GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY 1947 - 1978

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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & SOCIAL WELFARE

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INTRODUCTION

The Ministry of Education and Social Welfare requested the Indian Council of Social Science Research to take a review of the implementation of the National Policy on Education (1968) and to make recommendations for the development of education in the Sixth plan. The Council agreed to do so and entrusted the task to me.

In planning the study, its actual scope was considerably widened in order to make it more useful. As the formulation and implementation of National Policies on Education depends upon the role of Government of India in education, it was decided to preface the study by a historical review of this role and an analysis of the various conditions and factors which help the Government of India to discharge its responsibilities adequately. It was further decided that the study should also review the educational events in India between 1947 and 1965 to find out what precise difference, if any, was made to the development of education by the Report of the Education Commission (1964-66) and the National Policy on Education (1968). The coverage of the study which would have been limited to 1975-76 was also extended to 1977-78 to coincide with the end of the truncated Fifth plan (1974-78). Finally, it was decided that the proposals for future reform should cover a longer perspective of one or two decades and not be confined to the sixth plan only. All these decisions naturally delayed the finalization of the Report.

I am grateful to Shri R. S. Chitkara and Shri Veda Prakasha for helping me in collecting materials and in the preparation of the final Report. I must however add that the responsibility for the views expressed is exclusively personal to me and does not reflect the views of these colleagues or of the Indian Council of Social Science Research and the Indian Institute of Education, Pune.

I am very grateful to the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare for this opportunity given to me to serve the cause of education and for the kindness and patience extended to me while preparing the Report.

Pune
1st July 1979

J. P. NAIK

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CHAPTER ONE

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND EDUCATION

1.01 The nature and content of the National Educational Policy as well as the manner and success of its implementation obviously depends on the role of the Government of India in education. In this introductory chapter, therefore, we shall briefly discuss the role of the Government of India in education as it has evolved over the years, its present status and future prospects.

The Role of the Government of India in Education (1833-1870)

1.02 The East India Company was made to accept reponsibility for the education of the Indian people in 1813.[1] But a Government of India did not then exist ; the authority of the Governors of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras was supreme and subject only to the control of the Court of Directors of the Company in England. Between 1813 and 1833, therefore, education was an exclusive responsibility of the Provincial Governments. This situation however changed completely in 1833 when the Charter Act of that year created the office of the Governor-General of India and vested in him the sole authority to govern all the Company's possessions in India. This was basically a political decision taken with the object of creating a powerful and supreme agency within the country itself to strengthen the administration of the existing territories as well as to facilitate the conquest of new ones. But it made education, like every other subject, an exclusive responsibility of the Government of India in which all revenues were vested and which alone could authorize appropriations therefrom.[2] At one stroke, the Provincial Governments thus lost all their authority over education and became merely the *agents* of the Government of India to administer it on its behalf. They could not create a single post, however low, nor sanction a rupee of expenditure, nor make any change in policies, however small,

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1. Charter Act of 1813, Section 43.

2. In the modern parlance, this is equivalent to saying that 'education' ceased to be an exclusively *State* subject and became an exclusively *Central* subject.

without the approval of the Government of India. This system of a total centralization of authority continued till 1870. It would have been almost unworkable but for the fact that, in actual practice, the Government of India allowed a good deal of freedom to the Provincial Governments to adjust educational policies to their local needs and respected their proposals and advice.

1.03 During this period, there were two main occasions when the Government of India issued orders which, in substance, were tantamount to the enunciation of a National Policy on Education although this expression was not then used. The first refers to the orders issued by Lord William Bentinck, on the basis of a Minute recorded by Macaulay, that the objective of modern education in India ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the people of India and that English should be the medium of education.[1] The second was the Educational Despatch dated 19th July 1854 issued by the Court of Directors. It is a long document of 100 paragraphs which laid down the broad principles and programmes for educational development in India. It confirmed the orders issued earlier by Lord Bentinck and, among other things, authorized (1) the establishments of universities at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, (2) the creation of Education Departments in the Provinces, (3) the establishment of a graded network of schools and colleges in all parts of the country, (4) the provision of grants-in-aid to private schools, (both missionary and Indian), (5) training of teachers, (6) encouragement to the education of women and (7) employment of educated Indians in government service. This policy statement continued to govern all educational developments in India till 1882.

The Role of the Government of India in Education (1870-1921)

1.04 In 1870, Lord Mayo initiated a system of decentralization and delegation of authority. The centralized administration introduced in 1833 had served its purpose : the whole of India had been conquered, the so-called Sepoy Mutiny quelled, and the British rule fully consolidated in all parts of the country. On the other hand, the weaknesses of the system which led to delays and wastefulness in expenditure and created an irresponsible attitude in the Provincial Governments came to the surface and began to gall. A move for decentralization was, therefore, inevitable, and it came none too soon.

1. Resolution of the Government of India, dated 7th March, 1835.

1.05 Under the orders issued by Lord Mayo, the Provincial Governments were made responsible for all expenditure on certain services (including education) and were given, for that purpose, a fixed grant-in-aid and certain sources of revenue. This system continued to be in force up to 1876-77 when a system of 'shared revenues' was introduced. Under this system, certain revenues were designated as exclusively 'Central', certain others were designated as exclusively 'Provincial' and the remaining were designated as 'Divided' and their receipts were shared between the Central and Provincial Governments according to an agreed contract which remained in force for a period of five years at a time. Thus the quinquennial contracts were revised in 1882-83, 1886 87, 1891-92 and 1896-97. In 1904, they were declared to be quasi-permanent i.e. not to be changed except in a grave emergency, and in 1912, they were declared to be permanent. It will thus be seen that, under these financial arrangements, the entire expenditure on education was to be borne by the Provincial Governments within the resources allocated to them. A delegation of administrative powers naturally followed this transfer of financial responsibility. It may be said, therefore, that between 1870 and 1921, most of the administrative and financial authority over education was gradually transferred to the Provincial Governments ; and the Government of India merely retained a theoretical right of the control and general supervision as a sequel to its ultimate responsibility to the British Parliament.

1.06 It must be made clear however that, when necessary, the Government of India did not hesitate to intervene, to review educational progress, and to issue such directives to Provincial Governments as it felt to be necessary. The first such occasion to intervene arose when there was an insistent demand that the progress of education in India since the Educational Despatch of 1854 should be reviewed. The Government of India, therefore, appointed the first Commission on Education in India, viz. the Indian Education Commission (1882) and on the submission of its report, issued orders laying down a new National Policy on Education. Its main features were : (1) emphasis on the spread of primary education and education among girls, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes ; (2) full encouragement to Indian private enterprise in secondary and higher education ; and (3) creation of local bodies at the District and Tahsil levels (with considerable participation of the Indian people) and their association with the administration of primary education. These policies continued to be in force till the end of the nineteenth century.

1.07 The second occasion for a strong and sustained intervention arose when Lord Curzon became the Governor General of India. He was of the view that Indian education had grown too fast at the secondary and university stages, that its administration had become flabby because of undue freedom given to Indian private enterprise, that standards had deteriorated and that the uncontrolled expansion of secondary and higher education was leading to indiscipline and disaffection against Government. He was, therefore, of the view that the Government of India should no longer be a 'king log' and that a policy of intensive central interest in education must be enunciated and sustained. He created the office of the Director-General of Public Instruction in India under the Central Government (1897). He also convened a Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction in the Provinces at Simla (1900), appointed the Indian Universities Commission (1902), passed the Indian Universities Act (1904) in the Central Legislature, and issued the Government Resolution on Educational Policy in 1904. He also initiated a system of large Central grants to the Provinces for educational development and these continued to be in vogue for several years afterwards.[1] An Indian Education Service (IES) was also created in 1897 and its officers held all key posts in the Education Departments. A second Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy was also passed in 1913. The two Resolutions of 1904 and 1913 may also be described as National Policies on Education and form a continuing sequence with the orders of Lord Bentinck, the Educational Despatch of 1854, and the Resolution of the Government of India on the Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission (1884).

1.08 It may be incidentally mentioned that the Government of India started a practice of compiling and publishing quinquennial reviews of the progress of education in India from 1882. Such reviews were published for 1886-87, 1891-92, 1896-97, 1901-02, 1902-07, 1907-12,, 1912-17, and 1921-22.

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1. The period between 1902-1921 was one of boom in world finance and India shared in the general prosperity. There were surpluses, and often large ones, in the Central Budget in many years and the Government of India allocated a part of these to the provincial Governments for expenditure on education. The earliest of these grants was sanctioned by Lord Curzon and the policy was kept up by his successors. Between 1902 and 1918-19, the grants amounted to about Rs. 500 lakhs non-recurring and about Rs. 300 lakhs recurring. These grants, more than any other single factor, were responsible for the expansion and improvement of education that was brought about during this period.

The Role of the Government of India in Education (1921-47)

1.09 This period of active Central control and financial support of education came to an end in 1921 when, under the Government of India Act, 1919, education in the Provinces was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers responsible to legislatures with an elected majority. As a corollary to this basic decision, the role of the Government of India (which continued to be responsible to the British Parliament) in education had to be limited to the minimum. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, therefore, the responsibilities of Government were divided into Central and Provincial lists in the first instance and then the latter were divided into reserved and transferred. Because of various conflicting proposals made on the subject, education was treated as partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations and partly transferred without limitations. The following powers were reserved to the Government of India.

1. The Banares Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General-in Council.
2. College for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children.
3. The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission.

   (a) Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities ;

   (b) Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province ; and

   (c) Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the reorganisation of secondary education in Bengal (for a period of five years only after the introduction of the Reforms).

(None of these powers were ever exercised in practice).

Except for the above matters reserved for the Government of India the whole of the education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers with one exception, viz. education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was reserved.[1] There were also some restrictions on the control which the Ministers could exercise in certain matters (e. g. the IES).

1.10 It was also decided to stop all further recruitment to the IES so that the service would fade out within a few years. Needless to say the system of Central grants which had made such a useful contribution to educational development also disappeared.

1.11 The Hartog Committee (1928) examined this situation with concern and said : "we are of the opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate : and holding as we do, that education is essentially a national service, we are off opinion that steps should be taken to consider a new relation of the Central Government with this subject. We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a Centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces, inspite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should, therefore, be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies in the interests of India as a whole" (*Report* p. 346). This view was carefully examined when the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed. But as the basic condition, viz., the transfer of education to popular control in the Provinces side by side with the Government of India continuing to be responsible to Parliament remained unchanged, the

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1. This decision to transfer education to the Indian Ministers was fundamentally sound. But what one does not like is the argument on which it was based. For instance, the Montague-Chelmsford Report laid down four criteria to determine whether a subject should be transferred to Indian control, viz , (1) it should be one in which there are large opportunities for social service ; (2) it should be one in which Indians have shown considerable interest ; (3) *it should be such that mistakes are not likely to be committed* ; (4) *and even if committed they are not likely to be irretrievable.* It is a pity that education was selected for transfer on the basis of these criteria ; and it is an even greater pity that this attitude to education still dominates our thinking.

policy underlying the Act of 1919, was continued with some modifications which reduced the authority of the Government of India over education and correspondingly increased that of Indian Ministers over it at the provincial level. The actual provisions made in the Government of India Act, 1935, abolished the old distinction between reserved and transferred subjects and the limitations placed on the powers of the education ministers. The whole of education thus became a transferred subject, except the following matters which were reserved for the Government of India—

(i) The Imperial Library, Calcutta : the Indian Museum, Calcutta : the Imperial War Museum : the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta : and any similar institution controlled or financed by the Central Government ;

(ii) Education of the Defence Forces ;

(iii) The Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University ;

(iv) Preservation of ancient and historical monuments ;

1.12 With these radical changes in the constitutional position, the question of the Government of India issuing any Resolutions on the National Policy on Education did not even arise ; and in fact, no Government of India Resolution on National Educational Policy was issued for 55 years between 1913 and 1968. However, attempts were made to strengthen the *advisory and co-ordinating* role of the Government of India. The quinquennial reviews of education in India continued to be published and were actually brought out in 1926-27, 1931-32, 1936-37, and 1946-47 (Decennial Review). A Central Advisory Board of Education consisting of all Education Ministers in the Provinces was first constituted for this purpose in 1921. It was however abolished in 1924 as a measure of economy. It was revived again in 1935 ; and its one great achievement was to prepare the *Post-War Plan of Educational Development (1944)*. It proposed to create, in a period of 40 years, an educational system in India which would be like that in England in 1939. The plan however was never accepted by Indian public opinion.

The Role of the Government of India in Education (1947-79)

1.13 The subject came again for discussion in 1950 when the Constitution was being adopted on the basis of a Federal Government at the Centre. It could have been possible at this time to define a more

effective Central role in education. But the general public opinion was strongly in favour of vesting almost all authority over education in the States ; and the mere fact that the Congress was in power at the Centre and in all the States made it almost seem unnecessary to vest any constitutional authority over education in the Centre. Once again, therefore, the basic policy of the Government of India Act, 1919, was continued with one change, viz. certain additional powers were now vested in the Centre. In fact, the Constitution makes Education basically a State subject (Entry 11 of the State List), subject to certain powers reserved in the Central (Entries 63-66) and Concurrent Lists (Entry 25). These are quoted below for ready reference :

List I : List of Union Functions

63. The Institution known at the commencement of the Constitution as the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance ;

64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance ;

65. Union agencies and institutions for :—

(a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers ; or

(b) the promotion of special studies or research ; or

(c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

List II : List of State Functions

11. Education including universities, subject to provision of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and entry 25 of List III.

List III : List of Concurrent Functions

25. Vocational and technical training of labour.

1.14 The academic opinion in India has never been fully reconciled to this constitutional decision which makes education an almost total responsibility of the States and the Subject therefore has continued to be debated over the last 30 years. On the whole, three definite categories of views have emerged :

(1) The first view, held by a minority, and mostly among State-level politicians is that the authority over education should be transferred to the State Governments to a still greater extent that the Ministry of Education should be abolished, and that almost all the funds meant for the development of education should be provided in the State sector, thus abolishing the Centrally sponsored sector and reducing the Central Sector to the minimum ;

(2) The second view which prevailed throughout the period between 1947 and 1976, was that there need be no change in the constitutional role of the Government of India in education. But education should be regarded as a *national concern*, and steps should be taken to see that the *advisory* and *co-ordinating* roles of the Government of India are considerably strengthened. This has been the most dominating view in the post independence period.

(3) The third view, also held by a minority was that education should be brought into the concurrent list. This was supported by the Committee of Members of Parliament under the Chairmanship of Shri Sapru (1963) which recommended that higher education should be brought on the concurrent list. The proposal however did not get support among the State Governments and had to be dropped.

1.15 The problem was discussed by the Education Commission (1964-66) Unfortunately, the members of the Commission could not reach a concensus on the subject. The majority of members were for the *status quo* and for the continuance of education in the State list. They recommended that "there is plenty of scope, within the present Constitutional arrangement, to evolve a workable Centre-State partnership in education and that this has not been exploited to the full. The case for amending the Constitution can only be made after this scope is fully utilized and found to be inadequate. All things considered we recommend that an intensive effort be made to exploit fully the existing provisions of the Constitution for the

development of education and evolution of a national educational policy. The problem may then be reviewed again say, after ten years (Para 18.30)" The debate on the subject would have gone on indefinitely had not the emergency intervened. Smt. Indira Gandhi, who was then in need of some respectable ideas for inclusion in her omnibus proposals for amendment to the Constitution, suddenly picked upon the subject and brought education on the concurrent list. The Janata Government which came to power with a pledge to undo all the Constitutional amendments made in the emergency declared its intension to put education back in the State List. It did not succeed, mainly because of the opposition from the Congress. But Dr. P. C. Chunder has declared in Parliament that the policy of his government is to act as if education is in the State list.

1.16 If history is to be written in modern parlance, it is interesting to note that education has been in the exclusively Central list between 1833 and 1870, in the Concurrent list between 1870 and 1921, in the exclusive State list between 1921 and 1947, mostly in the State list with some special powers to the Centre between 1947 and 1976, and in the Concurrent list from 1976 onwards.

The Role of the Government of India in Education : A Comprehensive View

1.17 So far, we have discussed the *Constitutional Role* of the Government of India in education. It must be pointed out however that the constitutional role of the Government of India in education is only one aspect of its actual role which must be examined in its totality. The other aspects of this role which modify the constitutional position very substantially are (1) public opinion, (2) financial relations, (3) political situation, and (4) administrative arrangements. It is only an integrated view of all these aspects that can give real insights into the nature of the problem and enable us to devise practicable reforms.

1.18 *Public Opinion* : What is the public view of the Centre-State relations in education and how does the public expect education to be administered ? It is obvious that, in a truly democratic set up, the administration of education which concerns every individual intimately must be highly decentralized. The general practice in this regard is that school education or at least elementary education which has to be provided for every child, should be controlled by the local community. This, for

instance, is the tradition in U.S.A. where the people are extremely alert on educational issues and where the principle of local control of school education is strongly rooted in the historical traditions of the country. In a situation of this type, the State itself has a minor role in school education and the Federal Government, even less. The position regarding secondary and higher education, however is rather different. Secondary education is usually under local control if it is provided on a universal basis. Otherwise, it is generally provided by a larger community or the State; and higher education, except in a few big cities, is generally managed by the State or by the State and the Federal Government in some kind of partnership. On the basis of this broad general practice, it should ordinarily be expected that in India elementary education should be administered at the local community level, secondary education at the district or State level, and higher education at the State level or at the State and national levels.

1.19 Unfortunately, the historical traditions in our country have been different so that local control of education at the community or district level has failed to develop adequately. It is true that we did have a tradition of some local control of education because, in the pre-British days, schools were established and controlled by the local communities rather than by the Princes who, at best, extended their patronage to a few learned scholars or schools of higher learning. But these schools, more often than not, were enterprises of individuals or of small interested groups within the community rather than of the community as a whole. Even this limited tradition also died out when Government accepted responsibility for providing education. In the old British Indian Provinces, an attempt was made to associate local bodies at the community and district level with the provision of elementary education. This tradition has survived but has neither become vital or dynamic. In the Princely States, on the other hand, no such effort was ever made. In the post-independence period also the local control of education was not encouraged except for the Panchayati Raj experiment which has been tried earnestly only in a few areas. Consequently, the present position is that the vast masses of the people who are mostly illiterate have no interest in education as now imparted in the formal system and the tradition of local control in education is also mostly non-existent.

1.20 Public interest in education in India is mainly confined to the educated and elite groups who are the principal beneficiaries of the formal educational system and who mostly belong to the top 30 per cent of the

income groups. Their main interest is in secondary and higher education where, apart from other things, their own private enterprise provides the bulk of the educational institutions. Moreover, it is the children of this elite which form about 70 per cent of the enrolment in secondary education and about 80 per cent of the enrolment in higher education. The basic issues that interest this elite are, therefore, the location and opening of new secondary schools, colleges and universities, their curricula and grants-in-aid and the expansion of elementary education (which provides them with a large number of fairly well-paid jobs). As these issues are mostly decided at the State level, the concept of education as essentially a State responsibility gets the strongest public support. The view gets further strengthened from the fact that, the State is probably the most convenient level from which a basic social service like education can be administered. The same view also finds still further support in the State level leadership whose image and power-base largely depends upon the control of educational institutions, teachers and students. It is these supports which made education a State subject under the Constitution and which also continue to legitimize the position. In fact, one may even assert that education as a State responsibility is at present so well entrenched in the public mind (or in the mind of the elites that rule the country) that it is extremely difficult, if not actually impossible, to alter this situation.

1.21 One need not necessarily quarrel with this view and may agree that education may basically remain a State responsibility. But one cannot also accept a State absolutism in education and an over-concentration of authority at the State level. The power of the State in education has therefore to be limited to a considerable extent in the larger interests of education itself. This is generally attempted in three ways.

(a) The first is administrative decentralisation where authority over education, and especially over school education, is transferred to the local community at the municipal, village, Tahsil or District levels. As pointed out earlier, this trend is weak in the country, partly because the earlier tradition of local control or popular involvement in education has almost died out, partly because such decentralisation can be most effective in elementary and adult education which continue to be our neglected sectors, and partly because the local leadership at the village, Tahsil or District level is still weak in comparison with that at the State level and cannot assert itself. Consequently, the unfortunate public view that the State and Central levels are the only two that really matter in education, gains undue currency and strength. This trend also finds support in the

general attitudes of linguistic and other minorities and weaker sections like Scheduled Castes and Tribes who find that the local levels (whether village, block, Tahsil or District) are generally oppressive and that their oppresiveness increases as one goes down to lower levels so that their hopes of justice and fair treatment lie mainly at the State and national levels.

(b) The second is academic decentralisation, i. e. to free the educational process from bureaucratic control by respecting university autonomy (which the universities should, in their turn, share with their departments and affiliated colleges), by enabling the schools to prepare their own curricula and to hold their own examinations, and in short by so delegating authority to educational institutions and their teachers that the teaching-learning process becomes free, joyful and independent of State control. Unfortunately these concepts have not gained strength either within the teaching profession or among the general public. On the other hand, the contrary trends have gained an upper hand and the academic control of the State over education, schools and teachers has increased, rather than decreased, since 1947.

(c) While we have thus been unable to check State absolutism in education either through decentralisation to local bodies or through academic decentralization, we have had a somewhat better success to control State authority in education through centralization, i. e. by giving a larger voice to the Central Government in educational matters. One powerful group that supports this demand is that of the national bureaucracy which can be transferred to any part of the country and the large trade and industrial interests that have also acquired a national character. These groups are generally in favour of a national system of education with common curricula and text books in all parts of the country—a situation which can be created only if the Central Government can have an over-riding voice in education. The university and research system which can be best planned on a national basis also supports the same trend. Further support comes from another important group, viz., teachers, who would like to fight for uniform scales of pay and emoluments in all parts of the country and who realize that they can become a tremendous force if organized on a national basis. They are, therefore, in favour of an increasing role in education for the Centre and against any devolution of authority to the local bodies. A large section of the intellectual elite also recognizes the need for a national policy in education from the point of view of national integration and takes the stand that

while the "diversity" implied in the State control of education is both necessary and desirable, it is equally important to provide the 'unity' in this diversity through a national educational policy.[1] It must also be pointed out that the national leadership that grew in the freedom struggle initiated a large and intensive debate on education at the national level and that this tradition still continues unabated. Consequently, education has become, throughout the last hundred years or so, a great national concern although it remains State subject in administration. The public support for the role of the Government of India in education arises essentially from these social and political groups and from these national concerns which cannot be ignored, although not all of them are healthy and desirable. To the extent they succeed, there will be a curb on the State authority in education and a legitimate basis for the formulation and implementation of a national policy on education.

It will thus be evident that, while education will continue to be essentially a State responsibility (irrespective of the fact whether it does or does not continue to be in the concurrent list in the Constitution), it is equally essential to curb the trend towards State absolutism, not only by giving a more significant role to the Centre, but also by strengthening local control in education and promoting academic decentralization. Steps will have to be taken to educate public opinion on these lines in the years ahead.

1.22 Financial Relations : The Centre-State relations in financial support of education are obviously very important. Where the Centre can give large grant-in aid for educational development, it always gets considerable control over it and is in a strong position to implement national policies on education, irrespective of any constitutional provisions on the subject. Prior to 1870, the Government of India did exercise almost complete control over education because it sanctioned all the funds needed for it. This authority decreased in actual practice between 1870 and 1902 when, under the system of financial devolution initiated in that year, the entire responsibility for financing education was gradually transferred to the Provincial

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1. The nationalist view on this subject was probably best expressed by Shri Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India, who said : "The Indian Union is like a garland of pearls where the Centre is the thread that keeps the States (or pearls) together. If the thread vanishes, the pearls also vanish; and if the pearls vanish, the thread has no value".

Governments. Lord Curzon initiated a system of *specific-purpose* Central grants for educational development which continued even after he left. They therefore enabled the Central Government to play a major role in expanding and improving education between 1902 and 1921. When these were legally terminated by the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Central authority to influence the development of education also declined It may also be stated that no such specific-purpose Central grants were sanctioned for education between 1921 and 1947.

1.23 After the attainment of independence, the desire of the Government of India to expand and improve education led to the formulation of national decisions on several important issues and to the revival of Central grants to help their speedy implementation. For instance, the creation of the University Grants Commission in 1956 was partly meant to provide additional and specific-purpose grants to State Governments for the development of higher education. Similar grants were provided for engineering education under the advice of the All India Council of Technical Education. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has provided special grants for the development of agricultural universities and agricultural education, research and training; and the Central Ministry of Health and the Indian Council of Medical Research have provided similar assistance respectively for medical education and research.

1.24 In addition to these, efforts were made to give specific-purpose grants for educational development through successive five-year plans. The education chapter of each Five Year Plan is essentially a statement of a national policy on education and of the programmes intended to implement it. A system, therefore, arose under which all schemes included in the Plans were divided into three categories : (1) *Central* i. e. those which were to be implemented by the Central Government and funds for which were also provided in the Central Sector ; (2) *Centrally-Sponsored* i.e. those which were to be implemented by the State Governments, but funds for which were provided at the Centre and were later made available to the State Governments for specific approved schemes ; and (3) *State* i. e. those which were to be implemented by the State Governments and funds for which were also provided in the State plans. In the first and the second plans, the number of Central and Centrally-sponsored schemes was large and there were special Central grants even for State schemes. From the third plan onwards, these policies have greatly changed, mainly because of the pressure from the

States, in two directions : (1) the number of centrally- sponsored schemes is being continually reduced, and (2) central plan assistance is given, not for individual State schemes of educational development and not even for all education taken together, but for the State plan as a whole, subject to only one condition, viz., the allocation for elementary education is earmarked. It is not however easy in practice to enforce this earmarking rigidly ; and the net effect of all these changes is that the capacity of the Government of India to enforce its 'advice' on the State Governments through the indirect method of centrally-sponsored schemes or specific-purpose grants has been greatly reduced.

1.25 The Education Commission (1964-66) recommended the enlargement of the Central sector in education and the revival of the Centrally-sponsored grants on a large scale to implement national policies in education. But this recommendation has not yet been accepted by the Government of India. On the other hand, the recommendations of the Seventh Finance Commission have adopted a new approach altogether. The policy adopted by the first six Commissions was to transfer only such resources to the States as would enable them to cover the deficit in their budgets at the end of the plan period so that the State Governments had to depend very largely on the Centre for financing their developmental plans. The Seventh Finance Commission has changed this policy and transferred substantial resources to the States so that they have larger autonomy to finance their development plans. This has changed the situation substantially. In the first place, the Centre now has more limitted resources to expand the Central Sector. The proposal of the Commission to expand the Centrally sponsored sector has also run into hot weather. The State Governments have been pleading, since 1966, to abolish all the Centrally sponsored schemes. They are succeeding continuously and now the Centrally-sponsored schemes, especially in education, have been reduced to the minimum and they appear to be on their way out. One is not sure therefore what financial levers, if any the Centre may continue to have to influence State educational policies. If these levers disappear, it will not make much difference whether education remains in the concurrent list or is retransferred to the State list.

1.26 Political Aspects : The political aspects of the problem also need some attention. It is obvious that the chances of enunciating and implementing a strong national policy are greater when the same political party is in power at the Centre and in the States (or when the different political parties in power agree on a programme of national significance).

This, for instance is the situation in the USSR where, inspite of a very large constitutional delegation of authority over education to the States, a uniform national system of education has been created and maintained by the Communist Party. In India also, national policies in education have depended for their success, not so much on Constitutional provisions as on the strength of the Congress party and the capacity of the national leadership to assert itself. Between 1921 and 1947, the Congress continually reiterated the view that India should have a national system of education which necessarily implied the enunciation and implementation of a national policy on education. The idea also worked politically to some extent so long as the Congress remained in power at the Centre and in all States, say, between 1947 and 1967. The State Governments were then generally of the view that a national policy in education was desirable and were more amenable to advice from the Centre. But differences began to surface when non-Congress governments were formed in some States such as Kerala or Tamil Nadu. The language problem in particular proved to be extremely difficult. Even within the Congress, unanimity of views was very difficult to be reached, while non-Congress governments like the DMK took up openly hostile stances. Differences also began to gain momentum between those who pleaded for a strong Centre and those who desired to have greater autonomy for the States. The recent elections have defeated the Congress as a national party while the Janata Party has a long way to go to get a national status. In this state of political fragmentation, the chances of enunciating and implementing a strong national policy in education are somewhat dubious, even if education continues to be in the concurrent list and although it is now theoretically open to the Government of India to pass an Act of Parliament embodying the national policy on education.

1.27 Administrative Aspects : Administrative arrangements play an important role in promoting a national policy on education. If there is a basic decision to have a national policy on education, steps are usually taken to create an effective administrative machinery to implement it. On the other hand, if there is an effective administrative machinery, it does help, in its turn, to enunciate and implement a national policy on education.

1.28 Over the last 120 years or so, however, policy and administration have not always moved in unison.

(a) In 1855, steps were taken to create Education Departments in the Provinces which had no legal authority over education while, in the

Government of India which had all the authority over education, there was no adequate machinery to look after this subject which was consequenty dealt with partly in the Home Department and partly in the Political Department (in so far as education in the princely states was concerned). Between 1833 and 1870, therefore, the authority over education was largely exercised by the Provincial Government inspite of the fact that all authority was centralized and vested in the Government of India.

(b) On the other hand, there was a deliberate policy, between 1870 and 1921, to delegate increasing authority over education to Provincial Governments. But there was a good deal of administrative centralisation simultaneously. For instance, the Indian Education Service (IES) was created in 1897 ; and as stated already, Lord Curzon created the office of the Director General of Public Instruction at the Centre. A separate Department of Education was created in 1910 and the Bureau of Education was established in 1915. These measures, combined with the introduction of Central grants for education gave a considerable lever to the Government of India to enunciate and implement a national policy on Education.

(c) Between 1921 and 1947, however, there was a constitutional divorce between the Government of India and education; and, at the same time, the IES was abolished, the educational services were fully provincialised, and even a separate Department of Education and the Bureau of Education were abolished as a measure of economy in 1923. Consequently, the Central machinery to enunciate and implement a national educational policy became the weakest in modern history.

(d) Between 1947 and 1978, the constitutional authority of the Centre in education has been increased ; and side by side, a separate Ministry of Education has been created at the Centre, strengthened from time to time and, more often than not, placed under a Minister of the Cabinet rank. This has strengthened the administrative basis for a national policy on education. But the demand to create an Indian Education Service has not yet been conceded, inspite of the recommendation of the Education Commission (1964-66).

1.29 Administrative measures can also buttress the 'advisory' role of the Centre. For instance, the Central Advisory Board of Education

was created in 1921 from this point of view, but it was abolished in 1923 as a measure of economy. It was, however, revived in 1935 and has continued to function ever since. Sporadic attempts continue to be made to strengthen its role ; and their success has varied from time to time, depending mainly on the personality of the Union Education Minister and the willingness of the Government of India to back up the 'advice' of the Board with financial support. It has, in practice, made a fairly significant contribution to the evolution of national policies on Education. While its comparative weakness as an institutional mechanism for the formulation and implementation of national policies in education is recognised, it has not yet been possible to find a better alternative solution to the problem.[1]

1.30 Yet another administrative step taken is to create and strengthen national institutions which could educate public opinion, give guidance to State level personnel and provide advanced level training facilities. It is from this point of view that Central institutions like the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), the National Staff College of Educational Planners and Administrators, the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, the Central Institute of Hindi, Central Hindi Directorate (including the Commission on Scientific and Technical Terminology), the Central Institute of Indian Languages, and the Central Sanskrit Organization were created. This programme has yielded some good results but we are far from realizing the full potential of this strategy.

General Conclusions

1.31 What are the main conclusions that can be drawn from this brief review of the role of the Government of India in education ? To begin with, it becomes clear that the enunciation and implementation of a national policy on education depends essentially on the role of the Government of India in education in all its aspects. The conditions most favourable for the purpose are :

(a) existence of a strong public opinion in favour of such a role ;

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1. There is hardly any other instrument available for the purpose. Instruments like ad hoc conferences of State Education Ministers, Education Secretaries, or Directors of Education and even establishment of national bodies like the National Board of Basic Education have been tried and found to be even more ineffective.

(b) adequate Constitutional authority over education being vested in the Government of India ; (c) existence of specific-purpose central grants for education which can underpin central 'advice' to State Governments ; (d) institutional devices that can enable the Centre to influence the State Education Departments through guidance and training ; and (e) existence of strong national political parties which can indirectly influence the State Governments to take common decisions inspite of their autonomy under the Constitution. Our review has however shown that these basic conditions have varied materially from time to time.

(1) Between 1833 when the Charter Act of that year created a unitary form of the Government of India and 1870 when Lord Mayo introduced his system of decentralisation of educational administration, education was a Central subject and a central responsibility. It was therefore easy to enunciate and implement a national policy on education. This was done, but the central authorities of this period also allowed a good deal of variation and flexibility to suit local conditions so that, inspite of a hard core of central unity, a diversified and varied system of education developed in the country.

(2) Between 1870 and 1921, the Government of India continued to have constitutional authority and responsibility for education which still made it possible for the Centre to enunciate and implement a national policy in education. But, except for the intervention of Lord Ripon on the advice of the Indian Education Commission (1884) and the Curzonian interlude (1897-1905), the general trend was to delegate more authority to the Provincial Governments. The culmination of this policy was reached under the Government of India Act (1919) which practically divorced Central Government from education and made education almost a total responsibility of the State Governments. This position was further strengthened by the Government of India Act, 1935. Even the Constitution adopted in 1950 accepted this basic position with some modifications.

(3) Between 1950 and 1979, efforts have been made to alter this situation and to reduce the absolute authority of the State Governments in two ways. On the one hand, an effort was made to decentralize greater administrative authority to agencies at District, Tehsil, Block or village levels and to decentralize greater academic authority to educational institutions and teachers. By and large, these efforts remained weak and did not

have any effective success. On the other hand, efforts were also made to give a more effective voice to the Centre in educational matters. These succeeded better. Education has now been made a concurrent subject ; the planning process centralises considerable authority in the Centre ; and national agencies like the Central Advisory Board of Education, the UGC., All India Council for Technical Education or National Council of Educational Research and Training also add materially to the authority of the Centre and its effectiveness in implementing national educational policies. However, the reduction in the specific-purpose central grants to education and the fragmentation of political life have weakened the Central authority to deal effectively with national educational issues.

1.32 Public opinion continues to be divided seriously over the problem. Those who believe in greater autonomy for the States resist all attempts to give a greater authority to the Centre in educational matters and, as pointed out earlier, would even reduce the existing authority of the Centre in education and abolish the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, there are several academics who would continue to retain education as a concurrent subject, have an Education Act passed by Parliament, create an IES, multiply and strengthen Central educational agencies and provide large specific-purpose central grants for education. A third group of intellectuals who stand for the middle path recognizes the need of a stimulating and dynamic leadership provided by the Centre but is not in favour of vesting it with any coercive authority. It would also like to curb State absolutism in education through decentralization of authority to local bodies and by large academic decentralization. The Central role in education has thus been one of the most controversial subjects and is continuously debated upon since 1947, and end of the controversy is not yet in sight. It is obvious that both the formulation and implementation of a national policy on education will largely depend upon the concensus reached on these basic issues and on the manner in which the constitutional role of the Government of India in education is or is not supported by public opinion and political, financial and administrative mechanisms.

CHAPTER TWO

WITHOUT A FORMAL NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION (1947—65)

2.01 The educational developments in the post-independence period can be divided into three main periods :

(1) the first is the period between 1947 and 1965-66 when there was no formal Statement of a National Policy on Education;

(2) the second is the period between 1965-66 and 1977-78 when the National Policy on Education (1968) was formulated and an attempt was made to implement it ; and

(3) with 1978-79 begins the thrid period when an attempt will be made to implement the draft National Policy on Education (1979) in such form as it will ultimately be accepted by the Government of India.

The main events of the first period (1947-65) when Maulana Azad, Dr. K. L. Shrimali and Professor Humayun Kabir were the Education Ministers at the Centre will be discussed in the present Chapter; and the following three Chapters will be devoted to the discussion of the two statements on the National Policy on Education issued in 1968 and 1979 and their implementation.

The Legacy of National Education (1906-47)

2.02 India became free in 1947. This aroused great hopes about many things and especially about a radical reconstruction of Indian education. The Indian national leadership had always expressed great faith in the use of education for modernization and development and had shown deep and continuing interest in a radical transformation of the colonial education system built up by British Administrators. As early as 1906, the Indian National Congress adopted a Resolution on *national education* which said that the time had arrived "for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both

boys and girls, and organize a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country, on national lines under national control and directed towards the realization of national destiny." The movement thus started was kept up throughout the pre-independence period and made three major contributions to educational development.

(1) The first was to clarify the concept of national education and to indicate the broad lines on which educational reform should be attempted. Among the various ideas put forward from this point of view, the following deserve mention :

- Relating education to India's great cultural traditions of the past and to her present needs and future aspirations so that Indian education comes into its own, ceases to be a servile imitation of Britain, and aims at creating, not a lesser England, but a greater India ;
- Liquidation of mass illiteracy which Mahatma Gandhi described as the sin and shame of India and the development of a programme of adult education which, according to him, must include political education ;
- The provision of seven years of basic education to every child (age-group 7—14) whose content, according to Mahatma Gandhi, would be broadly equal to that of matriculation minus English *plus* craft ;
- The reduction of the over-importance attached to English; the development of Hindi as the link language for the country and as the official language of the Union ; and the use of regional languages as media of instruction at all stages ;
- Work with the hands and social or national service to be an integral part of all education with a view to creating a work-based culture and to minimising the large traditional gap between the intelligentia and the people ;
- Emphasis on the teaching of science and technology with a view to the creation of a scientific temper, modernization and economic growth ;
- Emphasis on vocational, technical and professional education ; and
- Cultivation of patriotism and moral and social values

(2) The second contribution was to conduct a few institutions of national education at all levels (e.g. Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Kashi Vidyapeeth and Jamia Millia Islamia) where these ideas of national education were tried out to gain practical experience. It was hoped that these institutions would provide the necessary leadership when, after the attainment of independence, the Government of India would initiate a large scale programme of transforming the existing system into a national system of education.

(3) The third major contribution was that it created a small but powerful band of social workers who had dedicated themselves to education and who would provide the core of the large group of educational thinkers, planners and administrators which the country would eventually need.

2.03 As is to be expected, the attainment of freedom created the hope that all this fundamental work of four decades of struggle would now be systematized, expanded and improved so that a national system of education suited to the traditions, life, needs and aspirations of the country would be created in a period of about 15 years or so. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru showed his awareness of these hopes and the urgency of working for their realization when he addressed the first Conference of Education Ministers held in Free India (1948) and said :

> "Whenever conferences were called to form a plan for education in India, the tendency, as a rule, was to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must also be in keeping with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionized."

For various reasons, this promised revolution in education never materialized. It is not that no educational reform was attempted; in fact, many good and useful things were done. But, in the final analysis, they did not amount to the revolution which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had promised. On the other hand, they only meant the one thing which Pandit Nehru wanted to avoid, viz., a linear expansion of the earlier educational system with minor modifications. We must therefore ask the question : Why did this happen ?

The Basic Political Decisions

2.04 Two main reasons can be given for this failure to transform the educational system on radical lines. The first lies outside

the educational system. As education is a sub-system of the society, it cannot be revolutionized unless a social revolution takes place first or unless at least a simultaneous effort is made to bring about a complementary revolution in society and in education. The basic problem before the national leadership in 1947, therefore, was not whether a revolution in education should or should not be carried out, but whether a revolution in the political, economic and social life of the country should or should not be carried out, and if so, the form that it should take. Here the decisions taken were based on the concept of *stability with change* and in an *evolutionary* and *reformist* perspective. For instance :

—In politics, Mahatma Gandhi had given a radical advice that the Indian National Congress should be disbanded and that all Congress workers should remain out of Government office and work among the people to organize and strengthen the under-privileged groups to fight for their rights. But this advice was ignored. The Congress decided to remain in power and also to continue the parliamentary model of government which the British had already introduced in the country with some modifications (e.g. introduction of adult franchise).

—In economic life also, no decision was taken to alter radically the existing highly skewed property structure or the arbitrary and inegalitarian wage pattern. On the other hand, it was decided to leave the property structure as it is (in fact, the constitution made property a fundamental right) with some minor modifications (e.g. a weak attempt at land reforms or a largely ineffective system of wealth tax and death duties). Similarly, the erstwhile wage pattern also continued and, if any thing, became even more arbitrary and unsuited to the economy of the country. The capitalist organisation of the economy was also continued with the addition of a large public sector.

—Mahatma Gandhi had talked of a new model of development in his book, *Hind Swaraj*, and had said that India should strive to bring about this kind of development as soon as it becomes free. This advice was also ignored and it was decided to adopt the model of development evolved in the Western nations based on science and technology, industrialisation, modernization of agriculture, and provision of modern basic services.

—In social life, too, the decisions taken were similar. No radical changes were decided upon and emphasis was laid on two programmes which were the least controversial, though not minor, viz , improving the status of women through the reform of the Hindu Code and continuance of the programmes designed earlier for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

—In administration, it was decided to continue and consolidate the existing system rather than attempt a radical reform and to make only some minor changes such as the creation of the IAS to replace the ICS.

—In the field of languages also, all major decisions were postponed. English was to continue as Official Language of the Union till 1965 when Hindi was expected to take over. English was also continued as medium of instruction at the university stage *sine die*.

Why were these decisions taken ? In 1947, it was argued that the partition of the country had created a delicate situation in which the very survival of the country was at stake and that it was therefore essential to postpone all such issues to a later date and to concentrate all efforts on consolidation of freedom and nation-building. Of course, one could have accepted this argument in 1947. But these decisions were not re-opened for consideration even when the immediate problems of partition had been tackled and the conditions within the country had considerably stabilized. The truth is that these decisions were taken because they were in the interest of the ruling groups that came to power in 1947. The British had created a westernized class in India mainly to work as interpreters and intermediaries between them and the people. This class developed a national pride (the inevitable result of the dialectic process of education), had a brief honeymoon with the masses to secure their support in the struggle against imperialism and won independence. It was now fully in saddle (because independence merely transferred power from the Westerners to the Westernized) and was determined to continue to rule with such attention to the welfare of the poor and underprivileged social groups which can be legitimately expected from enlightened rulers. With this basic decision, all revolutionary perspectives in society were ruled out and the country had to settle down to a reformist, evolutionary and gradual process of modernization and development.

The Educational Decisions

2.05 If the policy adopted in political, economic and social life was thus evolutionary and reformist, and was trying to provide for stability and change in a proper balance, it would obviously be wrong to expect radical reforms in education. In fact, the best that could have been hoped for was a gradual, reformist and evolutionary perspective in education also. It is, therefore, an idle exercise to blame the leadership of the day for not bringing about a revolution in education of which they talked so eloquently ; and by now, we have all been fully conditioned to distinguish between the words and deeds of the political leadership. The real question to be asked is this : Did we at least make the fullest use of the possibilities of this given situation and do the best we could even within an evolutionary and reformist perspective ? Unfortunately, the answer even to this limited question is in the negative. The problem therefore needs some careful analysis in detail.

2.06 The first reason for this failure is ad hocism. To make the best use of the attainment of freedom even in an evolutionary and reformist perspective, we needed a good comprehensive plan of educational development which would help us to make the optimum use of all available opportunities and resources. Unfortunately, no such plan was available in 1947 although, as a matter of fact, the need for such a plan was foreseen as early as in 1937 when the National Planning Committee was appointed by the Indian National Congress under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This Committee constituted two sub-committees—one for general education under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and the other for technical education and developmental research under the Chairmanship of Dr. M. N. Saha. Unfortunately, the work of the National Planning Committee and its sub-committees could not progress satisfactorily. Pandit Nehru was arrested in 1940 and, under the stress of political events, neither he nor the other members of the Committee could devote adequate attention to its work till 1947 when it was practically wound up. The sub-committee on General Education prepared a broad and a tentative report which was considered by the National Planning Committee ; but the report of the sub-committee on Technical Education and Developmental Research could not even be considered. The General Secretary of the Committee, however, brought out a volume on *Education* in 1948 containing a broad outline of whatever work had been

done in planning educational development.[1] But the document made practically no contribution to the formulation of national educational policies in the post-independence period. On the other hand, the official attempts to produce a long-term educational plan were more successful. The Central Advisory Board of Education prepared, under the leadership of Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Adviser to the Government of India, a *Post-War Plan of Educational Development in India* (1944). It proposed to create, in a period of forty years, a national system of education for the country. This included the liquidation of illiteracy in a period of 25 years, the introduction of universal elementary education on the basic pattern for all children in the age-group 6-14, provision of secondary education for one child out of every five that completed elementary education and higher education for one young person out of every 15 that completed the secondary school, and a certain provision of vocational, technical and professional connection. The only common element between this plan and the national ideas on the subject was the concept of basic education for all children in the age-group 6-14. On the other hand, its proposal of highly selective secondary and university education would never have been acceptable to the national leadership. What is even worse, the plan avoided all the issues such as language which had occupied public attention. Apart from this, the people would never have accepted the long period of 40 years for implementing the plan nor its basic approach of creating, in the India of 1984, an educational system that would be similar to that of England in 1939. This plan also was, therefore, side-tracked[2] so that educational development in Free India had to be planned and implemented *ab initio*.

2.07 Obviously, this absence of a comprehensive and sufficiently detailed national plan to act upon was neither a difficult nor an insoluble problem. The Government of India could have appointed an Education Commission to advise it on the creation of a national system of education, as it ultimately did in 1964. But this decision was not taken and the development of education in the country was attempted, for nearly two decades (1947-65), without a clear-cut national policy and a comprehensive long-term plan of educational development to guide all concerned. This ad-hocisim is certainly one of the important factors responsible for the

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1. The National Planning Committee, *Education*, Vora and Co., Bombay, 1948.

