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A century of teacher education in India: 1883-1985

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Abstract: Teacher training in India has evolved from a circle system to normal schools and teacher training institutes/colleges. This progression was influenced by various events, debates and recommendations. With respect to the relevance of the teacher training institutions, ideas kept fluctuating, and several of the other adopted policy measures failed in the implementation phase. Initially, this led to the opening and closing of the normal schools, which later expanded into teacher training institutes/colleges. This paper attempts to present the historical developments in the field of teacher education around the axis of teacher training institutes, teachers' qualifications, the teacher training course curriculum, and the status of teachers. For this paper, the government reports and reviews published in the periods both prior and subsequent to Independence have been studied using a historical method. It reveals that, in spite of 100 years of effort dedicated to improving teacher education, the availability of trained women teachers is far lower than the demand for them in schools. Unlike before, admission to any teacher training course for primary teachers requires at least 10 years of general education, and secondary school teachers need a degree. Though over these years the salaries of teachers have increased substantially, the deteriorating status of teachers and the teaching profession has been a source of constant concern for educationists and policymakers.

Keywords: circle system; normal school; Madras normal school; principles of teaching; triple-benefit scheme.

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1. Introduction

Prior to the introduction of colonial school system, indigenous school teachers already existed in India who were involved in imparting Indian vernacular, prose, poetry and arithmetic. Immediately after the introduction of colonial school system, these teachers were co-opted to teach in the newly established schools by giving them some training to teach new subjects like history and geography. They were also trained to maintain attendance registers, prepare annual reports, and other duties. In what is widely known as a landmark document in the history of education in India, the

Wood's Despatch of 1854 (which came out in July) made a comprehensive analysis of the existing education system. The Despatch commented that education should be considered a state duty. Simultaneously, the Wood's enquiry advocated several measures, one among which was the establishment of the teacher training institutes. Subsequently, in December 1854, the Governor General of India, Lord Dalhousie in his minutes reiterated the need for establishing normal schools as has been envisaged in the Despatch of 1854. Such recommendations in consequent years notably assisted in the expansion of teacher education in India. The extent to which these recommendations were implemented was examined through sending another Despatch to India in 1859. This Despatch noted that the teacher training institutions did not receive as much extension as was desired. Furthermore, with respect to vernacular education, there was no general scheme for promotion of education all over India. Only through the system of halakbandi and tahsili schools in North-Western Provinces and the plan of circle school system in Bengal districts efforts were made to make maximum use of existing schools. Additionally, it was lamented in the Despatch of 1859 that the number of trained teachers both in vernacular and English language was inadequate.

Since then a number of normal schools were opened up. Different methods for training of teachers as well as their recruitment were adopted; apprenticeship method, training in classes attached to the village schools, training in normal schools, training in teacher colleges and teachership examinations. The eligibility criteria to the teacher training programmes and schemes differed according to regions and institutions. As a result, this gave rise to different layers of hierarchies within the teacher education and the teachers.

The salaries of teachers differed widely on the basis of the type of school they were teaching in, their qualification, the classes they were teaching, and also the region in which they were teaching. Among all the teachers, the worst salary was that of primary teachers. These disparate structures of conducting teacher education were continued even after India's independence. Post-independence, various measures had been taken up to remove the existing disparities in the teacher education system and the status of the teachers, which to some extent were successful but did not fully alleviate the predicaments.

This paper is an attempt to present the history of teacher education in its varied layers in a comprehensive and concise manner. The 100 years in the history of teacher education in India is divided into two broad sections, namely, teacher education in pre-independent India and teacher education in post-independent India.

2. Teacher Education in Pre-Independent India

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2.1. Overview of the education system and development of normal schools

In 1882, an Education Commission was appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the functioning of the system of public instruction and further provide suggestions for its expansion. The Commission presented a wide review of the system of teacher education that existed in India before 1882. According to this report four kinds of indigenous methods of school education were practiced in India; instruction

given by *Brahman* teachers to the *Brahman* students in the *tols* or in Sanskrit schools, *maktabs* and *madrasas* which gave Islamic teachings, Persian schools which taught Persian literature and the vernacular schools. In 1826, the Government of Madras established the Board of Public Instruction which promulgated in opening about a hundred schools in the rural districts and a central institution for training of teachers. Most of these schools however, grew weaker and had to be closed down. The only school which developed and flourished was the Madras High School established in 1841 which in later years came to be known as Presidency College. In 1842-43, the old committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a more powerful body called the Council of Education. This body organised the system of examinations along with providing scholarships to deserving students in both vernacular and English. In lower Bengal, the Council of Education had also put efforts to improve the character of textbooks and provide the trained staffs to schools. So, during the time period of twelve years from 1842-1854, the Report of Indian Education Commission (RIEC) (1883) observed that

it had raised the number of institutions under its control from 28 in 1843 to 151 in 1855, and the number of pupils from 4,632 in 1843 to 13,163 in 1855. The number of teachers had, during the same time, multiplied from 191 to 455 (p. 17).

In North-Western Provinces of India, there was hardly any system of formal education prior to 1850. There existed no school textbooks. The course contained little reading (primarily of sacred texts), writing, and some arithmetic. Moreover, the schools which were already present could not be considered permanent as a teacher would teach few of the pupils for few months which after his departure might or might not find someone to take his place (Hunter, 1883, p. 20). So, to provide permanency to the system of school education tahsili or higher vernacular schools and halakbandi or lower primary vernacular schools were established in the province¹. Mr. Thomason with the approval of Court of Directors in 1854 established a model school at the head quarters of each tehsildar to provide encouragement to masters of indigenous schools, to improve methods of teaching and to bring the whole machinery under regular inspection (Despatch of 1859). This system was not extended to all of the districts in North-Western Provinces before 1854 however, seeing its success in 1855-56 the authority was given to establish it throughout the North-Western Provinces. In Bengal, a number of vernacular schools existed before 1854 however they were gradually abandoned either in want of the gualified masters or in want of a regular superintendence. In Madras too some vernacular schools which were established during the administration of Sir Thomas Monro were deserted in want of pupils and this deficiency has not been provided for until 1854. In Bombay, the Board of Education was successful in establishing few vernacular schools as

¹ Tahsili school was a government village school at the head-quarters of every tahsildari. It was conducted by a schoolmaster who in addition of receiving fees from the students was also paid a salary of 10-20 rupees per month. A lot of halakbandi schools were established in 1851. For halakbandi school, out of the cluster of four or five villages, the most central of the village was chosen as the site for school. Teachers of these schools were paid from rupees 3 to 7.

well as improving the character of education imparted in some of the indigenous schools (Despatch, 1859). Thus, the subject of popular education through the mode of vernacular schools was not given full attention prior to 1854.

