and writing materials, free school lunches and milk and free health services.

9. The target date for providing universal Primary Education: Another important issue which tends to be discussed almost continuously is the target date for providing universal primary education in India.

According to the Constitution, this ought to have been provided by 1960. Later on, it was proposed that this target should be reached by 1975. But it soon became evident that even this would not be possible; and it was, therefore, proposed that universal education should be provided for children in the age-group 6-11

by the end of the Third Plan and for those in the age-group 11-14, by the end of the Seventh Plan (1980-81). The Education Commission which examined this issue in detail came to the conclusion that even this would not be possible and recommended that good and effective primary education of five years' duration should be provided to all children by 1975-76, and seven years of such education by 1985-86. This recommendation has sometimes been criticised on the ground that this is too slow a progress for the development of primary education and that all effort should be made to provide universal primary education by 1981 at the latest. On the other hand, views have also been expressed that this is too optimistic an estimate and some State Governments have observed that it will not be possible for them to reach this goal earlier than 1996 unless special assistance from the Government of India is made available. This problem, therefore, needs detailed examination.

10. Difficulties that hamper the progress of primary Education: The difficulties that hamper the progress of primary education are physical, social and cultural, administrative and financial.

(1) The physical difficulties are due to such factors as scattered or nomadic population and forest or bad climate areas which make the provision of facilities difficult or costly.

(2) The social and cultural difficulties include, among others, problems like untouchability or strong

social prejudices against sending girls to schools or against co-education, even at the primary stage.

(3) The administrative difficulties include, among others, such problems as the difficulty of getting suitably trained teachers or teachers to work in tribal areas or women to work in rural areas.

(4) The financial difficulties are of two types. The first includes the difficulties of poor parents who need the labour of their children in some form or the other to make both ends meet and who cannot, therefore, afford to send them to schools on a whole-time basis. The second includes the difficulties of Government which is unable to find the large amounts required for constructing, equipping and maintaining the primary schools.

11. There is hardly any need to discuss the physical, social and administrative difficulties which impede the progress of primary education because these can be handled with comparative ease. Even the difficulties arising from the poverty of parents can be suitably overcome by providing a programme of primary education and a reasonable level of ancillary services like free books, free health services or free uniforms. In this paper, therefore, the attention will be mainly focussed on the financial difficulties of Government, and also of parents, which are the most important of all.

12. Cost of the programme of universal Primary Education: While there is a general realisation that a programme of universal primary education is very costly, there is little appreciation of one important aspect of the problem, namely, that developing countries are required to allocate a larger proportion of their GNP to this programme than even the developed nations. For example, the programme of primary education costs about 2% of the GNP in advanced countries; and paradoxical as it may appear,

it may require as much as three or four per cent of the GNP in the developing countries. This is because of the following reasons:-

(a) The number of children to be educated, proportionate to the total population, is larger in developing countries than in the advanced ones, partly because of the larger birth-rate and partly because of the lower longevity. For instance, the total number of children in the age-group 6-12 in India would be about 20 per cent of the population whereas the same proportion in UK would be about 15 per cent.

(b) For this reason, the number of teachers required in a developing country for a given unit of population is much larger than in the advanced countries, especially if the same class-size is adopted. It is true that, by adopting a larger class-size, the developing countries can reduce their requirement of teachers to the same order as those of the developed countries or even more. But on educational grounds, there are strong pressures to the country and the academic demand is that the classes, even in the developing countries, should be as small as those in the advanced nations.

(c) The average salary of a teacher, expressed in terms of the national dividend, is much larger in the developing countries than in the advanced ones. For example, the average salary of a primary teacher in

USA is about 1.5 times the national dividend. In India, it is about 32 times the national dividend. In some African countries it is as high as seven times the national dividend. Consequently, the teacher costs in primary education are much higher in developing countries than in advanced countries.

(d) The size of the national income is also smaller in developing countries than in advanced ones.

13. This may be illustrated with reference to the present conditions in India. For this purpose, it will be necessary to calculate (a) the cost per pupil in primary education under the present conditions, and (b) the cost of the entire programme of primary education, under the present conditions, per head of population or as a proportion of the national dividend.

(a) The cost per-pupil in primary education:- In order to calculate the cost per-pupil, it is necessary to connect it with the variables involved, namely,
(i) the average annual salary of a primary teacher;
(ii) the ratio of teacher-costs to total direct expenditure on primary education; and (iii) the pupil-teacher ratio.
This has been done below.

Let n be the number of children to be educated;

x be the cost per pupil;

o be the average annual salary of a teacher;

t be the pupil-teacher ratio; and

r be the ratio of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on primary education.

Then, the number of teachers required is $\frac{n}{t}$. Since the average annual salary of a teacher is a , the total cost on account of a teacher is $\frac{11a}{10}$, adding 10 per cent on account of old-age provision and welfare services. The total teacher costs, therefore, are $\frac{11an}{10t}$.

If these are $\frac{n}{100}$ th. of the total direct expenditure, the latter is equal to $\frac{110an}{rt}$.. Adding 10 per cent for indirect expenditure on teacher education and supervision, the total recurring expenditure becomes $\frac{121an}{rt}$

.....(1)

But, since the cost per pupil is x , the total recurring expenditure is also nx

.....(2)

Equating (1) and (2),

$$x = 121 \frac{a}{rt} \dots\dots\dots(3)$$

This formula connects four variables : x or the cost per pupil; a or the average annual salary of an elementary teacher; r or the ratio of teacher-costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education; and t or the pupil-teacher ratio. Given any three of these, it is possible to find out the fourth.

