[Janab M. Muhammad Ismail] [28th March 1950

"Sir, I wish to refer to one more matter and that is with regard to the administration of the Laccadives and Amindives. These are a group of islands on the West Coast of our State and according to the Government of India Act, they were excluded areas and the ordinary laws of the Government of India do not apply to them. The Government of the islands is regulated by the Regulation of 1912. There is one amin and he has got certain assessors and the fate of the people is being determined by them. Of course there is an appeal to the Collector of the adjoining district. Only once a year, an officer pays a visit to these islands. There is no police force to enforce law and order and there are no magistrates. There are two sections of people in the islands, the Koyas and Melacharis; the latter are taken to be the inferior caste and they are given certain definite items of avocation and they should not do anything else. They are expected only to climb trees and to run the *oduns* or boats. If they even own an *odum* and work it, it is against the law of the land. What I say is, the ordinary law of the land that is applicable to us must be made applicable to those islands also and an ordinance must be immediately issued to that effect; it is not a difficult or an impossible task to issue such an ordinance. Recently, there was rioting in the islands; there was no police force to keep peace and the people had to suffer. There are very few steamer services to the islands and I suggest that the Government might call for tenders

SECRETARIAT LIBRARY 235 1950 GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

POSSIBILITIES OF THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE ASSUMING THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

By CHUNILAL D. BARFIVALA

[Mr. Barfivala was invited by the Administrative Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to discuss some local self-government matters. He gave evidence on the 22nd November 1947. At the conclusion of the discussion, the Committee requested Mr. Barfivala to submit his observations on the subject mentioned as the title of this article. The memorandum which he submitted to the Committee on 31st December 1947 is reproduced hereunder.—ED.]

31st December 1947.

To,

The Chairman,
Administrative Enquiry Committee,
C/o Finance Department,
Secretariat, BOMBAY.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit my observations on the following subject, as desired by your Comittee with whom I had the privilege to hold discussion on local self-government matters on the 22nd November 1947 when I was invited to meet the members.

> "Possibilities of utilising the services of the Local Self-Government Institute as a Local Government Board for the purpose of relieving the Provincial Government, the Commissioners and the Collectors of their responsibilities in the matter of inspection, superintendence and control over local bodies, the extent to which such transfer of responsibilities could be effected and other questions involved in such transfer."

2. It appears convenient to initiate discussion of the subject by posing a question—"What are the qualifications required of an institution to which responsibilities of the Provincial Government regarding inspection, superintendence and control over local bodies, could be transferred with a reasonable degree of assurance that it would discharge these responsibilities competently, satisfactorily and impartially?"

I proceed to answer the question by laying down certain criteria of fitness for such a controlling body.

> The first essential qualification to my mind is that the constitution of such a body should be democratic—members thereof should be chosen by the very local bodies who are going to be put under its superintendence and control. No body which is appoint-

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ed by an outside agency will command a willing obedience from these local bodies. An unwilling and forced obedience will not serve the purpose in these days of democracy. Resistance to the body will commence from the day it begins to work and would develop as time passes and Government would be ultimately compelled to dissolve it, leaving a taste of bitterness engendered during the life of the body and undesirable reactions which will set the clock back. As a corrollary to this first essential point, the representative character of the body should be fully demonstrated, not by any *a priori* theories or mathematical formulae of representation, but by a method which is found satisfactory in practice to the component local bodies—be such method only empirical. This is a stupendous task to achieve. All the political, communal and territorial forces will have their full play, immediately proposals for the formation of such a controlling body are announced by Government. There will be irreconcilable claims put forward by each group of local bodies, e.g. Local Boards *v.* Municipalities, Borough Municipalities *v.* District Municipalities and so on. It would be an uphill task to reconcile all these claims.

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In order to overcome the difficulties attendant on the formation of a controlling body satisfying the two essentials mentioned above, the only effective remedy is that such a body should be an outcome of voluntary efforts of all local units. Government should keep aside and not take any coercive measure for the formation of such a body.

It is further necessary that elected non-officials experienced in the actual working of local self-governing units should have a preponderating voice in the working of this controlling body. In order however to provide for safeguards at least in the initial stage, it may be provided that some first-rate officials of the right type should be associated with non-officials in the discharge of these controlling functions. These office-bearers should be of exceptional qualifications in local self-government matters and possessed of a democratic spirit and prepared to offer their very best for the success of such an institution. The most important qualification however is that the body should work on non-party lines. The extent to which this result could be secured will be the measure of the success of the scheme. The body should be able to secure from the Government a helpful, sympathetic and patient attitude towards it. Government should be made to feel that greater the strength of this body the lesser their responsibilities and better for the cause of nation-building on right lines.

3. In the light of the conditions mentioned above as essential to the successful working of such a controlling body, I should like to examine firstly as to how far the Local Self-Government Institute satisfies these conditions or can be made to satisfy them by certain modifications

of its constitution and, secondly, whether any new body which Government may set up for the purpose in view has any chance of success. I shall try to establish positively that the Institute satisfies these requirements in a considerable degree and negatively that no other body would stand a candle to it, and that therefore the safest course would be to entrust these responsibilities to the Institute. I will suggest how far the Institute's constitution may be amended to provide for safeguards in the initial stage. Incidentally I shall deal with the question of Local Government Board. A paragraph will be added for Village Panchayats with which we are not directly concerned here.

4. It is desirable that I should at the outset give some information about the Local Self-Government Institute, so far as it is relevant to the present inquiry. A copy of the Constitution of the Institute is, therefore, annexed herewith and marked A.* It defines its objects and gives information about its organization. Copies of the Reports for the last few years which are also annexed herewith (marked B)* will give your Committee information regarding the working and the activities of the Institute.

I wish to invite your Committee's attention to the following special features which are important for our purpose:—

(1) **Membership of the Institute:** Though Clause 5 of the Constitution provides for membership for Public Institutions (other than local bodies) interested in the problems of Local Self-Government, and individuals working in the cause of local self-government, these two categories are only nominal, there being no such public institutions as members and there are only about a dozen 'individual' members who are specially interested in the subject and who have considerable experience of local bodies, e.g. the Hon'ble Mr. L. M. Patil, the Hon'ble Mr. G. D. Vartak, Mr. S. S. Naik, Mr. S. R. Bhagwat and Mr. R. V. Parulekar, etc. Practically the membership consists exclusively of class (*a*) (Clause 5), i.e. **Local Self-Government Institutions.** These Institutions are divided into several categories given in Schedule I to the Constitution of the Institute.

(2) **Membership is optional for all local bodies:** It is noteworthy that despite this voluntary nature of membership, all local bodies of the three principal categories, viz. Local Boards, Municipal Boroughs and the District Municipalities (with few insignificant exceptions in the last category) have found the membership of the Institute advantageous and have become members of the Institute by paying annual subscription as per Schedule I of the Constitution. Popularity and utility of the Institute are therefore undoubted.

* Not printed.

(3) **Bombay City Municipal Corporation:** The Corporation recently resolved to become a member of the Institute, but owing to some legal difficulty raised by their Solicitors they could not pay the subscription. The matter is being further investigated.

(4) I am not taking into account the Village Panchayats in these observations except a reference in paragraph No. XXXI. There are over 200 Village Panchayats as members of the Institute.

(5) It may be concluded, therefore, that the Local Self-Government Institute is *fully representative* of local bodies in all the *territorial divisions* of this Province, that these Local Bodies have joined the Institute of their freewill on a *voluntary basis* without being compelled by any statutory provisions or administrative orders of the Provincial Government. Its representative, free and democratic character is a factor of supreme importance for the purpose of these observations. Territorial and classwise distribution of representation has been accepted as doing justice to all and has never been a cause for any controversy.

(6) **General Board:** This Board consists of representatives of all member-local bodies. The number of representatives of each class entitled to vote is fixed according to Schedule II. It meets once in three years and discusses general questions and elects the Provincial Council which is the principal governing body.

(7) **The Provincial Council of the Institute:** As stated above, the Provincial Council is the governing body of the Institute (*vide* Clause 9 of the Institute's Constitution).

Representation on this governing Council is on a *territorial basis*, the Gujerat, the Konkan, the Maharashtra and the Karnatak Divisions are represented by 3 members each. In addition to these groups, some very important local bodies like the municipalities of Poona, Sholapur, Ahmedabad and Surat have been given a special representative each. The School Boards of the Province are represented by 2 members.

(8) **The Executive Committee:** The Executive Committee is elected by the Provincial Council to look to the execution of the Budget and of other Resolutions of the Council through the Hon. Secretary of the Institute.

(9) **President—A Useful Convention:** Since the inception of the Institute, Minister for Local Self-Government is elected as President of the Institute. At present, two Ministers are elected on the Provincial Council, one as President and the other as Vice-President.

(10) **Honorary Secretary:** The Actual executive work is generally left to the Honorary Secretary of the Institute, who is elected by the General Board at its Triennial General Meeting.

(11) **Assistant Secretary:** The Hon. Secretary is authorised to nominate one Assistant Honorary Secretary.

(12) **The Director:** The Honorary Secretary has under him the Director of the Institute who is the Chief Executive Officer of the Institute.

(13) **Three Executive Office-bearers:** A word about the Local Self-Government qualifications of three Office-bearers, the Honorary Secretary, the Assistant Hon. Secretary, and the Director may not be out of place. The Hon. Secretary is an old experienced local self-government worker, having long experience both of Local Boards and Municipal Boroughs. The Assistant Hon. Secretary is an experienced Chief Officer of an important District Local Board. The Director has a life-long service to his credit in the field of local self-government, having practical experience of the working of all classes of local bodies. The Hon. Secretary and the Director are both fellows of the Bombay University and recognised university post-graduate teachers.

(14) **Government representation on the Provincial Council:** The Minister for Local Self-Government is *ex-officio* Member and he has the right to nominate two other members in the Provincial Council.

(15) The objects of the Institute are given under Clause 3 of the Constitution as under:—

(*a*) To further the spread of Local Self-Government Institutions by training the people in the principles and practice of Local Self-Government.

(*b*) To promote the study of problems connected with Local Self-Government and act as a centre of information and advice for Local Self-Government Bodies.

(*c*) To strengthen and improve Local Self-Government Institutions by co-operation and other means and to bring them together for common endeavour and to create a community of interest among them by organization of periodical conferences.

(*d*) To represent the opinion of Local Self-Government Bodies for all groups or as a whole in cases in which such representation is desirable.

(*e*) To undertake any other measures necessary for the furtherance of the interest of Local Self-Government and the promotion of efficient administration.

It will be seen that they are comprehensive enough to include all additional duties that Government may think fit to delegate to it. The present activities of the Institute include the following:—

(i) **Training classes for Local Self-Government Service:** About 1,500 students have so far been trained. These classes are conducted under the joint auspices of the Institute and the Government of Bombay. A copy of the Prospectus is enclosed herewith for further information (marked C)*.

(ii) **Training of Research Scholars:** The Library of the Institute has been recognised by the University of Bombay for post-graduate studies under the direction of the Honorary Secretary and the Director.

(iii) **Publications:** The Institute has so far published over 30 publications. A list is enclosed herewith marked D*.

(iv) **A Quarterly Journal,** which is a recognised authoritative periodical, is published in English. Gujarati, Marathi and Kanarese journals are issued monthly.

(v) Advisory service on all legal, administrative and technical matters is freely offered to and much availed of by local bodies.

(vi) Local bodies are helped in the purchase of stores required by them. Goods worth lakhs of rupees are purchased every year by local bodies through the agency of the Institute.

(vii) Government have found the Institute a convenient organization for consultation of local self-government matters.

(viii) **Conferences of Local Bodies:** District, Divisional and Provincial Conferences are regularly held by the Institute.

(ix) **A Book-Depot** for sale of books useful to local bodies is conducted by the Institute.

(x) Government of India and the Bombay Provincial Government have entrusted to the Institute the work of distribution of all kinds of papers required by local bodies. Papers worth several hundred thousand rupees have been distributed by the Institute during the last 3-4 years.

(xi) A printing press for the use of local bodies is being established by the Institute.

There are a number of other minor activities which it is not necessary to mention here.

(16) It will be observed from the above statements that the Institute is *a fully representative body*—representative both in the General Board and in the Provincial Council of *all classes* of local bodies, in *all territorial divisions* with *special representation* to important units like Poona, Ahmedabad, etc. They have combined together voluntarily. They have found it to their advantage to join and contribute annual subscriptions to the Institute which has

*Not printed.

won their confidence by a regular devoted service of 20 years. The office-bearers are life-long workers in the field of local self-government of high educational qualifications and exceptional practical experience of the working of local bodies.

(17) One peculiar feature should be mentioned here. The Institute has the rare fortune of being absolutely free from all party influences throughout its career. Neither political nor territorial nor communal influences have ever been evident either in the elections to the Provincial Council of the Institute or in the conferences held under the auspices of the Institute, or in the working of it. Liberals, Congressmen, Hindus, Mahomedans, Gujaratis, Deccanis, Karnatakese—Brahmins, non-Brahmins—all have worked in the Institute for their common welfare, irrespective of the ideologies they betray outside the Institute's sphere of activities.

5. I shall now proceed to show that no other Institute that Government may create will be able to fulfil the conditions laid down above as *sine qua non* of a successful working of the proposed scheme of the devolution.

If any attempts were made to create a new body other than the Local Self-Government Institute to undertake the proposed responsibilities they will utterly fail. The very preliminary work in connection with the establishment of such a body would be hemmed in with numerous difficulties and the resultant body would be absolutely devoid of the qualifications necessary for shouldering such heavy responsibilities and for creating confidence amongst local bodies. There would be tremendous conflict of views about adequate representation of different classes of local bodies and of different geographical, administrative and linguistic divisions and acceptable annual contributions from each local body. It would not be possible to set up any organization with the willing consent of all local self-governing units. It would be a coercive process with all the unsatisfactory results attendant on such a process. Local Bodies will resist the formation of an organization on the basis of a pattern which Government may formulate. There would be, besides, considerable party or political and other influences brought to bear upon the Ministers to include members of particular groups and they would find it almost impossible to extricate themselves from these influences. Even if they consciously and scrupulously resist the formation of parties and attempt to appoint independent persons, local bodies will never be inclined to repose confidence in their impartiality in the same measure as in a voluntary association which is formed by themselves and which has worked steadily and smoothly for 20 years. A new *ad hoc* body will thus give satisfaction neither to Government nor

to local bodies, not to the former because Government will find the influence of this new organization on local bodies very insignificant and not to the latter because local bodies will take it to be a fabrication of fresh armoury of Government control. It will be impossible to bring about any satisfactory results from this setting up of a permanent antithesis to Local Self-Government Institutions.

6. Let me now attempt to answer the question as to how the Institute as above constituted or after suitable amendments in its constitution can act as a 'Local Self-Government Board' to which Government can delegate its controlling powers under the different Local Self-Government Acts of the Province.

I shall prefix a few remarks on the 'Local Self-Government Board'. The idea of the Local Self-Government Board or rather Local Government Board has been engaging the attention of Local Self-Government reformers in India for quite a number of years. The idea is based on the desire to copy an Institution of similar name which existed in England before the Ministry of Health replaced it in 1919. Its history and working has little to recommend its adoption in India and therefore it is waste of labour to trace its origin and to scrutinize its working with a view to find out if we can resuscitate a like Institute in India. All the same, suggestion to establish a Local Self-Government Board has been persisting in India and raising its head from time to time. Let us see 'the Why' of this persistent uprising of the idea.

7. I believe that objects underlying this periodical demand for establishing a Local Self-Government Board may be summarised somewhat as under:—

> Provincial Governments in India have so far exercised supervision and control over local bodies through the Secretary to Government, Local Self-Government Department, the Divisional Commissioners, the Collectors and his subordinates. These officers, speaking generally, have not been able to take sufficient interest in the problems affecting local bodies and therefore supervision which they are supposed to carry out is nil, control exercised by them is superficial and their activity is practically confined to the infliction of death penalty legally known as supersession—a panacea for all evils. Grounds of supersession are often flimsy and are not peculiar to the body threatened with supersession. There are set formulae flourished against particular local bodies whenever a Collector or some Government Official in the lower level of administration happens to be particularly displeased with certain individuals in charge of local bodies concerned, rather than on the merits of the case. It can be demonstrated that charges levelled at the body threatened with supersession could be applied practically to many other local bodies including the Corporation of Bombay with equal force. Under these omnibus charges they all could be superseded. This, it is felt, is a state of things which is not satisfactory and an escape must be found from it.

8. It is realised that it would be improper to blame these officials for these conditions. They have their other heavy duties to perform. But the inevitable result is that Local Bodies fail to see the justice of this infliction of penalty by these officials because they feel that measures taken by these officials are based on reports of their inferiors who have little experience of the administration of Local Bodies, and whose reports are based on factors very often extraneous to the subject-matter. Their reports more often than not are coloured and biased and portray only one side of the picture which is only the black side painted blacker. The local bodies feel that political influence on Government is the only remedy to counteract these official reports and they feel that whoever carries influence with the Ministerial party can weild influence in local politics as well. This universal feeling undermines the influence of Government in general and Ministers in particular.

9. Apart from the neglect and inefficiency of these controlling authorities the 'growing complexity of problems' affecting local bodies has made it necessary that the control and guidance should be in the hands of a body having intimate and personal experience of their working and in whom and in whose capacity local bodies have confidence. Recommendations made or decisions taken by such a body will command greater respect from Local Bodies and would be readily acceptable to the Provincial Government as well.

10. It can be urged with considerable force that the Minister of Local Self-Government should have an assistance of a body of experienced persons enjoying considerable amount of influence over local bodies and on whose judgment he could place greater reliance than on beauracratic advice on which he has at present to rely. The Secretariat is again so busy at the Centre that it has no time nor a reliable machinery to obtain the other side of the picture than the one put before it by the District Officers who in their turn are dependent upon officers of a calibre much below the mark.

11. It is moreover ridiculous to have to resort to the extreme measure of supersession without taking intermediate action for rectification of errors made by local bodies or checking the evils at a stage before they develop further. The Official control has so far miserably failed

to function in this manner and has relied too much on its powers of supersession.

12. More or less on the abovementioned grounds, it has been suggested that a Local Self-Government Board fully representative of Local Bodies should be formed and entrusted with powers of inspection, supervision and control to the greatest extent possible, consistent with the ultimate responsibility of Ministers.

13. The Local Self-Government Institute, it is submitted, fulfils the conditions entitling it to be entrusted with the responsibilities of Provincial Government and its officials in the matter of control over local bodies. Amongst others, it has the following qualifications:—

(1) Its representative character—
   (*a*) Representing *all classes* of Local Self-Governing Units.
   (*b*) Representing *Territorial* divisions.

(2) Its *voluntary* character.

(3) *Twenty years' working*—approved and admired by Provincial Government all along and enjoying confidence of local bodies.

(4) Experts at the Heads.

(5) Minister of Local Self-Government and his two nominees on the governing body.

(6) Freedom from political, communal or territorial party squabbles.

(7) It is a popular institution of long standing. It is a general principle that people take kindly to an Institution with which they are familiar and are always suspicious of new institutions which aim at controlling them. They would consider it a favour bestowed on them in so far as their own existing institution is endowed with wide powers. This psychological aspect is of great importance and should be taken advantage of in our scheme of decentralisation.

14. Let us now consider what functions at present exercised by Government agencies could be suitably delegated to the Institute, either from the beginning or by stages. We shall examine the suitability of certain functions for transfer. There are quite a large number of supervisory and controlling functions which the Government and the Revenue Officials are at present supposed to be performing under the different Acts governing local bodies. It would make this note rather unweildly if I were to analyse all these Acts and enumerate all these functions and point out which of them could be devolved and which reserved.

15. It is necessary however that I should make certain observations in respect of at least one of these Acts, which will be illustrative of similar treatment of other Acts with suitable modifications. For this purpose, I shall take the Municipal Boroughs Act of 1925. It will be seen that powers exercised by Government agencies are divisible into four categories, viz.:

1. Powers exercised by the Central Government.
2. Powers exercised by the Provincial Government.
3. Powers exercised by the Divisional Commissioners.
4. Powers exercised by the Collectors.

Control by Central Government

Government of India have retained some measure of control in respect of (i) Cantonments (section 47), (ii) Census (section 61), (iii) Taxes which were imposed before 1935 but which the Provincial Government has no right to impose under the Act of 1935 and therefore cannot authorise their imposition by Local Bodies (section 73), and (iv) Imposition of taxes on Government of India properties (Sec. 74).

We are however not concerned with these powers. We shall deal therefore with the powers exercised by the other three classes of Controlling Authorities.

Control exercised by the Provincial Government

Sections — *Subject matter*

4, 7—Creation or abolition of Municipal Boroughs and alteration of their limits.

9—Nomination of Councillors, if election fails.

10—Determination of number of Councillors, reservation of Seats, etc.

12—Decisions regarding disqualification of Councillors.

15—Power to appoint Judges for holding inquiry into validity of elections and remove disqualifications.

24, 25—Extension of term of office of Councillors.

27—Power to remove Councillors for misconduct.

33—Power to sanction appointment of persons as Chief Officer—though not qualified.

34A—Power to require removal of Chief Officer, Health Officer or Engineer—on a bare majority resolution of the Board.

37A—Power to nominate members on Pilgrim Committee.

Sections — *Subject matter*

47—Power to sanction agreement between local bodies re: levy of Octroi or toll and decide disputes.

52—Power to vest land or building in a municipality after compulsory acquisition.

58—Power to approve Rules made by Municipalities.

59—Power to sanction Rules approved by Commissioner re: Principal officers and withdraw certain rule-making powers of a Municipality.

61—Power to sanction By-laws.

61(n)—Power to regulate Octroi.

66—Power to sanction application of Municipal fund outside its limits.

67—Power to sanction depositing of money in specified banks.

69, 70—Power to issue orders for making payment in respect of anti-rabic treatment and for maintenance, etc. of lunatics and lepers of indegent persons.

72—Power to sanction discontinuation of payments to institutions promised by municipalities.

73, 77—Power to issue orders regarding imposition of Taxes, and sanction rules on that behalf.

94—Power to appoint a Magistrate for inspection of goods for imposition of Octroi.

102—Power to suspend levy of objectionable taxes.

103—Power to compel municipalities to impose new taxes or to increase existing taxes or modify.

179—Power to confer powers re: Prevention of diseases.

181—Power to withdraw or modify powers granted by Commissioners re: dangerous diseases.

184—Power to confer certain powers of congested areas.
Power to prescribe limit of fine for breach of certain orders.

190—Power to declare Pilgrim Centres.

208—Power to sanction modification of the requirements of a municipal account code that may be prescribed.

211—Power to call for statements or details of accounts.

214—Power to issue final orders in respect of orders of Collectors and Commissioners regarding suspension or execution of certain resolutions by a municipality.

Sections — *Subject matter*

216—Power to decide appeals made by municipalities against Commissioners' orders re: prevention of extravagance in the employment of establishments.

217—Power to order inquiry into municipal matters.

218—Power of Provincial Government to provide for performance of duties in default of municipalities and recover expenses.

219—Power to supersede or dissolve municipalities.

220—Power of Provincial Government over Commissioners and Collectors in respect of all duties performed by these officers.

Control exercised by Commissioner

Sections — *Subject-matter*

10(1)(c)—Power to make rules for regulating elections.

37A(2)—Power to constitute a new Pilgrim Committee by nomination.

37A(8)—Power to decide dispute re: the budget of Pilgrim Committee.

47(1A)—Power to issue an order requiring concurrence to agreements re: Octroi or toll.

48—Power to sanction sale or transfer of any immovable property.

59(1)—Power to approve rules re: determining staff, etc. except Chief Officer, etc.

65(b)—Power to approve setting apart of any portion of municipal fund for specific work.

65(c2)—Power to approve apportionment of the proceeds of Pilgrim Tax determined by the municipality.

65(c3)—Power to approve the sums allocated for the health and safety of Pilgrims.

71(n)—Power to sanction the expansion of telephone line outside the Municipal Limit.

92—Power to assign a part of Pilgrim Tax to Local Board.

114(1)—Power to give sanction re: discontinuation of Public Streets.

175—Power to sanction the establishment of slaughter-house outside the Municipal Limit.

180(2)—Power to confer certain powers for the prevention of any dangerous disease.

Section — *Subject-matter*

184(2c)—Power to decide disputes re: Erection of any building in overcrowded areas.

213—Power of Inspection and Supervision.

214(2)—Power to modify or confirm Collector's orders re: suspension of execution of the resolutions.

216—Power to prevent extravagance in the employment of staff.

218—Power to get the payment out of municipal fund for any work done in default of duties of municipalities.

219(2)—Power to appoint person or persons for the performance of powers and duties of a suspended municipality.

220—Power to exercise same authority in matters of general and Revenue administration of municipality.

Control exercised by Collector

Sections — *Subject matter*

12(5)—Power to decide any vacancy of a Councillor's seat.

19A(1)—Power to call a meeting of a new municipality for the election of President.

19A(3)—Power to select three persons—one of whom has to preside at the first meeting of a Municipal Board.

32A—Power to authorise Councillor or Chief Officer to exercise powers and perform duties of President in certain contingencies.

64(1)—Power to decide the claims to properties.

68(s)—Power to approve the boundary marked by the municipality.

119(2)—Power to permit municipality to occupy land vested in His Majesty for Public Street.

213—Power of Inspection and Supervision.

213(2)—Power to call for any statement of accounts.

214(1)—Power to suspend the execution of certain orders, etc. of municipality.

215(1)—Power to provide for the execution of certain work.

215(2)—Power to make payment for the above work out of Municipal Fund.

220—Power to exercise same authority in matters of general and Revenue administration of municipality.

16. It will be seen that the last three lists are fairly long ones. They will give an idea of what a large number of functions Government have made themselves responsible for performing. It is suggested that some of these functions could, with reasonable safety, be delegated to the Institute with suitable changes in its constitution discussed hereafter.

17. My suggestions about delegation of these powers are as under:—

I would divide the powers exercised by the *Provincial Government* roughly into three categories for the purpose of devolution.

(1) In the exercise of some of these powers, the Provincial Government should act only on the recommendations of the Local Self-Government Institute, for example:

Powers to create or abolish Municipal Boroughs (Section 4).

Powers to determine the number of Councillors (Section 10).

Power to extend the term of Office of Councillors.

Power to remove a Councillor for misconduct (Section 27).

Power to require removal of Chief Officers, etc. (Section 34A).

Power to issue orders regarding imposition of taxes (Sections 73, 77 and 103).

Power to suspend levy of objectionable taxes (Section 102).

Power to dissolve or supersede Municipality (Section 219).

(2) Some of the powers may be delegated to the Institute with a right of appeal in certain cases to the Minister of Local Self-Government, e.g.

Power to decide disputes regarding disqualification of Councillors.

Power to decide disputes regarding alteration of boundaries (Section 7).

Power to decide disputes between local bodies who have entered into an agreement for joint levy of tolls or Octroi, etc. (Sec. 47).

(3) There are certain powers which Government may reserve to themselves absolutely, e.g.:

Power to appoint a Judge to hold inquiry into validity of elections (Section 15).

Power to vest land or building in a Municipality (Section 52).

Power to sanction By-laws (Section 59).

Power to sanction depositing of moneys in certain Banks (Section 67).

Power to appoint Magistrate for inspection of goods for Octroi (Section 94).

Power to prescribe limit of fines in certain cases (Section 184).

The above remarks are broad-based and do not exhaustively deal with all sections of the Act but are illustrative of the line of treatment which I would like to give to all these Controlling powers of the Provincial Government.

18. **Commissioner's Powers:** There is considerable delay generally caused in the matter of exercise of controlling powers by the Commissioners. I suppose that we can relieve these high officials of all the powers exercised by them in respect of Local Self-Government matters. Where, however, matters pertaining to land Revenue-cum-Local Self-Government require to be dealt with, these officers may be found competent to advise—both to the Provincial Government in case of powers reserved to it or to the Institute in case of powers delegated to it under the proposed scheme.

19. **Collector's Powers:** All the powers exercised by the Collectors may be transferred to the Institute to be exercised through the District agencies which it may establish. There will, however, remain a few subjects which have cross-connections with Local Self-Government matters. Collector's office will have, therefore, to be constantly consulted by the Institute on these subjects.

20. The above proposals are calculated to bring about the following results:—

(1) Provincial Government will be relieved of many responsibilities; the ultimate responsibilities will however remain intact. The Minister will be able to devote greater attention to matters of policy and will be relieved of the details of administrative work.

(2) Commissioners will be relieved of all responsibilities.

(3) Collectors will also be relieved of all Local Self-Government work.

(4) The Institute, without calling itself a Local-Self-Government Board, will be entrusted with these responsibilities of which the abovementioned authorities will be divested.

21. I shall now proceed to suggest the changes which will have to be effected in the constitution and organization of the Institute in order that it may be enabled to shoulder these responsibilities more efficiently.

The constitution of the Institute's General Board and the Territorial representation on the Provincial Council of the Institute may be kept untouched as at present. The Provincial Council however may be split up into two sections with some overlapping members, if necessary, who may sit on both the sections. One section should continue to conduct all the educative and other activities of the Institute as at present and should be encouraged by Provincial Government to undertake larger number of such educative functions including popular propaganda to train Local Self-Government voters by liberal financial assistance. It is submitted that the Institute has established its undoubted claim to substantial aid by a regular thoughtful and expert management for the last 20 years. Annual audit notes on the accounts of the Institute are one of the testimonials to this efficiency.

The other section of the Provincial Council should be reinforced by nominating thereon some Government Officials *ex-officio* and should perform all the functions delegated to the same as per suggestions made above.

An official of the rank of Divisional Commissioner should be put as Chairman of this section instead of the Minister for Local Self-Government in order to avoid the latter committing himself to any line of action taken by this section. If this section of the Provincial Council shows good results, we may be able to dispense with the official chairman, who may be replaced by non-official Chairman in course of time. Besides the Commissioner, two more officers—one from the Public Works Department and another from the Public Health Department—should also be appointed *ex-officio* members on this section of the Provincial Council. This section should be authorised to obtain all co-operation from the Land Revenue Authorities and to obtain assistance of other Departmental Heads. This section may have a separate designation such as the 'Controlling Board' and should have a special separate executive committee, wherein the abovementioned three officials may be *ex-officio* members and three members of the Provincial Council may be elected by the Council. The Honorary Secretary of the Institute should be an additional *ex-officio* member of this Executive Committee. The Director of the Institute shall also be a member and Secretary of this Controlling Board as well as of the Executive Committee.

22. I also suggest that at the Head Office in Bombay there should be the following office personnel.

(1) The Principal Executive Officer of the rank of a Divisional Commissioner as stated above.

(2) Two assistants to the Principal Executive Officer, of the rank of Collectors.

(3) Three Head Clerks chosen from the offices of three Divisional Commissioners.

(4) Clerks, typists and peons as may be necessary.

The above organization is for the Central Office of the Institute.

23. I do not recommend that any Divisional organization should be put up as I feel that a three tired arrangement would be cumbrous and otherwise lead to inefficiency.

24. For each District, the Institute's General Board should elect representatives who will form District Committees. The District Committees will divide themselves into controlling and non-controlling sections, and the Collector of each District and Public Works and Public Health departmental representatives will be *ex-officio* members of the Controlling sections. These sections will be placed under the superintendent's guidance and control of the Controlling Section of the Provincial Council of the Centre.

25. These District Committees will be the solid foundations on which we should build our edifice of control. These Committees should have offices at the District Headquarters. The staff should include those officers and clerks in the Collector's offices who are at present dealing with local self-government matters. There should be appointed a good set of competent Inspectors at all District Offices. They must be kept constantly moving about throughout the District.

26. The above suggestions are only tentative and very general. If the basic idea is approved, a detailed scheme can be carefully worked out.

27. I would further suggest that an experiment should be made in the above direction and powers might be transferred cautiously and by instalment and the position should be reviewed from year to year and additional powers be vested as and when the Provincial Government are satisfied about the efficient working of the scheme.

28. It is necessary that the Provincial Government should take some risks which are involved in a democratic scheme of decentralisation outlined above. The scheme provides for official co-operation, nay, substantial official control so that there ought not to be any diffidence about the proper use of powers.

29. Lastly, a note of warning should be repeated. Any attempt to set up a new body will fail in its objective for the simple reason that it will not command the confidence of local bodies. What Government can achieve in the direction of efficiency, it would be enabled to do so

through the Institute alone. It may be too presumptous to say this, but I venture to express my convictions unequivocally and without fear of being charged with presumptousness.

30. **Financial Aspects of the Scheme:** I suppose, it would be premature to go into the financial implications of the observations and suggestions made by me. There would be time enough to go into these implications, once the main suggestion of devolving responsibilities on the Institute finds acceptance. One thing, however, appears to be clear, viz. that the expenses at present incurred by the Government in the matter of superintendence and control of local bodies is not likely to be increased at least not to any appreciable extent. It is equally clear that much of the money at present expended for maintaining official agency of control is wasted or is unproductive of good results.

I must add that there will be some additional expenses for paying the travelling allowances of members of the Controlling Central Body and its District organizations. But these amounts, I believe, will be well spent and productive of improved administration.

There are a number of committees appointed from year to year by Government for transacting work which forms the statutory province of local bodies. After the devolution of responsibilities to the Institute, I suppose bodies like the rural development boards can be abolished. There are several other committees which can also be scraped. These Committees spend a lot of money which can be saved and utilised towards the expenses of these Controlling Bodies. Incidentally a good deal of time of superior officers which is wasted in attending to the work of these committees would be utilised to better purposes.

I do not wish that Local Bodies should be burdened by having to bear any share of the expenditure towards the maintenance of the Controlling Boards. Let us not arouse their antipathy at an initial stage, when the position will have to be delicately handled.

31. I have not dealt with the Village Panchayats in the above observations. It is a patent fact that the Collectors are too busy to attend to the work of fostering the growth of Village Panchayats and the District Local Boards are unable for want of funds to attend to this task. I feel that it is useless to expect the Collectors to handle this task. I am however hopeful about District Local Boards, if financially aided. I would suggest trying another expedient, viz. to constitute a special constituency of Sarpanchs for election to certain seats on District Local Boards. This may be instrumental in arousing greater interest in District Local Boards. With due deference, however, to these esteemed persons, who are so very pessimistic and who would like to have some sort of a Village Panchayat Board or an organisation to take up this work,

I would refer to a scheme submitted by the Institute to Government in the year 1933. It is not of much value in our present inquiry. The scheme contains the germs of a plausible system of Panchayat development and if Government were to entrust the work to the Institute as emphatically recommended by the then Minister for Local Self-Government, the Honourable Gulam Husain Hidayatulla, the Institute would be prepared to undertake the work.

