

# インドの教員養成:独立後 20 年間の施策への一考察

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Teacher training in India after independence:

A concerted engagement or a pious hope?

by

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## Abstract

India's independence in 1947 and the promulgation of its Constitution in 1950 were expected to be the impetus for realizing universalization of elementary education (UEE). The Constitution stated that India would endeavor to provide free, compulsory elementary education within 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution. However, India took almost 40 years to announce a national system for teacher education. This paper examines the progress in education of elementary teachers in India and attempts to understand the problems involved in development of teacher-training policies after 1947 to the National Policy on Education 1968. In the pre-independence period, there was an acute shortage of trained school teachers and institutions for teacher education had qualitative problems. However, the teacher education in India after independence had two contradictory trends. The first trend was adapting short-term courses for teacher training for quantitative improvement. The second trend was suggesting higher qualifications for admission for teacher training institutions and emphasizing the importance of teacher training. There was a wide variety and disparity in the condition of school education and teacher education in India, and these factors prevented the Central Government to take definite measures to reform teacher education. Consequently, the NPE68 mentioned in-service education for school teachers, but didn't advocate any particular plan for pre-service teacher education.

(Key words: Teacher training in India, After-independence period, The Education Commission 1964-66, National Policy on education 1968)

## 1. Introduction

India's national strategy for training school teachers, universalization of elementary education (UEE) through decentralization, establishment of District Institute of Education and Training (the DIET system) were all envisaged in the document entitled National Policy on Education 1986 (NPE86). However, the Indian Constitution promulgated in 1950 had already stated in article 45 that India would endeavor to provide free education and make it compulsory for all children within 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution. The independence of India in 1947 and the promulgation of her Constitution in 1950 were, undoubtedly, the impetus for realizing UEE - as any modernizing nation would aspire to provide its citizens. The percentage of children in primary classes in the year 1950-51 "increased from 40.3% to 41.2%" as compared to the previous year (1949-1950). [MHRD, "Education in India 1950-51": 46] It would, hence, be logical to assume that India would need more schools and more school teachers by 1960, that is, within 10 years of the implementation of the Constitution. Nevertheless, India took almost 40 years to announce a national system for teacher education, the DIET system. Why was the delay and what are its current implications?

This paper examines the progress in training/education of elementary teachers in India and attempts to understand the problems involved in development of perceptive, cogent, and concerted teacher-training policies after 1947 until the National Policy on Education 1968 (NPE68). This analysis is done mainly at the national level, as education policies were formulated and implemented on the basis of central plans, such as, the First Five Year Plan (1951-1955). My focus is on policies in the context of primary/elementary education and not policies as such, or how they have affected other sectors of the Indian economy and policy. The fundamental rationale for my focus is that the attainment of UEE, one of the avowed goals of India's education policies, inevitably requires the review of training/education on school teachers who are the pivots in the education process, at almost every stage. Primary sources for my analysis are reports, documents, published by the British raj, central/local governments, and studies by persons who are devoted to ameliorating the state of education.

The term 'teacher', in this paper, means one who teaches in a school or college. However, the term had greater meaning in the National Policy on Education 1968 (NPE 68). It stated that the teacher was the most important factor by which the quality of education was determined, and that the quality of education was the determinant factor in national development. Further, the policy document asserted that the success of all educational endeavors ultimately depended on a teacher's "personal qualities and character, his educational qualifications and professional competence." [MHRD, NPE68: 2-3] This statement should remind us of the importance given to teacher education in theory and what was expected from teachers if the nation was to realize the hopes enshrined in the Constitution.

## 2. Teacher training/education prior to independence (1947)

During the pre-independence period various plans for Indian economic development were prepared, for example, the “Bombay Plan (1944)” sponsored by some top industrialists, and the “People’s Plan (1944)” prepared by M. N. Roy (1887-1954) and the Indian Federation of Labour, which emphasized socialistic principles in planning. Generally speaking, the objectives of these plans were to raise the standard of living of the people by “the development of the resources of the country to the maximum extent possible.” [Majumdar, R.C. et al: 955] At the instance of the Indian National Congress, a leading political party, a National Planning Committee was constituted in 1938, under the Chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964). The committee was supposed to prepare a comprehensive plan of national development and “educational planning was taken up by two sub-committees.” [Biswas, A. & Agrawal, S.P.: 692] However, the outbreak of the Second World War and changes in the political situation halted its work. The Government of India, under the British, set up the planning and development department during the Second World War in order to “boost the war effort and to undertake development.” [Shukla, P.D.: 105]

In the field of school education, some early attempts for providing elementary education were undertaken in the late 1930s, when each provincial Indian government was made responsible for school education in its province. The “Basic Education” system advocated by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) was the first such example. He presided over a Conference of National Workers at Wardha in 1937. This conference passed resolutions demanding that free and compulsory education should be provided on a nation-wide scale, and that also some productive form of manual work should be adopted in the curricula. At the same time, the Wardha conference appointed a committee of distinguished academics under Zakir Husain (1897-1967), an erudite scholar of Gandhi’s time, on education to prepare a report. The report known as the Zakir Husain Committee Report, was approved by Gandhi and accepted by the Indian National Congress at its Haripura Session in 1938. This report is also known as the Wardha Scheme of Education. As a consequence, the Congress organized the Hindustani Talimi Sangh (All-India Education Board) in 1938. Two provinces, the Central and the United Province, accepted the Scheme as its official policy on education. Although the government did not insist that craft work and its products in basic schools could cover the entire cost of education, this was the intent of the original Wardha Scheme. Training centres for basic education were set up by the Government in Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, Madras and other places, and private centers, for example, the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, were also established.