2. The only action taken on this plan was to introduce the higher secondary pattern (8+3) in the Delhi Union Territory.

inadequate and unsatisfactory progress of education in the country between 1947 and 1965.

2.08 The second reason for our failure to get even the best results possible in the reformist and evolutionary perspective was that, in the absence of a clear-cut national policy on education, the basic educational decisions tended to be taken under current social and political pressures. When this happens, educational policies tend to reproduce the *status quo*, to be geared to the demands ofthe groups in power rather than to the needs of the deprived sections, and to emphasize stability rather than change. This is precisely what happened during this period.

2.09 The third reason was a weakening of the earlier commitment to the creation of a national system of education, although this was not openly admitted for reasons of expediency. In the major educational decisions taken during this period, it was not possible to ignore the earlier attempts to create a national system of education and the significant commitments made to the people therein (e. g. provision of universal elementary education or liquidation of mass illiteracy). While therefore the policy decisions taken did include some such concessions to earlier commitments, they were never given adequate emphasis in implementation. At best, they remained pious hopes.

2.10 The fourth reason for the failure was that the expectations entertained from the institutions of national education were belied. As was pointed out earlier, these institutions were expected to provide a leadership in the creation of a national system of education. While the patriotism and sacrifice of the people working in them was greatly respected, especially as they had refused to take grants-in-aid from the British Governments, their academic standing was never high and it is open to question whether one is or is not justified in expecting a stimulating leadership from them. They might perhaps have served a more useful purpose had they continued to work outside the formal system and developed their strengths further. But once they accepted grants from government (even though it was the Indian Government) and became a part of the formal system, they lost their earlier position of vantage and became a microscopic group of second-rate and ineffective institutions in a huge system. As one who has worked closely with and for them, I realize that financially they had no alternative at all and that most of them had either to accept State assistance (which was willingly and gratefully offered) or to go out of existence. It would, therefore, be unkind to blame them for

this decision. But it should not also be forgotten that, in thus playing for stability, they sacrificed most of their potential to influence change.

2.11 The fifth and the final reason for failure was our inability to create a sufficiently critical mass of active and competent workers who could help to plan the transformation, improvement and expansion of the existing formal system of education and to gear it properly to the life, needs and aspirations of the people. The handful of workers trained in the national freedom struggle or in the earlier attempts to create a national system of education were no doubt available. But they could not obviously fill the bill and urgent and fairly large scale efforts should have been made to select competent individuals from different disciplines, and especially from the social sciences, and to train them through an inter-disciplinary study of education. Simultaneously, efforts should have been made to develop a large-scale and high quality programme of interdisciplinary research on education partly to train such workers and partly to deepen an understanding of the education-society relationship. But this was not done and the universities and training colleges continued to equate education, as in the past, with the training of secondary school teachers or teacher-educators. There has consequently been an acute shortage of competent personnel to deal comprehensively and competently with the complex problems of educational reform; and this has made no small contribution to our failure to optimize the opportunities availabe to reconstruct the educational system.

2.12 With this explanation about the back-ground, let us see what decisions about educational development were actually taken during this period, mostly in the process of educational planning which became an integral part of the technique of planned development adopted in 1950. In this context, the first three five-year plans are relevant; and a careful study of the proposals of educational development included in them shows that the major educational decisions of the period (1947-65) may be briefly summarized as shown below :—

(1) One of the earliest issues that called for a decision was the role of the Governmet of India in education : this issue had to be decided by 1950 when the Constitution was adopted. In keeping with the general policy of not making a radical break with the past it was decided that education should continue to be essentially a State responsibility, as it actually was between 1921 and 1947, with some special responsibilities (e g co ordination

and maintenance of standards in higher education, research, and scientific and technical institutions) assigned to the Government of India. Both the radical issues viz. (1) inclusion of education in the concurrent list or (2) decentralization of authority to the local level were carefully avoided.

(2) The next issue related to the priority to be accorded to education vis-a-vis other sections of development. If the statements of the national leadership were any guide, education ought to have received the highest priority as an instrument of human resource development. But the actual decisions taken were different : education came way down in the list of priorities after industry, agriculture, power, transport and family planning. If investment policies are an idea of priority, education must certainly be regarded to have been a low priority item in the first three five year plans because the total allocation to education was comparatively low and the axe of retrenchment always fell heavily on education. This may not have been a wrong decision. But it does indicate the serious limitations within which educational development had to be attempted.

(3) What about the priority between different categories of programmes within education ? It was decided that the highest priority should be given to expansion of educational facilities which were most in demand. Programmes of qualitative improvement would follow to the extent possible. Programmes of transformation of the educational system were, by and large, shelved especially in view of the reformist and evolutionary approach adopted.

(4) What about *inter-se* priorities between different sections of education ? Here, personal and social factors came into play. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had a great faith in universities and in higher education and believed that higher education must be developed on a priority basis in the larger interest of the country. His all too well-known a statement on the subject may still bear a quotation : "A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then it is well with the nation

and the people." This philosophical and cultural view was also supported by economists who argued that universities were the grandmother machine which produced teachers for themselves, the colleges and the secondary schools and that secondary education was the mother machine that produced the teachers for elementary schools. It was therefore necessary to develop university and secondary education even in the interests of the development of elementary education itself. Moreover, there was a strong demand for the development of secondary and higher education from all sections of society and especially from the upper middle classes who were its principal beneficiaries. What is equally important, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru never showed any deep commitment either to elementary or to adult education. Consequently, it was decided to accord the highest priority to university and secondary education. A University Education Commission was, therefore, first appointed (1948-49) and was followed by a Secondary Education Commission (1952). Universal, elementary and adult education ought to have really been accorded the highest priority because, along with adult franchise which had been adopted, they would have helped to transfer real power to the people. But this was not desired ; and hence both the programmes were given a low priority. Universal elementary education could not be ignored because it was too valuable a commitment to the people made in the pre-independence period. It was, therefore, included in the directive principles of the Constitution which were more like pious resolutions than official policies ; and the programme of adult education (including liquidation of adult illiteracy) was almost totally shelved. On the whole, one cannot but get an impression that the education of the people was regarded not as a crucial factor in development, nor as their right, but merely as a charitable or welfare activity.

(5) It was decided to promote engineering and technical education on the basis of the highest priority because it was necessary for the newly adopted policies of industrialization and import substitution. The same decision was taken about medical education which was necessary for the extension of modern health services and about agricultural education which was

equally essential for increased food production. It should not also be forgotten that the ruling classes were the principal beneficiaries of these programmes.

6. Science education and research were emphasised with a view to creating an indigenous capability in modern science and technology so essential for agricultural and industrial growth and for modernization.

7. The usual pedagogic issues were considerably emphasized with a view to giving, as it were, a face lift to the educational system we inherited at independence. Improvement in the remuneration of teachers, expansion and improvement of teacher education, improvement of curricula, teaching and learning materials, and methods of teaching, examination reform, improvement of supervision, provision of extension services, and such other programmes received a good deal of attention. It was of course recognized that, these had a significance of their own, they cannot be equated with 'radical' educational reforms that were needed. Another weakness was that these were often imitative and influenced from abroad, especially USA, which provided considerable financial support, training facilities and experts.

It was these ad hoc policies of expediency and class interests, set up in an evolutionary and reformist perspective, that dominated the scene between 1947 and 1965. They could not be expected to create a national system of education ; and they did not. They merely led to a linear expansion of the educational system which had been evolved during the British period under a similar perspective with some minor modifications to suit the new situation created after independence.

Universal Elementary Education

2.13 Let us now briefly review the educational developments of this period which can best be described as one of ad hocism. The discussion may well begin with universal elementary education—a programme in which objectives and targets were definitely and clearly laid down : quantitatively free and compulsory education had to be provided to all children in the age-group 6-14 within a period of ten years (1950-60) ; and qualitatively, it had been decided to convert all schools to the basic pattern. There was thus no ambiguity about the goals and hardly any controversy on the subject. All that was needed was to go ahead and get the job done. And yet we miserably failed to achieve our objectives even in 1965-66. The phenomenon therefore needs a close scrutiny.

2.14 The programme of universal elementary education is implemented in three distinct but concurrent stages: (1) universal provision of schools, (2) universal enrolment of children in the concerned age-group; and (3) universal retention of the children enrolled until they complete the elementary course or reach the age of 14 years. Each of these stages needs to be discussed separately.

2.15 Universal Provision of Schools : The objective of the programme was to establish an elementary school within easy walking distance from the home of every child. In practical terms, the target was to establish a primary school teaching classes I—V within a distance of one mile and a middle school teaching classes VI—VIII within a distance of about two miles. To assist in the implementation of the programme, educational surveys were organized, for all parts of the country, in 1957 and in 1965. The targets are also comparatively easy to fulfil if the necessary funds are available and the Education Departments are efficiently organized to plan the location of primary and middle schools. But even by 1965-66 we had not been able to reach the target of providing a primary school within easy walking distance from the home of every child and we were far behind in making a similar provision for middle schools. The following data of the 1965 survey will give some idea of our achievements in this sector.

Table No. 1A

Provision of Primary Schools in Rural Areas, 1965

Distance (in Miles)	*No. of habitations*	*Population (millions)*
0	373,086	283.481
		(71.48)
0.1-0.5	300,557	58.880
		(14.85)
0.6-1.0	183,173	34.210
		(8.63)
1.1-1.5	48,937	8.514
		(2.15)
1.6-2.0	38,833	6.413
		(1.62)
More than 2	37,665	5.081
		(1.28)
Total	982,251	396.580
		(100.00)

Table No. 1B

Provision of Middle Schools in Rural Areas, 1965

Distance (in Miles)	*No. of habitations*	*Population (millions)*
0	69,424	100.146
		(25.45)
0.1-1.0	232,015	82.488
		(21.80)
1.1-2.0	243,699	87.207
		(21.90)
2.1-3.0	167,756	55.574
		(14.01)
3.1-4.0	90,527	26.950
		(6.80)
4.1-5.0	57,578	14.184
		(3.50)
More than 5	127,312	29,231
		(7.37)
Total	782.251	396.580
		(100.00)

Source : Second All-India Education Survey, 1965 (NCERT) Table Nos. 8 and 63.

N.B.—(1) Figures in parantheses denote percentages to total.

(2) Statistics of rural areas only have been given because all urban areas were necessarily provided with primary and middle schools.

(3) The data does not give any idea about the *adequacy* of the provision. For instance, even if a village needed ten teachers and only had a single teacher school, it has still been shown as having been provided with facilities for primary education.

2.16 Universal Enrolment : The mere establishment of a school in a given locality does not imply that it is availed of by all the children therein. In fact, the school is generally availed of by the children from the educated and well-to do families only in the first instance. It takes a long time, and needs many special measures, for the school to reach the poor and deprived sections of the community. This is why enrolment must be considered as a separate issue and we must try to enrol all children in the age-group 6-11 in primary schools (classes I – V) and all children in the age-groups 11-14 in middle schools (classes VI – VIII).

2.17 The following table gives the population of children in the age-group 6-11 and 11-14 between 1950-51 and 1965-66.

Table No. 2

Population of Children (1950-51 to 1965-66)

(in millions)

Year	Age-group 6-11			Age-group 11-14		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51	22.029	21.083	43.112	12.806	11.955	24.761
1960-61	28.629	27.588	56.217	15.314	14.575	29.829
1965-66	33.342	32.124	65.466	17.350	16.675	34.025

2.18 The actual enrolment of children in classes I—V was 19.160 millions in 1950-51, and that in classes VI – VIII was 3.120 millions. It is, therefore, obvious that if we wanted to provide universal elementary education by 1960-61, we should have enrolled 37.057 million additional children (or roughly about 3.7 million a year), in classes I – V and 26.709 million additional children (or roughly about 2.7 million a year in classes VI – VIII. If, on the other hand, we had to reach this objective by

1965-66, we should have enrolled 46.306 million additional children (or about 3.1 million a year) in classes I–V and 30.905 million additional children (or roughly about 2.1 million children a year) in classes VI–VIII. But in fact, our actual performance fell far too short of these targets as the following table shows–

Table No. 3

Enrolments in Elementary Education (1950-51 to 1965-66)

(in millions)

Year	*Enrolments in Classes I–V*			*Enrolments in Classes VI–VIII*		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51	13.77	5.39	19.16	2.59	0.53	3.12
	(60.6)	(24.8)	(43.1)	(20.6)	(4.6)	(12.9)
1960-61	23.59	11.40	34.99	5.07	1.43	6.70
	(82.5)	(41.4)	(62.4)	(33.2)	(11.3)	(22.5)
1965-66	32.18	18.29	50.47	7.68	2 85	10.53
	(96.3)	(56.5)	(76.4)	(44.2)	(17.6)	(30.8)

N.B. (1) Figures in parantheses denote percentages to the total population of the age-groups 6-11 and 11-14.

(2) It is necessary to point out that a fairly large proportion of the children actually enrolled in classes I—VIII is outside the usual age-limits (6 14) ; they are either below six or above fourteen. To this extent, the number of non-enrolled children is larger than that indicated by the above data. This factor is, however, ignored in this discussion because it is possible to argue that we can refuse admission to all such children below and above the prescribed ages and admit an equivalent number of children from within the age group 6-14.

(3) The above data gives no indication of adequacy of buildings equipment or teachers. In some cases we may have surplus teachers and partially filled class-room. In others, the situation may be just the opposite. These factors do not however cancel each other out. On the whole, the inadequacies are very large and are increasing with time.

2.19 The exact shortfall in our achievements can be seen in the following data—

	Between 1950-51 and 1960-61 (in 000s)	Between 1950-51 and 1965-66 (in 000s)
1. Actual average annual increase in enrolment in Classes I-V	1,583	2,090
Classes VI—VIII	358	494
Total	1,941	2,584
2. Average annual increase in enrolment needed if the goal of universal education was to be reached by 1960-61 in Classes I—V	3,706	
Classes VI—VIII	2,671	
Total	6,377	
3. Average annual increase in enrolment needed if the goal was to be reached by 1965-66 in Classes I—V		3,087
Classes VI—III		2,063
Total		5,150

In other words, our achievement was only about 30 per cent of the expected if we had to reach the goal by 1960-61 and only about 50 per cent of the expected if we had to reach the goal by 1965-66.

2.20 Universal Retention : This failure was due, not so much to the non-enrolment of children in Class I (in fact, there was evidence to show that more than two-thirds of the children in the age-group 6-7 were actually enrolled in Class I,) but mainly to the failure to retain children in schools till they complete elementary education. More than sixty per cent of the children enrolled left the schools prematurely, mainly because they had to work for or within the family. Since the economic conditions of the poor did not improve materially and since no special educational measures were also adopted to meet the needs of economically handicapped children (e.g. part-time education), the wastage rates in elementary education continued to be high throughout the period under review; and these constituted the most difficult hurdle in the progress of universal elementary education.[1]

2.21 In 1965-66, therefore, the situation was that we had failed to provide universal primary education as adumbrated in Art. 45 of the Constitution. There was also no revised plan prepared on the subject so that we did not know when and how the goal indicated in this Article would ever be reached.

Basic Education

2.22 On the qualitative side, the target in elementary education was equally clear : to convert every elementary school to the basic pattern. This was also a very major commitment of the pre-independence period. But for various reasons, it was not possible to realize this target also which, it must be admitted, was even more difficult than the quantitative targets.

2.23 The scheme of basic education as originally conceived by Mahatma Gandhi visualized an education of seven years (age-group 7-14) to be provided to every child. The scheme made socially useful productive work the medium of education so that children learnt as they worked and the work became, not a mere subject in the curriculum, but

1 In fact, wastage has continued to be the worst evil to impede the progress of elementary education. The Education Commission showed that this evil existed in the pre-independence period also and that the situation had not much changed since 1947. For instance, the proportion of enrolments in Class VIII to those in Class I was 2.8 in 1911-12, 3.4 in 1921-22, 5.6 in 1936-37, 12.5 in 1946-47 and only 15.4 in 1965-66 (*Report*, Table 7.2).

the very medium round which every other item in the curriculum was closely integrated. Gandhiji also did not want any English to be taught at this stage and was therefore of the view that it should be possible to provide, during this period of seven years, a level of education equal to that of the matriculation, *minus* English *plus* craft. He also felt that the articles produced by the children should be able to make a profit which should meet all the expenses of the school including the salaries of the teachers; and he was sure that this would be possible if the State took over the entire produce of the school. In fact, he attached the highest significance to this self-sufficiency aspect of the scheme which he described as its acid test. It was only this financial independence said Gandhiji, that would give education its autonomy and free it from State control or interference.

2.24 The scheme of basic education as it came to be finally accepted by the country was a very different cup of tea and compromised with many fundamental features of the programme. For instance, the scheme as visualised by Mahatma Gandhi was a non-formal system unconnected with the State. The scheme as accepted by the country was equivalent only to the introduction of socially useful productive work as an integral part of the formal school system supported by the State. Gandhiji's scheme was to be financially self-sufficient. But in the scheme as adopted, this aspect of self-sufficiency was totally abandoned. All that was expected was that the children would either produce some articles for their own use or the receipts from the sales of articles produced by the children would be able to meet the cost of raw-materials and leave some profit which could be given to the students or used for their welfare. While enough time was allotted to the learning of the craft, it was no longer necessary to correlate all items of the curriculum with it: correlation was desirable, wherever possible, but not mandatory. Each basic school, however, was expected to function as a community and engage itself in some meaningful programmes of service to the local people. It was also decided that English could be taught in basic schools. In fact, a luminary of basic education observed that the principles of basic education were best practised in some of the English-medium special schools.

2.25 In implementation, the programme ran into many difficulties. The experiment did not become popular in urban areas or with the upper and middle classes who did not want their children to work with their hands and who felt that the standards of education would suffer because of the heavy time reserved for craft work. It did not have much relevance to the life of the children from poor families because it was tried out only

in full-time schools which these working children could not and did not attend. The attitudes of the State Government showed great variations; some evinced a firm commitment and many were almost totally indifferent. The top leadership paid lip sympathy to the programme but preferred to send their own children to English-medium schools so that basic education came to be defined as the *best education for other people's children.* The Government of Uttar Pradesh converted all its primary schools to the basic pattern overnight. But in other States where space, equipment and materials, trained teachers, etc. were considered essential, the progress of the experiment was very slow. On the one hand, the State Governments could not or did not provide the needed trends. On the other, it was found that, while good work was done in schools where competent and dedicated teachers were available, any large scale expansion of the programme did not work satisfactorily. It was also found that basic education would not help the programme of universalisation of elementary education. For one thing, the basic schools proved to be costlier than the non-basic schools and not cheaper as was originally expected. Besides, the basic schools were not popular with the parents and did not show that they had any greater power, to attract and hold children than the non-basic schools. As time passed, there was also an increasing opposition to the idea that elementary schools should be divided into two types—the basic and the non-basic and a demand was put forward that all elementary schools should provide a uniform education to all children—an education which would be the best the country can afford. Two main lines of thought thus emerged in the light of the experience of nearly 30 years of the working of the scheme (1937-66) : (1) the first was that a reformulation of the scheme itself was called for; and (2) secondly whatever the formulation of the scheme, its implementation had to be much better.

2.26 There were three principal gains on the pedagogic side. The salaries of the elementary school teachers (which were, in many areas, extremely low) were considerably improved ; more extensive arrangements were made for the training of teachers whose quality was also improved and there was a general improvement in curricula and text-books. But even these were counterbalanced by two main losses. In 1950-51, the expenditure on teachers' salaries formed 80.3 per cent of the total direct expenditure on primary schools and the corresponding figure for middle school was 75.8 per cent. In 1965-66, however, these proportions rose to 90.7 per cent for primary schools and 89.2 per cent for middle schools, thus showing that other qualitative inputs in elementary education was

considerably declining.[1] Secondly, because of the comparative neglect of elementary education, its share in total educational expenditure declined from 38.7 per cent in 1950-51 to 34.4 per cent in 1965-66.

2.27 One important issue needs analysis before we close this discussion. Throughout the period under review, the political leadership at the national, State and district levels laid great emphasis on the largest possible expansion of elementary education that could be secured within the resources available which, of course is quite different from a commitment to the goal of providing universal education. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the policy of the British administrators was very similar; they also wanted the largest possible expansion of elementary education but ruled out the provision of compulsory education on administrative and financial grounds of decisive weight (Govt. of India Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913). The way in which we are developing the programme of elementary education since 1950 implies that we strive for the largest possible expansion of elementary education and only 'endeavour' to provide free and compulsory education at some distant and undefined date ! Comments on the 'distinction' between these two policies, if any, are needless. But it is necessary to understand why even this emphasis on the largest possible expansion of elementary education was so consistently laid by the leadership at all levels. My analysis is that the political leadership welcomed the expansion of elementary education for two main reasons : (1) it boosted their political capital if they opened schools in schoolless areas; and (2) the expansion of elementary education gave them the largest single avenue to provide employment to secondary school teachers (the completion of the secondary course now became the minimum qualification for elementary teachers). Let us not forget that between 1950-51 and 1965-66, the enrolment in elementary education increased roughly at 25.84 lakhs a year and that this implied the appointment of about 100,000 teachers a year (including replacements). With the large expansion that was taking place, the system of secondary education would have collapsed if these employment opportunities were not available. I am confirmed in this analysis by long discussion I have had with political leaders at various levels. I always found that they were interested in the programme only until a school was opened, a teacher or teachers were appointed and their political and patronage interests were satisfied. But as soon as this was done, they lost all further interest in elementary

1. The target in this regard has been that the teachers' salaries should form 60 to70 p.c. of the total expenditure to provide adequate services like better equipment, better teaching materials, free books or free meals.

education and never bothered whether the teachers went to the schools or not or whether children learnt anything at all. These were matters of no consequence to them; and this is one of the main reasons why it is so difficult to control teacher-truancy or to lay adequate emphasis on improved attendance or reduction of wastage or raising of standards.

Adult Education

2.28 The cause of adult education or of liquidating mass illiteracy fared far worse and, as stated earlier, the problem was shelved altogether. The main argument was that, in the long run, the provision of universal elementary education was the surest way to liquidate illiteracy and that, if we were to achieve the goal of universal education for children in the age-group 6-14 within ten years, it would be unnecessary to mount up a massive programme of adult education in addition.

2.29 The programme of adult education, which was designated as social education to emphasize the fundamental and social aspects of the programme, was kept going in a small way, mainly in relation to the community development programme in which the integral role of social education was recognized. The following data speak for themselves ;

Table No. 4

Adult (Social Education 1950-51 to 1965-66)

Year	*No. of institutions*	*Enrolment*	*Expenditure (Rs.)*
1950-51	48,556	1,256,011	7,218,126
1955-56	46,091	1,282,710	7,196,186
1960-61	62,815	1,494,794	7,927,765
1965-66	2,17,912	1,637,541	5,548,466

A word of explanation is needed for the large spurt in adult education centres in 1965-66. This was mainly due to the *Gram Shikshan Mohim* in Maharashtra, a voluntary movement conducted at very little cost, which initially showed great promise but which ultimately petered out with marginal results. In 1965-66, this movement in Maharashtra accounted for 183,013 centres with an enrolment of 845,645. This movement did not exist in 1950-51; and if we make allowance for it, it would be readily

seen that the over-all position of adult education in the country had really become worse in 1965-66.

2.30 It appears that, throughout this period, we ran about 50,000 centres a year and made about 500,000 adults literate at a small cost, the total investment in the programme being less than one per cent of the total educational expenditure.

2.31 It was explained earlier why, in spite of all the arguments to the contrary, the programmes of universal elementary and adult education were so largely neglected during the period under review. It may also be mentioned that there was no strong social and political demand from any quarter to reverse these policies. The people themselves were poor and unorganized and the type of education we provided in the elementary schools or literacy classes could not be seen by them as a felt need or as an acquisition of value. The opposition parties, not excluding the leftist ones, could hardly make an impact and unfortunately they were also not keen to make these programmes basic issues in political struggles. The only group that fought for these ideas consistently were a few committed academics and social workers and a group of Gandhians. For a time, they had some pull and did succeed in getting some support for these programmes. But even before the period under review was over, their 'pull' had begun to wane very materially.

Expansion of Secondary and Higher Education

2.32 It was pointed out earlier that it was decided to accord the highest priority to the expansion of secondary and higher education. The demand for this education increased immensely during the period under review for various reasons such as :

—the high social status attached to a university degree ;

—the growing hunger for education among the urban upper and middle classes who realized that the best and probably the only worthwhile legacy they could leave to their children was to give them good education ;

—the awakening among the rural people and the rural rich and well-to-do individuals who now began to seek social advancement (just as the urban and advanced classes had done about 50-80 years earlier) through secondary and higher education ;

—the disappearance of old 'job values' attached to elementary education so that secondary education became the minimum and higher education the optimum qualification for any worthwhile job ;

—the increasing difficulties in getting a job and the need for receiving an increasingly higher level of education to get even the same job made boys stay longer in the school system. This increased their age of marriage which resulted in increasing the age of marriage for girls as well and they also began to join secondary schools and colleges in increasing numbers ; and

—the absence of adequate employment opportunities for young persons many of whom were compelled to go in for further education because they had nothing to do, thus making education a *substitute*, rather than a *preparation* for work.

2.33 This demand for the expansion of secondary and higher education received strong support from all quarters. The upper and the middle classes supported it because they were obviously its principal beneficiaries. Curiously enough, the backward classes also gave it an equal support because they believed that a system of open-door access to secondary and university education was their best hope of vertical mobility. The political leadership was also keenly interested because most of expansion took place through private enterprise with which it had built up close working relations and which formed an important part of its political capital and base. Obviously, with such strong support, no Government could have resisted the demands and pressures for a rapid expansion of secondary and higher education. The State Governments, therefore, made fairly large provisions in their plans for expansion of secondary and higher education and definite targets to be reached were fixed in all the five year plans of this period. Moreover, the State Governments also provided considerable encouragement and liberal assistance to the students at these levels. It is also no wonder that the targets fixed (which were by no means under-estimates) were, in almost all cases, over-fulfilled.

2.34 The following tables show the expansion in general secondary and higher education during the period under review :—

Table No. 5

Secondary Schools and Enrolments in Classes IX-XI (XII)
1950-51 to 1965-66

Year	*No. of secondary schools*	*Enrolments in classes IX-XI/XII (in millions)*		
		Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51	7,288	1.02	0.20	1.22
		(8.7)	(1.8)	(5.3)
1955-56	10,838	1.58	0.30	1.88
		(12.8)	(2.6)	(7.8)
1960-61	17,257	2.34	0.55	2.89
		(16.7)	(4.1)	(10.6)
1965-66	27,477	3.87	1.17	5.04
		(24.3)	(7.7)	(16.2)

N.B.—(1) Figures in parantheses show percentages to the population in the age-group 14-17.

(2) In 1965-66, 16,512 institutions (60.1 p.c. of the total as against 38.8 p.c. in 1950-51) were located in rural areas.

(3) It may be pointed out that this large expansion of secondary education was greatly helped by the liberal assistance made available to students in secondary schools during this period as the data given below will show.

		1950-51	1965-66
1.	Scholarships and stipends	133,772	735,515
2.	Other concessions	121,377	1,353,698
3.	Free studentships	488,012	1,727,837
4.	Enrolment in institutions where education is free	495,375 (in 1955-56)	4,143,106

Table No. 6

Institutions of Higher Education and their Enrolments (1950-51 to 1965-66)

	Type	*Institutions*		*Enrolments*	
		1950-51	*1965-66*	*1950-51*	*1965-66*
1.	Universities	27	64	31,231	118,112
2.	Research Institutes	18	39	634	2,008
3.	Colleges of Arts and Science	498	1,673	325,723	1,119,0 6
4.	Colleges of Other Education	78	1,253	5,022	96,308

It will be seen that, in a short period of about 15 years, the number of general secondary schools and their enrolments increased four-fold. In general higher education also, the increase in institutions and enrolments was correspondingly large. The rates of expansion at secondary and university stages are of course much larger than at the elementary stage; and there is no precedent for such expansion in our earlier educational history.

2.35 It must be pointed out that this expansion of secondary and higher education was again not a new policy but a mere continuation of a trend which had already been well established. Expansion of secondary and higher education in which the upper and middle classes were interested right from the start was first achieved by Indian private enterprise between 1854 and 1902 with the approval of, and some encouragement from, Government. Between 1902 and 1921, this programme was carried further but inspite of the opposition of government which now frowned upon such expansion for political reasons. Between 1921 and 1947, the expansion was faster because government (which was then under Indian control in so far as education is concerned) also supported it although its finances were limited. After 1947, we had the most favourable conditions for expansion of secondary and university education, viz., intense public demand and largest social support combined with full encouragement and liberal financial assistance from government.

2.36 Several important aspects of this expansion deserve notice :

(1) No one had any objection to expansion of secondary and higher education. In fact, the level of expansion reached in secondary and higher education was so low in 1947 and so inadequate from the point of view of the needs of a free country which was anxious to modernize itself that a good deal of expansion was badly needed.

(2) It was also recognized that, because of this expansion, secondary and higher education was spreading to lower and lower strata of Indian society, creating a social ferment, helping a new leadership to emerge and, on the whole, leading to a more balanced polity and economy.

(3) What was objected to therefore was not expansion as such, but the unplanned manner in which it was being brought about. For instance, the Education Commission found that, in 1965-66, as many as 26·6 of the secondary schools had an enrolment of less than 100 and that only about half of the secondary schools had an enrolment of 240 and over which is probably the minimum size to reduce costs and increase efficiency. Similarly, as many as 15.6 per cent of the colleges had an enrolment of less than 100 and that nearly 44.8 p. c. of the colleges had an enrolment of less than 300. The locations of secondary schools and colleges were very often ill-planned.

(4) The benefits of this expansion (and of the large subsidy involved therein) went largely to the upper and the middle classes because it was mostly they, and not the poor classes, that were able to complete elementary education. This increased the inherent injustice of the system.

(5) Moreover, this rapid expansion created serious problems of educated unemployment which led to great unhappiness and illfeeling and sapped the motivation of students.

It was mainly because of these difficulties that a view was put forward to introduce selective admissions to prevent expansion beyond certain accepted ceilings. But this proposal, formally put forward by the University Education Commission (1948-49) was never accepted. The politicians were unwilling to take these radical and hard decisions which

Involved the risk of unpopularity and opposition from vested interests ; the rich and the well-to-do who had everything to gain and nothing to lose through the current systems of open-door access naturally preferred to continue the status quo ; and even the weaker sections opposed the proposal because of their fear that the system of selective admissions would be manipulated to harm their interests.

The Qualitative Dimension

2.37 This expansion of educational facilities at all levels, i. e. the expansion of elementary education (which was fully justified in theory but only inadequately achieved in practice) as well as in secondary and higher education (which was not quite fully justified in theory but which was overachieved in practice), formed the most important programme of educational development between 1947 and 1965. It naturally absorbed the bulk of the finances available and left very limited resources for developing the programmes of qualitative improvement. Inspite of all that could be done therefor through pedagogic inputs like improving teacher quality and competence, curricula, teaching and learning materials, methods of teaching and evaluation, or supervision, the standards did continue to deteriorate in the vast majority of educational institutions. Since no one was prepared to curtail expansion or to provide the additional resources needed (these could have alleviated the situation), some method to solve the qualitative crisis had to be found.

2.38 Ultimately the method evolved was in keeping with the divided character of the Indian society, viz., to maintain a dual educational system in which a small core of high quality institutions (which is largely used by the rich and the well-to-do) is surrounded by a large penumbra of poor quality institutions (which are really meant for the common people). But even this was not a new invention ; it was merely a continuation and further expansion of a system which had already come to exist during the British period.

(1) At the school stage, the British model of public schools had already been introduced with various objectives, e.g. the training of the children of the Princes and the aristocracy, the early training of would be officers for the army, provision of special residential schools for the children of the modernized rich, and so on. There were also a few English-medium schools originally meant for Anglo-Indians and others who used or desired the use of English as mother-tongue. But the total number of such institutions was, on the whole, comparatively small before 1947. In

the post-independence period, the ruling super elite decided that this core sector of good schools which used English a medium of instruction would be utilized by them for the education of their own children for the prestige and the other obvious advantages it conferred. The ruling elite also followed suit and began to use good quality private schools (not necessarily using English as medium of instruction) for their children. The number of schools of both these categories (and especially of those using English as the medium) increased by leaps and bounds in the post-independence period. Very soon, therefore, we created a dual system at the school stage in which (1) a small group of fee-charging, good, high quality schools (many of which used English as medium of instruction), mostly run by private agencies or minorities served the needs of the rich and the well-to-do, while (2) the vast majority of publicly supported schools which were generally of poor quality were utilized by the common man for the education of his children. This solved the 'quality' problem for the ruling elite. Since resources were limited and it was not possible to improve all schools, it was decided that the best policy would be to maintain a core sector of good quality schools while the rest of the schools meant for the common man were allowed to be of poor quality. There was also no objection if even this low quality of the vast majority of schools continued to deteriorate further so long as the small core sector of good schools maintained standards and continued to raise them. This dualism therefore assured the ruling elite that *their children* would receive good education; and what does it then matter if *other people's children* got only bad education ?

2. The same dual policy was continued at the university stage also. Here a number of prestigeous, good quality and useful institutions were created. They included the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITS), the Indian Institutes of Management (IIMS), engineering and medical colleges, and several institutions of general education. They had selective admissions because the applicants for admissions far outnumbered the places available; and even when their methods of selections were academically fair, their admissions went largely to students who had received their school education through the English medium, to the children of the rich and well-to-do, of professionals and of senior employees in the private and the public sector, or, in short, to the top echelons of the ruling elite for the simple reason that there is a close correlation between the 'talent' of children as we now measure it and their socio-economic backgrounds. This core sector of good quality institutions was surrounded by a large number of colleges and other institutions of higher education whose standards were

poor and which admitted the sons and daughters of the common people. The elite were thus assured of a good education for their children. The *other people's children* were assured of an open-door access to higher education; but this only meant that they would be admitted in *some* institution, however poor, and in *some* course however useless.

2.39 There was of course a continuous demand, especially from the left parties, that this dualism should go and that all public and special schools should be abolished. But they were too well entrenched to be affected. Government, however, responded by saying that they would also make good education, of the type given in public schools, available to talented children of the poor as well. It was from this point of view that the Government of India started its scheme of scholarships in public and special schools. The establishment of the Sainik schools had a similar objective. Some State Governments established public schools admissions to which were made on merits. Of course, the total number of students so admitted to education in public or special schools formed only a very small part of the total enrolment of these institutions.

2.40 Of course this does not mean that no attempts were made to improve quality in the general run of educational institutions meant for the common man. In fact, these attempts were almost continuous and included such measures as improving the remuneration of teachers and their general and professional education, improvement of text-books and teaching and learning materials, adoption of better methods of teaching and evaluation, improvement of supervision, provision of buildings and equipment, and so on. But they did not produce any tangible effect for two main reasons. The first was that the resources available for all such programmes were very limited; and secondly, the good results obtained through them were often negatived by deterioration in discipline and quality of administration (as shown for instance in increasing teacher-truancy and adoption of mass copying methods in public examinations) by weakening of the motivation of students due mainly to the growing distance between a degree and a job, by the large influx of students from deprived backgrounds for whom no proper facilities of individual guidance were provided and by the far too frequent disturbances due to strikes, etc., especially at the university stage.

Vocationalization of Secondary Education

2.41 We have so far dealt with the attempts made to secure expansion of secondary and higher education, the problems it created in

the maintenance of standards,[1] and the manner in which these were broadly tackled. We shall now proceed to discuss some other major developments in secondary and higher education.

2.42 The vocationalization of secondary education with a view to diverting a proportion of the enrolment at the secondary stage in terminal vocational courses of a practical character and reducing pressures on university admission was an accepted policy of long standing and was being pursued since 1882. But it made little progress in the pre-independence period partly because Government did not follow it with sufficient zest and partly because industry had not developed and other opportunities of employment to young persons who had received second level education were also very few. In the post-independence period, the attempts to vocationalize secondary education continued to be made more vigorously and the students were also attracted to these courses in increasing numbers because the economic and other policies of government were also more favourable to employment after the second level of education. The net result of these efforts can be seen in the following table.

Table No. 7

Vocational Secondary Education (1950-51 to 1965-66)

Type of Vocational Education	*No. of Institutions*		*Enrolments in Institutions*	
	1950-51	*1965-66*[1]	*1950-51*	*1965-66*[2]
1. Agriculture	35	99	1,854	9,138
2. Commerce	549	346	37,386	50,914
3. Engineering, Technical Industrial Arts and Crafts	750	1,318	52,457	91,516
4. Fine Arts	N.A.	246	N.A.	17,656
5. Forestry	1	4	27	623

1. They also created very difficult problems of educated unemployment. But these will be dealt with in a later section of this Report.

2. Excludes institutions of undergraduate standard and their enrolments.

6.	Medicine	39	88	3,334	3,994
7.	Physical Education	182	22	22,594	2,350
8.	Teacher Training	782	601	69,416	65,981
9.	Veterinary	N.A.	3	N.A.	124
10.	Others	1	48	116	5,085
	Total	2,339	2,775	187,194	247,021
	Percentage of above enrolment to total enrolment at the secondary stage			3.8	4.0
	Total Expenditure on vocational schools Rs. (millions)			36.943	76,611
	Percentage to total educational expenditure			3.2	1.2

2.43 The over-all picture is disappointing and shows that we could make only a marginal advance in this field inspite of all the talk about emphasis on vocationalization of secondary education. The re-classification of Secondary vocational institution introduced during this period does adversely affect the quantitative data of 1965-66 because vocational schools of the undergraduate level are excluded. But even if due allowance is made for this factor, the over-all situation will still remain equally unsatisfactory and the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the programme of vocationalization of Secondary education made poor advance if any, during this period. There was of course a small increase in the number of institutions, their enrolments, and the expenditure incurred on them. But their proportion to the total number of educational institutions, enrolments and expenditure *declined*, instead of increasing.

Diversification

2.44 A major attempt for reform in Secondary education made during this period was the adoption of the concept of multipurpose

secondary schools recommended by the Secondary Education Commission (1952) and accepted by the Government of India. Under this proposal, secondary education was divided into a number of streams to suit the varying interests, aptitudes and capacities of adolescents, e.g. humanities sciences, commerce, agriculture, engineering and technical, home science (for girls)and fine arts. Every scondary school was expected to provide for as many of these streams as possible and at least for three of them. The vocational streams included in this pattern did not prepare the students for any vocation as such but merely formed an alternative channel of broad general education which would still enable them to enter the universities. Liberal central grants were made available for conversion of secondary schools to the multipurpose pattern. The progress made by 1965-66 is shown below.

	Multi-purpose[1]	*Total*
No. of High Schools	508	20,766
No. of Higher Secondary Schools	1,878	6,711
Enrolment in High Schools	387,622	74,94,538
Enrolment in Higher Secondary Schools	1,204,400	38,23,526

2.45 These 'reforms' were extremely unfortunate. For one thing, they introduced specialization at a very early stage : Students who had completed class VIII and were about 13-14 years old were asked to choose their careers and had to be classified as belonging to pre-engineering and pre-medical sections. Dr. D. S. Kothari described this system to be as bad as that of child marriage. Secondly, the various streams provided in the scheme (except humanities, sciences and commerce) were taken up only by very few students and the wisdom of providing such costly courses for a few students in secondary schools of general education was seriously challenged. Even within a few years of the introduction of this scheme, therefore, the public opinion was ranged strongly against it. This is one of the ill-advised and costly changes that were tried out in the post-independence period and that had ultimately to be given up. It is 'reforms' of this type that have got a bad name for educational planning in the country.

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1. Besides, there were 48 post-basic schools with an enrolment of 5,726.

The Obsession with the Pattern

2.46 Another and a more serious weakness of educational planning in the post-independence period is what may be described as the *obsession with the pattern of the school and college classes.* It is difficult to explain or even to understand why a pattern of school and college classes which is the least important aspect of a national system of education should have been looked upon as its most important aspect and why it should have obsessed all concerned and dominated all educational planning in the post-independence period to such an extent that we are not still free from it. But there is no doubt that this obsession has done a great harm to education by diverting public attention and resources to wrong priorities.

2.47 In the pre-independence period, there was no such obsession with the pattern of school and college classes. The British administration allowed full freedom to the Provinces to organize their school education (i.e. education before the matriculation which was held by the universities as entrance for higher education) in any way they liked. But in so far as higher or post-matriculation education was concerned, an attempt was made to evolve a broadly uniform pattern of education, especially after the Indian Universities Act of 1904. But even this receded in the background between 1921 and 1947 when education was transferred to Indian and Provincial control. Inspite of this freedom and almost total absence of a desire to create a uniform pattern of school and college classes, a few common features did emerge though the inevitable process of co-ordination and mutual learning that is inescapable in a federal system. By 1944, the situation in the country was as follows —

—the duration of school education leading to the matriculation examination varied from province to province and could be from 10 to 12 years ;

—the matriculation examination could be held by universities or by Secondary Education Boards ;

—the intermediate course was of two years and the intermediate examination could also be held by universities or by special Boards ;

—the undergraduate course was of two years and led to the first degree ; but the duration of the courses for the first degree in

professional fields like agriculture, engineering or medicine could be different and longer ;

—the courses for the first degree were of two types-pass or honours—with the same duration. But there were exceptions as in Madras where the honours degree was taken after three years and where the second degree was awarded automatically after sometime or as in Allahabad where a honours degree was taken one year after the pass course and was followed by a one year course for the M.A. degree ; and

—the duration of the courses for the second degree was also two years.

2.48 The Calcutta University Commission (1917-19) suggested the first major reform in this area, viz., the adoption of the pattern of 10+2+3 for the Calcutta University. This idea was also projected at the All-India level. The Calcutta University did not act upon it at all. But the Government of U.P. separated the intermediate classes from higher education proper and created a Board of High School and Intermediate Examination to look after all pre-university education. Some other Boards on the same pattern were also set up in North India. The three-year degree course did not materialize except in stray classes like the Madras Honours Course. There were also no sustained or intensive attempts on an All-India basis to adopt the pattern of 10+2+3, especially because the Government of India was almost 'divorced' from education from 1921 to 1947 as a result of the introduction of the system of dyarchy and transfer of education to Indian control under the Government of India Act, 1919.

2.49 The idea of another national pattern for the country as a whole was put forward by the Sargent Report or the Post-War Plan of Educational Development in India (1944) which differed from the Calcutta University Education Commission and recommended the pattern of 8+3+3, known commonly as the Higher Secondary pattern. As was pointed out earlier this Report was never accepted as a national policy. But somehow the idea of a national pattern of school and college classes was caught up and this pattern was actually introduced in Delhi Union Territory between 1945 and 1947. This raised controversies which were still alive when the University Education Commission (1948-49) was appointed. Naturally, the subject received considerable attention in its deliberations and as it agreed with the Calcutta University Commission, it recommended the pattern of 10+2+3. With these opposite

recommendations, the controversy over the subject became sharper and the whole matter was referred to the Secondary Education Commission (1952). This Commission was broadly in favour of the Higher Secondary pattern but could not quite make up its mind whether the higher secondary course should be of eleven years as recommended by the Sargent Report or of twelve years as recommended by the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). Basically, the controversy was between those areas where the duration of the total course leading to the first degree was fifteen years (these formed about half of the country) and those where it was fourteen years (these were almost equal in influence and authority). Each of these areas thought that their system was better, was not prepared to change it, and was trying its best to make its own system *the* national pattern. It was this difficult situation that had to be tackled between 1952 and 1954.

2.50 The solution that was ultimately devised was as follows—

—the highest emphasis was placed on the organisation of the three-year degree course and this reform was mostly carried out between 1954 and 1965, with the help of liberal UGC grants, in all areas except U.P. (where it has not yet been implemented) and the City of Bombay (where it has since been implemented) ;

—the higher secondary pattern of 8+3+3 was recommended with a transitional stage of 8+2+1+3 wherein the pre-university year could be in colleges.

2.51 This was a solution determined by considerations of finance and expediency and obviously, it was a definite concession to the view of the fourteen-year States. Naturally, they adopted the proposals with greater enthusiasm. But there were important exceptions also. As stated above, U.P. did not adopt the three-year course and refused to break up the 10+2 pattern. The Delhi Union territory and M.P. went the whole way and adopted the 8+3+3 pattern university. But the other States continued to have both the alternatives of 11+3 or 10+1+3 as long-term measures. In the fifteen-year States, on the other hand, these reforms were given a cold shoulder. Kerala adopted the pattern of 10+2+3. None of these States reduced the duration to 14 years. They also did not adopt the higher secondary pattern and when they did, they usually adopted the pattern of 11+1+3. The net result therefore was more negative than positive. On the one hand, no national pattern of school and college classes ever emerged. On the other, the existing confusion

of patterns became worse confounded ; the controversy between 14 and 15 years States remained unresolved and the national obsession with the pattern as the single, most needed and radical reform of education was continued and strengthened further. Like the old man in the tale of Sindbad the Sailor, the pattern was riding the neck of educational reform in India almost continuously since 1944 : it refused to alight and could not also be shaken off.