32. I have ventured to submit the above observations out of deference to the wishes of your Committee with certain amount of diffidence borne of the tendencies evident at present of greater centralization of powers all over. The suggestions made by me are founded on a firm conviction that the Provincial Government will never succeed in improving the administration of Local Bodies, unless they launch upon a bold policy of decentralization as distinguished from deconcentration. Devolution of powers suggested by me is more than adequately safeguarded in my above scheme. All the improvements which Government may desire to carry out, could be carried out efficiently, expeditiously and smoothly through the agency of the Institute, provided confidence is reposed and certain amount of responsibility is devolved on it and provided further that it receives full financial and administrative support to carry out these responsibilities.

I assure that the Institute will respond admirably and justify the confidence reposed in it. Its past history is a sufficient guarantee for such performance.

33. I shall be glad to meet your Committee again if the committee considers necessary that I should do so in order to render further explanation if any. Further discussion may also be held, if desired, at the time when your Committee may be pleased to visit the Institute. I extend my hearty invitation to the Committee.

Your obedient servant,
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Director,
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PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA IN 1931-41
(A Comparative Study)

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[*Continued from Vol. No. XVIII, No. 2, page 298*]

CHAPTER VI

TEACHERS

The quality of education will always be determined by effici of the teacher and no amount of change in the curriculum, method of instruction, equipment or text-books will ever produce real advancement in education, if we do not have the right type of teachers. This has been ably put by Sir Arthus Mayhew when he says; "No real advance towards popularity is possible till the appropriateness of a teacher to school surrounding and community is made the first consideration".[1]

Minimum Qualification

In order to secure the proper type of teachers, we must lay down certain minimum requirements. At present, a primary teacher has usually the Primary School Leaving Certificate and this is the minimum qualification for him to join the teaching profession. But in the rural areas, there are some teachers who possess qualifications lesser than this and such teachers are usually found employed in the village girls' schools. In recent years there was a marked tendency in many provinces of appointing such persons as have passed the matriculation examination, and their number is growing in the primary schools.

Training of Teachers

The training of primary teachers is even more important than their general education. The teaching of small children is an art and this art can best be cultivated by sound professional training. Every teacher must have a deep insight in the subject-matter of teaching, which means that he knows the subject all-right. But mere knowledge of the subject is not enough. He must know how to impart it to the young children. So long as education consisted merely of imparting the 3 R's, it was regarded that any person who knew them was quite competent to be a teacher. But with the changed outlook in education, mere imparting of the 3 R's is not enough. A teacher must give his pupils a broader insight into the content of the subject-matter and must make the pupils realise the significance of the subject he is learning. The modern tendency in education is, therefore, not of only

1. *Education of India* by A. Mayhew, p. 250.

imparting the contents of the subject-matter but of making the pupils realise its significance to life.

Thus, the fundamental requirement of any comprehensive development in the educational system is the provision of an adequate establishment of teachers and of the necessary institutions for training them[2] and any amount of money properly spent on the education of teachers will yield better and better results.

Facilities of Training

We shall now consider in detail the facilities that were provided by each of the Provinces during the period of our study. We shall consider the following aspects of the subject. They are:—

(*a*) Tendencies observed during the decade.
(*b*) Agencies providing facilities.
(*c*) Adequacy of facilities.
(*d*) Size and location of training institutions.
(*e*) Recruitment for training and stipends during training.

Let us consider them in their order.

(a) Tendencies during the decade:

The policy in Bombay was to have its own institutions for the training of male teachers, as far as possible.[3] This can be very easily seen from the fact that at the beginning of the decade out of the twelve training institutions nine were managed by Government. This policy was in vogue till 1938 when the More Committee recommended to the contrary and the Congress Government changed the policy. As a result of this policy more encouragement was given to private enterprise and the number of institutions under private management went up from 2 to 12 by the close of the decade.

In the case of women teachers, there were 15 institutions under private management in 1931-32 and their number went up to 18 by the close of the decade. The number of institutions, under the management of Government, however, remained steady at 5.

Sind had the same policy as Bombay at the beginning of the decade and it continued to be the same all throughout. There was only one institution under Government management, while there was no institution at all under private management. In the case of women there was one training school maintained by Government, while there were 3 under the management of private bodies.

In the Punjab, the same policy as in Bombay has been followed, in the provision of training institutions. At the beginning of the decade out of a total of 20 institutions for men, 15 were under Government management. The total institutions fell by 12 to 8 by the close of the

2. *Sargent Committee Report*, p. 59.
3. *DPI's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 118.

decade, and only 4 institutions remained under Government management. In the case of institutions for women, the tendency was the same as for men. In 1931-32, there were 15 institutions under Government management, out of a total of 18 and by the close of the decade the total institutions went up to 31 and out of them 29 were under Government management.

In the N.-W.F. Province, the Government entirely managed the training institutions for men and women. There were no private institutions at all.

In the United Provinces, the training institutions for men were conducted by Government, District Boards and Municipalities. At the beginning of the decade out of a total of 83 institutions, 14 were under Government management, 58 under District Boards and 10 under Municipalities. But during the decade the District Boards and the Municipalities shirked off their responsibilities of training which they had undertaken and this resulted in a considerable fall in the number of institutions under their management. The institutions under the District Boards fell by 48 to 10 and that under Municipalities by 9 to 1 during the decade. The Government, however, continued its policy of maintaining training institutions, and the number of institutions under the Government management rose from 14 to 15 during the decade.

The training of women teachers was managed by Government and private enterprise and to a small extent by the Municipalities. The number of institutions under the management of Government and private bodies rose from 28 and 15 to 45 and 18 respectively during the decade, while the institutions managed by the Municipalities, remained stationary at 2. It is hardly necessary to point out that though the number of institutions under private management increased by a small number, the increase in the Government institutions was considerable, which only indicates the special interest taken by Government in the training of women teachers.

In the Central Provinces, the institutions for men were entirely conducted by the Government, and the number of such institutions was 10. This number decreased by 3 to 7 during the decade, but the total number of institutions was 8 at the close of the decade, due to the springing up of an unaided institution.

The training institutions for women are run both by Government and private bodies. There were only two Government institutions and their number remained unchanged during the period of our study. But in the case of institutions under private management their number fell by 1 to 5.

In Bengal, the training of men teachers was mainly managed by the Government. There were 85 training institutions at the beginning

of the decade and their number rose by 43 to 128. The institutions under private management were only 5 and they increased by 1 to 6 by the close of the period.

The training institutions for women were comparatively small in number. There were only 3 Government-managed institutions and this number was steady for the whole of the decade. There were 7 training institutions under private management and this went up by 3 to 10.

In Assam, the Government and the private agencies were both at work, in the training of men teachers, and 3 institutions were managed by each of these agencies. The number of Government institutions remained steady but those conducted by private agencies decreased to 2.

For the training of women teachers, there were 2 institutions under private management, and their number remained unchanged for the whole decade. There were no Government institutions at all for the training of women teachers at the beginning of the decade and no new institutions were started during the decade. We may here point out that, Assam is the only province in the whole of India which has no training institutions for women under Government management.

In Bihar and Orissa, the training institutions for men, as in Bengal were predominantly managed by the Government. In 1931-32, out of 83 institutions, 80 were under Government management. Though this number fell by 5 during the decade we can still say that the policy of maintaining training institutions by the Government continued. By the close of the decade there were 75 institutions under Government management and only 4 under private management.

For the training of women teachers there were 4 training institutions conducted by Government at the beginning of the decade and their number increased to 5. There were 7 institutions conducted by private bodies and their number increased by 2 to 9. This shows that though the Government took great interest in the training of male teachers, the same interest was not evinced in the case of women teachers.

In Madras, the Government and the private agencies were both at work for the training of men and women teachers. For the training of men teachers, there were 61 institutions under Government management and the number decreased by 12 to 49. The number of institutions under private management increased from 22 to 24.

For the training of women teachers, there were 36 institutions under Government management and 27 under private bodies. The Government training institutions decreased by 3 to 33 while those under private management increased by 8 to 35.

(b) Agencies Providing facilities

Having studied the tendencies in the various provinces, we now turn to discuss the agencies which make the provision of training, and the rise and fall in their number and in the number of pupils that attend them. Let us consider the following tables:—

TABLE NO. X

Training Institution for Teachers

Men

Province	Govt.		District Board.		Municipal.		Aided.		Unaided.		Total.	
	31	41	31	41	31	41	31	41	31	41	31	41
Bombay ...	9	13	...	...	1	2	2	6	...	12	12	33
Sind ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
The Punjab ...	15	4	...	...	...	...	4	2	1	2	20	8
N.-W.F. ...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
U.P. ...	14	15	58	10	10	1	1	1	...	2	83	29
C.P. ...	10	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	8
Bengal ...	85	128	...	...	1	1	4	6	1	...	91	135
Assam ...	3	3	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	1	6	5
Bihar ...	80	58	...	...	...	...	2	3	1	1	83	62
Orissa ...	...	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Madras ...	61	49	...	...	...	...	21	22	1	2	83	73
(Women)												
Bombay ...	5	5	...	...	1	1	12	14	3	4	21	24
Sind ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	5
The Punjab ...	15	29	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	1	18	31
N.-W.F. ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
U.P. ...	28	45	...	...	2	2	15	17	...	1	45	65
C.P. ...	2	2	...	...	...	...	4	4	2	1	8	7
Bengal ...	3	3	...	...	...	...	7	9	...	1	10	13
Assam ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	2
Bihar ...	4	3	...	...	...	...	7	8	...	...	11	11
Orissa ...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3
Madras ...	36	33	...	...	1	...	26	34	1	1	64	68

On looking at this table it becomes quite evident that except for the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and Madras, private agencies were not taking keen interest in the training of male teachers, and their contribution was only modest. Only 18.5 per cent teachers were in the institutions conducted by private bodies and their percentage only changed to 18.8 by the close of the decade.

In the case of training of women teachers, the private agencies were at work in all the provinces, except in the N.-W.F. Province. In the case of Assam, it is just the opposite and for the training of women teachers, we had to depend on private enterprise only. The percentage of women teachers under training was 42.84 in the beginning

of the decade and this went up to 53.08 by the close of the decade. These percentages show that though the contribution of Government to the training of male teachers was very great, the same proportion was not maintained by the training of women teachers. This was due to the fact that the missionary societies as well as private bodies like Seva-Sadan and Anatha Mahila Ashram, Hingne, in Poona, undertook the training of women teachers in the spirit of self-sacrifice. In Bombay, out of the 12 non-Government institutions, 7 were conducted by the Missionary bodies and 3 others by societies like the Anatha Mahila Ashram. In the United Provinces, there were 7 aided institutions attached to the Mission institutions out of a total of 15. In Assam, all the training institutions were managed by the Missionary bodies and there were no other agencies at work.

(c) Adequacy of Provision:

Having considered the provision of facilities, we now try to discuss the other aspect of provision, viz.; the adequacy or otherwise of these facilities. Table No. XI shows a comparison of the provision of facilities in terms of seats available for every 100 untrained teachers.

The last column gives the percentage of seats actually provided in the training institutions to the seats required and this will give us a fairly comparative idea of the adequacy of provision in the various provinces. The method adopted in calculating the sufficiency of provision is as under:

As the basis for calculations, we do not consider the ideal conditions that will exist, if all the provinces undertook the scheme of compulsory education which will require a considerably large number of teachers, but we shall only discuss the sufficiency of provision for the conditions as they existed during the decade. We shall, therefore, consider how many seats must be provided by each province, for the training of its existing teachers, within a reasonable period, say of ten years as the basis of calculation and the number of seats that were actually provided by the province.

A teacher generally retires from service, after a service of 30 years. His place is taken up by a new teacher who is generally untrained. Then there are some teachers, who have to leave before completing the service and others who leave the profession altogether. A few, unfortunately, die before completing full service. Thus we want trained teachers who will be able to fill up the gap caused by retirement, dismissal, etc. and we assume their percentage to be 4 in our calculations. All teachers in the primary schools are not trainable due to the following reasons. There are some teachers who hold qualification inferior to the minimum qualification required, for the

TABLE NO. XI

Adequacy of Provision

Men

No.	Province.	No. of Teachers		Wastage at 4 %		No. of untrained teachers.		Probable No. of retainable teachers at 60 %		No. of seats to be provided for training in ten years.		Duration Course in years.		No. of seats required.		Seats actually available.		% of 10 to 11	
		1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941	1931	1941
1	2	3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11	
1.	Bombay ...	32,381	38,083	1,295	1,533	17,192	22,267	10,313	13,360	1,031	1,336	2	2	3,357	4,195	711	2,618	21	62
2.	Sind ...	...	5,782	...	231	...	2,719	...	2,231	...	223	...	2	...	677	...	205	...	30
3.	The Punjab	11,529	12,351	461	494	3,080	2,370	1,848	1,422	185	142	1½	1½	738	706	1,742	815	236	115
4.	N.-W.F. ...	925	1,270	37	50	392	381	235	228	24	23	1½	1½	73	86	163	106	211	123
5.	U.P. ...	38,646	39,174	1,546	1,563	13,045	9,498	7,827	5,699	783	570	2	2	3,112	2,703	1,622	1,265	52	47
6.	C.P. ...	10,215	11,790	409	470	4,239	4,109	2,543	2,465	254	247	2½	2½	1,044	1,088	1,053	523	100	48
7.	Bengal ...	75,950	91,087	3,038	3,643	54,614	57,631	32,768	34,576	3,277	3,458	2	1	9,954	7,101	2,587	4,522	26	64
8.	Assam ...	7,282	9,613	291	384	4,980	7,094	2,988	4,256	299	426	2	2	789	1,236	211	324	27	26
9.	Bihar ...	36,392	33,336	1,456	1,333	18,741	12,695	11,245	7,617	1,125	762	1	1	2,581	2,095	1,676	1,474	65	70
10.	Orissa ...	...	12,040	...	482	...	5,474	...	3,280	...	328	...	2	...	1,138	...	544	...	48
11.	Madras ...	96,534	89,459	3,861	3,578	39,222	10,981	23,533	6,589	2,353	659	2	2	8,567	4,896	10,983	9,856	128	203
								Women.											
1.	Bombay ...	5,034	7,305	201	292	2,415	3,659	1,449	2,195	145	220	3	3	636	952	803	1,598	126	163
2.	Sind ...	...	1,014	...	40	...	640	...	384	...	38	...	3	...	154	...	231	...	150
3.	The Punjab	2,847	4,141	114	165	1,721	1,449	1,032	869	103	87	1½	1½	268	297	853	768	318	258
4.	N.W.F. ...	243	374	10	15	183	198	109	119	11	12	1½	1½	26	33	48	55	185	167
5.	U.P. ...	2,094	2,605	84	104	1,860	2,003	1,116	1,201	112	120	2	2	308	344	412	865	134	251
6.	C.P. ...	1,192	1,692	48	68	610	5,709	366	387	37	38	2½	2½	141	163	337	210	239	129
7.	Bengal ...	5,225	5,663	209	227	4,607	4,782	2,764	2,859	276	283	2	1	761	514	234	321	31	62
8.	Assam ...	571	1,129	23	45	477	965	286	5,709	29	58	2	2	81	161	22	59	27	36
9.	Bihar ...	1,661	2,202	66	88	1,216	1,603	729	962	73	96	1	1	139	184	249	303	179	165
10.	Orissa ...	...	227	...	9	...	52	...	31	...	3	...	2	...	15	...	59	...	394
11.	Madras ...	12,401	18,347	496	734	2,984	1,570	1,790	942	179	94	2	2	854	922	3,252	4,224	378	458

admission to the training institutions. These teachers, because of their low qualifications and poor general knowledge, cannot be admitted to the training schools. Secondly, training has been almost regarded as a matter of patronage. A trained teacher gets a higher salary than an untrained one, and therefore every teacher, while he is young, tries to get a training certificate. But due to the policy of maintaining the percentage of trained teachers at a certain number (it was 50% in Bombay) many teachers are not able to secure admission to the training schools, while they are young. They continue to be in service and go on teaching for a number of years adopting the old methods. By this time they get hardened into the old methods of teaching and the training of such teachers becomes useless as they adopt the same old routine methods of teaching when they go back to the village school. Training is beneficial at a young age and it is no use training teachers who have passed the age of 40. Thus at a stage like this it is not desirable to train all teachers because the training of older teachers is mostly wasted. These teachers, if they are trained, leave the modern methods of teaching that they have studied in the training college itself, merely care for a training certificate which brings them higher pay and when they go back to the school, they adopt the old methods again. We assume the percentage of these teachers to be 40%. We have therefore to embark on a policy of training the remaining 60% teachers. This must be done in a period of ten years which means 1|10th of trainable teachers must be sent to the training institutions every year. Thus the total number of teachers that must undergo training will be those that are untrained but are already in service together with the new entrants in this profession who have left it and their total number is tabulated in column 7. In calculating the actual number of seats that must be provided for in the training institutions we must consider the duration of the course as well. For, in the case of a course of two years, we must have double the number of seats in the training schools and for three years three times the number. The duration of the training courses in the various provinces is different. Some have a three years' course, some two while others only one. Even in a single province there are two or three types of courses, with different duration of training. In such cases we have calculated the average. For calculating the total number of seats required, we multiply the number of trainable candidates for each year by the duration of the course and this number is shown in column 8 while the total actual seats available in column 9. The percentage of the actual seats to the seats required is tabulated in the last column.

The percentage column itself, speaks of the adequacy of training institutions. It is hardly necessary to point out that in case of male teachers, provision was inadequate in Bombay, Sind, U.P., Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam and it was superfluous in the Punjab, N.-W.F. Province and Madras. In the Central Provinces the provision was nearly adequate at the beginning of the decade but by the close of the decade it was insufficient.

The facilities for women teachers, were more than adequate on the whole. The provision was almost three times the necessity in the Punjab and four times in Madras. It was only in Bengal and Assam that there was no proper provision of facilities for training women teachers.

(d) Size and Location of Training Institutions:

Another point that needs our consideration is the size and the location of the training institutions. A large-sized institution will be located in a town, for it is only in the towns and big cities that we shall be able to get the necessary number of pupils to form a good sized practising school. Again it is only in such big training institutions, that the demonstrations of the various modern methods in teaching can be given to the pupil teachers. It is possible to introduce more experiments in such places. Generally in a city we have an observatory, a museum and many such educational institutions which are not found in rural areas. The city life widens the outlook of teachers who naturally become more sympathetic and broad-minded.

A rural training school has its own advantages. Most of the teachers, after they have completed the course in training, go back to the village. If they are taught in rural surroundings and in rural method they will easily be able to tackle their problems. Most of the schools in rural areas are single teacher schools. If, therefore, these teachers are taught the plural method of teaching they will certainly be immensely profited. There are some training institutions like the Agricultural Bias Training Schools which must be located in the villages. To think of these classes in the cities will be quite absurd.

Consider the next table, which gives the average number of pupils per training institution for men and women under the different agencies in the various provinces:—(For table see next page).

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study of the above table:—

(i) The size of the Government institutions was larger than that of the other types of institutions.

(ii) The aided and the unaided institutions were comparatively small in size except in Bombay, the Punjab and Madras.

(iii) The institutions in U.P. for women were of a very small size.

(iv) In Bombay, the Punjab and Madras, the size of the institutions both for men and women was comparatively larger than in other provinces.

TABLE NO. XII

Pupils per Training Institution by Management

Province	Government		D.L.B.		Municipal		Aided		Unaided	
	31	41	31	41	31	41	31	41	31	41
Males										
Bombay ...	67	118	...	...	27	78	...	23	...	28
Sind ...	...	205	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
The Punjab ...	98	140	...	...	...	...	232	66	40	120
N.-W.F. ...	55	106	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
U.P. ...	65	67	11	14	59	144	34	35	...	33
C.P. ...	105	68	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	49
Bengal ...	29	33	...	...	70	68	16	28	16	...
Assam ...	62	102	...	...	...	...	10	10	4	9
Bihar ...	20	23	...	...	...	...	22	25	18	44
Orissa ...	...	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madras ...	148	157	...	...	...	...	100	93	25	37
Females										
Bombay ...	36	78	...	...	37	18	46	73	11	43
Sind ...	...	87	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	30
The Punjab ...	52	25	...	...	...	...	23	39	...	...
N.-W.F. ...	48	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
U.P. ...	7	10	...	...	4	40	13	17	...	...
C.P. ...	81	37	...	...	...	...	27	32	69	9
Bengal ...	25	34	...	...	...	...	26	24	...	3
Assam ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	29
Bihar ...	25	49	...	...	...	...	21	20	...	...
Orissa ...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	31	...	...
Madras ...	50	66	...	...	28	...	53	58	16	72

From the previous discussion and the study of the Table XII we may conclude that it is quite safe to have large-size training institutions which will naturally be in the district and taluka towns. Institutions in rural areas should also be opened and this will only depend on the needs of the particular locality.

(e) Selection and Stipends:

Another important factor that we must consider in the training of teachers, is the method of their selection to the training institutions and the monetary help that they get while they are undergoing the course of training. In selecting a teacher for training, we must see that he is of a good calibre, has sound educational background and is capable of discharging the duties and responsibilities of an efficient teacher. For the duties of a village teacher are two-fold. "A teacher in a village is not only an Educational Officer working in the school but also a leader in every movement appertaining to the rural welfare and uplift. His general knowledge and understanding must make him a reliable interpreter of the current events and movements."

In Bombay, the passing of the P.S.L.C. Examination is the minimum qualification for the admission of a teacher for training. Formerly, the selection was made by the Educational Inspector, on the recommendations of the Deputy Inspector.[5] But with the transfer of primary education to the Local Bodies, the selection of the candidates was made by the different Local Boards, and the Educational Inspector only tried to maintain the proper communal proportion. The communal proportion[6] was as under:—

Advanced 25%, Intermediate 60%, and Backward classes 15%. There was no such hard and fast proportion in the case of women teachers, but preference was always given to the candidates of the Backward and Intermediate classes.[7]

But the School Boards did not make recommendations of suitable candidates. Their recommendations were not always judicious and candidates selected by them were generally below the normal average in their general education.[8] This had a very adverse effect on the training of teachers. The first year of training had to be utilised in teaching candidates how to read and express themselves properly and in the imparting of knowledge in certain subjects. The natural consequence was that there was very little time left for the teaching of pedagogical subjects and for practical lessons. Many suggestions, in the matter of selection, were made to the School Boards, and certain minimum requirements were laid down for the selection of the candidates. In some extreme cases, the selected candidates were sent back to their village.[9] In the selection of such candidates considerations, other than educational, prevailed. This policy of selection continued till the year 1938 during which time, the heads of the different training institutions made several complaints, to the Educational Department, about the calibre of the candidates. However, one noteworthy tendency was noticed during the decade. Among the selected candidates were some who had passed the matriculation examination, and the number of such candidates was ever increasing. Such a teacher was generally more efficient, had a wider outlook, and it was hoped that, when such a teacher goes to the village he will be a very great and valuable asset in the cause of village uplift. In order to attract more matriculates, they were admitted to the second year course directly.[10] In the year 1938, the Bombay Government made a departure in the policy of training of its 50% teachers which was due to financial considerations, and embarked on a policy of training all its

5. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1929-32, p. 121.
6. Ibid., p. 122.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-33, p. 50.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 122.
9. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1934-35, p. 71.
10. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1935-36, p. 63.

teachers in service between the ages 22-40 in a period[11] of 10 to 15 years, the senior teachers being given preference. To pursue this policy of training, the power to select candidates for training was withdrawn from the Local Boards and was given to the Administrative Officers by amending the Primary Education Act. According to this change the teachers were recommended for selection by the Administrative Officers and the final selection was made by the Educational Inspector.

Men teachers deputed for training by the District Local Boards were paid Rs. 10 as stipends by Government. If a School Board wanted to depute a candidate in excess of its quota, it was allowed to do so, provided the District Board was willing to bear the additional cost of stipends.[12] Women were paid Rs. 15 as stipends. Municipal teachers did not receive any stipends till the year 1939.

With the policy of training all teachers between 22 to 40, it became necessary to depute senior and older teachers for training in the beginning. But these teachers refused to undergo training, as it was impossible for them to support their families, while they were undergoing training. This question was therefore considered by a Committee known as Moos Paranjpe Committee which recommended[13] that such teachers should be given full pay while they were under training. Government accordingly instructed all the Local Bodies to grant to all permanent teachers in the service of the Local Boards, full salary instead of stipends for the period of their training from June 1939.

In Sind, 75% of the candidates admitted to the training institutions for men are Muslims and the rest Hindus.[14] As in Bombay, the candidates recommended by the District Boards were not upto the mark. It was, therefore, suggested that in making such recommendations, due consideration should be made of the marks obtained by the candidate at the P.S.L.C. Examination, which is the minimum qualification, for the admission to training institutions and the quality of work put in by the candidate, while he was working as a teacher.

The admission to the Mulla Class, attached to the training school was made only from those teachers who were actually in service in a Mulla school.[15]

In the case of women, the admission to the training institutions was made from among the candidates, who were already in employment in some school or who were given a promise of a post of a teacher, after the training was over.[16] The percentage of trained women teachers

11. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1939-40, p. 47.
12. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 123.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1939-40, p. 48.
14. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-33, p. 50.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1938-39, p. 102.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1938-39, p. 103.

was very low in Sind, and in order to attract more women to the training institutions, this condition for admission was relaxed[17] and any lady found suitable was admitted for training, with the result that there was a fairly large increase in the number of women teachers.

In the Government Training College Rs. 12-8-0 were paid as stipend, in the case of men and Rs. 15 in the case of women.[18]

In the Punjab, where the percentage of trained teachers is as high as 73%, a very great care is taken in the selection of teachers for training. The method adopted is as follows:—[19]

The Educational Department fixed the quota of candidates according to the needs of every division and the accommodation available in the training institution. The Assistant Inspectors then made recommendations of candidates which was twice the quota. These candidates were then given a written test in Arithmetic, Urdu and General knowledge, followed by an oral test. The final selection was made by the Inspector of training institutions and the Inspector of the division, on considering the results of the test. Due regard was shown to the physical fitness of every candidate and no candidate who was found to be physically unfit was allowed to undergo training. While selecting, due consideration was made of the communal proportion and the proportion of teachers from the rural areas.

Though Matriculate candidates found favour in Bombay, they were not treated with the same sympathy in the Punjab. It was pointed out that these teachers had expensive habits, Urban tastes and were, therefore, quite misfits for rural community work.[20]

In the N.-W.F. Province, the method adopted for the selection of men teachers of training was as under:—[21]

The Divisional Inspector had a list of untrained teachers, from among whom he invited applications for training. He then inspected the work of those applicants when he went for the inspection of the schools and made his recommendations about their quality of work to the Inspector of Vernacular Schools, who made the final selection.

As there was a very great paucity of women teachers in N.-W.F. Province, women with all sorts of educational qualifications were admitted for training.[22] Some of them had passed the Middle School Examination; others only Standard IV of a primary school. Not only that the standard of these teachers was not uniform, but also the language

17. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1938-39, p. 103.
18. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 80.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1939-40, p. 62.
20. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1931-32, p. 60.
21. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1927-32, p. 114.
22. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1927-32, p. 118.

which they spoke.[23] Such being the composition of the class, it is hardly necessary to comment on the standard of such trained teachers

Forty stipends of Rs. 20 each per month were given to men teachers in the Senior Vernacular Class at the beginning of the decade.[24] But due to the economic depression at the beginning of the decade, this sum was reduced to Rs. 10 only.[25] The stipends for the Junior Vernacular Class were reduced from Rs. 160 to Rs. 85 per annum.[26]

In the case of women teachers, the total number of stipends was increased. The number of stipends in the case of Senior Vernacular teachers rose from 20 to 25 and the value of these stipends was Rs. 10 per month in each case. In the case of Junior Vernacular teachers, 30 stipends of Rs. 15 per month each were given.[27]

In U.P., the admission to the training institutions which are called Normal Schools, was given to those candidates who had passed the Vernacular Final Examination. But in the later years of the decade there were about 50% candidates who had passed the High School Examination as well.[28] The selection of candidates was made by a Committee assisted by the Assistant Inspector and the Deputy Inspectors for each district.[29] The final choice rested with the Inspector.

In the case of women, the admission was made from among those who had passed the Vernacular Upper or Vernacular Middle examination. Some of the teachers had also passed the Anglo-Vernacular Middle examination.[30] As the minimum qualification for admission was very low, the training institutions were generally below the standard.[31] Admission to the Primary Teachers' Certificate classes used to be made from among the 4th standard passed women.

Government gave stipends at the rate of Rs. 15 to the teachers in the normal schools.[32]

In C.P., the passing of the Vernacular Middle examination was the minimum qualification for admission to the training institution. As the standard of these teachers was very low, the output of trained teachers became a matter of severe criticism.[33] As in other provinces, there was a fair number of teachers who had passed the matriculation examination

23. Ibid., p. 118.
24. Ibid., p. 113.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1932-37, p. 127.
26. Ibid., p. 127.
27. Ibid., p. 135.
28. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1939-40, p. 60.
29. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 93.
30. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 94.
31. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1939-40, p. 62.
32. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1939-40, p. 62.
33. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 74.

and they were directly recruited to the second year class. This also accelerated the supply of trained teachers, as one year's training was enough for them. But it was unfortunately observed that these teachers were less industrious which was partly due to the teaching profession being forced on them on account of unemployment in other spheres of life.[34]

In the case of women teachers, the entrance qualification to the Normal Classes, was the possession of a Primary School Certificate.

The stipends were generally available to most of the pupils in Normal Schools and the value of stipends in the case of men varied from Rs. 12 to 16 according to the district in which the school was situated.[35] Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 were given as stipends to women in the preparatory class and Rs. 10 to 12 in the first and the second year classes.[36]

In Bengal, the minimum qualification for the admission to the Guru and Muallim Training Schools was the passing of the Middle Vernacular Examination. But due to the passing of the Bengal Rural Primary Education Act there was a great demand for the admission to the Guru training schools and students with qualifications higher than the Middle English or Middle Vernacular had also sought admission to these schools.[37]

Stipends were given at the rate of Rs. 10 per month in the Guru Training Schools.[38] But the training of women candidates was greatly handicapped for want of suitable stipends.[39]

In Assam, the standard of admission of teachers was very low and it was suggested that in order to secure better results, it was desirable to admit candidates who had passed the Middle English School Leaving Certificate Examination. In the case of women, the Middle School Certificate was the minimum qualification for admission for training. But there was a very limited number of girls who had passed the Middle School examination and were willing to take up the profession of teaching.[39] Again, as the training schools for women were managed by missions, the atmosphere and outlook of these schools was necessarily Christian. A very large number of parents had a strong objection to sending their girls to these schools.[40]

In Bihar and Orissa, the middle school passed pupils are admitted to training. In the case of girls no candidate who had not passed the Upper Primary standard was eligible for admission to the course and no candidate could sit at the examination until she had completed her 16 years.

34. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1937-38, p. 58.
35. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 73.
36. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 82.
37. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1932-33, p. 22.
38. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1933-34, p. 16.
39. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1936-37, p. 45.
40. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1936-37, p. 46.

The stipends were given at a flat rate of Rs. 6 per month and each training school admitted 17 stipendiary and 3 non-stipendiary candidates.[41]

In Madras, Rs. 642,356 were given as stipends and Rs. 162,516 stipendiary grant to 10,921 students under training.[42] But during the decade, the stipends for the teachers under training in the secondary grade were abolished and there was also some reduction in the stipends for teachers under training for the higher and the lower elementary grades.[43]

On examining the various methods of selection for training adopted in all these provinces, we feel that the system adopted in the Punjab and N.-W.F. Province should be adopted all over India. It admits the right type of candidate to training schools, as they are only selected on their merits. In the matter of stipends, all teachers deputed to the training schools should be paid full salary during their period of training and this is very essential in view of the depressing economic conditions of primary teachers in India.

5. Percentage of Trained and Untrained Teachers

Having discussed the training of teachers with particular attention to the adequacy of provision and methods of selection, we shall now consider how it had affected percentage of trained teachers in the various provinces. A trained teacher is a very important factor towards efficient teaching and a rough estimate of the quality of teaching can easily be had by considering the percentage of trained teachers in the various provinces. Consider the following table which gives the percentage of trained teachers in each province.

TABLE NO. XIII

Percentage of Trained Teachers

Province	Men		Rise + Fall −	Women		Rise + Fall −
	31–32	40–41		31	41	
Bombay ...	46.9	39.7	− 7.2	52.02	49.91	− 2.11
Sind ...	46.9	35.68	−11.2	52.02	36.79	−15.23
The Punjab ...	73.28	80.79	+ 7.51	37.77	65.0	+27.23
N.-W.F. ...	57.62	70.0	+12.38	24.72	47.06	+23.34
U.P. ...	66.22	65.1	− 1.1	11.13	24.08	+12.95
C.P. ...	58.75	71.74	+12.39	48.82	65.77	+16.95
Bengal ...	28.1	36.76	+ 8.66	11.82	15.52	+ 3.7
Assam ...	31.65	26.2	− 5.45	16.46	14.7	− 1.76
Bihar ...	49.6	61.91	+12.31	26.79	27.21	+ 0.42
Orissa ...	49.6	53.49	+ 4.89	27.79	77.09	+50.03
Madras ...	87.8	87.72	− 0.08	76.05	91.43	+15.3
B. India ...	53.01	58.48	+ 5.47	48.6	60.85	+12.25

41. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1927-32, p. 77.
42. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 103.
43. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1936-37, p. 118.

It appears from the study of the above table that (1) the percentage of male trained teachers had increased in the Punjab, N.-W.F. Province, C.P., Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and this was more prominent in N.-W.F., C.P. and Bihar, where the increase was almost 12 per cent.

(2) In Bombay, Sind and Assam, there was a fall in the percentage of trained teachers. However, it may be mentioned that though there was a fall in the percentage in Bombay, still there was an increase of 1,990 in the total number of trained teachers. We have seen in the previous chapter, that the number of schools in Bombay increased enormously during the decade and as the newly opened schools were mostly managed by untrained teachers, there was a fall in the percentage even though there was an actual rise in the number of trained teachers. The problem of training of teachers in Bombay is more difficult. The facilities for training were not sufficiently adequate and in spite of that there was expansion of primary schools during the latter half of the decade without the proper supply of trained teachers. All this resulted in the fall of the percentage in Bombay.