Another outcome of education review in this period was a report entitled, Post-war Educational Development in India compiled by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE)<sup>1</sup> in 1944, commonly known as the Sargent Report, as its author was John Philip Sargent (1888-1972), a British statesman and educator, who served as principal advisor to the government of India from 1938 to 1948. This report “suffered unmerited

neglect” [Aggarwal, J.C.: 58] because it was a personification of British-inspiration, formulation, and embodied perspectives which were not in keeping with the times. Further, the report was compiled when national goals for education were not yet clearly professed. However, the descriptions in the report regarding education in India before independence are still insightful. The Sargent Report described school education at that time as follows: “In the year 1936-37, there were 11,985,986 pupils on the registers of some schools or other as compared with approximately 60,000,000 children in the 5 - 14 age-group.” [Sargent Report: 6] Out of the total number of 11,184,443 pupils on the registers of primary school level (Classes I to V), 5,188,601 pupils were in class I, but only 703,628 pupils were in class V. Pupils enrolled in Middle schools including the middle section of High Schools were barely 801,543. These figures show that there was serious wastage and stagnation<sup>2</sup> in primary schools education in the pre-independence period. Moreover, even in the local areas where compulsory education was in force, this policy was mostly applied to male children only. Thus, it was revealed that less than one out of every four children stayed long enough at primary school to reach class IV, “at which permanent literacy is likely to be attained.” [Sargent Report: 6]

The Sargent Report mentioned that it had referred to the recommendations made by a Committee appointed by C.A.B.E in 1942 to consider the problems of recruitment, training, and conditions of school teachers. The recommendations prepared were unanimously adopted by C.A.B.E in 1943. The idea of primary and middle education put forward by the Report embodied some suggestions that were contained in the original Wardha scheme, for example, basic craft work suited to local condition. In addition to competent supervisors, it was also suggested in the report that appropriate publicity should be given to the schemes whereby pupils, parents, and the community understood the importance of school education particularly in rural areas. For the spread of primary and elementary education, the report recommended that “a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen should be introduced as speedily as possible.” [Sargent Report: 12]

In the pre-independence period, there was an acute shortage of school teachers, and institutions for teacher training had qualitative problems. For example, in the year 1940-41, there were 640 institutions for training of teachers all over India, and 19,392 teachers were trained. Out of these 640 institutions, 612 were training schools which admitted class IV pass and Middle pass candidates for training as teachers for primary and lower secondary classes. These institutions offered one or two years training of “a rather elementary nature.” [Sargent Report: 48] The successful candidates were awarded the Vernacular Teachers Certificate or the Junior Vernacular Teachers Certificate. During the same year (1940-41), there were 28 training colleges for training graduates, and 1,413 students were trained as teachers. These colleges were, as a rule, affiliated to universities but were generally regarded as separate units, and their trainees were “almost completely

divorced from University life.” [Sargent Report: 48] There was a different type of institution, also called as a Training College for training non-graduate teachers (Matriculate and Intermediate). The Report stated that the precise number of these colleges was not known, but the number of students trained by either these colleges or by University Training College was 2,096 in 1940-41. These colleges offered mostly a one year course and some of other colleges had two year courses.

It was clearly understood that the teacher training before 1947 was completely insufficient for the needs of Indian situation. Additionally, the type of training which these training institutions offered had “fail(ed) to keep up with modern ideas in education and there (was) insufficient co-ordination between theory and practice. --- The result is that many unsuitable candidates, who should ordinarily be weed out, (found) their way into the teaching profession.” [Sargent Report: 48] Further, out of 5,180,018 school teachers in India, 210,496, that is., 40.6% were untrained in 1940-41. Although education was dependent on the teacher, the status and emoluments of school teachers were regrettably low. Hence, the report suggested that the minimum qualification for a basic (primary or middle) school teacher ought to be a matriculation certificate or its equivalent followed by a professional training course of two or three years. The minimum national pay scale for school teachers, and housing allowance for teachers of village schools were also proposed. A Headmaster and Headmistress were expected to be significant agents to raise the status of the teaching profession in society. The report estimated that India needed another “thirty-five years” [Sargent Report: 49] to nurture an adequate number of school teachers, and stated that the courses for training school teachers had to be practical enough and must be related to the needs of the schools with which the successful trainees are supposed to work.

Teacher training prior to 1947 had the following deficiencies: Insufficient number of teacher training institutions, low standard of admission to teacher training institutions, insufficient linkages between theory and practice, lack of modern content in curricula, and isolation of teacher training institutions from other academic streams. These inadequacies made a bad situation worse, that is, low standards and unsuitable trainees at training institutions invariably resulted in poorly trained teachers, which in turn effected the motivation and morale of teachers in service, coupled with their low social status, especially, primary school teachers. The Sargent Report acknowledged the serious circumstances prevailing in primary education in India, even though the raj had enunciated its educational policy with the view to control the Indian masses, not to emancipate the citizens of its largest colony. Wouldn't it be an astonishing development were these inadequacies in primary school education to disappear once Indian became independent?

### 3. Post-independence period

India's independence in 1947 and the promulgation of its Constitution in 1950 were significant achievements. The Constitution embodied the hopes and aspiration of Indians, and education was expected to hold an honored place in this admired document. According to List II State List of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, education was made a State subject. Article 45 of the Constitution relates to the Provision for free and compulsory education for children. It states that "The State shall endeavor to provide, within a period of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years." [Biswas, A & Aggrawal, J.C., 1972: 2-3] This Article suggested that free and compulsory education should be expanded rapidly. It also envisaged that determined measures would be taken to increase the number of school teachers without delay.