Inspite of the measures which were taken in the direction of improving popular education in India, the recruitment of efficient men as masters was a great difficulty. The deficiency of competent masters has been filled up initially by sending masters from England to not only be appointed in higher classes but also to assume charge over middle schools. This measure, however, was considered infeasible in the long run (Despatch 1859). The huge demand for competent masters needed to be supplied from within India. The teacher preparation then received ample attention during this time.

By the time Court's orders of 1854 reached India, a normal class already existed in Bombay and one was proposed in Madras. Most of the normal schools which got established thereafter were confined to providing for vernacular teachers. Four of such normal schools got established in Bengal, which was attended in all by 258 pupils (Despatch 1859). In North-Western provinces a normal school was already in operation in Benares, which was attended by vernacular teachers of that division. Previous to the outbreak of mutiny the sanction was given for the establishment of a training school for vernacular teachers at Agra and two more places within the provinces. At Madras the normal school was established both for vernacular and Anglo-vernacular teachers. A model school and a practice school were attached to it and it was assumed that this step will enable outturn of more efficient teachers (Despatch, 1859).

First, through the means of «circle system» and later through «normal school system», attempts were made towards improving standards of instruction in the indigenous schools of Bengal². In 1872, Sir George Campbell under his scheme for education laid out a plan for attaching newly appointed teachers of village schools to the training classes for some months at the district or sub-divisional headquarters (Hunter, 1883, p. 130). In 1874, a new scheme for the normal school was contemplated

The establishment of a first grade school for training superior vernacular teachers at the headquarters of each Division; and of a lower grade school for village school teachers in each District. Accordingly, sanction was given to the establishment of 9 Normal schools of the first grade, 22 of the second grade, and 15 of the third grade, at a total annual cost of Rs. 1, 64,000 (Hunter, 1883, p. 130).

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² Circle system was a system in which higher classes in group of three or four schools were taught by a competent teacher. Each of the circles then allotted a qualified teacher paid by government whose work was to go from school to school and instruct village schoolmasters in their duties and teaching higher subjects to the advanced pupils. The encouragement was given to both masters and pupils through giving small pecuniary rewards. This system was very successful and it was proposed to be extended to other educational divisions. However, by the year 1860-61 only 172 schools out of already existing 100,000 indigenous schools could be improved through this system. The system thus proved ineffective and hence in the year 1862 it was substituted by the «Normal School System».

After following this policy for a year the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple, of Bengal deemed this policy to be very expensive and ineffective and listed several reasons. One was the reluctance of the traditional *gurus* to leave their villages and attend normal schools. Another was the assumption that no amount of training can improve the worst teachers. Therefore, it was proposed that the better educated, even if untrained, should be taken as schoolteachers and the quality of the teachers to be checked through the system of payments by results. Hence, the Lieutenant-Governor in a meeting minute dated 9th September 1875 expressed his opinion regarding closing off the normal schools at least in Bengal except in backward districts where there is a mismatch between the demand and supply of the teachers (Hunter, 1883, p. 130). As a result, the number of government normal schools in Bengal dropped from 41 in 1876, to 31in 1877, to 24 in 1878, and to 17 in 1879 (Hunter, 1883, p. 131). There were only 8 normal schools for training superior vernacular teachers and 10 for training village teachers in 1881-82.

On the other hand, Madras followed a policy that was converse to the policy followed in Bengal. There was insistence upon substituting the old class of teachers with the trained teachers. Also, trained teachers were not only those who merely passed primary or secondary school, as was the case in Bengal, but those who had received good training in normal schools. Ironically, in 1884, out of 16, 497 teachers employed in all elementary schools only 1,856 or 12 percent of teachers had passed through a normal school in Madras (Croft, 1888, p. 74). Notwithstanding, in 1885 the Madras Normal School had received a sanction from university to institute a degree in the science and art of teaching. By 1885-86, Madras had one college for professional teaching with 9 students in Madras Presidency (Croft, 1888, p. 4).

In 1881-82, Bombay had 7 training colleges for men teachers out of which 4 were maintained by Government, 2 by the natives and 1 by private bodies (Hunter, 1883, p. 135). By 1884-85, 44 percent of the teachers in Bombay were trained. In North-Western Provinces, there were 18 training schools for men teachers and 58 percent of the teachers held certificates. Punjab had three Government training schools for vernacular teachers where most of its students were stipendiaries from the districts (Ibid. p.138). In the government schools of the District of Coorg, 87 percent of the teachers were trained. The duration of the course in order to be village teachers was extended from one to two years. Assam had 12 government training schools and 3 aided schools managed by missionary bodies. In Assam, a great difficulty was encountered in bringing teachers from distant places to attend these schools. Those who were selected from their neighbourhood schools generally refused to provide their services elsewhere (Croft, 1888, p. 81). The Central Provinces of India had 3 government normal schools. A large number of primary school teachers in Akola were foreigners (i.e., from other provinces) mostly from Bombay. So, new rules were laid down according to which only the natives of the province were eligible to take admission into the training colleges of Akola (Ibid.). Kumaon was the only district with no normal school (Hunter, 1883, p. 137).

The efforts in direction of employing trained teachers in schools led to an increase in the number of primary training institutions all over India. It increased from 155 with 5,405 students in 1901-02 to 1,072 institutions with 26,931 students in 1921-22. During the quinquennium (from 1917-1922) the number of trained primary

school teachers in Bengal increased from 6, 480 to 10, 685 and the number of completely unqualified teachers decreased from 5.064 to 3.126 (Holme, 1923, p. 37). The teachers who had no qualification in 1917 were either eliminated gradually or provided some qualification through training. Reason for such increase in the number of trained teachers in India was accrued to the changes that England was witnessing regarding interpretation and practice of education. Standard of work had to be raised in India if Europeans were to not fall behind the rest of their race (Holme, 1923, p. 70). Simultaneously, on 3rd March 1917 three training colleges existed for men in Bengal. These were affiliated to Calcutta University. Two out of the three were Government institutions, viz., David Hare Training Institution and Dacca Training College. The third one was the London Missionary Society's College at Bhowanipur which was an aided institution. This institution had to be closed down in December 1917 for the want of students. On this date there were 93 students in these institutions out of which 51 students were graduates. (Calcutta University Commission, 1919, p. 4) The Calcutta University offered both Bachelors in Teaching (B.T.) and Licence in Teaching (L.T.). There were six first grade schools in Western Bengal out of which five were government and one was aided³. Although few of the teacher training institutions had to be closed down in want of students but several other institutions were opened up which helped in increasing the number of trained teachers in India.