(3) The fall of percentage in Assam was due to the closing of training schools which was effected due to the financial stringency. Naturally this resulted in the fall in the percentage of trained teachers.

(4) The small decrease in U.P. and Madras is immaterial and we may say that the percentage in these provinces was almost steady.

(5) The rise in Bengal can easily be ascribed to the large increase in the number of training schools for men.

(6) For British India as a whole the percentage increased by 5.47 and went up to 58.48.

The following conclusions can be drawn regarding the percentages of trained women teachers:—

(1) In the case of women teachers there was a rise in the percentage in all the provinces except Bombay and Assam and the percentage increase was more prominent in the Punjab, N.-W.F., C.P., and Madras.

(2) The decrease in Bombay was only by 2%.

(3) For British India as a whole the percentage mounted from 48.6 to 60.85.

To conclude we may say that during the decade a definite progress was made in the training of teachers and this is easily seen from the rise in the percentage of trained teachers in British India as a whole.

A word of caution will not be out of place here. Though we do not want to under-estimate the value of trained teachers we shall say that we need not place too much emphasis on maintaining a very high proportion.

anomalies in the case of trained teachers. To remove them a committee known as Moos-Paranjpe Committee was appointed which recommended " that teachers trained after April 1935 should get their pay according to their old time scale (plus the increments for the period spent in training) or the minimum pay of the new entries whichever is greater ".[54] It also recommended that the Headmaster's and the First Assistant's allowances, which were withdrawn in 1930, should be restored in the form of pay to those that were getting it for a full year, before 1st April 1939.[55]

The Bombay municipality had its own scales of pay and they were very high compared to any other municipality.

Due to the economic depression at the beginning of the decade, the Government applied a cut of 19¼%[56] to the grants-in-aid. The cut was reduced to 12% in 1933[57] and was completely restored in 1937.[58]

Some of the primary teachers could supplement their income by working as branch postmasters for which they used to get from Rs. 4 to Rs. 11 or could work in co-operative credit societies for which they used to get from Rs. 5 to Rs. 9. They could as well work as rainguage observers or as village Aid Post for which the remuneration varied from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10.[59]

In Sind, the following were the scales of pay[60] at the beginning of the decade:—

	District Boards. Rs.	Municipalities. Rs.
Unqualified	15	20
Tem. Qualified	15	20
Qualified	20	25
1st year trained	20-1/3-25-1/2-30	25-1/5-30
2nd year trained	25-1/2-35-1-40	30-1/3-35-1/2-40
3rd year trained	30-1/2-35-1-50	35-1/2-45-1-50

There was a considerable amount of discontent among teachers due to these scales and therefore revised scales[61] of pay were introduced in 1935. They were as follows:—

54. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1939-40, p. 36.
55. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1939-40, p. 36.
56. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-33, p. 36.
57. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1933-34, p. 49.
58. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-37, p. 106.
59. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1937-38, p. 57.
60. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1937-38, p. 42.
61. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-37, pp. 104-05.

	District Boards. Rs.	Municipal area. Rs.
Unqualified	20	25
Tem. Qualified	20	25
Qualified	20-1/3-25-1/2-35	25-1/5-30
1st year trained	25-1/2-35-40	30-1/3-35-1/2-40
2nd ,, ,,	30-1/2-35-1-50	35-1/2-45-1-50
3rd ,, ,,	35-1-60	40-2/3-50-1-60

The Headmaster's and First Assistant's allowances were restored in 1935.

The cut in the salaries was the same as in Bombay, because Sind then formed a part of Bombay.

In the N.-W.F. Province, the Junior Vernacular teacher, who mostly belonged to the agriculturist class, got a salary in the grade 25-1-35. If he was untrained he was given Rs. 20 per month. The Senior Vernacular teacher got the salary from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 and if he was well in his professional activities, he might rise in rare cases, to Rs. 100. In addition to this he enjoyed the benefits of District Board Provident Fund. It was also suggested that there should be selection cadre of Rs. 35-1-45 for the Junior Vernacular teachers and 2 to 5% of teachers should be selected in this cadre.[62]

In the United Provinces the following were the scales of pay:—[63]

	Rs.
Untrained Teacher	... 12-1-14
Trained Assistant	... 17 to 20
Trained Headmaster	... 22 to 30

Teachers in permanent service whose salary was more than Rs. 20 contributed to the provident fund at the rate of 6¼%.[64]

A cut of 6¼% was applied to the pay of teachers, who were getting salary higher than Rs. 25 during the period of financial stringency.

In the C.P. and Berar, the average salary of a teacher in Government service was Rs. 32,[65] in municipal service Rs. 27, in District Board service Rs. 21 and in aided schools Rs. 20. The salaries of teachers were subjected to a percentage cut, during the financial stringency. Most of the Local Bodies introduced a heavy cut at the rate of 33⅓%[66] in the salary of their teachers which made the condition of teachers miserable. The cut in the teachers' salary continued even as late as the

62. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1927-32, p. 87.
63. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 59.
64. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 59.
65. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 49.
66. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1933-34, p. 31.

year 1938, though most of the provinces had restored the cut in the salary by 1936.[67] There were many cases of teachers who were employed on a salary less than Rs. 10. All promotions were stopped in the year 1933[68] and this naturally "produced an atmosphere of insecurity, despondency and lethargy" in the whole body of teachers.

The average salary in Bengal was Rs. 15-2 but in private schools it was lower still. The average salary in the private schools was Rs. 6-4 only and in the Panchayati Union schools the average salary was Rs. 10. The teachers, therefore, had to supplement their income by some additional work. There were 269 teachers who were working as branch postmasters and the allowance varied from Rs. 6 to Rs. 15.[71]

The minimum salary in Assam was Rs. 12 but some School Boards increased the minimum to Rs. 15, the School Boards that raised this minimum had to do so on their own responsibility, as they did not get additional Provincial grant-in-aid for the increase in the salary.

In Bihar, the average salary of the primary teachers was only Rs. 8.[73] In the municipal schools it was higher, i.e., at Rs. 16.9 and in the Board Schools the average was Rs. 11.1. But the average salary in the private schools was 9.2.[74] The minimum rates which had been fixed by Government range from 12-1/3-17[75] for the trained teachers and Rs. 5-1/3-10 for an untrained teacher with lower qualifications.

The annual income that a teacher received from the fees of the pupils was Rs. 1-1-7. Even with such a low scale of pay for the trained teachers, the Local Bodies were not in a position to pay the minimum. To add to the misery of teachers, the Local Bodies introduced a cut of 10% in the salary of their teachers which was restored in 1935.[76]

Orissa had separate scales of pay for its teachers in the North and the South. In North Orissa the scale was Rs. 12-1-17 while in South it was Rs. 20-½-30.[77] Though there was an incremental scale, the increments were not given as a matter of right, but depended on the sufficiency of funds. The diversity in the scales was removed in the year 1937-38 and the following unified scales were introduced for the whole of the province:—[78]

		Rs.
Lower Elementary grade	...	13–1/2–17
Higher Elementary grade	...	18–1/2–22

67. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1938-39, p. 31.
68. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1932-33, p. 33.
70. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1927-32, p. 25.
73. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1927-32, p. 56.
74. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, ibid., p. 56.
75. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, ibid., p. 57.
76. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1935-36, p. 27.
77. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1936-37, p. 21.
78. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1937-38, p. 22.

In Madras, the average salary was Rs. 15 only. The scales of pay of teachers were put on a time scale basis with reference to the qualification of teachers in the year 1936-37.[79] This removed the wide disparity that existed in the salaries of teachers. The salaries in the aided and teachers manager schools were always inadequate.

The average salaries of teachers in the various provinces at the beginning of the decade were as follows:—[80]

TABLE NO. XIV

Province.		Average monthly salary. Rs. as. ps.
Bombay and Sind	...	47 0 0
The Punjab	...	25 0 0
United Provinces	...	18 0 0
Central Provinces	...	24 0 0
Bengal	...	8 6 0
Assam	...	14 0 0
Bihar and Orissa	...	11 5 0
Madras	...	15 4 0

The average pay in Bombay is higher due to the higher payments made in Bombay Municipality and to the actual higher scales of pay than in any other province. The standard of life in Bombay is higher than that in any other province. The lowest average is in Bengal which is Rs. 8-6.

In U.P. and the Punjab, the average is about Rs. 25. In all other provinces the salaries are very low.

About 50% teachers in the service are untrained and naturally their scales must be smaller than of those who are trained. A sad practice that has been already mentioned was of giving preference to an untrained teacher and if a trained teacher was employed in the service, he did not necessarily get the prescribed minimum.

"In spite of the very low pay, a teacher in Assam had to bear the contingent charges, a part of the cost of the upkeep of the building and the conveyance charges to fetch the pupils during the rainy season."[81] In addition to this, the money-order commission was also deducted from their salaries.

79. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1932-37, pp. 92-93.
80. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 104.
81. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1932-33, p. 19.

Another malpractice that had been observed during the decade was the delay caused in the payment of teachers. Many such cases were reported in Madras,[82] Bihar,[83] C.P.,[84] U.P.,[85] and Assam.[86]

In Wardha, a district in the Central Provinces, the salaries were seriously in arrears and the teachers were not paid for four months. The result was that "teachers went on strike which lasted for a week causing the Government to intervene and take strong action to secure immediate redress to teachers."[87] Normal conditions were not restored even by the close of the year 1934-35.

In Assam, in spite of the economy, the lower primary teachers could not be paid for the last two months of the year for want of funds. One month's pay of the middle vernacular school teachers was held over for the same reason.[88]

In Madras, which is in advance in primary education, there were frequent delays in many areas in the payment of teachers during the early years of the decade. "Improvement was noticeable with regard to the payment of salaries which were distributed more evenly."[87] As is reported in the D.P.I's report, "Delays do occur even now but whenever undue delay in salaries is reported the Local Bodies concerned are advised to see to the prompt payment of teachers."[90]

In U.P., there was a general complaint about the payment of salaries. "The teachers were removed at the close of the year to re-employ them at the beginning of the next session with a view to effect some savings."[91]

Another bad practice that was observed was the transfer of teachers. A large number of teachers adopt this profession as a means of livelihood and the harassment caused by the excessive transfers only results in crushing their enthusiasm. In places where the percentage of teachers was very great, the percentage of attendance was very low. The transfer of teachers was never made for any educational purpose but the considerations that dominated in such transfers were as mere non-educational. In Wardha and Burdwan, as many as 103% and 72% transfers were effected in 1932[92] even though the Government had prescribed 17% as the maximum percentage of transfers.

82. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 89.
83. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1927-32, p. 59.
84. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1932-33, p. 33.
85. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1938-39, p. 27.
86. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1932-33, p. 19.
87. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1934-35, p. 32.
88. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1932-33, p. 49.
89. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1932-37, p. 93.
90. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1932-37, p. 93.
91. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1938-39, p. 27.
92. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1932-33, p. 35.

Thus the conditions of a primary school teacher were such that the profession could hardly attract any but those who were driven into it in dispair as a last resort of the unemployed. This is particularly true in rural districts. Life in a village is not congenial to an educated man; there are scarcely any prospects, no intellectual stimulus, no cultured society. This has influenced the attitude of the teacher towards his duties. Generally speaking, it is rare to find a teacher who is taking a genuine interest in teaching and organising school life with a view to increasing the effectiveness of the school as a whole. He is turning to be cynical and callous; perhaps because the society expects too much of him. He is expected to nurse an ideal race in return for an enforced spirit of sacrifice on his part, as a spiritual reward. He is unable to adopt a mode of life which will help him to preserve and enhance his efficiency as a teacher. The poor school teacher has no standard of living worth mentioning at all. Even his self-respect is often at stake and in several instances the treatment meted out to him is not fair; such is the man on whom the future of our race depends.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL ACCESSARIES

The minimum educational accessaries for a primary school are a decent building with a garden around it, a playground near the school, and equipment of some good furniture and pictorial aids. It is quite a colossal problem to provide these accessaries to all schools when their number is so large and we shall discuss the provision of each of them separately and study the tendencies shown in making their provision in various provinces.

(a) Buildings:

Educationally, great importance of proper housing of primary schools can never be denied. A school building should be such that it should serve as a model to all people of the town or the village. It must meet the needs of the school in matters of space and light and must be capable of being constructed cheaply and with the local material. The nature of the roof must be such that it can be repaired very quickly. The building must be attractive and should be able to last for a sufficiently long time. The structure of the school building must be a source of inspiration to the boys, who must be attracted to go to it. A good school building helps to create a healthy atmosphere and produces a permanent effect on the tender and the impressionable mind of the pupils.

But there is a tendency to lay an over-emphasis on the school buildings. This can be seen from the following extract from the D.P.I's Report, Bombay, 1935-36. It says:—

"In an age when the criminals are well housed and well looked after and when the institutions for the delinquents are no longer treated as juvenile jails but as Reformatory schools, we will come across buildings in which it would be a social crime to house even the delinquents."[1] Though we say that school buildings should be a model in the village, it is no use insisting on such buildings as a pre-requisite to the starting of a school. The school must always come first, a good building will come in its own course. All that may be said is that the programme of expansion of schools and the programme of building school houses should go hand in hand."

In no country of the world do we find very good and attractive buildings, in the earlier period of expansion of schools; on the other hand, most of them were ill-ventilated and badly equipped. The following quotation gives the condition of school buildings in most of the countries of Europe:

"The school houses of England in 1923-24 were buildings in every stage of 'dirt and disrepair' with faulty ventilation and bad lighting. The primary schools of Germany were poorly lighted and ill-ventilated even as late as 1903. In France, the walls of the classroom were bare; and other accommodation was very inadequate. The elementary schools of Russia, as described in 1926, were typical village schools with old inadequate equipment."[2]

Having seen what types of school buildings were prevalent in foreign countries in the first quarter of the 20th century, let us turn our attention to buildings in our own country, and the progress made in improving them during the last decade.

Progress made in constructing School Buildings

In Bombay in 1931, out of 10,284 schools, only 2,825 (27%) had their own buildings.[3] This number rose by 695 to 3,520 during the decade.[4] The rise was due to building of new schools by Government, but it was also supplemented by various schemes like the Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas Building scheme, in the Surat District. "The essential feature of this scheme is that the villagers shall contribute at least one-third of the cost in each case. This not only ensures their taking interest in the work and in the buildings, but also in the building being constructed in the most efficient manner possible."[5] Nearly 120 new buildings were constructed under this scheme, at a cost of nearly five lakhs of rupees. Another scheme of similar type, known as Sheth Mangaldas Giridhardas Cheap Buildings scheme was in operation in Ahmedabad district. Thus the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency was happy in this respect, due to various schemes of school buildings. According to these schemes a part of the expenses was to be contributed by the villagers themselves and the remaining from the funds of the scheme.[6]

1. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1935-36, p. 46.
2. *Primary Education in India*, pp. 85-86.
3. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 108.
4. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, Appendix V.

With the improvement in the financial position of the Government it undertook schemes for constructing school buildings. As many as 61 new buildings were constructed and 36 existing buildings were extended during 1932-37.[7] "With a view to encouraging local authorities to have their own buildings constructed, with the aid of the buildings grant from Government, a sum of one lakh of rupees was placed at the disposal of the Director of Public Instruction for distribution among 20 districts at the rate of Rs. 5,000 per district. This amount was placed at the disposal of the Special Committee appointed in each district with the condition that an equal amount will be contributed by the Board."[8] The following composed the Committee: (1) The Educational Inspector (Chairman), (2) President, District Local Board, (3) Chairman, School Board, (4) Executive Engineer of the District, (5) Member of the Legislative Council from the district actually residing in the district, and (6) Senior Government Inspector of the District.

The duty of the Committee was to secure suitable sites for school buildings and build schools according to the Government approved plans. 132 new buildings were built by the close of the decade. There was some delay in the work; but that was due to the delay caused in the selection of suitable plots of land.[9]

Of the rented buildings there were 522, i.e. 5.1 per cent buildings which were partly rented and partly owned by the District Boards, and 2,036, i.e. 19.8 per cent fully rented buildings.[10] The rented buildings were quite unsuitable for school purposes. It was found that the amount paid as rent was very high[11] and, therefore, instead of paying such a high rent, it would have been more fruitful if the School Boards had raised loans, the interest on which would have been certainly less than the rent. The School Boards would have been, thereby,

5. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 109.
6. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1936-37, p. 119.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1936-37, p. 118.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1938-39, p. 59.
9. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 30.
10. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 108.
11. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1934-35, p. 51.

able to put up some cheap structure with good light and air, and the designs of such building have been sanctioned by Government.

47.1 per cent of the school buildings were rent free buildings, such as Dharmshalas, Chavadis, Temples and private houses.[12] But unfortunately, some of these buildings were such as to have a deteriorating effect on the health of children and were so dirty that it is almost impossible for the teachers to inculcate habits of cleanliness and good health among their pupils.[13]

But the efforts of Government and the philanthropic support of the public could not keep pace with the increase in the number of schools, and there was an increasing demand for new school buildings and rented buildings of more hygienic type.

In Sind, out of 9,960 schools, 2,430 schools, i.e. 39.8 per cent were housed in their own buildings, 32 new buildings were constructed and in 28 extensions were carried out in 1932-37.[14] But on the whole the general conditions of school buildings continued to be unsatisfactory.[15]

In the Punjab, there was a general complaint for the whole of the decade about the insanitary and unsuitable conditions of the buildings and the D.P.I's report says, "Teachers have to resort to various make-shifts to seat their pupils. In not a few cases only shade of trees on the roadside serves as a classroom. The effect of this on the instruction and on the habits of the boys cannot be over-emphasised".[16] The problem of school buildings became worse due to the financial stringency. The Government stopped grants for buildings and the School Boards could not find enough money for keeping schools in good repairs, much less for building new buildings.[17]

In the N.-W.F. Province, there was a five-year plan for building schools at the rate of 53 schools per year during the years 1927-32. The annual non-recurring cost was Rs. 1,04,000, at the rate of two thousand rupees per school. But this programme for constructing new buildings was given up, in 1931-32 for want of funds. An unfortunate tendency was marked in the Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan Districts. The problem of obtaining suitable sites in these districts was hard, as the owners of the land saw their way to making a profit and they actually asked for so much money that it was several times the actual cost of the school. This tendency to screw out money was deplorable as the sites were required for educational advancement. About 27

12. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 108.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, 1936-37, p. 118.
14. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 74.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1939-40, p. 58.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1932-33, p. 40.
17. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1932-37, p. 57.

buildings were built in the whole province during the earlier part of the decade.[18] No building programme was undertaken during the latter half.

A large number of schools met in unsuitable rented houses and the repairs of the buildings were not properly attended to. There was a great delay in making repairs which shortened the life of the building.

In the United Provinces, the conditions were much worse. Though there was an urgent need for more and better buildings there was no building programme as such. The buildings were built in an haphazard manner and there was no co-operation between the Local Board engineers and the school committees. "Many of the buildings put up with Government grant were entrusted to inefficient contractors and were hardly supervised at all, so that some were already in need of repairs and others have collapsed. The Inspectors complain that their advice is seldom asked as to sites and standard plan is departed from."[19] A peculiar instance can be cited here. The Cawnpore School Board erected a number of tin shades open to wind on all sides and offering no protection from the sun and rain. There was no arrangement for locking the school equipment.[20] An instance like this indicates a sheer indifference on the engineering department in the matter of educational buildings. Old buildings are always in a dilapidated condition, as they are not repaired in time and are on the verge of collapsing. There are many schools which have no buildings at all. It is quite idealistic to think of holding such schools under a tree. But it is only during the winter that a tree shade becomes suitable. In the hot season protection against the sun's heat is not only essential for eyesight but also to avoid sunstroke. During the three months of heavy rains no classes are possible under the tree.

Large sums of money were spent over the rent of unsuitable, unhygienic buildings and such instances were not few and far between.

In the Central Provinces even though there was a considerable shortage of school buildings,[21] no building grants were given due to financial stringency;[22] and, therefore, there was a double shift system in Nagpur, Yeotmal and Betul districts. By the close of the decade under study some buildings were built but they were for the use of the Vidya Mandir.

In Bengal, the Primary Schools under public management, were generally well housed. The majority of private schools had no buildings of their own.

18. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1932-37, p. 93.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 60.
20. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 60.
21. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1932-33, p. 38.
22. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1933-34, p. 35.

In Assam, though considerable grants were given by Government for buildings and equipment of new schools, still, on the whole, the condition of school buildings was quite miserable.[23]

Bihar was singularly unfortunate in the matter of school buildings. As we have already mentioned, on 15th January 1934, there was a serious earthquake, which caused widespread damage to school buildings. There was a good deal of dislocation of work, which was quite inevitable but in majority of cases the work was resumed in temporary quarters. Again, the amalgamation of small and inefficient schools necessitated the planning of suitable school buildings. Various plans were discussed and a prize of Rs. 500 was awarded to the best plan. The plan now adopted and recommended by the Educational Department provides with long and narrow classrooms so that two standards can be accommodated in one room, the boys of the two standards facing in opposite directions. The model rooms were exhibited at the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Exhibition at Patna in the year 1936.[24]

Probably, as a reaction to the damage caused to the school buildings by the earthquake, the public had begun to take serious interest in school buildings and six buildings in Champarian and 3 in Durbanga were built by the villagers in 1938. A large number of Kuchha buildings and Tati Shades were also erected by the public.[25] In Patna division 224 and in Chota Nagpur 63 new buildings were constructed solely by private enterprise.[26]

In Madras, 44 per cent schools were held in buildings of their own, 38 per cent in rented buildings, 14 per cent in Chavadis and temples and 4 per cent in the dwellings belonging to the teacher or the manager.[27] In 1932, 665 new schools were built, out of which 146 were under public management,[28] while in 1933, this number went still higher. 725 new school houses were built in this year out of which 187 were under public management.[29] Considerable grants were given to Panchayati schools at the rate of Rs. 5,000 for a tiled school and Rs. 150 for a thatched school.

(b) Playgrounds and Gardens:

If the provision of school buildings is very poor, that of playgrounds and gardens is poorer still. Only very few schools have playing fields. Similarly, only a small number of schools have gardens. But these

23. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1932-33, p. 19.
24. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar, 1932-37, p. 34.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar, 1938-39, p. 39.
26. Ibid., p. 39.
27. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 84.
28. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1932-33, p. 11.
29. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1933-34, p. 15.

gardens are not well arranged and cared for and are only used for decorative purposes. As a matter of fact every school should have a good garden and the school garden must be a subject of rivalry between the different schools. Nature study should be taught—not in the classrooms but in these gardens only. But as they are few and far between the teaching of nature study is worst in all the primary schools.[30]

(c) Equipment:

The problem of equipment is very acute in the primary schools and there were several complaints in all the provinces about it. The equipment is poor in the Board Schools. There is also a lack of organisation in the proper distribution of equipment. It is reported that "The text-books of school teachers are not forthcoming at all and when they are there they are late".[31] It is also reported that "equipment is crudest and simplest where it exists at all".[32] Even some of the indispensable articles such as blackboards, wall maps, etc. are not found in many schools, and there is a tendency in the Local Boards to divert the money for the provision of equipment somewhere else. Some teachers, but they are very few, prepare some apparatus with the aid of the pupils.

In Madras, however, the position is slightly different. Though no equipment grant was given, the equipment of the schools that were closed was transferred to the existing schools, and as the number of schools that were closed was very large, the Panchayati Schools did not feel very much the shortage of equipment. Further equipment that was needed was provided from the funds of the Panchayats.

School Libraries

School libraries should form the most important item of school equipment. A good school library affords opportunities of reading books other than the books prescribed, and it develops a taste for reading among the children and helps them in acquiring a good deal of extra general information. Unfortunately such libraries do not exist in our primary schools. Some enthusiastic teachers have provided libraries in their schools by collecting books and funds from the people of the village. But such cases are very few and in general we may say that most of the primary schools do not have good libraries at all. The financial difficulties are responsible for the lack of proper school libraries.

30. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1934-35, p. 57.
31. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1936-39, p. 60.
32. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1927-32, p. 27.

Suggestions for Improvement:

Such was the condition of school buildings in the various provinces. It is hardly necessary to point out that the condition of school buildings was on the whole miserable and a large sum of money, spent by the School Boards, was wasted as there was no co-operation between the Local Boards and the Public Works Department. We, therefore, suggest that the problem of building school houses should be a matter not in the hands of the School Board but it must be entirely managed by the Government. This will ensure rapid progress, for the Government can easily work out the schemes in co-operation with the Public Works Department. In order to make the scheme effective, the Educational Inspectors should first make a survey of their division and try to ascertain the exact needs of their division, by making a list of schools that need a building in order of preference. After ascertaining the total need of the whole province, the educational department should submit such a list to the Public Works Department, who should carry out the building programme, by erecting school houses, of the types suggested by the Educational Department. In order to finance this scheme, the educational department should enforce a cut of 6¼ per cent in their total grants to the District Boards. The District Boards will not feel this cut, as their responsibility as regards buildings would be now over. The money thus saved by the introduction of the cut, if found insufficient, should be supplemented by raising a loan by the Government, and the money should be distributed uniformly over the whole area. Such a method, will ensure a co-operation between the educational authorities and the Public Works Department. Again, it will be quite easy for the Government to acquire lands wherever they want, when proper compensation is given to the landlords.

In matters of repairs, there should be one travelling overseer in each district, who should look to the school buildings now and then and get the repairs done as early as possible. We have already seen that in most of the provinces the buildings were in a dilapidated condition, not because they were sufficiently old, but because no repairs were made in proper time. The delay in repairs has worsened the condition of school buildings. The travelling overseer will be able to carry out the repairs under his own supervision and as he will be going round the district for the whole year, each building will receive proper attention.

We cannot depend upon the philanthropic societies and individuals to solve the problem of buildings. Their work is never widespread. As we have seen, in Bombay Presidency it was only in two districts—Surat and Ahmedabad—that such schools were built. The work of such societies is only sporadic, and is never widespread in the province and if it is so then the contribution for each district becomes meagre.

Though the necessity of a decent school-building for each school cannot be over-emphasised, still every Provincial Government must have some scheme, financed either by the educational budget or by some loans. As the Sargent Committee puts it, "The non-recurring expenditure on school buildings will as a rule be met out of loans in future. Without a proper loan system any large building programme becomes impracticable. It is also worth recalling that the minimum standard to be observed in respect of provision of sites, buildings, equipments, etc. for schools of all types have been prescribed and that due regard has been had of the possibility of taking advantage of climatic conditions, cheap methods of construction and other factors which may aid in reducing cost."

CHAPTER VIII

COMPULSION

History of Compulsory Education in India prior to 1931

A public move for the introduction of compulsory elementary education in India was made as early as 1910, when the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council:—

"That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame the proposals."[1]

The resolution was withdrawn on an assurance by the Government that the problem of compulsory education would be fully investigated. But, in the following year, Mr. Gokhale introduced a bill for making "better provision for the extension of elementary education." The following quotation gives the main features of the bill:—

"The object of this bill is to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country. The experience of the other countries has established beyond dispute the fact, that the only effective way to ensure a wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people is by a resort to compulsion in some form or the other. And the time has come when a beginning at least should be made in this direction in India. The bill is of a purely permissive character and its provisions will apply to areas notified by municipalities or by the district boards which will have to bear such proportion of the increased expenditure

1. *History of Education in India* by Nurullah and Naik, p. 420.

which will be necessitated as may be laid down by the Government of India, by rules. Moreover, no area can be notified without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government, and further, it must fulfil the test which the Government of India, by rules laid down as regards the percentage of children already at school within its limits. Finally the provisions are intended to apply in the first instance only to boys, though later on a local body may extend them to girls; and the age limits proposed are only six and ten years. It is hoped that these are sufficient safeguards against any rash or injudicious action on the part of the local bodies. This measure is essentially a cautious one, indeed to some it may appear to err too much on the side of caution."[2]

The bill was circulated for eliciting public opinion and came before the Central Legislature in 1912. At that time the officials had a clear majority in the House and the general official opinion was that the introduction of compulsion was premature and unsuited to the then conditions of rural India. Even amongst the non-officials there were many who believed that persuasion and expansion on a voluntary basis was a better method for spreading mass education than a hasty attempt to introduce compulsion. Similarly, both officials and non-officials were agreed that numerous administrative difficulties would arise in the practical enforcement of compulsion. Consequently, the bill was violently opposed and thrown out by 38 votes against 13.[3]

The attempt of Mr. Gokhale thus failed, but his ideas did not die. They were taken up by the late Mr. V. J. Patel who introduced a bill in the Bombay Legislative Council with the object of permitting municipalities to introduce compulsory education within their areas after obtaining the previous approval of Government. This bill became an Act in 1918, and created such an enthusiasm in the whole of India that during the next few years almost every province passed an Act for compulsory education. In fact, the ten years between 1917 and 1927 may be properly described as a "boom period for compulsion." We have already referred to these Acts and their salient features in Chapter IV and hence we propose to give only the main provisions for compulsory education in general. By 1931, when our story begins, compulsory elementary education had been introduced in several urban and rural areas in almost all the provinces of British India. The only exception was the North-West Frontier Province where no compulsory education Act had been passed.

Main Provisions of the Acts

The chief characteristics of these Acts for the provision of compulsory education may roughly be summarised as follows:—

2. *History of Education in India*, by Nurullah and Naik. pp. 423-24.
3. *History of Education in India*, by Nurullah and Naik, p. 424.

(1) It was left to the choice of the Local Authorities to select areas of compulsion after studying the needs of the area.

(2) The Government undertook to contribute a part of the expense only towards the introduction of compulsory education.

(3) The Local Authorities were empowered to levy an educational cess in their areas to make up the additional expense.

(4) The age of compulsion varied between the limit of 6 and 11 and the Local Authorities were given the necessary powers to prosecute parents who did not send their children to school.

Standards of measurement

In order to evaluate properly the progress of compulsory elementary education in each province, it is essential to know:

(*a*) The urban and rural areas in which compulsory education has been introduced;

(*b*) The population in areas where compulsion has been introduced and its percentage to the total population of the province;

(*c*) Detailed account of the manner in which compulsion is enforced, such as, the notices served on parents, the prosecutions launched, the amount of fines imposed and realised, etc.;

(*d*) The number of children attending schools in areas under compulsion, its percentage to the total population and its comparison with the percentage of children attending schools in areas which are not under compulsion; and

(*e*) The extent of wastage in areas under compulsion and its comparison with that in non-compulsion areas.

Unfortunately, very few details of this type are available. The problem does not seem to have been carefully studied anywhere, and in none of the provincial reports do we get the data necessary for a thorough and scientific study of the problem. It is only in the province of Bombay that some details are being given with effect from the year 1939. The information that is given in the Bombay tables contains data on the following points:—[4]

(1) The date on which compulsion is introduced.

(2) Whether compulsion has been introduced for the boys or for the girls.

(3) The date of the latest census.

(4) Population of the compulsory areas with separate figures for males and females.

4. *D.P.I's Report*, 1939-40, pp. 162-63.

(5) Total number of children of the school-going age in the areas of compulsion on the basis of the latest census.

(6) The number of children of school-going age actually in the school in the area of compulsion on 31st March.

(7) Percentage of enrolment.

(8) Percentage of average daily attendance.

(9) Coercive measures taken, with data on the following points:—

(*a*) Notices issued;

(*b*) attendance orders passed;

(*c*) prosecutions for non-enrolment;

(*d*) prosecutions for non-attendance; and

(*e*) fines realised.

But this practice has not been adopted in other provinces. Consequently, our comparative study of compulsion in different provinces cannot be as thorough as it should be. Fortunately much is not lost on that account because as we will see later the conditions in all provinces are apparently equally bad and there is hardly anything to choose between one province and another.

Compulsory Areas

The following table gives the urban and rural areas which were under compulsion, in 1931-32, 1936-37, i.e. just before the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and in 1940-41, i.e. at the close of the period under review:—

TABLE NO. XX

Area under Compulsion

Province	1931–32		1936–37		1940–41	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Bombay ...	9	1	9	1	9	2
Sind ...	1	1	1	1	1	2
The Punjab ...	54	2,924	63	2,981	66	2,908
N.-W.F. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
U.P. ...	37	24	36	25	36	25
C.P. ...	27	7	27	8	27	8
Bengal ...	...	...	1	...	2	...
Assam ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar ...	4	4	1	1	4	2
Orissa ...	...	...	1	1	1	1
Madras ...	25	7	27	7	27	6
Total ...	157	2,968	166	3,025	173	2,954

It will be seen from this table that the progress of compulsion has been very slow during the decade. Taking India as a whole, the number of urban areas under compulsion increased from 157 in 1931 to 173 in 1941 and the rural areas decreased from 2,968 to 2,954. This is really a poor record of progress for a decade, especially if we take into consideration the vast nature of the work that yet remains to be done.

The previous table indicates that in Bombay the areas under compulsion have remained almost unchanged during the whole decade. There was an increase of one in the rural areas due to the introduction of compulsion at Murdi, a village in the Ratnagiri district—in the year 1938.[5] As many as 32 schemes for the expansion of primary education on the compulsory basis were submitted to the Government from 1931 to 1933 but only 11 of them were sanctioned and the others were rejected "largely due to the inability of the Government to finance compulsory education according to the terms of the Primary Education Act".[6]

In Sind, compulsion was in vogue in Karachi and Larkhana district before 1931. In January 1939, it was introduced in Sukkar taluka.[7]

The Punjab is the only province in which compulsion has been enforced on a fairly large scale. The previous table shows that there were 54 urban areas and 2,924 rural areas in which compulsion was enforced at the beginning of the decade. The number of urban areas went up to 66 but that of the rural areas declined to 2,908 in 1941. The policy of expansion of compulsory areas could not be continued due to the shortage of funds and new schemes for the introduction of compulsion were, therefore, subjected to a careful scrutiny.[8] Efforts were made to extend compulsion without much additional expenditure. Instead of enrolling more pupils, the tendency was directed towards an effort to retain the scholars once enrolled.[9]

In the N.-W.F. Province, though compulsion was regarded as the only solution for bringing children to school, no conscious efforts were made in this direction till the year 1939, when the Compulsory Education Act was passed. A grant-in-aid of Rs. 12,000 in 1939[10] and Rs. 24,000 in 1940 was sanctioned for the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in Peshawar. But no compulsory education was introduced and the Act merely worked on a voluntary basis.[11]

5. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1938-39, pp. 74-75.
6. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-33, p. 46.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1938-39, p. 61.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1932-33, p. 41.
9. Ibid., p. 41.
10. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1938-39, p. 58.
11. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1940-41, p. 59.