During the first four years after independence, India experienced a fair level of expansion in education. The total number of recognized primary schools during the years 1948-49 rose to 154,912, the rate of increase was 9.7%, as against 4.3 % in 1947-48. There were 144,421 primary schools for boys and 10,491 primary schools for girls. Of these schools, 8.7% were managed by government, 47.2% were managed by district boards, 4.8% were managed by municipal boards, 36% were aided private schools, and 3.3% were unaided private schools. The total number of pupils in recognized primary schools in 1947-48 were 11,538,080, and more than 1,435,168 pupils were enrolled in 1948-49, that is, a total of 12,973,248 pupils were in recognized primary schools in 1948-49. [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": 23] Training institutions for school teachers were also developed in these years. Such institutions for men increased from 342 in 1947 to 405 in 1948, while those for women rose from 187 to 192. Of the total number of training schools, 63.5% were managed by the Government, 3.4% were managed by local boards, and 33.1 % were private institutions. However, training institutes attached to secondary schools were not included in these figures. The total number of students in training institutions including classes attached to secondary schools rose from 38,895 in 1947-48 to 51,505 in 1948-49. Among these 51,505 trainees, 38,792 were men and 10,966 were women.<sup>3</sup> [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49":132-136]

Since education was a state subject, it is necessary to take a broad view of teacher training in States and Provinces in India during the post-independence era. For example, under the Compulsory Primary Education Scheme, the opening of training camps in Assam resulted in an increase in the number of training schools by 17 in the State. The increase in West Bengal (from 54 in 1947-48 to 57 in 1948-49), Bihar (from 79 to 83), Madras (from 164 to 169), and Orissa (from 27 to 30) was due to the starting of new Basic Training schools. The United Provinces organized 25 Mobile Training Squads, in addition to 9 new training schools, in order to train a large number of teachers needed for new Government schools. Bombay State introduced craft teaching in addition to a course in the theory of Basic Education to all primary training institutions. In order to meet

the dearth of Basic trained teachers, one Basic Training school for women was opened at Delhi. Most institutions were under Government control, except in Assam, Bombay and Madras. The percentage of private institutions was the highest in Bombay (64.8%) followed by Madras (47.9%). [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": 77, 132-135, 143-145]

During the year 1948-49, most of the State Governments accepted the policy of introducing Basic Education at the compulsory education level. The Governments worked out schemes to gradually convert existing Primary and Training schools into Basic Education Institutions. Support for this policy was offered not only by State Governments, but also by the Government of India. For example, the Basic Education scheme in Delhi was launched in 1948. However, "most of the Provinces could not introduce correlation of school subjects with the basic craft to the extent that the Basic System required." [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": 73] Furthermore, financial stringency and lack of trained Basic teachers were the main difficulties that impeded the successful implementation of the policy.

The raj published yearly reports on education, as did the Government of India. The report, Education in India 1948-49, published by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, followed the earlier pattern and mainly described the number of schools and enrollment of pupils/students, and provided some explanation as "an account of the progress made during the year in the field of education." [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": Preface] While describing the development and expansion in primary school education and teacher training, the report admitted that the supply of trained teachers was insufficient, and this insufficiency remained one of the most serious problems affecting the expansion of education. The report further stated that the efficacy of qualified teachers graduating from training institutions in India "failed to keep pace with the huge requirements created by the rapid growth of schools under various new schemes" [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": 132] and that the employment of untrained teachers reflected the quality of teaching.

Although all Provincial Governments tried to improve the facilities for training teachers, the number of trained teachers was far from the required. Further, there was a big internal disparity in the distribution of trained teachers. For example, Madras and Delhi had more than 90% of trained male and female primary teachers, but the percentage was below 10% in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh had nearly 60% of trained male primary teachers, but the percentage of trained female teachers was about 30%. There were more trained female primary teachers than trained male teachers in Himachal Pradesh and Orrisa. [MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": 133]

Regarding the significance of teacher training, the report on education for the year 1949-50 compiled by the

Ministry of Education, Government of India stated that “the training of teachers occupies a key position in any system of education.” [MHRD, “Education in India 1949-50”: 116] Actually, the number of trained teachers vastly increased in most Indian states during the year. In many states, existing normal and training schools were converted to training schools for Basic Education teachers. In addition to this, many State Governments and training institutions organized short-term courses for Basic Education.

In 1949-50, there were 720 teacher training institutions including institutions for Basic Education. Among these 720 institutions, 509 were for men and 211 were for women. Some secondary schools had attached classes for primary teacher training. Among such training institutions, 62.2% were managed by State governments, 2.4% were managed by local governments, and 35.4% were managed by private bodies. The total number of trainees was 67,046 including those who attended the courses attached to secondary schools, and 25% of the trainees were women. Of the successful trainees in 1949-50, 25,127 were male students and 5,657 were female students. The number of primary school teachers increased by 50% in Bihar, as the State increased the annual intake of candidates in 30 elementary training schools. The United Provinces organized Mobile Training Squads, which visited villages and offered training to teachers where they lived and worked, and as a result, the number of school teachers increased by 50%. However, 43% of primary and secondary school teachers were still untrained in India. [MHRD, “Education in India 1949-50”: 116-121]

The Report Education in India 1950-51 evaluated the introduction of “new crafts” which was put into effect as a positive factor in making education relevant to local conditions. Conversion from existent government primary schools to Basic Schools was in progress and primary/elementary education expanded both in quality and quantity. Recognized primary schools in India increased by 2.4% under the year in review. Especially in rural areas, every three villages had a school and Nearly 84% of primary schools were located in rural areas. There were, however, 68,841 single-teacher schools during the year in review, and the distribution of such schools varied greatly in different parts of the country. Only 0.2% of the total primary schools in Cochin were single-teacher schools, while 78.2% of the primary schools in Tripura were single-teacher schools.

Educational expansion was continuously reported in a yearly manner in the reports of the Central Government, but progress was less than what the people or planners expected, and wastage and stagnation in primary education were still serious factors plaguing the progress of school education. The report argued that “shortage of personnel and resources could not, however, be removed except on the basis of a long term program.” [MHRD, “Education in India 1950-51”: 1] Further, this report stated that the main factors that hindered the expansion of education were: Parents regarded their children as candidates for the work force, absence of primary schools within walking distance from the child s habitation, and the lack of legal

enforcement of the policy of compulsory primary education.