On the basis of this formula, an attempt has been made, in the Total given on the next page to determine the range within which the cost per pupil in primary education may vary in the immediate future in the different States of India.

TABLE NO. I

COST PER PUPIL IN RELATION TO THE AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF TEACHERS
PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS AND PROPORTION OF TEACHER COSTS TO TOTAL
DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION

....

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF TEACHERS (IN RUPEES)												
Cost pupil (in rupees)	PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO : 35			PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO : 40			PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO:45			PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO : 50		
	Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expen- diture on primary education			Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expendi- ture on primary education			Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expen- diture on primary education			Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expen- diture on prima- education		
	80%	70%	50%	80%	70%	50%	80%	70%	50%	80%	70%	50%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
60	1,388	1,215	868	1,587	1,388	992	1,785	1,562	1,116	1,984	1,736	1,244
70	1,620	1,418	1,012	1,852	1,620	1,157	2,083	1,822	1,302	2,314	2,025	1,444
80	1,851	1,620	1,157	2,116	1,851	1,322	2,380	2,082	1,488	2,648	2,314	1,654
90	2,083	1,822	1,301	2,380	2,083	1,488	2,678	2,343	1,674	2,975	2,604	1,854
100	2,314	2,025	1,446	2,645	2,314	1,653	2,975	2,603	1,860	3,306	2,893	2,064
110	2,545	2,228	1,591	2,910	2,545	1,818	3,273	2,863	2,046	3,637	3,182	2,274
120	2,777	2,430	1,735	3,174	2,777	1,934	3,570	3,124	2,232	3,967	3,472	2,474

In this context the following points will have to be noted:-

(1) The proportion of teacher-costs to total expenditure on education will depend upon the level at which physical facilities are provided and the extent and quality of ancillary services like school meals, health services or free supply of textbooks or school uniforms. At present the teacher-costs are about 90 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education which, in practice, implies that in the average primary classroom, there is little else except the teacher. On the other hand, even if physical facilities are provided at a certain minimum level, the teacher-costs will fall down to 80 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. If school meals are provided to a fair proportion of students and ancillary services like free supply of books or school uniforms are undertaken, the teacher-costs will only be about 50 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. It was therefore felt desirable to work out the cost per pupil for three different levels of teacher-costs - 80 per cent, 70 per cent and 50 per cent.

(2) The average pupil-teacher ratio at present is about 35. The proposals made vary from reducing it to 30 to increasing it to 40, 45 or even 50. It was thought desirable to work out the cost per pupil for all the four different pupil-teacher ratios, namely, 35, 40, 45 and 50. It should, however, be remembered that, if the pupil-teacher ratios of 45 or 50 are to be reached, it may be necessary to resort to the double shift system at least in classes I and II.

In deciding upon the optimum cost per pupil per year which should be accepted in the present circumstances and at the present level of prices for estimating the total cost of providing universal primary education, the following points will have to be kept in view:-

(a) The Education Commission recommended that the total emoluments (salary and dearness allowances taken together) of a primary teacher should be Rs.150-250, with a selection grade for 15 per cent of the cadre going up to Rs.300. This will fix the average total emoluments of a primary teacher at not less than Rs.200 p.m.. The average annual salary of a primary teacher should, therefore, be kept at not less than Rs.2400.

(b) The teacher-costs will have to be kept at not more than 80 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. This will not generally cover any ancillary services, except the provision of free books to about 10 per cent of the children. If school meals or health services are to be provided even to a small proportion of the total number of pupils, the teacher-costs will have to be kept at not more than 70 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. This would be desirable, but it does not seem to be financially feasible in the near future.

(c) If the pupil-teacher ratio is to be raised to 45 or more, it necessarily involves the adoption of the double-shift system in classes I and II. There are, however, strong resistances to the adoption of this proposal at present and it seems more realistic to work on the assumption that the pupil-teacher ratio will be 40.

On these assumptions, it will be seen from the Table No. I on page 13 that the minimum cost per pupil per year at the lower primary stage will be Rs. 80. We will have to work on this assumption, even for the period of the fourth Five Year Plan.*

At the higher primary stage, it will be difficult to reach a pupil-teacher ratio of 40, especially in the rural areas. It is also necessary to appoint trained graduates as headmasters of these schools and to incur somewhat higher expenditure on non-teacher costs. The cost per pupil per year at this stage will therefore be about 50 per cent higher or Rs. 120 per pupil per year. This may be taken as the basis of financial estimates for the period of the Fourth Five Year Plan.*

(b) Cost of programme of primary education:- On the basis of these costs per pupil, the total cost of a programme of universal primary education of seven years' duration for a population of 1,000 will be as follows:-

(a) The total number of children to be educated for a population of 1,000 at the present levels of birth-rate and longevity, will be 110 in the age-group 6-9 and 70 in the age-group 10-12, or 180 in all.

(b) The enrolment in classes I-IV will be 121(110 children in the age-group 6-10 plus 11 children (10 per cent of the total) to provide for enrolment under-age and above-age pupils. In classes V-VII, the enrolment will be 64(about 90 per cent of the total population in the age-group 11-13). In classes I-VII, therefore, the total enrolment will be 185.

(c) As the cost per student in classes I-V is Rs. 80, the total expenditure for the 121 students enrolled would be Rs. 9,680. As the cost per pupil in classes V-VII is Rs. 120, the total expenditure for the 64 students enrolled at this stage will be Rs. 7,680. The total expenditure on primary education would thus come to Rs. 17,360.