In the United Provinces, the table shows that compulsion was in force in 37 urban and 24 rural areas in 1931 and the number almost remained stationary throughout the decade. In the year 1931, 17 new Boards submitted schemes for compulsion to Government; but they could not be sanctioned for want of funds.[12] The areas for compulsion were selected quite haphazard and they were unsuitable. Some selected town areas, while others selected a single village for the introduction of compulsion. The District Board of Almora wanted to introduce the scheme among the Bhutiyas—a migratory tribe of merchants in the border land of Tibet.[13] Apart from such wrong selections some very large areas like Laharpur Pargana in Sitapur and Surajpur Pargana in Bara Banki were selected and these areas were so great that it was difficult to judge the results of compulsion.[14]

In the Central Provinces, in the year 1931, three municipalities and four district councils introduced compulsion and, therefore, there were 27 municipal and 7 rural areas at the beginning of the decade in which compulsion was in force.[15] No other municipalities introduced compulsion during the whole decade. Some of the district councils extended compulsion to some more villages under their jurisdiction. But the areas selected were not proper. Compulsion was introduced in one village while the neighbouring village remained unaffected. For instance, though the Act was introduced in Pimpod village—a village in Daryapur taluka—strangely enough the neighbouring village Jainpur hardly six furlongs from Pimpod was left out of operation.[16] Again, though the Act was in operation in the three villages of Malagaon, and in Jahagir, Ansing and Akolkhed in Akola district, the local Urdu schools were left out of the scope.[17]

There were no areas in Bengal in which there was compulsory primary education at the beginning of the decade and during the decade no great effort was made for the introduction of compulsion. It was as late as 1937, that compulsion was introduced in wards of the Calcutta Corporation and its extension was held over due to the outbreak of war.[18] Compulsion was also introduced in Chittagong for boys and arrangements were contemplated for the introduction of compulsion among girls in 1940-41.[19]

In Assam, though the Primary Education Act was passed in 1926 with a view to introducing compulsory education, no such scheme had

12. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 61.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 62.
14. Ibid., p. 62.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 55.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1933-34, p. 25.
17. Ibid., p. 25.
18. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1939-40, p. 8.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1940-41, p. 9.

been introduced upto 1941. The main reason was financial depression. A number of local bodies showed eagerness to introduce compulsion at the beginning of the decade, but all such schemes were withdrawn at the last moment; for neither the Government nor the local authorities were capable of shouldering the additional financial burden.[20]

In Bihar and Orissa, compulsion was in force in the Municipalities of Ranchi, Daltonganj, Samastipur and Sambulpur and in the rural areas of Banki Union, Gopalganj, Maharajganj Union and in Jambar Union. The experiment in rural areas did not succeed and in Gopalganj it was discontinued in 1932.

The table shows that in Madras there were 25 urban and 7 rural areas under compulsion in the beginning of the decade while at the close of the decade, the number of urban areas increased to 27 and that of rural areas decreased to 6.

Compulsory Education for Girls

The introduction of compulsory education for boys was in a few cases accompanied by the introduction of compulsion for girls. Compulsory education for girls was only enforced in Bombay, U.P., Bengal and Madras.

In Bombay, primary education for girls was compulsory in the municipalities of Surat, Bandra, Dhulia, Bombay (F & G wards), and Poona city during the whole of the decade.[21] Compulsion was introduced for girls along with boys at Murdi village in 1938.[22]

In the United Provinces, it was in force in Cawnpore, Muttra and Mirzapur municipalities from the year 1935.[23] No more schemes were undertaken for lack of funds.

In Bengal, in the year 1938, compulsory education was introduced for girls in Chittagong where primary education was already compulsory for boys.[24]

In Madras, primary education was made compulsory along with boys in all the divisions of the city of Madras and in the municipalities of Erode and British Cochin.[25]

Enforcement of Compulsion

This lack of increase in the number of areas under compulsion is a sad feature of this period. It is, however, easy to explain it as the

20. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1927-32, p. 125.
21. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, pp. 158-59.
22. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1938-39, pp. 74-75.
23. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 94.
24. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1938-39, p. 10.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 95.

result of the financial stringency between 1931 and 1937 and the universal acceptance of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee.

One would think, however, that at least an attempt could have been made to enforce compulsion properly in those areas where it had been already introduced. This attempt was not likely to cost a large amount of money, nor was it contrary to recommendations of the Hartog Committee, which advised consolidation before further expansion. Unfortunately, no attempt was made, either by the Government or by the Local Authorities, to enforce compulsion properly in the areas in which it was introduced. The following comments on provincial developments under this head during the period under review will give a good picture of the situation:—

In Bombay, most of the schemes for compulsion remained on paper, for the Local Boards had no interest in education and they showed a definite reluctance to enforce compulsion. A very interesting example may be cited to illustrate this. Instructions as to how compulsion should be introduced were circulated to the local authorities as soon as the Act was passed. A local authority had introduced compulsion in 1920 but merely on paper, for in the year 1937 it asked the educational department for instructions regarding the enforcement of compulsion.[26] This clearly shows that for seventeen years, the local authority which was supposed to have introduced compulsion in 1920, kept on sleeping over it. In all places where compulsion was introduced, it was never worked with that vigour which was contemplated by the Act. Even in the case of the Bombay Corporation, it was decided that the parents who refused to send their children to schools should not be prosecuted. No coercive measures except the issue of a warning were taken in the case of the defaulting parents.[27] Pure and simple propaganda which was resorted to in some cases proved to be ineffective.

As for Sind, the following remarks of the Director of Public Instruction are significant:—

"While the increase of progress of Primary Education is satisfactory in compulsory areas, the efficiency of these areas is below the mark. The boys merely come to mark their attendance on the roll and then disappear or put in appearance irregularly."[28] No efforts are made to enforce regular attendance in Sind.

In the Punjab, where compulsory education was in force on a wider scale, some effort was made to enforce compulsion and the following extract from the report of the Director of Public Instruction will

26. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-37, p. 122.
27. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1933-34, p. 60.
28. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1937-38, p. 48.

give a complete picture of the conditions that prevailed in the province:—

"The numerical advance is no doubt a refreshing feature but it cannot be productive of satisfactory results unless it brings in, in its train, regularity of attendance of instruction leading to the retention of scholars once enrolled for complete course of primary instruction. The disparity between the number of scholars in the higher classes to those in the lower is still marked. This has been due to the unhappy selection of areas and teachers, lack of interest on the part of the attendance committees, the inaction of the attendance officers, the unwillingness of some divisions to make use of the power of prosecutions under the Act and the delay in the conviction of the defaulters. The difficulties are very many and varied but not insuperable. Vigorous application of the penal clauses of the Act is being attempted in at least two divisions. In Rawalpindi division, 2,000 prosecutions were launched against the defaulters during the last year. In Multan, similar steps were taken where cases were being tried with summary powers. This large number of prosecutions have provoked no opposition. Public opinion generally appears to be in favour of coercion whenever and wherever the other methods have failed. Legal aid is sought as the last resort, while in the ordinary course persuasion through suitable propaganda is the chief agency. With better selection of teachers, attractive schools, vitalised instruction and effective supervision, compulsion will achieve its goal. In some districts compulsory education officers have been appointed for the purpose of (1) advising attendance committees, (2) assisting school teachers in improving attendance, and (3) in instituting cases against recalcitrant parents.[29]

There was a great variation in the attendance of pupils which varied from 50 per cent to cent per cent. This was attributed to various causes. The selection of areas for compulsion was not judicious and the attendance officers were inefficient. They were generally primary teachers who were selected either by the right of seniority or were those who had an influence in the District Boards. These teachers were never capable of rigidly enforcing compulsion as they suffered from an inferiority complex.[30] In order to get a better type of attendance officers it is desirable to appoint teachers who are capable of working with zest and have a clear insight into the working of compulsion. In order to secure better attendance it was suggested that the admission to the infant class should only be made in the first quarter of the year so that the composition of the class may be uniform. It was also suggested that a correct register of the birth dates of the pupils in the areas should be prepared and handed over to the headmaster so that he can get a fair

29. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1927-32, p. 60.
30. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1932-37, p. 59.

idea of the percentage of pupils under compulsion. Also it was proposed that free books, slates and other material should be provided to the poor pupils.

In the United Provinces, the enforcement of compulsion was not satisfactory. The attendance in schools, the standard of education or the quality of the staff left much to be desired. There were about 59 per cent boys in the infant class and in a number of cases a boy stagnated in a class for more than one year.[31] This was said to be due to "bad organisation, bad attendance and bad teaching".[32] In Lucknow, where compulsion was introduced in a few wards only, it was avoided by migration into another ward in which compulsion was not in force.[33] The Schools Committees were often reluctant to prosecute the parents for fear of becoming unpopular and when prosecutions were launched, the fines imposed by the magistrates were never adequate[34] and the result was that the law was brought into contempt. In the Urban areas, only 20.7 per cent of the boys reached standard three, which means that a very large proportion of pupils was not at all benefited by the introduction of compulsion.

In the rural areas, the same state of affairs was found and "it was a worse failure than in the urban areas."—Only 10.3 per cent of the boys could reach standard three.[36]

We have to repeat the same story for the Central Provinces. Due to faulty registration, a considerable number of boys was not enrolled and in one case, fictitious figures of enrolment were supplied by the Local Authority.

The administration of compulsory education was still unsatisfactory. The attendance authorities were irregular and "ignorant of their powers and responsibilities and were weak and dilatory in their action"[37] and the attendance officers were "ignorant of the provisions of the Act, careless and incapable of offering any real guidance to the attendance authority and obtaining assistance of the teachers in the organisation of their work".[38] Sometimes the attendance officers were over-burdened with extraneous duties which greatly interfered with the legitimate work, and in some cases, the posts were abolished.[39]

In Bihar and Orissa, compulsion was comparatively better enforced in the urban areas than in the rural areas. For example, in Ranchi,

31. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-33, p. 27.
32. Ibid., p. 27.
33. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 61.
34. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 77.
35. Ibid., 1932-37, p. 75.
36. Ibid., p. 76.
37. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1933-34, p. 25.
38. Ibid., p. 25.
39. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1940-41, p. 25.

the attendance was satisfactory, though this cannot be said of the other municipalities. In rural areas the experiment did not succeed. In Jambhor, compulsion was almost nominal as it did not have Government sanction and there was no attendance officer for a very long time.[40]

In Madras, the Compulsory Act of 1920 was amended in 1934, as the statistics clearly revealed that in no area has the application of compulsion succeeded in eliminating wastage and proper distribution of pupils in the different standards. It was found that insufficient preparation was made before the introduction of compulsion by way of the number of schools, provision of adequate staff and more particularly the provision of complete five standard schools.[41]

From the foregoing discussion it will be quite clear that except for the Punjab, compulsion was mostly introduced in Urban areas. It was only in the Punjab that it was extended on a wide scale to rural areas. Though in many Acts there was provision made for the introduction of compulsory education for girls as well as boys, the compulsory schemes were mainly enforced in the case of boys only. Even in the areas where compulsory education was enforced it was only attempted in a haphazard manner and that the local authorities were most unwilling to enforce coercive measures. The natural result was that compulsion remained only on paper.

Such was the state of compulsion in the various provinces during 1931-41. The pious hopes of the Educational Acts were not at all fulfilled during the decade. Unfortunately the first part of this period was one of financial stringency. But the failure of compulsion cannot be attributed to financial stringency alone. "The lack of real urge on the part of the Government to do substantial service to the people and the inability of our educational bureaucrats to evolve cheaper methods of education were also largely responsible for it."[42]

CHAPTER IX

FINANCE

After having considered the system of primary education in the various provinces in detail, we now proceed to study the financial side of primary education. This chapter treats this problem for the various provinces in India with a view to comparing the various sources which meet the expenditure on education. A study of this intricate problem

40. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1927-32, pp. 60-61.
41. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1932-37, p. 108.
42. *Studies in Primary Education*, J. P. Naik, p. 6.

is essential, as the success of any scheme of education mostly depends on the expenditure on education and the manner in which it is met.

Cost per Pupil

The first point of comparison is the cost per pupil in the elementary schools. Consider the following table which gives the cost per pupil, for boys and girls separately in the various provinces:—

TABLE NO. XXI

Province	BOYS 1931 Rs. a. p.	BOYS 1941 Rs. a. p.	GIRLS 1931 Rs. a. p.	GIRLS 1941 Rs. a. p.
Bombay ...	17 0 0	13 0 0	22 0 0	17 0 0
Sind ...		19 0 0		21 0 0
The Punjab ...	9 13 0	10 15 4	10 10 0	10 5 5
N.-W.F. ...	13 15 6	13 2 4	15 10 7	17 14 0
U.P. ...	7 13 4	7 0 10	9 9 4	8 5 3
C.P. ...	10 4 5	10 5 10	14 12 8	14 1 3
Bengal ...	3 9 0	3 3 0	3 4 0	3 8 0
Assam ...	4 9 0	4 0 6	3 2 0	3 12 8
Bihar ...	6 5 3	5 12 6	8 1 6	6 12 6
Orissa ...		5 8 6		7 4 4
Madras ...	8 8 0	8 6 0	12 7 0	10 14 0

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study of the previous table:—

(1) The cost of educating a boy was lesser than a girl in all the provinces, the only exception being Bengal, where the cost of educating a girl was less than that of a boy in 1931. But in 1941, the cost of educating a girl rose higher than that of a boy.

(2) There was a great variation in the cost of educating a pupil in all provinces. It was maximum in Bombay (including Sind) and minimum in Bengal.

(3) The rank of these provinces according to the cost of educating a pupil was as follows: (i) Bombay (Sind), (ii) N.-W.F., (iii) C.P., (iv) The Punjab, (v) Madras, (vi) U.P., (vii) Bihar and Orissa, (viii) Assam, and (ix) Bengal.

(4) Another point worth noting was that by the close of the decade the cost of educating a pupil had fallen down as compared with that at the beginning of the decade. The only exception being the Punjab, where the cost of educating a boy had risen by Re. 1-2-4 and in C.P. where the cost had increased very slightly (by Re. 0-1-0) and it may be, therefore, regarded as stationary. In the case of girls the cost had risen in the N.-W.F. province. But on the whole, the cost of educating a pupil had fallen down during the decade.

Sources of Expenditure

Another point of comparison is the discussion of the various sources that meet the expenditure on education. The various agencies that share the expenditure of primary education were: (*a*) The Government, (*b*) Local Authorities, (*c*) Fees, and (*d*) Other sources such as endowments, subscriptions, etc. The table No. XII gives the cost of educating a pupil, with the percentage of cost from these various sources, for boys and girls separately.

(A) The following conclusions can be drawn from the study of this table giving the percentage expenditure for male pupils:—

(a) Government contribution:

(1) It was maximum in the N.-W.F. province and minimum in Bihar. The percentage of Government contribution was so low in Bihar that we can easily neglect it and regard it as almost nil. The Government contribution in C.P. and Bengal was almost one-third of the total contribution; in Madras it was slightly more than half, while in Bombay, the Punjab, U.P. and Assam, it was almost two-thirds and in the N.-W.F. province it is nearly three-fourths of the total expenditure on primary education.

(2) Though there was a variation in the Government contribution in each province during the decade, it was very slight and can be neglected. Thus on the whole the percentage contribution of Government for primary education was almost stationary. The only exception to the above statement was that of Bengal, where the contribution had risen by 7.4%.

(b) Contribution from Local Funds:

(1) It was maximum in Bihar and this was naturally so, as the contribution of the Government in this province was minimum. The contribution from the Local Bodies was so great that it was 67% in 1931, and went on rising and in 1941 the percentage was as high as 74%.

(2) Another province in which the contribution from the Local Funds was high was the Central Provinces. It was 58.9% in 1931 and was almost stationary throughout the decade.

(3) For all the remaining provinces the contribution from the local funds varied between 20% to 33%.

(4) In almost all the provinces the contribution from the local funds had gone up during the decade.

TABLE NO. XXII

Sources of Expenditure

For Boys

Provinces	Cost per Pupil 1931 Rs. a. p.	Cost per Pupil 1941 Rs. a. p.	Percentage of Govt. Contribution 1931	Percentage of Govt. Contribution 1941	Per. of L.B. Contribution 1931	Per. of L.B. Contribution 1941	Percentage of fees 1931	Percentage of fees 1941	Percentage of other Sources 1931	Percentage of other Sources 1941
Bombay ...	17 0 0	13 0 0	60.8	60.9	29.1	27.4	2.6	4.5	7.5	7.2
Sind ...		19 0 0		50.9		30.0		2.2		10.8
The Punjab ...	9 13 0	10 15 4	65.37	60.11	27.67	33.16	1.88	1.64	5.08	5.09
N.-W.F. ...	13 15 6	13 2 4	78	75.2	19.4	21.6	0.0	0.4	2.6	2.8
U.P. ...	7 13 4	7 0 10	67.3	63.9	27.7	29.7	3.1	4.2	1.9	2.2
C.P. ...	10 4 5	10 5 10	33	35.64	58.9	58.22	2.3	2.03	5.8	4.11
Bengal ...	3 9 0	3 3 0	32.7	40.1	20.9	31.3	36.2	17.7	10.0	10.9
Assam ...	4 9 0	4 0 6	63.6	67.57	22.0	23.66	0.0	0.04	14.4	8.73
Bihar ...	6 5 3	5 12 6	1.58	1.51	67.01	73.84	17.63	12.69	13.78	11.85
Orissa ...		5 8 6		12.73		6.13		8.25		12.89
Madras ...	8 8 0	8 6 0	55.6	55.18	25.88	31.26	.26	1.9	15.26	8.62
For Girls										
Bombay ...	22 0 0	17 0 0	43.6	43.3	42.2	44.6	2.3	3.0	12.0	9.1
Sind ...		21 0 0		40.3		38.8		4.6		16.3
The Punjab ...	10 10 0	15 5 5	40.08	48.04	37.75	38.08	0.69	0.76	13.52	13.12
N.-W.F. ...	15 10 7	17 14 0	29.8	42.3	42.2	45.8	0.4	0.1	27.5	11.8
U.P. ...	9 9 4	8 5 3	35.0	34.6	52.4	55.1	3.5	3.8	9.1	6.5
C.P. ...	14 12 8	14 1 3	59.2	49.16	10.0	27.16	9.1	9.42	21.7	14.26
Bengal ...	3 4 0	3 8 0	31.7	29.5	35.2	42.0	10.9	10.1	22.2	18.4
Assam ...	5 2 0	3 12 8	60.6	68.28	33.6	32.88	0.0	0.06	5.8	4.78
Bihar ...	8 1 6	6 12 6	7.7	9.23	70.10	69.28	5.55	6.98	16.5	14.45
Orissa ...		7 4 4		68.17		17.99		0.8		13.04
Madras ...	12 7 0	10 14 0	50.39	49.77	31.15	40.17	1.14	2.25	17.32	7.81

(c) Fees:

(1) The third source of income is the income from fees. But this was not a very potent source of income except in Bengal and Bihar. In the rest of the provinces the contribution from fees was very low and in most cases it was nearly three per cent.

(2) It was only in Bengal that one-third of the total expenditure on primary education, was met by fees in 1931. But the percentage had gone down rapidly and in 1941 it became 17.7%. In Bihar, in 1931, 17.63% of the expenditure on primary education was met from fees. But in this province, as also in Bengal, the percentage had gone down to 12.6%. Bengal and Bihar were the two provinces where the contribution made by Government funds was low and naturally they had to switch on to other sources to meet the total expenditure and so high fees were naturally charged in these provinces.

(3) In N.-W.F. province and Assam primary education was completely free in 1931 but the same cannot be said in 1941. However, the contribution made out of fees was very low that year.

(d) Other sources:

Under this head are included the contributions made as endowments, subscriptions, etc. The contribution under this head was seen to be appreciably high in Bombay, Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madras. But one thing that could be noticed was that in almost all the provinces the percentage had definitely declined. In Bengal there was only a slight rise. In other provinces like the Punjab, N.-W.F., U.P. and C.P., the contribution under this head was very small. The small contribution in these provinces and the decline in other provinces leads us to conclude that in the opinion of the public in general, primary education should be a State affair and should not depend on public support.

(B) The study of the table for percentage expenditure in case of girls leads to the following conclusions:—

(a) Government Contribution:

(1) It was maximum in Assam and minimum in Bihar, but this maximum in the case of boys was far too high than in the case of girls. The minimum was not as low as in the case of boys. Thus the range of the difference in the percentages was wider in the case of boys than in the case of girls.

(2) In Assam, nearly two-thirds of the expenditure was met by the Government; in C.P. and in Madras it was nearly half; in Bombay and in the Punjab it was nearly two-fifths while in the N.-W.F., U.P. and Bengal it was nearly one-third.

(3) The percentage of contribution made by the Government had almost remained stationary in Bombay, U.P., Bengal and Madras during the decade. This had appreciably fallen in C.P. between 1931-41 and the fall was nearly by ten per cent. In the rest of the provinces where it was not stationary, the percentage had definitely gone up. This means that in the majority of provinces more and more money was made available by the Government for female education. Even though there was a fall by ten per cent in the Central Provinces, the total contribution made by the Government was higher than that in many of the provinces in 1931 and with even such a drop, the total contribution made by the Government in the Central Provinces was almost half of the total expenditure.

(4) Another point worth noting is that in all provinces except the Central Provinces the percentage contribution made in the case of boys was higher than that in the case of girls which means that the education of girls had not received the same share of the Government expenditure as in the case of boys.

Contribution from local funds

(1) As in the case of boys the contribution from this source was maximum in Bihar and it was as high as 70% throughout the decade. The minimum expenditure from this source was found in the Central Provinces and it was as low as 10% in 1931. But in 1941 it went up to 27%.

(2) In the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Madras the contribution made by the Local Authorities was between 30 to 40% while in Bombay and N.-W.F. it was between 40 to 50%.

(3) Comparing these percentages with those of boys we see that they were higher in all provinces except in the Central Provinces and in most of the cases the percentage had gone up during the decade. We thus see that since the contribution made by Government in the case of girls was smaller than in the case of boys, the natural consequence of it was that the contribution made from the local funds was greater in the case of girls than that in the case of boys.

Fees

(1) It was only in Bengal and C.P. that an appreciable contribution came from fees. In the rest of the provinces the contribution made from fees was very small. A point worth noting is that in Bengal the fees of pupils became an important source of income. Though this had gone down appreciably in the case of boys, the fall in the case of girls was so small that we may regard the percentage income from fees to be stationary during the decade.

(2) No fees were charged in Assam in 1931 and though the figures show some income from fees in 1941 it was so small as may be neglected. We have already seen that the same was the case in the case of boys, and this, therefore, leads us to conclude that primary education was almost free in Assam both for boys and girls.

(3) In the Punjab and N.-W.F. the income from fees of girls was also so small that it can also be regarded as nil.

Other sources

(1) An appreciable amount of expenditure on female education was met by endowments and subscriptions as it would be seen from the previous table. The contributions under this head was higher in the case of girls than that of boys.

Cost per School

Another point for the comparison of expenditure on primary education is the cost per primary school. The following table gives these figures for boys' and girls' schools separately in 1931 and 1941:—

TABLE NO. XXIII

Cost per School

Province	Boys' School 1931 Rs.	Boys' School 1941 Rs.	Girls' School 1931 Rs.	Girls' School 1941 Rs.
Bombay ...	1,278	926	2,179	2,376
Sind ...	...	1,213	...	3,782
The Punjab ...	1,131	1,161	804	942
N.-W.F. ...	1,023	1,002	1,212	1,528
U.P. ...	524	585	559	756
C.P. ...	712	889	1,206	1,279
Bengal ...	155	210	92	151
Assam ...	277	244	217	176
Bihar ...	214	420	219	219
Orissa ...	...	225	...	368
Madras ...	409	609	698	1,030
British India ...	362	537	419	627

A study of the table leads us to the following conclusions:—

(a) Boys' Schools:

(1) The highest cost per school is found to be in Bombay and Sind and the least in Bengal.

(2) The cost per school in the case of boys was higher in Bombay, in the Punjab and N.-W.F. Province and is about one thousand rupees

per year. In the Central Provinces it is about seven hundred, in Madras and U.P., it is between five to six hundred, while for the rest of the provinces the cost per school is even less than three hundred rupees.

(3) It is gratifying to note that in Bengal and Bihar where the cost was absolutely low at the beginning of the decade, it has gone up appreciably by the close.

(4) For British India as a whole, the cost per school was only Rs. 362 at the beginning of the decade but by the close it went up by Rs. 175 to Rs. 537. This rise is due to the fact that more and more money was forthcoming for primary education, especially in latter half of the decade, with the result that the average cost per school went up during the decade.

(b) Girls' Schools:

(1) The average cost per school in the case of girls was higher than that in the case of boys' schools in most of the provinces and this can be verified from the figures of British India.

(2) The variation was very great between the different provinces and the range of difference between the maximum and the minimum was nearly double than that of boys' schools.

(3) The maximum cost per school was found, as in the case of boys, in Bombay (including Sind) and the minimum in Bengal. The figures for Bengal were remarkably low and are worth noting.

It is, therefore, quite clear from the previous discussion that there was a great variation in educational expenditure from province to province and this was manifest in the great disparity in the average cost per school as well as in the cost per pupil. This is mostly due to the wide differences that exist in the salaries of teachers in the various provinces. In Bombay the cost was highest as the scale of pay of teachers was the greatest and in Bengal the cost was the least as the salaries of teachers in Bengal were the lowest in the whole of India. This can be seen from the following remarks made in the reports of these provinces. The Bombay report says, " the main cause of the disparity in the average annual cost per pupil between this Presidency and the other Provinces is to be found in the higher cost of teachers. The average monthly pay of a teacher is more than three times the pay of a Madras teacher, six times that of a Bengal teacher and four times that of a teacher in Bihar and Orissa. Although it is true that the cost of living in Bombay city is high, it is doubtful whether it is so high in the mofussil as to warrant the great difference in the cost of the teaching staff ".[1] The report for Bengal says that, " the pay of the teachers

1. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 101.

is not enough to live on any comfort. The average pay is Rs. 15-2-0; in private schools it is Rs. 6-4-0. The panchayati union school teachers receive only Rs. 10. The average salary in Bengal is the lowest in all India."[2]

Percentage Expenditure on Primary Education

Another point that we need consider is the expenditure on primary education and the relation it bears to the total expenditure on education. The following table gives the data:—

TABLE NO. XXIV

Province	1931 Exp. on education A Rs. 000	1931 Exp. on pri. education B Rs. 000	1931 % of B to A	1941 A Rs. 000	1941 B Rs. 000	1941 % of A to B
Bombay ...	3,99,28	2,05,12	51.3	4,63,36	2,07,25	44.7
Sind ...	...	...	...	71,34	35,93	50.4
The Punjab ...	3,08,31	1,14,20	37.1	3,46,95	1,26,54	36.4
N.-W.F. ...	27,22	9,73	35.7	34,58	12,17	35.2
U.P. ...	3,89,21	1,18,01	30.3	4,39,96	1,27,17	28.8
C.P. ...	1,03,80	37,40	36.1	1,16,88	51,56	44.1
Bengal ...	4,22,87	82,99	19.6	5,47,58	1,02,62	18.7
Assam ...	50,10	16,21	32.4	67,04	20,09	29.9
Bihar ...	1,73,92	61,60	35.4	1,48,02	55,18	37.3
Orissa ...	...	...	...	42,40	17,33	40.9
Madras ...	5,67,62	2,34,72	41.3	5,94,31	2,60,49	43.8

The following points can be noted from the study of the previous table.

(1) The total expenditure on education and also on primary education had gone up in each province during the decade.

(2) The percentage of expenditure on primary education was the highest in Bombay and the lowest in Bengal. The percentage figures for Bombay were nearly 2½ times those of Bengal.

(3) Next to Bombay, the percentage expenditure on primary education was in Madras and though it was not as high as in Bombay in 1931, in 1941 due to the rise of percentage in Madras and a fall in Bombay (excluding Sind) the difference in these provinces is now very small.

(4) In all other provinces, except Bengal, the percentage expenditure on primary education varied between 30 to 35 per cent and only

2. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1927-32, p. 25.

one-third of the total expenditure on education went to primary education, while the rest was spent mostly on higher education. Thus from the financial point of view, primary education was given a subordinate importance as compared to higher education. But one point of satisfaction was that in these provinces, except in N.-W.F. and Assam, the percentage expenditure on primary education has increased during the decade. The slight drop in N.-W.F. province may be neglected.

CHAPTER X

ADULT EDUCATION

Introduction

In India the percentage of literacy is very low and in order to increase it, it is necessary to make proper provision of facilities for adult education. The two main agencies which are responsible for the increase of literacy in a country are the primary schools and the adult schools and they must be complementary of each other. In every country the scheme of primary education and the scheme for adult education must go hand in hand, and the education of adults must occupy a place in a system on par with the education of children. We have already studied the provision made for the primary education of children; and in this chapter we shall now discuss the facilities provided for the education of adults and the main events in it during the decade.

Need

No special pleading is necessary for the cause of adult education in India at present. The role of adult education is to educate every member of the State in such a way that he will be able to exercise the right of vote intelligently, so as to make the working of democracy effective. In view of the political conditions that existed in India during the decade, the need for adult education becomes still more urgent.

From a practical point of view, we can say that the adults can be educated far more quickly and cheaply than small children.

A child requires training for about four years to become literate but if an adult is properly educated he becomes literate within a year.[1] On an average, the cost of educating a child is about Rs. 9 in India and this means that the total expenditure necessary for making a child literate will come to Rs. 36. On the other hand, Rs. 4 only are required to make an adult literate. " One may, therefore, say that the

1. *Literacy in India* by R. V. Parulekar, p. 150.

increase of literacy, through adult instruction, is four times quicker from the time element and nine times more paying from the financial point of view. It is only by such quick and cheap agency that a poor country like India can liquidate illiteracy in a reasonable period of time."[2]

The illiterate parents hardly realise the true value of education and such parents are most apathetic towards the education of their children. Such parents retard the progress of literacy, but if they are made literate, they will naturally be more interested in the education of their children. Thus in making the parents literate, we not only educate an individual but also facilitate the education of the whole family. In this matter we may say that special provision must be made for the education of adult women—the mothers—who wield a greater influence on their children.

Adult education will improve the resources and facilities in life in rural areas, and will prevent economic exploitation of the villagers.

Conditions before 1931

Adult education was never attempted on a large scale in India, and even the small attempts that were made were not always successful. The main reason was that adult education never received proper attention from the Government and it was " given a subordinate place in our efforts for mass education." The following quotation from the Hartog Committee report will be significant. " Sporadic attempts have been made, though not on a large scale, to encourage night schools, classes for women, lantern lectures, village libraries and so forth, but very little has been attempted on a systematic basis. There are at present in India, so far as we are aware, no advanced adult education centres for workers such as is carried on in England."[3] The Government had almost completely discharged the problem of adult education so much so that the statistics which are available regarding adult education are not on many occasions very reliable.[4] This neglect of adult education has resulted in the low percentage of literacy and this has been observed in the *Progress of Education in India, 1927-32,* which states: " In the present-day conditions failure to promote education for adults must inevitably result in failure to remove illiteracy ".[5]

Attempts made during the decade

In order to discuss the provision that was made in each province during the decade it is necessary to divide the decade in two parts, (i)

2. Ibid., p. 150.
3. *Hartog Committee Report,* pp. 49-50.
4. Ibid., p. 49.
5. *Progress of Education in India,* 1927-32, p. 259.

the period before the introduction of reforms of 1935, and (ii) the period after the reforms. The reason for such a division is obvious. During the early period no large-scale attempts were made to promote adult education but when the Congress Party came into power, it undertook a programme of adult education on a large scale, in some provinces, which resulted in a very big rise in the number of adult schools. The following table gives the number of adult schools and the pupils in them:—

TABLE NO. XXV

Province	Adult Schools 1931-32	1936-37	1940-41	Pupils 1931-32	1936-37	1940-41
Bombay ...	194	180	694	7,405	6,299	16,682
Sind ...	...	24	38	...	721	935
The Punjab ...	585	189	420	12,800	8,138	12,844
N.-W.F. ...	No mention is made in the report.					
U.P. ...	233	286	1,975	6,045	8,136	66,021
C.P. ...	44	30 (20)	62	1,644	1,504 (191)	2,434
Bengal ...	1,089	557	1,311	26,804	13,963	26,869
Assam ...	... (68)	2	1,842	... (1,688)	113	44,802
Bihar ...	2	123 (122)	...	97	3,177 (3,150)	...
Orissa ...	4	2	2	...	97	97
Madras ...	3,396 (3,378)	586 (582)	14	...	22,420 (22,236)	...

N.B.—Figures in brackets indicate night schools.

A critical study of the above table has become difficult in view of the insufficient data that is available. This is a clear indication of the attitude of the Educational Departments towards this side of education. However, with the data available, the following conclusions can be drawn.

(1) There is no mention of adult education in the reports of the Director of Public Instruction, N.-W.F., which means that there was absolutely no adult education worth mentioning in the province. Another province, which did not do full justice to adult education is Bihar, for there are no statistics available for this province for the closing years of the decade and the statistical data that is published does not at all refer to adult education.

(2) A striking point to be noticed is that, in the figures for the adult schools and the enrolment of adults, there is a sharp fall, in almost

all the provinces during the first half of the decade. The only exception is that of the United Provinces, where there is an increase in the adult schools and in their enrolment. But by the close of the decade we do notice a very sharp rise in the number of adult schools and enrolment in Bombay, U.P., Assam, and this is due to the programme of adult education undertaken in these provinces during the regime of the Congress Ministers.

Main features of the Decade

Having studied the rise and fall in the number of adult schools and the pupils in the adult schools, we shall make a brief survey of the main features of adult education during the decade for each province separately.

In Bombay the survey of adult education can be divided into three periods: (i) between 1931-34 when it was mostly managed through the agency of night schools; (ii) 1934-38 when adult education received some impetus, due to the work done under the village uplift scheme; and (iii) 1938-41 when the Congress Government took the problem seriously by appointing the Board of Adult Education. Let us study these periods one by one.