During the same year (1950-51), there were 567 teacher training institutions for men and 215 teacher training institutions for women on an all-India basis. The total number increased by 63 from the previous year. Among these total 720 institutions, 61.3% were managed by State Governments, 2% were managed by local governments, and 36.7% were private institutions. There had been no teacher training institution for men in Delhi, and a single institution was established during the year 1950-51. In Bombay, there were 11,685 trainees and 4,790 graduates. In Punjab, there were 1,195 trainees and 1,159 graduates. In Delhi, there were total 339 trainees and 320 graduates. Thus, the duration of teacher training was one year in Delhi and Punjab and two years in Bombay. The total number of teacher trainees during the year in review was 70,063 (52,029 men and 17,944 women). The number of successful candidates was 42,042 in this year. Training institutions managed by Governments didn't collect fees and some of them had boarding facilities for trainees. The yearly government report stated that the need for in-service training for school teachers was recognized not only by itself, but also by society as a whole. For example, Bombay State organized short-term in-service training courses on a three month and six month basis and 1,977 teachers participated in them during the year.

[MHRD, "Education in India 1950-51": 143-154]

The brief review on primary education and primary teacher training during the four years after independence can be summarized as follows: The expansion of primary/elementary education was acknowledged by both the administration and the citizens in India. The introduction of Basic Education was firmly in place and enrollment in primary school education increased especially in rural areas. The importance of the role of teachers in school education was stressed in Government reports, and each State Government established new teacher training institutions and launched in-service training programs. The gradual increase of primary school teachers was noted, but there was wide disparity among the States in India regarding teacher training system. The expansion of primary/elementary education was a top priority in the nation's development policy. However, no successful strategy was worked to deal with the disparities both in school education and teacher training. There was a common awareness that more school teachers were inevitably needed for the expansion of school education, but tackling this problem differed from State to State and region to region because of the complexities involved.

#### 4. From the First Five Year Plan to the Third Five Year Plan

The year 1951-52 was the first year for the First Five Year Plan in India. "Training of teachers, especially women teachers and teachers for Basic Schools" was emphasized. [Biswas, A. & Aggrawal J.C.: 105]  
Consolidation, rather than expansion was the main concern and "reorientation in courses of training was

maintained and crafts, community activities, social welfare and village improvement continued to receive increasing attention.” [MHRD, “Education in India 1951-55”: 162] The Central Institute of Education undertook research on the adoption of Basic Education to meet the needs of urban communities and on the creation of inexpensive teaching-aid appropriate to the requirements of rural areas. For example, in Bihar, in order to meet the shortage of basic trained teachers, short-term courses were organized by basic training schools. In Punjab, a ten days in-service course was organized.

During the First Five Year Period, two aspects of the problem of teacher training attracted attention, that is, an urgent need for quantitative expansion of teacher training institutions and the need for a greater focus on qualitative aspects of teacher training. Teacher training for Basic School teachers progressed and a lot of traditional training schools were converted into basic training schools. Short term training courses in Basic Education were also organized for the teachers trained in the traditional type of institutions. For example, in Bombay, the revised syllabus for the training schools emphasizing “crafts, hygiene, health and community activities, social welfare and village improvement, cultural activities and correlated teaching” [MHRD, “Education in India 1952-53”: 175] was introduced in the primary training institutions, and trainees were examined according to the revised syllabus at the end of the year. The fourth year report regarding Indian education, the Ministry of Education stated that “the key to all educational improvement lay in better type of teachers.” [MHRD, “Education in India 1954-55”: 188]

The review for the First Five Year Plan, compiled by the Planning Commission, summarized that the Plan aimed at correcting the disequilibria in India caused by the Second World War (1939-1945) and the partition of India (1947), and proposed to initiate a process of all-round balanced development in living standards. Education, therefore, occupied an important part of the Plan. The economic condition during this plan period was not favorable to any stepping up of investment in education. Various development projects for development begun during the post-war period were faced with financial difficulties. Further, “there was little coordination, *inter se*, between the developmental programmes of the Centre and of the States, and the administrative machinery in some of the newly constituted States was inadequate even of its normal tasks.” [MHRD, “Review of the First Five Year Plan”: 1] Nonetheless, some positive results in education were reported in the review. For example, the number of children in primary schools increased by about 33%, and 24.8 million children were in primary schools by 1955-56. During the Plan years, of the 385,550 villages in India, 168,550 villages had schools. Compulsory education had been introduced in 496 urban areas before the Plan and 1,082 new urban areas were introduced to compulsory education by 1955-56. The increase in the number of villages with compulsory education increased from 20,261 to 38,726 by 1966-56.

However, there has been a big disproportion in literacy between men and women, and between rural and urban areas. Travancore-Cochin reported a 100% enrolment ratio of the children in the age-group 6-11, but the percentage was 80% in Bombay, 57.9% in Punjab, and 22.4% in Rajasthan. The number of teachers in elementary schools increased from 685,000 (1950-51) to 932,000 (1955-56) and the percentage of trained primary school teachers rose from 59% to 64%. The annual enrolment of teacher trainees in training institutions increased from 70,063 to 91,530. Although training facilities had increased, there was still quite a shortage. Expansion of educational facilities led to the adoption of a program in 1953 to relieve the educated unemployed and about 80,000 additional teachers were appointed in rural schools. [MHRD, "Review of the First Five Year Plan":7, 251-253, 258-259] Expansion and development in education and disproportion therein were the characteristics of Indian education during the First Five Year Plan period, and further improvement was strongly needed for UEE to be a reality.

Teacher education in India seemed to have made progress during the Second Five Year Period (1956-1960). The percentage of trained teachers increased from 61% to 65% in the year 1957-58, and training for teachers for Basic Education was progressing. The Ministry of Education stated that "the efficiency of the educational system depends largely on the quality of its teachers and professional training goes a long way in equipping the teachers for efficient instruction." [MHRD, "Education in India 1959-60: 178] The implementation of Basic Education at the elementary level required more training institutions for the system, and the Central and State Governments made efforts to develop training facilities to catch up with the growing demand for qualified teachers. One of the main requirements for the success of UEE during the next Five Year Plan (the third plan period, 1961-1965) was "an adequate supply of trained teachers." [MHRD, "Education in India 1959-60": 178] It had been estimated that another five lakhs (1 lakh = 100, 000) of teachers were needed for the UEE, and the Central Ministry of Education adopted a special scheme for this purpose during the Second Five Year Plan period. For example, teacher training courses of 8 to 10 week s duration were developed.