Other Reforms in Higher Education

2.52 The general expectation in 1947 was that the reform of higher education, especially in its qualitative aspects, would receive the highest priority and that the recommendations of the University Education Commission (1948-49) would be implemented with vigour in a sustained fashion. Unfortunately, this hope did not materialize adequately, although university education did receive far greater attention than any other sector. This was due to several reasons. In the first place, most of the resources available were taken up by the programmes of expansion ; and expansion of higher education naturally absorbed a lion's share in the finances available. Secondly, as shown above, the obsession with the pattern claimed much larger attention than it deserved. Thirdly, government created the University Grants Commission in 1957 and naturally felt that the UGC must function in an autonomous manner and assume all further responsibility for the development of higher education. But whatever the explanation, the fact remains that the reform of higher education between 1947 and 1965 was, on the whole, ad hoc and desultory, rather than carefully planned, comprehensive or sustained with vigour. Among the few good achievements of the period, however, mention may be made of improvement in the remuneration of university teachers. In plan after plan, the UGC defined national scales of pay for university and college teachers and tried to implement them through a system of specific grant-in-aid. Another achievement was the almost universal introduction of the three year degree course to which a reference has already been made. The third was a great expansion of the teaching and research activities in the Universities with the support of UGC grants. Most of the universities were now in a position to develop fine campuses, construct academic buildings, staff quarters and hostels, provide improved libraries, laboratories and student services, and expand their teaching and research programmes. In fact, the universities now became a quality system within the field of higher education and provided the bulk of post-graduate teaching and research. Special mention must be made here of the scheme of Centres of Advanced Study which

were established in selected university departments to function as pace-setting institutions. The UGC also initiated several programmes for adoption of improved methods of teaching, for revision of curricula, for examination reform and for faculty development. A scheme of publishing good text-books was also initiated in collaboration with the Governments of the UK, the USA., and the USSR.

2.53 Unfortunately, the over-all situation regarding standards in higher education had a darker side also (as at the other stages of education). There was a general deterioration of standards because of a lowering of student motivation, due mainly to the growing distance between a degree and a job. The bulk of the students saw little purpose in higher education. The lowering of the standards at the school stage had also made them less prepared to receive or benefit from higher education. The political parties tried to make full capital out of this situation by fomenting student unrest and using it for their own narrow party ends. Consequently, the over-all situation in higher education was greatly disturbed with student unrest and indiscipline which frequently took a violent form. While the studies generally suffered, the importance of examinations increased so that students often tried to take the easy way out through such means as cramming for examinations, attending coaching classes, or worse still, mass copying at examinations. The extent of these evils naturally varied from area to area. But on the whole, they were far too serious to be ignored and almost negatived the good results expected from the vast sums invested in the development of higher education. In fact, they created a first-rate crisis in the system of higher education which was by no means easy to resolve.

Scientific Research

2.54 A word might be said here about science education and research. The national system of education as visualized in the pre-independence period was expected to give a very high priority to science education and research. Science and technology had also the unstinted support of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who wanted India to be lifted out of the 'cow-dung era' and who believed that the development of science-technology alone held the key to elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease. Government, therefore, adopted the Science Policy Resolution of 1958 and tried to implement it. An Atomic Energy Commission was established and greatly developed under the leadership of Dr. Homi Bhabha. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Development,

established a little earlier in 1944, was greatly developed through the efforts of scientists like Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar. Of course, the country had a choice here. It could have decided to develop these programmes through the university system itself in which case they would have been considerably strengthened. But somehow, this decision was not taken and it has had far reaching consequences on the system of higher education and research. The decision to promote scientific and technological research through national laboratories deprived the universities of a proper share in the large resources now made available for higher education and research. What is worse, it drained them of considerable talent because most of the top scientists were drafted into the national laboratories through a policy of providing better remuneration and more satisfactory conditions of work and service. One is not, therefore, quite sure whether the policies pursued in this sphere during the period under review were right and whether they were in the best interests of the country.

Professional Education

2.55 Professional education in agriculture, engineering and medicine was greatly emphasized during the period under review because of its close relationship to the policies of development followed in the modernization of agriculture, growth of industry, and provision of modern health services. In fact, this is one area of substantial achievement between 1947 and 1965.

2.56 In 1947, the country had only 17 institutions of higher education in agriculture—the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and 16 agricultural colleges. It was now decided to emphasize agricultural education and research in the interest of increased food poduction, to strengthen the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, to establish an Agricultural university in every State, and to improve and expand agricultural colleges, where needed. The progress achieved during the period under review is shown below.

	1950-51	1965-66
1. No. of Agricultural Colleges	16	52
2. Enrolment in above	2,956	19,281
3. Teachers in above	N.A.	2,160
4. Total Expenditure on above (in millions)	Rs. 3.690	Rs. 26.360

While these were substantial gains, signs of distress were already visible by 1965. In particular, the production of agricultural graduates was already too large and unemployment among them had reached a sizable proportion.

2.57 The situation with engineering education at the university stage was also similar. In fact, higher education in engineering and technology received the highest emphasis and attention during this period and its planned and co-ordinated development was supervised by the All India Council of Technical Education and the Ministry of Education. Five Institutes of Technology were established at Bombay, Madras, Kharagpur, Kanpur and New Delhi. Large Regional Engineering Colleges were established at several centres. Existing engineering colleges were expanded and improved and several new ones were established. The progress made is briefly shown below.

	1950-51	1965-66
1. No. of Colleges of Engineering	33	97
2. Enrolment in above	12,586	68,848
3. Teachers in above	N.A.	6,807
4. Expenditure on above (Rs. millions)	11.150	80.540

By 1964, however, a recession had set in already so that there was large unemployment among the students who had received professional education in engineering and techology. The over-all situation was, in fact, even more distressing than in the agricultural sector.

2.58 Medical education also received considerable emphasis during the period under review because of the decision to expand the provision of medical and health services in all parts of the country on the broad lines recommended by the Bhore Committee (1946). The All India Institute of Medical Sciences was established at New Delhi as a pace-setting institution at the national level. A similar Post-graduate Institute was developted at Chandigarh. The existing medical colleges were strengthened and improved and several new medical colleges were established. A major decision taken was to have a uniform course of medical education (M.B.B.S.) which took four years and a half after twelve years

of general education and all shorter courses were abolished. The facilities for post-graduate education were considerably increased. The over-all progress made during the period under review is shown below.

	1950-51	1965-66
1. No. of medical colleges of all types	39	163
2. Students in above	14,758	66,066
3. Teachers in above	N.A.	9,716
4. Expenditure on above (Rs. millions)	14.910	121.110

This development of medical education was generally welcomed. There were however several complaints—the highly trained M.B.B.S. doctors were unwilling to go and practice in rural areas ; the para-medical personnel was in short supply ; the health services were not reaching the rural areas adequately ; and the quality of the doctors produced left much to be desired.

Equalisation of Educational Opportunity

2.59 Equalization of educational opportunity was one of the distinct objectives pursued during this period, although the results obtained were far from satisfactory because of inadequate resources and absence of a well-formulated policy and sustained implementation.

(1) From the quantitative point of view, a good deal of progress was made through the expansion of elementary, secondary and higher education, although the goal of universal elementary education was not reached. These issues have been discussed already.

(2) The education of girls received considerable attention and the progress made can be seen from the following data.

	Percentage of enrolment of girls to total enrolment	
	1950-51	1965-66
1. Pre-primary	47.0	46.5
2. Primary	28.2	37.4
3. Middle	16.8	25.9
4. High/Higher Scondary		1.90

5.	Pre-University	11.9	21.4
6.	Intermediate		
7.	Degree (Pass and Honours)	13.4	27.2
8.	Post-graduate (Degree)	12.8	26.1
9.	Research	11.7	20.5
10.	Professional and Technical Education (Collegiate)	5.2	14.0
11.	Other Education (Collegiate Std.)	23.9	6.8
12.	Vocational and Technical Edu. (School Std)	21.6	29.5
13.	Special Education	12.0	23.2
14.	Other Education (School) Standard)	15.9	35.1

(3) The education of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes also received considerable attention. Separate data for 1950-51 is not available. But the position in 1965-66 is given below.

1965-66

Percentage of the enrolment to total enrolment

		S.C.s	S.T.s
1.	Pre-primary Schools	5.4	3.4
2.	Primary Schools	12.9	5.5
3.	Middle Schools	9.4	3.3
4.	Secondary Schools	7.7	1.7
5.	Vocational Schools	7.6	2.4
6.	Special Schools	10.0	1.8
7.	Other Education Schools.	13.0	8.5
8.	Colleges of General Education	4.8	1.2
9.	Colleges of Professional Education	4.8	0.9
10.	Colleges of Other Education	2.7	0.2
11.	Universities	2.9	0.3
	Total	10.9	4.2
	Proportion of Population of Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes to the total population.	14.7	6.8

It will be seen that the Scheduled Castes had a long way to go to reach equality with others which would be indicated by the proportion of their enrolment to total enrolment at each stage or in each sector being equal to their proportion in the total population. The scheduled tribes were, on the whole, even more backward. By and large, the wastage rates among the scheduled castes were higher than those for the total population, and those among the scheduled tribes, still higher. The over-all performance of the Scheduled Caste and Tribe students was also less satisfactory.

(4) While the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students received fairly liberal assistance at all stages, a notable scheme for their education was that of the post-matriculation scholarships. This began with a few hundred awards a little before independence. But by 1965-66, it had reached fairly large proportions. During this year, as many as 106, 250 students from the scheduled castes and 19,000 students from the scheduled tribe received post-matriculation scholarships. This financial support, coupled with reservations in services, led to a considerable acceleration of their vertical mobility.

(5) There were great variations of educational development between the different States of India due to physical, historical, social, economic and cultural factors. States like Kerala, Tamil Nadu or Maharashtra were fairly advanced while those like M. P., Orissa and Rajasthan lagged behind. Even within the same State, some districts were fairly advanced while others were backward. Attempts to reduce these regional imbalances were made to some extent. But as the creation of new facilities was usually guided by market demands, the progress achieved, even by 1965-66, was not very satisfactory.

(6) Pre-primary education made some headway, mainly in urban areas where the rich and the well-to-do developed a demand for it and were prepared to pay for it as well. In the rural areas, some attempts were made by Government to establish pre-schools under the social welfare programmes. Even in 1965-66, the pre-schools known to the Education Department were only 3, 235 with an enrolment of 215, 005 puplis. In addition, there may have been about an equal number of pre-schools which were either unrecognized or provided by other agencies.

(7) The education of physically and mentally handicapped children received greatar attention between 1947 and 1965. The Government of

India developed a Central Institute for the training of the blind at Dehradun. In 1965-66, there were 12 schools for the mentally handicapped children with an enrolment of 771 and an expenditure of Rs. 424, 635; and 179 institutions for the physically handicapped with an enrolment of 11, 266 and an expenditure of Rs. 4, 856, 459. The field was largely in the hands of private enterprise which received State support.

The large expansion achieved during this period led to a considerable expansion of educational facilities in rural areas. Taking the system as a whole, 89 per cent of the institutions and 71 per cent of the enrolments were in rural areas in 1965-66. Naturally, the bulk of these was at the elementary stage. But 66 p.c. of the High Schools (with 53 p.c. enrolment), 45 per cent of the Intermediate colleges (with 54 p.c. of the enrolment) and 15 p.c. of the colleges of general education (with 9 per cent. enrolment) were also located in rural areas.

Language Policy

2.60 In 1835, English was adopted as the language of the courts and of administration and it was made the medium of instruction in education (except in elementary schools meant for the people where the mother-tongue or regional language was the medium of instruction). It also gradually became the language of the national trade, commerce and industry. The main concepts of national education developed in the freedom struggle was that this domination of English would go and that English, along with other instructional languages, would be nurtured mainly as a library language and as our window of the world, that Hindi would be the official language of the Union and the link language at the national level, and that regional languages should be adopted as media of instruction at all stages of education. Of all these ideas, only two were partly implemented by 1947 : (1) the study of Hindi, on an optional basis, was greatly popularised in non-Hindi areas on grounds of patriotism ; and (2) the regional languages were mostly adopted as media of instruction at the secondary stage under the long control of education by Indian Ministers between 1921 and 1947.

2.61 It was expected that the national leadership would complete the above revolution in language policy in a period of 15 years which, under the Constitution, was the time allowed to English to continue as the official language of the Union. But like the directive on universal elementary education, these policies also went awry. The fascination for

English, not only continued, but increased tremendously, especially as the ruling elite and super elite began to send their children to English-medium schools right from the pre-school stage. The hold of English over Central and State administration weakened, if at all, only to a marginal extent; and it continued its sway in courts, in public service examinations, and in national trade, industry and commerce. There were no planned attempts made to introduce the regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage; and if some advance was made in this field, it was merely due to the pressures from below when students inadequately equipped with a working knowledge of English began to enter the universities in large numbers.

2.62 On the other hand, the efforts to boost up Hindi to the status of the official language of the Union or to make it a national link language did not succeed as anticipated. The official patronage extended to Hindi by the Government of India as well as by State Governments in the Hindi region promoted the development of the language very greatly, although many were unhappy at the highly Sanskritized form it was assuming in contradiction to the spirit of Art. 351 of the Constitution which expected it to represent the composite culture of India. The three-language formula was adopted for popularization of Hindi in non-Hindi areas and given financial support for implementation. But it was not a great success in many areas and far less successful than Hindi films. The hold of English over Central administration continued almost undiminished though Hindi was making some headway as an additional official language of the Union. It soon became obvious that Hindi will not become *the* official language of *the* union in 1965 and hence provision was made by law for the further, and almost indefinite continuance of English as an additional official language of the Union. The Hindi lobby was very unhappy at these developments and extremely keen to put Hindi in the same privileged position as English as soon as possible. But its impatience and especially its *Angreji Hatao* campaigns did more harm than good and actually sparked off serious riots in Tamil Nadu in 1965. On the whole the cause of Hindi suffered both losses and gains during the period under review. While Hindi was actually spreading in non-Hindi areas slowly, imperceptibly and steadily, the public attitudes to the Hindi problem were hardening. For instance, the non-Hindi people claimed : (1) Hindi should not be imposed on any State; (2) English and Hindi should continue as joint official languages of the Union for a long long period; (3) While Hindi may someday become the sole official language of the Union,

English will still have its academic uses as India's window on the world and will always continue as an international link and as a supplementary national link as well; (4) If non-Hindi people are required to study Hindi, the Hindi people should study an Indian language (other than Sanskrit) preferably from the South; (5) There is no essential link between the study of Hindi and patriotism nor can the role of English in promoting the national struggle for freedom be ignored ; (6) No special privileges should be available to those whose mother tongue is Hindi and those whose mother-tongues are other regional languages should not be made second class citizens ; and (7) Hindi cannot be the medium of instruction in the universities, except in the Hindi zone.

2.63 The State Governments were, in their own way, making efforts to develop regional languages and adopting them for administrative purposes. These had greater success especially as a new leadership from the people and rural areas which was inadequately equipped with English was emerging at the State level. But as stated earlier, the regional languages did not make much headway as media of instruction in the universities where academics infatuated with the use of English as a medium of instruction still held sway.

2.64 The Government of India appointed a Sanskrit Commission (1956-57) under the Chairmanship of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee ; and in the light of its recommendations, tried to promote the study of sanskrit and especially the traditional methods of learning through various schemes like grant of scholarships and establishment of Sanskrit institutions or support to them. But the efforts did not succeed, mainly because of lack of job opportunities to the students so educated. There was also a consistent demand to include Sanskrit in the three-language formula but it could not be agreed to.

2.65 Urdu and Sindhi claimed for special assistance, and although something was done to help them, there was a general feeling that more could and should have been done.

2.66 It will thus be seen that there was hardly any attempt to pursue a clear-cut language policy in a vigorous and sustained fashion. What operated in effect was a policy of drift and gradualism, due mainly to the inability to reconcile the basic commitments of the pre-independence period, with the realities of the post-independence situation.

Expansion of Central Educational Activities

2.67 The long divorce of the Government of India from education between 1921 and 1947 had reduced the significance of education at the national level. Between 1947 and 1965, education was regarded as a very important national concern, although a State subject, so that the role of the Ministry of Education became very significant. This development was also facilitated by the introduction of planning and by the fairly large financial resources that were made available to the Ministry for utilization under the Central and Centrally sponsored sectors both of which expanded very greatly.

2.68 The Central Advisory Board of Education was also very active throughout the period under review and played a dynamic and important role in shaping educational policies.

2.69 The expansion of the Central Sector and of central institutions dealing with education and culture at the national level was one of the major events of this period. Among these may be mentioned the University Grants Commission, some new Central Universities and institutions deemed to be universities or of national importance, the National Council of Educational Research and Training including Regional Colleges, of Education; the Academies, certain libraries and museums, and so on. While this activity was broadly welcomed, a frequent charge made was that the available resources were spread too thinly over a very wide area and that many of these Central institutions did not function satisfactorily.

2.70 In view of the increasing important role of the Centre in providing leadership, the problem of getting the services of competent educationists for the Ministry of Education assumed great significance. No attempt was however made to create an Indian Education Service. A kind of Central Educational Service was developed in the Ministry of Education. But the proposal was neither well planned nor well-implemented so that a basically good concept came into disrepute. At any rate, it became clear by 1965-66, that the Government of India had not adequately developed either the institutions or the personnel which would have enabled it to play its expected role of providing stimulating leadership.

State Education Departments

2.71 The highest emphasis in this period ought to have been placed on the reform and strengthening of the State Education Departments

because education was squarely a State responsibility. But unfortunately the problem received inadequate attention. In most areas, the earlier organization of the State Education Departments was continued with little or no modifications inspite of the fact that the tasks imposed upon educational administration in the post-independence period were far more onerous and even qualitatively different. As the work of the Departments grew, some personnel was added, but never to an adequate extent so that the State Education Departments were less equipped to deal with programmes of qualitative improvement, until the creation of the State Institute of Education in 1964. Programmes of educational planning did not develop adequately even at the State level and they hardly existed at the district and institutional levels. The recruitment procedures for State Education Officers were often faulty and there was hardly any provision for either pre-service or in-service training. The procedures followed were often ante-diluvian and ill-adapted to modern requirements. Taken all in all, the administrative machine which had been geared by the British for some functions of a police character, routine personnel administration mainly concerned with transfers and postings and control of grants-in-aid continued to function as in the past, without any serious effort to adjust itself to the new situation and demands. The politicians simply made matters worse by interfering with all issues of patronage such as recruitment, postings, transfers, promotions, opening or upgrading of schools, recognition and grant-in-aid and even examination results and admissions.

Total Educational Expenditure

2.72 During the period under review, the total educational expenditure increased from Rs. 1143.822 million in 1950-51 to Rs. 6220.237 million in 1965-66.[1] The increase was due partly to expansion and improvement of the education system and partly to rise in prices. The total educational expenditure was 1.2 per cent of the national income (at current prices) in 1950-51. The corresponding figure for 1965-66 was 3.01 per cent. Similarly,the total educational expenditure per capita was Rs. 3.2 in 1950-51 and Rs. 12.5 in 1965-66.

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1. In 1947, the total educational expenditure in British India was Rs. 576.613 million, But this includes areas now included in Pakistan and excludes the areas of Princely States now included in the Indian Union. This data is not therefore comparable to that of 1950-51.

2.73 Educational expenditure is contributed by Government (Central and State), local bodies, fees and other sources. The precise position in this regard during the period under review is shown below :

Table No. 8

Educational Expenditure by Sources (1950-51 to 1965-66)

Source	*Educational Expenditure in 000s*	
	1950-51	*1965-66*
Government Funds	652,678	4,374,519
	(57.1)	(70.4)
Local Funds	124,987	388,733
	(10.9)	(6.2)
Fees	233,272	979,356
	(20.4)	(15.7)
Other sources	132,885	477,629
	(11.6)	(7.7)
Total	1143,822	6220,237
	(100.0)	(100 0)

N.B. Figures in parentheses show percentages to total.

It will be seen that the share of government funds in the total educational expenditure increased from 57.1 per cent in 1950-51 to 70.4 per cent in 1965-66. This was only to be expected. The share of every other source of educational finance has consequently gone down. The expenditure from local funds increased from Rs. 124,987 million in 1950-51 to Rs. 388.733 million in 1965-66. But its share in the total expenditure fell from 10.9 per cent in 1950-51 to 6.2 per cent in 1965-66. The income from fees increased more than four-fold, from Rs. 233.272 million in 1950-51 to Rs. 979.356 in 1965-66. But its share in total expenditure decreased from 20.4 per cent in 1950 51 to 15.7 per cent in 1965-66. The main trend in the period was to make education free to the extent possible. Elementary education ought to have been free everywhere; but this goal had not yet been reached. Secondary education became free to a very

great extent. This was not a strictly egalitarian measure because the benefit of this reform went mostly to the rich and the well-to-do who occupied most of the places at this stage. But the policy of governments was in favour of making secondary education free, mainly because of the pressures from the urban groups. There was also a trend to make education free for girls (e.g. in Rajasthan, all education was free to all girls). The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were entitled to free education. Free education was also given, in Maharashtra and Gujarat for instance, to the children of all persons whose income was below a prescribed level. In Jammu and Kashmir, all education was made free; and so on. On the whole, it may be said that, during the period under review, the populist policy of making education free to increasing numbers of people held sway and proposals to increase fees or to look upon fees as a source of revenue were largely frowned upon. Quite naturally, therefore, the fall in the share of fees in the total educational expenditure is steeper than in any other source. The income from other sources like endowments, donations and contributions increased from Rs. 132.885 million in 1950-51 to Rs. 477.629 million in 1965-66; but its share in total expenditure fell, as anticipated, from 11.6 to 7.7 per cent.

2.74 It may be useful to consider 'plan' expenditure on education between 1950-51 and 1965-66 which is given below :

Table No. 9

Plan Expenditure on Education (1950-51 to 1965-66)

in Rs. millions

	First plan	*Second plan*	*Third plan*
1. Elementary Education	850	950	2010
	(56)	(35)	(34)
2. Secondary Education	200	510	1030
	(13)	(19)	(18)
3. University Education	140	480	870
	(9)	(18)	(15)
4. Social Education	50	40	20
	(3)	(1)	(0)
5. Technical Education	200	490	1250
	(13)	(18)	(21)
6. Other Programmes	90	260	710
	(6)	(9)	(12)
Total	1530	2730	5890
	(100)	(100)	(100)

Source : (1) Selected Educational and Related Statistics at a Glance, New Delhi, Education Division, Planning Commission, June, 1969, p. 99

(2) Fourth Five Year Plan, New Delhi, Planning Commission 1970, p. 366

Figures given in parenthesis indicate percentages (rounded) to total.

The investment clearly indicate the progressive de-emphasis on elementary education and the increasing importance attached to secondary and higher education.

2.75 Another major trend noticed during the period was that the expenditure on the salaries of teachers became an increasingly larger portion of total educational expenditure as the following data will show.

Item	Proportion of Expenditure on the Item to total Educational Expenditure (Direct)	
	1950-51	1965-66
1. Salaries of teachers	67.9%	73.2%
2. Salaries of other staff	32·1% @	9.0%
3. Equipment and other appliances		4·5%
4. Other Expenditure		13·3%
Total	100.0	100.0

This development was due mostly to increases in the salaries of teachers which was a good thing although, as the Education Commission pointed out, a large part of the increases in salaries was neutralized by the rise in prices.

@ Break up is not available.

	Average Annual Salary of teachers (at current prices)		*Average Annual salary in 1965-66 at 1950-51 prices*
Teachers in	1950-51	1965-66	
1. University Departments	100	173	105
2. Colleges of Arts and Science	100	148	90
3. Professional colleges	100	162	98
4. Secondary schools	100	156	94
5. Middle schools	100	180	109
6. Primary schools	100	192	116
7. Pre-primary schools	100	118	72
8. Vocational schools	100	169	103
All teachers	100	192	116
9. Cost of living index for the working classes	100	165	
10. National income per head at current prices	267 (100)	424 (159)	

Source : Report of the Education Commission (Para 3.03)

It must also be pointed out however that the increasing share of teachers' salaries in total education expenditure also indicates a fall in standards because less and less funds became available for expenditure on items other than teachers salaries, especially when such expenditure is calculated on a per-student basis.

2.76 The following table shows the total educational expenditure in 1950-51 and 1965-66 by objectives and their relative share in the total.

Table No. 10

Total Educational Expenditure (1950-51 to 1965-66)

	Expenditure in Rs. 000s		*Percentage of Total Educational Expenditure*	
	1950-51	*1965-66*	*1950-51*	*1965-66*
Pre-primary schools	1,198	11,377	0.1	0.2
Primary schools	364,843	1,287,231	31.9	20.7
Middle schools	76,990	842,827	6.7	13.5
Total (first level)	443,031	2,141,435	38.7	34.4
Secondary schools	230,450	1,376,926	20.1	22.1
Vocational schools	36,944	76,611	3.2	1.2
Special schools	23,335	24,861	2.1	0.4
Boards of Secondary and Intermediate	5,338	48,316	0.5	0.8
Total (second level)	296,067	1,526,714	25.9	24.05
Universities	49,052	389,500	4.3	6.3
Research Institutes	6,256	18,234	0.5	0.5
Colleges (Arts and Science)	71,714	383,357	6.3	6.2
Professional colleges	42,194	466,546	3.7	7.05
Colleges of Special Education	2,224	12,128	0.2	0.2
Total (third level)	171,440	1,269,765	15.0	20.5
Direction and Inspection	27,364	148,626	2.4	2.4
Buildings	99,270	383,753	8.7	6.2
Hostels	18,264	49,075	1.6	0.8
Scholarships	34,456	382,555	3.0	6.1
Miscellaneous	53,928	318,314	4.7	5.1
Total (Indirect)	233,282	1,282,323	20.4	20.6
Grand Total	1,143,822	6,220,237	100.0	100.0
Percentage to national income at current prices	1.2	3.0		

The main educational policies of this period described earlier are confirmed by these financial trends. The largest increase has taken place in higher education and scholarships (which were mostly at the university stage) whose share in total educational expenditure increased from 18.0 per cent in 1950-51 to 26.6 per cent in 1965-66. The high priority given to university education is obvious. The share of the expenditure on general secondary education (including Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education) has also increased from 20.6 per cent in 1950-51 to 22.9 per cent in 1965-66. In most other sectors, either the share of the expenditure has remained constant or it has declined. This is most noticeable in elementary education (including pre-school education) where the share of expenditure has declined steeply from 38.7 per cent in 1950-51 to 34.4 per cent in 1965-66. It only means that neither Art. 45 of the Constitution nor all our lip sympathy to universal elementary education means anything at all in actual practice.

General Conclusions

2.77 What are broad conclusions that emerge from this brief account of the main educational developments between 1947 and 1965 when we did not enunciate a formal national policy on education ? These have been briefly summarized below :—

(1) Great hopes of radical changes in the education systems were aroused in 1947 when we became independent. But this promised educational revolution never materialized mainly because the country opted for a reformist, evolutionary perspective within the framework of a mixed economy which was still largely capitalistic. Education, which is a sub-system of the society, had also to adjust itself to this perspective (Paras 2.02—2.04)

(2) In 1947, the country did not have a comprehensive and realistic plan of educational development which could have been acceptable to the people. It also did not have an adequate band of trained and competent workers to plan and improve education. Unfortunately, no attempt was made to create such a plan or to train a critical mass of such workers. Consequently, the basic educational decisions were ad hoc and taken under the pressures of market forces or for reasons of expediency. The dominant idea was to meet the demands or serve the needs of the ruling classes, with some concessions to the education of

the people, more as a welfare service than as a matter of right or a crucial input in development, and to the earlier commitments of creating a national educational system. These conditions could not have created a national system of education. They merely led to a linear expansion of the existing educational system with some modifications (Paras 2.05—2.12).

(3) In universal elementary education, the actual policy adopted was to secure as rapid expansion as possible within the resources available (which were never adequate because the programme was not given due priority) in the hope that *somehow* we will be able to provide universal education at *some* undefined future date. Even in 1965-66, therefore, it had not been possible to provide an elementary school within easy accessible distance from the home of every child; the enrolments in classes I-V were only 76.4 p.c. of the population in the age-group 6-11 and those in classes VI-VIII were only 30.8 p.c. of the population in the age-group 11-14; the rates of wastage and stagnation continued to be very large; basic education had not been adequately spread, nor standards or education properly improved (Paras 2.13-2.27).

(4) Adult education, including liquidation of mass illiteracy, was almost totally ignored (Paras 2.28-2.31).

(5) The programme of the highest priority developed during this period was the expansion of secondary and higher education. The number of secondary schools rose from 7,288 to 27,477 and their enrolments from 1.22 million (or 5.3 p.c. of the age-group 14-17) to 5.04 million (or 16.2 p.c. of the age group). In higher education, the number of universities rose from 27 (with an enrolment of 31,231) to 64 (with an enrolment of 118,112) and that of the colleges of general education from 498 (with an enrolment of 325, 723) to 1673 (with an enrolment of 1,119,096). The expansion had many good results such as creating a social forment, helping a new leadership to emerge, and leading to a more balanced policy and economy. But much of it was haphazard and unplanned; and it led to an accentuation of the problem of educated unemployment (Paras 2.32-2.36) :

(6) This policy of rapid expansion in a situation of scarcity of resources also led to a fall in standards; and the problem was solved by creating a 'dual' system, both at the school and university stages, in which there was a small core of good institutions used by the rich and well-to-do while the common man had access only to the large penumbra of poor quality institutions (Paras 2.37-2.40).

(7) Intensive efforts were made to expand vocational education at the secondary level. But these were neither adequate nor always successful (2.41-2.43).

(8) Following the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission, a programme of multi-purpose schools was developed. This was an ill-advised scheme which had ultimately to be abandoned (Paras 2.44-2.45).

(9) Throughout this period, there was a continuous obsession with the idea of adopting a national pattern of school and college classes, which was given undue importance and often wrongly equated with the national system of education itself. The recommendations of the University Education Commission and of the Secondary Education Commission were contradictory; and it was not possible to resolve the differences between the fourteen-year and fifteen-year States. The one achievement of the period was to create a three-year degree course in all areas except U.P. But in respect of pre-degree classes, the conditions became even more chaotic than in the past (Paras 2.46-2.51).

(10) Several programmes of qualitative reform of higher education were implemented, especially after the creation of the UGC in 1957. But their results were negatived to a great extent by the growing unrest among students, indiscipline on the campus, and evils like mass copying in examinations (Paras 2.52-2.53).

(11) There was considerable development of scientific research through specially created institutions outside the university system (Para 2.54).

(12) Programmes of development of agricultural, engineering and medical education received very high priority (Paras 2.55-2.58).

(13) Attempts were made to equalize educational opportunities between different States, different parts of the same State, between urban and rural areas, between boys and girls, between the scheduled castes/tribes and others. These showed considerable advance, although the work that still remained to be done was immense (Para 2.59).

(14) There was hardly any vigorous and sustained effort to implement the language policy to which the Congress had committed itself during the freedom struggle. English continued to dominate the scene, Hindi did not develop adequately and the hostility against it increased, and the progress of the regional languages was far from satisfactory (Paras 2.60-2.66).

(15) Between 1947 and 1965, education became a great national concern. The Central and Centrally-sponsored sectors expanded. The significance of the Ministry of Education increased greatly and it was expected to provide a leadership role. But adequate tools for this purpose were not designed (Paras 2.67-2.70).

(16) Although education continued to be a State responsibility, the State Education Departments were not properly equipped to deal with educational problems of a free India. If anything, their capacity in this regard remained unchanged or even deteriorated by 1965-66 (Para 2.71).

(17) The total educational expenditure increased from Rs. 1143.822 million (or 1.2 per cent. of the national income in 1950-51 to Rs. 6,220.237 million (3.0 per cent of the national income in 1965-66 (at current prices). The State's share in this expenditure increased from 57.1 per cent in 1950-51 to 70.4 per cent in 1965-66. On the whole, the investment in elementary education decreased and that in secondary and higher education increased (Paras 2.72-2.76).

CHAPTER THREE

NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION (1968) : FORMULATION

3.01 In the preceding chapter, we discussed the main educational developments in India between 1947 and 1965 when there was no formal enunciation of a National Policy on Education. During the next period of our study (1966-78), whose main educational developments will be discussed in the following Chapter, there was a formal and official statement on the National Policy on Education which was *expected* to guide educational planning and implementation. We must therefore address ourselves to three specific issues in this context.

- How and why was the statement on the National Policy on Education issued ?
- How did the existence of this statement on influence the planning and development of education during 1966-78 ? and
- What lessons for future can we draw from this experience both for the formulation of such statements and for their implementation ?

We shall, in the course of this chapter, discuss the first of these issues. The second and third will be discussed in the next two chapters.

The National Policy on Education (1968)

The educational planners of 1966-78 could look up to the report of the Education Commission (1964-66) which the Government of India had broadly accepted and also to the National Policy on Education (1968) which had been issued after due consideration of its proposals.

3.02 The Chinese aggression of 1962 and the poor show made by India on the occasion came as an unpleasant shock to every one and created a mood of introspection in which the validity of all our developmental efforts was seriously questioned. Education was no exception and people began to ask why we had lagged behind China in education although, in 1949, the educational situation in the two countries was almost similar with some edge in favour of India. Very naturally the old demand for the appointment of an Education Commission which will examine comprehensively all aspects of education and make concrete and detailed proposals for the development of a national system of education was also revived with some force. Shri M. C. Chagla, then Minister of Education at the Centre was really responding to this mood and to this demand when he appointed the Education Commission in 1964. This was the sixth Education Commission to be appointed in our educational history and the third in the post-independence period. It was requested to advise government on "the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all its aspects". It submitted its Report in 1966.

3.03 It is not necessary to discuss here the recommendations of the Education Commission in detail. This has already, been attempted elsewhere[1] and adequate reference to the relevant recommendations of the Commission will be made in the appropriate context as this discussion proceeds. It is however essential to refer, at the very outset, to one crucial recommendation. The Commission was of the view that one of the main reasons for the unsatisfactory progress of education between 1947 and 1965 was that the country did not have a comprehensive and rational policy of education so that basic educational issues were being decided in an ad hoc manner and on considerations of expediency and class interests. It therefore recommended that a national system of education should be created in the country in a period of 20 years (1966-86) and that, for this purpose, "the Government of India should issue a Statement on the national policy in education which should provide guidance to the State Governments and the local authorities in preparing and implementing education plans in their areas. The possibility of passing a National Education Act may also be examined" (para 18.58). At this time,

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1. Please refer to J.P. Naik *Education Commission and After*, chapter II, Allied Publishers, New Delhi. 1979.

education was not in the concurrent list and there was little possibility of passing a National Education Act in Parliament. However, the Government of India accepted the remaining part of this recommendation and decided to issue a statement on the National Policy on Education.

3.04 Why is a Statement on National Policy on Education needed and what does one expect from it ? It may be stated that a National Policy on Education has four special aspects.

(1) It takes a *national* view of education as different from regional and local views which may often be in conflict with one another or even antagonistic to the larger interests of the country.

(2) It takes a *unified* view of the diversity and richness of Indian culture, tradition and society in the sense that it high-lights the fundamental characteristics of the educational system which will create, in every Indian citizen, a sense of a national identity which transcends all considerations of region, language, caste, colour or race, and promotes emotional national integration which is so essential not only for development, but even for our survival as a nation.

(3) It takes a *long-term* view of education which has a long gestation period and whose results can be seen only after years or even generations. Consequently, it tries to prevent the distortion of sound educational policies by considerations of expediency or the pressures of the moment which tend to overinfluence those who are in immediate control of education.

(4) It takes a *coordinated* view in the sense that it relates education to national development, integrates aspirations and plans of educational development of all the different regions of the country and its diverse social groups and enables each region or social group to march ahead in such a way that the creation of a democratic, secular and egalitarian society as visualized in the Preamble of the Constitution is facilitated.

3.05 Obviously, a formal enunciation of such a policy has two major advantages. It helps to educate public opinion on important educational issues, and it provides specific and clear cut guidelines on nationally preferred educational developments to Central, State and local governments, voluntary agencies, teachers, students, educational administrators and others concerned so that they can collaborate and cooperate better in planning and implementing programmes of educational

reconstruction. The decision of the Government of India to issue a *Statement on National Policy on Education* was therefore widely welcomed. As was pointed out in Chapter I, a statement on the national policy on education was last issued as far back as 1913 and that this Statement was now being issued after a lapse of 55 years.

3.06 The Government of India also laid down a detailed and elaborate procedure for the issue of this Statement on the national policy on education. It included the following steps.

(1) The Report should be widely publicized and comments and suggestions should be invited from all concerned ;

(2) The Report should also be circulated to all Ministries of the Government of India, to the State Governments and Union Territories and to the Universities for their comments and suggestions ;

(3) The Report should be considered in detail by a Committee of Members of Parliament representing both Houses and all political parties. All comments received under (1) and (2) should also be made available to this Committee which should be requested to prepare a draft of the Statement on the national policy on education for the consideration of Parliament ;

(4) The Report of the Education Commission (1964-66) along with the report of the Committee of Members of Parliament, should be discussed in both the Houses of Parliament ; and

(5) On the basis of these discussions, a Government Resolution on National Policy on Education should be issued as the basis of educational development in the country over the next decade or two.

3.07 It took nearly two years to go through all these steps. The report of the Commission was received in June 1966. By the time it was printed and circulated and comments and suggestions on it began to come in elections to the Parliament became due and it was felt that the third step of appointing a Committee of Members of Parliament could best be taken after the elections. The Committee of Members of Parliament therefore could only be appointed in 1967. Thereafter, it took considerable time for discussions to be held in both Houses of Parliament and for the whole matter to be considered and decided by the Cabinet. The Government Resolution on National Policy on Education could therefore be issued only in 1968.

The Hope and the Reality

3.08 One broad observation needs to be made about the National Policy on Education (1968), viz., that it was a disappointing document especially in view of the high hopes raised earlier. Inspite of the many radical suggestions it put forward, the report of the Education Commission was criticized in several quarters as a compromise Statement which did not go far enough. For instance, it did not stress adequately the need to bring about social and economic reforms through direct action in order to facilitate the implementation of the desired radical reforms in education (e.g. the need to eliminate mass poverty if universal elementary education is to succeed). It did speak more emphatically about a radical transformation of the educational system, but did not lay adequate emphasis on changes needed in the educational structure (e.g. multiple-entry or part-time education) which joined hands with the social structure to create inequalities of educational opportunity. It was also not very forthright on some issues (e.g. the common school or the pattern of school and college classes) and made compromise recommendations ; and so on. One expected that these weaknesses in its Report would be remedied in the national debate that followed and that the final decisions on the Report would present a more radical and more consistent document. But all these hopes were dashed to the ground and what we actually had was a very tame document which made little difference to the *status quo.* Specific illustrations of this would be given when we shall discuss, in the latter sections of this Chapter, the individual proposals and programmes included in the Statement. But here it is necessary to draw attention to three main factors which were responsible for this sad development.

(1) It is a matter for deep regret that the Report of the Education Commission came in for discussion and decision at a very inopportune time. In fact, the ideal time for this purpose would have been 1947-48 or very soon thereafter. At that time, a certain exhilaration was in the air because we had won freedom. The public mood also was one of great hope and optimism. A strong national leadership was available. The Congress was powerful and at the zenith of its authority and held the reins of government in the Centre and in all the States. Funds were available more plentifully and our stock of good teachers was proportionately larger. Moreover, the over-all size of the educational system was then small so that the

energy and cost required to transform it were also comparatively limited. This was, from every point of view, an ideal time to attempt a radical reconstruction and to create a national system of education. Unfortunately, this golden opportunity was thrown away and a drastic overhaul of the system was attempted in 1967-68 when the situation was extremely different and unfavourable. The country was now passing through a very difficult financial crisis so that, as events turned out, there was practically a plan holiday from 1966-67 to 1968-69. The public morale was low because of the successive problems faced since the end of the Second Plan. Even the morale within the education system was low because of indiscriminate expansion, consequent lowering of standards, increasing unemployment and almost continuous stresses created by incidents of unrest and violence on the University campuses. In the elections of 1967, the Congress party had received its first severe battering in history, its majority in Parliament was smaller and it had lost power in some States. This could, by no means, be described as the ideal time to attempt the formulation of the first national policy on education in the post-independence period. It was a tragedy that the most ambitious proposals for reform in education submitted by the Education Commission (1964-66) should have come at a time when the general economic and political situation in the country was unsatisfactory and the Centre was too weak to provide the needed leadership and support. Of course, it was a good thing that the attempt was being made at all. But it was clear from the outset that the dice were loaded against its success.

(2) It was pointed out in the last Chapter that, since education is a sub-system of the wider society, the perspective of political, economic and social development of a country generally determines the perspective of its educational development as well. In 1947, we adopted a reformist and evolutionary perspective in over-all development, a perspective based mainly on maintaining a proper balance between stability and change; and quite naturally this perspective determined educational policies as well. Consequently, all that we actually did was a continuation and linear expansion of the earlier educational system with some

modifications. If this basic position was to be altered, it was necessary either (1) to modify the reformist and evolutionary perspective we had adopted in political, economic and social spheres or (2) at least to radicalize the educational policies to the best extent possible within the over-all evolutionary perspective. Unfortunately neither of these steps was taken. In 1967-68, the Central Government was too weak to think of changing the evolutionary and reformist perspective in development and in fact, all its developmental policies were tottering (as the virtual plan holiday between 1966 and 1968 ultimately showed). Within education also it was not prepared to come to grips with the difficult and complex problems of educational reconstruction and was concerned more with avoiding controversies than evolving clear-cut and practical solutions. The over-all situation in this regard therefore deteriorated rather than improved.

(3) At every stage of the decision-making process, the general experience was that an attempt was made to dilute the policy statement and to evade the hard decisions that had to be taken. The Report of the Education Commission (1964-66) was considerably diluted by the Committee of Members of Parliament. It was then diluted further in the discussions that followed at the Cabinet level so that the National Policy on Education (1968) is not even as strong as the report of the Committee of Members of Parliament.

It is therefore hardly a matter for surprise that the Statement on the National Policy on Education (1968) from which so much was expected because it was being issued after 55 years and because it was the first educational policy statement of the post-independence period, became in fact a tame and uninspiring document incapable of guiding the country to evolve a national system of education suited to the life,needs and aspirations of the people.

3.09 With these preliminary observations, we shall now examine the National Policy on Education (1968) in detail, paragraph by paragraph. The method adopted will be to state, on each issue, the position reached by 1965-66, the recommendation of the Education Commission thereon, the proposals of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education, the discussions in the drafting Committee which prepared the document

for the consideration of the Cabinet, and the final decisions taken. This will provide an insight in to the various forces that are at work and which will have to be reckoned with seriously in all our plans of educational reconstruction in the future.

The Preamble

3.10 Of the seven paragraphs which constitute the National Policy on Education (1968), the first three form the Preamble. Its first paragraph refers to the contribution made by Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders to the development of the concept of national education in the pre-independence period. Its second paragraph deals with the development of education between 1947 and 1965 which has been reviewed in the last chapter ; and the third expresses the conviction of the Government of India that a radical reconstuction of education on the broad lines recommended by the Education Commission is essential for economic and cultural development of the country, for national integration and for realizing the ideal of the socialist pattern of Societies. It is quoted below in extenso for ready, reference.

"1. Education has always been accorded an honoured place in Indian Society. The great leaders of the Indian freedom movement realised the fundamental role of education and throughout the nation's struggle for independence, stressed its unique significance for national development. Gandhiji formulated the scheme of basic education seeking to harmonize intellectual and manual work. This was a great step forward in making education directly relevant to the life of the people. Many other national leaders likewise made important contributions to national education before independence.

2. In the post-independence period, a major concern of the Government of India and of the States has been to give increasing attention to education as a factor vital to national progress and security. Problems of educational reconstruction were reviewed by several commissions and committees, notably the University Education Commission (1948-49) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53). Some steps to implement the recommendations of these Commissions were taken ; and with the passing of the Resolution on Scientific Policy under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the develop-

ment of science, technology and scientific research received special emphasis. Towards the end of the third Five Year Plan, a need was felt to hold a comprehensive review of the educational system with a view to initiating a fresh and more determined effort at educational reconstruction ; and the Education Commission (1964-66) was appointed to advise Government on "the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all aspects." The Report of the Commission has since been widely discussed and commented upon. Government is happy to note that a general consensus on the national policy on education has emerged in the course of these discussions.

3 The Government of India is convinced that a radical reconstruction of education on the broad lines recommended by the Education Commission is essential for economic and cultural development of the country, for national integration and for realising the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society. This will involve a transformation of the system to relate it more closely to the life of the people ; a continuous effort to expand educational opportunity ; a sustained and intensive effort to raise the quality of education at all stages ; an emphasis on the development of science and technology ; and the cultivation of moral and social values. The educational system must produce young men and women of character and ability committed to national service and development. Only then will education be able to play its vital role in promoting national progress, creating a sense of common citizenship and culture and strengthening national integration. This is necessary if the country is to attain its rightful place in the comity of nations in conformity with its great cultural heritage and its unique potentialities."

3.11 There need be no comments on the first two paragraphs. The third is the grand draft of our good intentions to transform, improve and expand the educational system to suit the life, needs and aspirations of the people. It makes good reading and gives one the satisfaction that he is, after all, doing his best in the service of his people and his country. While the original text of this paragraph remained almost unchanged, the subsequent paragraphs dealing with details underwent a drastic revision

and were greatly diluted or weakened. Consequently, what follows this grand Preamble in terms of concrete policies and programmes is so tame and common place that the two together are more like an anti climax than an integrated whole.

Priorities between Different Categories of Educational Programmes

3.12 One of the weaknesses of the National Policy on Education (1968) is that it excludes all reference to some of the most important recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66). It is very essential to take note of these omissions for a proper understanding of the Policy. We shall, therefore, begin with the discussion of one such major omission.

3.13 It is a general practice to divide programmes of educational reform into two categories : (1) expansion and (2) qualitative improvement. But the Education Commission divided them into three categories : (1) transformation of the educational system to suit the life, needs and aspirations of the people ; (2) improvement of quality ; and (3) expansion of facilities. The Commission found that, between 1947 and 1965, the priorities actually adopted in educational development were as follows :

(1) Expansion of facilities, especially in secondary and university education ;

(2) Improvement of quality, especially in those areas where the benefits went largely to the elite or well-to-do groups ; and

(3) Transformation of education to suit the life, needs and aspirations of the people.