During the period 1931-34, adult education was mainly conducted through the night schools. These night schools, though they were attended by grown-up people, were also attended by boys, of school-going age, who were not in a position to attend schools, during the day time.[6] The teachers who conducted these classes, also worked in some other schools during day time. Thus, the classes of adults were conducted by teachers who were also equally tired. This made the working defective and even though great enthusiasm and activity was shown by the pupils and the teachers in the beginning, it faded away before long. A mention must be made of five night schools conducted by Alegaonkar Brothers[7] for the benefit of the workers in Kirkee Factory near Poona. Another night school that needs mention was the one conducted by the Social Service League, Bombay, for the benefit of Mill-hands in Bombay.[8] These schools "served a distinctly useful purpose". But on the whole, the number of adult schools went on declining and by 1934 their number went down from 194 to 114.

Another event worth mentioning in this period is the recognition of the Bombay Presidency Adult Education Association.[9] The main objects of this Association were: (i) to stimulate general interest in the education of adults; (ii) to build up opinion on the importance of

6. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 244.
7. Ibid., p. 244.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1933-34, p. 144.
9. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1934-35, p. 161.

adult education; (iii) to bring together and co-operate with the existing organisations engaged in the promotion of adult education, so as to secure co-ordination of effort; (iv) to survey the situation of adult education in the Presidency; (v) to suggest lines of advance and to promote new developments; and (vi) to take up such activities as will promote the cause of adult education. The working of this Association was managed by the professors of the Colleges in Bombay.

The ground lost during the first period was, however, made up to a large extent during the second period, by the activities of the village uplift committees, which were assisted by private bodies. The Government gave a grant of Rs. 10,000 in the year 1937.[10] There was a regular scheme of adult education and 10 adult education centres were started in the four educational divisions. There were 29 classes with an average attendance of 250 on the roll. The work of the Village Uplift Committee was supplemented by Saksharata Prasarak Mandal and the Bombay Literacy Association. The Saksharata Prasarak Mandal teachers taught reading and writing according to the special conversational method developed by it. It conducted three adult education centres and were attended by nearly two hundred adults.[11] The Bombay Literacy Association conducted 66 classes and were attended by 1,935 adults.[12]

A definite impetus to adult education was given during the third period. The Government made a definite provision in their Budget for adult education. It also appointed a committee in 1938 to advise Government on the question of adult education. "The committee recommended, that the first thing to be done is, to endeavour to help the villager to overcome his dejection and apathy and to find an interest in life, and the second stage is to lead the villager actually to investigate the resources available in his natural environment so that he may provide himself with more amenities of life."[13]

On the recommendation of the Committee, the Provincial Board of Adult Education was appointed in the same year.[14] The main business of the board was:—

(i) preparation of rules for the registration of adult education workers, recognition and grant-in-aid to adult education classes, and registration of reading rooms and libraries;

(ii) consideration of various experimental schemes, for the spread of literacy;

10. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1937-38, p. 161.
11. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1935-36, p. 232.
12. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1937-38, p. 162.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1938-39, p. 166.
14. Ibid., p. 166.

(iii) preparation of schemes for publication of literature for the newly-made literate adults.

Adult education workers were registered by the Provincial Board of Adult Education and classes were started by the registered workers. These classes were inspected by the District Education Officers.

In 1939, a grant of Rs. 40,000 was placed at the disposal of the Board for disposing it at the rate of Rs. 2,000 per district.[15] In the year 1940 this went up to Rs. 1,50,000.[16]

A basic grant of Rs. 5 per month was made to each class where average attendance was more than 15 pupils and Rs. 2 per adult made literate. In addition to this, a non-recurring grant of not more than Rs. 40 was given for each class for the purchase of equipment.[17] But in view of the large expenditure the Board decided to reduce the grant to as. 10 per adult made literate (Re. 1 school) and an equipment grant of Rs. 12 per class. "This reduction proved a damper to the classes and by the end of the year 50 per cent of the classes were closed."[18] In view of the reduction that took place in the number of classes the whole "Scheme was again reviewed and the originally sanctioned rates were restored."[19] However, the enthusiasm for adult education dwindled down as soon as the Congress Ministers left office and the figures of the adults made literate stand testimony for this. In 1939-40, as many as 13,208 adults were made literate[20] but in the next year the number went down to 2,829 only.[21]

In Sind, the only activity worth mentioning was undertaken in 1939 and was organised by opening centres of adult education in two talukas of each district and in some municipal areas. There were about 2,000 such centres with 60,000 learners attending them. The total expenditure incurred was Rs. 1,50,000 out of which only Rs. 20,000 was contributed by the Government while the remaining was made up by Local Bodies and private associations.

In the Punjab, there was a continuous decline in the adult schools and in their enrolment. The increase that we see in the latter half, was due to the classification of adult centres as adult schools. In 1940, 256 adult centres were classified as adult schools and this was the main cause for a big rise in the number of schools. As a matter of fact, there were only 201 adult schools in 1939-40, with an enrolment of 6,075 pupils. The big rise, therefore, need not be attributed to any effort but only to mere classification. On the other hand, there was

15. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1938-39, p. 167.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1939-40, p. 92.
17. Ibid., p. 92.
18. *D.P.I's Report*, 1939-40, p. 92.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 87.
20. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1939-40, p. 93.
21. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 88.

general apathy in the minds of the people and it was feared that it may even result in the disappearance of these schools. The following quotation will justify our statement. "On account of the apathy of the general public, the incompetence of the ordinary school teachers, and the failure on the part of the inspecting officers to evolve appropriate methods of teaching, these schools have steadily lost ground, and if efforts are not made to retrieve the position, there is every likelihood that before long they will completely disappear. Most of these schools are taught by the day teacher who is probably too tired after a day's work in the school to be able to do justice to the task. In order to make these schools attractive, they must be made centres of village recreation and social activities."[22]

Things, however, improved in later years and there was a tendency to appoint a whole-time teacher for an adult school. There was also some effort made in the experiment "each one teach one" but such systematic efforts could not be successful, as the teachers were paid inadequate remuneration for their work.

In U.P., adult education was managed by the Registrar, Co-operative societies, who organised co-operative adult education societies at places where a co-operative society existed and where the proper type of teacher was available. The expenses of books and other material was met out from the contribution made twice a year by the members of the society. The subscription was according to the means of every member but it was not less than annas eight per head. The initial cost of starting the school was met by the educational department.[23]

The work done by the Co-operative Adult Societies, was supported by the night schools. But the night schools never worked well and it was remarked by the Inspector of Lucknow "that there has been no improvement in them since they were started 12 years ago" and he considers "that the money spent on them is wasted".[24] The admission to the night school was restricted to males above the age of 12. Such schools were single teacher schools, with two classes one for the beginners and the other for the advanced adults who had mastered the 3 R's. An allowance was given to the day teacher and the whole cost was borne by the Government. But unfortunately it was reported that "the attendance entered is generally bogus and it is sheer waste of money and time to spend over night schools."[25]

The sharp and abrupt rise in the number of adult schools that we see in the later years was due to the scheme of adult education that was launched by the Congress Government in the province to liquidate

22. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1939-40.
23. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 67.
24. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-33, p. 30.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1935-36, p. 33.

illiteracy. But, a fear was expressed in the report[26] of the Director of Public Instruction, about the result of such a scheme in a province like the United Provinces, where the inspecting staff was already overworked.

In C.P., most of the adult education work was carried out through the night schools only. There was a fall in their number during the first half of the decade, but in the other half there was a gradual increase. No literacy campaign was launched in this province even though the Congress ministers were at the helm of the Government in the closing years of the decade. This was probably due to their greater attention to the Wardha Scheme and the Vidya Mandir Scheme.

A scheme to provide adult education by opening 50 schools through the agency of co-operative societies and 50 schools through the agency of Local Bodies was sanctioned in the year 1931. A provision of Rs. 2,000 was also made for giving grant-in-aid to the Local Bodies. The scheme was, however, dropped due to financial stringency.[27]

In Bengal, two agencies were responsible for adult education. They were (i) Night Schools, and (ii) Continuation Schools.

The night schools, which teach the lower primary course, were attended by labourers, who were not able to attend during the day time due to pre-occupation. The classes were held for two hours or so and were only meant for making adults literate.

Continuation schools were only found in the Presidency Division and in Calcutta. They were of two kinds—Group I and Group II.

Group I was attended by boys who were unable to attend the school during day time and they were taught the 3 R's.

Group II was attended by those who had completed the course in Group I or a primary course in other schools. The subjects that were taught in this Group were arithmetic, language and some technical subject like tailoring, carpentry, hat-making, book-binding or typewriting. But no serious advantage was taken of the course in the technical subject, which had a great utility in the future career of pupils and "neither the teacher nor the pupils take seriously to the study of technical subject".[28]

In Assam, though there were no special schools classed as adult schools, there were 68 night schools at the beginning of the decade.[29] During 1931-36, these schools were not popular and this could easily be seen from the fall in their number. The fall in their number was attributed to the lack of funds and also to the inertia of those who were in charge of the schools. However, this state of affairs did not con-

26. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1938-39, p. 30.
27. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 60.
28. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1937-38, pp. 88-89.
29. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1927-32, p. 134.

tinue for a very long period of time and in 1937 the number of night schools went up to 132. The demand for more and more night schools was on the increase during the second half of the decade. This was mostly due to the work done by Ramkrishna Mission and Siksha Vistar Samity and in 1940 the number of night schools went up as high as 312.[30]

In the same year, a special officer was appointed to prepare a scheme for launching a mass literacy campaign.[31] The campaign was formally inaugurated on 11th September 1940. There were in all 1,784 centres opened including 33 centres for women. At these centres 58,201 male adults took instruction and out of them 36,065 passed the literacy test. 549 women received instruction at the women's centre and out of them 468 passed the literacy test. In order that the newly-made literates may get suitable literature to read, libraries were equipped with series of simple readers that were published by the department. A fortnightly newspaper—Janata Sikshan—was specially published and was distributed to these libraries and adult centres for the use of new literates.[32]

In Bihar, adult education work was carried on in the night schools. There were 192 such schools with 4,403 pupils at the beginning of the decade but in 1938, there were only 130 night schools with 3,465 pupils. These schools were attended by adults, as well as by boys of the school-going age, who were not able to attend the schools during the day time. The percentage of adults in these schools varied from 33 per cent to 80 per cent.[33]

In Bihar, as in some other provinces, the Congress Ministers launched a literacy campaign, in March 1938.[34] It was formally inaugurated by the Minister for Education, on 26th April 1938, by making an appeal to students and teachers to devote the summer vacation for literacy campaign. The work was carried out in four different kinds of centres. They were: (i) lower and upper primary and middle schools and they were paid capitation grant of As. 5 per literate made; (ii) private associations that were given grant-in-aid at the rate of Rs. 15 per annum; (iii) schools and Colleges taking up work as a part of their extra curricular activity, for which no grant-in-aid was given; and (iv) mills, factories, jails, etc. which also received no grant.

The maximum number of adult centres was 10,216 with 1,57,298 adults.

30. *D.P.I's Report,* Assam, 1939-40, p. 20.
31. Ibid., p. 20.
32. *D.P.I's Report,* Assam, 1940-41, p. 16.
33. *D.P.I's Report,* Bihar, 1938-39, p. 40.
34. Ibid., p. 40.

1,00,000 Hindi, Urdu, Bengali charts were given free by Pustak Bhandar, at Laheriasarai for the campaign.

Rs. 80,000 were sanctioned for the Mass Literacy work for six months from September 1938 and Rs. 5,000 were sanctioned for women centres.

The chief features of the campaign were: (i) Response from Harijans in the province was remarkable; (ii) Volunteers took a very large share in the work; (iii) Great impetus was given by the industrialists; (iv) Local Bodies and other institutions offered great co-operation; (v) For the post-literacy work (*a*) a news sheet 'Soshni' was published, (*b*) supply was made of graded readers and other material, and (*c*) village libraries were established.

The greatest achievement of the movement was, that a common language for the province was made possible as at many centres Muslims have learnt the Nagari Script and the Hindus learned the Urdu Script.

In Orissa, there were 42 night schools with 1,056 pupils in the year 1936. The number, however, dwindled down, and in 1940 there were only 28 schools with 739 pupils.

In the early period of 1939, a mass literacy campaign[35] was launched mostly with the aid of teachers. To organise and supervise the campaign, a committee was appointed under the presidentship of the Minister for Education, who made an appeal to all the people, to make a drive against illiteracy of the province. Though the work was started with the aid of teachers, it was also supported by voluntary effort. As many as 500 volunteers worked during the vacation of 1939 and made 1,500 adults literate and certificates of literacy were given to these adults. A Literacy Day was celebrated on 5th October. Though the work was now and then interrupted due to the cold and harvest season, a good deal of work was done during the year. There were 907 centres with 21,737 adults on the roll. Out of them, 19,870 were made literate. A grant of Rs. 17,000 in all was made by Government for printing charts, etc. and towards the cost of kerosene.

The immediate effect of the campaign that was noticed was "that the enrolment in the schools where literacy campaign was launched increased as a consequence. This was in part due to the parents realising the importance of education of their children".[36]

But in the year that followed, the intensity of the campaign waned out due to the resignation of the Congress Ministers and "the movement could not be revived in spite of several attempts made by the Department, to persuade the illiterate adults to come and attend the

35. *D.P.I's Report,* Orissa, 1939-40, pp. 31-32.
36. *D.P.I's Report,* Orissa, 1939-40, p. 32.

classes. As a result of this apathy a great many centres ceased to function ".[37]

In Madras, there was a very large number of inefficient night schools but due to the Government's policy of consolidation their number fell down very rapidly. There were 3,578 night schools at the beginning of the decade, but there were only 582 in the year 1936. Thus there was not much activity in this province in the field of adult education. Apart from the night schools, there were only 18 adult schools at the beginning of the decade and by the close of the decade their number became 16. But during the first half of the decade, there was a rapid fall in the number of adult schools and in 1936 there were hardly 4 adult schools. In the other half of the decade the number went on rising and ultimately by the end of the decade the number went up to 16 adult schools including 2 schools for women.

Attitude of the Adults

From the foregoing discussion it is quite clear that, except for the literacy campaigns that were launched by the Congress Ministers in some provinces, no substantial work was done to educate the adults. Whatever little was done, was mostly through the night schools. But these night schools were generally staffed by such teachers as were already over-worked during the day. The methods adopted by them were also the same as are adopted in the primary schools. "The teachers cannot, however, proceed to teach the adults on the same lines as they teach the school children. There is a world of difference between the approaches in the two kinds of teaching. This fact was completely lost sight of and in the absence of the proper method the number of adult schools and night schools went on decreasing year by year during the decade. Another factor which contributed to the decline was the lack of suitable books for the use of newly-made literates. All these factors were responsible for the indifferent attitude of the adults. The adults, who were very enthusiastic at the time of joining the school did not continue with the same enthusiasm as they were already tired out during the day. They were satisfied with the rudimentary knowledge in reading and writing that they got in the initial stages and were quite contented if they were able to sign their own name. In view of their low expectation they left the school in a short time. It was quite difficult to retain them in schools for a sufficient period of time, so that they may be able to derive the full benefit of education.

Finance of Adult Education

We now proceed to discuss the finance available for adult education and the part shared by the Government. As we have already

37. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1940-41, pp. 38-39.

stated our statistics are based on the reports of the D.P.I. of the various provinces. This study has become greatly difficult in view of the lack of figures in some provinces. However, we proceed to analyse the data as it is available:—

TABLE NO. XXVI

Province	Total 1931	Exp. 1941	Rise + Fall —	Govt. contribution 1931	Govt. contribution 1941	Rise + Fall —
Bombay ...	84,052	2,50,279	+1,73,849	1,651	46,734	+ 32,353
Sind ...	...	7,622			1,670	
The Punjab	39,456	19,265	— 20,191	Nil	Nil	...
U.P. ...	32,532	2,06,038	+1,73,506	20,694	1,91,825	+1,71,131
C.P. ...	11,284	10,860	— 424	5,318	7,449	+ 2,176
Bengal ...	52,526	52,067	— 459	17,621	10,929	— 6,692
Assam ...	Nil	49,360	+ 49,360	Nil.	46,245	+ 46,245
Bihar ...	706	Figs. not available		Nil.	Figs. not available	
Orissa ...	...	500	...	...	500	...
Madras ...	5,406	2,010	— 3,396	3,250	476	2,774

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study of the above table:—

(1) In Assam the entire contribution for adult education was made by the Government while in the Punjab the Government did not contribute at all for adult education.

(2) In most of the provinces there was a fall in the total expenditure and in the contribution made by the Government during 1931-41.

(3) The sharp rise in expenditure that could be seen in Bombay, U.P. and Assam was due to the money sanctioned for adult education campaigns carried out in these provinces during the closing years of the decade.

(4) On the whole the table presents a very gloomy picture of the expenditure on much an important side of education.

Conclusion

Thus on the whole, the state of adult education was not very encouraging. Though some sporadic attempts were made by the Congress Ministers in Bombay, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Assam they died away as soon as the ministers went out of power. Though there were some organisations, like Saksharata Prasar Mandal, Siksha Prasar Samiti, working to organise adult education, their contribution in liquidating mass illiteracy was certainly very small. "The problem of adult

education as a whole, however, is far too vast to be within the capacity of unaided voluntary effort, whatever its organisation, however effective its propaganda, and howsoever willing and generous the public which supports it. The State must accept the primary responsibility for tackling the problem."

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

1. Introduction

The education of girls is of paramount importance and it must receive more attention than the education of boys in our schemes for the expansion of education. The reasons are not far to seek. In the earlier stages of mass education, the education of women was never seriously considered and almost the whole effort was restricted to the education of the male population. Female education was more or less decorative and was regarded as an 'appendage to male education'.[1] This created a wide disparity in the figures of literacy for men and women. The education of women has a wider effect than that of men. "It is the fundamental basis of any real and permanent regeneration of Indian national life."[2] For the education of a boy means the education of the indifferent father of the future, but the education of a girl is the education of the future mother, who being herself educated, will naturally take a keen interest in the education of the whole family and this will indeed influence the expansion of future education. This is aptly put by the Hartog Committee which says: "The importance of the education of girls and women in India at the present moment cannot be overrated. It affects vitally the range and efficiency of all education. The education of the girl is the education of the mother and through her of her children. The middle and the high classes of India, have long suffered from the dualism of an educated manhood and an ignorant womanhood—a dualism that lowers the whole level of the home and the domestic life and has its reaction on the personal and national character. A literate woman is a far better and a surer guarantee of the education of the coming generation than a literate man. An illiterte woman, on the contrary, is in her own time often the cause for the stagnation not only of the generation that is slowly growing up but of the generation which is in the prime of life as well."[3]

1. *Education in India*, A. Mayhew, p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 98.
3. *Hartog Committee Report*, pp. 150-51.

2. Number of Schools for Girls

The following table compares the number of schools for girls at the beginning and the close of the decade:—

TABLE NO. XXVII

Province	Number of Schools		Rise / Fall	Percentage
Bombay ...	1,732	1,664	188	10.8
Sind ...		256		
The Punjab ...	1,736	2,407	671	38.66
N.-W.F. ...	131	180	49	37.41
U.P. ...	1,919	2,015	96	5
C.P. ...	453	540	87	19
Bengal ...	17,449	11,148	6,301	36
Assam ...	653	1,137	484	74.1
Bihar ...	2,457	2,266	203	.82
Orissa ...	...	394		
Madras ...	5,682	4,367	1,315	23
Total	32,412	26,374	6,038	18.6

The following points can be noted from the previous table:—

(1) In Bengal the number of schools was very considerable, compared to the rest of India. They formed 54 per cent of the total schools for girls at the beginning of the decade which clearly shows that there was a definite tendency in Bengal to have separate schools for girls. Though the number of schools fell by 6,301, Bengal continued to have a high percentage which only dropped from 54 to 42.

(2) Bengal and Madras are the only provinces in which we see a fall in the number of schools. The fall in Bengal was by 36% while that in Madras was 23%.

(3) In Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces the increase in the number of schools was comparatively small. In Bihar and Orissa the increase in number of schools was by 8.6 per cent while in the United Provinces it was by 5 per cent.

(4) The increase in the number of schools in Bombay and C.P. was moderate; that in the Punjab and N.-W.F. it was very large and in Assam it was the highest.

(5) For the whole of British India, we see a fall of 6,038 in the number of schools. But this was largely influenced by the fall in Bengal which contributed more than half the number of schools for the whole of India at the beginning of the decade. This fall in the total number of schools need not mislead us. We can say with confidence that except in Bengal and Madras the number of schools was steadily increasing.

3. Population per School

Consider the following table which gives the female population per school:—

TABLE NO. XXVIII

Province		Population per School	
Bombay	...	6,109	6,260
Sind	...	...	7,971
The Punjab	...	6,165	5,418
N.-W.F.	...	8,660	7,700
U.P.	...	11,970	12,890
C.P.	...	17,290	15,520
Bengal	...	1,375	2,562
Assam	...	6,256	4,339
Bihar	...	8,262	7,995
Orissa	...	...	11,600
Madras	...	3,914	5,674

One thing must be made clear before we consider this table. A fairly large number of girls usually attend the boys' schools and, therefore, we shall not be able to judge the adequacy of schools by means of this table. However, we can judge whether the expansion that took place in most of the provinces was commensurate with the rise of population. Judged by this standard, we see that the rise in the number of schools was proportionate in Bombay and Bihar, while in the Punjab, C.P., N.-W.F. and Assam it was accelerated. No comments need be made regarding Bengal and Madras as there was a decrease in the number of schools.

4. Pupils

Another point that we can consider is the rise and fall in the number of girls. Consider the following table:—

TABLE NO. XXIX

Province		Pupils in thousand 1931	1941	Rise Fall	Percentage
Bombay	...	169	230	96	56
Sind	...	...	35		
The Punjab	...	117	184	67	57
N.-W.F.	...	11	16	5	45
U.P.	...	91	143	52	57
C.P.	...	36	44	8	22
Bengal	...	435	430	5	1.1
Assam	...	24	49	25	104
Bihar	...	63	73	27	43
Orissa	...	...	17		
Madras	...	358	415	57	16
Total		1,304	1,636	332	25

The following inferences can be drawn by the study of this table:—

(1) There was a fall in the number of girls in Bengal. This was only by 1.1 per cent, which may be neglected. We can, therefore, say that the number of girls in the primary schools of Bengal almost remained stationary. This probably indicates the adverse effect on the number of girls due to the policy of elimination of girls' schools. Though the female population in Bengal increased from 24 millions to 28.5 millions, the number of girls in primary schools decreased by five thousand to 430 thousand.

(2) It is gratifying to note that such an effect was not observed in Madras, where also the policy of elimination of schools for girls was adopted. Still the percentage of increase in Madras was not as high as in some other provinces.

(3) In C.P. the rise in the number of girls is only by 22 per cent and on looking at the rise in the number of schools in that province we see that the rise in the number of girls was proportionate to that of the schools. The validity of this argument will be realised when we consider the case of Assam. Assam had the highest percentage increase in the number of schools in the whole of India and this had a corresponding effect on the number of girls which showed an increase of even slightly more than cent per cent.

(4) In Bombay, the Punjab, N.-W.F. and U.P., there was a considerable increase in the number of girls—nearly 50 per cent. It is noteworthy that in U.P. even though the rise in the number of schools was very small, the rise in the number of girls was pretty high.

5. Percentage of Female Population at School

Another method for finding the progress made by the various provinces, will be by considering the percentage of female population at school. This will also throw good light on the inadequacy of provision and the ground to be covered in future. The following table gives these percentages:—

TABLE NO. XXX

Province	Population in thousand		Pupils in thousand		Percentage of pupils to population	
Bombay	... 8,669	10,032	169	230	1.6	2.3
Sind	... 1,706	2,040	...	35	...	1.7
The Punjab	... 10,700	13,055	117	184	1.09	1.4
N.-W.F.	... 1,109	1,386	11	16	.99	1.15
U.P.	... 22,963	26,160	91	143	.4	.55
C.P.	... 7,651	8,383	36	44	.47	.52
Bengal	... 24,073	28,559	436	430	1.8	1.5
Assam	... 4,085	4,821	24	49	.59	1.1
Bihar	... 16,124	11,115	63	73	.31	.4
Orissa	... 4,180	4,510	...	17	...	.37
Madras	... 22,237	24,784	358	415	1.6	1.63

These discouraging figures bring into the limelight the magnitude of the problem of female education. It is distressing to see that the figures of percentage in no province even touch 1|5th of the percentage at 12½%. In many cases, they are far below even one per cent. However, it is gratifying to note that except in Bengal, there was an increase in the percentages even though it was very small. It is marked in Bombay and Assam. The percentage figures also indicate the rate of progress of female education to be very slow. In order to justify our statement, we give below some remarks from the reports of the Directors of Public Instruction in some of the provinces. For instance, the Punjab report for 1938 says, "The rate of expansion both in urban and rural areas is most disappointing. In places where, far from apathy there is a real desire of girls' schools, it cannot materialise because of the lack of resources."[4] The N.-W.F. report states, "More village primary schools should be opened as soon as funds are available. Requests for girls' schools come from every district and there is a waiting list of over 50 villages which are asking for schools."[5] It again says, "No money was available for the expansion of girls'

4. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1938-39, p. 85.
5. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1932-37, p. 99.

education and consequently no new girls' schools were opened from the Provincial Fund."[6] The Bengal Report admits that, "The actual progress is lamentably slow. For every two girls that come to school, five boys come to school."[7] It says further, in the same report, "If we consider the history of women's education there is reason to be disquieted at the haphazard manner in which it is developing. The truth is that it has not received sufficient attention; it has been regarded as secondary in importance, incidental and not vital."[8] The Assam report states, "That out of the budget of Rs. 33,99,800 only Rs. 3,21,765 are allotted for the education of women and girls of the province which shows a complete failure to realise the standard of literacy of women to the level of men."[9]

It is needless to multiply remarks of this type. They merely show that the present position of women's education is very low and that it is almost in the state of infancy.

6. Attitude of Parents

One of the greatest obstacles in the way of female education is the attitude of the parents towards the education of their daughters. They feel that the education of the boy is essential as it has an utilitarian value and will secure him a post in Government service. The same cannot be said about the daughter. They, therefore, feel that there is less need for their girls to be educated. Such parents regard the girls' school as a free creche and as soon as the girl becomes sufficiently old to work at home with the mother she is withdrawn from the school. But this attitude of the parents is slowly changing and they are gradually becoming more sympathetic towards female education. Such a tendency was noted during the decade and this was expressed in many reports of D.P.I's of the various provinces. The following quotation is given by way of an example:—

> "The encouraging feature is that the public opinion in regard to the girls' education has changed and in many places and among many communities indifference has been succeeded by appreciation. This is manifested by (i) a willingness to prolong the school life of girls, (ii) an active desire to raise the standard of education, and (iii) demand for additional schools".[10]

7. Difficulties in the way of Expansion

Apart from this attitude of parents, there are other social difficulties which come in the way of female education. The early marriage

6. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1937-38, p. 56.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1927-32, p. 67.
8. Ibid., p. 67.
10. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 67.

of girls is the main difficulty on the social side. The birth of a daughter is in many cases regarded as a misfortune and there is no tendency of the parents to postpone the marriage. The girls have no girlhood at all; they simply pass from childhood to marriage, all too suddenly. Under these conditions any real progress is impossible. However, there is a tendency in recent years, among advanced classes, to postpone the marriage till puberty. Parents now find better prospects in the marriage market for the educated girls and this has induced them to send their daughters to school.

Another difficulty is the purdah system which prevails among women and more prominently among the Muslims. The D.P.I's report of Bihar and Orissa states that, "The education of Muhammedan girls and women is still specially backward, owing to the purdah system and owing to the apparent lack of desire on the part of the guardians to educate their girls."[11] The D.P.I's report for Bengal says that, "The purdah system is slowly disappearing "[12] and the same kind of remarks are made in the U.P. report which says, "It is encouraging to note that the purdah objections have been set aside by the girls themselves ".[13]

8. Want of Women Teachers

But the greatest obstacle in the way of female education, is the want of a suitable number of trained women teachers. At present, in the absence of well trained women teachers, the teaching in girls' schools is mostly in the hands of male teachers. The proportion of male teachers is large particularly in rural areas. The conditions of service in rural areas are not attractive for trained women teachers who are brought up in towns. Such teachers are always unwilling to go to isolated villages and get separated from their friends and relatives. Again the conditions of service in the Local Board Schools are mostly unsatisfactory for women and until they are assured of stable conditions and more protection, the best of the teachers will avoid serving under Local Bodies.[14] Sometimes they are transferred for reasons other than educational. Those that accept service, do so because they cannot get work elsewhere. The scales of pay, in rural areas, are the same as elsewhere. Again it is difficult to get suitable women teachers for training as the number of girls in the middle schools who are willing to accept the teaching profession in later life, is very small. This is due to the "absence of middle schools for girls in villages and lack of rural training classes for intending candidates for school mistressship ".[15] Madras holds a unique position in this respect and the number

11. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1927-32, p. 82.
12. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1932-37, p. 90.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, 1932-37, p. 85.
14. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1937-38, p. 42.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1927-32, p. 152.

of women teachers is not at all low in girls' schools which can be seen from the statement in the D.P.I's report for 1931-32 which states: "In regard to the employment of men teachers in girls' schools, it is interesting to notice that in most districts the number of trained women teachers exceeded that of trained men teachers employed in girls' schools. Of the total of 14,541 teachers in girls' schools 9,064, i.e. 62 per cent were women and 5,477, i.e. 38 per cent were men."[16] To have a comparative view of the proportion of women teachers to girls' schools we give the following table which gives the ratio of female teachers to girls' schools:—

TABLE NO. XXI

Ratio of Female Teachers to girls' Schools

Province		1931–32	1940–41
Bombay	...	2.7	4.3
Sind	...	...	3.9
The Punjab	...	1.6	1.7
N.-W.F.	...	1.9	2.1
U.P.	...	1.08	1.2
C.P.	...	2.6	3.1
Bengal	...	0.3	0.5
Assam	...	0.87	0.99
Bihar	...	0.47	0.96
Orissa	...	...	0.58
Madras	...	2.1	4.1
British India	...	.98	1.65

This table gives an idea of the proportion of female teachers to schools in the various provinces at the beginning and the close of the decade. Comparatively we find a higher proportion in Bombay and Madras while it is least in Bengal. Another point that strikes us is that in every province, there was a definite increase in this proportion during the decade and for British India, the proportion went up from .98 to 1.65.

In the absence of the female teachers, the teaching in girls' schools is in the hands of specially drifted aged male teachers, who are generally unfit to teach in schools. There was a very large proportion of such teachers in the various provinces and an expression to this is given in the various D.P.I's reports. For instance, the D.P.I's report of the Central Provinces states that, "a very large number of men are

16. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 93.

employed as teachers in schools for girls and that the number of men teachers in Urdu Schools is excessively large ".[17] The Bombay D.P.I. also complains that, " there are a large number of girls' schools and classes that are still in the hands of the male teachers." This is due to the fact that some Local Bodies seem to prefer to appoint a male teacher having passed P.S.L.C. Examination in the vacancies of girls' schools, when women are available; as a result of this, Local Authorities do not depute enough women teachers who have passed the P.S.L.C. Examination as candidates to women's training college on the ground that their percentage of trained to untrained women teachers is sufficiently high."[18]

But there was a declining tendency in this attitude of the Local Bodies and they have begun to take a more sympathetic view of the problem.

The lack of women teachers in the primary schools had largely affected the teaching in these schools and was reported to be less efficient than that in the boys' schools. An expression of this view was given in many annual reports of the D.P.I's of the various provinces. A Bombay Report states that, " Generally speaking the teaching in the girls' schools is inefficient than that in the boys' schools and this will continue until the profession can attract better type of women ".[19] The Punjab report observes that, " The village schools are slow to take up new methods. It is difficult to make them realise that the teaching of younger children should be in the hands of the most efficient rather than the worst teachers ".[20] The Bengal report remarks: " The girls' primary schools in Bengal are even more inefficient, incredible as it may seem than the boys' schools. Their number is large but this number is no indication of their usefulness and by every test of efficiency they fail miserably."[21]

9. Methods for securing more Women teachers

We have so far seen that the great difficulty in the way of the progress of female education was the want of suitable trained women teachers. We must, therefore, explore the different methods that need be adopted in securing their proper number. In the following table is given the number of training institutions for women and the number of girls under training:—

17. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 81.
18. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1932-37, p. 177.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 171.
20. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1927-32, p. 60.
21. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1927-32, p. 72.

TABLE NO. XXXII

Province	Institutions 1931	Institutions 1941	Rise + Fall —	Pupils 1931	Pupils 1941	Rise + Fall —
Bombay ...	21	24	+ 8	803	1,598	+1,026
Sind ...		5				
The Punjab ...	18	31	+13	853	768	— 85
N.-W.F. ...	1	1		48	55	+ 7
U.P. ...	45	65	+20	412	865	+ 453
C.P. ...	8	7	— 1	337	210	— 127
Bengal ...	10	13	+ 3	234	321	+ 87
Assam ...	2	2		22	59	+ 37
Bihar ...	11	11	+ 3	249	303	+ 113
Orissa ...		3			59	
Madras ...	64	68	+ 4	3,232	4,2224	+ 992
British India ...	180	230	+50	6,190	8,693	+2,503

We do see from the above table that in most of the provinces, the total number of training institutions has increased and in those provinces where no increase has taken place the number of training institutions has at least remained stationary. For the whole of British India, the total number of institutions has increased by 27.7 per cent.

As regards the output of trained teachers except for the Punjab and C.P., it had increased. This increase was marked in Bombay, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and Madras.

The real difficulty of trained women teachers, is felt in rural areas, where the number of girls in the middle vernacular schools is small. A small number of girls, among those who have a desire to undergo training, cannot do so, as the institutions are scarce in rural areas. To improve these matters we must provide for adequate facilities for training in these areas.

In areas where co-education is not popular, it is desirable to entrust the school to a teacher whose wife is also capable of teaching in the school. Such an experiment was tried in the Punjab where two training classes were started for the training of wives of schoolmasters. They were trained to teach all subjects of the first two standards and the needle-work of the upper classes. The presence of these women teachers in the primary schools for boys, in which their husbands teach, will increase the confidence of parents so that they will be willing to send their daughters to school. But it is always difficult to find a husband and wife both capable of teaching in schools. Again the wife

has to attend to domestic duties. Under these conditions it is difficult to expect the wife to have sufficient time and energy to do efficient work in the school.