During the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) years, compulsory education was introduced in many areas, and the total number of pupils increased from 251.7 lakhs (1955-56) to 349.9 lakhs (1960-61) in classes I to V, and from 42.9 lakhs to 67.1 lakhs in classes VI to VIII. The proportion of pupils attending schools in the age-group 6-11 increased from 50% to 62.8%, and 15.9% to 22.5% in the age-group 11-14. From the year 1955-56 to the year 1960-61, the percentage of the enrollment at Primary schools increased by 37.2%. [Biswas, A & Aggarwal, J.C.: 106] However, disparity in education had become more serious during the Second Plan Period. Since each State Government was responsible for school education, the duration of primary school differed from State to State, for example, four years in Bombay, five years in Punjab and Delhi, three years in Assam, and this made school education difficult to be assessed on a nation-scale, when further

improvement were needed.

Although the number of schools had increased, 91% of the total number of boys' schools was located in rural areas and 68% of girls' schools were located in rural areas. This indicates that girls' education in rural areas was progressing slowly. Further, among the pupils who enrolled in the class I in 1954-55, only 41% continued their schooling until to the class IV in 1957-58. "The main causes contributing to wastage were, as usual, the general poverty of the pupils, inadequate and ill-paid staff, ill-equipped, inadequate and unsuitable school buildings, etc." [MHRD, "Education in India 1957-58": 51] An All-Indian Council of Elementary Education was organized in 1957, according to the recommendation of CAGE in 1956, in order to examine the UEE and the development of primary education.

The number of school teachers increased from 10.29 lakhs in 1955-56 to 13.83 lakhs in 1960-61. [Biswas, A. & Aggarwal, J.C.: 106] However, disparity among school teachers has also become more apparent during the Second Five Year period. More than 90% of primary school teachers were trained teachers in Delhi, Madras, Kerala, Punjab and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi (now known as Lakshadweep islands) islands, but less than 40% were trained in West Bengal, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Tripura and Manipur. [MHRD, "Education in India 1957-58": 65] Thus, teacher education in India revealed two clearly contradictory trends during the Second Five Year period. The first trend was adapting short-term courses for teacher training for quantitative improvement. Many State Governments followed this strategy and the number of primary and elementary teachers in India was increased. The second trend was suggesting higher qualifications for admission for teacher training institutions and emphasizing the importance of teacher training. However, because of the variety in the conditions of school education, no effective measures could be implemented during the Second Five Year Plan period.

In the year 1960-61, three important steps were taken by the Central Government for the UEE. First, an All-India Educational Survey was taken up so that these findings would serve as a guide for the instituting new primary schools. Second, the Delhi Primary Education Act 1960, which was designed to be the model for such legislation in other States, was passed. Finally, four regional seminars were organized to orientate the officers of the State Education Departments for the UEE. The influence of international agencies on education in under-developing countries also reached India during these days, and the Central Government and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) launched program in the field of education. A work plan was drawn up for the realization of free compulsory primary education in the South East Asian Region within the next 20 years at the regional meeting held at Karachi. However, plans for Basic Education didn't show much progress, although, for example. The rate of conversion of primary schools to a

basic type was slow, due to the lack of funds. Therefore, the introduction of basic activities in primary schools that did not involve expensive equipment or large space was suggested. In order to meet the need for teachers working in basic schools, the Central Government recognized the diploma in teachers training--awarded by the Hindustani Talmi Sangh, Wardha, to graduate teacher-trainees--as equivalent to B.T./B.Ed./L.T., etc., "for the purposes of employment in the Central Government." [MHRD, "Education in India 1960-61": 2]

The draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan was published in 1960 and it kept in view both India's social and economic objectives and its growth perspectives over the next 15 years. The main objectives of the First Five Year Plan were to create conditions in which living standards were reasonably high, and to give all the citizens equal opportunities. The Second Five Year Plan aimed at ensuring the benefits of economic development accrued to the relatively less privileged classes of society. As a result of the two Five Year Plans, the number of elementary/basic schools increased from 223,000 in 1950 to 385,000 in 1960-61. The percentage of children going school to all children in the age group 6-11 was expected to increase from 43% in 1950-51 to 60% in 1960-61. However, the expansion of school education was supposed to be slower than the expansion of university education. "The Third Five Year Plan a Draft Outline" estimated as follows: "The total number of students in schools will go up by about 75 percent and in universities by 140 percent." [MHRD, "Third Five Year Plan A Draft Outline": 21]

Furthermore, the draft outline proposed the revision of the goal stated in the Constitution promulgated in 1950 as follows: "-- free and compulsory education will be provided for all children in the age group 6-11 years during the period of the third plan. The next step will be to provide for universal education up to the age of 14 years, a goal to be fulfilled during the fourth and fifth plans." [MHRD, "Third Five Year Plan A Draft Outline: 7] Allowing for the slow progress in female education in some backward areas, it was re-estimated that the proportion of school going children to the total number of children would rise from 60% to 80% in the age group 6-11 years. The proposed percentage for the expansion of school-going children in the age group 11-14 was 23 percent in 1961 to 30 percent in 1965, and from 12% to 15% in the age group 14-17.

It had become clear that India was lagging behind her original plan for the UEE and what had been stated in the Constitution in 1950, that is, the State would endeavor to provide all the children with free and compulsory elementary education by 1960. This draft outline stated that the expansion of school education "require(d) trained teachers. The emphasis on teacher training is being therefore considerably increased in the Third Plan." [MHRD, "Third Five Year Plan A Draft Outline": 100] It was expected that new training institutions of the basic pattern, were to be set up and it was proposed that the period of training for elementary school teachers ought to be extended to two years in all States. Further, the Third Plan included a program for local

development and it suggested that the village school facility could be used as a community centre.

Thus, teacher education during the Third Five Year Plan period in India now had a twofold burden: Quantitative expansion and qualitative transformation. India experienced a large expansion in primary education in the Third Five Year Plan period. In the year 1962-63, the enrolment target of 36.3 lakhs in classes I to V was exceeded by 5.57 lakhs. However, in some States, the rate of expansion was much greater than the financial allocation could actually support. Consequently State Governments couldn't employ additional teachers.