The total expenditure on primary education would thus come to Rs. 17 per head of population per year or a little more than 3 per cent of the GNP at the present level.

14. The expenditure on primary education now forms about one-third of the total expenditure on education. This pattern will continue for years because there is an urgent need to invest in secondary and higher education as well. On this assumption, an allocation of Rs. 17 per head of population will be available for primary education only if the total educational expenditure raised to Rs. 51 per head of population. This, in its turn, will be possible only when the national dividend is raised to about Rs. 850 and when 6 per cent of the national income is allocated to education. This will easily need a period of 15-20 years.

15. Additional enrolments: The same conclusion can be reached even on the consideration of the huge numbers involved.

(1) Enrolment in Classes I-V: In 1965-66, the total enrolment in Classes I-V was about 52 million. If primary education is to be made universal in the age-

-group 6-10 by 1975-76 (when the total population of children in this age-group will be 84 million), the target for enrolment in Classes I-V in that year will have to be 92 million (110 per cent). In other words, the enrolment in Classes I-V will have to increase by 40 million (from 52 million to 92 million) in a period of ten years. This means an average additional enrolment of 4.0 million per year) and, as the enrolment in the three Annual Plan years has fallen far short of this target, it will imply an additional enrolment of about 4.5 million per year for the next seven years. This is extremely difficult and will involve large outlays which are likely to be beyond the reach of the economy.

Had this additional enrolment of 40 million children been evenly spread out between the different States, the difficulties in securing it would have been considerably less. But unfortunately, it is very unevenly spread out. For instance Maharashtra had an enrolment of 5.4 million in 1965-66. At 110 per cent of the population in the age-group 6-10, it will have to provide for an enrolment of 8.4 million only in 1975-76. In other words, Maharashtra has to enrol about three million children in a period of ten years and this will not at all be difficult because it is actually enrolling about 300,000 children every year at present. But Bihar had an enrolment of only 4.4 million in 1965-66. At 110 per cent of the age-group 6-10 in 1975-76, it will have to enrol about 9.8 million children in these Classes. In other words, Bihar will have to enrol about 5.4 million children in a period of ten years or 540,000 children per year. This will be extremely difficult.

because the average annual increase in enrolment in Bihar is now only 200,000 and it has no adequate resources to support such a massive programme of additional enrolment.

This is not a question of money only. Girls form the majority of the non-attending children at present; and they are distributed among the different States even more unevenly than the boys. For instance, in the total enrolment of 52 million in 1965-66 in Classes I-V, 34 million were boys and 18 million were girls. By 1975-76, we will have to enrol 48 million boys and 44 million girls. In other words, the task before the country is to enrol 14 million additional boys but 26 million additional girls or about two additional girls to every additional boy. In some States, the additional enrolments in the case of girls become almost frighteningly large. For instance, in Rajasthan, the enrolment of girls in Classes I-V in 1960-61 was 215,000. It increased to 364,000 in 1965-66 which implies a total increase of 149,000 or about 30,000 per year. By 1975-76, Rajasthan will have to enrol 2.2 million girls (at 110 per cent of the population in the age-group 6-10). This implies an additional enrolment of 1.8 million girls in ten years or an enrolment of 180,000 girls per year as against the present enrolment rate of 30,000 only. In Bihar, the enrolment of girls in Classes I-V was about 700,000 in 1960-61 and it increased to one million in 1965-66, i.e., at an average rate of about 60,000 per year. By 1975-76, Bihar will have to enrol 4.8 million girls or 380,000 additional girls per year as against its present enrolment rate of 60,000 only.

(2) Enrolment in Classes VI-VIII: In Classes VI-VIII, the problem of numbers is even more stupendous. In 1965-66, the total enrolment in these Classes was 11 million or about 32 per cent of the total population in the age-group. The present rate of additional enrolments is only about 660,000 per year. By 1985-86, the enrolment in these classes will have to increase to about 48 million which implies an increase of 37 million in a period of twenty years. This is a very stupendous job and involves an additional enrolment of about 1.8 million additional children per year. Here again the task is very unevenly spread between the different States. It is comparatively easy in advanced States like Kerala, Madras or Maharashtra. But in States like Bihar, the additional enrolment in classes VI-VIII is not even keeping pace with the growth of the population in the age-group 11-13, with the result that the number of non-attending children is actually increasing rather than decreasing! For instance, in 1960-61, the number of non-attending children in Bihar in the age-group 11-13 was 2.6 million. In 1965-66, it increased to 3.1 million. Similarly, the task regarding the enrolment of girls is extremely difficult in some States. In Rajasthan, the enrolment of girls in Classes VI-VIII in 1965-66 was only 50,000 in a total population of 800,000 or about 6 per cent! In Uttar Pradesh, the enrolment of girls in Classes VI-VIII was 250,000 in a total population of 2.7 million or about 9 per cent. For these enrolments to be raised to at least 80 per cent and above is going to be a tremendously difficult undertaking.

16. Broad Conclusions:

15. The main points that emerge from the foregoing discussion are the following:-

(1) In the long run, the problem of providing universal primary education in India will become comparatively easy, partly because the total number of children to be educated will be much smaller (about 15 or 16 per cent of the population as against 22 per cent at present) on account of the programmes of family planning, and partly because the national dividend will also rise making it possible to allocate a larger proportion thereof to primary education.