According to the Sargent Report (1939) the number of trained elementary school masters kept increasing in all provinces of India. According to one of the Inspectors the improvement in number of teachers is seen in those districts where the administration was reasonably satisfactory (Sargent, 1939). Moreover, the change in policies and schemes led to the removal of old inefficient teachers and recruitment of better qualified teachers. In Burma, the old inefficient teachers were removed by imposing maximum age limit to the vernacular school teachers. Simultaneously, in 1934 according to the new scheme of salary teachers were paid on the basis of the department of school instead of their qualifications. Due to this scheme primary department recruited better qualified teachers. In Central Provinces there had been an improvement in the number of trained teachers but the terms and conditions of service has not been improved. Only in Assam the number of trained teachers decreased owing to closure of the training schools for three years by the last government. The number of trained teachers in Delhi increased due to the closure of expensive and inefficient private schools which employed untrained teachers in large numbers. Moreover, new rules removed those schools from the list of recognized institutions which recruited untrained teachers (Sargent, 1939). So, the impetus was given on recruiting only trained teachers in schools.

While there was an increase in the number of trained men teachers at elementary schools the number of training institutions during the same quinquennium (1932-1937) decreased. The decrease in the number of training schools was lamented as there was an urgent need for supply of trained teachers in schools. There had

³ First grade schools were the training schools which prepared teachers for secondary schools. These training schools were called as «first grade school» in Western Bengal and «normal school» in Eastern Bengal.

been though some improvement in the organization of the training schools. In some provinces there had been attempts to select more suitable candidates for training, modernization in methods of teaching and making curricula in accordance to the actual rural life of the students. Except Delhi and Ajmer the annual cost of training teachers has fallen which again was a cause for worry since it may have an adverse impact on the training schools. The decrease in the number of training schools however, was not constant and the period of 1937-38 to 1946-47 recorded an increase in such institutions (although not much significant) from 343 to 468 (Decennial review 1937-47).

Consequently, from the beginning till mid twentieth century, a number of teachers' training colleges were opened up in different universities, such as, Osmania University, Andhra University, Utkal University, Saugor University, Rajputana University, East Punjab University, Gauhati University, Maharaja Sayajirao University (youngest university as it was established in 1949) and Jamia Milia Islamia (JMI). JMI, in addition to training teachers from Delhi, trained teachers from U.P., Bombay, Assam, Hyderabad and Jaipur. It also pioneered in the experiments for higher educational methods.

2.2. Training of women teachers

In 1881-82, there were only 515 girls at the normal schools throughout India (Hunter, 1883, p. 538). Of these 157 were in Madras, 138 in Punjab, and 73 in Bombay (Ibid.). Bengal, with its 18,550 girls in women schools had only 41 women receiving training in the normal schools (Ibid.). Other than Madras and Bombay, no province recorded any women candidate who had passed in the normal school examination, except 2 girls in the Central Provinces and 7 in the North-Western Provinces (Ibid.).

In absence of trained women teachers, the majority of girls' schools were conducted by men teachers. However, extension of women education by way of employing men teachers was seen in opposition to the sentiments of general public. Hence, only elderly men were considered suitable for the work; this measure however was not feasible in the long term.

All attempts to bring native women to the profession of teaching failed⁴. The only women who could be inducted into the profession of teaching were the native Christians, wives of the schoolmasters in some provinces and widows⁵. Moreover, missionaries comprised a large supply of women teachers. In view of such a situation Report of Indian Education Commission (RIEC) (1883) recommended providing

⁴ «The Bengal Department even attempted to utilise women votaries of the *Vaishnava* sect as teachers. The members of this sect, men and women, renounce caste and devote themselves to a religious life. At one time, the women *Vaishnavas* seem to have contributed a good deal to the instruction of their countrywomen, and at the beginning of the century, many of the Bengal *zananas* had preceptresses belonging to this class. But an effort, cautiously and patiently made by the Education Department to train them as teachers for girls' schools, ended in unfavourable results» (See RIEC 1883, p. 538).

⁵ While married women were trusted for the work, they were rarely allowed to take part in the work and widows and unmarried women were not trusted for the work (See REI 1886, p. 76).

liberal grants and stipends to the native and European women to qualify themselves as teachers for girls' schools (Hunter, 1883, p. 538).

Unlike Madras, Bombay saw no difficulty in inducting women of respectable position to join these schools, nor was these schools were dependent on the native Christians in the similar manner. In 1884-85, out of the 98 women students under training, only 16 were Christians, whereas 71 were Hindus, most of the latter were Brahman and Maratha. The remaining 11 included Parsi, Jain and others (Croft, 1888, p.76). By 1901-02, there were 18 normal schools for women teachers in India with 351 students under training. However, these schools did not have any admission criterion and even illiterate women were admitted in them. (Nathan, 1904, p.195).

In all branches of women's education one of the most common issues was that of the limited supply of women teachers (Holme, 1923, p.65). Other than the inadequate training facilities for women teachers, reasons like general backwardness of women's education, and seclusion of women in home were also responsible. During 1932-1937, education of girls flourished as the parents showed an inclination towards educating their daughters. But, because of the financial constraints the supply of women teachers was adversely impacted. Moreover, even the available trained teachers were not employed as the social norms were against women leaving home and marriage for employment. While, it was difficult to bring women teachers to join teaching, the recruitment of men teachers in girls' schools was stigmatized too. Men teachers teaching in girls' schools were branded by a deputy inspectress as old, lazy and uncertificated men who had proved unfit to teach in boys' school (Sargent, 1939).

The period of 1937-38 to 1946-47 saw a slight improvement in the number of teacher training institutions, which increased from 217 to 224 during this decade (Decennial review 1937-47).

2.3. What is to be taught to the teachers?

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There had been a number of opinions with respect to the relevance of teacher training and the subjects of teacher training course⁶. In Assam, Mr. C.B. Clark, the officiating director of the department in 1884-85, remarked that it is more important for a teacher to be trained in the subjects which they are to teach instead of how to teach them. He was therefore, in favour of closing the training schools and instead, utilize the ordinary middle schools of the country for training of the village school masters. In Bengal, during the guinguennium review (1917-18 to 1921-22) two sets of contrasting opinions with respect to the training of primary school teacher emerged. One, which believed that the primary school requires teachers to be acquainted with the most rudimentary knowledge and hence guru training schools should be abolished; another which held that the primary education is most fundamental and hence teachers should be carefully trained through a costly and elaborative system (Holme, 1923, pp. 44-45). This was followed by closing down and opening up of

⁶ In France, normal schools taught those subjects which teachers were intended to teach at school, Germany emphasized upon providing training in science of teaching and England simply neglected science of teaching.

training schools in different provinces. However, as training colleges and normal schools started to establish in various provinces the other provinces too felt the pressure to catch up with the changing scenario.