Measures for the development of primary/elementary school education were examined by some institutions and seminars during the year 1962-63: The All-India Council for Elementary Education set up a study group for examining problems relating to teacher training. It also suggested that special ameliorative measures such as school meals, free supply of books, writing materials and school uniforms ought to be adopted to attract children to schools. According to the recommendations of the First National Seminar on Compulsory Primary Education, the National Institute of Basic Education examined the problems of elementary education. The study "covered wastage and stagnation, absenteeism and attendance, curriculum, problems of teachers and relationship between the schools and the community." [MHRD, "Education in India 1962-63": 2] Although expansion in enrolment in primary schools and increase in number of school teachers were reported in the Government's annual publication, absenteeism among teachers was identified as a serious issue in Indian school education, as early as the Third Five Year Plan period.

Regarding the training of teachers, Education in India 1962-63 stated that the standard of education in a country depended on the quality of its teachers and that it could be improved by appropriate professional training that equips the teacher with the ability to impart efficient instruction. It further stated that "There is no denying the fact that there is a considerable shortage of trained teachers in India at all levels of education. The situation has become particularly serious with the unprecedented expansion in primary education during the first two years of the Third Five year Plan. Quick measures to increase the output of trained teachers substantially have become essential." [MHRD, "Education in India 1962-63": 145]

The Second National Seminar on Compulsory Primary Education was held at Pachmarhi, in Madhya Pradesh, in 1962. It was suggested at this seminar that provision ought to be made for short-term orientation training for newly-recruited primary teachers. Each State made efforts to offer such training for teachers. For example, in Maharashtra short term courses of four months for Hindi-speaking primary teachers were held. The number of teacher training institutions decreased from 1,113 during the previous year, to 1,106 in 1962-63. This was

mainly due to the change in status of 46 institutions in Madhya Pradesh which classified their basic training and nursery training schools as undergraduate basic training colleges from the year 1962-63. The total number of teacher trainees in training institutions and attached classes was 150,284 during the year 1962-63 as against 139,920 in the previous year. [MHRD, "Education in India 1962-63": 149-151] Whenever rapid expansion was needed the activity undertaken was to organize some short-term training.

The year 1964-65, again, saw a significant expansion in primary education. The original target fixed for the Third Five Plan period was to achieve 76.4% enrolment for Classes I to V. The enrolment ratio reached 75.5% in 1964-65, and the original plan target seemed to be achieved by the end of the Third Plan. Besides, "mid-day meals schemes were introduced in many primary schools and various special measures were undertaken to encourage girl s education. [MHRD, "Education in India 1964-65": 38] The Fourth National Seminar on Compulsory Primary Education reviewed the progress of elementary education during the Third Plan period and found that some States, such as, Assam Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal exceeded their enrolment targets for Classes I to V. On the other hand, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orrisa and Rajasthan were behind their target. In order to improve the quality of primary education, additional training centres were opened for example, in Assam, Orrisa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. As a result, the percentage of trained teachers was expected to rise to 70.2% at the end of the Third Five Year period.

Although the number of basic school had risen to 102,253 (83,823 junior basic, 18,392 senior basic and 38 post basic) during the year 1964-65, the percentage of junior basic schools to total number of primary schools and senior basic schools to total middle schools was 21.8% and 25.5% respectively. "This is mainly due to lack of teaching personnel of required standard and paucity of funds which in turn may be said to have resulted from the phenomenal increase in enrolment." [MHRD, "Education in India 1964-65": 159] Regarding the total enrolment in basic training schools, that is., teacher training institution for Basic School teachers, was 56,960, and the total enrolment in non-basic training schools was 11,172 in 1964-65. Although the percentage of trained teachers rose more than 70% due to various training programs, there were not sound nation-wide plans for in-service teacher education. More precisely, it was practically impossible to adopt such plans because of the diverse conditions of school education in the States in India.

The most notable event during the Third Five Year period was the appointment of the Education Commission in 1964 through the Government of India s Resolution to advise the Government on the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages over the next 20 years. This was the sixth such commission appointed. Neither the raj nor the Central Government

had appointed any particular Commission for primary education. The appointment of the two commissions after the independence, that is., the University Education Commission (1948-49) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952-55) indicated that primary education was not a priority even after independence. The fact that wastage and stagnation continued even after 15 year of independence supports this contention.

Therefore, the Central Government needed a Commission to look into all aspects of education including primary education. Since India didn't have any "accepted plan of a national system of education," [Naik, J.P. 1997: 6] the Central Government took the initiative to prepare a layout for a national system of education.

In the middle of the 1960s, "wastage and stagnation continued to be alarming at primary stage." [MHRD, "Education in India 1965-66": 43] In the year 1965-66, the last year of the Third Five Year Plan, as against a Gross enrolment ratio 100% (Total enrolment in Grades I to IV or V divided by population of age 6 to 10 or 11 years) in class I in 1961-62, there were only 58% in class II in 1962-63, 48% in class III in 1963-64, 41% in class IV in 1964-65, and 34% in class V in 1965-66. Further, this aspect of stagnation had wide regional disparities. Although the percentage of wastage in primary stage was 20.5% in Kerala and 30.3% in Delhi respectively, the percentage was 81.3% in Andaman and Nicobar islands, 78.5% in Bihar, and 77.3% in Orissa respectively.

##### 5. From the Education Commission to the NPE68

The Report of the Education Commission 1964-66 (Education Commission Report) published in 1966 was filled with a lot of specific recommendations. One of the most significant suggestions was the modification of the goal of the UEE articulated in the Constitution. The Report stated that considering lack of enough resources, unforeseeable increase in population and widespread poverty, "all the areas in the country should be able to provide five years of good and effective education to all the children by 1975-76." [MHRD, "Education Commission Report": 151] When the report was published, only 50% of the children who entered Class I reached Class IV in India. Therefore, the plan for five years school education for all the children by the year 1975-76 was a practical and realistic suggestion. One of the important measures suggested by the report was a decentralized management structure in education. Although education was a State subject at that time, it was also one of national importance and as such Centre-State partnership was desirable. At the same time, education, especially primary and elementary education, had to be suited to local communities and this meant that "education planning ha (d) to be decentralized to the district level and still further down to the level of each institution." [MHRD, "Education Commission Report": 444] The report suggested a system of three different levels, that is, national, State and local, and argued that there was no need to expect uniformity in education in each district.