In actual practice, most of the funds were allocated to (1), some to (2) and hardly any for (3). The Commission was of the view that these priorities were entirely wrong. It attached the highest priority to the programme of transformation of the educational system. It criticised the "naive belief that all education is necessarily good, both for the invididual and for society" and asserted that it is only the right type of education, provided on an adequate scale and at acceptable levels of quality that can lead to national development and that "when these conditions are not satisfied the opposite eflect may result" (Para. 1.16). It also drew pointed attention to the urgency of the programme. "Traditional societies which desire to modernize themselves have to transform their education system

before trying to expand it, because the greater the expansion of the traditional system of education, the more difficult and costly it becomes to change its character" (Para. 1.19). It, therefore, recommended that "no reform is more important or more urgent than to transform education" (Para. 1.20). In its opinion, programmes of qualitative improvement (and especially those that would benefit the common man) should rank next in priority and the programmes of expansion (again with an emphasis on those which benefit the poor people) would come last (Para. 1.17).

3.14 This recommendation was, in a way, the most significant recommendation of the Education Commission. But no one was prepared to accept it in toto. The Committee of Members of Parliament on Education diluted it considerably and opined that greater stress was needed on expansion of facilities, especially at the school stage. Nevertheless it did emphasize the need to transform the educational system, placed expansion of facilities next, and put programmes of qualitative improvement last. (Paras 3-67 of the Report of the Committee). But very unfortunately, it was decided that this was a controversial issue and that no reference should be made to it in the National Policy on Education.

Universal Elementary Education and Adult Education

3.15 The Education Commission had recommended ten individual programmes for implementation under the category of the transformation of the educational system. These included: (1) Universal elementary education and liquidation of mass illiteracy by 1984-85 ; (2) Introduction of work-experience and social or national service as integral parts of all education ; (3) promotion of science education and research ; (4) relating education to productivity ; (5) emphasis on character-formation (6) development of a new language policy ; (7) making the educational system decentralized, diversified, elastic and dynamic ; (8) development of non-formal education ; (9) adoption of the common school system (including the neighbourhood school) ; and (10) adoption of the common pattern of 10+2+3 for school and college classes in a planned programme spread over 20 years (1966-85). Let us examine the position taken in the National Policy on Education on each of these ten issues.

3.16 The recommendations of the Education Commission regarding universal elementary education were far-reaching.

- It recommended that universal primary education in the age-group 6-11 should be introduced by 1980 81 and universal middle school education in the age-group 11-14 by 1985-86 ;

—It was clearly of the view that in a country where the majority of children have to work on account of poverty and the parents are generally illiterate, it will be impossible to provide universal elementary education under a system of single-point entry and full-time attendance. It, therefore, recommended that the multiple-entry system should be adopted and that the programmes of non-formal education should be developed in a big way for those children who cannot attend school on a full-time basis ;

—The Commission recommended that, side by side, programmes of adult education should be developed and mass illiteracy liquidated by 1986 because these programmes, apart from their intrinsic merits, can be of great help to promote universal elementary education ;

—The quality of elementary education should be improved to increase substantially the attracting and holding power of the schools ; and

—The administration of elementary education will have to be decentralized to the district and community levels; and since the gravity of the task of providing universal elementary education varies immensely from State to State, and even within each State, from district to district, special financial assistance should be made available from the Centre to the less advanced States and from States, to the less advanced areas within them.

Each of these five recommendations is extremely crucial ; and they were generally accepted as valuable suggestions to reach the goal laid down in Art. 45 of the Constitution.[1]

3.17 The Committee of Members of Parliament on Education gave its broad support to these proposals (Paras 20, 21, 22, 32, 33, and sub-para (2) of Para 95 of the Report). It, however, advanced the time-limits suggested by the Commission for realization of the objective. It recommended that primary education should be made free and that facilities for

1. In fact, the only substantial comment on these proposals was that these academic, administrative and financial strategies will not succeed unless they are accompanied by an economic strategy, viz., a direct and vigorous attempt to reduce the poverty of the masses.

it should be universalized in a period of five years. It also suggested that good and effective primary education of at least five years duration should be provided for every child in all parts of the country as soon as possible and at any rate within a period of ten years (i.e., by 1975-76). It did not suggest any specific time-limit for provision of universal middle school education. But by implication, it accepted the time-limit of 1985-86 suggested by the Commission.

3.18 Unfortunately, the Government of India was not prepared to accept any of these proposals. It did not want to commit itself to any specific time limit. It was not even prepared to transform the existing system of elementary education by adopting the multiple-entry system and non-formal education programmes which then appeared as new-fangled ideas of little significance. It would not commit itself to any massive programme of adult education, nor to a major investment in qualitative improvement of elementry education. It was not at all prepared to commit itself to special grants to the less advanced states. Under these circumstances, nothing could be done except to include the following colourless paragraph in the National Policy on Education.

> "4 (1). **Free and Compulsory Education.** Strenuous efforts should be made for the early fulfilment of the Directive Principle of Art. 45 of the Constitution seeking to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14. Suitable programmes should be developed to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in schools and to ensure that every child who is enrolled in school successfully completes the prescribed course."

This policy statement makes little advance over Art. 45 of the Constitution and is almost superfluous. It merely states a desirable objective without indicating how and when it will be achieved. This is therefore one of the several examples where statements included in the National Policy on Education make little contribution to the development of a national system of education and may even be left out without any loss or disadvantage.

3.19 On the subject of adult education and liquidation of mass illiteracy also, the National Policy on Education contained similar innocuous provisions. It said :

"4 (14) **Spread of Literacy and Adult Education.**

(a) The liquidation of mass illiteracy is necessary not only for promoting participation in the working of democratic institutions and for accelerating programmes of production, especially in agriculture, but for quickening the tempo of national development in general. Employees in large commercial, industrial and other concerns should be made functionally literate as early as possible. A lead in this direction should come from the industrial undertakings in the public sector. Teachers and students should be actively involved in organising literacy campaigns, especially as part of the Social and National Service Programme.

(b) Special emphasis should be given to the education of young practising farmers and to the training of youth for self-employment."

Part (a) of the statement is as disappointing as that on universal elementary education. It merely recognizes the significance of universal literacy and does not commit itself to any target date or to a massive programme. Even the programmes it suggests are not likely to achieve any larges scale result. The spread of functional literacy among all the employees of the organized sector is not likely to help much because their numbers are small and because, even at present, the incidence of illiteracy among them is comparatively limited. Similarly, the liquidation of illiteracy can be attempted through the national service scheme to a limited extent only. While both these programmes are welcome, they are hardly adequate to make any dent upon the hard core of the problem which lies among the workers in the unorganized sector, among the rural people, among women and among the weaker social groups like scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, landless agricultural labourers and nomads.

3.20 On the other hand, part (b) of the Statement is a good innovation and embodies the proposals made by the Commission under education for agriculture (Para 14.58 to 14.69) and education for industry (Para 15.34). It is welcome.

Work-experience and Social and National Service

3.21 The main recommendations of the Education Commission ont his subject was that work-experience and social or national service

should form an integral part of education at all stages. This was a non-controversial recommendation which was accepted by all strongly supported by the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education (Paras 5 and 16). There was therefore hardly any problem in including it suitably in the National Policy on Education as given below.

> "4(6) **Work-Experience and National Service** : The school and the community should be brought closer through suitable programmes of mutual service and support. Work-experience and national service including participation in meaningful and challenging programmes of community service and national re-construction should accordingly become an integral part of education. Emphasis in these programmes should be on self-help, character formation and on developeing a sense of social commitment."

In recommendations of this type, it is our experience that their acceptance in theory is never a problem. Serious difficulties arise, however, in implementation. These will be discussed in the appropriate context in the next Chapter.

Science Education and Research

3.22 This subject also is non-controversial like that of work-experience or social and national service. There was therefore no difficulty in including the following paragraph in the National Policy on Education.

> "4.(7) **Science Education and Research** : with a view to accelerating the growth of the national economy, science education and research should receive high priority. Science and Mathematics should be an integral part of general education till the end of the school stage."

As stated above, difficulties about this recommendation would arise only in implementation.

Relating Education to Productivity

3.23 The Education Commission recommended that education should be related to productivity so that a positive correlation would be established between the expansion of education and economic growth. This could be done through inculcating the dignity of manual labour, promotion of scientific research and technology, creating a work-ethic in

the society as a whole, vocationalisation of secondary education, on-the-job training of workers and promotion of education for agriculture and industry. These also were, by and large, non-controversial recommendations and they were mostly included in the National Policy on Education. Reference has already been made to work-experience whose introduction in the curriculum would inculcate the dignity of manual labour and to the promotion of scientific and technological research. The Commission had emphasized that a climate of sustained and dedicated work should be created in the educationl system to improve standards and as an integral part of the wider programme of creating a new work-ethic in the society itself. But this suggestion was *not* included in the Policy statement. A reference to vocationalization of secondary education was included under the reform of secondary education which will be discussed later. Regarding other issues, the following statement was included in the National Policy on Education—

> "4 (8) **Education for Agriculture and Industry** : Special emphasis should be placed on the development of education for agriculture and industry.
>
> (a) There should be at least one agricultural university in every State. These should as far as possible, be single campus universities ; but where necessary, they may have constituent colleges on different campuses. Other universities may also be assisted, where the necessary potential exists to develop strong departments for the study of one or more aspects of agriculture.
>
> (b) In technical education, practical training in industry should form an integral part of such education. Technical education and research should be related closely to industry encouraging the flow of personnel both ways and providing for continuous co-operation in the provision, design and periodical review of training programmes and facilities.
>
> (c) There should be a continuous review of the agricultural, industrial and other technical manpower needs of the country and efforts should be made continuously to maintain a proper balance between the output of the educational institutions and employment opportunities."

While the statement is good as far as it goes, it is necessary to point out that it does not refer to several important recommendations of the Education Commission such as

—Improvement and control of agricultural colleges (Paras 14.36—14.37);

—Agricultural Polytechnics (Paras 14.38—14. 43);

—Agricultural education at the school stage (Paras 14.44—14.51);

—Agricultural Extension Programmes (Paras 14.52—14.67);

—Co-ordination of the work of the ICAR with the UGC (Paras 14.70—14.71);

—Improvement and expansion of the training of semi-skilled and skilled workers, and technicians (Paras 15.12—15.36);

—Education of Engineers (Paras 15.37—15.61); and

—Setting up of a UGC-type organisation for technical education (Para 15.85).

In fact, most of the important recommendations made by the Commission under agricultural and technical education was left out and three non-controversial recommendations were picked up for inclusion in the Policy Statement.

Character Formation

3.24 The Education Commission made several important recommendations regarding the inculcation of values and character formation (Para 1.74 to 1.80 ; 8.94 to 8.98 ; 11.05 ; etc.). These recommendations were broadly supported by the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education which said :

"3. Education should deepen national consciousness, promote a proper understanding and appreciation of our cultural heritage and inspire a faith and confidence in the great future which we can forge for ourselves. These objectives should be achieved by a carefully planned study of Indian languages literature, philosophy and history and by introducing students to India's achievements in the positive sciences, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and drama.

4. All students should be given appropriate courses in citizenship which emphasize the fundamental unity of India in the midst of her rich diversity. These should include a study of the Freedom Struggle, the Constitution, the noble principles enshrined in its Preamble and the problems and programmes of national development ...

6. Efforts should be made to promote greater knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the different regions of India by including their study in the curricula ; by the exchange of students and teachers and by giving them opportunities and facilities for educational and study tours ; and by the maintenance of all-India institutions which bring together students from different regions.

7. Curricular and co-curricular programmes should include the study of humanism based on mutual appreciation of international cultural values and the growing solidarity of mankind.

17 The formation of character should receive due emphasis in the total process of education. It is true that education alone cannot promote the appropriate moral, social and spiritual values which are generated by several institutions and organs of society. It must however contribute significantly to the moulding of the outlook and values of the youth and the strengthening of its moral fibre. The quality of reading materials, the stress on the proper study of the humanities and the social sciences, including the study of the great universal religions, the rendering of social service to the community and participation in games and sports and hobbies will contribute to the formation of right attitudes and values. Above all the example set by teachers and elders will be decisive. Due attention should therefore be paid to these factors and activities in educational planning at all levels."

These are in a way non-controversial proposals and their significance is obvious. One, therefore, expects that these would be included in a suitable form in the National Policy on Education. Strangely enough, they were not emphasized as a programme of action and there is no mention of them in Para 4 of the Policy Statement which enumerates different programmes to be developed. Of Course there is a reference to

formation in the Preamble, viz., that "the radical reconstruction of education on the broad lines recommended by the Education Commission..... will involve..... the cultivation of moral and social values. The education system must produce young men and women of character....." While such a reference states the objective, it gives no indication of the programmes to be developed which is a more important issue.

Language Policy

3.25 The Education Commission made a very important recommendation regarding the adoption of regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage. It said :

(1) We are convinced of the advantages of education through the regional languages. We regard the development of regional languages as vital to the general progress of the country, as an important step towards the improvement of quality in education. To avoid any misunderstanding we would emphasis that this does not mean the shutting out of English, or other world languages. In fact we will profit from these languages all the more when our education becomes more effective and useful.

(2) In view of the importance of the problem, we suggest that the UGC and the universities carefully work out a feasible programme suitable for each university or group of universities. The change-over should take place as early as possible, and, in any case, within about ten years, since the problem will only become more complex and difficult with the passage of time. A large programme of producing the needed literature in the Indian languages will have to be undertaken, and adequate arrangements will have to be made for the training and re-training of teachers.

(3) What is required is to formulate a clear policy, to express it in unambiguous terms, and to follow it up with firm, bold and imaginative action. We should avoid a policy of drift which will only be harmful. Nor should we get involved in the vicious circle of 'no production because no demand' and 'no demand because no production'.

(4) We recognize that suitable safeguards would have to be devised in the transitional stage, to prevent any lowering of standards during the process of change-over because of inadequate preparation. In fact, the desirability and success of the change should be judged in terms of the contribution it makes to raising the quality of education. But caution should not be equated with delay or procrastination. It is meaningful only if it is a part of a policy of determined, deliberate and vigorous action.

(5) There will, however, be one important exception to this general rule, namely, all-India institutions which admit, in considerable numbers, students from different parts of the country. These now use English as the medium of education which should continue undisturbed for the time being. A change-over to Hindi may be considered in due course provided two conditions are fulfilled. The first is the effective development of Hindi as a medium of education at this level. This is a matter which can be left to the UGC and the institutions concerned to decide. The second is the equally important political consideration that, in such a change-over, the chances of students from non-Hindi areas should not be adversely affected and that the proposal should have the support of the non-Hindi States. The latter principle has been already conceded by the Government of India even in the larger sphere of the use of Hindi in official communications between the State and the Centre.

(6) Simultaneously, it is necessary to make the regional languages the official language of the regions concerned as early as possible so that higher services are not *de facto* barred to those who study in the regional medium. The acceptance of the regional languages as media at the university is much more likely when good employment, which now depends largely on a knowledge of English and is more easily open to students who have studied through English, becomes available to those who have studied through the regional medium.

(7) We might also add here that, though Urdu is not a regional language in the ordinary sense of the word, it has an all-India significance since it is spoken by certain sections of the people in different parts of the country. Due encouragement must be given to it at all stages not only because of the peculiar character

but also because of its close links with the official language Hindi."

3.26 The Committee of Members of Parliament on Education picked up this recommendation as the most sigificant recommendation of the Education Commission and highly dramatized all issues relating to the language policy. It reduced the time allowed by the Education Commission to adopt the regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage from ten to five years. It also felt that the Commission had given too much importance to English and too little to Hindi and Sanskrit and wanted to introduce the necessary correctives. It therefore proposed an alternative draft of a national language policy which is qouted below in full.

"Adoption of Indian languages as Media of Education at all Stages

9. The development of proper language policy can greatly assist in strengthening national unity. The key programme will be to develop all Indian languages and to adopt them as media of education at all stages. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to people and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will continue to widen. The change-over should be brought about in five years. Adequate resources should be made available for this programme and the willing and enthusiastic cooperation of the academic community should be secured. In implementing this reform, the following important points will have to be kept in view :

(a) All-India institutions (i.e. those which admit students from all regions of the country) should use Hindi and English as media of education, having regard to the needs of the students. Admissions to these institutions should be so planned that students educated through any Indian language are not at any disadvantage. In addition, all such institutions should maintain special departments which will provide intensive courses to the newly admitted students in Hindi/English to enable them to follow with ease the education given to them.

(b) The work of devising scientific and technical terminology should be expeditiously completed. This terminology should be adopted/adapted in all Indian languages.

(c) Steps should be taken side by side to ensure that students who have been educated through the medium of Indian languages are not deprived of opportunities of good employment. These would include the adoption of Indian languages for all administrative purposes in the States and their use in the UPSC examinations.

(d) Adequate safeguards should be provided for linguistic minorities.

(e) A large-scale programme for the production of necessary literature in all Indian languages should be developed. This should be implemented mainly through the universities but should be Centrally planned, co-ordinated and financed. The objective should be to produce, within five years, most of the textbooks required for this programme in all subjects and at all levels.

(f) Suitable safeguards should be devised to prevent any lowering of standards during the process of change-over. In fact the, desirability and success of the change should be judged in terms of the contribution it makes to raising the quality of education. But caution should not be equated to delay or inaction. It is meaningful only if it is a part of a policy of determined, deliberate and vigorous action.

The Teaching of Languages

10. For the teaching of languages, the following principles should be kept in view :

Classes I—X : The parent has a right to claim primary education in the mother tongue of his child. Every effort should be made to meet this demand. At the secondary stage, the regional language should ordinarily be the medium of education. Adequate safeguards should be provided for linguistic minorities.

Only one language, viz., the medium of education, should ordinarily be studied in the first sub-stage of school education covering four or five years. Facilities should be provided, on an optional basis, for the study of regional language when it does not happen to be medium of education. A second language should be introduced, on a compulsory

basis, ordinarily at the beginning of the next sub-stage. This may preferably be a language included in Schedule VIII of the Constitution, or English or any other language. The study of this language should be continued till the end of class X. A pupil may begin the study, at his option, of any third language, ordinarily from class VIII provided that a pupil who has not studied either Hindi or English in the earlier classes shall be under an obligation to study one of these two languages at this sub-stage. However, it is desirable that a pupil should, before he completes his school education, acquire some knowledge of three languages—regional language/mother tongue, Hindi and English or any other language.

Classes XI–XII : At this sub-stage, a pupil shall study at least one language of his choice in addition to the medium of education.

University Stage : While facilities to study languages, on an optional basis, should be adequately provided at the university stage, the study of no language should be made compulsory unless such study is an essential part of a prescribed course.

Hindi, the Link Language

11. In practice, Hindi is already largely in use as a link language for the country. The educational system should contribute to the acceleration of this process in order to facilitate the movement of students and teachers and to strengthen national unity. The special emphasis on the study of Hindi is also justified on account of the fact that it will become the sole official language in the future when the non-Hindi areas accept it as such. It is also recognized as one of official languages of UNESCO, signifying its importance as one of the major languages of wide dissemination in the world.

Sanskrit

12. India has a special responsibility for the promotion of Sanskrit. Facilities for its teaching at the school stage should be provided on a liberal scale and its study encouraged. Where possible, composite courses of Sanskrit and the regional languages should be provided. A more important programme is to ensure its wide study at the collegiate stage. For this purpose, new methods of teaching should be evolved to enable college students to acquire an adequate and quick command of the language, even though they may not have studied it at school. Universities should also examine the desirability of including a study of Sanskrit in those courses at the first and second degree where such knowledge is

essential (e.g. courses in certain modern Indian languages, ancient Indian history, Indology, Indian Philosophy). The traditional system of Sanskrit learning should be encouraged."

3.27 Because of the violent controversies that erupted over the language issue during the debates in the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education, the language policy became the most significant issue to be decided while formulating the National Policy on Education. After very protracted and acrimonious discussions therefore, the following provisions regarding a language policy were included in the Policy Statement.

"4. (3) *Development of Language* :

(*a*) *Regional Languages* : The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a *sine qua non* for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people, and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain if not widen further. The regional languages are already in use as media of education at the primary and secondary stages. Urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as media of education at the university stage.

(*b*) *Three Language Formula* : At the secondary stage, the State Government should adopt, and vigorously implement, the three-language formula which includes the study of modern Indian language, preferably one of the Southern languages apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking States, and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non-Hindi speaking States. Suitable courses in Hindi and/or English should also be available in universities and colleges with a view to improving the proficiency of students in these languages up to the prescribed university standards.

(*c*) *Hindi* : Every effort should be made to promote the development of Hindi. In developing Hindi as the link language, due care should be taken to ensure that it will serve as provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution, as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composites culture of India. The establishment, in non-Hindi States, of colleges and other institutions of higher education which use Hindi as the medium of education should be encouraged.

(*d*) *Sanskrit* : Considering the special importance of Sanskrit to the growth and development of Indian languages and its unique contri-

bution to the cultural unity of the country, facilities for its teaching at the school and university stages should be offered on a more liberal scale. Development of new methods of teaching the language should be encouraged, and the possibility explored of including the study of Sanskrit in those courses (such as modern Indian languages, ancient Indian history, Indology and Indian philosophy) at the first and second degree stages, where such knowledge is useful.

(*e*) *International Languages* : Special emphasis needs to be laid on the study of English and other international languages. World knowledge is growing at a tremendous pace, especially in science and technoloy. India must not only keep up this growth but should also make her own significant contribution to it. For this purpose, study of English deserves to be specially strengthened."

It will be seeen that the above draft avoids getting into details and controversies. Special attention must also be invited to two of its features, viz., (1) it does not lay down any time-limit to adopt regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage ; and (2) it does give due place to the study of international languages, and especially English, although this was greatly underplayed by the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education.

Decentralization, Diversification, Elasticity and Dynamism

3 28 The Education Commission made very important recommendations on this subject. It was emphatically of the view that the national system of education should be dynamic and keep abreast of changing social needs and that no educational system of yesterday can serve the needs of to-day and even much less, those of tomorrow. It should also be flexible, elastic and diversified as against the existing system which tends to be uniform and rigid and which is based on the assumption that either all move or none moves (the only consequence of which is that none moves). Educational authority should also be largely decentralized and all administration of school education should be entrusted to the District level. The State should respect the autonomy of universities and they, in their turn, should confer autonomy on departments, colleges and teachers. Even at the school stage, there should be large opportunities to schools and teachers to innovate and experiment. These were extremely important recommendations. Unfortunatly, they were excluded from the National Policy on Education on the ground that it need not deal with administrative issues.

Three Channels of Education

3.29 In the opinion of the Education Commission, a national system of education should provide adequate opportunities for life-long learning to every individual. This is of course not possible within the existing system which insists on full-time attendance on the part of the students and generally operates on the basis of a single-point entry. The Commission therefore felt that while this full-time channel of study should continue, steps should be taken to develop alternative channels of part-time education and self-study and that they should be given an equal status with the full-time channel. Its words on this subject can be quoted with advantage :

> "2.53 **Three Channels of Education.** Oneof the major weaknesses the existing educational system is that it places an almost exclusive reliance on full-time instruction and does not develop adequately the two alternative channels of part-time education and private study or own-time education. It has to be remembered that reliance on full-time education as the sole channel of instruction often divides the life of an individual into three water-tight and sharply divided stages : a pre-school stage of no formal education or work, a school stage of full-time education and no work, and a post-school stage of full-time work and no education. In a modernizing and rapidly changing society, education should be regarded, not as a terminal but as a life long process. It should begin informally in the home itself ; and thereafter, it should be the ultimate objective of national policy to strive to bring every individual under the influence of the formal system of education as early as possible, and to keep him under it, directly or indirectly throughout his life. Similarly, there should be no water-tight separation between work and education at any stage of a man's life, but only a relative shift of emphasis. An individual under full-time education should have some work-experience as an integral part of his education itself ; and every full-time worker should have the inclination, leisure and means of continuing his education still further. In the same way, the transition from one stage to another should not be abrupt. For example the transfer of an individual from the infant's play-dominated world to formal school should include a transitional phase of gentle preparation and orientation to schooling. A young person should not be compelled to pass abruptly from a stage

of full-time education to another of full-time work ; it would be desirable to interpose a period of part-time education and part-time work between the two.

2.54 If these objectives are to be attained, it is necessary to abandon the present policy of placing an almost exclusive reliance on full-time education, and the two alternative channels of part-time and own-time education should be developed on a large scale at every sector of education and should be given the same status as full-time education. Secondary, adult and continuing education, which is almost totally neglected at present, should be emphasised to a very great extent. Taken to gether, these two reforms would

- enable those who have not completed a stage of education to complete it and, if they wish, to proceed to the next;
- help every educated person to have further education with or without formally enrolling himself in an educational institution;
- enable a worker to acquire knowledge, ability and vocational skill in order to be better worker and to improve his chances of earning more; and
- help to refresh the knowledge of the educated person and enable him to keep pace with the new knowledge in the field of his interest.

3.30 The significance of these proposals is obvious. These were welcomed by the Committee of Members of Parliament (Para. 32) which also included them within the programme of immediate action (sub-para. (10) of Para. 95). But they were not approved for inclusion in the National Policy on Education in their totality ; and only one aspect of this radical programme, viz., part-time education and correspondence courses at the secondary and university stages, was included in the Policy Statement in the following form :

> "4. (13) **Part-time Education and Correspondence Courses** : Part time education and correspondence courses should be developed on a large scale at the university stage. Such facilities should also be developed for secondary school students, for teachers and for agricultural, industrial and other workers. Education through part-time and correspondence courses should be given the same status as full-time education. Such facilities will

smoothen transition from school to work, promote the cause of education and provide opportunities to the large number of people who have the desire to educate themselves further but cannot do so on a full-time basis."

3.31 The whittling down of these radical recommendations of the Education Commission is mainly due to the fact that, at this time, the significance of non-formal education had not generally been realized.

The Common School System of Public Education

3.32 Reference was made, in the last Chapter, to the dual educational system we have evolved under which the children of the rich and well-to-do avail themselves of the small core of fee-charging, private and good quality schools while the children of the poor generally attend the publicly supported, free but poor quality schools. The Education Commission was strongly opposed to this segregation of the children of the rich and the poor and recommended that, in order to create a socially cohesive and egalitarian society, we should abandon this dual system and move towards the goal of creating a common school system of public education

- which will be open to all children irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic conditions or social status;

—where access to good aducation will depend, not on wealth or class, but on talent ;

—which will maintain adequate standards in all schools and provide at least a reasonable proportion of quality institutions ;

—in which no fees will be charged ;

—where no discrimination will be made between teachers working under different managements ;

—where the role of different managements (e.g. government, local bodies and voluntary organizations) will be properly integrated ;

—where the neighbourhood school plan would be adopted at the elementary stage as a step towards eliminating the undesirable segregation that now takes place between the schools for the poor and underprivileged classes and those for the rich and the privileged ones.

3.33 It will thus be clear that the common school system visualised by the Commission necessarily included the concept of the neighbourhood school which implies that each elementary school should be attended by all the children in its neighbourhood irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic condition or social status, so that there would be no segregation in schools. Apart from social and national integration, two other important arguments can be advanced in support of the proposal. In the first place, a neighbourhood school will provide 'good' education to children because sharing life with the common people is an essential ingredient of good education. Secondly, the establishment of such schools will compel the rich, privileged and powerful classes to take an interest in the system of public education and thereby bring about its early improvement (Para 10.19). It is also evident that while other aspects of the common school system of public education are undoubtedly important, its essence lies in the neigbourhood school concept.

3.34 What is the implication of these concepts to the model of Public Schools which we borrowed from the traditional English system which allowed good education, under private management, to be largely reserved for those who have the capacity to pay the necessary high fees. The Commission's view was categorical. It said : "Whatever its part in history may be, the Public Schools have no valid place in the new democratic and socialist society we desire to create" (para 1.38).

3.35 It would not be out of place to mention here that this was the one group of recommendations on which there was a sharp division of opinion within the Commission itself. A minority of members was strongly in favour of the reform and were of the view that the neighbourhood school concept should be adopted immediately all over the country as the first major step to create the common school system of public education over time. On the other hand, the majority was of the view that the neighbourhood school plan can only be adopted as a pilot experiment in those areas where public opinion was in its favour and that the extension of this programme to other areas should depend on the improvement of standards in the general schools for which intensive efforts should be made, and the creation of the common school system of public education should be phased over a period of about 20 years. Ultimately it was the latter view that prevailed and has been embodied in para 10.19 of the Report.

3.36 Of all the recommendations of the Commission, the Committee of Members of Parliament was most attracted by the neighbourhood

school concept. It included a special paragraph on it in its Report (para 8) and also recommended that this proposal should be immediatley implemented (sub-para (2) of para 95). Of course, its Report was far from unanimous and as many as seven members wrote Minutes of dissent. As might be seen, the minority view in the Commission became the majority view in the Committee and *vice versa*. The arguments advanced on both sides were also substantially the same. Of course the committee made no special recommendation on the Public schools. But the obvious implication of the above recommendations is that it agreed with the Commission on the subject.

3.37 This issue created the most fierce controversy when the National Policy on Education was being drafted. As stated earlier, the unfortunate general policy adopted in the drafting was, not to clinch issues, but to avoid controversies and to sum up the debate in as innocuous words as possible. It was, therefore, decided that we should not side either with the majority or the minority view in the Committee, that there need be no reference at all to the controversial concept of the neighbourhood school and that even the time-limit of 20 years mentioned by the Commission for realizing the goal of the Common School System (para 10.19) should not be mentioned. Consequently, we had a non-controversial but ineffective and colourless statement which said: "to promote social cohesion and national integration, the common school concept as recommended by the Education Commission should be adopted" and that "efforts should be made to improve the standard of education in general schools" (sub-para. (4)(b) of para. 4 of the National Policy on Education). It was also decided that it would neither be desirable nor possible to abolish special schools, including Public Schools. The only programme accepted therefore was that, without affecting the rights of minorities under Article 30 of the Constitution, "all special schools, including Public Schools, should be required to admit students on the basis of merit and also to provide a prescribed proportion of free-studentships to prevent segregation of social classes" (sub-para. (4)(b) of para. 4 of the National Policy on Education). As can be easily seen, these decisions produce a fairly innocuous model which consists of two parts: (1) the common school system was accepted as the ultimate objective to be reached; and (2) as an immediate action programme, the Public Schools and other special schools were required to reserve a percentage of their available seats to talented but economically handicapped children and provide them with adequate scholarships.

The 10+2+3 Pattern

3 38 Reference has already been made in Chapter II to the unfortunate national obsession with the adoption of a common pattern of school and college classes, the contradictory recommendations of the University Education and Secondary Education Commissions and the mess into which we had landed ourselves because of our inability to solve the differences between fourteen-year and fifteen-year States. Very naturally, the evidence tendered before the Education Commission was greatly influenced by this continuing obsession and it was faced with an intensive and widespread demand for a uniform pattern of school and college classes. It was convinced that the structure which may be regarded as the skeleton of the educational system, is of the least importance from the point of view of maintaining or improving standards (para 2.02). But it did concede the point that it may be eventually desirable to have a uniform pattern of school and college classes (10+2+3) and recommended that this pattern should be adopted in all States and Union territories under a well-planned programme spread over twenty years. By this, it visualised a 'flexible' educational structure covering :

—a pre-school stage of one to three years;

—a primary stage of seven or eight years divided into two sub-stages—a lower primary stage of four or five years and a higher primary stage of three years;

—a lower secondary or high school stage of three or two years in general education or of one to three years in vocational education;

—a higher secondary stage of two years of general education or one to three years of vocational education;

—a higher education stage having a course of three years or more for the first degree, followed by courses of varying duration for the second or research degrees.

To describe all this structure as 10+2+3 (which is most commonly done) is neither correct nor fair to the Commission. In fact, this numerical expression only means that, in the national system of education, there will be only three public examinations till the first degree is obtained, viz., (1) at the end of class X; (2) at the end of class XII; and (3) at the end of the undergraduate stage. It also implies that all these examinations although conducted by different universities and regional examination

boards, would be broadly comparable with one another and officially regarded as 'equivalent' for purposes of recruitment to public service or admission to higher courses.

3.39 Even while making this recommendation, the Education Commission did make it clear that the pattern of school and college classes should not be over emphasized, that it is the least significant input in so far as raising of standards is concerned, and that it may *not* even be necessary to insist on an absolutely uniform pattern in all parts of the country. It said :

> "**2.02** To begin with, we would like to state our approach to the problems of structure and standards. The standards in any given system of education at a given time depend upon four elements : (1) the structure or the division of the educational pyramid into different levels or stages and their interrelationships; (2) the duration or total period covered by the different stages; (3) the extent and quality of essential inputs such as teachers, curricula, methods of teaching and evaluation, equipment and buildings; and (4) the utilization of available facilities. All these elements are interrelated, but they are not of equal significance. For instance, the structure, which may be regarded as the skeleton of the educational system, is of the least importance. The duration or total period of education plays a more significant role; but it becomes crucial only when the available facilities are utilized to the full and no further improvement can be expected without the addition of time. The quality of different inputs is even more important, and with an improvement in these, it is possible to raise the standards considerably without affecting the structure or increasing the duration. But the utilization of available facilities is probably the most significant of all the elements on which standards depend. For any self-accelerating process of development, it is essential in the first place to improve efficiency at the level of the existing inputs and to add more inputs only if they are crucial to the process. An increase of inputs assumes significance only at a later stage.
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> **2.10** *Uniformity of Pattern.* A number of different proposals for the reorganization of the educational structure were placed before the Commission. Most of these recommended a uniform pattern of school and college classes in all parts of the country. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Committee on

Emotional Integration stated in their Report (1962) as follows : "We consider that in the overall interest of our student population there should be a common pattern of education in the country which will minimize confusion and coordinate and maintain standards." This view has been gaining considerable ground in recent years. The concept of a national system of education has been increasingly linked with the adoption of a uniform educational pattern, and a belief has grown that such uniformity is essential for raising standards.

2.11 We have recommended elsewhere certain steps that should be taken for the coordination of educational standards at the school stage in the different States. But we do not believe that it is necessary or desirable to impose a uniform pattern of school and college classes in all parts of the country. There are several characteristic features of the Indian situation, such as the vastness of the country and the immense diversity of local conditions and traditions, that demand a certain element of flexibility in the educational structure. We are aware of other national systems of education which have a variety of educational patterns. Even in a country of small size such as the United Kingdom, for example, the pattern in England (generally thirteen years of school education followed by a three-year course for the first degree) is different from that in Scotland (twelve years of school education followed by a four-year course for the first degree). In our country, where the different States are at unequal levels of development, a uniform pattern might be above the resources and real needs of the backward areas and *below* the capacity and requirements of the advanced areas and might operate to the disadvantage of both."

3.40 When these proposals came before the public which still continued to be obsessed by the idea of a uniform pattern, all the old controversies on the subject were reopened in spite of the fact that the Committee of Members of Parliament supported it and considered it as the third important recommendation of the Commission. There were three main issues on which battles royal continued to be fought :

(1) The fourteen-year States were not willing to add one year ;

(2) Some wanted the *plus* two stage in colleges while others wanted it in the schools as recommended by the Commission ;

(3) Who should bear the cost of the programme-Centre or States ?

On the first of these issues, the Central Advisory Board of Education evolved a solution, viz., there should be a pass course of two years and an honours course of three years. Every student in the fourteen-year States

would get a degree, as in the past, at the end of 14 years. But he will have to spend one year extra and get an honours degree if he desired to join the Master's degree courses. This arrangement, the Board felt, would reduce opposition and costs. The Board was of the view that such a change should be made by the fifteen-year States also so that a national uniformity is maintained. On the second issue, the Central Advisory Board of Education had no objection to calling classes XI-XII as. 'intermediate colleges' or 'higher secondary schools' and attaching them to schools or colleges, on the clear understanding that they were outside the University. On the third issue, the fourteen-year States argued that, as this move to change the pattern had come from the Centre, there should be special central grant to meet the costs involved in the adoption of the new pattern. As in the past, this demand was led by U.P. which also pointed out that its estimate of costs had increased from Rs. 40 million in 1954 to Rs. 350 million in 1966. This was of course turned down. But it seems that even if the Centre had decided to bear the entire cost, the pattern of 10+2+3 could have been adopted in 1954 all over the country within an amount which was now needed by U.P. alone. Finally, long debates were held on the issue whether a uniform pattern is necessary at all and whether the addition of one year will improve standards and bring in returns proportional to the cost. Paras 2.10 and 2.11 of the report were quoted again and again in this context. But finally the opinion veered round to the view that a uniform pattern is advantageous and that we should move gradually in the direction of adopting it.

3.41 The stage was thus set for drafting a paragraph on the subject for inclusion in the National Policy on Education. Here the first decision was that the proposal should be given a low priority by including it as the very last item and it was therefore put as item (17) in para. 4 of the Resolution. Secondly, the concensus reached was expressed as follows : "It will be *advantageous* to have a broadly uniform educational structure in all parts of the country. The ultimate objective should be to adopt the 10+2+3 pattern, the higher secondary stage of two years being located in schools, colleges or both according to local conditions." The rider regarding pass and honours courses suggested by the Central Advisory Board of Education was not incorporated in this draft because there were serious doubts whether a detail like pass and honours courses for the first degree should be mentioned at all. Nor does the draft make any reference to the flexibility that has always been permitted regarding the different ways in which the first ten years may be divided between the elementary and secondary stages.

Programmes of Qualitative Improvement

3.42 The Education Commission placed great emphasis on the qualitative improvement of education and made several important recommendations on the subject which have been briefly summarized below.

(1) **Teachers** : Standards in education would depend, first and foremost, on the quality, commitment and competence of teachers and every effort should be made to improve these. From this point of view, the scales of pay for college and university teachers which are uniform throughout the country should be improved and efforts should also be made to reduce the gap in the remuneration of university and college teachers. Following this pattern, minimum scales of pay should be laid down for all primary and secondary school teachers throughout the country and the Central Government should give special assistance to the States for the purpose. The existing wide gap between the remuneration of teachers at different stages—primary, secondary and university—should be reduced. Procedures for the selection of teachers should be improved and adequate steps taken to ensure satisfactory conditions of work and service (including security of tenure). The programmes of training of teachers should be improved, and in particular, Schools of Education should be established in selected centres and the training of primary teachers should be integrated with the university system.

(2) **An Integrated System** : In the existing educational system, every institution tends to function in isolation from others and is atomized. There is also little coordination between different stages of education. In the national system of education, on the other hand, every effort should be made to link institutions with one another, to promote cooperative and collaborative efforts, not only between institutions at the same level but also between institutions at different levels, and to create an integrated system. For instance, the universities should work closely with colleges and also assume certain responsibilities for the improvement of school education. Co-operative teaching between the universities and colleges and among the colleges themselves should be encouraged. The colleges should work closely with secondary schools in their neighbourhood and secondary schools should do so with primary and middle schools in their vicinity. These groups of institutions can share facilities, help professional growth of teachers and develop programmes for identifying and developing talent among students. An integrated system of this type can certainly be very effective in raising standards all-round.

(3) **A Nation-wide Movement for Improving Standards** : If the best results are to be obtained, it is necessary to organize a nation-wide move-

ment for the improvement of standards. The leadership in and responsibility for this programme should be squarely assumed by teachers working closely with the students and the community. A system of institutional planning should be adopted under which every educational institution would strive to optimize the results through better planning and sustained hard work. Such a movement would obviously be assisted by programmes of decentralization and grant of autonomy.

(4) **Promotion of a New Work Ethic** : Education is essentially a stretching process and the quality of education depends not so much on monetary and material inputs as on the creation of a climate of sustained and dedicated hard work. In the existing system, there is often no adequate challenge to students. The national system of education on the other hand should strive to stretch the teachers and students fully. From this point of view, the number of working days would be increased and students should be required to work for 50 to 60 hours per week throughout the year. Vacations may be reduced and preferably utilized for educational purposes. School plants should be used for the longest hours every day and wherever possible, all throughout the year.

(5) **Identification and Development of Talent** : It should be a major objective of the national system of education to identify and develop talent. For this purpose, there should be a nationwide continuous programme of identification of talent at all stages of education, and talented students at each stage should be assisted, where necessary, to pursue their studies at the next higher stage, preferably in selected good institutions. An adequate programme of merit scholarships should therefore be developed at all stages; and at the university stage, there should be a supplementary programme of loan scholarships as well. The selections for scholarships should be done on regional basis or by grouping similar schools together so that 'talent' does not get necessarily connected with socio-economic backgrounds of children. Talented students in the top bracket should be regarded as wards of the State which should assume all responsibility for their education. Special attention should be given to the development of talented students through personal guidance and provision of enrichment programmes.

(6) **Improved Teaching and Learning Materials** : An intensive effort should be made to provide improved teaching and learning materials at all stages. The costs of such materials should be reduced and there should be adequate arrangements to ensure that they are available to all needy students. At the university stage, there should be a very large

programme of producing teaching and learning materials in Indian languages and by Indian authors who may work, where necessary, with the academics of other countries.

(7) **Improved Methods of Teaching** : It is necessary to adopt new and dynamic methods of education which emphasize individual attention and learning rather than rote memorization and teaching which characterize the existing educational system. Emphasis should be placed on the awakening of curiosity and the development of such skills as self-learning or problem-solving. Students should also be involved in teaching. In fact, the rigid polarization between teachers and students should disappear and teachers should be looked upon as senior students and students, as junior teachers.

(8) **Evaluation** : Evaluation is a continuous part of teaching itself and should be promoted as such. External examinations should be reduced to the minimum and improved. The system of declaring candidates as having passed or failed in school examinations should be abandoned and each student should be given only a certificate of his performance in a prescribed form. The eligibility of such students to join higher courses or employment could be determined by the authorities concerned on the basis of this performance. There should be an increasing emphasis on internal assessment and all institutions should carry out a regular and comprehensive internal assessment of all students. The results of such assessment should be kept separate and made available along with those of external examinations.

(9) **Selective Development of Schools** : Finally, the Commission made two major recommendations regarding selective improvement of schools and universities. In the existing system, grants-in-aid are given to educational institutions on a basis of mechanical equality so that they get the same aid in spite of large variations in quality and performance. Even in institutions wholly maintained by Government, there is a tendency to treat all institutions alike rather than discriminate between them on the basis of performance. This policy inhibits a competition for excellence which is essential for qualitative improvement. Moreover, we do not have the necessary human and financial resources to improve all schools. But on false grounds of equity we even refuse to improve a few selected institutions although such a programme can be an eminently feasible proposition. The Commission was of the view that a concentration of resources is essential to improve quality and that we should adopt a policy of selective improvement of educational institutions (say, ten per cent of the institutions may be improved in a five to ten year period) rather than continue the existing policy where no improvement worth the name takes place in any institution under the concept of equal treatment for all. The Commission

also laid down some criteria for the proper implementation of this policy, the selected institutions should be fairly numerous (say ten per cent or so), they should be carefully selected and well-distributed over different areas, their costs should be kept within reasonable limits (say, about twice or so as compared to an ordinary school) and admissions to them should be open to all sections of the society on an equitable basis. The Commission hoped that such a selective approach should break the stalemate in the present situation and initiate a process of rapid improvement of standards all round. In fact, the Commission described this device as 'seed-farm' technology in which excellence is first generated in a few select institutions and then rapidly extended to all the others.

(10) **Major Universities :** Since standards at the university stage are extremely crucial, the commission extended the above principle of selective improvement to the university stage also. It suggested that a few universities should be selected for intensive development by concentration of resources, human, material and financial. These 'major' universities should be assited to draw their students and faculty from all parts of the country so that the highest possible standards are maintained. Adequate arrangements should also be made, right from the start, to ensure that the excellence generated in these institutions is extended to the university system as a whole.

3.43 Of these recommendations, the proposals for selective improvement of schools and major universities ran into serious difficulties. The Committee of Members of Parliament opposed both of these and said : "We have not accepted the recommendations of the Commission for the creation of five or six 'major' universities or for upgrading 10 per cent of the institutions at all levels to optimum standards. We believe that better results can be obtained if we strive to maintain at least the minimum standards in all institutions and offer special additional assistance, on the basis of proper criteria, to those institutions which show high level performance and promise" (*Foreword*, para 2). The latter recommendation was also thrown out by the Vice Chancellor's conference. The other recommendations were, in a way, non-controversial but difficult to implement. Government was keen about the recommendations to improve the remuneration of teachers. But on the whole, it shared the view of the committee of Members of Parliament on Education that emphasis should still continue on the programmes of expansion and that it need not be shifted, as recommended by the Education Commission, to programmes of qualitative improvement. The following paragraphs on the subject were therefore included in the National Policy on Education.

(4) **Status, Emoluments and Education of Teachers.**

(a) Of all factors which determine the quality of education and its contribution to national development, the teacher is undoubtedly the most important. It is on his personal qualities and character, his educational qualifications and personal competence that the success of all educational endeavour must ultimately depend. Teachers must, therefore, be accorded an honoured place in society. Their emoluments and other service conditions should be adequate and satisfactory, having regard to their qualifications and responsibilities.

(b) The academic freedom of teachers to pursue and publish independent studies and researches and to speak and write about significant national and international issues should be protected.

(c) Teacher education, particularly in-service education, should receive due emphasis.

(5) **Identification of Talent.** For the cultivation of excellence, it is necessary that talent in diverse fields should be identified at as early an age as possible, and every stimulus and opportunity given for its full development.

(9) **Production of Books.** The quality of books should be improved by attracting the best writing talent through a liberal policy of incentives and remuneration. Immediate steps should be taken for the production of high quality text-books for schools and universities. Frequent changes of text-books should be avoided and their prices should be low enough for students of ordinary means to buy them. The possibility of establishing autonomous book corporations on commercial lines should be examined and efforts should be made to have a few basic text books common throughout the country. Special attention should be given to books for children and to university level books in regional languages.

(10) **Examinations.** A major goal of examination reforms should be to improve the reliability and validity of examinations and to make evaluation a continuous process aimed at helping the student to improve his level of achievement rather than at 'certifying' the quality of his performance at a given moment of time.

(12) (c) Special attention should be given to the organization of post-graduate courses and to the improvement of standards of training and research at this level.