The vast number of widows among the Hindus can easily be trained to work in a school. But this can only be done if the community treats them with greater sympathy than at present.

In areas where female teachers are not available at all, teachers from outside should be recruited. This is possible only if they get a higher pay and the conditions of service are secure. Such teachers must be given sufficient protection and should be provided with a suitable house.

10. Co-education

The problem of female education can easily be solved and a large amount of economy can be made in education, if we abolish separate schools for girls and have common schools for boys and girls. The greatest difficulties in the spread of female education are the lack of proper provision of buildings, equipment and staff. These difficulties are more prominent in rural areas. It is not possible to provide separate schools for boys and girls in most of our villages and, therefore, the only alternatives left for the girls are, no education or co-education.

Co-education provides for healthy competition and leads to corporate life in the primary schools. If these schools are in the hands of female teachers, they create more confidence both among boys and girls. Again, women teachers are more patient than men. As we have already seen, there is a great dearth of such teachers, not only in the boys' schools, but also in the girls' schools and if co-education is made extensive, the services of female teachers can be made available to these mixed schools.

The only precaution that must be taken is that we must provide special separate sanitary arrangements for girls. Also there must be adequate special arrangements for physical education and for subjects like sewing and domestic science.

11. Progress of Co-education

After having considered the need and the desirability of co-education, we will consider the progress made during the last decade. The following table gives the percentage of girls under instruction in schools for boys during the decade:—

TABLE NO. XXXIII

Province		Percentage of Girls under instruction in Boys' Schools 1931	1941
Bombay	...	36.4	46.5
Sind	...	...	31.3
The Punjab	...	10	10.2
N.-W.F.	...	0.43	0.8
U.P.	...	38.5	39.4
C.P.	...	41.8	50
Bengal	...	15.9	44.0
Assam	...	53.8	53.7
Bihar	...	44.2	47.4
Orissa	...	...	73.8
Madras	...	50.5	60.9

The following points can be noticed from the study of the above table:

(1) In all provinces, there was an increase in the percentage which shows that it was comparatively more extensive, by the close of the decade, than at the beginning.

(2) In Bombay, C.P.; Bihar, Orissa and Madras, the percentage figures were comparatively high, which means that co-education was more popular in these provinces than in others. An expression of this tendency can be seen in the D.P.I's reports of these provinces. For example, the Bombay report for 1936-37 states that, "there is a large number of girls attending boys' schools. The majority of these will be found to be studying in the infant class and the first four standards of the primary schools where co-education is generally recognised to be good."[22] The Central Provinces reports observe, "The prejudice against co-education at the lower stages is fast disappearing and co-education is hardly presenting any serious administrative difficulties. The present tendency will enable the future to make up the time lost in the past, with comparatively less expense."[23] The Assam D.P.I. remarks that, "Figures for enrolment show that co-education is growing in popularity particularly in regard to primary and middle schools."[24] It is also stated in the Madras Report that, "It is interesting to notice, that the number of girls in the boys' schools has been higher than the number of girls in girls' schools and this has increased from year to year."[25]

22. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1936-37, p. 177.
23. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1937-38, p. 38.
24. *D.P.I's Report*, Assam, 1932-33, p. 28.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 92.

(3) Even in the United Provinces, the percentage of girls in the boys' schools is good, though it is not so high as in Assam or Madras. Out of every 5 girls in U.P., two are reading in the boys' schools. In order to make co-education more extensive in the United Provinces, the rule which restricted the girls beyond 10 years of age from reading in boys' schools, was removed from the educational code.[26]

(4) The Punjab and the N.-W.F. Provinces were the only two provinces in which co-education was not popular and we may go further and say that the low percentage in N.-W.F. indicates that it is practically non-existent. The D.P.I's report says, "Co-education is not generally favoured though it exists to a small degree in villages having no girls' schools at all." The Punjab D.P.I. says that, "Co-education is not popular in Rawalpindi circle owing to the preponderance of Muslims who are in most places not prepared for it even in the primary stage. Co-education is practically non-existent in Multan circle, as local opinion is definitely opposed to it. The position of Lahore and Ambala circles is, however, much more encouraging."[27] We may, therefore, conclude that in the North-West part of India co-education is not popular at all.

CHAPTER XII

Education of the Depressed Classes

In the preceding chapters we have studied the provision made for primary education in general for all the classes and communities as a whole. Now in this chapter and in one that follows we propose to study special provision of the education of the special communities. This chapter, in particular, deals with the education of the depressed classes and in the succeeding chapter we will study the educational facilities provided for the Muslims.

In our study of primary education among the depressed classes, we have excluded N.-W.F. Province, Bengal and Assam from our considerations for the following reasons. As is reported in the N.-W.F. Province report the education of the untouchables is not an important problem in the province and no special provision appears to be necessary.[1] In Bengal, the depressed class pupils have not been classified separately and have been grouped with the other backward classes. As the classification of the "Backward Classes" in that province changed more than once during the decade the figures are of doubtful

26. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 84.
27. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1938-39, pp. 83-84.
1. *D.P.I's Report*, N.-W.F., 1927-32, p. 89.

value for comparative purposes.[2] In Assam, due to the large population of aboriginals, it is not possible to isolate and classify the depressed classes separately.[3] We, therefore, propose to study the education of the depressed classes in the provinces other than the three mentioned above.

Provision of Facilities

The social disabilities imposed on the depressed classes and supported by tradition and religious sanction have necessitated the starting of special schools for them. In recent years great efforts were made for the removal of social distinction between the different communities and this had reflected on the provision of schools for these classes.

In Bombay, in 1931, there were 567 Special Schools, which were attended by 21,126 pupils.[4] But in 1941, the number of schools went down to 251 and the number of pupils to 11,596.[5] The decrease in the number of schools and pupils attending them is a welcome sign; for there were 45,561 pupils belonging to the depressed classes who attended the ordinary schools, at the beginning of the decade,[6] while by the close of the decade, the number shot up to 1,00,597.[7] Thus, it will be clear from these figures that a large number of pupils belonging to the depressed classes were attending the ordinary schools and the number of special schools for these classes was continuously waning. The decrease in the number was due to the policy of closure of Special Schools and amalgamating them with the ordinary schools, so that the pupils belonging to the depressed classes could attend and receive instruction in ordinary schools with boys belonging to the advanced classes. Only in such places where schools were held in temples, that the pupils of the depressed classes were not generally allowed to attend these schools on grounds of sanctity of the temple.[8] It is only under such special circumstances that the special schools were allowed to continue.

In Sind, there were 11 Special Schools which were attended by 632[9] pupils in 1931, and in 1940 the number of schools went up to 14 and the pupils in them to 772.[10]

In the Punjab, the 'segregate' schools were practically abolished and there is no special mention of these schools in the educational

2. *Progress of Education in India*, 1932-37, p. 248.
3. Ibid., p. 248.
4. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 221.
5. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 73.
6. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 221.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 73.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 220.
9. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 132.
10. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1939-40, p. 98.

reports. On the other hand it states that, "The obstacles of social bigotry and religious prejudice are almost extinct. Untouchability so far as schools are concerned, is a matter of the past now." [11]

In U.P.; there was a definite tendency to have separate schools for the depressed classes and this could be seen from the rise in the number of schools and pupils that attended them. In 1931, there were 757 separate schools with 17,888 pupils attending them.[12] In 1941, the number of schools went up to 801 and that of the scholars attending them to 23,668 [13] In addition to these schools, special night schools were also opened in areas which were occupied by these classes. There were 31 such classes in 1931, and these schools received grant-in-aid from the provincial revenue directly.

In C.P., there were 30 special schools which were attended by 1,893 pupils. Even though it is reported that the policy of Government was to discourage opening of schools specially meant for the depressed classes and to encourage their enrolment in ordinary schools,[14] we do see a small rise in the number of such schools. According to the latest figures that are available for the decade, there were 35 special schools in 1939-40.[15] This means that there is still a tendency among these classes to attend the segregate schools.

In Bihar, in 1931, there were more pupils in the ordinary schools than the special types of schools.[16] But due to the Harijan movement there was a tendency to have more separate schools and this is noticed in the rise in the number of special schools in the later period of the decade. There were 187 special schools in 1936-37 but in 1938-39 the figure went up to 207.[17]

In Orissa, where class prejudice was very strong, there were 505 schools mainly intended for these classes in 1936-37.[18] However, it is gratifying to note that due to the gradual weakening of the prejudice against the depressed classes, the number of Special Schools went down to 271 in 1941.[19] Another reason for the fall in the number of schools was that it was due to the classification and amalgamation of some of these schools with other schools, attended by higher castes.[20]

In Madras, the policy of maintaining separate schools for the depressed classes remained unchanged. In 1931, there were 1,176

11. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1935-36, p. 25.
12. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 85.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1940-41, p. 34.
14. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1927-32, p. 100.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1939-40, p. 41.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1927-32, p. 93.
17. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar, 1938-39, p. 63.
18. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1936-37, p. 111.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1940-41, p. 64.
20. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1939-40, pp. 55-56.

schools attended by 35,660 pupils[21] and in 1941 the number of schools decreased by 22 to 1,154 while that of the scholars rose to 52,077.[22]

From the foregoing discussion it will be clear that in Bombay and Orissa, there was a decrease in the number of pupils attending special schools but for the other provinces, there was an increase. Thus on the whole, there was a tendency among the depressed class pupils to attend the separate schools.

Attitude of Advanced Classes towards the Depressed Classes

Though there was a strong prejudice against the depressed classes, before the period of our study, we do not very much observe the same during the decade. It was not an uncommon sight to observe a depressed class pupil sitting outside the classroom or in the corner in the previous decade. But this practice was not in vogue during the decade under study and such cases were quite rare. This is due to the gradual waning of the prejudice against the depressed classes. The Harijan Movement of Mahatma Gandhi had brought the change of attitude among the advanced classes. In Bombay, untouchability was fast disappearing and the fall in the segregate schools is a clear indication of that. In Sind, the Sindhi Hindus are not very keen on the matter of untouchability,[23] and the position of the depressed classes was quite tolerable. The same can be said about the Central Provinces. But in these two provinces, there were some districts, which were the strongholds of the orthodox Hindus, and in such places in order to accelerate the pace of education among the depressed classes, the segregate schools became a necessity. In Sind, the Government had ordered that no pupil belonging to the depressed classes should be refused admission to the ordinary schools on account of his belonging to the depressed classes.[24] In Bihar and Orissa, the social disabilities imposed on the depressed classes are fast disappearing and this is due to the liberal policy of the Government towards these classes and also due to the Harijan Movement of Mahatma Gandhi, which had caught the imagination of the public. In U.P., there was no opposition to the education of the depressed classes on social or religious grounds. But strangely enough, there was some opposition to the education of these classes, from the zamindars and landlords.[25] They feared that if these classes took up to education, they would not be available as labourers in the field and, therefore, labour would become very scarce. Even the Local Boards did not have a very sympathetic attitude towards

21. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-31, p. 132.
22. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1940-41, p. 20.
23. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 131.
24. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1938-39, p. 93.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 85.

the teachers belonging to these classes.[26] As a matter of fact in order to encourage education among the depressed classes, it was quite essential to appoint as many teachers as were available. But the majority of School Boards and Municipalities did not appoint them; not because there was a dearth of teachers, but it was only because of the apathetic attitude towards these classes.

But, on the whole, one can very easily say that there was definite improvement in the attitude of the advanced Hindus towards the depressed classes.

Special Measures for the Spread of Education

After having considered what kind of attitude was taken by the advanced Hindus towards those classes, we must consider the special measures that were adopted for the spread of education among them.

In Bombay, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee appointed to inquire into the educational, social and economic conditions of the depressed classes, the Government appointed a Special Backward Class Officer to guard and watch the interests of the backward classes.[27] In addition to this, a Backward Class Board was also appointed. It consisted of all the backward class members of the Legislative Council, three non-backward class members from the Council who had a special interest in and knowledge of the conditions of the backward classes. The Board had the right to co-opt more members. It is a consultative and advisory board to help the Government.[28]

In the matter of daily working, the Local Boards were specially instructed to give help in the form of Scholarships or in the form of free grant of school-material like slates, books, etc. to the depressed classes.[29] The Government also took a very firm attitude regarding the admission of these children, in the ordinary schools and in places where there was some opposition to the admission in the ordinary schools, the Government threatened to close them.[30] This had a very wholesome effect in the attitude of the advanced classes.

In Sind, the Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh, Karachi, looks after the interests of the depressed classes. It also runs its own school, and in 1936-37 there were 29 schools under their management. Out of these schools 13 were day schools and 16 night schools. It spends about Rs. 6,000 per year on these schools from its funds and about Rs. 2,000 are distributed in the form of scholarships.[31] The Sangh is doing very good work towards the education of the depressed classes.

26. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 112.
27. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 219.
28. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 219.
29. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 73.
30. Ibid., p. 73.
31. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 132.

In Karachi, there was a complaint that the pupils belonging to the depressed classes were not properly taken care of in the corporation schools. To redress this grievance an Attendance Supervisor was appointed to look into the attendance of these pupils and to impress upon them the advantages of education.[32]

In U.P., the education of the depressed classes received special attention. In 1933-34, seventy-five thousand rupees were sanctioned for building schools, for the depressed classes.[33] 3,208 vernacular primary scholarships, of value between 6 to 8 annas per month, were also distributed among the pupils and the total expenditure thus incurred was Rs. 15,890.[34]

In addition to these usual facilities, a special officer of the status of the Education Inspector was appointed in 1934-35, to investigate and report on the conditions of the depressed classes and to suggest means by which education among the depressed classes could be advanced more suitably and economically.[35]

Another important measure adopted by the Government was the appointment of the Provincial Advisory Committee for advising the Government in matters connected with the education of the depressed classes.[36] In addition to this Committee, 49 Committees—one in each district—were appointed to arouse interest among the depressed classes. These Committees were given a special grant for the clerical staff and other contingent expenses. These committees were very active in the beginning only, for later on they remained completely dormant.[37]

In addition to these Committees a Special Supervisor was attached to each District Board and Municipality to supervise the special schools opened for these classes and to persuade the parents to send their children to these schools. The supervisor was expected to visit the village in the district and to carry on propaganda among the depressed classes.[38] There were 77 such supervisors in 1940-41,[39] out of whom 48 were in the Government service and 29 in the service of the District Boards.

All these measures were very useful in creating proper atmosphere and there was no difficulty in finding a place for the depressed class boys in the ordinary schools.

32. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1939-40, p. 99.
33. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 111.
34. Ibid., p. 114.
35. Ibid., p. 113.
36. Ibid., p. 115.
37. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 115.
38. Ibid., p. 115.
39. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1940-41, p. 35.

In C.P., the special schools meant for the depressed classes were given grant-in-aid to the extent of two-thirds of the approved expenditure.

To give an incentive to teachers to coach pupils from the depressed classes some bonus was annually distributed among the primary school teachers for enabling the depressed class pupils to pass the Vernacular Final Examination. In 1931-32 Rs. 5,609 were distributed as bonus. This system was later on abandoned due to financial stringency.

The education of the depressed classes received special attention when the Congress Ministers came into power. In the year 1938, Rs. 5,700 were given to the Committees appointed by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. This money was distributed among 19 districts at the rate of Rs. 300 per each district. An equal amount was also given for the distribution of books and material to the pupils reading in primary schools. In order to open 50 new primary schools a grant of Rs. 12,000 was also made. In order to carry on propaganda work, three propagandists were appointed, on a salary of Rs. 30 per month.[40]

In Bihar, in 1933, the Primary Education Committee made the following recommendations to Government regarding the education of the depressed classes.[41] They were:—

(1) Such schools as receive aid from local bodies, should be removed from temples and private houses, if they refuse admission to the pupils belonging to the depressed classes and should be shifted to such places which have access to them.

(2) Equal facilities should be given to the boys belonging to these classes in the classroom and they should be seated either in front of the teacher or the blackboard.

(3) In areas where the population of the depressed classes is considerable, special facilities should be provided by opening special schools for these classes, but such schools should only be regarded as a temporary measure. The general policy should be that these pupils should be freely admitted to the ordinary schools along with the pupils of the advanced classes.

(4) Local Bodies should be asked to make arrangements in their budgets, for the payment of compensation for fees to ordinary teachers for pupils belonging to the depressed classes. They should also make provision for free supply of reading and writing material.

(5) Scholarships should be given to pupils belonging to these classes.

40. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P.; 1938-39, p. 49.
41. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1933-34, p. 35.

When the Congress Ministers came into power in Bihar, they spent large sums of money on capitation allowance, books and material. The total amount spent for the benefit of these classes was Rs. 29,540 in 1938 and Rs. 44,450 in 1939.[42]

In North Orissa, there were two special inspecting officers for inspecting the special schools.[43] But in addition to this work, they had to carry out propaganda work among them. There was no such provision in South Orissa, and the work was entrusted to ordinary inspecting staff.

In order to encourage education among these classes the Government, besides the usual grant-in-aid, made a special provision of Rs. 5,000 in the year 1938.[44]

In Madras, the Commissioner for labour in charge of the department of depressed class and the labour department looked after the uplift and education of the depressed classes. To mention chief activities of the Labour Department, (1) opening of separate schools, (2) payment of scholarships, and (3) granting aid to bodies engaged in the uplift of the depressed classes.[45]

A policy of granting loin cloth to most needy pupils was adopted as an experimental measure but later on it was given up due to financial stringency.[46]

During the years 1940-41, the Government gave mid-day meals to 8 schools selected from four districts, particularly in poor areas. The money required for this purpose was secured by closing inefficient single teacher schools. The idea behind the proposal was to provide better facilities for some than poorer facilities to a larger number. It was hoped that this would ensure better attendance in many classes and would produce lasting literacy among them.[47] It is reported, "As a measure of this the strength of the school especially in the first standard increased considerably and that there was regularity in attendance and pupils looked cheerful and interested in their work."[48]

Extent of Spread of Education

After having considered the provision of facilities and the special measures that were adopted for the spread of education among the depressed classes, we shall now consider what was the net outcome of these measures. The increase in the number of pupils during the

42. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar, 1938-39, p. 64.
43. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1932-37, p. 42.
44. *D.P.I's Report*, Orissa, 1937-38, p. 40.
45. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, p. 181.
46. Ibid., p. 132.
47. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1940-41, pp. 20-21.
48. Ibid., p. 21.

decade is quantitative measure of progress. The following table gives the total pupils of the depressed classes in the primary stage in the provinces at the beginning and at the close of the decade.

TABLE NO. XXXIV

Province	Pupils in thousand 1931	1941	Rise Fall	Percentage increase or decrease
Bombay ...	123	216	97	78.8
Sind ...	...	4		
The Punjab ...	30	26	4	13.2
U.P. ...	116	167	51	43.9
C.P. ...	43	51	8	18.3
Bihar ...	25	67	83	332
Orissa ...	...	41		
Madras ...	302	317	15	4.1

It is quite clear from these figures that there was a decrease in the enrolment of pupils in the Punjab. Among the provinces that we have considered, the Punjab was the only province which did not provide special schools for the depressed classes and the effect of this is seen in the reduction of the enrolment of pupils. It will not, therefore, be wrong to conclude that the special schools have as yet a place in our education system and they cannot be done away with. The greatest increase in the enrolment is found in Bihar and Orissa, where the number has become more than triple. In Bombay, though the number had not increased to the extent of Bihar, the increase is considerable. In the United Provinces also the figure has increased by 44%.' It means, therefore, that much ameliorative work has got to be done in C.P., Madras and the Punjab.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION OF THE MUSLIMS

The problem of minorities has become one of the many obstacles in the way of progress in India. Muslims form the biggest minority in India. Their population is not uniformly distributed throughout the whole of India. In some provinces they are in majority, while in others they are in a small minority. Thus the Muslims are in majority in the Punjab, N.-W.F. Province, Bengal and Sind, while in the remaining provinces they are in a minority.

During the recent years there have been great differences in the political ideals of the Hindus and Muslims in India. This has

developed a spirit of antagonism between the two communities. As a result of this, the Muslims generally complain that they do not receive adequate facilities in provinces where they are in a minority.

In minority provinces, where the Muslim population is scattered, it becomes very difficult to provide separate schools for them. But such separate schools are essential as the community attaches great importance to religious instruction. In places where no provision is made for religious instruction, pupils prefer to join the special schools which are religious in character and where the teaching of the Koran in Arabic is given a predominant importance.

Apart from religious instruction, another important obstacle in the way of progress of the Muslims in India, is the general poverty of the whole community, which has resulted in a lack of aptitude towards the public system of education.

Report of the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee

As we have mentioned in the second chapter the problem of Muslim Education was carefully studied by a committee known as the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee. The main findings of the committee regarding Primary Education are given below:—

"The heads of Muslim Schools in Bombay Presidency are generally non-Muslims and the provision for the Urdu teachers in the Municipal Primary Schools is inefficient. The text-books are unsatisfactory and a number of teachers in the Municipal Urdu Schools cannot write the Urdu script. They write the Gujarati script."[1] In the Punjab, "Text-books written by non-Muslim writers mostly contain highly objectionable matters about the great men in Islam. Muslim girls in Government and Board Schools in Rawalpindi have to join Prarthana."[2] "Primary Education in U.P. is mostly conducted by the local bodies wherein Muslim representation is very meagre. In some villages Muslim students are asked to give up Urdu and the teachers of the primary schools are forced to learn Hindi instead of Urdu. Persistent efforts were made by the Congress Ministry and the local Hindi Organisations to crush Urdu out of existence from these parts of India. Urdu text-books are not generally selected in U.P. unless their Hindi version is submitted with the original text-books. The Urdu language is being debased through newspapers, radio and text-books. Since the recent reorganisation of primary and secondary education in U.P., the language and cultural books taught are in many cases detrimental to Urdu and Islamic mentality."[3] In Bengal, "the present system of education in

1. *Report of the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee*, p. 213.
2. Ibid., pp. 191-92.
3. Ibid., pp. 187-89.

all its stages is detrimental to Islamic culture and traditions. In view of the de-mussalmanising tendency among the Muslim pupils it is essential to maintain Muslim primary schools and mahtabs where the rituals and broad outlines of the essentials of Islam should be taught."[4] In Bihar, "the control of the Middle and Primary Schools is in the hands of local bodies not always very sympathetic to the Muslims."[5] In Orissa, "Muslim primary schools are closed every year on the ground of inefficiency, while Oriya medium was enforced by the Congress Government in schools under their control. There is only one school in the province started and managed by Muslims but the number of non-Muslims on the roll is greater than the Muslim students and the teachers are mostly non-Muslims."[6] In Madras, "during the last few years a number of Muslim elementary schools stopped working and the Muslim schools, lying in outlying areas were abolished in pursuance of the policy to concentrate on schools, but no provision was made for the Urdu speaking students of the abolished schools."[7]

The Committee was also opposed to the Wardha Scheme and the Vidya Mandir Scheme. The Vidya Mandir Scheme was opposed on the grounds that, "the scheme did not take any note of the special Muslim needs or the facilities available to Muslims in the existing Muslim schools. The name gave a communal and sectarian outlook to the whole scheme and the Government was not prepared to make even the slightest change in the name of the scheme or the basic principles of the scheme."[8]

The Wardha Scheme was opposed on many grounds. To mention some points of criticism:

(1) There is no provision for religious education and training in the Wardha Scheme.

(2) The Wardha Scheme provided the teaching of Hindustani as a common language all over India. But the new Hindustani readers were in fact something more than what the Hindustani had so long been meant and understood and these readers were forced upon Urdu speaking children and the Muslims."[9]

(3) Wardha schools were planned as national schools and as such the Indian National movement was to be an integral part of teaching in these schools. The followers of Wardha Scheme took this as an opportunity to preach the Congress cult and to introduce the Gandhi Cap in schools.[10]

4. *Report of the Kamal Yar Jung Committee*, pp. 203-204.
5. Ibid., p. 202.
6. Ibid., p. 209.
7. Ibid., p. 211.
8. Ibid., pp. 117-119.
9. Ibid., p. 290.
10. Ibid., p. 291.

The method and the manner in which the scheme was rushed through and even forced in some of the provinces created a genuine feeling of suspicion throughout Muslim India.

Advance in Primary Education

After having studied the findings of the report, let us consider the advance made in primary education by the community in the light of this report. The following table gives the percentage of Muslim population in the primary school at the beginning and the close of the decade. We have also tabulated same kind of percentages for all the communities, for the sake of comparison:

TABLE NO. XXXV

Percentage of Population in Primary Schools

Province	Muslims		All communities	
	1931	1941	1931	1941
Bombay ...	4.8	11.4	5.2	7.9
Sind ...	...	3.2	...	4.2
The Punjab ...	3.4	2.15	4.0	3.4
N.-W.F. ...	1.76	2.36	2.7	2.8
U.P. ...	3.06	2.88	2.7	2.2
C.P. ...	6.0	5.4	2.7	2.9
Bengal ...	4.5	5.2	4.2	5.5
Assam ...	3.06	3.8	3.5	4.3
Bihar ...	3.25	3.28	2.2	2.6
Orissa ...	...	4.8	...	3.4
Madras ...	8 3	8.6	6.0	6.1
British India ...	4.17	4.38	3.8	5.2

The following points should be noted from the study of the above table:—

(1) In Bombay, U.P. and Madras, the percentage of the Muslim population in the primary schools is greater than the percentage for all the communities.

(2) In Bombay, this percentage was slightly less in the beginning but increased considerably during the decade. The reverse was the case in Bengal where the percentage was slightly less than that for all the communities, although it showed an increase over the corresponding figure for 1931.

(3) In the Punjab, Bengal and Sind, the Muslim percentage was smaller than the percentage for the other communities and particularly in the Punjab the percentage went down during the decade. "Poverty and backwardness are the chief causes for the slow progress in education of Muslims in the Punjab."[11]

11. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1940-41, p. 76.

Thus in provinces where the Muslims are in a majority, the percentage of Muslim pupils at schools is less than the general percentage; but in provinces where they are in a minority, the percentage is higher than the general percentage. This leads us to conclude that the general complaint that adequate facilities are not provided for the education of Muslims in the minority provinces and is unfounded, so far as primary education is concerned.

Special Facilities

We now turn our attention to the study of the special facilities provided for their education in the various provinces under study:—

In Bombay there are two alternative courses of study: (1) Urdu-Vernacular Course in which the medium of instruction is Urdu with the local vernacular as the optional subject; and (2) Vernacular-Urdu Course—in which the medium of instruction is the local vernacular with Urdu as the compulsory language.[12]

Out of these two courses, the Urdu-Vernacular course is more popular. "There has been a great development in the use of Urdu by the Muslim community. The development has been purposive and is a symptom of the strengthening of the Islamic spirit throughout the community. It is a fact that Urdu is popular, a popularity which can be considerably enhanced by the fact that it is written in Arabic script. In so far as Urdu is preferred as the medium of instruction the choice is largely due to the unsuitability of vernacular text-books. Not only the ideas that they contain are frequently such as do not appear to the Muslims, but the language, it must be confessed, of the Vernacular Readers abounds in words of Sanskritic origin not in every-day use."[13] The Urdu-Vernacular course is also popular as it avoids the necessity of learning two languages. The study of two languages in the primary classes is really a great burden to the small children. This course is more popular in cities where the people are comparatively more educated. But in rural areas and especially in Gujarat, the Vernacular-Urdu course is more popular among the parents for reasons of utility.[14]

In spite of these two courses, there was also a great desire among the Muslims to have separate schools with Urdu as the medium of instruction, and with provision of religious education. This can be seen from the fact that there were 86 Maktabs with 4,397 pupils at the beginning of the decade,[15] but by the end of the decade the number of Maktabs went down to 62 and the number of pupils went up to 5,075.[16]

12. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 196.
13. Ibid., p. 198.
14. Ibid., p. 198.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 280.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 150.

The problem of Muslim education is more peculiar in Sind, though Muslims form 3|4th of the total population, most of them are in rural areas and are engaged in agriculture. They are engaged as farm hands and labourers. The Zamindars are indifferent towards the peasants. The peasants do not take full advantage of the facilities provided by the Local Boards. They continued to send their pupils to the Mullas' Schools. This being the tendency among the peasants, these schools were given grant-in-aid by Government and were asked to adopt the local board curriculum, as far as possible.

Mullas' schools were more or less religious institutions meant for the teaching of the Koran. But by the introduction of the change of curriculum in them, they are serving a very useful purpose in Sind. They are more economic than the local board schools. There were 775 Mulla Schools for boys with 27,500 pupils at the beginning of the decade,[17] and their number went up by the close of the decade to 817 schools with 32,440 pupils.[18] Again, there were 131 Mulla Schools for girls with 4,396 girls in them.[19] By the close of the decade the number rose to 154 and the number of girls in them to 5,408.[20]

There are other facilities for the spread of education among Muslims, in Sind. There were 835 scholarships ranging from rupee one to rupees three.[21] In order to attract more boys in the local board schools Koran classes are attached to the local board schools. In order to train more teachers 75 per cent seats are reserved in the Training College.[22]

In the Punjab, in order to attract more Muslims in the primary schools, the teaching of the Koran was introduced, out of school hours. This naturally appeals to their sentiment. Secondly, more coercive measures were adopted, where compulsion was already introduced. Thirdly, the curriculum was simplified and its utility has been increased by introducing the study of village documents and Indian accounts. Finally, the civil officers were requested to help the educational authorities whenever necessary. These methods were adopted by the close of the decade, as it was found that the percentage of Muslim population in the Punjab was going down.

In the United Provinces, the special agencies that are at work for the education of the Muslims are: (1) the Islamic Schools, and (2) Maktabs—aided and unaided.

In the Islamic schools, the usual curriculum less Hindi is taught and religious instruction is given outside the school time. "The

17. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 280.
18. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1939-40, Appendix III.
19. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 280.
20. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1939-40, Appendix III.
21. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 106.
22. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 122.

standard of teaching in the Islamic schools is the same as the primary schools" and are generally well equipped. There were 679 such schools with 30,618 pupils.[24] The number of the schools decreased to 599 and the pupils in them to 29,888 by the close of the decade.[25]

There were 1,411 aided Maktabs with 53,070 pupils, at the beginning of the decade and their number rose to 1,759 with 71,353 pupils by the close of the decade. Most of the Maktabs are housed in borrowed houses or in the rooms or a verandah attached to the mosque. "The weak point about the Maktabs, is that the parents do not care about the secular qualifications of the teachers but their standing in religious learning. The course prepared by the Provincial Muslim Education Committee, U.P., is generally not followed in them."[26]

There were 1,359 unaided Maktabs with 23,853 pupils and their number went up to 1,380 with 26,714 pupils by the close of the decade. The unaided Maktabs are fugitive institutions. For example, in 1931, there were 300 Maktabs with only 363 scholars in them.

There are Muslim Education Committees in each district and they are expected to help the District Boards in matters of the Islamic Schools and the Maktabs. These committees were more or less silent and have done very little for the spread of Muslim education.

In the Central Provinces, where the Muslims form a very small minority, they are more advanced than the other classes. In spite of this, there was considerable agitation carried on by the Muslim leaders against the Congress Government. "The main burden of their criticism was that Government neglected the Muslim interests and encroached upon Islamic culture. Their grievance was related to the Vidya Mandir scheme which aims at the liquidation of mass illiteracy, with public help."[27] A conference of the Muslim members of the Provincial Legislatures was held, at the instance of the Prime Minister, who explained to them that they can use any other name for the Vidya Mandir Schools, founded out of the Muslim donations.

Muslims need not have any grievance in C.P. at least, where it is reported that "in certain villages in Berar, Urdu Primary Schools have been opened, though the enrolment may not strictly justify the opening of separate primary schools." [28]

In Bengal, the Maktabs were very popular with the Muslims, as they imparted both general as well as religious instruction. There were 25,831 Maktabs with 8,59,533 pupils. In 1939 the number of

24. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1927-32, p. 83.
25. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1940-41, p. 32.
26. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1932-37, p. 106.
27. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1937-38, p. 44.
28. Ibid., p. 50.

Maktabs went down to 20,200 but this was due to the elimination and amalgamation of weak and inefficient schools. The number of pupils however went up to 9,92,489."[29] With the introduction of the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930, the policy of the Government was to abolish the distinction between the Maktabs and the ordinary primary schools. This was possible with the introduction of the new primary syllabus in 1940, which made provision for religious instruction, and the distinction between the primary schools and the Maktabs ceased to exist and they were classed as ordinary primary schools.[30]

In Assam, a Muslim Educational Conference was held in July 1930 and it recommended that the Islamic course should be introduced in the special Muslim schools. An order was passed by the D.P.I. in 1931 to give effect to these recommendations. There were 586 such Islamic schools at the beginning of the decade and their number went up to 1,204 by the close.

In Bihar, there were 3,347 Maktabs in 1931 and their number went down to 2,874 in 1936. The fall in the number was due to the general fall in all types of schools. The Maulvis are in charge of these schools. These Maulvis, though they are capable of imparting religious instruction, are not so in the teaching of full primary course. Even in case of religious instruction the following remarks will be significant. "The inspectors complain of the inefficiency of the Maktabs, even in religious instruction which is given in them as unsatisfactory."[31]

In Orissa, there were 207 Maktabs with 6,532 pupils in 1936. The total number of Maktabs declined to 199 and the number of pupils to 6,396 in 1941.[32]

In 1941, an advisory committee was appointed by the Director of Public Instruction to advise him in matters concerning the Muslim education.

In Madras, the Moplahs form a large part of the population in Malabar district and "the education of this community presents special difficulties." In 1931, a Committee was appointed to investigate the problems of Muslim education which unanimously reported that there should be separate schools for the Moplahs, on the lines most acceptable to the community. "The main problem connected with Moplahs' education is not one so much of getting the children to schools as of keeping them there long enough to enable them to acquire enduring literacy. The causes for this are: (1) the ignorance of the parents; (2) importance attached to religious instruction; (3) comparative disregard of the value of secular instruction; (4) deleterious propaganda against secular

29. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1939-40, p. 28.
30. *D.P.I's Report*, Bengal, 1940-41, p. 26.
31. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar and Orissa, 1932-33, p. 31.

education carried on in the country by the Mullas and the Mudaliars, who as preceptors of religion, wield greater influence on ignorant people."[33]

To combat these problems, teachers in religious instruction who were in confidence of the public, were trained in secular knowledge as well. These teachers were given a special training in religious instruction and secular knowledge in a special training school for the Moplahs at Malappuram. Also six committees at different centres were appointed to conduct a propaganda against the deep-rooted prejudices. There were 1,750 Moplah schools at the beginning of the decade and this number dropped to 1,561 by the close.