(2) In the short run, however, the programme is going to be very difficult; and it will be possible to solve it fairly early if -

(a) programmes of primary education are given very high priority and adequate allocations;

(b) intensive efforts are made to overcome the resistances to the education of girls or to co-education and to enrol children from the backward classes and the very poor social strata such as the landless labourers; and

(c) if the class-size is kept fairly high so that the number of teachers employed is proportionately reduced and suitable methods of teaching and evaluation are evolved to maintain standards.

(3) It may not be possible to complete this programme by 1980-81 as is sometimes suggested. Probably the best plan would be to adopt the recommendations made by

the Education Commission that education at the lower primary stage (Classes I-IV) should be made universal by 1975-76 and that at the higher primary stage (Classes V-VIII), by 1985-86. Even this is a very challenging task and can be fulfilled only if sustained, well-planned and intensive efforts are made right from now.

II - A PROGRAMME OF ACTION

17. Assuming that these recommendations are accepted, the next questions will be these:

(1) What type of a programme should be designed and developed over the next 15-20 years? and

(2) In particular, what programme should be developed for this purpose in the fourth Five Year Plan?

It is these two questions to which some tentative answers will be proposed in the paragraphs that follow.

18. As pointed out earlier, the programme of providing universal primary education has four aspects:

(1) free education;

(2) universal provision of facilities;

(3) universal enrolment; and

(4) universal retention.

19. Free Primary Education: The problem of free primary education has come into prominence and needs attention. In view of the constitutional directive, the Ministry of Education has proposed that primary education (classes I-VII or I-VIII) as the case may be) should be made free as early as possible, and preferably in the fourth Five Year Plan. A study of the responses given by the State Governments

shows the following:

(a) All States in India except four - Assam, Bihar, U.P. and West Bengal - have made primary education free. Punjab has made primary education free in the past but has now imposed fees, both for boys and girls, at the higher primary stage. Haryana is thinking of following suit.

(b) West Bengal has accepted, in principle, the need to make primary education in classes I-VIII free. Its difficulty is mainly financial. The loss from fee income will be Rs. 100 lakhs for classes I-V and about 500 lakhs for classes I-VIII. If assistance of this order is available, it is prepared to undertake the programme. However, in view of the financial difficulty, it is of the view that it will only make primary education free in classes I-IV during the fourth Five Year Plan.

(c) In U.P., primary education in classes I-VI is free for all and fees are charged for boys only in the classes VII and VIII. Making education free for them would involve an expenditure of Rs. 2 crores per year. The State Government is of the view that this is not a priority programme and that these funds could be better utilised for other developmental schemes such as improving the remuneration of teachers, etc.

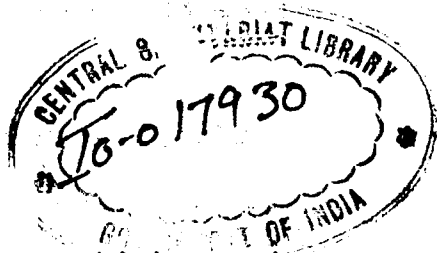
(d) In Assam, the cost of the programme is estimated at Rs. 12 lakhs a year and in Bihar, at Rs. 30 lakhs a year. Both the Governments are anxious to make primary education free in the fourth Five Year Plan; and as the finances involved are small, the programme appears to be feasible.

It is regretted that Punjab which had made higher primary education free is now reimposing fees and Haryana is doing the same. These appear to be retrograde steps.

It is necessary for the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education to take a definite view of the problem and guide action on the part of the State Governments. It is necessary to ensure that primary education (classes I-VII) is made free in all parts of the country at a very early date and not later than the end of the Fourth Plan.

20. Universal Provision of Facilities: The Second Education Survey has shown that most parts of the country have now been provided with a lower primary school within easy walking distance from the home of every child. The task that remains to be done is therefore not very large. But there are a few pockets where new lower primary schools are still needed. On the basis of the Second Education Survey and the criteria suggested by the Education Commission, therefore facilities for lower primary education (classes I-IV) or I-V) should be provided as early as possible and at any rate, before the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

At the higher primary stage (classes V-VII or VI-VIII), there is still considerable work to be done. The Second Education Survey showed that only about two-thirds of the population is served by facilities at the stage. The proportion of lower primary to higher primary schools also shows considerable variations from one part of the country to another. (It is one to three in some areas and one to ten in others). It is therefore necessary to



concentrate attention on providing more higher primary schools, the ultimate target to be reached being to provide about one higher primary school to three lower primary schools or within a distance of two or three miles from the home of every child. On the basis of the Second Education Survey and the criteria recommended by the Education Commission, a careful plan of perspective development should be prepared for each district suggesting the provision of universal facilities for higher primary education in a period of five to ten years depending upon the level of development already reached. As much of this as is possible should be implemented during the fourth Five Year Plan. By and large, it would be a good target to provide one higher primary school to every five lower primary schools by the end of the fourth Plan.

21. Universal Enrolment: At present, the enrolment in class I is extremely heterogenous and spread over a wide range of age-groups.* This makes teaching in class I very difficult and adds to wastage and stagnation. A continuous effort should, therefore, be made to ensure that the enrolment in class I is largely of children in the age-group 5-6 or 6-7.

Emphasis should be placed on the enrolment of girls, of children from the backward classes and of such economically handicapped sections as landless agricultural labourers.

* For details, see Annexure II;

The transfer rate of pupils at the end of the lower primary stage is now about 80 per cent, the drop-outs occurring partly because facilities for higher primary education are not available or because the children are too poor to avail themselves of full-time education. Steps should, therefore, be taken, as indicated above, to expand facilities for higher primary education. Facilities for part-time education should also be provided to all children who cannot continue their education at the higher primary stage, for some reason or other, on a full-time basis.