(12) (d) Centres of advanced study should be strengthened and a small number of 'clusters of centres' aiming at the highest possible standards in research and training should be established.

(12) (e) There is need to give increased support to research in universities. The institutions for research should, as far as possible, function within the fold of universities or in intimate association with them.

(15) **Games and Sports.** Games and sports should be developed on a large scale with the object of improving the physical fitness and sportsmanship of the average student as well as of those who excel in this department. Where playing field and other facilities for developing a nation wide programme of physical education do not exist, these should be provided on a priority basis.

3.44 Some explanatory comments on this draft are necessary.

(1) It will be noticed that several important recommendations of the Commission were excluded from the Policy Statement, viz., the evolution of an integrated educational system wherein all the different stages will be properly interlinked and collaborate together, organization of a nation-wide movement for school improvement, intensive use of existing facilities, creating a climate of sustained hard work and selective improvement of schools.

(2) The recommendation regarding games and sports was added although it had not been highlighted by the Education Commission.

(3) The recommendation regarding the 'clusters of advanced centres' was a substitute for the idea of major universities which had been thrown out. It was felt that the same purpose would be achieved better if clusters of advanced centres could be built up in a few universities.

(4) The reference to improvement of standards at the post-graduate stage was included because they are crucial to the maintenance of standards at all stages of education.

(5) The emphasis on development of research in universities and on linking research institutions with the university system was included deliberately to undo, as far as possible, the damage done by developing research institutions like national laboratories outside the universities and in competition with them.

On the whole, it is easy to see that the programmes of qualitative improvement, and especially those that were crucial in significance and would have made an impact on the problem, were neither included nor highlighted in the National Policy on Education.

Programmes of Expansion

3.45 This brings us to the programmes of expansion which were in demand and which Government also wanted to emphasise. Here it is more covenient to discuss the problem according to stages.

3.46 Pre-School Education : The Education Commission made a number of recommendations about pre-school education and suggested that the enrolment in pre-schools should reach 2.5 million (or 5 p.c. of the age-group 3-5) by 1985-86 (Paras 7.03 to 7.07). It was however decided to make no reference to pre-school education in the National Policy on Education.

3.47 Secondary Education : The Education Commission recommended that the principle of selective admissions should be adopted at the higher secondary stage. It however recommended that vocational secondary education should be expanded very rapidly to reach 20 per cent of the enrolment in class VIII – X by 1985-86 and 50 per cent of the enrolment in classes XI – XII by the same date. Government was not prepared to accept these recommendations. It wanted general secondary education to be expanded freely according to demand ; but it felt that vocational secondary education can and should be related to man-power needs. The following draft was therefore included in the National Policy on Education.

"11. (a) **Secondary Education** : Educational opportunity at the Secondary (and higher) level is a major instrument of social change and transformation. Facilities for secondary education should accordingly be expeditiously extended to areas and classes which have been denied these in the past.

(b) There is need to increase facilities for technical and vocational education at this stage. Provision for facilities for technical and vocational education should conform broadly to the requirements of the developing economy and real employment opportunities. Such linkage is necessary to make technical and vocational education at the secondary stage effectively terminal. Facilities for technical and vocational education should be suitably diversified to cover a large number of fields such as agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, medicine and public health, home management, arts and crafts, secretarial training, etc."

3.48 Higher Education : The Education Commission was strongly of the view that enrolments in higher secondary and university education must be regulated to provide social justice, to reduce the incidence of educated unemployment, and to improve standards. It therefore put forward a detailed and not too radical a proposal for this purpose which aimed at introducing selective admissions at the higher secondary and university stages.[1] There was no doubt that these proposals of the Commission were sufficiently realistic and moderate and that they carried the

1. For details, please see para 5.20 in Chapter 5.

conceptualization of the problem a good dealfurther. But these never received a good hearing. The political climate was totally hostile and no party would touch the proposal with a pair of tongs. At the very beginning, the Committee of Members of Parliament rejected it outright and suggested that "every effort should be made to provide admission to institutions of higher education to all eligible students who desire to study further". This view which had the support, not only of the upper and middle classes, but also of the backward classes, was ultimately accepted by Government and following draft was included in the National Policy on Education.

"(12) **University Education.** (a) The number of whole-time students to be admitted to a college or university department should be determined with reference to the laboratory, library and other facilities and to the strength of the staff

(b) Considerable care is needed in establishing new universities. They should be started only after an adequate provision of funds has been made for the purpose and due care has been taken to ensure proper standards."

Educational Administration

3.49 The Education Commission made several recommendations for the improvement of educational administration which have been summarized below.

(1) **Central Government :** In the opinion of the Commission, the Central Government had the basic responsibility of providing a stimulating and dynamic but non-coercive leadership based on a national, long-term, and integrated view of education which only a federal government can best take. From this point of view, it should issue periodical statements on the National Policy on Education and strive to see that they are followed by the State Governments. It should have special resposibilities in higher education and research, several programmes of which can only be planned on a national basis.

(2) **State Governments :** The State Government should determine their educational policies within the broad frame-work of the national policy on education and in response to local conditions and needs. Each State should pass a Comprehensive Education Act to embody and implement these policies. While continuing to be basically responsible for education, the State Governments should share authority with the

Central Government, on one hand, and with the local authorities, autonomous agencies like universities and voluntary agencies, on the other.

(3) **Local Authorities** : The Commission recommended the establishments of District School Boards and Municipal School Boards which should have authority to plan, administer and develop all school education in their areas. Within them, certain authority could be decentralized further to still smaller units like villages or wards in urban areas. There should be adequate devolution of resources to match the responsibilities entrused to these organisations. In making this devolution, the principle of equalisation should be adopted as an overriding cirterion.

(4) **Private Enterprise** : The growing educational needs of a modernizing society can only be met by the State and it would be a mistake to show any over-dependence on private enterprise. However, the minorities have certain educational rights guaranteed in the Constitution and these will have to be respected. Private educational enterprise has also a right to exist in a democratic society and, if it does not seek aid, it may generally be left to look after itself, subject to compulsory registration. By and large, steps will have to be taken to merge all private educational institutions which seek financial assistance from the State in the common school system.

(5) **Institutions and Services** : The Commission also felt that the administrative structures for education at all levels will have to be considerably revamped. It suggested the creation of an Indian Educational Service, the establishment of a National Staff College for Educational Planners and Administrators, and the revamping of Central agencies like the National Council of Educational Research and Training. It also suggested the creation of Statutory Councils of Education in every State, better methods of co-ordination between the different agencies that deal with education at the State level, and strengthening and improvement of State Education Departments.

Unfotunately, it was decided that no reference would be made to any administrative matters in the National Policy on Education. All these proposals were therefore summarily excluded from the Statement.

Education of Minorities

3.50 The Education Commission had not studied the problem of the education of minorities and had made no recommendation thereon.

This lacuna was highlighted by the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education which prepared a rather elaborate statement on the subject which is quoted below.

"75. Educational institutions conducted by minorities have a special place in the national system of education. Specified safeguards are provided in the Constitution under Articles 29(1) and (2) and 30(1) and (2); in addition, Article 350A has been included as a special directive.

76. The Central and State Governments have also indicated in certain resolutions and statements the administrative procedures which should be adopted in respect of minorities. Thus, the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in August 1949 passed a resolution (accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Government of India) which laid down detailed provisions for imparting both primary and secondary education to linguistic minorities through the medium of their mother tongue.

77. After taking into consideration the recommendations in the report of the States Reorganization Commission in respect of linguistic minorities, the Government of India in consultation with the Chief Ministers of States prepared a memorandum which was placed before both Houses of Parliament in September 1956. The memorandum deals, among other things, with educational safeguards at the primary and secondary stages and the affiliation of institutions using minority languages, for purposes of examination.

78. The administration at the Centre and in the States should not only respect the rights of minorities but help to promote their educational interests."

3.51 The political necessity to include this topic in the national policy was obvious and hence the following paragraph was added to the Statement.

> "4(16) **Education of Minorities.** Every effort should be made, not only to protect the rights of minorities, but to promote their educational interests as suggested in the Statement issued by the Conference of Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers held in August 1961."

Finance

3.52 On financial matters, the major proposals made by the Education Commission were as follows –

(1) *Finance* : The Commission found that a national system of education will need a much higher level of financial support. It estimated that if due effect were to be given to its proposals, the total educational expenditure would rise (at constant prices) from about Rs. 6000 million in 1966 (which implies an expenditure of Rs. 12 per head of population or 2.9 per cent of the national income) to about Rs. 40,000 million in 1986 (which implies an expenditure of Rs. 54 per head of population or 6 per cent. of the national income).

(2) *Sectoral Priorities* : The Commission found that ultimately the total expenditure will have to be divided almost equally between the different sectors, one-third for elementary education, one-third for secondary education and one-third for higher education.

(3) *Fees* : The Commission was not in favour of looking on fees as a source of revenue. It proposed that all fees should be abolished till the end of Class X. In higher secondary and university education, every attempt should be made to extend tuition-free education to cover all needy and deserving students.

(4) *Economy and Utilization* : In spite of the increased investments suggested, it will not be possible to create a good system of national education unless intensive efforts are made to cut down unit costs, to economize in every way possible, to optimize the utilization of existing facilities, and to raise resources from voluntary and community contributions.

(5) *Central and Centrally-sponsored sectors* : As the constitution vests large and growing resources in the Government of India, it must assume a substantial responsibility for the financial support to education. The Central and Centrally-sponsored programmes should therefore be greatly expanded as major instruments for the implementation of a National Policy on Education.

3.53 As a rule, governments fight shy when they are required to assume larger financial responsibilities. But surprisingly enough, the Government of India accepted all these recommendations and decided to include them in the Policy statement on the ground that willingness to provide the needed funds is an indication of priority and seriousness of official intentions. Ultimately, the following draft was included in the National Policy on Education to cover issues (1) and (5) above.

"5. The reconstruction of education on the lines indicated above will need additional outlay. The aim should be gradually to increase

the investment in education so as to reach a level of expenditure of 6 per cent of the national income as early as possible.

6. The Government of India recognizes that reconstruction of education is no easy task. Not only are the resources scarce but the problems are exceedingly complex. Considering the key role which education, science and research play in developing the material and human resources of the country, the Government of India will, in addition to undertaking programmes in the Central sector, assist the State Governments for the development of programmes of national importance where coordinated action on the part of the Centre and the States is called for."

Periodical Review

3.54 Finally, the Government of India promised that it will review the progress made every five years and recommend guidelines for future development (Para 7).

Summing Up

3.55 What are the main conclusions that emerge from this first attempt in the post-independence period to formulate a National Policy on Education ? Three main points can be made in this context.

(1) Very high hopes were entertained from the proposed statement on the National Policy on Education (which was being issued after 55 years and for the first time since independence) because it had the Report of the Education Commission to go by and because very elaborate preparations had been made to arrive at a national concensus thereon. But unfortunately, these hopes not materialize for a variety of reasons. To begin with, the Report of the Education Commission came up for discussion and decision in 1967-68 which was a very inopportune time. The Government of India was then very weak (or probably at its weakest point since 1947) and the political and economic situation was far from satisfactory. Although the Preamble speaks of the goal of a socialistic pattern of society, all actions of the government clearly showed that it would not be able to change the reformist and evolutionary perspective on development within a capitalist framework which was adopted in 1947. It was not possible to make the best use of the possibilities open even within these limitations because the Government of India was anxious to avoid controversies and unable to take the hard decisions needed to create a good national system of education.

Consequently the National Policy on Education (19 8) became a tame and uninspring document which merely continued the policies adopted between 1947 and 1965 wtih some minor modifications which were not always for the better (Paras 3.02–3.09).

(2) The Preamble to the statement speaks of the conviction of the Government of India that a radical reconstruction of education on the broad lines recommeded by the Education Commission was essential. But the National Policy on Education rejected or ignored most of the major recommendations of the commission such as

– giving top priority to those programmes whose basic objective was to transform the educational system and to relate it closely to the life, needs and aspirations of the people (Paras 3.12 –3.14) ;

—all the major recommendations regarding time limit, multiple-entry and non formal education, qualitative improvement, administrative reorganization, and special grants-in-aid to less advanced states for making elementary education universal (paras 3.15–3.18) ;

—liquidation of mass adult illiteracy by 1985-86 (paras 3.19–3.20) ;

– some important proposals for the reform of education for agriculture and industry (Para 3.23) ;

– programmes for character-formation (para 3.24) ;

– making the education system diversified, decentralized, elastic and dynamic (para 3.28) ;

—Non-formal education, especially at elementary stage (Paras 3.29–3.30) ;

– all important recommendations regarding qualitative improvement of education, viz., organizing a nation-wide movement for school improvement, evolving an integrated educational system, making intensive use of all existing facilities, creating a climate of sustained and dedicated hard work, and selective improvement of schools (paras 3.41–3.43) ;

– selective admissions to higher secondary and university education (paras 3.47–3.48) ; and

—all proposals relating to administrative reforms, including the idea of delegating all administration of school education to district and Municipal Boards (paras 3.49).

With so may important recommendations left out altogether and some others diluted (e g. the common school system), the statement really ceases to reflect the radical reconstruction of education recommended by the Education Commission about whose necessity and urgency the Government was so convinced. This conclusion is not affected even after one takes into consideration the large financial support promised by government. The national education system will need substantial investment no doubt. But it cannot be created by money alone.

(3) The whole emphasis in the policy statement is on 'declarations of intentions', as if mere declaration of good intentions make policy. This is not correct. A statement of policy should state what government desires to do. But it is also often necessary to emphasize negative aspects of a problem and to state what government will not do or will not allow to happen. Even more importantly it is essential to state *how* our good intentions are going to be translated into action and when. In the absence of these essential details, a mere statement of good intentions does not evoke a proper response, especially in a country where the distance between words and action is extremely wide.

3.56 In a country where educational reform is so often and so widely discussed and suggestions for all types of reforms are so plentifully available, it is not difficult to put together some kind of an ill-assorted group of non controversial and desirable recommendations. The exercise can be done at any time and in a hundred different ways. This is essentially what the National Policy on Edudation (1968) is. But a statement on educational policy which will create a national system of education is an entirely different affair. It must be prepared to face the realities of the situation, to join issues, to offend vested interests where necessary, to take the hard decisions needed inspite of the risk and unpopularity involved, and to create a sense of purpose and direction through a planned effort to realize the pre-determined objective in the shortest possible time. Such a statement was not even attempted, even if one were to believe that it could have been in the economic and political climate of 1967-68. It is therefore no surprise that we did not get it.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION (1968) : IMPLEMENTATION

4.01 We shall now turn to the discussion of the manner in which the National Policy on Education (1968) was implemented over the next ten years (1968-78). In particular, we shall try to find out what difference, if any, the existence of the National Policy on Education (1968) made to the development of education between 1968 and 1978. We shall also try to ascertain what lessons for the future can be drawn from this valuable experience.

General Background

4.02 The developmental perspective, on which the educational perspective will ultimately depend, showed some interesting developments in the early years of this period. Smt. Indira Gandhi began to emphasize the socialist perspective very early in this period e.g. her legislation on bank nationalisation. This is why one finds a pointed reference to the socialistic pattern of society in the Preamble to the National Policy on Education (1968). She developed the idea further when, in the elections of 1971, she gave the slogan of *Garibi Hatao*. Because of this and because her stature had risen tremendously after the victory in the Bangladesh War, she literally swept the elections in 1971 and 1972. But when it came to the implementation of these promises, it was soon discovered that she began to retract from them rather than go ahead with them. When the situation deteriorated, she rather chose to adopt coercive and fascist policies, as the declaration of emergency proved, rather than adopt a socialist perspective; and this conclusion is not affected even by the attempt to amend the Preamble to the Constitution by introducing the concept of socialism. On the whole, therefore, one gets the impression that all the talk of socialism branded about in this period was merely a stick to beat the opponents and not a programme of action. The earlier reformist, evolutionary and capitalist framework continued, therefore, to dominate the scene; and if anything, the developmental prospects became even more dim on account of the deterioration in the political and economic situation.

4.03 Consequently, the perspective for educational development also deteriorated during this period. The political situation between 1947 and 1965 was dominated by the personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru;

and as we saw, his over-riding interest in higher education and scientific research gave them a priority in all our plans of educational development just as his lack of interest in elementary and adult education led to their comparative neglect. Between 1966 and 1978, the political situation was similarly dominated by the personality of Smt. Indira Gandhi. But as she had no deep interest in any aspect of education, it got a much lower priority in our plans than at any time in the past. Moreover, this was on the whole a period of great economic and financial difficulties; and as usually happens on such occasions, the axe of retrenchment fell first and fell heavily on education. This becomes very obvious from the trends in plan expenditure on education between 1950-51 to 1965-66 and 1966-67 to 1977-78. The relevant data are given in the following table:—

Table No. 4.1

Plan Expenditure on Education (1950-51 to 1977-78)

Sl. No.		First Three Plans (1950-51 to 1965-66)	Three Annual Plans (1966-67 to (1968-69)	Fourth Plan 1969-70 to 1973-74	Fifth Plan 1974-75 to 1977-78	Sixth Plan 1978-79 to 1982-83 (Provisional)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Elementary Education (including Teacher Education)	3810 (38)	750 (23)	2390 (30)	3170 (35)	9000 (46)
2.	Secondary Education	1740 (17)	520 (16)	1400 (18)	1560 (17)	3000 (15)
3.	University Education	1490 (15)	780 (24)	1950 (25)	2050 (22)	2650 (14)
4.	Adult Education	110 (1)	20 (1)	50 (1)	90 (1)	2000 (10)
5.	Other Programme	960 (9)	300 (9)	900 (11)	900 (10)	900 (5)
6.	Cultural Programmes	100 (1)	40 (1)	120 (2)	280 (3)	500 (3)
7.	Total General Education	8210 (81)	2410 (75)	6810 (87)	8050 (88)	18050 (93)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	Technical Education	1947 (19)	800 (25)	1050 (13)	1070 (12)	1500 (7)
9.	**Total Education**	10150 (100)	3210 (100)	7860 (100)	9120 (100)	19550 (100)
10.	Percentage to Total Plan Outlay	6.7	4.8	5.2	3.3	2.8

Source : Planning Commission.

It will be noticed that, throughout the period under review, education received a smaller proportion of plan funds than between 1950 and 1965. It is true that, in absolute figures, education received Rs. 20,190 million or nearly twice the amount invested in education between 1950 and 1965. But this was a period of considerable inflation and if allowance is made for the rise in prices, there was not much increase in the outlay on education in real terms.

4.04 Against this general background, no radical reorientation of educational development was possible even if we had a national policy on education which proposed radical changes. But as was pointed out earlier, the National Policy on Education (1968) was not a radical document at all. Consequently, it is hardly a matter for surprise if the policies of the earlier period were generally continued between 1965-66 and 1977-78 also with some minor modifications.

Universal Elementary Education

4.05 We may now begin the detailed discussion of the implementation of the 17 programmes included in the National Policy on Education (1968) although not in the same order. The first of these naturally referred to the provision of universal elementary education or the fulfilment of the Directive contained in Art. 45 of the Constitution.

4.06 It was shown in Chapter II that, by 1965-66, an elementary school had not been provided within easy access from the home of every child, the enrolment in classes I-V was only 76.4 per cent of the age-group 6-11 and that in classes VI-VIII was only 36.7 per cent of the age-group 11-14, and wastage and stagnation still continued to be high. We had failed to provide universal elementary education by 1960-61 and that, even in 1965-66, there was no revised plan to show when and how we would

reach the goal. Against this dark background, the National Policy on Education (1968) had given only two directives : (1) *Strenous efforts* should be made for the *early* (a much abused word in educational parlance which may mean anything from five to a hundred years) realisation of the goal of universal elementary education and (2) *suitable programmes* should be developed for the reduction or elimination of wastage and stagnation.

4.07 Let us see what our main achievements were in the field of elementary education between 1965-66 and 1977-78.

(1) **Investment** : It must be pointed out that the priority accorded to elementary education during this period was even lower than that between 1950 and 1965. In the first three plans, elementary education received Rs. 3810 million or 38 per cent of the total plan expenditure on education. Between 1966-68, it received only Rs. 750 million or 23 per cent of the total plan expenditure on education and the corresponding figures for the fourth plan (1969–74) were Rs. 2390 million or 30 per cent, and for the truncated fifth plan (1974–78), Rs. 3170 million or 35 per cent. Consequently, the situation in elementary education deteriorated between 1965-66 and 1977-78 rather than improved.

(2) **Schools** : Between 1950–51 and 1965–66, an average of 12,093 new primary schools and 4,147 new middle schools were opened every year. Between 1965–66 and 1977–78, the corresponding figures were 7,164 primary schools and 2,803 middle schools. The tempo of opening new schools had obviously slackened.

(3) **Enrolments** : The increase in enrolments has also slowed down as the data given below will show.

Table No. 4.2

Enrolments in Elementary Education (1965-66 to 1977-78)

(in millions)

Year	Enrolments in Classes I-V			Enrolments in Classes VI-VIII		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1965-66	32.178	18.293	50.471	7.686	2.846	10.532
	(96.3)	(56.5)	(76.4)	(44.2)	(17.0)	(30.8)
1970-71	30.739	21.306	57.045	9.426	3.889	13.315
	(95.5)	(60.5)	(78.6)	(46.3)	(19.9)	(33.4)
1975-76	40.649	25.011	65.660	18.990	5.034	16.024
	(100.4)	(68.1)	(83.8)	(43.6)	(23.9)	(36.7)
1977-78	43.200	26.950	70.150	12.030	5.740	17.770
	(99.3)	(65.4)	(82.8)	(49.7)	(25.3)	(37.9)

Between 1950-65, the average annual increase in enrolments was 2,087 thousands in classes I-V and 494 thousands in classes VI-VIII. Between 1965-66 and 1977-78, these rates stood at 1640 thousands in classes I-V and 603 thousands in classes VI-VIII. On the whole therefore the growth of enrolments also declined, rather than increased. It may also be pointed out that in 1965-66, the total population of children in the age-group 6-14 was 99.491 million out of whom 61.003 million were attending schools and 38.488 million were not attending. In 1977-78, the total population of children in the age-group 6-14 was 131.518 million of whom 87.920 million were attending and 43.598 million were not attending. In other words, the number of non-attending children actually increased between 1965-66 and 1977-78 by more than five million !

(4) **Wastage and Stagnation :** The Policy Statement did not suggest any specific reforms for the reduction of wastage and stagnation, but merely directed that 'suitable' measures should be adopted to reduce (or eliminate) wastage and stagnation. The Education Commission had recommended the large scale development of non-formal education programmes for this purpose. These were left out from the Policy Statement and were not readily accepted either in the academic or in the administrative circles. But Professor S. Nurul Hasan took keen personal interest in them and tried to spread the concept through the Central Advisory Board of Education. It was due mainly to his efforts that the concept has now come to be universally accepted and it is hoped that non-formal education programmes would be adopted in a big way in the Sixth Plan. That however is for the future. In so far as the period under review is concerned, non-formal education programmes were still at the conceptual stage and no other suitable programmes had been developed to reduce wastage and stagnation. Consequently, both these evils continued undiminished throughout the period under review. This will be evident from the data given in the following table :

Table No. 4.3
Wastage and Stagnation (1950-51 to 1970-71)

	At Primary Stage				At Middle Stage		
Year	Enrolment in Class I (000's)	Enrolment in Class V (4 year later) (000's)	% age of Col. 3 to Col. 2 (Retention Rate)	Wastage Percentage	Enrolment in Class VIII (in the 8th year) (000's)	% age of Col. 6 to Col. 2 (Retention Rate)	Wastage Percentage
1950-51	69,48	22,99	33.1	66.9	13,13	18.9	81.1
1951-52	70,25	24,03	34.2	65.8	14,39	20.5	79.5
1952-53	73,95	24,35	35.6	64.4	15.33	20.7	79.3
1953-54	80,87	27,43	33.9	66.1	17,58	21.7	78.3
1954-55	91,12	30,59	33.6	66.4	20,20	22.2	78.8
1955-56	99,58	33,40	33.6	66.4	22,26	22.4	77.6
1956-57	102,83	36,11	35.1	64.9	25,45	24.8	75.2
1957-58	111,08	38,91	35.0	65.0	26,53	23.9	76.1
1958-59	119,99	42,43	35.8	64.2	28,83	24.0	76.0
1959-60	126,93	45,73	36.0	64.0	36,46	24.0	76.0
1960-61	133,91	49,64	37.0	63.0	32,45	24.2	75.8
1961-62	157,46	53,81	34.2	65.8	34,59	22.0	78.0
1962-63	164,04	57,10	34.8	65.2	36,17	22.0	78.0
1963-64	169,06	59,21	35.0	65.0	37,44	22.2	77.8
1964-65	182,41	60,42	33.1	66.9	38,36	21.0	79.0
1965-66	188,90	62,49	33.1	66.9	39,56	20.9	79.1
1966-67	195,33	64,55	33.1	66.9	40,27	20.6	79.4
1967-68	197,51	66,24	33.5	66.5	42,15	21.3	78.7
1968-69	198,36	69,50	35.0	65.0	43.68	22.0	78.0
1969-70	199,42	71,50	35.9	64.1	Data	not	available
1970-71	204,39	75,15	36.8	63.2	Data	not	available

N.B. : Although data beyond the cohorts of 1970-71 are not available, there is no reason to assume that there has been any improvement in the situation.

(5) **Expenditure :** Between 1965-66 and 1975-76, the cost per student in elementary schools increased by nearly three times, due mainly to the rise in teachers' salaries —

	Average Teacher Pupil Ratio		Average Annual cost per pupil in	
	Primary Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools	Middle Schools
			Rs.	Rs.
1950–51	34	24	19.9	37.1
1960–61	36	31	27.6	40.5
1965–66	39	32	34.5	50.4
1975–76	38	30	95.5	144.2

This inevitably led to an enormous increase in the total expenditure on elementary education.

Total Expenditure in Rs. (million) on

	Primary schools	Middle schools
1965–66	1,287.230 (20.7)	842.827 (13.6)
1975–76	4,463.148 (21.2)	3,409.672 (16.2)

N.B.—Figures in paranthesis denote percentage to total educational expenditure.

This very large increase in expenditure created a situation, for the first time since independence, when the proportion of the expenditure on elementary education to total educational expenditure *rose*, instead of falling. It was shown above that, during this period, the expansion of elementary education was slower than that between 1950 and 1965. Moreover, the quality of elementary education also deteriorated rather than improved. Consequently, there is little reason for us to congratulate ourselves on the increase in the proportion of the total educational expenditure devoted to elementary education which was due mainly to the increases in the salaries of teachers (a large part of which was also negatived by inflation).

4.08 It may therefore be concluded that, between 1965-66 and 1977-78, the earlier policies of the widest possible expansion of facilities

within the available resources were continued. There were no 'strenuous efforts' for the 'early' fulfilment of the directive contained in Art. 45 of the Constitution or for reduction of wastage and stagnation. In short, the directives of the National Policy on Education (1968) remained largely unimplemented. This was mainly due to the fact that there was no strong public demand for elementary education and no adequate political support for it, especially at the State level. The enunciation of the National Policy on Education (1968) did not, therefore, make any meaningful difference to the development of elementary education during the period under review.

Adult Education

4.09 What about the progress of adult education ? Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao, who succeeded Dr. Triguna Sen as Education Minister, was extremely keen that a massive programme of adult education should be organised. He had proposed an allocation of Rs. 690 million for the purpose and he wanted it to be included in the Centrally-sponsored sector which the National Policy on Education (1968) had agreed to expand. In fact, there could have been no better case for expanding the centrally-sponsored sector than to provide support to this important but neglected programme. But the States opposed the proposal and neither the Government of India nor the Planning Commission thought it worthwhile to fight the battle. The programme was therefore included in the State sector and received an allocation of only Rs. 50 million or less than one per cent of the total plan expenditure on education. The net result was that it did not get off the ground at all.

4.10 The data about adult education centres during this period is given below :

	1965-66	1975-76
1. No. of adult education centres	217,912	17,774
2. Enrolments in above	1,637,541	439,034

As stated in Chapter II, the statistics of 1965-66 contain the data of the *Gram Shikshan Mohim* in Maharashtra. Since this movement died out before 1977-78, there is a sharp decline in the number of adult education classes and their enrolment during the period under review. But even if the data of the *Gram Shikshan Mohim* is excluded from the figures of 1965-66, one finds that adult education continued to be as neglected between 1965-66 and 1977-78 as it was between 1950 and 1965. It may also be recalled that the National Policy on Education (1968) had suggested

the organisation of two specific programmes : (1) the public sector (and other commercial or industrial undertakings) should be persuaded to make all their employees literate; and (2) literacy classes should be organized by teachers and students under the National Service Scheme. Nothing was done about the first recommendation and very little about the second.

4.11 One point may be mentioned. During this period, the programme of adult and continuation education was developed in a number of universities and a University Adult Education Association was established. This programme, however, was not mentioned in the policy statement and grew, thanks to a few enthusiastic leaders, in spite of the policy Statement rather than because of it.

4.12 All things considered, adult education is another area where the policies of the earlier period (1947–65) were continued and the existence of the National Policy on Education (1968) did not make any difference to the situation on the ground.

Expansion of Secondary and Higher Education

4.13 If the cause of elementary and adult education suffered because of a lack of strong public demand and adequate political support, the case of secondary and higher education was exactly the opposite. The public demand for the expansion of secondary and higher education and the political support for it, which was already strong between 1950 and 1965, became even stronger during the period under review.

4.14 It was shown in Chapter II that, between 1950 and 1965, very high priority had been given to the programme of expanding secondary and higher education. At the low levels of expansion reached in 1950, this was also justified. But the justification did not hold equally good in 1965–66 when considerable expansion had already taken place and when educated unemployment had increased to such levels as to cause serious concern. The Education Commission had therefore recommended a policy of selective admissions at the higher secondary and university stages which, as we saw in Chapter III, was not accepted; and the National Policy on Education (1968) made three specific recommendations in this regard, viz. (1) secondary (in higher) education is a major instrument of social change and transformation and should therefore be expeditiously extended to areas and classes which have been denied them in the past–a statement which was interpreted in practice to mean that the old policy of unplanned and uncontrolled expansion, with open-door access to secon-

dary and higher education, should continue; (2) considerable care should be taken in establishing new universities; and (3) the number of students to be admitted to a college or university department should be regulated on the basis of facilities available. In short, all that was done was to continue the earlier emphasis on expansion of secondary and higher education with some minor modifications. Consequently, there was very large expansion of secondary and higher education between 1965-66 and 1977-78 as the following data will show.

(1) **Secondary Schools** : The number of secondary schools increased from 7,288 in 1950-51 to 27,477 in 1965-66 or at the rate of 1346 per year. Between 1965–66 and 1977–78, they increased further to 44,579 or at the rate of 1,425 a year. Hardly any attention was paid to the recommendations of the Commission regarding careful planning and location of new secondary schools.

(2) **Enrolments in classes IX-XI/XII** : Between 1950-51 and 1965-66 enrolments in classes IX–XI/XII had increased from 1,220 million to 5.040 million or at the rate of 225 thousand per year. These enrolments increased further to 7.420 million (or 18.3 per cent of the age-group 14-17) in 1975-76. The estimated figures for 1977–78 were 9.150 million (or 21.2 per cent for the age-group). This implies an average annual increase of 343 thousand.

(3) Inspite of all the financial difficulties, therefore, the rate of expansion of secondary schools and their enrolments increased (and not decreased) during the period under review. Of course, a small part of it must have reached the areas and classes which were denied these opportunities in the past. But in an open-door policy geared to social pressures and market demands, the lion's share of this expansion had obviously gone to the upper and middle classes and to the urban and advanced rural areas.

(4) **Expenditure** : The direct expenditure on secondary education rose considerably during the period under review. The main reason for this was the improvement in teachers' salaries which increased the annual average cost per student in secondary education (as shown earlier in elementary education as well).

	Average Number of Students per Teacher	Average Annual Cost per student in Secondary Schools
		Rs.
1950-51	25	72.9
1960-61	25	91.7
1965-66	25	111.1
1975-76	25	257.3

Since the rate of expansion also increased, there was a further increase in direct expenditure on education and its share in total educational expenditure also increased.

	Direct Expenditure on Secondary Schools (Rs. millions)
1965-66	1,376.926 (22.1)
1975-76	4,935.622 (23.5)

With the tremendous expansion that thus occurred, there was an adverse effect on standards, an unprecedented increase in the number of unemployed matriculates and a severe increase in the pressures on university admissions.

In higher education also, the over-all developments were similar to those at the secondary stage.

(1) The expansion in institutions of higher education was as follows :

	1965-66	1975-76
1. Universities	64	101
2. Institutions deemed as Universities	8	9
3. Institutions of National Importance	8	9
4. Boards of High School and Intermediate Examinations	28	43
5. Research Institutions	39	47
6. Colleges of General Education	1,673	3,667
7. Colleges of Professional Education	2,775	3,276
8. Colleges of other Education	1,253	1,405
Total	5,848	8,557

In spite of the directive of the Policy Statement that great care should be taken in establishing new universities and in spite of an amendment of the UGC Act which laid down that a university established without the prior concurrence of the UGC and the Government of India will not be eligible to receive grants from the UGC, as many as 35 new universities were established in these ten years as against 45 universities established in the 18 years between 1947 and 1965. Similarly, the increase in the number of colleges of general education (the institution most in demand) was about 200 per year during the period under review, the corresponding figure between 1950-51 and 1965-66 being 78 only. As at the secondary stage, there was hardly any attempt to plan carefully the location of new colleges. It must be pointed out however that, in recent years, there has been some slowing down of this expansion because of the serious financial difficulties in which the State Governments are finding themselves. But there is also no sign yet of any willingness to adopt a rational policy to control the establishment of new institutions.

(2) The enrolments in higher education increased very greatly during the period under review. This will be more evident if we consider the data for general education where most of the expansion has taken place.

	1950-51	1965-66	1975-76
1. Pre-university	—	278,310	554,473
2. Intermediate	221,337	345,332	950,356
3. Graduate	86,668	625,907	1,408,744
4. Post-graduate	16,528	71,212	178,613
5. Research	1,190	6,851	13,898
6. Diploma	—	3,579	8,994
Total	325,723	1,331,191	3,113,078

It will be seen that the annual increase in total enrolment was 67,031 between 1950–51 and 1965–66. During the next ten years, the annual increase has been 178,189 or more than 2.5 times.

In view of the adoption of the new pattern which transfers the enrolment at the *plus* two stage to secondary stage, a better picture of the situation would be available if we consider separately the enrolments at the graduate, post-graduate and research stages only. These were 104,386 in 1950–51, 703,970 in 1965–66 (showing an annual increase of 39,972) and 1,601,255 in 1975–76 (showing an annual increase of 89,729). This

shows that the annual increase in enrolments during the period under review has been about 2.25 times that between 1950 and 1965. It may also be stated that, in recent years, there has been some slowing down in the growth of enrolments due to economic or other reasons, but there is not much of an attempt to regulate enrolments. Even the directive of the National Policy on Education (1968) that the number of students to be admitted to a college should be fixed with reference to facilities available is more observed in breach than in fulfilment, especially in colleges of Arts and Commerce.

(3) Expenditure : There was inevitably a very large increase in the expenditure on higher education due to revision of teachers' salaries and expansion.

	Direct/Expenditure in Rs. millions	
	1965-66	1975-76
1. Universities	320.537	995.642
	(5.1)	(4.7)
2. Deemed Universities	31.674	124.519
	(0.5)	(0.6)
3. Institutions of National Importance	37.349	222.476
	(0.6)	(1.0)
4. Board of Examinations	48.316	203.524
	(0.8)	(1.0)
5. Research Institutions	18.234	36.066
	(0.3)	(0.2)
6. Colleges of General Education	383.357	1,756.386
	(6.2)	(8.2)
7. Colleges of Professional Education	466.547	1,508.334
	(7.5)	(7.1)
1. Colleges for Other Education	12.128	31.038
	(0.2)	(0.1)
Total Higher Education	1,318.062	4,877.985
	(21.2)	(23.2)

As may be easily anticipated by the data on expansion, the increase in expenditure was very large in colleges of general education. In professional education, the establishment of new institutions was slowed down

due to increase in unemployment of engineers. The remarkable increase in the institutions of national importance (like the IITs) also deserves special notice.

4.15 It will thus be seen that the policies of uncontrolled expansion of secondary and higher education have continued to dominate the scene since 1947 and the National Policy on Education (1968) made no meaningful change in them. Needless to say, the consequences of this expansion on standards and the size of the problem of educated unemployment have been very serious. The question of regulation of the expansion of institutions and enrolments in higher (and secondary) education can continue to be ignored only at great peril to educational and national development. It will therefore need serious attention from all concerned at a very early date.

The 10+2+3 Pattern

4.16 The obsession with the pattern of school and college classes which began with the Sargent Report (1944) had dominated, as shown in Chapter II, the earlier period between 1947 and 1965. This obsession continued after 1965 also and, as the Education Commission pointed out, there was an unfortunate general inclination to equate the national pattern of school and college classes with the national education system itself. There was, however, one difference made by the National Policy on Education (1968) : it put an end to the confusion caused by the contradictory recommendations of the University Education Commission and the Secondary Education Commission and laid down a clear-cut policy, viz.

—it is advantageous to have the uniform pattern of 10+2+3 ;

—the *plus* two stage may be in schools or in colleges ; and

—if necessary, there may be a pass course of two years and an honours course of three years for the first degree.

All that had to be done was to go ahead and implement this pattern in all the States and Union territories.

4.17 Because of the public demand, the implementation of this recommendation started very soon in spite of the fact that the Centre had refused to provide any special assistance for the purpose. As may be easily imagined, the first moves were made by fifteen-year States who did not have to increase the total duration. Andhra Pradesh was the first State to come forward for implementation because it had two different patterns inherited as a result of re-organization of States (one from the old Andhra State and the other from the old Hyderabad State). The same

reason led to initiative in Karnataka and Maharashtra also. Of course personal factors such as interest shown by individual Education Ministers were also responsible. By 1972, the reform was definitely under way in the fifteen-year States, although its pace was rather slow. The fourteen year States however remained indifferent, if not hostile, and took no initiatives.

4.18 It was at this stage that Professor S. Nurul Hasan decided that some positive action by the Centre was called for. He wanted to support the programme on these main grounds; it would reduce the expansion of higher education, help in improving its standards, and also reduce the over-all recurring costs of education in the long run (i.e. the *plus* two as part of school would always cost less than as a part of university education). The strategy he adopted was threefold : (1) to implement the reform in Delhi and all other Union territories and also in organisations like the Central Schools so that the bonafides of the Central Government are established; (2) to pursue the matter vigorously with the fifteen-year States where the problem was comparatively easier; and (3) to press the fourteen-years States into some action. He succeeded in the first two of his objectives and brought the programme almost to a point of no return. But he could not do anything about the third objective and by and large, the fourteen-year States could not decide to launch the programme. But Professor Nurul Hasan's idea was that if a lead is given by the Delhi Union Territory, the fourteen-year States would follow suit more readily.

4.19 By 1977-78, the position regarding the pattern was as follows :

1. New pattern fully adopted	1. Kerala 2. Andhra Pradesh 3. Karnataka 4. Maharashtra 5. Goa, Daman & Diu 6. Lakshadweep
2. Firm decision taken to adopt the new pattern (and the year in which the matriculation (or SSLC) examination under the new pattern was held)	1. Assam (1976) 2. Gujarat (1976) 3. Jammu & Kashmir (1976) 4. Tripura (1976) 5. West Bengal (1976) 6. Dadra & Nagar Haveli (1976) 7. Sikkim (1977) 8. A. & N. Islands (1977) 9. Arunachal Pradesh (1977)

	10. Delhi (1977)
	11. Tamil Nadu (1978)
	12. Chandigarh (1978)
3. Decision taken in principle to adopt the new pattern (and the year in which the matriculation or SSLC examination was to be held)	1. Manipur (1980)
	2. Orissa (1980)
	3. Punjab (1980)
	4. Rajasthan (1980)
	5. Haryana (1980)
	6. Himachal Pradesh (1980)
	7. Bihar (1981)
	8. Nagaland (1982)
4. No decision taken as yet.	1. Meghalaya
	2. Mizoram
	3. Madhya Pradesh
	4. Uttar Pradesh

N. B. Pondicherry follows the pattern of the surrounding States for its three different areas, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

It will be seen that all the 15-year States and the Union Territories have decided to fall in line with the policy. Among the fourteen-year States only J. and K., Tripura and West Bengal had taken the plunge. The remaining 14-year States were either considering the matter or hostile. This is really the hard core of the problem for which a solution has to be found.

4.20 This is one area of educational planning where the National Policy on Education (1968) made a significant difference to the situation, especially because the then Union Education Minister, Professor S. Nurul Hasan, felt that it was his personal responsibility to implement the National Policy in the Union Territories and to use his good offices to persuade the States to follow suit.

Teachers

4.21 The National Policy on Education (1968) has made three points about teachers, viz., (1) improvement in their remuneration; *(2) protection of their academic freedom; and (3) improvement of their professional training.

*It may be mentioned that funds needed for improvement in the salaries of teachers were treated as plan expenditure and included in the first three Five-Year plans between 1950-51 and 1965-66. From the Fourth plan onwards, they were regarded as non-plan. This has been a healthy reform, due mainly to the efforts of Professor V. K. R. V. Rao.

4.22 Remuneration : One of the most conspicuous developments of the period under review is the substantial improvement in the remuneration of university and college teachers. The Education Commission had recommended improved scales of pay for university and college teachers which were implemented during the period under review. What is even more important, new and still better scales of pay for university and college teachers were introduced, due mainly to the efforts of Professor S. Nurul Hasan*. The main object of this revision was to ensure that a reasonable proportion of the top talent of the nation flows back into higher education. The revision was broadly based on the principles laid down by Education Commission and it succeeded, for the first time in our education nal history, in making the salaries of university and college teachers comparable to (or, in some cases, even better than) those of other senior cadres of the public services under the Central and State Governments.

4.23 Some comments are needed on the problems thrown up by these two revisions of the remuneration of university and college teachers during the period under review.

(1) The system of central initiative in laying down uniform national scales of pay for university and college teachers was adopted soon after independence. It was based on the principle that higher education should be preferably planned on a national basis and that a uniformity of scales of pay for university and college teachers will promote mobility. The system worked well for a time; and may have continued to work if it had been restricted to universities only. But the validity of this principle is now being questioned because it has been extended to *all* parts of the country and to *all* college teachers. The system has made university and college teachers practically a *central services* in so far as remuneration is concerned, without bringing in the other aspects of central services like common selection procedures or maintenance of high standards. The State Governments complain that this practice has created serious problems for them because it leads to discontent in other branches of the State services. At

*From the fourth plan onwards, the programme of the remuneration of university and college teachers was taken over by the Government of India from the UGC which dealt with it in the first three plans.

any rate, three issues have been raised : (1) Is it desirable to have uniform scales of pay for all university and college teachers? (2) Is it desirable to leave the initiative in this matter entirely to the Central Government when the burden has to be ultimately borne by the State Governments ? and (3) Is it desirable to give this privilege to university and college teachers only when it is denied to school teachers ? Realistic and acceptable answers to these questions will have to be found, sooner rather than later.

(2) The present system initiative in revising scales of pay of college and university teachers disturbs the educational system almost continually. For instance, the Centre announces new scales of pay that have been decided upon for university and college teachers. It can give effect to them in the Central Universities and Union territories. This decision is, however, not binding on the State Governments who take their own time to decide the issue. The teachers therefore start agitations of all types which disturb the educational system; and it is generally after some serious and prolonged agitation, threats, strikes, etc. that the States agree to the proposal - The decisions are not also taken simultaneously in all the States so that the agitations continue for a long time in State after State. By the time the last State has accepted the proposals and the disturbances appear to have come to an end, the Central Government initiate action on a new and a higher scale of pay so that the whole set of disturbances starts all over again. This is not all. Because the college teachers have had better scales of pay, the school teachers start agitations and disturb the schools also. When one category of teachers get some improvement in remuneration, other categories start agitation for similar improvements. In short, the educational system gets continuously disturbed over problems of remuneration with disastrous results on standards and discipline. Is the game worthwhile or cannot better methods be devised to bring about the reform ?

(3) It was expected that once a reasonable scale of pay is given to the university and college teachers and the society discharges its responsibility to the teachers, they will, on their part, recognize their obligations to the society and initiate and implement programmes of educational reform, especially those connected with the raising of standards, and that the recommendations of the Education Commission on revision of curricula, improvement in the methods of teaching and learning, etc. will be implemented with enthusiasm in a sustained fashion. Unfortunately this hope has not materialized. The teachers have shown a greater preparedness to fight for their rights than to discharge their responsibilities. When I wrote a letter to all vice-chancellors enquiring about the recommendations of the

Education Commission, one vice chancellor replied : "The recommendations of the Commission regarding revision of salaries of teachers have been fully implemented at a cost of about Rs. three million. Its recommendations about revision of curricula, improvement of teaching, examination reform, etc. are under consideration and suitable decisions will be taken in due course. You need not, however, be anxious because they do not involve any heavy expenditure." I am afraid this was the case in most universities and the action promised 'in due course' in this letter has not yet been taken in a vast majority of institutions. Of course, the culture of fighting for a little *more* pay in order to do a little *less* work has now become *the* social climate which affects most employees in all sectors of life. Hence one cannot blame the teachers alone for these attitudes. But it is a depressing thought all the same, especially if one realizes that the creation of a national system of education needs dedication and sustained hard work, now more than at any time in the past.

4.24 With regard to remuneration of school teachers, one recommendation of the Education Commission was turned down. The Commission had recommended that the Government of India should lay down minimum scales of pay for school teachers also and should give a special grant-in-aid to State Governments for adopting these (or higher) scales of pay, at 80 per cent. Of the cost involved, exactly on the lines of the policy it adopts for university and college teachers. But this proposal was rejected. The question of reviving it is practically out of question. What is now challenged is the practice so far followed in the case of university and college teachers themselves. For all that one can see, this may not be continued either.