Religious Instruction

The large number of special types of schools, that we have seen in the previous article, owe their existence due to the neglect of religious instruction in the Local Board schools. Religious instruction is of most vital importance to the Muslim community and their children generally do not begin secular education unless they have read the Koran in Arabic. Due to this domination of religious sentiment, the Maktab and Mulla classes have become more popular during the recent years. Though these schools have produced a considerable overlapping and embarrassment, in the educational system they will be continued to meet the demands of the Muslim community. In order to induce the Muslim pupils to join the board schools, we must make a special provision for religious instruction in the curriculum which may be taught after school hours, and a change in the time-table to suit the convenience of that community as is done in the Travancore State. In Travancore, "the noon-day recess in schools attended by a number of Muslims, is of two hours' duration on Fridays and enables the Muslims to attend the mosque.[34] If any such arrangement is made, the problem of religious instruction will easily be solved and this will result in a greater efficiency in the primary schools.

CHAPTER XIV

SPECIAL EXPERIMENTS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

(The Wardha Scheme)

We have so far studied how the system of primary education existed at the beginning of the period under study and the nature of progress that was made during the ten years that followed. In this Chapter and the one that follows we are going to discuss some of the

33. *D.P.I's Report*, Madras, 1927-32, pp. 128-29.
34. *Teaching*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, p. 125.

educational experiments that were made during the decade in the field of primary education. The greatest among them is the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education and we are going to devote this chapter wholly for its study.

Historical Background

Mahatma Gandhi was convinced, like others, that the present system of primary education was neither national nor useful and was only harmful and has caused an enormous waste of money and energy. The system is only literacy and the production of literacy was its only aim. But mere literacy cannot be an end in itself. It must be a means of educating a man. Mahatma Gandhi gave an expression to these views in the columns of *Harijan* and in order to prepare a constructive scheme of national education a conference of selected educationists in India was called at Wardha on the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Marwadi Education Society. In this conference, Mahatma Gandhi took a leading part and the following four resolutions were passed, at the conference. These resolutions are:—

(1) That in the opinion of this Conference, free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

(2) That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.

(3) That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi, that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities be developed or the training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

(4) That the Conference expects that this system of education will gradually be able to cover the remuneration of teachers.

A Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain was appointed to frame a detailed syllabus. Two reports were published by this Committee, the first gave a complete scheme of National Education and the second answered the objections and criticisms on the scheme.

Basic Outline of the Scheme

(1) The Syllabus:

The whole syllabus is divided under eight heads. They are: (*a*) Basic Craft, (*b*) Mother-tongue, (*c*) Mathematics, (*d*) Social Studies, (*e*) General Science, (*f*) Drawing, (*g*) Music and (*h*) Hindustani.

(a) Basic Craft: The whole syllabus is the craft centered syllabus, and all the teaching is based on the basic craft. The crafts suggested

are (i) Spinning and Weaving, (ii) Carpentry, (iii) Agriculture, (iv) Fruit and Vegetable Gardening, (v) Leather work, and (vi) Any other craft suitable to the local and geographical conditions.

A study of one of these crafts during the whole period will enable the pupils to pursue it after the course as a means of getting some occupation. In place where a craft other than spinning and weaving is chosen, a minimum knowledge of carding and spinning with takali is expected.

(b) Mother-tongue: After a full course of seven years, the pupils are expected to acquire a capacity to converse freely and confidently about the subjects in the child's environment. The study of the mother-tongue will also enable the child to read silently and speedily or loudly and clearly, both prose and poetry. The child will also develop a capacity to write personal and business letters.

(c) Mathematics: The study of mathematics will be centred round the craft, the home and the community.

(d) Social Studies: The social study consists of the progress of mankind in general and of the people in India in particular. Emphasis will be laid on the ideals of love, truth and justice and care will always be taken to prevent "the pride for the past in degenerating into excessive and arrogant nationalism." Lessons will be such as will impress on the minds of the pupils the superiority of truth and non-violence. National Week will be a feature of every school. The social studies will also include the study of social and geographical environment. The boys will study the world geography in outline with full knowledge of India. They will study plant, animal and human life and the representation of the weather phenomena. They will also study map reading and map making.

The social study will also include the development of the sense of the rights and responsibilities of a citizen. The pupils will study the working of the panchayat, co-operative societies, district boards and municipalities. They will also learn the significance of the vote and the growth of representative institutions.

(e) General Science: The object of the study of general science is to inculcate in the pupils an intelligent and appreciative outlook of nature and habits of careful and accurate observation. It will enable them to observe the natural phenomena around them and the application of science to the service of mankind. The study will include Nature Study, Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Hygiene, Physical Culture, Chemistry, Astronomy, and the stories of great scientists.

(f) Drawing: The study of drawing will train the eye in observation and discrimination of colour and will develop memory for forms

and taste for designs and decorations. This will be achieved by object and memory drawing, designing, scale and pictorial graphs.

(g) Music: This will develop a love for good music by number of beautiful songs. Special emphasis will be laid on group and chorus songs.

(h) Hindustani: The main object for the inclusion of Hindustani as a compulsory subject is to develop it as a common "lingua franca", for the whole of India. In places where Hindustani is the mother-tongue, the pupils will be made to study both the scripts. In non-Hindustani areas, it will be compulsory in 5th and 6th year of the school and only one script will be studied.

(2) Period of Education:

Education will be made compulsory for all children of the age of seven plus and will extend for seven years. As a concession, girls will be allowed to leave the school at the age of twelve at the request of their guardians.

The full working day will be of 5½ hours and the time assigned for the different subjects will be as follows:—

Basic Craft	3hrs.	20	minutes
Music, Drawing, Arithmetic		40	,,
Mother-Tongue		40	,,
Social studies and General Science ...		30	,,
Physical training		10	,,
Recesses		10	,,
Total		5½	hours.

The school year will be of 288 days.

(3) Teachers:

In view of the radical changes that have been effected in the whole curriculum, it is essential to have teachers who have an intelligent interest in life and a complete grasp of the human activities and their relation to school and society.

The minimum qualification of a teacher will be that of a matriculate but in case of Vernacular Final passed teachers, two years of experience in teaching in addition is necessary.

These teachers will be given a continuous training for three years in residential institutions. During the course, the teachers will be sufficiently trained in craft along with other subjects.

In the initial stage of the scheme, there will be short emergency courses, for the training of teachers in the existing schools.

The teachers chosen will belong to the particular locality and encouragement will be given to women teachers. The number of pupils per teacher will not be more than 30.

In order to maintain and improve the efficiency of teachers, there will be refresher courses on a very large scale.

(4) Supervision:

There will be an adequate supervision staff of men trained in the basic schools, with at least two years' teaching experience and a year's training in administration. They will serve as leaders and guides in the experiment and will help teachers by their personal co-operation.

(5) Examination:

The purpose of the examination is to serve as an administrative check of the work of the schools in a prescribed area by simple measurement of selected groups of students. They will be administered by the specialists and will cover the whole range of the curriculum.

(6) Central Institute of Indian Education:

The Central Institute of Indian Education will be a body of non-officials, who will be free from any administrative work and will serve as an advisory body on educational matters. This body will study the educational ideas in India and outside and will make the results of the experiments available to those that are interested in them. It will collect information about the progress in the various provinces and will organise research in education. It will also issue educational magazines.

The above is the main outline of the Wardha Scheme of Education.

Characteristic Features of the Scheme

After having studied the broad main outline of the scheme, we shall study the main characteristics of the scheme. They are the following:—

The whole scheme is based on the teaching of all the subjects through some manual craft. Up till now, in some schools, some crafts like carpentry, spinning, etc. were taught to the boys, but they were merely supplementary to the course and the teaching of these subjects was mechanical. In such cases, craft teaching is merely supplementary to the liberal education. But in the Wardha Scheme of education, the entire syllabus is based on the scientific study of the craft and the whole syllabus is woven round the craft. This means that the medium for the intelligent development of the pupils is the craft. The teaching of the crafts has great implications behind it. "The academic tradition in education which persisted in India for centuries and resulted in the divorce

of the culture and work and manual labour was regarded as positively dishonourable. Mahatma Gandhi has struck at the citadel of this prejudice".[1]

Second important feature is that the Wardha Scheme is a self-supporting scheme. The term self-supporting has two implications. Firstly, it means that the child, after leaving the school, will be a self-supporting unit in the family, as he has undergone a training in craft for seven years. Secondly, it means that the education itself will be self-supporting and the salaries of the teachers will be met by the productive work of the children. Most of the money, in the present system of education, is spent on the salaries of teachers and all the schemes for the expansion of primary education are held up for want of funds. By making education self-supporting, it will be quite easy to make education compulsory for the whole of India. The teachers' salaries will be met by the money got by selling the craft work of the pupils while the other expenses such as buildings, equipment, etc. will be met by the Government. There will not be a direct connection between the productive work of a school and the salaries of the teachers in that school. The articles will be paid directly from the State Treasury. This will ensure a uniform salary for teachers at Rs. 25 and no school will indulge in unnecessary extra emphasis on the production of material through the craft.

Another feature of the Wardha Scheme is that it is a compulsory course for 7 years, beginning with the age seven plus. All the present primary compulsory schemes are of four or five years. In contrast with this the Wardha Scheme makes education compulsory for 7 years and this is essential as it is expected that the child, after the school, will acquire such an amount of skill in the craft that he has suited, that he will be a self-supporting unit of the family. It is also necessary to keep the child in school for seven years till the age of 14 as this will ensure (1) permanent teracy, (2) the child will acquire sufficient skill in basic craft, (3) the child will become a better citizen, and (4) will receive essentials of social and civic training which for psychological reasons it is not desirable to impart it earlier. Though the course begins at the age of 7, it is expected that there will be some kind of pre-school education, but it will be on the voluntary basis.

The exclusion of English and the emphasis on the Mother-tongue and Hindustani, is another feature of the scheme. Every child must have a good knowledge of the mother-tongue, for it is the foundation for the study of any other language. The study of the mother-tongue will centre round the growing life and interest of the child.

1. *Gandhiji, His Life and Work*, pp. 208-09.

The study of Hindustani is essential, as it will be the common *lingua franca* and will be of great use for the cultural contact between the Hindus and Muslims of India.

The creed of the Wardha Scheme is the diminution of the communal hatred between the different communities and the classes in India and this will be achieved by the closer contact through Hindustani.

Another important feature is the high standard of education. The seven years' course will cover all the subjects upto the matriculation standard, less English, plus a vocation. The teaching of English takes a very large period of time in our present secondary schools. If this time is saved, it is quite feasible to cover the matriculation course, within a period of seven years, instead of 12 years as it is done now.

Criticism of the Scheme

The Wardha Scheme is the first and the only scheme of its kind and all the schemes that have been proposed till now, though they had vocational bias, were never entirely craft-centred. This fundamental and radical change in the whole attitude towards education brought forth a good deal of criticism from various educationists. But most of the criticisms were from persons who had not completely grasped the ideals and ideas underlying the scheme. The main criticism was that the time given for training of the basic craft was rather disproportionate. Out of the total time of 5½ hours, three hours and twenty minutes are devoted every day to the study of the craft. To explain this criticism the Zakir Hussain Committee says: "The time allotted to the basic craft is not meant to be spent only on the mechanical practice of the craft but oral work, drawing and expression work naturally connected with it, as well as in the instruction in the why and wherefore of the processes involved, i.e. their scientific and intelligent understanding, which is an important educative aspect of craft work, will also be given during this time." The teaching of the craft will not be continuous but will be divided into two sessions—one in the morning and the other in the afternoon and this instead of creating monotony will create interest in the work.

Another point of criticism is that Rs. 25 will be a very low salary for teachers. But this criticism is unfounded. We have already seen that the salaries of teachers were far below Rs. 25 in many provinces and the salary proposed is certainly higher than what many teachers are getting at present. In order to secure the services of specialist teachers of higher academic qualifications, there is a provision for higher scale of pay. But the most serious criticism, in this respect, is levelled on the connection that is supposed to exist between the output of the finished material by pupils and the teachers' salaries. But as we have already remarked, this fear is unfounded. There is no connection

between the salary of teachers and the sales of the products of a school. As the Committee explain, "The teachers are to be paid directly from the State Treasury as at present and are not to be dependent on the somewhat fluctuating income received from the sale of the school products which should be credited as an income to the Treasury ".[2]

Another point of criticism is that the Wardha Scheme is opposed to industrialization. The Zakir Hussain Committee is silent on this point. It merely points out that we have recommended the approach to education through crafts and productive work, because that is a psychologically sound method of education but we fail to see why co-ordinated training in the use of the hand and eye, training in practical skill and observation and manual work should be worse preparation for later industrial training than the present education which is notoriously bookish and academic, and definitely prejudices our students against all kinds of practical and industrial work." [3]

Among other points of criticism one more point of criticism is that no sufficient attention is paid to the physical education, for the scheme allows only ten minutes for physical education. The explanation offered by the Committee is that play loses its spontaneity and ceases to be play in the psychological sense if it is made compulsory.[4]

A weak point in the Wardha Scheme is that the education begins rather too late. The Committee was conscious of this fact, though it "recognises the great importance of pre-school education and envisages the possibility of its introduction on a voluntary basis with the State help wherever possible. But in view of the present financial and other considerations we have not felt justified in including it as a part of our compulsory scheme ".[5]

Working of the Scheme in the Provinces

After having studied the scheme and the criticism levelled against the scheme we shall now proceed to study how the Wardha Scheme was tried in the various provinces.

The Congress party accepted office in the year 1937 and this opportunity was taken to prepare this constructive scheme of education. The Wardha Scheme was put to a trial in the last two years of the decade under study, but due to the resignation of office by the Congress party, the scheme could not be tried for a long period of time, as a result of which, nothing very serious can be said about its success or failure. In the following pages, however, we only take a survey of the

2. *Zakir Hussain Committee Report*, p. 58.
3. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
4. Ibid., p. 57.
5. Ibid., p. 56.

work that was done in Basic Education in the various provinces where it was tried. The scheme was tried in Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa.

In Bombay, the experiment of Basic Education was introduced in some compact areas in Surat, East Khandesh, Satara and Dharwar districts in the year 1939. It was also introduced in Yawal Taluka for Urdu boys. There were in all 88 schools in which the experiment was tried. Out of these schools 58 schools were in compact areas, 3 practising schools at the Basic Training Centres and 27 isolated schools opened by private bodies and Local Authorities. The Urdu Basic Training Centre opened at Jalgaon was closed due to the opposition of the Muslims.[6] The experiment being in the most initial stage could not take shape as was expected, but this was due to lack of proper preparation. The schools proved expensive and there was no suitable literature for the use of boys and teachers. The Advisory Committee for Basic Education was, therefore, thinking of closing some of the schools.[7]

In the United Provinces, the Scheme was more welcomed. Even teachers who were not trained in Basic Education were attracted to it and were taking keen interest in the craft work. The scheme prospered very well in 1939 and the Basic Training College at Allahabad undertook research work as well as the work of training of batches of teachers. From 1st May 1939, as many as seven batches were trained in the refresher courses. 1,720 Municipal and District Board teachers were brought to the refresher course and they opened the first standard in 1,482 Board Schools and 220 Municipal schools. Another batch was trained by specially trained Deputy Inspectors from 1st August 1939. There were in all 5,245 teachers who were trained in the Basic course in the refresher classes and these teachers opened Class I on basic lines in 4,738 schools.[8] In the year 1940, the training of teachers in refresher courses continued at the headquarters of the different circles and batches of 30 or more teachers returned from the refresher courses during April, September and December. With the help of these teachers the Basic course was introduced in the Second Standard.[9] As the scheme is worked upto the Second Standard, a complete picture of the whole scheme could not be envisaged. But the following remarks of the Director of Public Instruction will throw light on the working of the scheme:—

"Actual reports of the working of the scheme are not all satisfactory. There are no two opinions, that where the teachers are efficient

6. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 32.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 33.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1939-40, p. 31.
9. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., 1940-41, p. 21.

and the District Boards supply the necessary funds, the change in the method and the spirit has caused an immense improvement. In such cases, the schools are placed where the atmosphere is free and cheerful, the boys enjoy their work and their progress is fully satisfactory and the attendance is more regular. Not all the teachers trained have absorbed the spirit and the ideals of Basic Education and it is too much to expect this from a short course of three months. Some have shown a tendency to revert to the old methods and there is a danger of the scheme degenerating into mere hand-work auxiliary to the main teaching in such cases."[10]

In Bihar, a Board was appointed to organise Basic Education, with the Minister for Education as the Chairman. The Board selected Brindban as the experimental area and proposed to open 50 schools. Rs. 20,000 were placed at the disposal of the Board and on 13th April 1939, 25 schools were opened in the areas and spinning and gardening were chosen as the basic crafts. The teachers who were given an emergency training were put in charge of these schools.[11] No information is available regarding the progress made in the subsequent years as the reports of these years are not published though the statistical data is made available.

In Orissa, in the year 1939, 16 Basic Primary Schools including one attached to the Basic Training School were opened at Bari, in the district of Cuttack. There were 524 pupils in these schools. The basic craft chosen was spinning. But unfortunately, the next year all these schools were closed. The reasons put forward for the closing of these schools are given in the following quotation:—"This great experiment died an early death as a result of the withdrawal by the Congress Ministries from the administration of the provinces. The experiment where it was tried, was in the hands of teachers who had a very short period of training. Under these conditions, it is not fair to make any comments on the efficiency of their great experiment which has a capacity of bringing education to the whole masses of India."

With the popular ministers in these provinces again, one will always look forward to the success of this experiment. One can safely assure oneself that a fair trial to the scheme on a nation-wide scale will bring a flood of light to the uneducated masses of India.

10. *D.P.I's Report*, U.P., p. 21.
11. *D.P.I's Report*, Bihar, p. 40.

CHAPTER XV

SPECIAL EXPERIMENTS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION (*contd.*)

In the previous chapter, we have studied the Wardha Scheme of Education, which was the greatest experiment of the decade. In this chapter, we propose to study some other experiments that were made during the period of our study. The experiments that need a special study are:—

(1) Vidya Mandir Scheme in C.P.
(2) The Agricultural Bias Schools in Bombay and Sind.
(3) Moga Training School for Village teachers, in the Punjab.

We will proceed to study these experiments in the above order.

(1) Vidya Mandir Scheme

The Vidya Mandir Scheme is a scheme for the organisation and management of Basic Education in the Central Provinces. It is thus a scheme of management only and need not be confused with the Wardha Scheme. The syllabus that is followed in the Vidya Mandir Scheme is almost the same as the Wardha syllabus. The Wardha syllabus may be followed in schools conducted by Government, Local Authorities or private bodies and such schools will be called as Government schools, Local Body schools or private schools, which indicates the kind of management of the school. Similar to this is the Vidya Mandir School, which indicates that it is a school in which the Wardha syllabus is followed but the management is the Vidya Mandir management.

If the Vidya Mandir Scheme is a form of management, let us see what the scheme contemplates. It contemplates that "Every village or group of villages, within the radius of a mile, having no schools and where about 40 boys and girls of the school-going age are available shall have a Vidya Mandir".[1] In a village, it will be a source of inspiration and will try to ameliorate the miseries and poverty in the village. Since the medium of instruction is the mother-tongue, there will be Marathi Vidya Mandirs, Hindi Vidya Mandirs or Urdu Vidya Mandirs, according to the needs of the local conditions of the village.

Aims and Objects

The first and the most prominent aim is stated to be ensuring literacy of such a type that will not lapse after the pupils have left the school.[2] It is also further stated that the primary education should lead

1. *Vidya Mandir Scheme*, p. 6.
2. Ibid., p. 6.

to the formation of healthy and hygienic condition of body and mind and provide instructions in subjects which will give the pupils a living interest in the environment."[3] The Vidya Mandirs will prepare the village pupils for life's struggle by making them realize the problems of village life and give them a national outlook.

The welfare of the village community and the close relation between the school and the community will be the main aim. "It shall be an important social centre where teachers, parents, boys and girls shall meet and discuss and solve the problems with which they are faced—national, social as well as educational".[4] It will serve as a model for the all-round progress of the village.

Organisation

To begin with, Vidya Mandirs will be run on a voluntary basis and if they prove to be a success, then it will be a statutory obligation of each village to have them.

For every school, there will be a small plot of land in the locality of the school, capable of giving a net income of Rs. 200 per year. This will be the main source of income for a Vidya Mandir. Another source of income will be from the grain banks of the villages, conducted by the village panchayats. 50 per cent of the profits of the grain banks will go to the Vidya Mandirs. Since the syllabus that will be followed by these schools will be the basic syllabus, some money will also be obtained from the sale of articles made by the pupils. In case famine and other calamities come, the Government assistance will always be available. Vidya Mandirs will also accept donations.

There will be a Committee to supervise a Vidya Mandir and the teacher in charge will be the *ex-officio* Secretary of the Committee. When an application will be made to Government for starting a Vidya Mandir, the Government will send a responsible officer who will inspect the land and will report about its quality and the initial capital outlay that is necessary for the first year. The report will also deal with the selection of the site for the Vidya Mandir and extent of co-operation of the villagers. The cultivation and the management of the land will be under the management of the Agricultural Department for a few years in the initial stage of the experiment.

Buildings

The buildings will be of the most simple type and will only cost about 250 rupees. If there are forests in the surroundings, the material will be given free of charge. Teaching will be mostly conducted in the

3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. *Vidya Mandir Scheme*, p. 7.

verandah or under the tree in open air. Teachers and pupils will be induced to build their own buildings.

Teachers

The minimum qualification of a teacher will be the Vernacular Middle School Certificate. There will be about 50 pupils in charge of a teacher and all schools will be single teacher schools. In case there are more than 50 pupils, say even upto 80, the double shift system or the monitorial system will be adopted.

A teacher will be on probation for 5 years and after that period he will be confirmed. The teacher after confirmation, will serve for twenty years. His life will be insured for Rs. 500 and generally he will not be transferred from one place to another. He will stay in the Vidya Mandir, and will be in charge of all the property belonging to the Vidya Mandir. He will also do social and village uplift work and will have a fair knowledge of first aid and elementary knowledge of medicines, so as to render immediate help to the villagers. Thus, the teacher will not only be a preceptor in the school but also a social worker in the village.

Curriculum

As we have already said, the curriculum will be the same as that followed in the schools under the Wardha Scheme. To begin with, there will be only four standards in a school.

Government Aid

The Vidya Mandirs will not only be assisted by the Education Department but also by the other departments such as Agricultural Department or the Medical and Public Health Department. They will be connected with all the departments of the Government, which have something to do with the village uplift work.

This was in brief the plan of the Central Provinces Government to make the beginning for the introduction of the Wardha Scheme.

How the Scheme worked in C.P.

The scheme was put into operation in C.P. in the year 1939 for the first time. During that year 83 plots were handed over to the Agricultural Department and 3,297.66 acres of land was under cultivation. As some of the land was not suitable for cultivation Rs. 60,598 were spent on agricultural operations. 78 village schools were constructed at a cost of Rs. 38,847 out of which Rs. 7,125 was met by local subscription. 3,163 boys were enrolled in the beginning but the number went down to 2,469 by the close of the year.[5]

5. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1939-40, p. 31.

In the year that followed, 14 new buildings were constructed, at an average cost of Rs. 558 per building. The gross income from the plots was only Rs. 50,806, with a total deficit of Rs. 10,981. 43 plots were unable to yield the estimated income of Rs. 200 each. The average enrolment was 2,706 and the attendance was only 68 per cent.[6]

During the first year of the experiment the total amount of yarn produced was 12 maunds and 20 seers [7] and in the second year it was 15 maunds and 32 seers.[8]

Though the scheme aroused considerable enthusiasm, the working of the scheme was not satisfactory. The reasons are obvious. The scheme was tried over a wide area and some of the places selected were unhealthy. The teachers selected were not of the right type and were indifferent towards their work. The committees also did not take sufficient interest in the work and the enthusiasm with which it was welcomed in the beginning by the people died out after the Congress party had resigned office. A judgment on the feasibility of the scheme is thus out of question, as no proper trial was given to the scheme for sufficient time, under normal conditions.

(2) Agricultural Bias Schools in Bombay and Sind

The main criticism against the present curriculum is that it is too literary and its only aim is to produce literacy. In order to meet this criticism, an agricultural bias curriculum was introduced in the upper classes of some of the primary schools in Bombay Presidency in the year 1923. Though this scheme was introduced in the previous decade, it is quite necessary to study its developments during the period under consideration.

The curriculum that is followed in these schools is mostly the same as that followed in the ordinary schools with additional practical work in field work, village carpentry and smithy. "The object of the curriculum is to give village boys a form of instruction which will be useful to them in future life as agriculturists. The course is pre-vocational rather than vocational and while a boy who has passed in one of these schools is not likely to be able to start off on his own, he will have a general knowledge of the principles of agriculture and be in a much better position than a boy whose education has been purely literary".[9] The pupils who study in these classes have an independent examination similar to that of Vernacular Final Examination at the end of the course.

These classes have a definite utilitarian value and the boys who take this course generally adopt agriculture as their life's profession and do not shirk manual labour.

6. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1940-41, p. 35.
7. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1939-40, p. 31.
8. *D.P.I's Report*, C.P., 1940-41, p. 35.
9. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 106.

However, these classes were not popular in each and every educational division in the Bombay Presidency. Though they were looked upon with favour in the Central and Northern divisions, they were unpopular in the Konkan districts.[10] The reasons are that the parents feel that the kind of education imparted and the methods adopted in teaching agriculture are inferior to those that are actually used in fields by the peasants. They also feel that such an education will not enable their children to enter into Government service.[11]

In order to recognise these classes, a Special Officer was appointed in 1937 and one supervisor was placed in charge of each district.[12]

In Bombay, there were 72 classes at the beginning of the decade with 2,254 pupils [13] (excluding Sind) and by the close of the decade the number of classes rose to 80 and the pupils in them to 3,876.[14] We thus see that the number of boys in these classes increased by 71.94 per cent which clearly speaks of the popularity of these classes on the whole.

However, this cannot be said in connection with Sind. There were 8 such classes with 171 pupils in the beginning of the decade,[15] and the number of classes went down to 5 and the pupils to 143 in 1940.[16] This clearly indicates that though these classes found favour in Bombay Province, the same was not true in Sind. The geographical conditions in Sind are peculiar. The rural areas are sparingly populated. As the agricultural bias course is taught in the higher classes of primary schools, the number of pupils in these classes is very small and, therefore, these classes have not developed satisfactorily. In thickly populated areas if a proposal was made for the introduction of agricultural bias course there was always a counter proposal for the introduction of the Anglo-Vernacular course and in most of the cases the latter proposal was carried out.[17] The preference of the Anglo-Vernacular schools to Agricultural bias schools was due to the fact that "there has been so much hankering after Government service and the parent has so much associated the idea of education with Government service as its goal, that it is difficult to dislodge him from that position".[18]

In order to prepare teachers trained in rural methods for the Agricultural bias schools there is a Government Training School at Loni in Poona District. The training is given in rural methods and the syl-

10. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1937-38, p. 59.
11. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 106.
12. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1937-38, p. 59.
13. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 105.
14. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1940-41, p. 33.
15. *D.P.I's Report*, Bombay, 1927-32, p. 70.
16. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1939-40, pp. 60-61.
17. *D.P.I's Report*, Sind, 1932-37, p. 70.
18. Ibid., p. 70.

labus includes in addition to the usual course training in village uplift, agriculture, smithy and carpentry. The course extends over one year and the teachers selected for training are only from the intermediate and backward classes, as the teachers belonging to these classes have a natural aptitude for agriculture than the advanced classes.

The training school was transformed into a Basic Training School in the year 1939 for training of teachers employed in basic schools. The craft that was introduced was spinning and weaving.

(3) Moga Training Schools for Village Teachers

Another experiment which figured very prominently during the last decade was conducted at the Training School for village teachers at Moga, in the Punjab. The experiment was worked by Mr. Harper of the Presbyterian Mission.

The Moga School represents a happy combination of the classroom method of teaching school subjects and the conventional project method.

"The chief aim of the Moga School is not the mastery of the subject-matter but the building of self-reliant Christian character. The important work of any school is to prepare intelligent citizens and the Moga School is dedicated to the purpose of developing village leadership through the training of pupils in self-reliance and responsibility." [19]

The Moga School was founded in 1911, by Mr. Carter and there were only 12 pupils in the beginning. Till 1917, the school had only primary classes but in that year the school was raised, to the Middle School. In 1921, a normal class was attached to the school. In the early years of the decade, there were about 150 boys in the school; out of them about 60 were in the primary classes, about 60 in the middle school and only 25 were in the normal school. During the decade the number of students had gone up to 410. Out of them 150 are boarders in the Primary and Middle departments, about 160 are day scholars and 100 in the normal school.[20] The school celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1936.

All the subjects are taught through some projects which are going on in the school all the year round. The nature of every project is quite different. Some are big while others are small. In some cases there is a central project with some side projects. The central project is worked by a class or even by the whole school. These projects offer very good opportunities for search after knowledge for the pupils and the teacher plays the role of the senior brother and co-worker. The first few days of the Moga school at the beginning of the academic year

19. *Fourteen Experiments in Rural India*, by A. B. Van Daren, p. 119.
20. *Twenty-five Years' Moga*, p. 128.

are spent over choosing a class project round which all the studies will be entered. Sometimes the teacher takes the pupils to some excursion, when the boys discuss the project they propose to undertake and after a very hot discussion the project of the year is finally selected.

There are in all ten classes in the school. There is one Kindergarten class, 8 primary and the middle school classes and a Moral Training Class. All these classes have their studies co-ordinated round the projects.

For instance, the children of the Kindergarten class have very small projects. They make houses, rivers, bridges in the sand pits of their classroom. They also draw sketches, prepare toys and dolls, knit and paint them as best as they can and thus steadily begin to acquire skill in self-expression. Children are taught to sing praise of God and of things He has made such as flowers, birds, clouds and thus develop a love for nature.

The first-year class generally plays the bazar. There are a variety of shops in the bazar. The pupils set up a restaurant and sweetmeat shop. There are carpenters and tailors as well. When the boys run the shop, they naturally acquire cent per cent accuracy against any errors. In the absence of this practical experience, they will run the shops into bankruptcy.

Once the boys of the fifth standard took up the projects of "Government". They naturally studied the panchayats, the local self-government, the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and so many other things connected with the working of "Government".

Another class chose playing a post office. They studied the Government post office and reproduced it just to its one-fourth in size outside their classroom. This project could very easily afford them knowledge in History, Geography, world journey by land and sea and stamp collection. The boys also developed village post-office service. They also sent money orders.

Many more projects of the kind were worked in Moga Schools. Boys of the sixth class carried out an interesting project by running a hospital. This afforded opportunities for extensive study of the diseases in India and the study of their prevention and cure. In addition to this, the boys also ran a dispensary where they made first-aid kits, treated coughs and colds and other minor ailments and dispensed quinine and kept records very carefully.

Even reading and writing are taught with the aid of the projects. The method adopted is quite scientific and the boys acquire such an amount of skill so rapidly, that within five months they can read anything that is distinctly written on the black-board and write any ordinary word dictated to them.[21] The projects supply so much of need for the use of the three R's that the pupils have a motive for increasing their skill.

Apart from the projects, agriculture and village industries form a part of the curriculum. Every boy from the V standard onwards and the pupil teachers of the Normal School, have a small garden plot 35"×35" in size and one-sixth of an acre of farm and younger boys have plots of land which are cultivated collectively by the class. All the boys spend for the cultivation of the land. They buy their own manure and seeds, pay water tax and rent for farming implements. The boys sell the produce of the land and keep the profits with them. The boys are also paid for the extra work that they do in the school and many boys accept work on contract basis. There are no servants at all in the school and a visitor is always surprised to find the work of the sweepers, gardeners, cooks, clerks and accountants being done by the boys in turn. These things give them immense opportunities for self-reliance. In these experiments they are not protected from failure as it robs them of their thinking of the future consequences.

The pupils pay their fees out of the money earned by them. The rates of fees vary from Re. 1-8-0 to Rs. 3-8-0 per month in the primary school and Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per month in the middle and normal school. The rates of fees vary according to the earnings of the pupils but there is a certain fixed minimum, which each boy is required to pay as fees. The pupils spend the rest of the money for themselves in buying their own clothes and in giving donations to the Church. The boys love to spend the money they have earned.

Even religious instruction is given through the projects. A list of habits and attitudes which are essential for every pupil is made by the teacher and every attempt is made to give opportunities to the pupils to acquire these habits through experience. No formal religious instruction is given.

With all these things the primary and the middle school curricula is strictly adhered to. There are some points which are missed here and there during the study of the projects but these deficiencies are later made up easily and are really overbalanced by the tremendous amount of knowledge that the boys have acquired during the year. In fact the Government curriculum serves as a useful check on the work. The school is regularly inspected by the Educational Department Authorities. The progress made by the boys in many cases is so rapid that almost half the pupils of the first standard are promoted to the third standard in the primary school at the end of the year.

Pupils are given training in the village leadership through their own Government system. There is a 'panchayat' of eight members—

21. *Fourteen Experiments in Rural India*, by A. B. Van Daran, p. 20.

one representative from each class—and the Headmaster. The moral and the social offenders are first dealt with by the panchayat and if it is unable to do adequate justice to the offender, then the offender is sent to the staff for further action. The panchayat is more severe than the teachers and takes the duty more seriously. Most of the school duties are carried out through the panchayat.

The curriculum of the Normal School is also based on practical experience. It is framed in such a way that the teacher after taking training should be able to enter the village life with full ability to help the rural community and make the village school "The House of the People". The Moga primary school and the other village schools are used as practising and demonstration schools for the pupils in the normal training school. The school was formerly meant for male teachers only. But due to the progress of co-education accommodation is also made for five women in the training class. The following remarks of the Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab are significant regarding the work in the normal school.

"In general the teaching has been connected with village life and environment, and the effort has been made to connect the written and oral work of the school with matters of rural interest, so that the pupil teachers may be equipped for the work awaiting them in the village. In the teaching of Nature Study and Geography hand-made apparatus has been used as far as possible and examples have been employed in every-day life. Handicrafts have been encouraged. Hostel life has been carefully organised in the hostels attached to the normal school. The residential system plays a great part in the training of teachers." [22]

In recent years a "family system," has been introduced. Each family consists of 20 boys of all ages and castes. The family is under the supervision of a teacher and his wife. The boys build their own kitchens, buy material from the market and cook in turn. The head boy is responsible for the provision and for the general welfare of the family. The system offers tremendous opportunities for training in responsibility.