The curriculum of the teacher training school varied in accordance to the level it was preparing the teachers for. While the subjects of the normal schools in Bengal included papers like elementary science, manual work, drawing and principles and methods of teaching, the subjects for the course at the middle school level in Bengal included classical language, vernacular mathematics and science which were, to some extent above the Fine Arts standards of the Calcutta University. The subjects for the higher certificate in North Western Provinces included vernacular language, literature with optional instruction in Persian or Sanskrit, arithmetic, algebra to quadratic equations, four books of Euclid, mensuration of plane surfaces, surveying with the plane table, history and geography of India, general and physical geography and map-drawing, elements of natural science, and the principles of teaching (Hunter, 1883, p. 238). The course for the L.T. degree generally included subjects like Principles of Education, History of Education, Methods of Teaching and School Management. In Bengal, the curriculum for both B.T. degree and licence course was almost similar. Students of both the courses had to study theory and practice of teaching, methods of teaching specific subjects, school management and, selected education classic or classics. The only difference in the curriculum for both the courses was that the degree course students were supposed to study history of educational ideas and methods whereas students of licence course studied a selected course in modern prose and poetry (Calcutta University Commission Report, 1919). Having similar course structure for both the degrees was critiqued as the purpose and the class of students these courses catered to was different. The licence holders were supposed to work alongside the assistant master, helping him in doing his tasks. So, it was suggested that the course should be oriented towards actual teaching work. Whereas, the degree course was very wide to be completed in just 8 months, especially the course of the history of education was very wide. Another problem with the curriculum was that it gave insufficient knowledge in the school subjects and the methods of teaching were quite obsolete. So, the Calcutta University Commission summed up the curriculum of the teaching courses as theoretical, burdensome, and valueless. It further noted that the curriculum lacked professional training, focused on preliminary polishing and offered little relation with the actual needs of the Indian schools (Holme, 1923, p. 42).

Apart from the academic subjects, there had been an equal emphasis on moral and physical education of the teacher training candidates. It was determined in 1887 that the masses of the country have been trained in western intellectualism and therefore, it was time for them to get acquainted with the western principles of discipline and self-control as well (Croft, 1888, p.335). The development of character among the school students was to be done through recruiting the teachers of unquestionable character. The physical development of the masses was to be promoted by encouraging native games, gymnastics, school drill and other exercises.

⁷ Creating hostels was also seen as a way of imparting moral education to pupils by bringing the students in close contact with the teachers.

Football, Cricket, Hockey, Lawn Tennis and Badminton were played by the boys in towns while the country games were played in the rural areas (Holme, 1923, p. 95).

The question of moral teaching once again rose during devising Wardha Scheme of education for national reconstruction. With regard to moral education Wardha Scheme reiterated the declaration which Government of India made in 1904

the remedy for these evil tendencies was to be sought not so much in any formal methods of teaching conducted by means of moral textbooks or primers of personal ethics, as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institution of well managed hostels, the proper selection of textbooks, such as biographies which teach by example, and above all, in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life (Shrimali, 1949, pp. 209-210).

Wardha Scheme too envisaged that through careful selection and adequate training of teachers, moral development of the masses could be made possible.

2.4. Duration of the teacher training courses

The duration of the course for teacher training in the normal schools generally varied between one to three years. In Bengal, it varied from six months to one year whereas in Bombay it varied from two to three years (Hunter, 1883, p. 136). While the course was for one year in North-Western Provinces, in Central Provinces it was one year for the village school masters and two years for the town school masters. The quality of training offered in the normal schools of Bengal whose duration varied between six months to one year was considered low. In order to raise the quality of these schools, the admission to it was restricted to only those who either had matriculation or any higher certificate. The duration of the course was also extended to one year. The duration of the first grade schools in western Bengal was three years. Whereas, in Eastern Bengal the course duration of such schools was two years. (Calcutta University Commission Report, 1919). The inspectors of the training schools of both the parts of presidency were worried over the deteriorating quality of outturn of teachers. This was attributed to; one, reduction in the duration of programme from three to two years and, two, outturn of bad quality of students from middle schools. Initially, the duration of licence course at Dacca Training College was two years which was later reduced to one year. Reduction in the time span of the course was introduced considering the financial and other hardships men teachers faced as most of them were married; moreover the step was considered good for economy and supply of teachers.

To provide some uniformity to the duration of the teacher training courses at different levels, the committee of Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in 1944 gave few recommendations. The committee proposed that the training of preprimary teachers should span two years, the Junior Basic (Primary) for two years, training for Senior Basic (Middle) school should span three years, two years for the non-graduates preparing for High Schools and one year of training for graduates

preparing for High Schools (CABE report, 1944). These recommendations were accepted.

2.5. Qualification of the teachers

The criteria required for admission to the teacher training schools and recruitment of teachers differed according to the provinces. In North-Western Provinces, teachers who received training in the normal schools attached to the tahsili schools had to first serve as apprentices and only after delivering satisfactory performance there, they were appointed as permanent teachers (Hunter, 1883, p. 137). In provinces where there was no special training school for the teachers at secondary school level such as Bombay, the graduates were employed as the headmasters of secondary schools and university men or officers who had distinguished themselves as teachers in lower appointments were appointed in middle schools (Hunter, 1883, p. 237). In Central Provinces, the masters of the middle schools were matriculates though some had even advanced to the university level. Bengal had no special institution for training teachers for English schools. There, the headmaster of a government high school of first grade was either an old senior scholar of the pre-university period or that of a master of fine arts; the Bachelor of Arts and the men of lower university standing in the subordinate appointments comprised the second master of these schools (Hunter, 1883, p. 237). In aided high schools, Bachelor of Arts students were eligible for the post of a headmaster and students of First Arts were considered eligible for the position of headmaster in an aided middle school. The newly appointed departmental school teachers were required to serve for a year or more in the high schools under the supervision of the most experienced headmasters of the Presidency (Hunter, 1883, p. 237). So, the high school discharged the functions of a training school for teachers teaching at secondary school. The Provincial committee refused to bring any changes in the existing system as they found the program economical and successful (Ibid.). Overall, it could be said that a large number of teachers teaching at the secondary schools were not duly trained either because the existing normal schools were too few to balance with the demand for the teachers, or because the university education or high school training was considered sufficient to teach at the secondary school level.