4.25 The Education Commission had recommended that the differences which then existed between the remuneration of teachers of the same category and qualifications but working under different managements in a State (e.g. State Governments, Local Bodies or Private Organisations) should be done away with. This proposal was accepted and has also been mostly implemented during this period.

4.26 During the period under review, there was considerable improvement in the scales of pay of school teachers also, at all levels and in all parts of the country. This was due to a variety of factors. The recommendations of the Commission helped. In many areas, other employees of State Governments organized strikes which conferred benefits on teachers as well. In many instances, teachers themselves organized agitations

and strikes. Most State Governments appointed pay commissions to review the remuneration of all State Government employees and these also benefitted the teachers. On the whole, it may be said that the remuneratio n of school teachers in all parts of the country is now much better than what it was in 1965-66 and compares favourably with that of the other categories of public servants. Here too, as in the case of university and college teachers, the society has done its duty to the teachers; and the school teachers have risen to the occasion and discharged their duty to the society as much or as little as the university and college teachers have done.

4.27 Why is it that this part of the National Policy on Education (1968) regarding the remuneration of teachers was much better implemented than most others ? The obvious answers are two : there was a conscious effort from the Centre to implement this recommendation and to that extent, considerable pressure was brought upon the State Governments; and even more importantly, the strength and organization of the teachers who have now become a political force to be reckoned with, both the State and Central levels, played a very major role. For some time and especially in the initial years, the teachers also had the sympathy of the general public. One is not sure that they continue to have it at present, at least to the same extent.

4.28 At this point, a contradiction within the system comes to the surface. It is but proper that the remuneration of teachers should be broadly comparable to that of other services so that education gets its due share of the total pool of the talent available. But when this is done in the context of an inegalitarian and arbitrary wage-structure beyond the capacity of the economy to afford, the costs of education per student begin to rise; and in a situation of scarcity which a poor country has to face, this hampers the very expansion of facilities which the country needs. This is now happening in India. The rise in the cost of education per student is posing a dilema before educational planners : they must either curtail expansion of facilities (which they would not like to do) or raise far larger resources for education (which they cannot afford). There is no easy solution to this problem.

4.29 Academic Freedom : The provision made in the National Policy on Education (1968) regarding the academic freedom of teachers is of historic significance. It says : "the academic freedom of teachers to pursue and publish independent studies and researches and to speak and write about significant national and international issues should be protected". In fact, if a National Education Act is to be passed as recommended

by the Education Commission (it would now be possible to do so because education is in the concurrent list), this provision should be prominently included therein.

4.30 Only two brief comments need be made on this subject in the light of subsequent developments.

The first is to remind ourselves of what the Education Commission itself said on this issue : "In theory, there is no serious restriction or curtailment of academic freedom, but *we would like to see teachers practising more of it* (italics ours). In fact, it is an inherent obligation of the academic community to play an active and positive role in critical examination, evaluation and evolution of concepts and policies over the entire spectrum of the society's concern and involvement. The universities have a major responsibility towards the promotion and development of an *intellectual climate* in the country which is conducive to the pursuit of scholarship and excellence and which encourages criticism, ruthless and unsparing, but informed and constructive. All this demands that teachers exercise their academic freedom in good measure, enthusiastically and wisely (Para 13.04)". The second is that there is no adequate mechanism to protect teachers when they are being victimised for an exercise of their academic freedom. Such cases do occur every now and then, although fortunately they are not frequent. A special Judicial Tribunal set up by the Government of India at the national level to look into such cases is badly needed.

4.31 Professional Training : The Education Commission found that the professional training of teachers was considerably depressed and it made a very large number of recommendations to improve it. On the whole, these proposals have not been implemented. The training of pri mary school teachers continues to be a neglected area and it has not beepossible to upgrade it and to link it with the university system as the Commission had suggested. The training of Secondary teachers has also not improved very much although the UGC has started to give it some support. The university departments of education continue, as in the past, to concentrate their efforts on the training of secondary teachers and the idea of the Commission to convert at least a few of them into schools of Education for an inter-disciplinary, study of education has not materialized. In-service training has not come into its own, although this is the one area where the largest effort is needed. In the meanwhile, there has been considerable over-production of teachers at all

levels and the incidence of unemployment among them has increased—a situation which adds to this general gloom. A drastic reorganisation is still needed if professional training of teachers is not to be totally irrelevant and inconsequential. The recommendations of the Commission on this subject need therefore a second careful look; and a vigorous and sustained effort to improve teacher education has to replace the sporadic and rather ad hoc efforts made for the purpose during the last ten years.

4.32 Before closing the discussion on teachers, reference must be made to one effect of the attempt to raise their salaries. This rather unusual increase in their remuneration naturally created dissatisfaction among the non-teaching staff of educational institutions who also organized themselves to fight for better remuneration and conditions of service. Their strikes, etc. were open supported by teachers and students as well. Between the strikes of teachers, non-teaching staff and students, the universities and colleges sometimes remain closed for days together. This has therefore created one more disturbing factor in the educational situation especially at the university stage.

Language Policy

4.33 The language policy in the post-independence period has centered round four issues ; (1) Use of Hindi as the official language of the union; (2) the development of regional languages (which include Hindi in the Hindi-speaking regions) and their use in administration and courts and as media of instruction at the university stage; (3) encouragement to the study of Sanskrit; and (4) redefining a new place for English as our principal (but not the exclusive) window on the world. The broad policies laid down on this subject as well as the controversies that raged round them between 1947 and 1965 continued during the period under review also, except that the problem of the development of regional languages and their use in administration, courts, and as media of instruction in higher education received the highest emphasis.

4.34 **Adoption of Regional Languages as Media of Education at the University Stage :** It was pointed out in Chapter II, that the problem of the use of regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage was practically shelved between 1947 and 1965; and not much attention was also paid to their use in administration and courts, although this process was initiated by the State Governments (just as the Government of India initiated the process of adopting Hindi as the official language of

the Union) and a varying degree of progress was made in the different regions. The Education Commission, as later events showed, threw a bomb-shell in this situation by its strong recommendation that the regional languages should be adopted as the media of instruction at the university stage in a period of about ten years. The matter was lifted to a still higher level by the Committee of Members of Parliament on education who regarded this as the most important recommendation of the Commission and reduced the period to five years. After bitter, nation-wide and protracted controversies, the National Policy on Education (1968) decided to highlight this recommendation but did not make any reference to the time-limit. The Government of India which desired to expedite the implementation of this programme sanctioned a sum of Rs. 180 millions for the purpose. The whole issue received such attention at the national level and became so significant in educational policy that the Education Commission may well be described as the Commission on the Medium of Instruction at the university stage.

4.35 It should not also be forgotten that Shri M. C. Chagla who had appointed the Education Commssion resigned from the Union Cabinet because he could not accept this proposal; and Dr. Triguna Sen, a member of the Education Commission who later became the Education Minister was dropped from the Cabinet because of his enthusiasm to implement it.

4.36 One therefore expects that this programme would be implemented in a sustained and vigorous manner. But that has not happened for several reasons. There was a tremendous fight over the issue of a time-limit in 1967-68: but once the decision was taken that there would be no time-limit, every one seems to have leaned back with a sigh of relief that nothing very special need be done now and that we shall somehow muddle through to success in good time. For instance, the scheme of producing the needed literature in all the regional languages took some time to get under way and has been making rather slow progress on the whole.

(1) Books Produced : The following statement shows the total number of books produced under the scheme (both original and in translation) by the various State Boards and Hindi Granth Academies upto 31st December, 1978.

Name of State/Boards/ Academies	Published Books		
	Translations	Original	Total
1. Andhra Pradesh	36	401	437
2. Assam	8	379	387
3. Bihar	60	136	196
4. Gujarat	82	494	576
5. Haryana	46	37	83
6. Karnataka	81	495	576
7. Kerala	218	369	587
8. Madhya Pradesh	55	195	250
9. Maharashtra	4	168	172
10. Orissa	35	240	275
11. Punjab	12	55	67
12. Rajasthan	67	162	229
13. Tamil Nadu	74	590	664
14. Uttar Pradesh	72	152	224
15. West Bengal	–	64	64
16. BHU	36	10	46
17. Delhi	26	3	29
Total	912	3950	4862

N. B.—Approximately there are 2200 books written or translated in Science and Technology.

The progress is obviously skewed; some States like Kerala, Gujarat Tamil Nadu or Andhra Pradesh have done very well while Punjab and West Bengal (surprisingly enough) have lagged far behind.

(2) **Utilization of funds :** The progress of the utilization of funds also leaves a good deal to be desired. The following is the statement of year-wise expenditure incurred.

	Rs. (in millions)		Rs. (in millions)
1968-69	3.448	1974-75	8.000
1969-70	5.984	1975-76	10.700
1970-71	7.100	1976-77	10.300
1971-72	9.800	1977-78	12.500
1972-73	18.500	1978-79	14.300
Total : Rs. 112.907			

The State-wise expenditure would be as given below :—

Name of the State	Total amount spent Rs. (millions)
1. Andhra Pradesh	10.000
2. Assam	9.300
3. Bihar	6.910
4. Gujarat	7.700
5. Haryana	3.750
6. Karnatka	10.000
7. Kerala	10.000
8. Madhya Pradesh	9.100
9. Mabarashtra	7.408
10. Orissa	8.400
11. Punjab	5.300
12. Rajasthan	5.200
13. Tamil Nadu	9.206
14. Uttar Pradesh	7.900
15. West Bengal	9.733
	112.907

(3) **Quality :** There is no precise data available about the quality of the work, about the utilisation of books, etc. Obviously, in this respect also, the picture is varied and shows wide differences from area to area.

(4) **Lack of a Planned Effort :** The Education Commission emphasized the point that the entire programme should be carefully planned to ensure that it raises standards. It recommended that the UGC and the university should carefully work out a feasible programme suitable for each university or a group of universities. But this has not been done. The Commission also warned that we should avoid a policy of drift. But this is precisely what seems to be happening at the moment in several areas.

(5) **Popularity :** English still continues to be the language of good employment. Consequently, English is still the most popular medium with able students. Recently, the Government of India has decided to hold UPSC examinations in all the regional languages. This is very welcome decision which will help to give a status to the programme and make it more popular, especially with the abler students. More vigorous steps also need to be

taken to use the regional languages in courts and administration; and this is a matter in which the State Governments should do much more than what they have done during the last twelve years.

(6) **Study of English :** The Commission had emphasized that when regional languages are adopted as media, the students, command over English will have to be specially strengthened so that he has an effective direct access to the growing knowledge in the world. We are afraid that this is not being done so that students are going through the entire course of higher education (including Ph. D.) without an adequate capacity to use English as a library language; and now a stage has been reached when even college teachers in outlying areas are unable to use English. Planned and adequate remedial measures are called for without any delay.

4.37 In advocating this reform to the Conference of Vice-chancellors. Dr. Triguna Sen observed that once the regional languages were adopted as media of instruction at the secondary stage and higher education was expanded to provide access to the people and especially to the weaker sections, there was no escape from adopting the regional languages as media at the university stage also : the step was inescapable and irreversible. The only choice we therefore have in the matter is two fold :

(1) Either we drift into this change, under the pressure of unacademic forces, without a plan, without adequate preparation, and without the essential safeguards and thus end in chaos or disaster;

Or

(2) We accept the desirable and inevitable writing on the wall, and carefully plan and implement the change, on a national basis, with vigour and firmness.

Dr. Triguna Sen staked everything for the second alternative. Unfortunately, we seem to be falling back into the first under the pressure of increasing number of students with extremely inadequate command over English who are now flooding the institutions of higher education. It is essential that we pull ourselves together very soon before it becomes too late.

4.38 The urgent need of the day therefore is to revitalize the programme and to mount up a fresh and vigorous attack on the problem. Probably the best step would be for the UGC to set up a high level committee to go into the matter, to ascertain in progress made and the problems that have still to be faced and to suggest an action programme

spread over the next ten years or so to effectively reach the goal which we set before ourselves in 1968.

4.39 One point must also be highlighted. This is the one radical programme of educational reconstruction which has been fully supported by the political leadership. It does not need large resources. Even the funds already sanctioned have not been fully utilized, and if more funds are needed, one can always assume that they would somehow be found. What the programme needs most is commitment and hard work on the part of the academic community which has to produce the necessary literature, help the students to use the regional medium effectively side by side with a deepening of their direct access to the growing knowledge in the world. We are afraid that, in this programme, it is mostly they who are on their trial and it is they who are being found wanting. We do hope that they will rise to the occasion better in the years ahead.

4.40 Hindi : There are three major aspects of the policy in regard to Hindi : (1) the development of the Hindi language especially to represent the composite culture of India; (2) its diffusion in the non-Hindi areas; and (3) its use as the official language of the Indian Union.

4.41 Development of Hindi : Hindi has been receiving liberal patronage and support, not only from the Government of India but also from several State Governments (U.P., Bihar, M.P., Rajasthan and Haryana) where it is also regional language. It, therefore, developed considerably between 1947 and 1965. This development has continued during the period under review also. This is of course a fairly non-controversial programme and the voice of dissent is heard only on two main issues. The first is the view that the highly Sanskritized and learned form which is now being giving to Hindi will be more of a hindrance than a help to its spread among the people and in the non-Hindi areas. Secondly, the idea that the scientific and technical terminology prepared for Hindi should be regarded as the national terminology and adopted by all Indian languages has not fully worked out. Each of the modern Indian languages is developing its own scientific and technical terminology, although it is making whatever use it can of the Hindi terminology. Inspite of these criticisms, it may be said that in the last 30 years, Hindi has developed to a very great extent and is now well set to be one of the most developed languages in the country, if not the most developed.

4.42 Propagation of Hindi in the non-Hindi Areas : The propagation of Hindi in the non-Hindi areas is the second most important aspect of the programme, because the status of Hindi as a link language at the national level depends on its success and quite obviously, this programme will also facilitate its use as the official language of the Union. Various schemes have been devised for the purpose such as encouragement to Hindi writers from the non-Hindi areas, scholarships to students in non-Hindi areas who are studying Hindi at the university stage, assistance to institutions of higher education in Hindi areas which teach through the medium of Hindi, support to Hindi libraries in non-Hindi areas and so on. But the most important of these is the three-language formula which, if successful, will make Hindi known to most people of the non-Hindi areas.

4.43 The National Policy on Education (1968) therefore directs the States to adopt and vigorously implement the three-language formula viz.

—Hindi, a modern Indian language (preferably from the South), and English in Hindi areas; and

—Regional language, Hindi and English in the non-Hindi areas.

The formula is to be implemented at the secondary stage. It also provides considerable freedom regarding the point at which the study of second and the third languages should begin and also the time to be allocated to their study as well as the standards to be attained. This is as it should be.

4.44 The most common criticism of the three-language formula is that it is not being implemented properly. Two types of recommendations are therefore put forward. The first category includes proposals for an amendment to the formula which, on closer examination, are found to create more problems than they appear to solve. The second category of proposals accept the formula with all its defects as the best solution of this complex problem and concentrate on improving its implementation. All things considered, it is the second approach which is more desirable. We must realize that Hindi is already the official language of the Union and that there can be no going back on the decision to make Hindi a link language at the national level; and if Hindi is to be the link language for the country at some future date, there is no escape from the three-language formula. One must therefore, persist with it on the clear understanding that there is no easy or short-term solution and that we must try to solve the problems involved in the best manner possible and hope for a satisfactory solution in the longterm.

4.45 The problem is psychological, political, economic and educational and unfortunately, while all these aspects of the problem are interlinked, the psychological and political aspects are far more important and the success of the educational aspects largely depends upon them. In the pre independence period, Hindi was studied for patriotic considerations. But as shown in Chapter II this attitude changed after independence; and the non-Hindi people got obsessed with several fears, viz., Hindi would dominate and be forced on them, all other regional languages would get a second-class status, those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi would be discriminated against in the recruitment for the central services and the non-Hindi people will be treated as second class citizens who have to learn one more language per force while the Hindi people need have no such obligation. These were basically psychological and political issues, and to put the non-Hindi people at ease, necessary political solutions had to be found. It must be said to the credit of the national leadership that they did find suitable solutions to these problems. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave an assurance that Hindi will not be forced on any State and that assurance has now become a creed of the Government of India and an unwritten right of the non-Hindi people. They demand that this assurance should be given a statutory basis; and even that may be done some day. It is also the Official policy to regard all regional languages (including Hindi) as national languages and as inherently equal, although Hindi has been given an additional role as the most important national link language* and as the official language of the Union. It is also the policy of the Government of India not to make a knowledge of Hindi a qualification for recruitment to the Central services but to require a person to acquire an adequate knowledge of Hindi after his recruitment. The recent decision to hold UPSC examinations in all the regional languages also creates a situation where one can aspire to have a good job at the Centre through his regional language. Finally, it was decided to adopt a three-language formula which will place both Hindi and non-Hindi people on a par with regard to the load of language learning by requiring those whose mother-tongue is Hindi to learn another modern Indian language, preferably from the south. By and large, these solutions have worked and stabilized the position; but discordant notes often arise on both the sides—the anti Hindi people at one end and the impatient Hindi lobby at the

*The trend now is to look upon all Indian languages as having the role of a link language in some respects. Please see the recommendation of the Education Commission (Para 1.62).

other. These are however manageable and are becoming more so as time passes.

4.46 The pivotal position of the three-language formula in this composite device to put the non-Hindi people at ease is thus obvious. It must also be said that, on the whole, it is being implemented fairly well in the non-Hindi areas where the State Governments get aid for appointment of Hindi teachers and the motivation to learn Hindi is much stronger. In fact, one does not face any serious problems in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, West Bengal or Orissa. Hindi is also being learnt with increasing willingness in the North-Eastern Region. In Tamil Nadu, one faces a serious problem because the State Government is opposed to the Compulsory teaching of Hindi and has opted for a two-language formula. It is, however, the policy of the Government of India not to impose Hindi on any State and one, therefore, hopes that some day, an appropriate political solution to this problem would be evolved. If the Hindi lobby were to realize that Hindi is gradually gaining ground in the non-Hindi areas—imperceptibly, slowly but steadily, that this is not a problem one can solve in a few years, that any impatient moves from out side (and especially from the Hindi areas) will only do more harm than good and that the cause of popularizing Hindi in the non-Hindi regions is best left to the people of the regions themselves, the ultimate success will come sooner and with plenty of goodwill.

4.47 The pity is that it is in the Hindi areas themselves that the three-language formula is not being properly implemented. Here the most common demand is that Sanskrit should be allowed as a third language. There are much better chances of teaching and learning Urdu which is included in the three-language formula. But by and large, the schools, teachers and students do not opt in it. Hence the only possibility left is that they select a language from the East, West or South, preference being given to the last category. There is a strong political support for this idea because, if the Hindi areas were to learn Southern languages, it would be difficult for the south not to learn Hindi. But all educational considerations are against it : it is difficult to train teachers and what is probably crucial, it is exteremely difficult to create a proper motivation in the students who will have hardly any use for the language. The achievements of this programme therefore are very meagre. But one has to go on wrestling with these problems and look for long-term solutions. Since the Hindi areas live in this glass-house, they should be more careful when

they criticize the non-Hindi areas for not learning Hindi fast enough or widely enough.

4.48 Two solutions are often canvassed for a better implementation of the three-language formula by creating motivation among the students. The first is political : every Hindi state should require every applicant to a government job (where the minimum qualification prescribed is matriculation and above) to produce a certificate that he has passed an examination *of a given standard* in a modern Indian language (other than his mother-tongue) and that every non-Hindi State should require every applicant to have a similar certificate of the knowledge of Hindi *of an equivalent standard.* The other solution pins its faith on economic development and increasing mobility. If job opportunities for people from the non-Hindi region increase in Hindi region and vice versa, it is argued that the strongest support for the three-language formula will come from economic considerations and it will become effective in no time. Here, the doctrines like 'sons of the soil' which we are recently developing will stand in the way. One is not sure how feasible the political solution is; but the economic one would be even more effective. Of course, both these are long-term solutions.

4.49 Hindi as the Official Langauge of the Union : The third aspect of the problem is that Hindi should become the sole official language of the Union. This was the core of the controversy between 1950 and 1965. But this is no longer so. From 1965, Hindi is the official language of the Union; and the use of English is only permitted until further orders. The actual use in the business of the Union was comparatively limited between 1950 and 1965. It has now increased very appreciably and is continuing to increase. The only point of debate, therefore, is this : how long will English continue as an additional official language of the Union and when will Hindi become *the sole* official language of the Union ? It has also become clear now that there will have to be a very prolonged period of bilingualism at the Centre and that the optional use of English will have to be continued at the Centre so long as even one State desires it. The whole problem arises because of the extreme positions—one totally opposing Hindi and the other trying to drive out English, if possible, within twenty-four hours. But both these elements will have to be kept in check, if the language controversies are not to explode and if national integration and peaceful development are to be achieved.

4.50 Sanskrit : The promoters of Sanskrit are greatly hurt at the reduced significance of this great classical language in the post-indepen-

dence period. Even under the colonial rule, Sanskrit had a place of honour in the educational system. In fact, the British had evolved a kind of three-language formula as an integral part of the educational system at the secondary and university stages : English to be studied for getting knowledge; Sanskrit to be studied for enriching the regional languages; and the regional languages to be studied for conveying this knowledge to the people. It was generally hoped that Sanskrit will have a still greater place of honour in the post-independence period. This did not happen. On the other hand, Sanskrit was practically ousted by Hindi, and it can only be taught as *an additional optional language*. This anti-climax galls most lovers of Sanskrit and the question posed is : how can we vitalize the study of Sanskrit which has made such unique contributions to the cultural unity of India and to the development of modern Indian languages. ?

4.51 There is no concensus of what can and should be done in this regard and three different schools have emerged.

(1) Some believe in reviving and perpetuating the traditional type of Sanskrit learning through the establishment of modernized pathashalas, Sanskrit universities, etc. This is an activity on which a very large part of the available funds is being spent at the moment.

(2) The second view fights for a compulsory study of Sanskrit at the secondary stage and for its inclusion in the three-language formula in some form. Politically, this is an unacceptable position: but many lovers of Sanskrit would support it.

(3) The third view accepts the reality. It recognizes that the first of the three positions stated above is essential but costly and that it can give only a limited benefit. While not opposed to it, it would prefer to develop other alternatives. It also realizes that the second position is ruled out. It therefore proposes to develop the study of Sanskrit, on an optional basis, both at the secondary and university stages, and also on a non-formal basis. It hopes to get good results by combining the study of Sanskrit with other subjects (where it is relevant) and modern Indian languages.

It was the third of these views that was emphasized by the National Policy on Education ((1968). But it has not yet caught on; and most of

the programmes for the promotion of Sanskrit which were developed between 1947 and 1965 to realize the first of these objectives were continued between 1965-66 and 1977-78 also. What is needed here is a national debate to decide what we really want to do and how best we can promote the study of Sanskrit. The issues are mainly academic; and if the academics put forward and decide to work for an agreed good proposal the political and financial support will not be lacking.

4.52 English and Other Foreign Languages : A core concept in the national system of education was that English would cease to dominate over the entire educational system and the life of the country as it did during the colonial period and that it will be given its proper place, viz., our most important but not exclusive window on the world. This was precisely the directive of the National Policy on Education (1968). But the policies of over-emphasis on English adopted between 1947 and 1965, continued to dominate the scene even during the period under review. Consequently, inspite of thirty years of effort, these objectives have remained unrealized.

4.53 What has actually happened is that the super elite and elite groups have been trying to use English as medium of education at all stages, right from the pre-primary stages, and using their command over English language as a means to capture good employment which is still largely available to those who speak and write English well. A very intimate connection has thus been established between the use of English as a medium of instruction, a good command over English and a privileged position in society through good employment. Consequently, the number of English medium schools has increased by leaps and bounds since 1947. This has created a great fascination for English among all sections of society who desire to climb to privilege through education. We have thus a paradox. We were committed to reduce English to its proper position on the attainment of independence. But we find that English has a far higher status in our midst today than at any preceding time even in the colonial rule. On the other hand, opportunities to study good English and to get an adequate command over it are not adequately available in the educational institutions meant for the common man where the place of English is being continually downgraded. What is worse, no adequate measures are taken to strengthen the command over English of the average student of higher education who has begun to use the regional language as his medium of instruction.

4.54 The programme of action in the years ahead is, therefore, obvious. We must break the close link between the use of English as medium of instruction and privilege : the opportunities to study good English, on modern and economical lines, have to be expanded in the educational system, both on formal and non-formal lines; and special measures have to be adopted in all colleges and universities to give the students a good command over English so that they can use it as their direct and effective access to the growing knowledge in the world.

4.55 The study of other international languages like Russian, French, German, etc. is now done on a far larger scale and with greater levels of competence than in the pre-independence days. This is an area where we have made commendable progress since 1947. The policies need to be continued during the years ahead as well.

Equalisation of Educational Opportunity

4.56 Equalisation of educational opportunity has always been an important objective of educational policy in the post-independence period. As shown in Chapter II, several measures to this end had been taken between 1947 and 1965. The subject received the special attention of the Education Commission, on whose recommendations, the National Policy on Education (1968) directed that strenuous efforts should be made (1) to reduce regional imbalances in educational development, (2) to adopt the common school system of public education, (3) to promote education of girls, (4) to spread education among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and (5) to expand education opportunites for the handicapped children. Let us see how these programmes were developed between 1965-66 and 1977-78.

4.57 Regional Imbalances : In 1947, there were wide differences of educational developments, due to physical, historical, social, economic and cultural reasons, between advance areas like Kerala or Tamil Nadu and backward areas like Orissa or Madhya Pradesh. These were only partially bridged between 1947 and 1965; and although the attempts continued, there were still fairly wide imbalances of educational development, between the different regions of the country even in 1977-78. While this deep-seated evil does not admit of any easy or short-term solutions, reference is needed to an important recommendation of the Education Commission in this behalf viz., that the district should be adopted as the basic unit for educational planning and development, that the State Governments should adopt a deliberate policy of equalisation of educational development in the different districts and that it should be the responsibility of the Government of the India to secure equalisation of educational development in different States through appropriate programmes, including the grant of special assistance to the less advanced States (Para 6.52). These valuable recommendations were not included in the National Policy on Education (1968) and have, by and large, remained unimplemented so far. It is necessary therefore, that they should receive greater attention in the years ahead, at least in so far as the basic progamme of the universalization of elementary education is concerned.

4.58 The Common School System : In chapter III, the controversies that broke out over this issue in 1967 were described and it was shown

how a colourless, non-controversial paragraph on the subject was included in the National Policy on Education (1968). The fact of the matter is that the ruling groups in the country have deliberately created the dual system of education which provides good education to the children of the rich, well-to-do and powerful and gives poor education to the children of the common man, both at the school and university stages. The ruling groups are also interested in continuing the system. They have no objection to groups of radicals talking very critically about it from time to time, especially because such debates help to let off steam and strengthen rather than weaken the system. But they are determined to see that the system continues and thrives. Recommendations of the type included in Para 4(4) (b) of the National Policy on Education are, therefore, never meant to be implemented. It is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise if this portion of the National Policy on Education (1968) has remained a dead letter for the last twelve years.

4.59 Education of Girls : The tempo of the spread of education among girls was kept up during the period under review also and, from the quantitative point of view, the gap between the education of boys and girls was narrowed down still further as the following data will show—

	Number of girls enrolled for every 100 boys	
	1965-66	1975-76
1. Enrolment in classes I-V	57	62
2. Enrolment in classes VI-VIII	37	46
3. Enrolment in classes IX-XI/XII	30	39
4. Colleges of General Education	33	36
5. Colleges of Professional Education	14	19
6. Universities	22	33

Perhaps, the one weakness in the situation was that most of the beneficiaries of this expansion at the middle school, secondary and university stages were women belonging to the upper and middle classes or living in urban areas and that there was little improvement in the lot of the rural women from the poorer classes.

4.60 Qualitatively, it must be pointed out that women students began to perform well in Board, University, and competitive examinations and win proportionately more places at the top than would be justified on the basis of their numbers. This was mainly due to the fact that they were

at least equal to men students in their basic intelligence and had an edge over them through persistent effort and hard work. Needless to say, they consequently entered into many careers for the first time and began to occupy top positions in increasing numbers.

4.61 It is important not to be misled by this bright picture of what was happening to a section of women belonging to urban areas or to the upper and middle classes. The lot of the average woman or the poor classes was at the same time becoming worse as is evidenced by the continous and rapid decline in the sex ratio and by the mounting irrefutable evidence that 'development' was by-passing the women.*

4.62 Education of Sheduled Castes and Tribes : The broad policies adopted for the promotion of education among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes between 1947 and 1965 were continued and developed further during the period under review. This trend was strengthened by the fact that the political significance of the scheduled castes and tribes increased considerably at this time because of the split in the Congress which compelled every political party to solicit their votes.

4.63 The following data shows the progress of school education of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes during the period under review.

	Extent of coverage @			
	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes	
	1965-66	1975-76	1965-66	1975-76
1. Primary Education (classes I-V)	80.8	83.7	69.6	72.1
2. Middle School Education (classes VI-VIII)	63.7	63.8	40.6	53.4
3. Secondary Education (classes IX/XI/XII)	54.1	58.5	29.0	37.4

At the university stage also, the progress was remarkably rapid as the following data will show.

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* For details see Report of the **National Committee on the Status of women**, Ministry of Education & Social Welfare, New Delhi, 1975.

@ The extent of coverage is defined as being equal to—

$$\frac{\text{Proportion of enrolment of S. Cs/S.Ts to total enrolment}}{\text{Proportion of population of S. Cs/S. Ts to total population}} \times 100$$

	Enrolment of			
	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes	
	1965-66	1975-76	1965-66	1975-76
1. Pre-university or Intermediate	42,200	133,090	5,317	28,781
2. Undergraduate	29,000	102,065	8,227	21,830
3. Post-graduate	2,650	11,251	397	2,397
4. Professional Education	31,000	88,737	5,659	22,369
5. Other Education	600	863	300	265
Total	106,250	336,032	19,000	75,642
6. Post-matriculate scholarships	78,548	282.100	15,925	54,255
7. Expenditure on above (Rs. millions)	37.253	243.222	7.057	46.777

4.64 Some major achievements of this period and some special problems that began to invite attention by the end of this period need discussion.

(1) During the period under review, the amount of the scholarship had to be increased because of the rise prices and in the cost of living. Special attempts were also made to see that students from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes got admissions into good quality and prestigeous institutions like IITs.

(2) The qualitative expansion of educational facilities among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes had one major draw back. Neither the scheduled castes nor the scheduled tribes are homogeneous social groups. In fact, they are sub-divided into a large number of castes and tribes which are at different stages of advance and which also show great variations in their capacity to avail themselves of these facilities. Consequently, it was found that there were wide variations in the extent to which each castes and tribe took benefits of these facilities : some castes and tribes took the lion's share of the facilities while many others had not received any benefit at all. It thus became apparent that special efforts were needed to ensure that the benefit of these facilities went to all the scheduled castes and tribes, and especially to those who were the poorest and least organised, in some equitable fashion.

(3) From the qualitative point of view, the situation was unsatisfactory. The general performance of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students left a good deal to be desired. Inspite of this large expansion, several senior reserved posts under government remained unfilled because no suitable condidates were available. The need to provide special guidance and individual attention to these students began therefore to be greatly felt.

(4) What happened to these students of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who receive this education ? Many of them did well, got a post under government, settled down as a new privileged group and were alienated from their own people. By and large, education made them aware of themselves and of the social reality around them and somewhat hyper sensitive to the manner in which the society treated them. As the treatment of the scheduled castes or tribes had not much changed in the society, they became more hurt and resentful. Several of them were frustrated because they did not get a job of their choice, or did not get it quickly enough or did not get it at all. Such cases began to multiply inspite of reservations because the output of educated persons was outstripping the availability of jobs very fast. Some of them even organized social and political movements for the uplift of the scheduled castes and tribes. All these were anticipated because they are the inevitable consequences of the spread of education. By 1977-78, however, these were abundantly available for all to see.

4.65 The social consequences of this spread of education among the scheduled castes and tribes deserve a careful study. Reference may be made to three of them.

(1) Because of the spread of secondary and higher education among them, a new awakening and a new leadership has arisen among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as a whole.

(2) The caste Hindus have often begun to resent this awakening among the scheduled castes which has made them protest against the injustices that are done to them or made them more independent in using their political rights. This has led to frequent outrages against the scheduled castes.

(3) There are several sections of the society which are as poor as the scheduled castes or tribes although they may not have their social

handicaps. These have become jealous of the scheduled castes and tribes and their rights of receiving support for education and reservations in jobs under government. A movement has thus begun which demands that these rights now given to Scheduled Castes and Tribes should also be extended to all 'backward' castes which are also poor.

In short, the spread of secondary and higher education among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes during the last 40 years and especially after 1947 has initiated a major social upheaval. These unfortunate social groups were denied education as well as social, economic and political equality. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we gave them political and educational rights by grant of adult franchise, reservation of seats in the legislatures, liberal financial support for education at all stages and reservations of jobs under government. This has inevitably led to a demand for social and economic equality as well. The demand is continually gaining strength and cannot be long denied.

4.66 Education of the Handicapped Children : The data for 1976-77 (not for 1975-76 is not available) shows that we had 267 institutions (260 for boys and 7 for girl) with a total enrolment of 17,852 (12,767 boys and 5,085 girls). The total number of teachers in these institutions was 2199 of whom 857) were women. The programme of scholarships for the handicapped children was expanded during the period under review and more intensive efforts were made for their employment and rehabilitation.

4.67 Education in Rural Areas : The data for 1976-77 (that for 1975-76 is not available) shows that the proportion of educational institutions in rural areas increased at all stages in all sectors. In 1976 77, the total number of educational institutions in rural areas was 564, 576 (out of a total of 651, 299) with an enrolment of 69, 529, 030 (out of the total enrolment of 99, 720, 653).

Work-experience and National Service

4.68 One of the important provisions of the National Policy on Education (1968) was that work experience and social or national service, suited to the age and maturity of children should become an integral part of education at all stages. This was, in fact, a major programme for the radical transformation of the educational system.

4.69 Work-experience : A minor controversy developed over the concept of work-experience put forward by the Education Commission in

lieu of the concept of socially useful productive work introduced in Basic Education. The latter usually took the form, in practice, of teaching a selected craft in the schools. The Commission was of the view that the teaching of crafts was often backward-looking and that a 'forward' look had to be adopted by the introduction of science and technology and by the use of work related to modern industry (i.e. bicycle or radio repairing.) From this point of view, the Commission also recommended that workshops should be attached to all schools or groups of schools and that, even in rural areas, where work-experience would generally be built round agriculture, increasing opportunities should be provided to children to participate in programmes oriented to industry and simple technology. The Commission was also of the view that work experience should include, not only work done on the school premises, but also participation in productive processes in real life situations such as work on farms in factories, or in other production centres. In short, the Commission wanted to go beyond craft-teaching as generally practised in Basic Education. It said: "What is now needed is a re-orientation of basic education programme to the needs of the society that has to be transformed with the help of science and technology. In other words, work-experience should be forward-looking in keeping with the character of the new social order" (Para 8.75). This concept was, however, opposed on the ground that "work-experience" may include all types of activities which may or may not be connected with production and the inculcation of the dignity of manual labour. The whole issue was recently examined by the Ishwarbhai Patel Committee which has redefined the concept of socially useful productive work as follows: "Socially useful productive work may be described as purposive meaningful manual work resulting in either goods or services which are useful to the community. Purposive, productive work and services related to the needs of the child and the community will prove meaningful to the learner. Such work must not be performed mechanically but must include planning, analysis and detailed preparation, at every stage, so that it is educational in essence. Adoption of improved tools and materials, where available, and the adoption of modern technique will lead to an appreciation of the needs of a progressive society, based on technology."[1] This is certainly a progressive definition because it goes beyond the teaching of crafts and incorporates the main points made by the Commission.

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1. Ministry of Education and Social Welfare: *Report on the Review Committee of the Curriculum of the Ten Year School, 1978*, Para 3.3

4.70 The main issue here is not the concept so much as the practical universalization of the programme and its introduction in all schools in an effective manner. From this point of view, the progress made is really disappointing, especially if we remember that Basic Education was introduced forty years ago in 1937 and work-experience ten years ago in 1967. The third Education Survey (1973) gives the field data on the subject (the latest available) which have been summarized below.

(1) **Extent of the Programmes** : Work-experience or craft teaching has been introduced only in about 38 per cent of the schools.

	Number of schools having the programmes of Work-expeience : Craft-teaching	
1. Primary	24,034	132,605
	(5.27)	(25.10)
2. Middle	8,510	31,633
	(9.38)	(34.88)
3. Secondary	8,481	10,604
	(25.61)	(32.2)
4. Higher Secondary	671	5,192
Intermediate	(7.09)	(54.62)
Total	41,669	180,034
	(7.08)	(30.56)

N.B. The Figures in paranthesis denote percentage to the total.

This progress is all the more disappointing if we remember that these arrangements were neither adequate nor satisfactory in a fair proportion of these schools.

(2) **Nature of Activities** : The main activities introduced under work-experience include ; (1) Agriculture/Farming; (2) Book-binding/ Paper-work; (3) Carpentry/wood-work; (4) Drawing/Painting; (5) Electrical

and Mechanical Repairs; (6) Food preparation and preservation; (7) Gradening/Horticulture; (8) Handicraft/Doll-making; (9) Cane and Bamboo work; (10) Mat-making; (11) Needlework/Sewing/knitting; (12) Pot culture/ clay-work; (13) Coir-work/ rope-making and (14) spinning and weaving. The list of crafts taught include : (1) Spinning and Weaving; (2) Agriculture/soil work; (3) Gardening; (4) Wood-work; (5) Home craft; (6) Cardboard/Paper work; (7) Book-binding; (8) Needle work/Sewing/Knitting; (9) Clay-work; (10) Art and craft; (11) Mat-making; (12) Coir-craft; (13) Drawing and Painting; (14) Rope-making; and (15) Cane/Bamboo-work. The close similarity between the two lists is obvious, and the only difference seems to be that certain activities like spinning and weaving are very common under 'craft-teaching' while activities like electrical and mechanical repairs are found only under work-experience.

(3) **Time Allocation** : The time devoted to work-experience or craft teaching was as under :

Time devoted to work in hours per week	Percentage of schools offering	
	Work-experience	Craft-teaching
Up to one hour	8.95	7.71
1.1 to 3.0	48.29	41.80
3.1 to 5.0	18.20	29.17
5.1 to 7.0	22.82	11.22
More than 7 hours	1.74	10.10

On the whole, the basic schools offering craft-teaching give more time to the task than those which offer work-experience.

(4) **Work-shops** : Only 5,380 or 0.91 per cent of the schools had work-shops attached to them; and about half of them stated that the facilities were insufficient.

(5) **Uneven Distribution** : The facilities for work-experience and craft-teaching are very unevenly distributed between the different States and Union territories.

There is unfortunately no data available regarding the quality of the work done, the articles produced, sales, profits made, costs incurred, etc.

Some special studies will have to be organized to examine these issues.[1]

4.71 It is obvious that action on the following lines is called for in the years ahead.

(1) The first task is to review the position in all the schools where work-experience or craft-teaching has been introduced in the light of the concept of socially useful productive work as now defined. Many of these schools are inadequately equipped. They do not teach in accordance with the new concept. Most of them give much less time than they are expected to give to this programme (20 p c. in the primary schools and at least six hours a week in other schools). All these deficiencies should be removed and the quality of the work done should be adequately raised.

(2) The next-and this is the most important—task is to extend the programme to all the schools. Even at the end of 40 years of effort, we have been able to introduce the programme in only 38 p c. of the schools. This shows how long a way we have still to go. It is necessary to draw up a programme of action which will make the practice of socially useful productive work universal in all schools within a period of ten years or so.

When the relative advantages of 'work-experience' and 'socially useful productive work' were being discussed rather heatedly after the Education Commission submitted its Report, Shri G. Ramchandran wrote to me : "Please do not think that by designating the programme as work-experience, you are likely to succeed better than those who tried to put Basic Education across. Those who opposed Basic Education are still there, very much in power. They will throw out-work experience also." That is the crux of the matter. There are strong vested interests which oppose this programme because of traditional entrenched attitudes that denigrate manual labour. This makes the progress of this reform extremely difficult. We have not been able to fight them adequately in the past. How we shall fight them in the future is yet to be seen.

4.72 Social or National Service : The C. D. Deshmukh Committee had recommended that one year's national service on a full-time basis

1. Please see, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare : *work-experiecen in schools*, 1977, for details.

should be made compulsory to every student who had completed the secondary school and that no one should be allowed to join the university unless he puts in such service. The organizational and financial implications of this programme were formidable and that is why the Education Commission recommended the more feasible alternative of making social or national service an obligatory part of education at all stages. There has hardly been any controversy about the desirability of this reform which was accepted by government and included in the National Policy on Education (1968). The main question relates to the manner and extent of its implementation.

4.73 Practically, no meaningful information is available about what is being done in this regard at the school stage. Many schools are operating some concrete programmes in this field and some of them are of high quality. But unfortunately very little is being done to universalize them. It should be a programme of high priority to develop national or social service as an integral part of education in all the schools of the country as soon as possible, especially as the programme does not involve heavy financial inputs.

4.74 The main controversy during the last 12 years or so has been about making national or social service compulsory for all university students. The recommendation led to a debate round the relative merits of military training (NCC), national social service (NSS) and game and sports. After the Chinese aggression, a decision had been taken to make NCC compulsory for all students at the undergraduate stage. This programme needed heavy expenditure and was not progressing satisfactorily It was therefore decided to make NCC voluntary and to provide it to about one-third of the students. It was also decided that NCC may be taken as an approved alternative to NSS and that NSS should be provided only to those students who were not admitted to NCC. But then the question of students who took considerable part in sports, games and cultural activities came up and it was proposed that students participating heavily in such programmes should be exempted from the NSS. In other words, the proposal put forward was that every student at the under-graduate stage should undergo a comparable programme of NCC, NSS or sports and cultural activities. But as resources were limited, it was decided to leave all the programmes optional, i.e. it was open to a student to join any *one* (or even none) of three programmes of NCC, NSS or the sports and cultural activities. This of course is a major modification of the recommendation of the Education Commission.

But it was the best possible thing that could be done under the circumstances and the scheme was introduced in this form by Prof. V.K R.V. Rao as a part of the larger programme of Youth Services he was requested to organize.

4.75 At present the NSS programme is being implemented on a voluntary basis. A student joining the programme is required to do voluntary service of an approved character for 120 hours a year for the first two years of the undergraduate course. A total of about 450,000 students participate in the programme every year in addition to about an equal number of students who participate in the NCC. There is unfortunately no precise estimate of students who participate on a similar basis in sports, games or cultural activities. A scheme under which about 500 graduate students at a time will put in a year of approved national social service (NSVS) has also been introduced recently.

4.76 One point has to be emphasized in this context. The programmes of work-experience and social or national service have a two-fold objective : (1) they benefit the individual and (2) they also help to transform society by inculcating new values. If the programmes are to be implemented on a small scale as they are being implemented at present, there is no doubt that they do some good to a few individual in those institutions where they are being implemented at some reasonable levels of efficiency. But their social objectives will not be realized (i.e. the objectives of making dignity of labour a basic value in society, or bridging the gulf between the educated classes and the people) unless they are implemented on a mass scale, i.e. in every educational instititution and at all stages of education. The Education Commission had placed great emphasis on the social objectives which, of course, will be also helpful in realizing the individual objectives even better. This wider and more fundamental purpose is being lost because the programmes are not made universal. It is therefore extremely urgent that fresh plans should be prepared to implement both these programmes at all stages of education and in all institutions within a period of about ten years.

Vocationalization of Secondary Education

4.77 It was shown in Chapter II that inspite of all the efforts made, the programme of vocationalization of secondary education did not make much headway between 1947 and 1965. The Education Commission attached great significance to this programme and made very radical recommendations which may be summarised as follows.

(1) There is immense scope for the development of certificate and diploma courses in agriculture and industry (as well as in other fields).

(2) In addition to full-time courses of general and vocational education which already exist, it is also necessary to provide part-time and non-formal courses of general and vocational education. These will smoothen the transition from full-time education to full time work by interposing a period of part-time education and part-time work between the two.

(3) At the end of the elementary stage, a certain proportion of the young boys and girls who have completed the elementary course will join secondary schools. The bulk them of will be wanting to study further at the higher secondary stage. But a few of them would not like to do so or cannot afford to do so for economic and social reasons and would prefer to learn some vocation or trade and start earning as soon as possible. For this latter group, the Commission recommended the provision of a variety of vocational courses at the lower secondary stage. The duration of these vocational courses should be of one to three years. The Commission also suggested that an effort should be made to expand these vocational courses in such a way that the enrolment in them would be about 20 p.c. of the total enrolment at the lower secondary stage by 1985-86 (against only 2.2 per cent in 1965-66) : this implied an annual growth rate of about 20 per cent.

(4) A large number of boys will drop out at the end of the elementary stage and will start working on the family farm or in some other industry or even set up a business or trade of their own. A still larger number of girls will drop out and get married, sooner rather than later. The Commission recommended that part-time non-formal education of general or vocational type should be provided to these persons, according to their needs, between the ages of 14-18.

(5) The programmes of full-time vocational education will have to be greatly stepped up at the higher secondary stage, the enrolments therein being increased from 20 per cent. of the total in 1965-66 to 50 per cent. of the total in 1985-86 (this would imply an annual growth rate of about 10 per cent). These courses also

will be of one to three years' duration according to needs. In addition a wide range of part-time courses will have to be offered to those who are already in employment or have left school and desire to improve their qualifications.

In order to develop these programmes on a sustained basis, the Commission also recommended the institution of special grants to State Governments in the Centrally-sponsored sector.