22. Universality of Retention: The most important programme to be implemented during the next ten years should be to reduce wastage and stagnation to the minimum. The target should be to reduce wastage and stagnation to about half by 1976 and to almost eliminate them by 1986.

This is largely an organisational programme and involves a reorientation of teachers and officers of the State Education Departments. An adequate machinery to guide and develop the programme in the States should be created in the State Departments of Education, preferably as a part of the State Institutes of Education. The responsibility for providing guidance and coordination for this programme at the national level should be laid on the NCERT.

23. Reducing The Cost per Pupil: It is necessary to keep the cost per pupil at the primary stage as low as possible, consistent with the maintenance of minimum standards, with a view to making the programme realistic and feasible. As stated earlier, this cost depends upon three variables:

- (a) The average annual salary of primary teachers;
- (b) The ratio of non-teacher costs to total expenditure on primary education; and
- (c) Teacher-pupil ratio.

24. It would be a wrong policy to economise on the salary of primary teachers. In fact, our objective should be to raise the status of primary teachers and to provide them with a good remuneration so that persons of higher calibre and with good general education and professional training can be attracted to the profession.

25. Regarding non-teacher costs, there are certain limitations within which we shall have to operate. As stated earlier, if a reasonable extent of physical facilities are to be provided and if free books and writing materials are to be given to poor and needy children and if school meals and health services are to be provided on a very minimum scale, the non-teacher costs will be about 20 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. As the ancillary services provided increase in quality and magnitude, these will rise to 30 to 50 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. For the next few years, however, the policy should be to limit the non-teacher costs to about 20 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. Even this would be a

great advance over the existing situation where the non-teacher costs are about 10 per cent or even less of the total expenditure on primary education.

26. With regard to pupil-teacher ratio, the third variable on which the cost per pupil depends, a much greater elasticity is possible; and, by varying pupil-teacher ratio suitably, it will be possible to keep the cost per pupil down to a reasonable level. But unfortunately, this has become one of the most controversial areas in primary education at present. There are two distinct schools of thought. According to one, the pupil-teacher ratio should be as low as possible and preferably 30:1. According to the other, a high pupil-teacher ratio is inescapable in the present situation in India and the existing pupil-teacher ratio of 34:1 should be deliberately raised, during the next five years, to 50:1. The main argument in favour of the smaller pupil-teacher ratio is that it will lead to qualitative improvement whereas the main argument in respect of the larger pupil-teacher ratio is that it will enable us to provide a higher remuneration to teachers without affecting the pace of expansion.

27. In this context, the problem of the introduction of the double-shift system becomes very significant. The adoption of the double-shift system will obviously increase the overall pupil-teacher ratio; and therefore those who support a large pupil-teacher ratio recommend the adoption of the double-shift system at the primary stage or at any

rate in classes I and II. Opposition to this proposal is quite strong on the grounds that it introduces inequalities; the teachers having double-shift classes have to work harder without any additional remuneration; the children learn less (although this assumption is not quite correct); and standards are lowered. A suitable compensatory allowance to teachers who have to handle two shifts seems to be obviously justified. The effect of the double-shift arrangement on standards of achievement needs examination, and the following points deserve consideration in this context:

(1) The time for which children are kept in schools in class I (or sometimes classes I and II) should always be less than that in the other classes. It is a mistake to keep young children at school for as long as six hours a day. Three to four hours of instruction are all that they need at this stage.

(2) Studies made in some places where the double-shift system has been in operation show that there is no significant difference in the learning of children who attend for 3 to 4 hours a day and those who spend 5 to 6 hours a day, if instruction is properly organized.

28. The experience of Kerala, which has made the best progress in the provision of universal primary education, will be of interest in this regard. It wanted to expand primary education quickly and did not have the necessary resources. It, therefore, adopted the double shift system

in classes I-V and thus increased the pupil-teacher ratio. This enabled it to achieve expansion in a short period; and as resources became available, it started discontinuing the double-shift system from the top, i.e., it was discontinued in class V in the first instance and then in classes IV and III. It is still continued in classes I and II. The following table shows how the pupil-teacher ratios in Kerala have varied from year to year in the past:

Table II
Pupil-Teacher Ratio (1949-50 to 1963-64)

Year	Kerala			All India		
	Primary School	Middle School	Elementary School	Primary School	Middle School	Elementary School
1949-50	53	45	52	34	25	32
1950-51	50	19	45	34	24	33
1951-52	52	23	46	34	25	32
1952-53	50	24	46	33	24	32
1953-54	54	23	48	33	23	32
1954-55	55	26	49	33	23	31
1955-56	41	18	37	33	26	32
1956-57	41	27	38	34	26	32
1957-58	39	29	36	34	27	33
1958-59	41	27	36	35	31	34
1959-60	39	27	35	35	30	34
1960-61	39	27	34	36	31	34
1961-62	37	27	33	37	32	35
1962-63	39	27	34	38	32	36
1963-64	39	29	35	37	32	36

This strategy for rapid development of primary education which was successfully adopted in Kerala can also be adopted by other States.