An alternative to the situation of insufficient trained secondary school teachers was proposed by RIEC (1883). It recommended instituting an examination in the principles and methods of teaching for those who desire to be permanently employed as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided.8 These tests or examinations were of two types especially in Madras: (1) the general education test of the grade for which teacher is a candidate and (2) the test in the principles of method and school management prescribed for the grade (Hunter, 1883, p. 249). The general education test was of three grades; (a) B.A. degree examination (collegiate) (b) the Fine Arts or Entrance Examination (secondary) and (c) the middle

⁸ This recommendation was objected in between by the Madras Government in 1884 stating it being a retrograde step which would practically mean abolition of the training schools for superior teachers. However, the objection was removed by the Government of India later on.

school or upper primary examination (primary) (Ibid.). In Punjab, an examination in the principles and practices of teaching was in force for the people who wanted to teach in the secondary schools. For the examination, certain textbooks in the art of teaching were prescribed and knowledge of the registers and returns of the Department was also demanded (Croft, 1888, p. 250). Moreover, each candidate was also required to give half an hour lesson in the presence of the inspector (Ibid.).

Moreover, the B.T. and L.T. degree colleges for men in Bengal admitted only three classes of students; (i) teachers and inspecting officers in government services, (ii) teachers from aided schools and (iii) other candidates desirous of qualifying themselves for teaching Profession (Holme, 1923, p. 42). These colleges also offered degree in Master of Teaching for its research students. Both the courses, B.T. and L.T. were for one year but B.T. admitted arts or science graduates on a condition that the candidates must have gone through a six months of practical training or have served as a teacher in a recognised school for a year. The licence course admitted who have completed intermediate course and the candidates cannot take the license examination until two years have elapsed from the passing of intermediate examination.

In 1944, Report of Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) proposed a plan emulating the model that had been followed in England for selection of candidates for the teacher training institutes. In this model willing and suitable candidates were picked up during the last two years of their high school and kept under observation by Heads and Inspectors while these candidates visit schools and even teach sometimes (Holme, 1923, p. 61). Favourable candidates were to be admitted to the training courses then. This plan, however, did not seem to have gained much popularity. So, the admission policies to the teacher training course and recruitment criteria of teachers kept changing. Various ideas were tried out but a general scheme with respect to these could not be devised.

2.6. Status of the schoolteachers

In Madras, contrary to the held opinion that the masses would find it difficult to accept the new style schoolmaster, the old indigenous schoolmaster was found to be losing its influence against the new trained and certificated teacher (Hunter, 1883, p. 72). In Madras, the average salary of a village school teacher teaching in a school managed by private body and aided by result grants was 7 rupees a month. The teachers teaching in schools aided by local-fund boards and municipalities not only received a fixed salary of rupees 5 on an average in an addition to contingent income of 2-8 rupees but they also held a better position being a servant of public board. Only those teachers who had passed matriculation examination received a salary of 18 rupees or 20 rupees per month (Hunter, 1883, p. 135). Teachers teaching in the cess schools of Bombay usually drew a salary of less than rupees 10 a month. Those who were paid a permanent salary exceeding 10 rupees a month were also entitled for the pension payable from local fund revenues (Hunter, 1883, p. 136). However, those masters who received instruction in normal schools received additional allowance based on the result of an annual examination of their school and the average attendance of their pupils to their fixed salary (Ibid.). The system

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worked fairly well for the teachers however, there were certain disadvantages due to the varying attendance in the village schools. The salaries of teachers at the halakbandi schools in North-Western Provinces ranged from 5 rupees to 12 rupees a month. The deserving candidates were promoted to the tahsili teacherships on 10, 15 and 20 rupees a month. They may also become Sub-Deputy Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors (Hunter, 1883, p. 137). However, there were almost no chances for the teachers of halakbandi schools to ever get a salary exceeding rupees 12 a month and to have any claim to pension and gratuities was non-existent. In 1869, Punjab passed a scheme for the departmental schools under which the pay of teachers except assistant teacher was fixed at rupees 10 a month. This step definitely improved the position of teachers but led to the reduction of number of schools and scholars as it involved more money (Hunter, 1883, p. 138). The salary of vernacular teachers in the government primary school in Central Provinces varied from 6 to 35 rupees a month. Those receiving payment of less than rupees 6 were either monitors or pupil-teachers. Many of the teachers were employed as village postmasters as well (Hunter, 1883, p. 138).

The low salary of primary teachers was one constant complaint with respect to the education system in India then⁹. However, no such complaint was received with respect to the secondary school teachers. Salaries paid to the teachers had to be sufficient not only to fulfill the economical needs of the teachers but also to attract competent people to the profession. The teaching profession was deemed non-attractive other than the value of the post for the prospect of promotion or transfer to a better paid-service (Hunter, 1883, p. 240). The prospects of teachers in aided schools depended on the liberality of the grant-in-aid rules, degree in which recognition is given to the idea of progressive increase in salaries irrespective of the nature of school in terms of its affiliation, and, by the readiness of those in authority to reward the best teachers of the school to the higher positions under government (Hunter, 1883, p. 240).

The salaries of the high school and middle school teachers also differed according to the provinces. In Madras, the salaries of teachers at high school and middle school managed by private bodies were estimated to be rupees 100 a month and rupees 40 a month respectively (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). The salaries of the teachers of departmental schools were even higher. The competent teachers of the aided schools also had the opportunity to be appointed as Deputy Inspectors and at times even to higher posts as well (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). The teachers of the government secondary schools in Bombay were eligible for the promotion to the higher posts in the department. The monthly salaries of the head masters of the government high school in Bombay ranged between 125 to 800 rupees (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). Assistant Masters received salaries between 30 to 150 rupees, and teachers in middle school were paid anything between 15 to 150 rupees. The salaries of the head masters of the aided high school ranged from 100 to 600 rupees. The maximum amount (that is rupees 600) was given to the European head master of a mission school (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). The maximum salary that an assistant master

⁹ The complaint kept recurring and was persistent even after 100 years from the Hunter Commission Report of 1882.

of an aided school received was rupees 125 a month. The salaries of the masters in aided middle schools ranged from 60 to 125 rupees (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). In Calcutta, the officers of the department below the European Professoriate and Circle Inspectorship were aligned in the subordinate graded services which consisted of seven classes (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). Their salaries ranged from 50 to 500 rupees a month. The teachers of the government secondary school receiving salary of rupees 50 and upwards were included in this list and also they were eligible for promotions on the basis of their qualifications and services rendered to the highest classes (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). Out of the 327 officers in the list 136 were the teachers of high school. The head-masters of the Hindu and Hare School of Calcutta were included in the first class of the list with their salary between rupees 400 to rupees 500 per month (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). In aided high schools, the salary of a teacher was between 15 to 150 rupees a month, and between 10 to 50 rupees for teachers of middle schools. The teachers of the successful aided schools were frequently rewarded with the appointments to the government schools. In the North-Western provinces, the salaries of the teachers in government middle schools ranged from 8 to 20 rupees a month¹⁰. The salaries in the district schools of Punjab ranged from 30 to 400 rupees a month and between 8 to 40 rupees a month for the middle vernacular schools (Hunter, 1883, p. 241). In the Central Provinces teachers of middle schools had been appointed on the post of civil services and hence competent men were recruited on the position of masters (Ibid.). In Assam, the salaries of the teachers of government high schools varied from 15 to 200 rupees, and between 10 to 40 rupees for middle vernacular schools. Teachers, at times, even though rarely, were also appointed to more valuable posts in other departments¹¹. In Coorg, the salaries of teachers in high and middle schools was 30 to rupees 100, and 50 to 400 rupees in Haidarabad Assigned Districts (Hunter, 1883, p. 241).