4.78 The main criticism against the proposals of the Commission was that they were unrealistic and impractical. Its estimates of potential employment opportunities available for certificate and diploma holders in agriculture and industry were considered to be too high. It had also underestimated the implications of its proposals for large scale expansion of secondary vocational education in terms of buildings, equipment, teachers and recurring costs. Nor had the Commission given due weight to the difficulties which had really come in the way of the expansion of vocational education in the past and which were still very relevant, viz. (1) the high prestige attached to university education ; (2) the generally lower emoluments available to those who had received vocational education ; (3) the inadequate employment opportunities available, due mainly to the failure to develop agriculture and industry and even to open up adequate avenues of remunerative self-employment ; (4) the lower social status generally given to those who followed vocational courses ; and (5) the unwillingness of students who had completed secondary school (who came mostly from upper and middle class backgrounds and who were not generally exposed to work—experience in their school days) to take to blue—collar occupations. The proposals of the Education Commission were therefore looked upon with great hesitation and consequently the National Policy on Education (1968) gave only two directives : (1) Provision of facilities for secondary vocational education should conform broadly to the needs of the developing economy and the real employment opportunities available; and (2) such facilities should be largely diversified (Para 11 (b) of Para 4).

4.79 The implementation of these recommendations of the Commission was therefore not very happy, partly because of these criticisms, partly because the grants under the centrally-sponsored sector have not yet materialized, and partly because these proposals were linked, quite unnecessarily, with the adoption of the 10+2+3 pattern. The main events

of the period between 1965-66 and 1977-78 in so far as vocationalization of Secondary Education is concerned, may be summarized as follows.

(1) Very little attempt was made to provide additional full-time vocational courses at the lower secondary stage.

(2) Even at the higher secondary stage, the provision of additional full-time facilities in vocational education was very limited (and in some fields there was an actual reduction) mainly because employment opportunities available were very limited and there were indications of serious and growing unemployment among the alumni of vocational institutions [1]

(3) There were no appreciable attempts to develop non formal and part-time programmes of vocational education at the secondary stage.

(4) The only major attempt worth mentioning is that of providing vocational streams at the *plus* two stage. This problem has recently been examined by the Adishesiah Committee which made the following recommendations.

(a) The general education stream of the higher secondary stage should include the study of one language (with 15 p.c. of time allocation), socially useful productive work (with another 15 p.c. of time-allocation) and three electives from the humanities and social and natural sciences (which will take the remaining 70 p.c. of the time). The vocational stream will have the study of one language (with 15 p.c. of time-allocation), a general Foundational course (with another 15 p.c. of time-allocation) and vocational electives (which will take the remaining 70 p.c. of the time, half of it being spent on practical work). By and large, higher secondary schools should provide for both the streams.

(b) There should be no rigid barriers between the general and vocational streams and there should be many cross-over points between the two. Where necessary, bridge courses should be provided.

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1. Unfortunately, owing to a change in the system of classification of vocational and technical institutions, it is not possible to give comparable data for 1965-66 and 1975-76.

(c) The provision of vocational courses should be related closely to employment of self employment opportunities available in the areas concerned. For this, carefully planned local surveys are needed.

(d) Necessary steps should be taken to provide the physical plant, trained teachers, text-books, etc for the vocational streams.

(e) Vocational courses should be popularised through better opportunities for vertical mobility and preference in recruiting policies of governments.[1]

The programme has naturally run into several difficulties which were not unexpected. The basic problem is that, in the present situation, very few students opt for vocational courses. Consequently, most of the higher secondary schools run only the general education stream. Another difficulty is that the necessary vocational surveys and man-power studies at the district level are not yet available so that the planning of the vocational courses is far from easy. The high cost involved in setting up vocational courses is yet another deterrent to schools in providing them. The difficulties of securing teachers, text-books, etc. are still formidable. Careful and detailed plans for adequate and proper development of the vocational courses are prepared only in a few States, and the experience of their implementation is not very encouraging, All things considered, one finds that the teething troubles of vocational courses at the secondary stage are far from over and that their popularity is very thin at the moment. They have yet to enjoy the best education for other people's children. One must, therefore, wait and see how the situtation improves and how the incentives and inter-linkages recommended by the Adishesiah Committee help in the process. One must also watch carefully the extent to which these vocational courses really prove to be terminal and help the students to get employment or self-employment.

The problem of vocationalization of secondary education has therefore made only a limited progress in the last twelve years due to all these difficulties. This is obviously one of the toughest nuts one has to crack in Indian education and there is so little of research and experimentation to help us. The guidance provided by the Education Commission has, at best, been of limited use ; and this, therefore, is one area where a good deal of fresh thinking needs to be done in the years ahead.

1. Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, '*Learning to do*' New Delhi, 1978.

Identification of Talent

4.80 The Education Commission held the view that the identification and development of talent should be a major objective of the national system of education. This view was accepted and has also been included in the National Policy on Education (1968).

4.81 The Commission made the following major recommendations on the subject :—

(1) At every stage of education, there should be a nation-wide effort to identify talent and to help talented students to continue their education at the next stage.

(2) There should be special efforts at all stages of education and in all institutions to develop talent through enrichment programmes, individual guidance and other suitable measures.

(3) A large scale provision of scholarships is necessary for this programme at all stages. For instance, by 1975-76, scholarships should be provided for 2.5 p.c. of the enrolment at the middle school stage, 10 p.c. of the students at the secondary stage, 15 p c. of the students at the undergraduate stage, and 25. p c. of the enrolment at the post-graduate stage. There should also be a small programme of giving scholarships to students to go abroad for higher studies.

(4) But scholarships alone will not help. It is necessary to have a programme of maintaining good schools, to place scholarship holders in these good schools, and to give these students all the needed personal guidance and assistance.

(5) The methods for the award of scholarships need to be overhauled to ensure that social justice is done and talent from all the different fields is identified and assisted.

Unfortunately, these radical proposals were neither included in the National Policy on Education (1968), nor implemented.

4.82 Only two new schemes were introduced during the period under review in response to the recommendations of the Education Commission. The first is the scheme of national scholarships at the secondary stage for talented children from rural areas. This scheme was introduced

by Prof. V.K R.V. Rao in 1971-72 and it began by giving two scholarships for community development to talented children at the end of the elementary stage to enable them to study further in good secondary schools. At present about 20,000 awards are made under this scheme (at the rate of four scholarships per Community Development Block). The second is the scheme for scholarships for study abroad which was introduced by Prof. S. Nurul Hasan. At present 50 scholarships are earmarked every year and are normally available for post-graduate studies leading to the Ph. D degree and post doctoral research or specialized training.

4.83 For the rest, all that has been done during the period under review is to continue the existing programmes of scholarships with minor changes i.e. increase in numbers or amount (due to rise in prices). The following data will bear this out.

	No. of scholarships awarded in	
	1968-69	*1977-78*
1. National Scholarships (from 1961)	8,250	19,000
2. National Loan Scholarships (form 1963-64)	14,825	20,000
3. National Scholarships for children of primary and secondary school teachers (from 1961)	500	750
4. Scholarships in approved Residential Secondary schools	200	449

4.84 For the years ahead, two main programmes stand out. The first is the implementation of the comprehensive recommendations made by the Education Commission; and the second is to provide assistance to economically handicapped students who do not belong to scheduled castes or tribes. A nation which does not cultivate intelligence, said White-head, is doomed. We have neglected the programme through out the post-independence period and its evil consequences are now seen in the shortage of top-level people in every walk of life. We cannot afford to continue to ignore the programme any longer.

Programmes of Qualitative Improvement

4.85 It is a pity that programmes of qualitative improvement were generally neglected between 1947 and 1965, as the bulk of the available resources were used for expansion of educational facilities. The Education Commission gave very high priority to qualitative improvement and made several important recommendations which have already been summarized in Chapter III. Unfortunately, these were also not highlighted in the National Policy on Education (1968) which only made some reference to (1) professional training of school teachers (sub-para (2) (c) of Para 4), production of books (sub-para (9) of Para 4), examination reform (sub para (10) of Para 4), improvement of higher education through centres of Advanced Study and promotion of research (sub-paras (12) (c), (d) and (e) of Para 4) and games and sports (Sub-para (15) of Para 4) Even if these had been fully implemented (which they were not) the situation in regard to standards would not have improved materially.

4.86 Production of books : The provisions of the National Policy on Education (1968) on the professional training of school teachers have already been discussed earlier. With regard to production of books for the school and university stages, the Policy Statement makes a number of suggestions which were followed up during the period under review.

(1) The idea that production of text-books for schools should be entrusted to autonomous corporations functioning on commercial lines has been partially implemented. The State Governments have, in almost all cases, taken over the responsibility for production of school books. In some areas, this is done by autonomous corporations while in others, it is managed directly by a government agency. The results have, on the whole, been beneficial in terms of raising quality and reducing prices, although difficulties like inadequate supplies or non-availability in time still continue to plague the activity from time to time.

(2) The idea of having a few basic text-books used in all parts of the country has not worked. But the efforts of the National Council of Educational Research and Training in preparing model text-books which can be adopted/adapted by the State Governments is yielding dividends ; and some common approaches have started becoming popular.

(3) A programme of children's books was developed under the National Book Trust. It also received considerable impetus

under non-official agencies like the Children's Book Trust and under private publishers who brought out a large number of publications in the regional languages.

(4) Several programmes were developed, during the period under review, to make cheap editions of standard university level text-books available to Indian students in collaboration with the Governments of the UK, the USA and the USSR. About 680 British, 1600 American and 320 Russian titles were published. Besides, a scheme was formulated for subsidizing books of Indian authors and more than 250 titles were published under it

(5) An account of the programme of producing university level books in regional languages has been given earlier.

On the whole this programme, which was initiated between 1947 and 1965, made considerable progress during the period under review. One great bottleneck was the comparatively limited effort made by Indian academics to write standard text-books in different areas, especially in the technical ones, which made for continued over-independence on foreign enterprise in this sector.

Examination Reform

4.87 Over-dominance by external examinations was one of the major weaknesses of the educational system we inherited in 1947. A view therefore gained ground that examination reform had a key role to play and that it could be the instrument of reforming the educational system as a whole. Between 1947 and 1965, several intensive efforts were made for reforming examinations. At the school stage, the programme was initiated in the Ministry of Education which set up a Central Examination Unit (1958) which, in its turn, was followed by the establishment of State Evaluation Units. They did considerable useful work with the Boards of Secondary Education. At the university stage, the initiative came from the UGC but little progress was made. The Education Commission observed that this was 'one of those areas in education about which one can say that the problem is known, its significance is realized and the broad lines of solution are also known ; but for some reason or the other, an effort to implement the programme on any worth while scale has not yet been made' (para 11.52). The only silver lining on the scene was new institutions like the IITs which abolished external examinations altogether and created a new tradition on the Indian soil.

4.88 The Education Commission examined the issue and recommended a three-fold strategy.

(1) Autonomous institutions should be created, both at the school and university stages, so that the external examinations are gradually abolished.

(2) The system of full internal assessment should be introduced and such assessment should not be mixed with the external examination. The result of both internal and external assessments should be kept separate and given to the student. This measure will gradually familiarize the public, teachers and students with internal assessment and create an atmosphere in which external examinations could ultimately be abolished.

(3) Since external examinations will remain with us for a long time, an effort should be made to improve them. The UGC should set up a central agency for the purpose, initiate the programme in a big way in a few selected universities in the first instance and then extend it to the others in due course, and train teachers in the new techniques of evaluation. The work already initiated at the school stage should be expanded.

(4) Remuneration to examiners, which has become a vested interest that obstructs all attempts at reform, should be abolished.

4.89 The National Policy on Education (1968) made an innocuous, non-controversial recommendation on the subject emphasizing reform of external examinations and the increased use of internal assessment. But it made no reference to the controversial subject of the abolition of remuneration for examiners.

4.90 The implementation of these recommendations of the Education Commission during the period under review was rather perfunctory. The UGC did support the programme to a considerable extent but it did not make much headway. No one took up the proposal to abolish remuneration for examiners although the new scales of pay to which it was linked were implemented. The programme at the school stage went on but did not achieve any spectacular results. The attempts to give autonomous status to schools and colleges succeeded only in a handful of cases : and the bold proposal of the Commission to develop a parallel programme of hundred per cent internal assessment was not tried at all. What was generally done was to mix up internal and

external assessment. This attempt was an open invitation to dishonesty and generally failed.

4.91 In the meanwhile, the problems became more complex and difficult. On the one hand, the importance of examinations increased several times. On the other, the teaching learning process began to collapse in several situations due to disturbances, lack of motivation among students and lack of competence among teachers. This widening gap between the falling levels of teaching-learning and the rising importance of examinations made the students resort to malpractices; and these increased continually as the educational system grew in size and the Boards and universities became increasingly less competent to manage the examinations in time or with efficiency. Today, the evils of mass copying have become endemic and reached such proportions in certain parts that the external examinations have become a mockery and the question of their reform has become essentially a law and order problem rather than a technical issue. One can say that, for all the work on examination reform, the over-all situation had more evils in 1977 than in 1947.

4.92 **Improvement of standards in higher education.** The National Policy on Education (1968) emphasized the improvement of standards in post-graduate education and research. The efforts of the UGC, during the period under review, were largely concentrated in this area and there is no doubt that a good deal of useful work was done through the development of the teaching departments of universities which did the bulk of postgraduate teaching and research. On the other hand, the standards also declined because the development programmes were located, particularly in the humanities and social sciences, in a number of sub-standard colleges.

4.93 The programme of the Centres of Advanced Study did not make adequate progress. By and large, the universities were more keen to spread available resources over a wide area than concentrate them at a few points to improve quality.

4.94 In the fourth and the fifth plans, the UGC started a fairly large programme of encouraging research in university departments and in colleges. The Government of India also established the Indian Council of Social Science Research to promote research in Social Sciences and the Indian Council of Historical Research to promote research in history. On the whole, the research activity gained in quantity as well as in quality.

4.95 Games and Sports : A programme of encouraging physical education, *yoga*, games and sports had been initiated between 1947 and 1965. The National Policy on Education (1968) laid great emphasis on this programme, partly as a reaction to Indian's poor performance in international sports. However, the attempts to organise a programme for the development of sports in conformity with this directive were far too inadequate. For instance, the scholarships given to talented students in sports and games numbered only 400 at the national level and only 800 at the State level. The Netaji Subhas National Institute of Sports at Patiala trained coaches and the Laxmibai National College of Physical Education trained teachers or teacher-educators for physical education. Provision for proper teaching of games, sports and physical education was made in an increassing number of schools and colleges. The position regarding provision of playgrounds, however, remained generally unsatisfactory and not much improvement could be made due to lack of resources. Grants continued to be given to National Sports Federations and to State Councils for Sports and Physical Education ; and Sports and tournaments were continued to be held at various levels. While these events made some impact at the national level, India's position in the world of international sports continued to decline.

4.96 All things considered, it may be said that the programmes of qualitative improvement were, by and large, neglected between 1965-66 and 1977-78. It is true that a good deal of useful work was done and that, in a small proportation of institutions, standards were maintained even improved. But they generelly declined in the very lage number of institutions which came at the tail end. The deterioration was also accelerated by the increasing incidence of indiscipline and unrest, frequent closure of institutions, the increasing collapse of the teaching learning process and the loss of sanctity of external public examinations.

Science Education and Research

4 97 The policies initiated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru under the Science Policy Resolution (1958) were endorsed by the Education Commission and the National Policy on Education (1968) and were continued during the period under review. There was a sustained effort to make science and mathematics an integral part of education till the end of Class X and the facilities for the teaching of science at the school stages were expanded and improved. Science education at the university stage also made considerable progress and by the end of the period under review, India came to have the third largest stock of scientific and technical

man-power in the world. Scientific research made considerable progress, especially in the direction of acquiring an indigenous capability. This was obvicusly one of the areas where the country had made considerable progress, although it still had a long, long way to go. The one important innovation made in this period was the promotion of research in Social Sciences. Professor V.K.R.V. Rao established the Indian Council of Social Science Reserch and Professor S. Nurul Hasan established the Indian Council of Historical Research.

Education for Agriculture and Industry

4.98 The Commission had emphasized education for agriculture and industry and made several important recommendations for its expansion and improvement. The National Policy on Education (1968) however picked up only a few of these recommendations (and not necessarily the most important ones) for emphasis and implementation.

4.99 The programme of establishing agricultural universities (with the ultimate objective of establishing one agricultural university in every State) was pursued during the period under review; and thanks to the leadership and assistance provided by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the agricultural universities made good progress and valuable contributions to the development of agriculture. It was however decided that while adequate facilities for education, research and extension should be developed in every State, it may not be necessary to establish an agricultural university in every State. Even though the programme was not mentioned in the National Policy on Education (1968), the scheme of agricultural polytechnics (now called Krishi Vigyan Kendras) was initiated and developed. The programme of promoting studies in argriculture in other universities and building up a closer linkage between them and the agricultural universities did not, however, make much headway.

4.100 By 1965-66, there was a depression in industry and large scale unemployment among trained personnel for industry at all levels (i.e. at the level of ITIs, Junior Technical Schools, Polytechnics and Engineering Colleges). The programmes of expansion were therefore ruled out. In fact, admission to all these institutions had to be drastically cut down. The main programmes developed therefore were those of apprenticeship training for graduates and diploma-holders, qualitative improvement (including diversification of courses, curriculum development, training of Faculty and consolidation), and post-graduate studies and research. The Indian Institutes of Technology continued to make good progress,

especially in the development of research and building up closer liaison with industry. A new Institute of Management, the third of its type, was established at Bangalore.

Pre-School Education

4.101 The Education Commission had made several important recommendations regarding pre-school education. But as these found no place in the National Policy on Education (1968), the small programme developed between 1947 and 1965 was continued without any major modifications. As one of its preparations for the fifth plan, the CABE set up a Study Group on the Development of the Pre-school Child (1972) under the Chairmanship of Smt. Mina Swaminathan. It made a number of useful recommendations for the development of integrated services (including education, health. nutrition and welfare) for the pre-school child and suggested that these services may be provided to about 10 per cent of the children of the age-group (i.e. 5 million children) by 1981 as against the provision of about one million or 2 per cent of the children which existed in 1971. Unfortunately, these proposals were shelved for want of funds and not much could be done for the development of pre-school education during the period under review.

Finance

4.102 The National Policy on Education (1968) had promised to raise the total investment in education to six per cent of the national income as early as possible (as against the Education Commission proposal to reach this level by 1985-86). While there was considerable increase in educational expenditure between 1965-66 and 1975-76 due to inflation, it nowhere reached the levels promised by Government. The following data will bear this out.

	Total Education expenditure in (Rs. millions)	
	1965-66	1975-76
1. Higher Education (including Examination Boards)	1,318,062 (21.2)	4,877,985 (23.2)
2. Secondary Education	1,376,926 (22.1)	4,935,622 (23.5)

3.	Elementary Education (including pre-school)	2,141,454 (34.5)	7,905,838 (37.6)
4.	Vocational Schools	76,411 (1.2)	134,252 (0.6)
5.	Other schools	24,860 (0.4)	71,482 (0.3)
6.	Indirect	1,282,323 (20.6)	3,121,851 (14.8)
	Total	6,220,236 (100.0)	21,047,030 (100.0)

In 1965-66, the total educational expenditure was only 3.01 per cent of the national income (Rs. 306,170 million) at current prices. In 1975-76, it had increased only to 3.42 per cent of the national income (Rs. 616,090 million) at current prices. In fact, the additional financial effort made between 1965-66 and 1977-78 was even smaller than that between 1947 and 1965. This performance of India does not also compare well with that of other countries. Unesco data shows that, between 1965 and 1974, the world expenditures on education increased from 4.9 per cent to 5.5 per cent. The corresponding figures for developed countries were 5.2 per cent and 5.7 per cent ; and those for developing countries were 3.0 per cent and 3.9 per cent.

General Conclusions

4.103 What are the broad conclusions that we can draw from this experience of a decade in implementing the National Policy on Education (1968) ?

4.104 It was pointed out in Chapter III that the National Policy on Education (1968) was a conservative document which mostly tried to codify existing policies rather than make any radical departures to create a national system of education. Between 1965-66 and 1977-78, therefore, the policies of the earlier period were continued with some modifications. New initiatives or bolder measures appeared only in the following instances.

(1) **Teachers, Salaries.** The policy was pursued more vigorously during the period under review and there was a substantial improvement in the remuneration of teachers, especially at the university stage.

(2) **Pattern of School and College Classes.** The confusion prevailing earlier was ended ; a clear cut decision was taken ; and a vigorous attempt was made to implement the 10+2+3 pattern of school and college classes.

(3) **Language Policy.** For the first time since independence, a vigorous attempt to adopt the regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage was initiated.

(4) **Work-experience and Social or National Service.** A policy of making work-experience and social or national service an integral part of education at all stages was initiated, although the progress was slow. A national service scheme, on a voluntay basis, was initiated at the university stage for the first time.

(5) **Scholarhsips.** Scholarships for talented students in rural areas and for study abroad were introduced.

(6) **Research.** Research in social sciences was promoted.

(7) **Agricultural Polytechnics.** The Scheme of Krishi Vigyan Kendras was initiated.

This is not much of a gain if all the hopes aroused by the Education Commission are taken into account. This is not also much of an advance towards the creation of a national system of education since the major recommendations of the Education Commission in this regard were not accepted. Shri M.C. Chagla described the Education Commission as the Magna Charta of Teachers and a future historian of education may even regard it as the Commission on the medium of instruction at the university stage. These are the two areas in which the achievements of the Commission were really worthwhile.

4.105 The main reasons responsible for this poor implementation of the National Policy on Education (1968) and the overall unsatisfactory educational progress are

- the generally adverse economic and social conditions ;
- the failure of the Central and State Governments to give adequate priority to education ;

—the total rejection of several major recommendations of the Education Commission which could have made an impact on the situation 3 ;

—the failure of educational administration, teachers and students on whom the Commission had relied as principal change agents to rise to the occasion ; and

—lack of strong public demand for a radical reconstruction of education and support for the political and social workers.

Both the report of the Education Commission (1964-66) and the basically conservative National Policy on Education (1968) had became dated by this time. It, therefore, became obvious that there was an urgent need to review all the educational developments since 1947, to enumerate a new National Policy on Education which could meet the challenges of the situation more adequately, and to prepare a new perspective of educational development spread over the next two decades or so, say between 1980 and 2000. It is to these tasks to which Dr. P. C. Chunder the present Union Education Minister and the Janata Government are addressing themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

A LOOK AHEAD

5.01 In the preceding four Chapters, we have reviewed the evolution of the role of the Government of India in education between 1833 and 1978 and the development of education in the country since the attainment of independence, and especially the formulation and implementation of the National Policy on Education (1968). In this concluding Chapter, we shall attempt to highlight the lessons which this valuable experience has for the future development of education in the country, say, between 1981 and 2000.

5.02 For a proper development of education, we need three sets of decuments :

—A Statement on the National Policy on Education ;

—A detailed Plan of Action based on a fairly long-term perspective ; and

—Short-term annual and quinquennial plans.

The last set of documents becomes available in the ordinary course of administration. But special efforts are needed for the first two sets; and it is the issues relating to these two alone that we propose to discuss.

A National Policy on Education

5.03 In a vast and plural country like India which is committed to a participative democracy as a way of life, the national system of education will have to be:

—highly decentralized with the involvement of the Central and State Governments, local authorities at District levels and local communities,

—highly deconcentrated by making due provision for the autonomy of universities (which should share it with the Departments and Colleges) and for adequate freedom to schools and teachers to experiment and innovate, and

—highly diversified and elastic to suit the immense variations between the different parts of the country and the specific needs of different social groups.

Such a system cannot function unless there is a common thread which runs through it and gives it an identity and an essential unity of purpose. In other words, in education, as in Indian life as a whole, we have to continually search for the discovery and effective realization of 'a unity in diversity'. The need and significance of a National Policy on Education thus becomes obvious. It alone can provide the fundamental unity in terms of a basic structure, objectives and major programmes of the education system which would give it a national identity and a specific direction and purpose in the best interests of the country, even while permitting (and even encouraging) the utmost diversity possible to suit the specific needs of different regions and social groups. That is why the practice of issuing periodical statements on national policies in education has been well-established in our educational history and is as old as the Central Government itself. Experience has also shown that such statements on National Policy do serve the useful purpose of educating public opinion and providing guidance to State Governments, local authorities, voluntary associations, educational institutions, teachers, students, educational administrators and all such individuals and organizations who have to cooperate and collaborate in the immense effort to create a national system of education. We therefore welcome the decision of the Government of India to keep up this practice of issuing periodical statements on the National Policy on Education (which was revived in 1953 after 55 years).

5.04 There are three specific issues that deserve a closer examination in this context. The first relates to the nature of these statements on National Policy on Education. As explained in Chapter III, they should take a national, long-term, coordinated and integrated view of education. They should be brief and confine themselves only to principles and broad outlines of the programmes so that a unity of perspective, direction and purpose is maintained without putting undue constraints on the wide diversity in matters of detail that is equally essential.

5.05 The second issue relates to the wide publicity which must be given to all statements on the National Policy on Education and which was not really given to the National Policy on Education (1968) much to its disadvantage. Let us not forget that a statement on the National Policy on Education should be looked upon as a sheet anchor of a nationwide movement for educational and socio-economic transformation. It is "national", not because it is formulated by the Central Government, but because it represents a national concensus on what is to be done, how

and in what time and because it is symbolic of the nation's dedication and commitment to strive its best for the implementation of its programmes and the realization of its goals. It is therefore essential to give the widest possible publicity to the statements on the National Policy on Education. From this point of view, the following suggestions can be put forward:

(1) All the State Legislatures should be requested to discuss these statements and to adopt them with such changes to suit local conditions as may be found necessary. After all, the most effective agencies to implement the National Policy are the State Governments; and we must make them conscious of the issues involved and commit them to the broad solutions proposed. It is mainly the commitment at the State levels that will ensure the implementation of the proposals.

(2) The statements should be translated and published in all the regional languages. The debate on these issues must be taken to the people through their own languages. So long as the debate is confined to those who know English, it would be next to impossible to take the hard decisions needed on many of our complex problems.

(3) The statements should get into the training programmes of all educational administrators and teachers. Adequate steps should be taken to bring it to the notice of all educational institutions, teachers and students.

The need for such wide and sustained publicity compaigns to secure a nations's commitment to the proposed policies and its help, to implement them better is obvious.

5.06 The third issue relates to the National and State Education Acts. The Education Commission (1964-66) recommended that the possibility of passing a National Education Act should be explored.

It is possible to do so now because Education is in the concurrent list. There are only a few basic educational issues that can be solved through legislation while others, which need an essentially dynamic treatment would even be harmed by legislation which would tend to make things immobile. All the same, there are a few issues like academic freedom of teachers which would gain substantially by being given a statutory basis. We therefore recommend that the Ministry of Education should set up a high-level committee to examine this issue in all its aspects and to bring forward, at an early date, a comprehensive National Education Bill.

Before submitting it to Parliament, it should be widely publicized for eliciting public opinion.

5.07 The Education Commission (1964-66) also recommended that each State should have a comprehensive law to give statutory basis to education most of which is now administered in an *ad hoc* fashion and under executive orders. This is a very important recommendation that has remained unimplemented so far. We recommend that it should be vigorously pursued now and such laws on education should be placed on the Statute books of all States before the end of the sixth plan.

5.08 The Government of India has a crucial role to play in the formulation and implementation of a national policy on education, and in the creation of a national system of education, if the changes visualized in the educational or socio- economic transformation are to be brought about in a peaceful manner. It can provide the essential focal point to the movement, the bulk of the resources needed, and the necessary dynamic leadership, both on the political and bureaucratic fronts. It can pressurize, and where necessary, assist the State Governments to do their best in their own areas so that they, in their turn, can also play a similar role in respect of the local bodies and communities. It alone can monitor the progress of the movement from time to time, assess its strengths and weaknesses and thus lay the foundation for timely remedial actions. This is no small responsibility by any standards; and this is why education must always be a serious and continuing national concern, while it may or may not be in the concurrent list.

5.09 We are happy to note that the Government of India has published the draft of a new National Policy on Education (1979). We hope that this will be widely publicized as indicated above and eventually finalized as the Policy Statement to cover the next two decades (1981-2000).

A Long-term Perspective Plan of Educational Development

5.10 While a National Policy on Education is *necessary*, it is not *sufficient* to create a national system of education. We will have to supplement the statement on the National Policy on Education with a long-term perspective plan of educational development which will show how the objectives and broad programmes given in the national policy are to be translated in actual practice. As things stand now, all our long-term perspective plans have almost run out or become dated: the Post-war Plan

of Educational Development (1944-84) and the Perspective of Long-term Educational Development prepared by the Education Commission (1966-86). It is therefore extremely desirable that we should now prepare another long-term perspective of educational development to cover the next two decades. Such a measure is fully justified by past experience. For instance, between 1947 and 1965, we did not have either a Policy Statement or a long-term perspective on educational development. We, therefore, worked only on the basis of five-year and annual plans and our review has shown that our over-all achievements during this period were adversely affected by the absence of a Policy Statement as well as of a long-term perspective. Between 1967 and 1978, we had the National Policy on Education (1968) as well as a long-term perspective of educational development (1966-86) prepared by the Education Commission. Our educational performance did not however show any improvement because, as shown earlier, there were several weaknesses in the National Policy on Education (1968) and because the major recommendations of the Education Commission which could have made an impact on the over-all situation were totally disregarded. For proper educational development over the next two decades, therefore, we need a bold and radical statement on the national policy on education, and also a detailed, comprehensive and radical plan of action to cover the period 1981-2000. The steps for the preparation of the first of these documents have already been initiated. We strongly urge that steps for the preparation of the second document also should be initiated at an early date.

The Developmental Perspective

5.11 In the Report of the University Education Commission (1948-49), a view was taken that it is the responsibility of the education system to complete and consolidate the changes which the political system has decided upon with regard to the future of the country. The Commission therefore took considerable pains (Chapter II) to discuss how university education should help in creating the new society referred to in the Preamble to the Constitution. The Education Commission (1964-66), on the other hand, took a different view. It said that we should bring about an educational revolution first which, in its turn, will trigger off the socio-economic revolution we need. The experience of the last ten years in implementing the recommendations of the Education Commission has shown that we cannot create the educational revolution we need without making at least simultaneous and corresponding changes within the social

system itself. This became very evident in relation to programmes of educational transformation which the Education Commission had recommended and to which it had given the highest priority (i.e. the common school system): they could not be implemented or we could not have the best out of them within the existing social structure. A major lesson of all this experience is that we cannot plan education in a vacuum and that a perspective of educational development over the next two decades can only be drawn up against the backdrop of an over-all developmental perspective for the same period.

5.12 Our review of the educational developments during the last three decades (Chapter II & III) highlights the point that our developmental perspective has been, on the whole, unsatisfactory. In spite of all the talk of socialism on the one hand and the Gandhian way of life on the other, we have pursued an evolutionary and reformist policy in the over-all context of a mixed economy. The pace of development has been slow; and while the upper and middle classes have received considerable benefits, development has generally bypassed the masses of people who continue to be deprived of most good things of life. The creation of a national system of education suited to the life, needs and aspirations of the people is probably not possible within the constraints of this over-all developmental perspective. It is also a matter for regret that no adequate steps were taken even to exploit all the available space within this perspective.

5.13 The best thing we can therefore do is to abandon the gradual, reformist and essentially capitalist perspective we have adopted in development during the last 30 years and undertake more radical direct efforts to create an egalitarian or a socialist society. This will greatly help to effect corresponding changes within the national system of education. If a radical change of this type were not feasible at the moment, we should at least strive to exploit all the possibilities within the existing system to ensure a better and juster deal to the poor. This will, at the very least, imply a reduction in the consumption levels of the haves and a simultaneous effort to improve the standards of living of the poor.

5.14 Perhaps one can see the best exposition of (1) the relationship between educational and social transformation, (2) of the need of pursuing them together, and (3) of the types of progammes that need to be developed in this national movement for simultaneous educational and social transformation, in the following passage from *Education for Our People*.

> "2.11 What is the precise relationship between educational and social transformation? The most commonly accepted view

romanticizes the relationship and argues that we must begin with a radical transformation in education which, in its turn, will bring about a radical transformation in society. On the other hand, there is also a view that the social structure will always be reflected within the education system which it dominates so that no worthwhile educational reform is possible unless a social revolution is first brought about. The truth is probably neither so simple nor so direct. The educational system has a duty to make a critical analysis of the social system, to focus attention on its internal contradictions and on the gap between slogans and practice, and to highlight the need for structural changes, where necessary, including those needed within the educational system itself. Education can thus play a useful role in promoting the desire for a radical social change and also help in deciding the nature of such change as well as the manner of bringing it about. Similarly, education is essential to complete and consolidate a social change decided and implemented through political means, whether by bullets or by ballot. The education system can also remedy social deficiencies which are due to educational factors. But it can have little effect on social deficiencies elsewhere, say, in the economic or political sub-systems. We must also remember that while it is comparatively easy to introduce educational reforms that support the existing social structure, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement redical educational reforms which threaten the existing social structure or run counter to its imperatives. All things considered, it appears that, if we desire to get out of this vicious circle wherein an inegalitarian society creates an inegalitarian educational system and *vice-versa*, we must mount a big offensive on both social and educational fronts.

2.12 The major implications of this proposal, for both social and educational reforms, can be briefly indicated—

(1) In *society*, the basic minimum change required is to narrow down the existing wide gap between the life-styles and standards of living of the upper and middle classes and the common people by,

—eliminating or at least minimising all direct and indirect forms of exploitation ;

—imposing limits and curbs on the consumption of the rich and the well-to-do through a modification of the existing arbitrary and inegalitarian wage-structure and other allied measures ;

—ensuring a basic minimum standard of living to the people through (a) an emphasis on increased production of goods and services needed by the common man, (b) a guarantee of employment at a reasonable wage to all able-bodied persons who are willing to work, and (c) the organisation of an efficient and nation-wide public distribution system of food-stuffs and other essential commodities.

An important implication of this policy will be to reduce the wide gulf between urban and rural areas and to improve the standards of living of the rural people, especially of agricultural labour and small and marginal farmers.

(2) In *education*, the corresponding basic minimum change required is to make common people, rather than the upper and middle classes, the principal beneficiaries of the educational system. This will imply among other things,

—giving the highest priority to the programmes for the education of the common people such as adult education (including liquidation of illiteracy, non-formal education of out-of-school youth) and universal elementary education including the adoption of the common school system ;

—utilising the bulk of resources available for programmes for the education of the people so that they, and not secondary and higher education, receive the larger share of total educational expenditure ;

—changing the basic values underlying the system and orienting them to common people instead of the upper and middle classes ;

—adopting the regional languages as media of instruction at all stages ;

—transforming the content of education to suit the ethos of work and production and the imperatives of national development ;

—improving the access of students from economically handicapped groups to secondary and higher education and taking suitable measures for optimizing their performance ;

—eliminating or reducing the subsidies in secondary and higher education that now go to the upper and middle classes ;

—increasing financial support to deserving students from deprived social groups ; and

—restructuring educational administration on the basis of decentralisation of decision-making authority so that the common people are

actively involved in planning and implementation of their own educational programmes.

A major reason for our failure to bring about a radical reconstruction of educational system in the past has been the fact that we have ignored the close relationship between social and educational transformation and the consequent need for a simultaneous effort on both the fronts. The most significant aspect of our future strategy of educational development should, therefore, be to plan and implement a radical, simultaneous and complementary programme of social and educational reform."[1]

The Educational Perspective

5.15 Within the long-term perspective of educational development (1981-2000), to the discussion of which we shall now turn, we shall deal only with three aspects of the situation, viz., (1) what are the problems and the nature of their tentative solutions highlighted by our past experience? (2) What are the major gaps in our knowledge or in the machinery of implementation? and (3) What are the special issues we will have to concentrate on in the days ahead ?

5.16 *State Level Educational Perspectives:* The one thing that stands out most conspicuously from our experience of the past is that, although the level from which educational plans can be most effectively implemented is the State level, the planning mechanisms are still very weak at this level and that no State has yet been able to prepare a long-term perspective plan of educational development. This is a great handicap for practical, day-to-day administration because, while the national policies can provide some guidance to the State Governments, the national plans of perspective development cannot provide a similar service and there is no escape from each State preparing its own long-term perspective plans of educational development suited to its own unique local conditions. The task to be undertaken now is therefore several-fold: we have not only to prepare a long-term perspective plan of educational development (1981-2000) for the nation as a whole but also similar complementary plans of perspective educational development for each State and Union Territory to cover the same period. If undertaken immediately in earnest, all these should be available in good time when work on the seventh plan will start (1981-82) and when also a new Lok Sabha would have come into existence.

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[1] Citizens for Democracy—*Education for Our People*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1977, Paras 2.11-2.12.

5.17 Expansion of Secondary and Higher Education Our review of educational developments since 1947 brings out another thing very forcibly: the most conspicuous aspect of educational development during the last 30 years is the uncontrolled expansion of secondary and higher education and the policy of open-door access which we have adopted at these stages. It is this basic policy that has upset all our plans of mass education and balanced educational development, loaded the society with educated unemployment on an unprecedented scale (with all its consequences), and created a first-rate crisis in the system of higher education which is having an adverse effect, not only on university education, but on all education. Unless we tackle this basic issue satisfactorily, no radical changes are possible within the educational system. There is, however, no concensus on this issue. A strong section among the academics and the backward classes hold the view that expansion of secondary and higher education is a powerful tool of social change and transformation, that it is also the principal means of vertical mobility for the lower classes and poor people, that even educated unemployment is a blessing in disguise because it creates powerful pressures for social transformation, that no attempt should be made to control this expansion in any way, that no selective admissions should be adopted except at the post-graduate level and that every positive step should be taken to accelerate the expansion of secondary and higher education in the days ahead. They also point out that, inspite of all the expansion achieved so for, India cannot by any means be described as an over-educated country and that our stocks of educated manpower are still very much on the low side in comparison with the developed countries. It is also argued that we should separate the problem of employment from that of education and deal with it separately, as an economic issue, under plans of guaranteed employment to all adult citizens who are willing to work for eight hours a day, and not worry too much over educated unemployment or the process under which education converts rural, uneducated unemployment or under-employment (which is mute, unorganized and without a nuisance value) into urban, educated unemployment (which is vocal and organised, and has great nuisance value). The majority of politicians go with this view because it is expedient and also because it is very difficult and even dangerous to adopt the opposite stance. Under these circumstances, the first step indicated is to have a detailed dialogue between academics, the representatives of the backward classes, and the politicians to decide whether a regulation of the expansion of secondary and higher education is needed at all or not and if so, the form that it should take.

5.18 What is the proper forum where a decision on this issue (and other similar issues) can and should be taken? So far, the only forum we have used for the purpose is the Central Advisory Board of Education. Our experience of the past is that this is a weak forum. The Education Ministers do not generally belong to the political heavy-weight category. In the Board, they admit that they are helpless to protect education adequately at the state level and request the Board to strengthen their hands against their own government. The resolutions of the Board, therefore, often remain unimplemented at the hands of the same Education Ministers who proposed and adopted them. We do not mean to say that the Board has no utility. On the other hand, it is an important instrument for the implementation of National Policies on Education and should be fully utilized for all that it can achieve. Our only point is that, for major policy issues and especially for those that affect society and education (or their mutual relationship), we must seek the help of other appropriate forums, just as we are using the Parliament and the State Legislatures for the formulation of the National Policy on Education (It would not be worth the paper it is printed on if it were to be a CABE document).

5.19 Our strong recommendation is that we should develop another and a more powerful forum which can meet when necessary and discuss major policy issues about education, viz., a conference of Chief Ministers of States convened by the Prime Minister (and also attended by all Education Ministers—Centre and States) and all Education Secretaries and Directors of Education. This issue about the regulation of the expansion of secondary and higher education is a highly political issue which should be discussed in such a conference rather than in the CABE. We know that the Prime Minister convenes conferences of Chief Ministers umpteen times and for consideration of almost every issue under the sun. But never have Conferences of Chief Ministers been called to discuss basic educational issues. This is a weakness in our administrative system which should be corrected without any delay : we should look upon Conferences of Chief Ministers convened by the Prime Minister as an important forum for discussion of basic educational issues which are essentially political and use them as frequently as is necessary *in addition to* the CABE which has its own specific uses.

5.20 Of course, one cannot say in advance what such a conference will decide and what our future policy on this subject should be. However, we can indicate broadly the type of issues that should go before this conference.

(1) Are we to regulate expansion of both secondary and university education or only of the latter ? The opposition to regulate expansion of secondary education is very strong, especially because children are only 13 or 14 years old when they complete elementary school and middle class parents just do not know what to do with them. In fact, the upper and middle classes use secondary schools (and even colleges) as baby-sitting establishments (if you describe these grown up children as babies) or as cattle-pounds (if you describe them as young colts) just as the poor people use elementary schools as baby-sitting institutions for children (of ages 6-8 years) who are not useful at home. But a mere regulation of enrolments at the university stage will not serve our purpose fully unless we regulate the expansion of secondary education also.

(2) The Education Commission suggested a compromise : the division of the secondary stage into two sub-stages—a lower secondary stage up to class X (where no attempt should be made to regulate enrolments and where, in fact, we should attempt to provide universal education by 2000 AD) and a higher secondary stage (classes XI-XII) where selective admissions should be introduced. This is, in many ways, an ideal solution. But several persons do not accept a division of the secondary stage into two sub-stages (although this is the common practice round the world). The issue will have to be joined and a definite decision will have to be taken.

(3) How will this regulation of the expansion of secondary and university education be attempted ? The Education Commission made several excellent suggestions on this subject which were summarily rejected in 1967-68 at the political level but are still valid. They have been reproduced below for ready reference :

> "(1) The capacity of a society to expand educational facilities in terms of *real* resources sets up minimum targets (Para 5.13). The Commission found that this salutary principle was generally ignored in practice and that enrolments were increased *without* increasing the facilities available. It was of the view that this attempt to expand education at the cost of standards was harmful and should be abandoned and recommended that enrolments in any institution should be limited to the actual facilities available therein.
>
> (2) The public demand for secondary and higher education and even the desire to provide secondary and higher education to all

talented students who deserve such education sets up high targets of enrolments which will be beyond our capacity to reach. The commission, therefore, recommended that we should try to ensure that our enrolment policy is based on social justice and that secondary and higher education becomes available at least to the most talented students (Para 5.13).

(3) The present policy of open door access has had several undesirable consequences; (a) dilution of standards; (b) over-production of some categories of personnel and under-production in others; (c) over-enrolment from urban families and upper and middle classes; and (d) under enrolment from the poorer sections. (Para 5.07). This Commission was of the view that these evils can be corrected only through a policy of selective admissions.

Against this background, the Commission made elaborate proposals for selective admissions which can be summarised as follows :—

(1) The attempt to introduce selective admissions at the university stage only cannot succeed in isolation. It must be accompanied by adequate preparation at the secondary stage.

(2) Secondary education, as discussed earlier, should be divided into two sub-stages : (1) a lower secondary stage ending with class X where no principle of selection should be introduced; and (2) a higher secondary stage of classes XI-XII (where the child will be in the age-group 17-18) where selective admissions could and should be introduced.

(3) Selective admissions are not an end in themselves; their objectives are two : (a) to relate the out put of the educational system to man-power needs so that educated unemployment is reduced; and (b) to relate admissions to provision of facilities with a view to improving standards.

(4) Emphasis should be placed on proper planning of the location of higher secondary schools, colleges and universities and on fixing the maximum number of students that can be admtted to them in view of the facilities that actually exist. This will be a far more effective method of regulating enrolments than selective admissions as such.

(5) No selective admissions need be made where the nunber of

applicants is already less than the number of seats available. But where applicants exceed the number of seats available, selection becomes inescapable and should be resorted to.

(6) Methods of selection should be improved. Better selection tests should be devised and special emphasis should be laid on social justice.

(7) The selective admissions are meant for full-time institutions only. Side by side, the facilities for part-time and own-time education should be fully expanded so that no individual who is qualified and desires to study further need be denied any education beyond Class X.

The Commission pointed out that a policy of selective admissions exists even now, but it is in force only in a small core of institutions of higher education with prestige and quality. Here the net effect of selections is to convert these institutions into 'elite' centres which are availed of mostly by the privileged groups. On the other hand an open-door access is provided in the vast bulk of the institutions of higher education which maintain indifferent standards and are mostly availed of by the common people. The Commission wanted this 'dualism' to be reduced, if not eliminated altogether. From this point of view, it made two recommendations : (1) access to the good quality and prestigeous institutions should be made available to talented students from the non-privileged groups through a programme of reservations, special facilities (like personal guidance, etc.), scholarship and placement; and (2) the principal of selective admissions as described above should also be introduced in all the higher secondary schools and institutions of higher education where a policy of open-door admissions prevail, mainly with a view to prevent an undeserved or inappropriate use of these resources."[1]

These proposals will have to be taken up for discussion and decision again at the political level. They cannot also be implemented by any single State, unless an all-India policy is available to support its stand. In fact,

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[1] This is an extract from the author's forthcoming publication : *The Education Commission and After*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

as will be shown in a later section, we have reached a stage where no basic problem in higher education can be tackled except on an all-India basis.

(4) Some ideas which will reduce the pressures on admissions to higher education are also being canvassed in the hope that the political powers that are unwilling to approve of direct selective admissions may be willing to support such indirect measures. For instance —

—it is suggested that jobs should be delinked from degrees to the extent possible and that higher education should be regarded as a disqualification for a job for which only secondary education is enough;

—it has been suggested that the Central and State Governments (as well as the public sector undertakings) should recruit all their personal at the end of the school stage and give them all the further education in special institutions and that they should not recruit any persons with university education; and

—it has also been suggested that secondary education should be largely vocationalized and that, at least 50 per cent of the students should be diverted in the world of work.