The report devoted an entire chapter (Chapter III) to teacher status in India and examined the reasons why there was a significant lack of accountability in the performance of teachers. The report stated that this situation was due to very low the remuneration of school teachers, especially of those at the primary and elementary levels, and this in turn contributed to the fact that the teaching profession couldn't attract competent personnel. After independence, efforts were made to improve the salaries of school teachers, but the results were inadequate, and even though there was improvement in salaries the effect had been neutralized by the sharp increase in living costs. These factors unfavorably affected the morale of teachers. The introduction of national pay scales for teachers was suggested, but because of the differences in the cost of living in different part of the country it was practically difficult to carry out such a plan.

The report also explained this aspect. The British administrative authorities "did not wish to reduce the salaries of government servants; at the same time, they were anxious to keep salary costs down to a level which the economy could afford. Hence the salaries of teachers in local authority schools were deliberately fixed at a point lower than that for government teachers and those for teachers in private schools were fixed at a still lower point." Further, the report stated that "even in government service, the teachers were paid lower than other categories of employees who had the same (or even inferior) qualifications and responsibilities." [MHRD, Education Commission Report": 48-49, 59] This had lowered the average salaries for teachers because teachers in government service were a small minority. The Report suggested an improvement in salary scales linked with the improvement in qualifications and quality of teachers. It further argued that the conditions of work such as minimum facilities in the classroom, academic freedom of teachers, had to be urgently provided not only for better education but also for the professional growth of teacher, and that instead of frequent transfers, "teachers should, as far as possible, be localized." [MHRD, "Education Commission Report": 50]

Regarding teacher education, the Report admitted that professional trained teachers were relatively inadequately utilized and that recommendations about them in some seminars were not yet implemented. It stated that the condition of training institutions for primary teacher was extraordinarily poor, both in terms of teaching staff and teacher trainees. New recruitment of qualified teachers was difficult mainly because of non-availability of trained personnel, social considerations especially for female teachers, and financial problems of Governments and local bodies. The main suggestions made by the report were: Bringing teacher education into the mainstream of academic life, improving the quality of both training programs and training institutions, providing continuous in-service training for teachers, and creating agencies both at the Centre and in the States for the maintenance of standards in teacher education. However, the report foresaw that India "(might) take another 20-25 years to ensure that every primary teacher (had) had at least ten years of

general education.” [MHRD, “Education Commission Report”: 79]

The report made specific recommendations on how to improve teacher education, such as, the admission qualification for primary and elementary teacher training institutions be raised to the higher secondary stage, and the quality of the existing programs of teacher education be improved so that it could catch up with the realities of schools and society. The duration of the training course for primary stage had to be a minimum of two years so that subject-matter courses could be amply provided. There had to be some direct relevance between the theoretical portion of the study and the practical work, including practice-teaching in the training course curricula so that teacher trainees could understand the objectives and implications of the school syllabi. Systematic and coordinated program of in-service education for teachers at least two or three months during every five years of service was also suggested.

Further, an important suggestion, made in the Report, was the relationship between a teacher training institution and the local community. It argued that each training institution ought be required to guide neighborhood schools, and that it would be advisable to transfer the control of the teacher training program from “the Centre to the States and to locate this control in the State Institutes of Education, whenever and wherever they are ready.” [MHRD, “Education Commission Report”: 69] Alumni associations of teacher training institutions were also suggested to promote active interaction between the institutions and neighboring schools. It would be worth keeping in mind that both the Sargent Committee Report under the raj published in 1944 and the The Report of the Education Commission 1964-66 mentioned not only the problem of low emoluments of primary and elementary school teachers but also that the circumstances of training institutions for primary teachers were poor both in terms of teaching staff and teacher trainees. Furthermore, both documents argue that the curricula for teacher education must catch up with the realities of schools and society, and that there had to be sufficient co-ordination between theory and practice in the program for teacher education.

The next logical step for a review of teacher education policies is to read carefully the resolution on the National Policy on Education 1968 (NPE68), based on the recommendations of the Education Commission and the first national policy on education after independence, resolved in 1968. The policy stated that at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, there was a need to hold a through review of the educational system, and therefore an Education Commission (1964-66) was appointed to advice the 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.” [MHRD, NPE68: 1] The NPE68 stated that the recommendations of the Education Commission were crucial for economic and cultural development, and for national integration of India, and that

the transformation of the educational system had to be closer to the life of the people. The NPE68 was well-known for its specific suggestions. Some of the examples are; implementing the three language formula, introducing Work-Experience in school curricula, and adapting the 10 + 2 + 3 school system. Further, the Policy argued that the India had to increase its investment in education to a level of 6% of the national income at its earliest, so that reconstruction of education could be achieved. Hence, it would not be incredible to expect concrete and clear-cut plans for teacher education in the NPE68.

The NPE68 emphasized that the following aspects needed improvement for the development of education: status, emoluments and education of teachers. In other words the NPE68 stated that “of all the 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 professional competence that the success of all educational endeavor must ultimately depend. Teachers must, therefore, be accorded an honored place in society. Their emoluments and other service conditions should be adequate and satisfactory having regard to their qualifications and responsibilities. --- Teacher education, particularly in-service education, should receive due emphasis.” [MHRD, NPE68: 2-3]

## 6. Conclusion

As it is apparent from the foregoing quote, the Policy gave emphasis to teachers personality, qualification and competence for the success of education, and stated that their status in society and pay must be improved. Although it particularly mentioned in-service education, the NPE68 didn't advocate any particular plan for pre-service teacher education, which had been repeatedly stated as a priority for the UEE. As I have examined in the previous part of this paper, there was a wide variety and disparity in the conditions of school education and teacher education in India, and these factors prevented the Central Government to clearly take unambiguous and definite measures to reform teacher education.