The average pay of an aided primary school teacher in Calcutta during the quinquennium review (1917-1922) was estimated to be 23.5 rupees against 16.9 rupees in 1916-17. Whereas the pay of an unaided primary school teacher was calculated to be at rupees 5.6. The pay of an aided primary school teacher shall not be considered high as the rent of the school house had to be paid out of it which ranged rupees 15 a month for a pucca house to rupees 10 a month for a tiled hut; and the cost of the board was higher in Calcutta (Holme, 1923, p. 41). So, there was not much increase in the salaries of the teachers. In fact, the scandal of paper salaries and the practice of private tuitions by teachers to supplement their scant income were indicative of the malfunctioning state of affairs with respect to education system and teachers (Holme, 1923, p. 41).

The outturn of teachers for high schools and middle schools in Bengal fell very short to the actual demand for them. Surely, training facilities were inadequate but it was not the only factor responsible for huge shortage in supply of teachers. The factors which contributed to this were the meager salaries of the teachers and the low status and condition of the teaching profession. Only those came for training

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¹⁰ There is no information regarding salaries of the teachers of the high schools and aided schools in the North-Western Provinces.

¹¹ In Assam, secondary schools contained primary departments.

who were either interested in their work or those who were looking for some good posts after that. Most of teachers who staved in the schools did so out of their poor financial condition. Moreover, Mr. Biss pointed out that the training colleges were filled with the government officers driven by inspectors against their will. The salaries on the posts in education were so meager that no one liked to join it. The lowest salaries (initial salaries) of the Subordinate Education Service or Lower Subordinate Education Service or Upgraded Services was 15 rupees a month. The salaries of the assistant masters in government high schools varied as per their qualification. The lowest salary of M.A. assistant masters was 50 rupees a month. 35-2-45 rupees for a B.A. degree holder and 15-1-20 rupees for those having lesser academic qualification. The average salary of an assistant master of a government high school was 49-8-7 rupees, while the average salary of a head master of government high school was 183-10-3 rupees. Few masterships of government high school in Bengal were included in the Provincial Education Service, members of which drew a salary of 700 rupees a month. However, most of these posts were included in Subordinate Educational Service, members of which drew a salary of not more than 60 rupees a month. The teachers of private high schools received similar or more salaries in comparison to government high school teachers. The salary of a graduate teacher in a private high school ranged from 40 rupees to 50 rupees a month, 25 rupees to 30 rupees a month for those who completed intermediate course and 18 rupees to 20 rupees a month to the matriculates.

The inadequacy of salaries and training of teachers were identified as the real impediments in the success of school education by both the Calcutta University Commission (1919) and the Hartog Committee (1929). The Calcutta Domiciled Community Enquiry (1918-19) deplored the low salaries of the teachers and recommended that the present scale of salaries must be completely revised. Besides, it recommended that a system of compulsory provident fund must also be introduced.

3. Teacher Education in Post-Independent India

3.1. Training institutions for teachers

The government teacher training colleges in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta already existed before independence¹². Post independence, the government teacher training colleges was opened at other places like Patna and Allahabad. The college at Allahabad offered its own diploma. The University Training Colleges were opened at Nagpur, Banaras, Aligarh and Lucknow (University Education Commission UEC, 1949, p. 210)¹³. All these institutions provided training to graduates for a year after

¹² In Madras the government normal school was established in 1856 whose name was changed to the Teachers' College in 1886. In Bombay, a Secondary Training College was established in 1906 to prepare the secondary school teachers and had provided its own diploma, known as S.T.C.D, until it was affiliated to the University in 1922 and taught courses leading to the degree of B.T. In Calcutta, the David Hare Training College was opened in 1908 in the building which was once occupied by the Albert College.

¹³ University Education Commission is referred as UEC in this paper.

which they get either diploma or degree depending on the course and the college they attended (lbid.).

By the year 1948-49, the government college at Saidapet (The Teachers' College) in Madras had admitted about 140 students to its B.T. class, the Meston Training College admitted 70, the Secondary Training College in Bombay about 90 and the David Hare Training College in Calcutta admitted about 120 students annually on an average (Ibid., p. 211). According to the UEC (1948-49) the training colleges at Kohlapur, Baroda, Belgaum and Poona will no longer be affiliated with the Bombay University and it also recommended expanding the activities of the Bombay Training College in order to meet up the requirements of schools of the Bombay city. A Teachers' Training College was opened in association with the Mysore University by the year 1948.

Various other private colleges for teacher training were also established following the pattern of the older institutions. Their quality and efficiency differed from institution to institution.

From 1947-48 to 1955-56, there had been a substantial increase in the number of students enrolled both in teacher training schools and colleges. Enrolment of students in training schools grew from 38,000 in 1947-48 to 89,870 in 1955-56, and from 3,262 students in training colleges in 1947-48 to 14, 181 students in 1955-56 (Ten years of Freedom, 1957, pp. 80-81). There were 1893 institutions for training of teachers at different levels all over India by the year 196514. This includes both government and private institutes. Several of the secondary and primary teacher training institutes enrolled 400 students each, however many of them had enrolled fewer than 50 students (Mukerji, 1965, p. 25). In 1977-78, the total number of students appearing for B.Ed.¹⁵/B.T./L.T. examination was 69,273 out of which 40,078 were boys and 29,195 were girls (Education in India, 1986, p. 33).

3.2. Qualification of teachers and quality of teacher training

Between 1947 to 1952, there was an increase in both trained and untrained teachers in most of the states, however, Bihar and Orissa witnessed a decrease in the number of trained primary school teachers (Kabir, 1953, p. 50). Out of 5, 61,000 primary school teachers in India only 58.2 percent were trained (Kabir, 1953, p. 89). The primary training institutions for women in Bombay admitted girls who just passed primary school certificate examination. During the guinguennium (1947-1952) the number of these institutions rose from 26 to 32 and the number of students attending them too increased from 1,650 to 2,062 (Kabir, 1953, p. 161). The number of trained secondary school teachers increased almost in all of the states during the guinguennium 1947-1952. Nevertheless, the Report of the Secondary Education Commission (RSEC) (1953) noted that the trained graduate teachers had been employed only at the high schools and hence it was desirable that the trained

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¹⁴ These institutes include pre-primary and primary teacher training (60 and 1530), physical education training (21), secondary teacher training (267) and state institutes of education (15). (See Eighth Conference of National Association of Teacher Educators, 1965).