29. If the pupil-teacher ratio is to be raised without adopting the double-shift system, a larger class-size will have to be adopted. At present, the class-size is generally fixed at 40 and this may have to be raised to 50 or even 60. Even here, however, the same controversies are in evidence. One group of thinkers will not agree to a class-size of more than 40 which, in the last analysis, will give an average pupil-teacher ratio of about 30. The other group of thinkers proposes the adoption of class-size with a minimum of 50 pupils and a maximum of 60 pupils. If these suggestions are adopted, the overall pupil-teacher ratio may rise to 40, 45, or even 50. In this context, it may be pointed out that there is no special sanctity about any particular class-size. What matters is the method of teaching and organisation to be adopted. There are certain methods of organisation and teaching which can be used only if the total size of the class is small, while there are others which can be used in classes of a larger size. If the proper techniques are adopted, it is possible to obtain better results with a large class than in a small class where the techniques employed are relatively unsatisfactory.

30. It must also be remembered that the size of the class is not a purely educational but a financial issue

suitable for large classes, and if we could train our teachers properly in the handling of these methods, the educational standards would materially improve in spite of the large size of the classes.

32. It thus becomes evident that the most effective way to keep down the cost per pupil is to adopt a larger pupil teacher ratio. From this point of view, the following two programmes may be adopted, either separately or in combination:-

(1) The double-shift system may be adopted, at least in classes I and II. The emphasis should, in this case, be on evolving suitable methods of teaching under this system; or

(2) The large class-sizes of 40-60 may be deliberately adopted and emphasis should be laid on evolving methods of teaching appropriate for such classes.

33. Programmes of Qualitative Improvement: At the primary stage, the programme of expansion have obviously a higher priority. But it is also essential to develop programmes of qualitative improvement side by side.

34. Primary Teachers: The most important of these is the improvement in the status and training of primary teachers. The Education Commission has examined both these problems in detail and made a series of recommendations which are given in Annexure III. Steps will have to be taken to implement these.

35. An improvement in the remuneration of primary teachers should be brought about on a basis of urgency and priority. The Education Commission recommended that the Government of India should, in consultation with the State Governments, lay down minimum scales of pay for school teachers and that it should also generously assist the State Governments to implement the reform. There is a tremendous dissatisfaction among the primary teachers because their remuneration has remained inadequate for years and has now become even more so because of the rise in prices. The situation is particularly serious in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. A bold programme of improving the remuneration of primary school teachers is thus called for.

36. Since a decision has been taken to treat the expenditure incurred on improving the remuneration of teachers as non-Plan, this programme will not be included in the Fourth Five Year Plan nor will any assistance be available for it from the Planning Commission. It is, therefore, all the more necessary to emphasise it and to ensure that the funds required for it are mobilised. This may be done by a Central grant-in-aid to the State Governments on the non-Plan side as, for instance, was done for improving the scales of pay of college and university teachers. Another alternative would be for the Finance Commission to take into consideration the expenditure that the State Governments will have to incur on providing a minimum scale of pay to primary school

teachers while recommending its award of distribution of revenues and grants-in-aid to the State Governments.

36A. With regard to the general education and professional training of teachers, the position varies immensely from State to State. In some States, almost all primary teachers have completed their secondary education and a fair proportion are even graduates. In others, there is still a large proportion of teachers who have not even completed their secondary school. In some States, the duration of the training course is of two years and the institutions are of a fair standard. In others, the duration is only of one year and the standard of education leaves much to be desired. In some States, there is hardly any backlog of untrained teachers and the output of trained teachers is so large that no untrained teacher is generally recruited to service. In other States, there is a large backlog of untrained teachers and the facilities provided for teacher training at present are so meagre that the output of trained teachers is far below the annual recruitment of new teachers, so that there is a large proportion of untrained teachers among the new recruits and the backlog of untrained teachers tends to increase. It is, therefore, necessary to prepare separate plans for the development of teacher education in each State. These should emphasise, in the context of local conditions, the following programmes:-

- (1) Improvement of the general education of primary

teachers in such a way that all fresh recruits would have at least completed the secondary school, that adequate incentives and facilities will be given to non-matriculate teachers in service to complete their secondary education and that a fair proportion amongst the teachers - at least the Headmasters of bigger lower primary and of all higher primary schools - are trained graduates;

(2) Extension of facilities for teacher training so that the existing backlog of untrained teachers is eliminated in a short time and the output of trained teachers is made broadly equal to annual requirements for new teachers;

(3) Improvement of the quality of training institutions on the broad lines recommended by the Education Commission;

(4) Organisation of correspondence and part-time courses on a fairly large scale; and

(5) Provision of a large-scale programme of in-service education for primary teachers.

36B. The period covered by these plans for the improvement of teacher education will vary from State to State. As a rule, however, they should be spread over 5-10 years. The funds required for these programmes should also be provided on a priority basis.

36C. It would also be desirable, as recommended by the Education Commission, to establish a State Board of Teacher Education for the formulation and implementation of these plans.

37. Improvement of Physical Facilities in Primary Schools:

The physical facilities in primary schools are very unsatisfactory at present. A large proportion of them have no buildings of their own and are housed in what are described as 'rent free' structures which are generally unsatisfactory. Even elementary sanitary facilities are often non-existent. The equipment is generally meagre and out-of-date. There are no good libraries or collections of children's books; and so on. What is needed is a supreme effort to improve these conditions.

38. The main programmes to be taken up from this point of view are two:-

(1) The cost of school buildings should be reduced to the minimum by adoption of the designs and techniques developed by the Central Buildings Research Institute, Roorkee and by the use of locally available materials.