There are other suggestions of a similar type also. Unfortunately, these are not all quite workable and need an examination in depth. Even if some of these ideas are found to be workable, it is doubtful whether they can be a substitute for selective admissions, as their promoters seem to think. In all probability, we may use them best as supplementary measures to a policy of selective admissions so that a frontal decision on the problem of selective admissions at the higher secondary and university stages becomes inescapable.

Our suggestion is that the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare should prepare a working paper on the subject on the above lines, place it before the CABE for advice, and then take it to a Conference of Chief Ministers convened by the Prime Minister.

5.21 *Equality of Educational Opportunity:* The Indian education system suffers from a number of crises. The over-expansion of secondary and higher education which benefited the ruling upper and middle classes may be described as the *crisis of performance.* At the same time, our educationl system has failed to provide adequately for the education of the

common people, both from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, and this may be described as a *crisis of non-performance.*

(1) On the quantitative side, for instance, the British administrators evolved a system which ignored the education of the common people and concentrated its attention on the education of the upper and middle classes who could work as interpreters and intermediaries between them and the people. Perhaps they were right in adopting this limited policy. But the Indians who came to power in 1947 were expected to take a different approach because they were, in a way, trustees for the people and because a policy of educating the people was also justified in their own enlightened self-interest. But the review of educational developments since 1947 has shown conclusively that, by and large, we have attempted only a linear expansion of this system which has reached fantastic dimensions by 1975-76: 641, 663 institutions, 3,069,359 teachers, 95,285,550 students and an expenditure of Rs.21,407 million or 3.4 per cent of the national income. But its principal beneficiaries are still the upper and middle classes who occupy about 70 per cent of the seats at the secondary stage and 80 per cent of those at the university stage. About 20 per cent of the children of the masses (60 per cent of whom still continue to be illiterate) never go to school; and of those that do, only less than 20 per cent survive till the end of the elementary stage. In spite of all the achievements (and those not small) in the education of girls, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, or in spreading education in rural and backward areas, this over-all inegalitarian scene continues to dominate the quantitative aspects of education.

(2) On the qualitative side also, the same inegalitarian scene holds sway. We have created a *dual* system of education, both at the school and university stages, in which the children of the haves can receive good education while the children of the common man have access only to educational institutions of poor or indifferent quality. In spite of all the talk to the contrary, it has not been possible to break (or even to weaken) the stranglehold of this vicious system.

If equality of educational opportunity is our goal, these inequalities, both quantitative and qualitative, will have to be done away with; and this is obviously the hard core of the educational transformation that we must bring about as soon as possible, and under any circumstances, before the end of the present century.

5.22 How can we make an effective impact in this deep-seated and

almost intractable problem of inequality of educational opportunity and re-orient our system to the education of the people instead of to that of the upper and middle classes? Fortunately, the gravity of the problem is now universally acknowledged and the policies and programmes that will help us to solve it are also identfied. These include:

(1) Universal elementary education to be provided to all children in the age-group 6-14 under a time-bound, short-range programme;

(2) Liquidation of adult illiteracy and provision of adult education in a similar short-range and time-bond programme;

(3) Adoption of the common school system of public education (with the inclusion of the neighbourhood school plan at the elementary stage) and the abolition of all public and special schools ; and

(4) Provision of equitable access to the children of the common people to secondary and higher education;

(5) Assistance to at least all talented but economically handicapped or socially disadvantaged children to receive all education which they desire and for which they qualify themselves.

We will discuss each of these programmes briefly.

5.23 *Universalization of Elementary Education:* The first of these programmes, viz., universal elementary education for children in the age-group 6-14 is a Constitutional directive and there is universal agreement that it should be implemented on the basis of the highest priority. It was included in the Constitution with a specific time-limit that it should be implemented by 1960, but this was not done. The programme was again included in the National Policy on Education (1968) without a time-limit, and the progress was slower still. The urgent need now is to prepare a fresh plan to reach the goal in a few years. The available data shows that the best opportunity we have to reach this goal is to make an intensive effort between now and 1987-88 (i.e. the next ten years) because the growth in the child population is expected to be the least in this decade. We are therefore strongly of the view that the Central and the State Governments should commit themselves to the full implementation of this programme within a period of ten years and, at any rate, before the end of 1990-91.

5.24 In a non-controversial and agreed programme of this type, no special purpose is served by including the objective only in the National Policy on Education. What is needed is to analyse the causes of our failure in the past—in a way, we are trying to implement the programme ever since 1882 when the Indian Education Commission emphasized it—and to take suitable remedial action. For instance, let us not forget that the programmes of universal elementary education have failed in the past, not because the Government of India lacked good intentions, but because there was not enough of commitment at the State Government levels, not enough of a public demand at the grass-roots level, not enough attempt to reduce poverty and to raise the standards of living of the people, not enough attempt to educate the illiterate masses, not enough of political support (except for appointment of additional teachers), and no provision of equalization grants from the Centre to the poor and less advanced States where most of the non-attending children are. It is these weaknesses which will have to be overcome.

5.25 Another point to be remembred is that we will never be able to make elemetary education universal unless we abandon our exclusive dependance on the existing system of single-point entry, sequential annual promotions, full-time attendance by students and use of only full-time professional teachers. Instead we have to create a new educational structure with adequate components of non-formal education in which a multi-point entry would be adopted, part-time non-formal programmes would be organized in a big way, and full use will be made of all the teaching resources of the community. If this is done, we will have four channels of elementary education instead of the only one we provide at present. They will include :

(1) students enrolled in class I who will go on to class VIII sequentially and study on a full-time basis (the existing stream);

(2) students in the age-group 9-11 who have not been to school or have dropped out but who should now be enrolled in part-time non-formal classes and enabled to complete the primary stage (classes I-V) in about 2 or 3 years (New Stream I) ;

(3) students in the age-group 11-14 who have not been to school or have dropped out before completing class V and who should now be enrolled in part-time non-formal classes and enabled to complete the primary stage (classes I-V) in 1 to 3 years (New Stream II) ;

(4) students who have completed the primary stage (classes I-V) on a full-time basis but cannot continue at the middle school stage on a whole-time basis, and students who have completed the primary stage in the part-time non-formal channels (New Streams I and II above) —all these should be enrolled in part-time non-formal classes at the middle school level and enabled to complete that stage (classes VI-VIII) in about 2 to 4 years (New stream III).

It is obvious that, if all these four streams are started simultaneously, it will be possible to reach our goal of universalization much more quickly and to bring every child in the age-group 6-14 under instruction, within a period of ten years, on a full-time basis, if possible, and on a part-time basis if necessary. The development of these programmes will be greatly helped if a few experimental projects could he organized in every State so that valuable experience gained in them can be generalized with advantage.

5.26 The other measures needed in this context will include

—qualitative improvement of elementary schools so that their attracting and holding power is increased ;

—revision of curricula and relating them to the environment and evolving a flexible system in relation to vacations, number of working days in a year, or hours of work on any working day ;

—special attention to girls and children of the scheduled castes, tribes, landless agricultural labourers and such other weaker sections who form the vast bulk of non-attending children ;

—close involvement of the community (and especially the parents of non-attending children) and bringing the school and its community closer together through programmes of mutual service and support;

—decentralization of administration so that all school education is effectively administered from the district level ;

—adequate provision of assistance or incentives to poor children (e.g. free supplies of books and educational materials, free school meals, free uniforms, etc) ; and

—reducing unit costs in elementary education and providing all the funds needed on a priority basis.

Obviously, programmes of adult literacy and improving standards of

living of the poor (which should be pursued simultaneously) will be of great help in the universalization of elementary education.

5.27 A special emphasis has to be laid on financial support to the educationally less advanced States—eight of these States now have 76 per cent of the total non-attending children in the country. They will therefore need very large outlays on elementary education which they will not be able to raise on their own. An equalization grant for such States will therefore have to be instituted.

5.28 *Adult Education:* The Government of India has already initiated a major programme for adult education, including the liquidation of adult illiteracy. The special features of this programme which is miles ahead of what the National Policy on Education (1968) stated and is, in some ways, even ahead of the recommendations of the Education Commission may be stated as follows:

—the enunciation of a new concept of literacy which includes awareness and functionality and is, to that extent, a great advance over the earlier thinking on the subject ;

—the use of both official and non-official agencies ;

—stress on rural areas, on women, scheduled castes and tribes and on other weaker sections ;

—adequate provision for production of materials, training of workers, and a built-in system of evaluation ; and

—all the essential provision of for follow-up and post-literacy programmes.

The objective of the programme is ambitious; to make a hundred million adults (age 15 and over) literate in a period of five years.

5.29 While the programme is generally welcomed in all quarters several scholars are sceptical of its success and debates are going on around four of its main features. The first of these relates to the problem of motivation : how shall we motivate so many adult illiterates to learn ? The answer lies in the wider objectives of the programme which go beyond mere literacy and lay emphasis on making the adults aware of themselves and of the social reality around them, of organizing them to solve their day to day problems and of raising their standards of living. If a wider movement of this type can be developed, the adults will be motivated in large numbers and the programme will succeed. If, on the other hand, it

is limited to mere literacy, adult motivation will remain weak and we will not be able to achieve even literacy on a large scale. The second issue refers to the attitudes which the educated people will adopt towards this programme : cynical disbelief, hostility (open or implied), or active cooperation. The first is probably the commonest attitude while the last is obviously the most desirable. The third aspect of the problem relates to the agencies of implementation. At present the programme is expected to be implemented by the bureaucracy and voluntary agencies and political parties and workers are given a minor role. Doubts have been expressed whether this programme can be implemented at all without the active and direct involvement of political parties and workers. The fourth controversy relates to funds. If a hundred million people are to be made literate, the total cost of the programme would exceed Rs. 7000 million (at the official estimate of Rs.70 per person which includes only the direct expenditure on the literacy stage) while the actual provision is only of Rs. 2000 million. Even if the Planning Commission has assured more funds, if needed, it may not be able to keep its promise in the present circumstance when the dangers of large reductions even in the existing meagre allocations to education cannot be entirely ruled out.

5.30 There is no point in underestimating the difficulties involved, whether these or others. But one significant issue must be emphasized. This is the first time in our history when we are at least planning to make a radical change in our educational system. If the programmes of universal elementary and adult education become successful, our education system will be geared to the interests of the masses instead of to those of the upper and middle classes; and the greatest step would have been taken to create a real equality of educational opportunity. What is expected therefore is constructive and helpful criticism and full cooperation from all concerned so that the difficulties facing the programme are reduced and it is successfully implemented in about ten years.

5.31 *The Common School System* : The third of these major programmes, whose objective is to creat real equlity of educational opportunity from the qualitative point of view, includes the trio of the common school system, the neighbourhood school plan, and the radical transformation or abolition of the public schools. These are the most controversial subjects, especially because the educational rights of the minorities complicate the situation. It is difficult to arrive at a concensus on these issues and still more difficult to implement a meaningful policy about them. For instance,

regarding the common school system (including the neighbourhood school plan), the following schools of thought have emerged —

(1) The common school system as recommended by the Education Commission (paras 1.36 to 1.38) should be immediately adopted, the necessary amendments made to the Constitution, and the public schools should be abolished ;

(2) At the very minimum, the concept of the neighbourhood school should be adopted at the elementary stage immediately, the implication being that no public or special school is allowed to function at this stage ;

(3) The common school system should be adopted as the ultimate objective and should be implemented gradually and through persuation and improvement of standards in the general schools ;

(4) The common school concept is wrong in theory and undersirable. Democracy requires that private schools should be allowed to exist, and parents should have the freedom to choose the school their children should attend. The rights guaranteed to minorities should not be abrogated.

There is no common meeting point in all these views and unless there is a more sustained dialogue on the subject in depth, both among the academics and politicians, and new social and political forces emerge on the scene, a reasonable concensus is not likely to emerge.[1]

5.32 With regard to the public schools also, the following schools of thought have emerged.

(1) The Public schools should be abolished forthwith. At any rate, no Public school should be allowed to function at the elementary stage or for children in the age-group 6-14.

(2) The Public schools need not be abolished. In fact, they should become a part of the National System of Education as pace-setting and good quality institutions. However, on grounds of equity, talented children coming from the poorer social groups should have adequate access to them. From this point of view, a major reform to be implemented is to require the Public schools to institute fellowships, from their own resources, to about 25-50 per cent of their students.

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[1] Extract from the Author's forthcominp publicalion, *The Education Commission and After*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

(3) The Public schools are good institutions and deserve to be encouraged. The State Governments should establish Public schools, select students for them on merits and give them adequate scholarships. In the non-government public schools, fellowships to cover the entire cost should be provided by the State to 50 per cent of the students who should be selected on merits.

As in the case of the Common School System, it has not yet been possible to arrive at a concensus on the issue of Public Schools.[1]

5.33 Regarding the educational rights of minorities, two main issues have to be discussed. The first is their right to provide an education of their choice, within the broad framework of the national policy on education, to their own children. This is beyond dispute. The Constitution *protects* this right and we should go one step ahead and *promote* it. But the minority managed schools, attended mostly by children not belonging to the minorities, link themselves with privilege and frustrate the attempts of the State to create an egalitarian education system which is implicit in the Preamble to the Constitution. This distortion of the role of minority schools can and should be prevented.

5.34 It is obvious that all these issues are extremely significant and basically political. They will have therefore to be decided on a political platform, viz., the Parliament and the State Legislatures. But decisions in favour of equality are not likely to be taken until appropriate new social and political forces arise. Till then, it is our duty to keep the torch burning and the debate going on every possible platform.

5.35 *Access of the Common People to Secondary and Higher Education (including scholarships to talented but economically handicapped students):* While the common people do need a fairer deal through liquidation of adult illiteracy and universal elementary education, we should not conclude that the demands of equality of educational opportunity will be fully met if this alone is done. We must go one step ahead and give them better access to secondary and university education as well. It was pointed out earlier that the upper and the middle classes now take up to 70% of the seats available in secondary education and 80 per cent of the seats in higher education. It should be our target that the common people

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[1] *Ibid.*

should get at least 50 per cent of the seats in seconday and higher education.

5.36 Several programmes will have to be developed from this point of view. These include :

(1) Development of non-formal programmes of part-time and own-time education and throwing up all Board and university examinations to private candidates :

(2) A nationwide search for discovery of talent on the lines recommended by the Education Commission (1964-66) and the provision of full financial support to all the talented but economically handicapped and socially disadvantaged students to receive all further education they desire and qualify themselves for ;

(3) The continuance and rationalization of the financial support given to students of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes ;

(4) Initiation of a major programme of financial assistance to economically handicapped students other than scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and its gradual expansion so that eventually, there will be a common programme of financial support to talented but economically handicapped students, irrespective of caste or birth ; and

(5) Introduction of a system of reservations in secondary and higher education for the children from the economically handicapped and socially disadvantaged families. The system may work somewhat on the lines indicated below.

(a) About 5 per cent of the seats in secondary and university education will be taken up by talented but economically handicapped children selected under (2) above ;

(b) The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are entitled to 21 per cent of the available seats on the basis of their population. But at present they actually avail themselves of 5 per cent seats only. While reservation on the population basis should continue for them, let us assume that, by 2000 A.D., they will occupy at least 15 per cent of the seats available.

(c) There are three other aspirant and deserving groups to be considered: all children of poor parents (other tham scheduled castes and tribes); all first generation learners, irrespective of social class and status; and all girls, also irrespective of social class and

status. These groups have no assured financial support and no reservations. They occupy about 30-40 per cent of the seats (the girls coming mostly from the privileged classes). It is proposed that we may reserve this category for all children of the poor people (other than scheduled castes and scheduled tribes) only, with special encouragement for girls and first generation learners. This group should be given some assured financial support and about 40 p.c. of the seats should be reserved for them.

(d) The privileged classes thus get the remaining 40 per cent of the seats (which is out of proportion to their number) and the reserved but unutilized seats.

One need not insist on the precise figures used. They should be taken only as indicative of the direction in which we should move.[1]

5.37 *The Pre-School Child (0-6 years):* Mention may be made here of the need and significance of developing comprehensive services (i.e. nutrition, immunization, health, general care and education) to pre-school children (0-6 years), especially those who come from deprived backgrounds, as an important programme for equalization of educational opportunity. This is not an entirely new service and a good deal is already being done in the departments of education and social welfare and in organized industry. What is needed is to secure a planned extension of this programme (and its qualitative improvement) especially to include the underprivileged groups, the rural areas and the unorganized sector. Our target should be to cover about 10 per cent of the age-group by the year 2000, broadly on the lines recommended by the Working Group on the Development of the Pre-School Child (1971).

5.38 *The Common Pattern of School and College Classes:* Our review of past educational developments has shown that, ever since 1945, we have been continually obsessed with the concept of the National Pattern of School and College Classes (which quite a few people wrongly identify with the national system of education itself), that we have wasted a good deal of money (and other things besides) in several unwise experiments, and that at last we have adpoted the 10+2+3 pattern which has been implemented by all the fifteen-year States and by some fourteen-year States as well (with

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[1] Extract from the Author's forthcoming publication : *The Education Commission and After*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

the CABE option of a two-year pass course for the first degree). The recent controversies that have erupted on the subject are therefore very unfortunate. We should be able to put them behind us and get rid of this obsession, once and for ever, by adopting the pattern in all States and Union Territories, say, before the end of the sixth plan. This will be easy because the CABE option of a two-year pass course has become a part of the national pattern as well as of the National Policy on Education (1979). What is needed is an elaboration of the proposal. The fourteen-year States now have, in practice, a five-year course (covering the graduate and post-graduate stages) till the research stage (Ph.D.) begins. This includes: a two year course for the first degree; another two-year course for the second degree; and a one-year course for the M.Phil degree. All that is needed now a reorganization of these five years so that no heavy additional inputs are needed to adpot the new pattern. This may be attempted in several ways. But the proposals of the Jammu and Kashmir State (which is the first fourteen-year State to adopt the pattern) can serve as a good model. They can be summarized as follows:

(1) The existing two-year course at the undergraduate stage will continue unchanged and will result in the award of a pass degree.

(2) This will be follow by a one-year course for the honours degree. Admissions will be open only to those who have secured at least 50 per cent marks at the pass degree examination. The course will also be organized only in selected colleges where the necessary facilities exist. Eligible candidates can also appear privately at the honours examination.

(3) Then will come a two-year M.A. course which will also absorb the present M.Phil course. In other words, students who have done the new masters degree can go straight to Ph.D. But if some teachers do not want to do Ph.D., a special M.Phil course at a higher level will be organised for them.

5.39 Proposal of this type (with some variations to suit local conditions) can be formulated by every fourteen-year State and implemented with little additional expense and with hardly any dislocation in the existing system. What is needed is an intensive follow-up. It is therefore suggested that the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and the UGC should set up a Joint Committee (with a representative of the Planning Commission thereon) to pursue this matter vigorously with all the fourteen-year States and to see that they adopt the new pattern before the end of the Sixth Plan. If that is done, a broadly uniform pattern of school

and college classes would have been introduced in all parts of the country and the problem which we began to tinker with in 1945 would have at last been solved in a period of about 40 years. That would certainly be an achievement and something we can look forward to with a sigh of relief.

5.40 It is also necessary to take the following measures to complete this reform.

(1) It is necessary to stabilize the pattern, partly because the people are weary of frequent changes, and partly because such structural changes are difficult to implement, costly and disturbing. The State Governments should be requested to adopt the new pattern but then to make no further changes therein. At any rate, frequent dabbling with the pattern should be stopped. Some have even suggested a parliamentary legislation for the purpose.

(2) It is necessary to educate the public properly on this issue. The people must be categorically told that the pattern or structure is merely skeleton of the national system of education and not the education system itself. They should also be clearly told that the structure should not be over-emphasised because it has the least effect on standards.

(3) Having adopted the new pattern uniformly throughout the country, we should now concentrate on programmes for improving standards. The first of these is to raise the quality of inputs into the structure. These include: better teachers, better curricula, better educational materials better methods of teaching and evaluation, better student services, closer community contacts, better supervision, and better buildings and equipment. The second is to ensure that the existing facilities are utilized to the utmost through proper planning and the creation of a climate of dedicated hard work. At present, the quality of the inputs is very unsatisfactory in the vast bulk of our institutions and the low intensity with which we use the existing facilities is disgraceful and almost criminal in a poor and developing country. This merely highlights the point that the adoption of the pattern is not the *last* but only the *first* step in a programme of creating a national system of education and improving standards and that an immense task awaits all of us in the field during the next ten years or so.[1]

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[1] Based on the Author's forthcoming publication, *The Education Commission and After*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi.

5.41 The Education Commission highlighted three major weaknesses of the existing educational structure, viz.,

—the chaotic variety of the pattern of the school and college classes from State to State ;

—its exclusive dependance on the formal channel of education with its insistence on single point entry, sequential promotions, full-time attendance by students and exclusive use of full-time professional teachers; and

—its insistence on uniformity which tended to make it both rigid and static.

It did recommend the adoption of a uniform pattern of school and college classes which was a desirable reform. But it placed far greater emphasis on the removal of the remaining two weakneses. Unfortunately these significant recommendations have been lost sight of in our obsession to adopt a common pattern of school and college classes. Now that this problem will be behind us very soon and we would be free from this obsession, we should concenrate our energies in the years ahead on removing these two basic weaknesses of our educational structure and on the creation of a new system which

—would not divide life into two water-tight compartments of full-time education followed by full-time work, but would make it possible for all individuals to combine work and education throughout life ;

—would not divide individuals into two rigid categories of (a) educated people who do not work with their hands and (b) workers who do not receive any formal education, but would make all individuals educated persons *and* productive workers ;

—would emphasize learning rather than teaching ;

—would not be exclusively dependent on full-time and formal education, but should develop large-scale programmes of non-formal education and all the three channels of full-time, part-time and own-time education which should have an equal status ;

—would not be exclusively dependent on full-time teachers and use all the teaching resources available in the community ;

—would be decentralised, diversified, elastic and dynamic/and would

provide large scope for experimentation and innovation by schools and teachers ; and

—would provide a period of part-time education and part-time work between full-time education and full-time work to make the transition smooth ; and in addition, would also provide a programme of recurrent and continuing education so that every individual shall have all the opportunities for life-long learning through a channel of his choice; and he may also return to the formal system or step off it according to his needs.

The underlying ideas for all these proposals are : the development of non-formal education programmes in a big way, not only at the elementary stage as suggeted earlier, but at all stages; removal of the existing dichotomy between education and work by making work-experience an integral part of all education and by creating possibilities for all workers to continue their education through non-formal channels; and the creation of a system of recurrent education which would provide opportunities of life-long learning for all and eventually create a learning society. We should see that this transformation takes place substantially by 1991 and is well-established by the end of the century.

5.42 *Language Policy* : Our review of the educational developments during the last 30 years has shown that our language problem basically arose from the three political commitments we made in the pre-independence period when we were clarifying our concept of a national system of education for the country, viz., (1) Hindi shall be the official language of the Union and also the link language at the national level, (2) the regional languages shall be adopted in administration and courts and used as media of instruction at all stages of education, and (3) the over-riding importance of English will be reduced and it will remain with us mainly as our principal but not the exclusive window on the world. It is these commitments that raised several difficult problems in the post-independence period. Over the last 30 years, however, we have evolved fairly satisfactory solutions to these problems and have also made considerable progress in solving them. We have also reconciled ourselves to the position that we have to live with these problems for a long time and work patiently for their ultimate solution, taking care to see that the extremists in every camp (pro-English, pro-Hindi, and pro-Regional languages) are kept in check and that the language issue is not allowed to explode.

.43 It is very desirable that, in the years ahead, the political aspects of the language problem are underplayed and full attention is concentrated on its academic aspects. These include :

(1) the consolidation and completion of the programme of using regional languages as media of instruction at the university stage initiated in 1968. This programme should be fully and satisfactorily implemented in about ten years ;

(2) Adoption of improved methods of teaching English at all stages, and the provision of adequate facilities for the purpose in all colleges and universities ;

(3) Accelerating the programmes for the spread of Hindi in non-Hindi areas ;

(4) Better implementation of the three-language formula ; and

(5) Adequate steps for the development of Hindi and all the other regional languages.

It should be possible for us, if we play our cards well, to solve most of language problems by the end of the present century.

5.44 *Secondary Education* : Secondary education has always been the proverbial weakest link in the chain of Indian education and it has generally been ignored because it does not have the prestige and attraction of higher education and the popular appeal of elementary education. It has also suffered from the lack of a specific purpose of its own and has generally been looked upon merely as a ladder to higher education. We have not been able so far to reconcile its two different objectives of (1) preparing for admission to a university and (2) training for specific job or set of jobs which would make it effectively terminal. Nor have we been able to diversify it adequately to meet the interest, aptitudes and needs of varied groups of adolescents that have now begun to enter secondary schools. The problems of secondary education will therefore need priority attention in the days ahead.

5.45 One of the major issues which will have to be discussed and decided in this context is this : should secondary education be one integrated unit as recommended by the Post-War Plan of Educational Development in India (1944-84) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952) or should it be divided into two sub-stages as recom-

mended by the Education Commission (1964-66) ? There are of course several arguments in favour of the proposal made by the Education Commission. Reference has already been to the need to expand (and even universalize) education upto class X and to introduce selective admissions (which cannot be postponed to the undergraduate stage) in classes XI-XII. A continuous secondary education stage will also create a situation where every secondary school will be required to teach all classes from VIII/IX to XII-a programme which will be very costly and academically non-viable. The Commission also found that Class VIII or IX is too early to start specialization and that it cannot also be made to wait till the undergraduate stage. The Commission therefore broke the duration of secondary education into two sub-stages : a lower secondary stage of two or three years (classes VIII/IX-X) and a higher secondary stage of two years (classes XI-XII). This is so fundamental a reform that it could be very wrong to go back upon it. This reform should also be stabilized along with the pattern of school and college classes.

5.46 Several important issues in secondary education await our attention in the years ahead. Some of these are very old (e.g. vocationalization) and we have been grappling with them for nearly a century. Others are new and some will arise when elementary education becomes universal by about 1991 or so.

(1) The first relates to expansion. The demand for secondary education will increase as time passes, not only in urban areas but in rural areas as well, especially because the age of marriage is being raised with a view to control population growth. When elementary education becomes universal, almost all children in the age-group 6-14 will complete class VII or class VIII as the case may be and we may be called upon to provide (a) full-time or part-time secondary education to about 40 per cent of the age-group who may decide to complete the full secondary course and go even beyond; (b) full-time or part-time vocational education to another 20 per-cent of the age-group who may decide to enter the world of work after such vocational preparation; and (c) some non-formal education to the remaining 40 per cent of the age-group who may enter the world of work direct and who will need such education very badly. Of these various programmes needed, we have so far been able to develop only two: (a) full-time general secondary education which we now provide to about 20 per cent of the age-group; and (b) full-time vocational education which we now provide to about two per cent of the age-group. How big and varied

the new tasks before us are will be evident from the comparison of this 'little done' to the 'vast undone' as indicated above. The magnitude of the task increases still further if we were to strive to universalize education in classes I-X by the 2000 A.D. In particular, we will have to lay special emphasis on the development of non-formal, part-time secondary education which we should strive to provide for all adolescents between 14 and 18 years of age who do not join any formal stream of secondary education general or vocational.

(2) Allied to this problem is the issue of regulating the opening and establishment of new secondary schools, a demand for which is growing in rural areas. It is our experience that most of our rural secondary schools are small institutions-with less than 100 students—and that the cost per pupil in these institutions is high and their efficiency low. The problem therefore is to reconcile the increasing demand for secondary schools in rural areas with the creation of institutions of an optimum size (say, with an enrolment of about 240 students) which would be academically and financially viable. Obviously, what we have to adopt is a package deal consisting of wide opportunities to study at the secondary stage through correspondence courses (or privately), combined with a programme of hostels and scholarships and the control of the location and planning of new secondary schools and the consolidation of existing one. Detailed guidelines on these issues will have to be formulated, comperhensive plans for expansion of secondary education will have to be prepared for each district, and the new policies will have to be enforced strictly in a sustained fashion.

(3) The next is the issue of the diversification of courses Our general secondary education is still very limited in scope because it continues to be based on the model of the grammar schools in England which we copied in the early nineteenth century. This model did not create any major crisis so long as secondary education was limited to a few. But it has run into difficulties already with a expansion of secondary education and will be totally unworkable in the years ahead when secondary education will be at least widespread, if not universal. We must therefore diwersify secondary education to meet the interests, aptitudes and needs of the immense variety of students that will attend them. This problem willl have to be thought afresh because there is little guidance thereon in the Report of the Education Commission.

(4) The problem of vocationalization is still a vexed issue. The

proposals of the Education Commission on the subject were unrealistic. But there are no clear ideas about alternative strategies, except one useful suggestion: we must lay greater emphasis on industry-based courses of vocational education. This is yet another area where new thinking is called for.

(5) There is also the basic problem of relevance. What does secondary education achieve? It has been said that the existing secondary school fits a student for entry into the university or college and almost unfits him for everything else. The basic challenge therefore is to provide meaningful secondary education, not only to the minority who goes to college, but to the majority which does not proceed further. This is yet another aspect which calls for fresh and innovative thinking.

(6) The problem of standards in secondary education is crucial because on it depends the quality of teachers in elementary schools or the students at the university stage. This has also been a neglected area in the past and deserves emphasis in the days ahead.

All these problems of secondary education have been largely neglected in the past; and because of this neglect, they climb up and become the still more difficult, still more complex and still more intractable problems of higher education. It would therefore be extremely worthwhile to concentrate on them even as an important means of solving the problems of higher education.

5.47 *Higher Education :* The worst crisis in the existing system of education is seen at the university stage where the system has become almost dysfunctional and where the continuous instances of student unrest are both a cause and an effect of this crisis. It is again at this stage that the social crisis in our midst gets closely related to the educational crisis and the fusion becomes even more resistant to solution unless we attepmt a simultaneous revolution in the socio-economic and educational fields. This is probably the most difficult part of the educational reconstruction we have to attempt and also the most significant.

5.47 We shall have to deal with the following problems of higher education in the days ahead on a priority basis.

(1) The problems of expansion, including the planning and location of new educational institutions, adoption of the principle of selective admis-

sions, consolidation of existing institutions, and full development of non-formal channels of part-time and own-time education ;

(2) The problem of revising courses, both at the under-graduate and post-graduate stages, on the principles of relevance, diversification, and modernization ;

(3) The problem of raising standards including faculty development, adoption of new methods of teaching and evaluation, use of regional languages as media of instruction and giving the students a better command over English to provide them direct access to the growing knowledge in the world ;

(4) The problem of diversification of institutions of higher education so that a variety of models are adopted to meet the extremely divergent demands that are now being made upon the system ;

(5) The problems of students including the provision of adequate student services, their involvement in meaningful and challenging programmes of social or national service, and association with governance ;

(6) The problems of administration, including university autonomy and establishment of autonomous colleges; and

(7) The promotion of research in all fields so that we develop an indigenous capability and Indian institutions of higher education come to occupy a place of honour in the world effort to pursue truth and excellence.

5.48 It has been our experience in the past that problems of higher education are very difficult to solve on account of a number of peculiar factors. First and foremost among these is political interference: almost every political party has its student wings and politicians are very eager to jump into the fray when there is the least dissatisfaction on any issue on the university campus. Consequently, the so-called autonomous organs of the university are hardly ever autonomous to decide the issues facing them. An appeal to all political parties to keep their hands off the campus has not worked in practice; nor has it been possible to arrive at a concensus regarding a 'code of conduct' for the political parties in dealing with the university system. Secondly, a certain cynicism has gradually crept in over the years and the vast majority of students and teachers do not find any meaning and relevance in what they are doing. This leads to a sapping of student motivation and a virtual collapse of the basic educa-

tional process in a majority of class-room situations. Thirdly, as the examinations and degrees still continue to have their significance (which has probably increased), the students generally try to take the easy way out and to pass the examinations by all means, fair or foul, including mass copying. These evils are becoming very difficult to control because discipline on the campus has broken down beyond repair. Fourthly, almost any major issue in higher education now takes an all-India turn: no single university can decide it without reference to the State Government and to the situation in the other universities in the State; and no State Government can take a firm stand unless there is a national policy to support it. It is issues of this type that will have to be examined comprehensively and in depth by the Ministry of Education, the UGC, the State Governments, and the universities. They have to prepare a policy and a programme to deal with this complex situation and to implement in vigorously by providing good leadership at the university level. Some steps in this direction have already been taken. For instance, the UGC has brought out a policy-frame for the development of higher education. What is now needed is to go ahead and prepare a detailed development plan for higher education spread over the next 20 years. What is important to note is that a programme of promoting good activities like faculty development or examination reform is not enough; it is also essential to develop a simultaneous programme of curbing the disruptive elements that destroy in a day all the good work built over a year.

5.49 *Qualitative Improvement :* It is a pity that programmes for the qualitative improvement of education are being neglected since 1947. It will be recalled that the Education Commission placed a very great emphasis on a continuous improvement of standards so that they are *adequate* in relation to the task for which they are intended, *dynamic* in the sense that they keep on rising with the demands for the higher levels of knowledge, skills or character which a modernising society makes, and *internationally comparable* at least in those key sectors where such comparison is important. But the National Policy on Education (1968) did not highlight them as it had been decided to emphasize programmes of expansion. It is however obvious that we cannot continue to ignore them any longer. The Education Commission pointed out some of Herculean efforts needed for the purpose and laid great emphasis, not only on the special programmes of qualitative improvement needed at every stage, but also on some general programmes which apply to all stages and sectors

of the education system, viz., (1) organisation of a nation-wide movement for school improvement; (2) creation of a climate of sustained hard work; (3) intensive use of facilities available; (4) creation of an integrated system; (5) development of pace-setting institutions at every stage and in every sector of education. These and other programmes of qualitative improvement will have to be high-lighted and emphasized in the perspective plans of educational development spread over the next two decades.

The Instruments of Implementation

5.50 Our review of educational developments over the last 30 years has highlighted that our greatest weakness has been, not so much the failure to prepare adequate plans, as the failure to implement whatever plans we were able to prepare. While, therefore, we do have a great need for comprehensive and better plans, our need for a vigorous, effective and sustained implementation is greater still. In the years ahead, therefore, we shall have to place the highest emphasis on evolving adequate instruments of implementation and on developing the proper change agents who will help us to create the national system of education. This is all the more necessary becuse the pace, size, and complexity of the tasks of educational reconstruction to be attempted in the days ahead is far greater than what we had to face at any time in the past.

5.51 *Educational Administration* : Traditionally administration and finance have been the principal instruments of implementation. We shall therefore deal with them in the first instance.

5.52 Educational administration is one of the neglected aspects of educational development in the country in the post-independence period. The Education Commission made several recommendations to improve educational administration, including the creation of an Indian Educational Service. But, as shown in Chapter III, these were summarily rejected and excluded from the National Policy on Education (1968). This neglect has made the situation worse and today, our educational administration is not at all equipped to deal adequately with the complex issues that will arise in the development of education over the next two decades. The problem therefore needs attention on a priority basis.

5.53 In particular, the following administrative issues of great significance need to be decided at a very early date.

(1) The need to strengthen the Ministry of Education in such a way

that it can perform its task of providing a "stimulating and non-coercive leadership" in the formulation and implementation of national policies on education ;

(2) The need to strengthen the State Education Departments so that they are able to provide the needed leadership and to manage efficiently the difficult tasks of transforming, improving and expanding the educational system so as to create a national system of education suited to the life, needs and aspirations of the people ;

(3) The need to make the educational system diversified, decentralized, elastic and dynamic ;

(4) The need to define the role of local bodies and at least to delegate authority to the district level to manage all school education ;

(5) To decide upon the role of private enterprise in education and the nature of State policies towards it ;

(6) To disperse autonomy throughout the educational system, from the State to the Universities, and from the universities to departments and colleges ; and

(7) To give freedom to schools and teachers to experiment and innovate and to see that this freedom is largely and increasingly utilized.

Appropriate decisions on these and related issues will have to be taken and made an integral part of the new National Policy on Education and Perspective Plans of Educational Development (1981-2000).

5.54 *Investment in Education :* It is obvious that our total investment in education will have to increase considerably if a national system of education of adequate coverage and quality is to be created by 2000 A.D. This may come to six per cent of the national income (a figure to which Government already stands committed) or even more. Great attention will therefore have to be given to the following issues amongst others.

(1) reduction of unit costs so that the total investment needed for the system is reduced ;

(2) diversification of sources: to raise funds to supplement the contribution of Central and State Governments, through contributions of local bodies and local communities, fees and other sources, including the levy

of heavier fees in secondary and higher education from those who can afford to pay; and

(3) full utilisation of all available resources, including non-plan expenditure.

5.55 One point needs emphasis. On the administrative side, there would be different degrees of responsibility fixed between the Government of India, the State Governments, the District School Boards and the local communities. There should be a regular flow of funds, through grants-in-aid and other means, to all these levels so that, at every level, there are adequate funds to meet the administrative responsibilities assigned to that level.

5.56 Since available resources will be limited, there will have to be every effort at economy and an intensive use of all available facilities. Moreover, shortfalls in financial resources will often have to be made good by human inputs in form of better planning, dedication and sustained hard work. A system of preparation and implementation of educational plans will have to be introduced at the district and institutional level also.

5.57 *The Change Agents :* While the educational bureaucracy has its own vital role to play, the task of creating the national system of education cannot be left to it alone. This responsibility will have to be shared by several other change agents.

(1) Since the basic educational issues are political and can be decided only through political instruments, the ultimate responsibility for the creation of the national education system falls on the political system; and if the political parties do not accept it, no one else can and will. Here, a two-fold action is called for. The first is the positive action of the political parties evolving their own policies in education and implementing them through Government. This needs a continuous dialogue between politicians and educationists and the development of educational 'think-tanks' and cadres in each party. On the negative side, politicians should realize the great damage they are doing to the education system through their interference in establishment and control of educational institutions, appointments and transfer of teachers and other personnel, grants-in-aid, and in all other possible forms merely to serve their appetite for patronage and to strengthen their political base. The chaotic condi-

tions in some of our universities are a sad proof of what this interference has led to. The present relationship in education between academics and politicians is very unsatisfactory. The academic desires for full political support without any political interference; and what the politician gives is full political interference without any political support worth the name. What we must evolve is a new tradition of full political support and legitimate political control which does not interfere with the genuine academic freedom of educational institutions and teachers. This is a long way to go in which both educationists and academics will have to modify their present positions considerably and learn to work together.

(2) The political and social workers outside the educational system have also an important role to play. If we realize the complimentary relationship between educational and social transformation, they will be able to help in the implementation of those educational programmes which have large social implications (e.g. national or social service) and also help in educating public opinion and in creating pressures on Government to take the basic decisions needed. The task before us therefore is to make these political and social workers conscious of the educational problems and of the close relationship between their work and corresponding educational reforms so that they begin to play an effective role in the creation of a national system of education.

(3) The third set of change-agents are within the education system itself : the educational administrators, teachers and students. The Education Commission relied too heavily on them to create the national system of education. This hope did not materialize, mainly because they did not have an adequate vision of the new society and new education and an adequate commitment to create them; and unless this dedication and commitment is created, they will not be able to play the role expected of them.

5.58 The creation of a national system of education is not an easy task; it involves the taking of hard decisions, the provision of massive resources, the organization of a sustained nation-wide movement and a preparedness to alienate many a vested interest. The task becomes all the more difficult because it has to be accompanied by a simultaneous effort at a radical reconstruction of the society itself. The experience of the last thirty years has shown that we can succeed in this task only if we make a very massive and sustained effort (which we were not at all able

to organize in the past), develop a nation-wide movement of simultaneous socio-economic and educational transformation, involve therein all political and social workers who are educationally conscious and all workers within the education system who are politically conscious and socially committed, and create pressures upon the Government both from within and from without the system. This is the direction in which we will have to move; and it is only within this infra-structure that the individual plans of radical educational reconstruction shall come to fruition.

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS (1950-51 to 1975-76)

Table No. I

Number of Educational Institutions (by Type)

		1950-51	1965-66	1975-76
1.	Universities	27	64	101
2.	Institutions Deemed to be Universities	—	8	9
3.	Institutions of National Importance	—	8	9
4.	Research Institutions	18	39	47
5.	Colleges of General Education	498	1,673	3,667
6.	Colleges of Professional Education	208*	2,775	3,276
7.	Colleges of Lower Education	92**	1,253	1,405
8.	Boards of Examinations	7	28	43
9.	Schools of General Education			
	(1) High/Higher Secondary Education	7,288	27,477	43,054
	(2) Middle Schools	13,596	75,798	106,571
	(3) Primary Schools	209,671	391,604	454,270
	(4) Pre-Primary	303	3,235	5,658
	Sub Total ((1)-(4))	230,858	497,574	609,553
10.	Schools of Vocational Education	2,339*	2,775	2,496
11.	Schools for Special Education	98**	265	358
12.	Schools for Lower Education			
	(1) Adult Education	48,556	217,912	17,774
	(2) Oriental Studies	3,319	2,591	2,764
	(3) Others	848	297	161
	Sub Total ((1)-(4))	52,723	220,800	20,699
	Grand Total	286,860	727,262	641,663

* Excludes undergraduate colleges

** Includes Institutions of undergraduate standard.

Table No. II

Enrolment by Stages of Instruction

	1950-51	1965-66	1975-76
Higher Education (General)			
Research	1,190	6,851	13,898
Post-graduate	16,528	71,821	180,257
Graduate	86,668	625,907	1,408,744
Pre-university			554,473
Intermediate	221,337	623,642	950,356
Under-graduate (Diploma)	N.A.	2,970	5,350
Total	325,723	1,331,191	3,113,078
Higher Education (Professional)			
Post graduate/Research		23,180	64,155
Graduate		328,470	814,794
Undergraduate	N.A.	193,968	233,500
Postgraduate (Diploma-Certificate)		5,321	17,929
Undergraduate (Diploma-Certificate)		187,181	331,740
	90,263	738,120	1,462,168
School Education (General)			
High/Higher Secondary	1,486,892	6,155,732	9,513,678
Middle	3,330,119	10,977,213	16,485,549
Primary	18,677,641	48,912,678	63,108,492
Pre-Primary	28,309	262,073	569,296
Total	23,522,961	66,307,696	89,677,015
School Education : Vocational	190,568	293,444	224,210
Other Education (school & college)	1,263,351	1,861,580	779,094
Special Education (school)	149,906	23,149	30,035
Total	1,603,825	2,178,173	1,033,339
Grand Total	25,542,772	70,555,180	95,285,550

Table No. III

Number of Teachers (by Type of Institutions)

		1950-51	1965-66	1975-76
1.	Universities, Deemed universities, and Institutions of National Importance	3,085	9,271	18,981
2.	Research Institutions	251	389	815
3.	Colleges of General Education	15,312	58,057	128,082
4.	Colleges of Professional Education	4,901	53,972	78,954
5.	Colleges of Other Education	904	6,675	8,990
6.	High/Higher Secondary Schools	126,504	479,060	758,561
7.	Middle Schools	85,496	527,754	777,928
8.	Primary Schools	537,918	944,377	1,247,553
9.	Pre-Schools	866	6,832	9,951
10.	Vocational Schools	11,598	17,785	15,758
11.	Schools for Special Education	16,686	28,756	2,758
12.	Schools for Other Education			21,549
	Grand Total :	803,521	2,132,928	3,069,359

Table No. IV

Expenditure by Heads of Charge

Rs (millions)

	1950-51	1965-56	1975-76
1. Universities, Deemed Universities & Institutions of National Importance	49.053	389.500	1,342.637
2. Research Institutions	6.256	18.234	36.066
3. Boards of Examinations	5.338	48.316	203.524
4. Colleges of General Education	71.714	383.357	1,756.386
5. Colleges of Professional Education	42.194	466.547	1,508.334
6. Colleges for Other Education	2.224	12.128	31.038
7. Secondary schools	230.451	1,376.926	4,935.622
8. Middle schools	76.990	842.827	3,409.672
9. Primary schools	364.843	1,287,230	4,463.148
10. Pre-Primary schools	1.198	11.377	33.018
11. Vocational schools	36.943	76.611	134.252
12. Schools (special)	16.086	9.376	29.427
13. Schools (Other)	7.249	15.484	42.055
Total (Direct)	910.539	4,937.913	17,925.179
Indirect			
Direction & Inspection	27.364	148.626	N.A.
Buildings	99.270	383.753	N.A.
Hostels*	N.A.	49.076	N.A.
Scholarships*	N.A.	382.555	N.A.
Miscellaneous	106.648	318.313	N.A.
Total (Indirect)	233.282	1,282.323	3,121.851
Grand Total	1,143.821	6,220.236	21,407.030
Percentage to National Income	1.2	3.0	3.4

* Included under Miscellaneous.

Table No. V

Distribution of Government Expenditure

	1950-51	1965-66	1975-76
1. Universities, Deemed universities and institutions of National Importance	19.971	224.584	945.274
2. Boards of Examinations	0.234	0.577	14.923
3. Research Institutions	5.667	16.217	33.820
4. Colleges of General Education	27.472	154.186	1,078.995
5. Colleges of Professional Education	30.082	346.774	1,173.775
6. Colleges for other Education	1.088	7.256	20.651
7. Secondary schools	84.013	781.609	4,278.935
8. Middle schools	39.231	661.850	3,017.892
9. Primary schools	249.114	1,069.735	3,936.580
10. Pre-schools	0.311	3.094	11.445
11. Vocational schools	27.824	65.008	115.240
12. Special schools	13.973	7.604	25.561
13. Other schools	—	11.145	34.802
Total (Direct)	498.980	3,355.609	14,687.894
14. *Indirect*			
Direction & Inspection	26.295	146.295	N.A.
Buildings	57.558	283.146	N.A.
Miscellaneous	69.845	589.468	N.A.
Total (Indirect)	153.698	1,018.909	1,835,169
Grand Total	662.678	4,374.518	16,523.063
Percentage to total Educational Expenditure	57.0	70.3	78.5

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