¹⁵ Bachelors in Education.

graduates are appointed at the middle school level as well. With respect to the qualifications of primary school teachers, it was observed in 1950-51 that only 0.30 percent of the lower primary teachers had completed graduation, while 10 percent of them had completed either secondary school or were undergraduates, but 89.60 percent of them had not completed even secondary schools. The situation was a bit better for the teachers in higher primary schools; 5.6 percent of them were graduates, 41.6 percent had completed either secondary school or were undergraduates and 52.8 percent of them had not even completed secondary school (Dutt, 1970). Not only did the academic qualification of teachers were low but they were not trained as well. So, in order to clear the backlog of 4 lakhs untrained primary school teachers and 1 lakh untrained secondary school teachers, the Report of Ministry of Education (RMoE) in 1967 recommended establishing correspondence courses for elementary as well as secondary school teachers.

During 1949-50 to 1982-83, there was a substantial increase in the proportion of trained teachers in India: from 58.32 % to 86.0% in primary schools, from 52.6% to 89.5% in middle school and from 53.59% to 89.3% secondary school (National Commission on Teachers NCoT, 1985, p. 35). The number of trained women teachers increased as well. The percentage of trained women primary teachers rose from 15.3 % in 1949-50 to 25.5% in 1982-83. The percentage of trained women middle school teachers increased from 15.31% in 1949-50 to 31.2% in 1982-83 and the percentage of trained women high school teachers went up from 16.06% in 1949-50 to 28.19% in 1982-83 (National Commission on Teachers NCoT, 1985, p. 41). However, even after such substantial increase in the number of trained women teachers it could hardly match up with the demand for them. There was scarcity of trained women teachers in subjects like Physics, Chemistry, Maths, English and Geography. The rural and remote areas were most afflicted with the shortage of women teachers. The problem of trained teachers however was more acute in the north-eastern states of the country¹⁶.

In order to improve upon the quality of the training and teachers, the RSEC (1953) suggested that there should be two types of institutions for teacher training: one, which offer two year teacher training to those who clear higher secondary school and two, which offer one year of teacher training for the graduates. It also proposed extension of the graduate teacher training programme to two years which did not seem feasible immediately. It also recommended bringing secondary grade teacher training institutions under the control of a separate board and that the graduate teacher training institutions be recognised and affiliated by the university. The report was also in favour of not charging any fee from the students in teacher training institutes, instead they should be provided with stipends. The National Association of Teacher Educators (NATE) (1965) proposed giving monthly stipends of rupees 75 to all B.Ed students and rupees 150 to all M.Ed students. In continuation with the discussion on bringing quality to the teacher training programme, the Report of Education Commission (RoEC) (1966) recommended that no student should

¹⁶ Two reasons were cited for this. First, that the teacher education was under the tight control of the government and two, the geographical mobility of the trained teachers from the surplus regions was poor.

be allowed to teach a particular subject unless they had specialized or studied the subject in their first degree or had received an equivalent qualification prior to training.

By 1983, while there were not many variations in practices with respect to teacher training at secondary level (such as the admission criterion and the duration of the course) across states, the practices with respect to the teacher training at elementary level differed from state to state. For example, for those who passed class X, it was a one year duration course in 8 of the states and two years in 13 states. In 7 states, it was a two years course for those who passed class XII (NCoT, 1985, p. 49).

3.3. Curriculum of teacher training courses

In 1948, a year after independence, the various teachers' training institutions more or less followed a similar course structure. They generally had compulsory papers in the Principles (or Theory) of Education, Methods of Teaching, History of Education, School Management and Hygiene and also have Practice teaching (Criticism lessons and Demonstration lessons) [UEC, 1949, p. 210]¹⁷. In addition to the compulsory papers, teacher training students usually specialized in the methods of teaching of one or more optional papers (Ibid.). The theory papers were criticized for being dull. These papers failed to establish co-relation within itself or to the practice of teaching (Report of Conference of Teachers, 1968, p. 9). While training for written papers remained more or less similar across universities, variations were found in the way practical examination (some prescribed 60 supervised lessons some not even 10) was conducted. There were problems in selection of schools for holding teaching practice for the students. While institutions like Teachers' College, Madras, David Hare Training College, Calcutta, and Secondary Training College, Bombay had their own practising schools, the students in other institutions had to go to several schools in different parts of the city for this purpose¹⁸. This resulted into «a vertical division between lecture and lesson days» (UEC 1949, p. 211). It was also reported by UEC (1949) that practice teaching received too little time in the course and often the way it was executed was unsatisfactory. 19 As a result, a recommendation was made about having at least twelve weeks of teaching practice in a year long course. In line with this, RSEC (1953) too emphasized the importance of teaching practice in the curriculum of teacher training and it also made few additional recommendations in order to make it more efficient. Therefore, the RSEC (1953) proposed that

> the practical training should not be consist only of practice in teaching, observation, demonstration, and criticism of lessons, but should include such

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¹⁷ Hygiene was made an optional subject for the matriculation examination before independence and lectures on it were given in High and Training schools from time to time.

¹⁸ The Principal of this institution noted that the Elphinstone Technical School being the official demonstration school was becoming more technical and hence majority of its students had to be sent to the other schools in the city.

Sometimes all which was required by the students was to deliver only five lessons during the complete duration of the course.

subjects as construction and administration of scholastic tests, organization of supervised study and students' societies, conducting library periods, and maintenance of cumulative records (p. 136).

Similarly, in order to have an efficient teacher training programme, the Teacher Education Curriculum Framework (TECF)²⁰ (1978) proposed maintaining a balance between the educational theory and teaching practice. However, NCoT (1985) lamented that teaching practice was still given inadequate time and attention in the teacher training course.

Despite having extensive recommendations of RSEC in 1953 regarding moving away from the old methods of teaching, the TECF (1978) found the curriculum of the teacher training still rigid and traditional. The TECF (1978), with respect to the curriculum of teacher training, advised that apart from the course papers, research methodology should be made an integral component of the entire teacher education curriculum. According to NCoT (1985), the weakest link in the entire chain of the teacher education curriculum was the paper of Content cum Methodology.