(2) The effort of the community should be fully enlisted for this purpose and collections should be made in cash and kind. The excellent work done in the Madras State is a good pointer in this direction. It would be desirable to institute a school fund in each primary school consisting of (a) a minimum grant for non-teacher costs given by the State, (b) collections made by the people and (c) a matching grant on such collections given by the State on the basis of equalization.

39. Finance: The present pattern of financing primary education should be modified on the following principles:-

Recurring Expenditure

(1) The State Government should provide the amount required for the salaries and allowances of teachers as well as for all indirect expenditure, such as that incurred on teacher training

(2) With regard to non-teacher costs, the State should provide a certain minimum expenditure for all institutions. But an increase beyond this minimum should be shared between the local community and the State government (or any district level authority) on some agreed basis of equalisation. On the whole, this expenditure may be shared on 50:50 basis. But institutions in well-to-do areas may receive grant-in-aid at a lower rate while those in poorer areas may be assisted on a more liberal basis.

Capital expenditure

(3) The capital expenditure should be shared between the Government (or any district level authority) and the local community on a similar basis of equalisation.

40. State and District Plans: What needs to be emphasised in the development of primary education is elasticity of approach. The level of primary education reached in the different States shows considerable variations. Even in the same State, the districts show a much wider spectrum of development and the same can also be said of different parts in the same district. By and large, the urban areas are far more developed than the rural ones. It is, therefore, evident that the goal of providing universal primary education will be reached in different areas at different times. The urban areas may reach it by 1981 and some of them, even by 1975. States like Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra or Gujarat will also be able to reach the target much earlier than others, probably before or by 1981. Several districts such as Satara in Maharashtra or Quilon in Kerala will reach the goal much earlier than districts like Barmer in Rajasthan or

Kalahandi in Orissa, or Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. What is, therefore, necessary is to adopt an elastic approach and to ensure that, in each area, the development of primary education proceeds at the best rate possible. As the Education Commission has recommended, each State and District should be required to prepare a perspective plan for the development of primary education in its area and given full assistance to move forward at its best pace.

41. Special assistance to Backward States: Special attention will have to be given to the six comparatively less advanced States in this regard, viz., Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. These have about 45 per cent of the total population of the country but they also have a much larger proportion of the non-attending children in the country as a whole; and what is worse, this proportion is continually increasing. For instance, about 60 per cent of the non-attending children in the country as a whole were in these States in 1961 and the proportion has now risen to about 70 per cent. Paradoxically enough, the number of non-attending children in the age-group in 11-14 is increasing in these States from year to year because the new enrolments are less than the increase in population. These are also the economically less developed and handicapped areas and they have several difficult social problems to tackle such as large concentration of Adivasi population or strong social prejudices against the education of girls. In other words, these States have a much larger and more difficult task to perform and

comparatively fewer resources to perform it with. Unless some special assistance from the Centre is made available, it may not be possible for these States to fulfil the Directive of the Constitution with regard to primary education even by 1985-86. A definite policy decision in this matter should therefore be taken and programmes for this purpose should be drawn up and initiated in the fourth Five Year Plan itself. They will have to be continued and intensified until the goal is reached.

42. The case of West Bengal deserves special mention. This is not an educationally backward State as such but owing to continuous neglect in the past, its programme of primary education is in sad array. The salaries of teachers need upgrading. The programme of teacher training is weak and under-developed. There are some parts of the rural areas where facilities have still to be provided. But most of all, the State is not in a position to provide free primary education in the urban areas. In fact, the situation in the city of Calcutta is even worse than in rural areas. The State will therefore have to be assisted to make primary education free in its urban areas and generally to develop a good programme of primary education in the City of Calcutta. Some definite steps in this direction should be taken in the fourth Five Year Plan.**

43. The role of the Centre: The provision of universal primary education is essentially a responsibility of the

* For details, see Annexure IV.

** For details, please see J.P.Naik: Report on Primary Education in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

States. The Government of India has, however, a responsibility to provide financial support for primary education. This becomes imperative for two reasons:-

(1) Article 45 of the Constitution makes the 'State' responsible for providing free and compulsory education for all children till they reach the age of 14 years. The word 'State' which occurs in this Article includes, not only the State Governments, but the Government of India also. It is therefore but proper that the Central Government should assist the State Governments to prepare realistic and feasible plans for providing universal primary education and for their implementation.

(2) The financial assistance of the Centre is also necessary to equalise educational opportunities in the different States. The local communities in a given state show great variations in their 'teaching loads' or the number of children to be educated and also in their capacity to support a programme of universal primary education as indicated by their income per head of population.

Educational opportunities at the community level can therefore be equalised by the State Governments through a system of grant-in-aid which provides assistance to local communities on a basis of equalisation i.e., larger grants-in-aid being given to poor communities and smaller ones to the richer communities. In the same way, the States themselves show great variations in their 'teaching loads' and in their capacity to support programmes of universal primary education. Educational opportunities in the different states can therefore be equalised only if the Government of India provides a system of grant-in-aid on the

44. This responsibility of the Government of India can be discharged if the Planning Commission provides a reasonable amount of special assistance, earmarked for primary education, to the backward States in every Annual and Five-Year Plan until the Constitutional Directive with regard to primary education is fulfilled in all parts of the country.