J.P. Naik (1907-1981), an eminent educationist in India, commented in his book, Elementary Education in India (1966) that a lot of speeches and publications were available which favored expansion of elementary education, but in reality India accorded an extremely low priority to elementary education. It is anguishing to read the opinion of J.P. Naik on this subject. Naik wrote that the criticism often made in the British days was that the educational system at that time was like a pyramid turned upside down, and that very little had been spent on elementary education. However, the rate of expansion of secondary and tertiary education after independence was much faster than that of elementary education. Naik further argued that “we all fondly hoped that the earlier policies would be abandoned in the post-Independence period, especially when the programme of universal education for children was singled out for inclusion in the Constitution itself. --- The

Government of India appointed commissions for university and secondary education but not for elementary education. --- It is no wonder that the constitutional directive is not fulfilled.” [Naik ,1966: 13] Naik suggested that not only short-term in-service training but also full-time training of un-trained teachers had to be organized, and that the training facilities in each State ought to be expanded so that an annual output of successful trainees could increase. He further suggested that the duration of the training course ought to be increased to a minimum of two years for matriculates and for those who have passed the higher secondary course, and that research and extension wings in training institutions had to be attached to each institution.

Teacher education after independence reveals that India compensated for the shortage of primary and elementary school teachers by providing short-term teacher training through mobile training squads and hiring young unemployed persons as school teachers. Each State Government tried to improve elementary education, for example, they implemented a new curricula for improving teacher training and increased the capacities of teacher training institutions. Despite these measures, the rate of expansion of elementary education was comparatively slow, and the low quality of elementary teachers had a reverse effect on qualitative improvement of elementary education. The NPE68 stated that personal qualification of school teachers and in-service training for teachers could be a driving force to realize the UEE; that is to say, the Policy expected that elementary education could be improved by these endeavors. The results, as I have analyzed, did not keep up with these hopes. The question that some now pose is: Will reforms in the education system come from within the system? Also, how can Central and States Governments take cogent and concerted steps to provide sufficient and competent school teachers?

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Notes:

<sup>1</sup> The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE): The idea that there should be a Central Advisory Board of Education was first expressed by the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). Almost simultaneously, the Government of India Act, 1919 made education mainly a provincial and a transferred subject and limited the control of the Government of India over education to the minimum. This decision changed the character of the Government of India from that of an executive to an advisory body regarding education. The Secretariat Procedure Committee set up to implement the Government of India Act, 1919 recommended that “in place of giving executive orders, it should tend more and more to become a centre of the best information, research and advice.” This recommendation made by the Calcutta University became an imperative and accordingly, a Central Advisory Board of Education was set up in 1921. It did useful work but because of a financial crisis, it had to be abolished in 1923. For the next twelve years, there was no central body to advise the Government of India on educational matters. However, the need for an advisory body was felt and the matter was continuously discussed until the present Central Advisory Board of Education was constituted in 1935. One of the notable result of the CABE before independence was the Plan of Post-war Educational Development in India (The Sargent Report). Between the years 1945 to 1951, India attained independence and the Constitution was framed. With the integration of the princely states and the promulgation of Constitution, the defining of the strategies of education became a partnership between the centre and the states. This increased the importance of the CABE. Since then, the Board has made a lot of significant

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recommendations regarding education in India. (See MHRD, "CABE Silver Jubilee Souvenir," 1960: Foreword)

- 2 The expressions 'wastage' and 'stagnation' were used in the Interim Report of the Indian statutory Commission in 1929. This report widely known as the Hartog Committee Report is named after its author, Philip Joseph Hartog (1864-1947), who was the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Education in 1928-29. The term 'wastage' meant "the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course," and 'stagnation' meant "the retention in a lower class of a child for a period of more than one year." (See, Hartog Committee Report, 1929: 47). However today the term 'wastage' includes both those who dropout and are retained in school education.
- 3 Teacher training institutions in India can be classified into three categories, that is, Training schools, Training colleges for under-graduates, and Training colleges for graduates. Training schools including Basic Training schools and they generally admit Middle passed candidates for training as teachers of primary classes. After one or two years' of successful training they are entitled to the Vernacular Teachers' or the Junior Vernacular Teachers' certificate. The Training colleges for under-graduates train teachers for Middle classes. The duration of training is one year in some cases and two years in others, and the Teachers' Certificate is given to successful trainees. The Training colleges for graduates including Basic Training colleges prepare teachers for High school classes after a one-year course leading to a degree or a diploma which is considered equivalent to a degree. Some colleges also provide facilities for research and instruction for the Master in Education degree (M.Ed.). In addition to full-fledged institutions, training classes are also attached to Secondary schools and Arts and Science colleges, while in a few universities there are regular departments of Teachers' Training or Education. The courses of study, periods of instructions and so on. are, however, the same as in the case of regular institutions. (See MHRD, "Education in India 1948-49": 132)

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### 日本語標題および要旨

インドの教員養成:独立後 20 年間の施策への一考察

### 日本語要旨

本稿では、インドが独立(1947)以来の目標としてきた無償初等義務教育実現に不可欠である教員養成の問題について、連邦政府の教育政策を中心として考察を試みた。独立時のインドでは、有資格教員が著しく不足していた。独立後には、学校教育の拡充とともに初等教員養成への改善も期待されたが、初等教育の急速な普及・拡張は教員の不足に拍車をかける結果となった。各州政府は短期間の講習や現職教育によって教員数を確保しようとした。だが、この方策は学校教育の質的充実を妨げる要因のひとつとなった。また、インドでは州によって学校教育事情が大きく異なることもあり、独立後 20 年あまりを経て発表された「国家教育政策決議 1968」でも、連邦政府は全国的な初等教員養成政策を示すことができなかった。教員養成と中途退学などの初等教育の深刻な状況の改善は、引き続きインドの重要課題となっている。