3.4. Salary and status of teachers

The educational reports and policies constantly raised concern about the meager salaries and poor work conditions of teachers. The University Education Commission (1949) noted that the salaries of teachers were as such which would only attract those who failed to get into any other profession. The guinguennial review (1953) observed teaching profession as one of the lowest paid profession which in addition to low salaries is not recognized for the value of work that teachers do. Salary of teachers varied not only from state to state but it differed within a state as well. For example, a middle school passed and trained teacher working in a primary school of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) received a starting salary of 25 rupees per month, while a teacher in Madras got 30 rupees, 40 rupees in Bombay, and a primary school teacher in Delhi received a salary of 55 rupees per month (a trained matriculate received a starting salary of 68 rupees) [Kabir, 1953, p. 95]. The salary of teachers in Centrally Administered areas like Delhi and Ajmer in 1947-48 was 15 rupees per month. The recommendations made by various commissions such as Reports of the Central Pay Commission, the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Kher Committee on the minimum pay scale of teachers were not implemented. Although many states had revised the grades and allowances of teachers, they were not able to provide adequately since the cost of living increased at a far greater rate. The Report of Education Commission (1966) reviewed the existing scenario of the status of the teachers and noted that there are inter - state and intra - state variations pertaining to the remuneration paid to the teachers. The report suggested adopting national scales of pay and principle of parity. It further recommended that at the school level a minimum scale of pay has to be put forth by the Government of India in addition to which local allowance would be paid in accordance of varying costs of living in various states. The salaries of primary teachers should be comparable

²⁰ Teacher Education Curriculum Framework is referred as TECF in this paper.

to the public servants with similar qualification and responsibility. Not only this, but the teachers should get an even higher basic pay in acknowledgement of the two years of training they have undergone. Furthermore, the report also recommended a revision of the salaries of teachers every five years and the payment of dearness allowance to the teachers in accordance to what is paid to the government servants. On similar lines, the National Policy on Education (1968) emphasized the importance of teachers for educational success which depends upon the quality, qualification and professional competence of teachers. It reported that the dedication, commitment, and competence of teachers would be incomplete until they are given an honorable place in society and their salaries and work conditions are satisfactory and adequate. It also proposed on preserving and protecting the academic freedom of the teachers to study, research, speak and publish various national and international issues.

Report of the National Commission on Teachers (1985) found that, because of the low status of the teaching profession, a great number of parents and students are turning away from joining this profession. To substantiate this, the Commission quoted a study made on this issue taking samples of 700 secondary school teachers, 700 students and 700 parents/guardians. According to the study, only 9.9 per cent of teachers joined the profession out of their own will while for the rest of them it was a forced option. The study also found that 65.1 per cent of teachers and 56.5 of parents did not want their wards to take up teaching as their profession. The condition with respect to the pay scale of teachers was even worse in case of primary teachers as they were given 1/12 or 1/16 of the starting salary of a university teacher (NCoT, 1985, p.26). Consequently, NCoT (1985) reiterated the necessity of providing such salaries to the teachers which not only satisfy their economical needs but also in accordance with their professional status. It too proposed a uniform pay scale for the teachers. It was also suggested that in addition to the salaries, teachers should also be provided Provident Fund.

The Report of Education Commission (1966) prescribed that 'Triple Benefit Scheme' should be adopted for all teachers, in non government schools as well as for university and college teachers.²¹ The Commission prescribed that teachers should be allowed to have additional earnings through part time or consultancy work such as research work or evaluating examination scripts without having to pay a part of its earnings to employing authority if its earnings do not exceed fifty per cent of the salary. If it exceeds fifty per cent of the given salary then a progressive reduction may be made.

Other than salary, pension, and provident fund, it was also felt that teachers should be provided with various other amenities. The Secondary Education Commission Report (1953) identifies the amenities as free education of their children, allotment of the quarters to the teachers near the school through the system of cooperative house building societies, travel and leave concessions to the teachers to go to health resorts/holiday camps/educational conferences/seminars and free medical treatment in the hospital and dispensaries, provide the opportunity to visit different institutions within the country or outside, grant study leave to go abroad for higher education or study the educational system and work of other countries. The RoEC (1966) talked

²¹ Triple benefit scheme includes provident fund, pension and insurance.

about the provision of welfare services for teachers which was already mentioned by Secondary Education Commission Report (1953). Nonetheless, the RoEC (1966) considered an adequate payment to teachers as the best measure so that services or grants such as the ones mentioned above need not be offered. In addition to the welfare amenities mentioned above, the report of National Commission on Teachers (1985) also proposed providing crèches and jobs to dependents.

The Report of Education Commission (1966) furthermore emphasized on the civic rights of the teachers and prescribed that teachers should be free to exercise all civic rights and should be eligible for holding public office at local, district, state or national level. There should not be any restriction on teachers from participating in elections, but when they do so, they would be expected to proceed on leave. This report maintained that the professional organization of teachers for improvement of their professional and academic domain should be recognized by central and state governments and these organizations should be consulted for any matter related with teachers, academia and professional advancement.

4. Concluding observations

Teacher education in India has come a long way. The number of teacher training institutes in India has conspicuously increased. Along with the government teacher training colleges, many private colleges had been established to train teachers. Consequently, this has led to increase in the number of trained teachers in India.

However, there were several issues that persisted despite the developments in teacher training schools. The supply of women teachers hardly matched up with the demand for them especially in rural and remote areas. There was a huge backlog of untrained teachers because of which correspondence courses for training themselves were introduced. Although training of teachers through correspondence courses was not considered as the ideal mode among the policy makers as it could compromise the quality of the teachers, there was no alternative available to clear the huge backlog of the untrained teachers in a shorter span of time. As a result, the number of untrained teachers was gradually minimized. Nevertheless, with the increase in the number of schools and pupils there was a huge demand for trained teachers.

The varied methods adopted for training teachers in the last 100 years had substantially been reduced to two methods; training through separate departments or institutes for preparing teachers (usually for primary school teachers) and teacher colleges (mostly for secondary school teachers). At least 10 years of general education had almost become compulsory to pursue teacher training programme in order to be a primary school teacher, and additionally a graduation for becoming a secondary school teacher. However, the short duration of the course for becoming a secondary school teacher (which was one year after graduation) was considered unsuitable but the expansion of the duration of course was not feasible immediately. Moreover, the teachers possessing a degree or diploma were preferred for recruitment, though there had been recruitment of untrained teachers in the private schools as well as in government institutions in some places. The relevance of training of teachers was no more debated, but what was imperative in post-independent India was the

weightage given to the theory and practical papers. A shift had also been witnessed in the content of teacher education programmes from teaching school subjects to the pedagogy of teaching. The salaries of teachers were raised but it differed for different states. Besides, teachers were provided with other welfare amenities as well. Despite the numerous changes in the teacher education of the country the profession of teaching continue to be less preferred profession among the masses.

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