45. But the second and a more radical method would be to institute a permanent recurring grant-in-aid to all the State Governments on account of primary education, preferably on some basis of equalisation. As in Japan, the Government of India may bear an agreed proportion of the entire expenditure incurred by a State Government on the salaries of primary teachers. In the alternative, Government of India may institute a system of equalisation grants to State Governments for purposes of primary education on the analogy of the grants-in-aid for equalisation given by the State Governments to local communities in USA. The broad basis of such grants would be the following:-

(a) Equalisation will be assumed at a given level of cost per pupil;

(b) the principle underlying the grant-in-aid will be that, for an equal effort on the part of the States, the expenditure per pupil will also be equalised; and

(c) The grant-in-aid from the Government of India to the State Governments per pupil in primary schools will therefore be equal to the difference between (i) the cost per pupil assumed for purposes of equalisation and (ii) the amount which can be raised by the levy of a rate on the State income at a prescribed rate.*

* For details, see J.P. Naik: Elementary Education in India - the Unfinished Business - Appendix III

46. . Targets and allocations for the fourth Five Year Plan: By 1968-69, about 80 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-11 and about 33 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14 have been enrolled. The objective should be to increase this enrolment to 95 per cent in the age-group 6-11 and to 45 per cent in the age-group 11-14. This will involve an additional enrolment of 20 million in Classes I-V and of 10 million in Classes VI-VIII. This will need an additional outlay of about Rs. 11,400 million. On the other hand, the amount likely to be available for primary education in the Fourth Plan will be only about Rs. 3000 million.* There is thus a wide gap between needs and resources and the following programmes will have to be adopted to bridge it:-

(1) The targets of enrolments are reduced (involving a danger that we may not fulfil the directive of the Constitution even by 1985-86;

(2) the cost per pupil is reduced by adoption of the double-shift system, larger class-sizes, etc., and

(3) the States are requested to accord a higher priority to primary education and a sizable allocation for it is also made in the Central sector.

*For details, see Annexure V.

ANNEXURE I

Free Primary Education: Neighbourhood School

What is the precise implication of the directive principle contained in Article 45 of the Constitution which provides that free and compulsory education shall be provided for all children till they reach the age of 14 years? Several interpretations have been put forward.

(1) According to the first view, all children should receive free education till they reach the age of 14 years. Those who support this view point out that Article 45 of the Constitution does not specify the age at which free education is to begin and that it does not also specifically refer to primary education. They therefore contend that all education - pre-primary, primary and even secondary - should be free for every child till he reaches the age of 14 years.

(2) The second view is that this Article should be interpreted to refer to primary education only and not to either pre-primary or to secondary education. Those who support this view therefore argue that only primary education (classes I-VII^{or I-VIII} as the case may be) should be made free and that fees should be levied in primary and in secondary education.

The strict interpretation of Article 45 of the Constitution may not bear out this contention. It is therefore suggested that free primary education should be regarded as the first phase in the programme of over-all free education which has been suggested in Article 45 of the Constitution. After this programme is fully implemented, the question of making pre-primary education free or of making secondary education free till the age of 14 years may be considered.

As this paper deals with primary education only, it is assumed that Article 45 of the Constitution requires primary education (classes I-VII or I-VIII as the case may be) to be free. It is further assumed that even children above the age of 14 will receive free education if they happen to be attending primary schools, although this interpretation may not be strictly covered by Article 45 of the Constitution.

2. Free Primary Education: Even assuming that primary education is to be free, there is no unanimity with regard to the interpretation of this directive.

(1) According to one view, all primary education should be free in the sense that fees should not be charged in any primary school. Those who support this view argue that, as soon as fees begin to be charged in primary schools, the children of the country get segregated: the children of the poor go to the free primary schools which, by and large, maintain poor standards while those of the well-to-do and rich go to fee-charging schools which are mostly private and which provide, on the whole, a better standard of education. They further argue that fees should not be levied in any primary school whatsoever and that it should not be open to every child to claim admission to the primary school in his neighbourhood.

This leads to the concept of the neighbourhood school. According to this, all children living in a neighbourhood should attend a common primary school meant

for the neighbourhood. It will not be possible to implement this idea unless there is compulsory legislation on the subject. This is not probably possible under the present Constitution and also does not appear to be feasible. Even the desirability of this measure is challenged.

There are various other views which make some compromise or the other with this position. For instance, some argue that no fees should be charged in aided primary schools, leaving it open to unaided primary schools (recognised as well as unrecognised) to charge fees. Others would insist that no fees should be charged in any recognised primary school, aided or unaided, leaving it open only to unaided primary schools to charge fees.

There is also a view that the segregation that now takes place at the primary stage between the richer and the poorer classes on account of the levy of fees should be avoided without adopting the idea of the neighbourhood school. Those who hold this view argue that every fee-charging primary school should be required to admit a certain proportion of free students, the proportion suggested varying from 10 per cent to about 50 per cent. It is also suggested that, on account of the students so admitted to these institutions, a grant-in-aid may be given at a rate not exceeding the average annual cost per student in public primary schools.

3. Minimum Programme: The following should be the minimum bases on which plans should be drawn up:-

(1) No fees should be charged in Government or local authority schools. But the provision of such schools should be on so large a scale that every parent who desires to have free primary education will have on such school in his neighbourhood to which he can send his child.

(2) In areas where private primary schools are numerous, it may also be necessary to lay down that aided primary schools shall not charge fees. Otherwise, free primary education may be denied to a large number of parents. This happens, for instance, in Calcutta City. Here no fees are levied in Government schools or in Corporation schools. But the number of these schools is so small that the vast majority of children attend private schools which charge fairly heavy fees.

(3) Where private primary schools are allowed to charge fees, a precaution may be taken to ensure that segregation of children is avoided or reduced to the minimum. The law should, therefore, provide that all such schools should admit a certain proportion of free students from their neighbourhood.