The Moga Training School was the centre of refresher courses where large number of teachers and village inspectors were sent for these "Refresher Courses" to learn the new methods. In the Punjab during 1932-1937 five refresher courses were held to instruct teachers in the Moga Method of Teaching.[23] It also conducted experimental work in adult literacy in Dr. Laubach's valuable literature for the adult literacy campaign in Urdu and Punjabi. Moga School was thus the centre of rural experimental activity in the Punjab.

22. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1934-35, pp. 57-58.
23. *D.P.I's Report*, Punjab, 1932-37, p. 74.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

We have up till now studied the system of primary education as it existed during the decade 1931-41 in the various provinces in India. In our study we have considered the provision of primary education, the manner in which compulsory education was introduced in the provinces, the different Acts which made provision for the introduction of compulsion and the problem of training teachers. We have also dealt with the provision made for the education of girls and the 'depressed' classes. We have also discussed the different schemes for education of adults launched in the provinces. We have also briefly reviewed the major experiments that were undertaken during the decade. One of the methods of judging the results of all these aspects on primary education is the study of literacy in these provinces and its progress during the period.

"The Indian census definition of literacy is the ability to write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. This definition was adopted at the census of 1911. The percentages of literacy according to this standard for the years 1921, 1931, and 1941 are tabulated in the following table:—

Table No. XXXVI

Percentage of Literacy

		1921	1931	Increase 1921–31	1941	Increase 1931–41
Bombay	...	8.5	9.2	+ 0.7	19.5	+ 10.3
Sind	...	8.5	9.2		10.4	+ 1.2
The Punjab	...	4.3	5.3	+ 1.0	12.9	+ 7.6
N.-W.F.	...				7.7	
U.P.	...	3.7	4.7	+ 1.0	8.5	+ 3.8
C.P.	...	4.6	5.6	+ 1.0	11.3	+ 5.7
Bengal	...	9.0	9.4	+ 0.4	16.1	+ 6.7
Assam	...	6.3	9.7	+ 3.4	11.5	+ 1.8
Bihar	...	4.7	4.5	— 0.2	9.2	+ 4.7
Orissa	...	4.7	4.5	— 0.2	10.9	+ 6.4
Madras	...	8.6	9.3	+ 0.7	13.0	+ 3.7

The above table of literacy suggests us the following conclusions:—

1. During the period 1931-41 the figures of percentage of literacy do not show a fall in any province as was seen in Bihar and Orissa for the period 1921-31.

2. Excepting Assam, the figures for the increase in literacy during 1931-41 are much higher than those for the period 1921-31. Large

increase is shown in Bombay, the Punjab, Central Provinces, Bengal and Orissa; the largest among them was in Bombay where the figures for literacy in 1941 are more than double than those for the year 1931.

3. Greater progress is definitely made in the period 1931-41 than for the period 1921-31. The reasons are obvious. We have seen in earlier chapters that great activity was seen in many provinces in the field of primary education and adult literacy and the propaganda had made a very favourable effect. Persons who were illiterate began to realise gradually that literacy was something worth having. This change of attitude among the illiterates is mostly responsible for the large increase in the figures of literacy.

4. The small rise in Assam may be due to the migration of people to the other provinces due to war scare.

One fact however can be very easily realised from these figures. The campaigns against illiteracy that were launched in the closing years of the decade made such a profound impression on the minds of people who had taken some education in their school-age but had left schools before they could be classed as literates, that they took into their heads to avail themselves of the facilities provided by the literacy campaigns. These persons came to realise that literacy was something worth having and that it could be improved with the least exertion. This confidence made them bold enough to declare themselves as literates at the time of the census. The validity of our argument can easily be verified by considering the figures for literacy in case of Madras and Bombay. In Madras, during 1931-41, the percentage increase was only 3.7 and this was due to the new literates made in the primary schools only. There were no literacy campaigns in Madras Presidency and this resulted in the small rise in the percentage of literacy. But contrary to this there was a big rise in Bombay and this was due to literacy campaigns.

A Retrospect

After having studied the system of primary education in India during the period 1931-41 in all its aspects, let us take a retrospect of these ten years. We have seen in Chapter IV that by passing of the various Provincial Education Acts a large share of control of primary education was transferred by the Provincial Governments to the Local Authorities without retaining sufficient powers to control it. Though much of this power was withdrawn in Bombay, the Local Authorities in other provinces still had a very large share in the management of primary education. The Local Authorities unfortunately did not discharge their duties properly. Communal spirit and party politics dominated all considerations and this made the conditions of teachers miserable. The teachers under Local Authorities had hardly a sense of security. The narrow communal outlook of the

Local Authorities was responsible for large-scale transfers of teachers from place to place. Even in granting promotions to teachers these considerations prevailed and in many cases promotions were given to undeserving teachers. Teachers were also used as election agents by the members of the School Boards and they were, therefore, indifferent towards their normal school work and were more interested in local politics.

During the period of financial stringency, the Local Authorities introduced disproportionately large cuts in the salaries of teachers. We have seen that the salaries of primary teachers were very low in the whole of India, and the large cuts that were introduced in the salaries made the conditions of teachers worse. All these considerations weighed very heavily on the general body of teachers who became callous and indifferent to their normal duties.

Even though compulsion is the only method for advancing mass literacy, no such attempt was made on a large scale in any province during the decade. Not only that no substantial expansion was achieved in the field of compulsory education, but also in areas where compulsion was in force, neither the Governments nor the Local Authorities attempted to enforce compulsion. Only a few haphazard attempts were made here and there. A natural result of this was that though compulsory Primary Education Acts were passed in all provinces, they remained only on paper.

Present Proposal of National Scheme

Before we proceed to make a proposal of a new scheme of primary education, it will not be out of place to consider the proposals that have been already made. The two schemes that have been proposed are, (1) The Wardha Scheme, and (2) The Scheme prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education popularly known as the 'Sargent Scheme'.

The Wardha Scheme examined

We have fully discussed the Wardha Scheme of education and have discussed at length the criticism made against the scheme and the explanation offered by the Zakir Hussain Committee to answer the criticism. The Wardha scheme is the only big scheme in the whole world which has given such a predominant importance to the teaching of the subjects through the craft. Though we do not want to belittle the importance of the teaching of a craft in school still we would like to say that the importance given to the teaching of craft in the Wardha Scheme will be responsible for the neglect of the cultural subjects. Teaching of a craft is different from the teaching of all subjects through the medium of a craft.

Again the time allotted to the teaching of the craft is quite disproportionate from our point of view. Out of 5½ hours of every working day, three hours and twenty minutes are allotted to the study of the craft. Though the Zakir Hussain Committee says that all the time will not be spent for the mechanical practice of the craft but also for the scientific and intelligent understanding of the craft, we are afraid that for want of efficient and intelligent teachers who have not grasped the significance of the Wardha Scheme, the schools may degenerate into small spinning centres.

Lastly, we are doubtful whether the whole scheme will be self-supporting as is expected by Gandhiji. If at all the Scheme becomes self-supporting, we are inclined to think that there will be unduly excessive emphasis on the productive side of the craft. Again the time given to the craft is too great and, therefore, the whole teaching will become monotonous and the children will lose all interest in their education. In attempting to make the scheme self-supporting the emphasis on the craft teaching will lead to the neglect of other subjects. What we have to say is that no such emphasis should be laid on making the scheme self-supporting. What little money will be made by the sale of the articles of these schools, may go to the state; but it will not be quite sufficient to make the whole scheme a self-supporting scheme. Thus there should not be an emphasis on the productive side of education, but on the all-round development of the child.

As we have already seen in this chapter XIV the Wardha Scheme could not produce the desired results for want of properly trained teachers. If the scheme is to be introduced all over India we will require a very large number of efficient trained teachers, and this will be the greatest difficulty for the introduction of the Wardha Scheme immediately. In the absence of such teachers it will be quite futile to introduce the scheme.

The Sargent Scheme

The second scheme is the Sargent Scheme. According to this scheme there will be a system of universal compulsory and free education of children between the ages six and fourteen, both for boys and girls. The course will be divided into two stages. The junior or primary stage covering a period of five years and a senior or middle stage covering a period of three years. "The main reason for this division is that at the stage of eleven or twelve, with the onset of adolescence certain mental and physical changes occur in boys and girls which necessitate a corresponding adjustment both in the content of the curriculum and the methods of instruction." At the end of the Junior Basic Course the pupils may join the Senior Basic Course of three years, or may join the High Schools where pupils will be admitted

mostly on selective basis. Places will also be provided in High Schools for those that are not selected, provided their cost of education does not fall on public funds. The main objective of the Senior Basic School is that the pupil on leaving the school should be able to take his place in the community as a worker and as a future citizen. The course followed will be the Basic Course and the guiding principle will be "learning through activity". The medium of instruction will be the mother-tongue and the question of introduction of English schools is left in the hands of the Provincial Education Departments. The minimum qualifications of a teacher in a Basic (primary or middle) School is a Matriculation Certificate or its equivalent followed by two or three years' course of professional training. The minimum scale for teachers in Junior Basic Schools will be 30-1-35 (bienially) —50 with free quarters and where this is not possible 10 per cent will be added to their salaries. The scale is for normal rural areas and can be increased upto 50 per cent in areas where the cost of living is high. For teachers in the Senior Basic Schools the scale recommended is Rs. 40-2-80.

As an inducement for keen and ambitious teachers, posts of Headmasters and Headmistresses will be available on higher salaries. The service will be pensionable and if no provision is made for pension fund, a provident fund scheme will be established on a basis of 50 per cent contribution from the teacher and 50 per cent from the employer. There will be one teacher for every thirty pupils in the Junior Basic Schools and one teacher for every twenty-five pupils in the Senior Basic Schools. On this basis the cost of establishing a national system of Basic (Primary and Middle) schools will be just over Rs. 200 crores for British Provinces. There is a provision made in the scheme for pre-primary instruction also. In Urban areas where sufficient children are available, separate Nursery classes will be attached to the Junior Schools. The course will be for three years for children between the age group 3 to 6. The course will be on a voluntary basis and will provide for one-seventh of the children between the age group 3 and 6. The estimated cost is nearly 3.18 crores.

The universal system of compulsory basic education will be introduced by stages and the progress will be from area to area and not from age to age.

The facilities of education will be available for both sexes and for all castes and creeds.

The standard of educational advancement contemplated by the scheme is that of Great Britain and Western Countries as it was before the War and this standard will be reached when the scheme is successfully worked for 40 years.

The Sargent Scheme examined

It is the first comprehensive scheme in the history of education in India which deals with all the stages of instruction and it makes provision for the education of all the people irrespective of caste, race, or creed. It provides for universal compulsory basic education between the age 6 and 14 to ensure not only literacy but with a view to preparing a full-fledged citizen.

But with all these good points the scheme on the whole cannot be accepted for obvious reasons. The scheme tries to bring India to the present status of England after a period of 40 years which means India will be behind England by 40 years. This very idea of keeping India behind Great Britain compels us to reject the scheme. The world is going to advance very rapidly after the war, and in this state to think for India of an ideal which will keep her behind other countries is quite unacceptable. It is a fundamental mistake to regard England as a model for India. Instead of England we may look to countries like Russia, Turkey, China or Egypt for some ways and means for the educational advancement.

The Scheme puts great reliance on the training of teachers. It is quite unnecessary to wait for the launchings of a scheme of expansion of education, for want of suitably trained teachers in launching schemes of expansion. In fact the scheme of expansion of education and the programme of training teachers should go hand in hand.

Another important reason for rejecting the scheme is the enormous cost as is estimated in the report. The cost for the whole scheme is estimated to be nearly Rs. 320 crores and that for basic education Rs. 200 crores. Again, this estimation of cost is also greatly underestimated. The above cost is estimated from the figures for the year 1940. During every decade the population of India increases nearly by 15 per cent. Thus in 40 years the population will rise nearly by 60 per cent and, therefore, the cost for the whole scheme will be nearly 500 crores and that for basic education will be nearly 300 crores. Such an enormous cost for the education of a poor country like India is quite unthinkable. After all, education is not the only obligation of a State. It is, therefore, quite impossible to expect the State to spend such an enormous amount of money on education.

But the worst feature of the scheme is the introduction of the scheme from area to area and not from age to age. No scheme of national development should be developed area by area.

We, therefore, feel that such a scheme cannot be suitable to India.

A Proposal of a New Scheme

It is beyond the scope of a small book like this to give a detailed outline of a scheme for the introduction of primary education in India.

However, we give below some broad outlines of the nature of such a scheme.

The most important consideration in the planning of primary education for the future is the time factor. We must plan in such a way that we should be able to reap the fruits within a short period. It is no use having a long-range plan extending over forty years. We, therefore, propose a five-year plan, for the expansion of primary education only to be followed by another five-year plan to be modified in the light of experience gained while working out the first plan.

The immediate ideal of such a plan will be the attainment of literacy by every person in India. Thus cent per cent attainment of literacy will be the sole aim of such a plan.

This can be done through primary education of children and through adult education.

In primary education all effort should be directed to bringing all children of the school-going age to school. This can only be effectively done by making education free and compulsory.

The age of admission of children to school will be 7 plus. The course should extend over 7 years so that a child should be able to leave the school at the age of fourteen. Since the attainment of cent per cent literacy is our immediate ideal, compulsion should be enforced between the years 7 and 11 only, both for boys and girls. No exemption from attendance should be granted except on medical grounds. Penal rules regarding compulsion should be strictly enforced. The number of pupils per teacher should not be less than fifty or even sixty at a time in the beginning. But as soon as sufficient number of trained teachers become available this number to be brought down to 40 to ensure efficiency.

In order that the children may be able to work at home and in the field during the harvest season, the duration of the school should be for 3 hours only. Vacations should be adjusted to suit the harvesting season. In order to be able to accommodate more pupils and for want of trained teachers the shift system should be enforced. In villages where there is an insufficient number of pupils to provide even for a single teacher, travelling teachers should be appointed for two adjacent villages. They should work for three days in a week in one village and for the other three days in the other village.

In order to be able to finish the curriculum in such a short period of time, the present syllabus should be completely revised and be made quite simple. Basic education should not be introduced as we will not have immediately an army of trained teachers who will be able to impart instruction on the lines suggested in the Wardha Scheme. Thus the syllabus should be of the present type of syllabus in a simplified form. No distinction should be made in the syllabus in Urban and Rural areas.

The control of primary education should be completely withdrawn from the Local Authorities and the State should accept the entire responsibility of primary education. Though Education should be the concern of Provincial Governments they should receive a substantial share from the revenue collected from income-tax, customs and excise duty. This money should be distributed to the Provincial Governments in accordance with the requirements of each province.

For the expansion of education the Provincial Governments should float a loan to be used in erecting buildings. The buildings constructed should be cheap. Greater emphasis should be laid on the equipment of the school and the school garden.

As far as possible such persons as have passed the matriculation examination should be appointed as teachers. But this rule need not be strictly enforced. Those that have failed at the matriculation examination should also be employed as teachers. Among the existing teachers all those that have passed the Vernacular Final Examination and are trained should be retained. Those that are untrained but are trainable should be sent to the Training Schools. Those that are untrained but are above the age of 40 should be retained in service. Women teachers should be appointed wherever possible. All teachers who have studied upto the matriculation examination should be trained for one year only. But no undue importance should be laid on the training of teachers. In fact no teacher who has worked for less than two years in a school should be admitted to the training school. The reasons are obvious. Inexperienced teachers have no problems of their own. During the first few years newer problems crop up in their minds, they feel some difficulties while teaching and after having gained some experience of these difficulties in school, if they join the training school, training becomes more effective. Training schools should be located in the District places and should be residential. Every training school should admit not less than 120 teachers per year. Refresher courses should be undertaken in the training schools on a very large scale and every teacher should be forced to attend a refresher course of three weeks after every fifth year.

As regards the scales of pay of teachers we cannot exactly state the scale as they would depend on the amount of money spared by the Provincial Governments for primary education. However, it is quite obvious that the scales of teachers should be such as to make them above want. Fifty per cent headmasters should be appointed from among the existing teachers and fifty per cent should be appointed directly from among the teachers who have showed special merit in the training schools.

One inspector should be appointed for 60 schools only and he should visit each school twice a year, once in each term. The qualification of an inspector should be the Intermediate Certificate of a University. He should specially be trained for his work, both in administration and in supervision. The inspectors should serve as guides to teachers and should help them in enforcing attendance.

For the education of adults there should be a separate department of adult education. This department should carry out the work of adult education by establishing special schools for adults. These schools should be run both during the day as well as at night. Special teachers trained in the work of adult education should be appointed and the method of teaching in these schools should be such as will attract more and more persons. The work in these schools should be supplemented by adult education weeks in which the educational authorities as well as the general public should be induced to take interest. This is only possible if a good deal of enthusiasm is shown by the person in charge of education.

If the scheme of compulsory primary education and schemes of adult education work hand in hand, one can certainly hope to attain a very high standard of literacy in India within a reasonably short period of time.

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(July-November 1947)

The following students have passed the L. S. G. D. Examination held in the month of December 1947.

(In order of Merits)

1. Mr. Rasiklal G. Patel (with distinction)
2. Mr. Vithal Narayan Kalambi
3. Mr K. N. Ramanuja Chariar
4. Mr. Vithoba Shankar Sawant
5. Mr. Devdatt Vasudeo Patki
6. Mr. Anthony Joe Trindade
7. Mr. Jayantilal Chimanlal Vani
8. Mr. K. S. Sonar
9. Mr. Kristappa G. Kadarmandalgi
10. Mr. Manoharlal Oza
11. Mr. Ramchandra Shankar Yardi
12. Mr. M. S. Ghode

EXEMPTION LIST

The following student got exemption in the papers marked against his name ;—

Name of the Student.	Paper I	Paper II	Paper III	Paper IV	Paper V	Paper VI
1. Mr. Goverdhanlal N. Pandekumar	—	—	3	4	—	6

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ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

BY

J. P. NAIK, B.A. (Hons.),

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

1. 1 What is 'Primary Education? According to the phraseology adopted in the Province of Bombay, a *primary* school is defined as one which does *not* teach English and is thereby differentiated from a *secondary* school which teaches it. This linguistic basis of the definition is entirely historic in origin and is educationally unsound. Strictly speaking, primary education is a *stage* in the education of an individual between infant or pre-primary education on one hand and adolescent or secondary education on the other. It is necessarily imparted through the mother-tongue and includes, within its curriculum, that minimum of general education which every citizen ought to possess. It generally includes the teaching of one or more languages, either classical or contemporary, in addition to the mother-tongue. But it is not the teaching of languages, nor even the curriculum, that is its chief characteristic. What really distinguishes it from other stages of education is the fact that it deals with the education of children who fall broadly within the age-period of 5 to 14. The educational requirements of children in this important age-period determine both its content and its methods. Throughout this book, therefore, we have used the expression "primary education" to mean an educational stage between infant education on one hand and adolescent education on the other. This definition includes not only all the educational institutions which are classed as 'primary' by the Bombay Education Department, but also standards I, II and III of Secondary schools. The necessity of including standards I, II and III of Secondary schools in this Province under the general term 'primary education' is obvious because, when primary education is made compulsory for seven years, children will retain the option to join either standards V, VI and VII of a Primary school or standards I, II and III of a Secondary school. 'Primary Education' as defined in this book, therefore, will include the lower primary course of four years and the upper primary and lower secondary courses of three years each.

1. 2 Classification of the Problems of Primary Education: The problems of primary education can be best grouped under three heads, viz. educational, administrative and financial.

The *educational* problems of primary education include, amongst others, the following :—

(1) Aims of primary education.
(2) Curriculum of primary education.
(3) Duration of the primary course.
(4) Age at which children ought to be admitted to primary schools.
(5) Methods of teaching in primary schools.
(6) General education and training of primary teachers.
(7) Teaching methods suitable to single-teacher schools or to schools where a teacher is placed in charge of more than one class.
(8) Examinations in primary schools with special reference to the problem of stagnation.
(9) Physical education in primary schools.
(10) Extra-curricular activities in primary schools.
(11) Co-ordination of the education in a primary school with the life of the community.
(12) Preparation and selection of text-books, etc.

The *administrative* problems of primary education include, amongst others, the following :—

(1) Provision of schools in small scattered hamlets.
(2) Location of schools in big towns and cities.
(3) Provision of schools for linguistic minorities in a given locality.
(4) Recruitment and administrative control of primary teachers.
(5) Establishment (or otherwise) of District, Taluka and Municipal School Boards and the transfer, to such boards, of specified powers of control and supervision over primary education.
(6) Enforcement of compulsion.
(7) Inspection and administration of primary schools.
(8) Construction and maintenance of primary school buildings and playgrounds.
(9) Adjustment of school hours and vacations to local requirements, etc.

The *financial* problems of primary education include, amongst others, the following :—

(1) Emoluments of primary teachers.
(2) Determination of the cost of primary education.
(3) Introduction of methods to economise expenditure on primary education.
(4) Allocation of the total cost of primary education between the authorities concerned, viz. the Central Government, the Provincial Government, the Local Authorities and private agencies.

1. 3 Interdependence of the Problems of Primary Education: The classification of the problems of primary education given in the preceding paragraph is convenient for purposes of discussion. Nevertheless, it is purely arbitrary and it must be remembered that *all* problems of primary education are interdependent. For example, the emoluments of primary teachers form mainly a *financial* problem ; but they depend, to a certain extent, on the educational qualifications required of primary teachers which form an *educational* problem. The age at which a child should be admitted to a primary school is mainly an educational problem ; but it has important financial implications and determines, to some extent, both the duration of the course and the number of children to be provided for. The adjustment of school hours to local conditions is mainly an administrative problem. But it has implications both in the educational and financial spheres and influences the content and cost of education alike. Similar instances can be multiplied ; but it is hardly necessary to do so. What has been stated already is enough to show the interdependence of all problems of primary education. This is the one reason why this book, which deals mainly with financial aspects of primary education, is also required to deal with some of the educational and administrative aspects of primary education.

1. 4 Importance of the Financial Aspects of Primary Education: It must also be remembered that the most vital aspects of primary education are financial and even the educational aspects of primary education are often decided, not on educational, but on financial grounds. The question whether the duration of the course of primary education should be four, five or seven years is going to be decided, not by educationists on educational grounds, but by the Finance Department on the basis of funds available. The adoption of the shift system is being forced upon the administration on financial grounds in spite of the reluctance of the educationists to accept it. The calibre of the primary teachers is going to be determined, not so much by theoretical discussion, as by the emoluments that Government can offer to them. And so on. In dealing with such a vast and vital problem as compulsory primary education, it is the money that makes the mare go. Finance has never been, and is not likely to be, a handmaid to education carrying out its behests as the giant did for Allauddin. On the other hand, it is more likely to prove a heartless tyrant and upset many a fond dream. This is always painfully true in a poor country like India.

1. 5 Different Aspects of the Problem and the Approach of this Thesis: The problem of the finance of primary education has four important aspects, viz.—

(*a*) What are the factors which influence the cost of primary education ?

(*b*) What would be approximate cost of the several programmes of compulsory primary education that are suggested for adoption by the Government of Bombay ?

(*c*) How would the total cost of primary education be allocated between

(i) the Central Government,

(ii) the Provincial Government,

(iii) Local Bodies, and

(iv) Private Agencies ? and

(*d*) By what stages and in what manner can a practicable scheme of universal, compulsory and free primary education be worked out for the province of Bombay ?

Needless to say, it is the first duty of the educational authorities of the Province to undertake a careful study of these fundamental problems. But it is regretted that our educationists have never applied themselves seriously to the consideration of the financial aspects of primary education. They have generally clung to the belief that it is not for them to condescend to think of money ; that no amount is too big to be spent on education ; that if money can be found to finance wars, it ought certainly to be found to finance education ; and that a national and progressive government will always find all the money that education needs. This dogged refusal to think of the financial implications of their proposals has not led to any fruitful results. It has, on one hand, retained the visionary character of educational discussions. On the other hand, it has stiffened the opposition of the practical administrator to schemes of educational reconstruction.

What is really needed now is a change of outlook on both sides. Educationists must learn to think of money, of priorities, of making the best of resources available. On the other hand, the financiers must learn to attach a greater and a greater value to educational reconstruction. This book is an attempt to tackle the first of these problems with special reference to the finance of primary education in the Province of Bombay.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

2. 1 Introductory: The existing system of financing primary education in the province of Bombay has slowly grown up during the last one hundred and twenty-five years. It was shaped, from time to time, by British administrators who sought guidance and inspiration in the system of financing elementary education in contemporary England. Consequently, the history of the system of financing primary education in the province of Bombay resembles, to a remarkable degree, the historical evolution of the British system of financing elementary education. A student of the finance of primary education in the province of Bombay must, therefore, study firstly, the evolution of the system of financing elementary education in England and secondly, the evolution of the same system in the province of Bombay during the last hundred and twenty-five years. It is these two studies taken together that will give an insight into the failures of the present system and the manner in which it can be reconstructed.

2. 2 Finance of Elementary Education prior to 1833: Historians of education in England trace the origin of State intervention in education to very remote times and King Alfred the Great who directed that the sons of free-holders possessing not less than two hides of land should be educated, is generally regarded as the ' Father of English Education '. A detailed narrative of the educational developments in England since these early years is beyond the scope of this book and it would be quite sufficient to begin this study about the year 1760 when, with the accession of George III, ' modern times ' in England are generally held to have begun.

At this time, elementary education was provided in England either by individual or by charitable enterprise and the National Government neither conducted elementary schools of its own nor assisted those conducted by other agencies. The elementary schools of this period can be grouped under several different types. The richer classes mostly educated their children at home and later sent them to the endowed public or grammar schools. The middle classes or the parents who were well-to-do enough to pay fees sent their children either to the dame schools or the private schools. The ' dame school ' was usually conducted by an elderly woman for a weekly fee of a few pence per pupil. Although some writers of the nineteenth century have spoken highly of this type of school, the instruction given in them was most rudimentary and they were more like ' baby-minding establishments ' to which ' humble, busy

wives' sent their children in order to obtain 'freedom through the day'. The 'private school' usually admitted older children and was a slightly better type of an educational institution. The curriculum was rudimentary; the teachers were often ignorant and handicapped by physical deformities, and sometimes even cruel and dissolute. But there were some exceptions also and several private schools were described by contemporary writers as fairly efficient. For the poor people who did not sufficiently appreciate the advantages of education or who could not pay fees, the rudiments of education were provided by the 'charity school', 'schools of industry', and 'Sunday schools'. At this time, the causes of poverty among the masses were but little understood and it was generally believed that the ignorance and vices of the poor were alone responsible for their sad condition. The humanitarians, therefore, joined hands with the Church and took up the task of educating 'the poor to poverty, an honest, upright, grateful industrious poverty'.[1] The curriculum of the charity schools was generally restricted to religious instruction (which meant learning the catechism by heart) and reading, with writing and arithmetic in certain cases. The schools were associated with the parishes and the teachers were practically of the same type as in the 'private schools'. The 'schools of industry' were generally restricted to children from the workhouse or the children of parents who were in receipt of parish relief. The intellectual education given in these schools was restricted to religion and reading and most of the time was devoted to the teaching of 'industries' such as spinning, winding, knitting, plaiting, sewing, gardening, cobbling, etc. The sale of the produce generally met the expenses of the school and the surplus, if any, was distributed to the pupils. The 'Sunday schools' as the name shows, worked only on Sundays and tried to educate children who were employed all the week.[2] Their curriculum was limited to religious instruction and reading. The teachers were paid a small fee originally but, as the movement spread, a large number of voluntary teachers also began to work. These schools became extremely popular because the children could be given some education through them without interfering with the work which they had to do for the family.

Till the end of the eighteenth century, there was no powerful public opinion in England in support of a State system of primary education. This was due to several reasons: Firstly, education was looked upon not as a *right* of the poor child, but as a *charity* shown towards it. Secondly, child labour was greatly in demand in the factories and both parents and industrialists opposed the establishment of a system of education that interfered with it. Thirdly, the authorities of religious organisations conducting schools (other than those of the Established

1. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 27.
2. Some Sunday schools were opened occasionally during the week also.

Church) were afraid that State assistance might mean interference with their religious freedom and stoutly opposed it. Fourthly, public opinion was also not in favour of levying taxes in support of the education of poor—a step that would have been inevitable if the State would have assumed responsibility for primary education. And lastly, there were a number of people, like William Godwin, who opposed State intervention in education on political and democratic grounds. Godwin argued: "A State system of education would check the growth of free opinion, it would induce over-veneration for the things as they were, it would tend to check free enquiry and replace it by dogma. Moreover, its very element of permanence was a vital objection; so was its tendency to produce dull uniformity and to spread ideas favourable to the party in power."[3] For all these reasons, the principle of State management of, or assistance to, elementary education was generally opposed during this period.

The absence of a State system of education was partially made up by the keen interest which non-official agencies took in the education of the poor, partly on account of economic and political considerations and partly on religious and humanitarian grounds. This was an era of great social, political, and economic changes. The French Revolution created tremendous social forces and led to a renaissance in literature, a revival of a deep religious fervour, and a great kindling of humanitarian motives. Consequently, a large number of religious organisations came into existence with the object of alleviating the sufferings of the poor and of educating them. These were generously supported with subscriptions by philanthropic and religious people and they could also command a large number of devoted workers who were prepared to devote their lives to the uplift of the poor people. This religious and humanitarian enthusiasm was further strengthened by the desire of the upper and middle classes to curb the growing unrest among the poor people by the spread of education, particularly religious education. As Barnard observes:—

> "The governing classes in England were much jolted by the French Revolution, which was indeed a startling challenge to privilege. At first it had been welcomed by many in this country as a victory for constitutional freedom, but subsequent excesses alienated English sympathy. The Revolution was violently denounced by Burke who referred to the common people as the 'swinish multitude'. He was answered by Tom Paine in his *Rights of Man*, which became the gospel of the radical movement. But feeling in England was so strong that Paine escaped imprisonment only by flight to France. A few years later, when the sufferings of the working classes were increased by the French wars, there was a fresh upsurge of radicalism and republicanism, especially in the new indus-

3. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 25.

trial areas. Disorders occurred in some of the big manufacturing towns, and in 1796 the mob in Manchester created a riot at a theatre during the singing of the National Anthem. Thus, over and above the idea of popular education as a humane or religious duty, there was a feeling that some modicum of education would prove a safeguard and would combat vice, irreligion, and subversive tendencies among the poor. They must be taught to live upright and industrious lives in that station of life unto which it had pleased God to call them. This helps to explain the great stress which was laid on so-called 'religious' education in philanthropic schools for the poor."[4]

But there were limits to what the unaided efforts of the religious and humanitarian bodies could achieve. The numbers to be educated were legion and private donations and subscriptions, large as they were, could not even suffice to give a rudimentary education to all the poor children. Attempts were, therefore, made to reduce the cost of education per child or, as Birchenough puts it, to devise "some cheap yet efficient means that would bring the elements of instruction within the reach of the masses".[5] An important discovery to this end was made by Dr. Andrew Bell, Chaplain of Madras. While in India, he had studied the working of the indigenous schools and found that they used advanced children to teach the less advanced ones. On return to England, he developed this idea into his famous 'Monitorial or Madras System' according to which the teacher only taught the 'Monitors' or advanced pupils who, in their turn, taught the less advanced ones. Thus a teacher was able to manage a very large number of children at a time with the result that cost of education per child fell from 20*s*, or 30*s*. to 4*s*. or 5*s*. a year. A similar system was independently discovered by Lancaster and between them, Bell and Lancaster did great service to cheapen primary education and to take it to a large section of the population.

Even at this early time, however, there was a section of thinkers who believed that private effort would never be able to provide for the proper education of all the poor children and who, therefore, pleaded that Parliament should accept responsibility for the education of the poor children. The church looked upon education as its exclusive domain and opposed all such proposals vehemently on the ground that a state-controlled system of education would lead to interference in religious matters. But the efforts to make Parliament accept responsibility for education continued in spite of the opposition of the church. The earliest attempt in this direction was the Factory Act of 1802 which required that some instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic should be given in factories. It was unfortunately of little value because it did not apply to cotton mills and other important factories

4. *A Short History of English Education* by H. C. Barnard, p. 5.
5. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 42.

where children were employed in large numbers. In 1807, Whitbread introduced his bill for the establishment of parochial schools for the education of the poor. It provided for the education of children between 7 and 14 years of age in a course of two years, for the establishment of schools in every parish, and for the levy of local rates to support such schools. The bill passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the Lords. In 1816, Brougham obtained the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to examine the problem. It reported, in 1818, that "the education of the people was a matter in which the State had a vital concern. They recommended that Treasury assistance should be given towards the building of schools as in many places such schools could be maintained if once created, for much financial assistance could be obtained locally. The country gentry could be taxed to pay the salary of the school-master, a salary which ought certainly not to exceed £24 a year, while the manufacturers could help to bear the expense of building the school. In addition to the poor's rate, a tax of not more than 4*d*. in the £ could be levied, the product of which should also be used for this purpose, while a further source of income could be obtained by charging each scholar one penny per week. Further, old endowments could be used to assist to meet the expenses".[6]

A bill on these lines was introduced by Brougham in 1820 but had to be withdrawn on account of the opposition it encountered. In 1833, however, the first Parliament elected after the Reforms Act of 1832 voted a sum of £20,000 for assisting managements of elementary schools to construct buildings of their own. "The year 1833, therefore, marks the commencement of a new era in educational finance. The State after leaving the provision of education to others now stepped in to encourage and assist. It is true the grant was small, and was to be used only for the erection of schools, but the first step had been taken, and it was impossible to decline to travel further along the road. The fact that the grant was voted proved conclusively that it was now recognised that the voluntary system was inadequate and had failed to meet the position".[7]

2. 3 State of Elementary Education in England in 1833: It is interesting to study the extent and condition of elementary education in England by about 1833. The following table gives the number of schools and scholars as ascertained in a Parliamentary enquiry of 1833 :—

6. *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett, p. 19.
7. *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett, p. 22.

	Schools	Scholars
Maintained by Endowment		
Infant Schools	30	1,450
Daily Schools	3,470	112,314
Maintained by Subscription:		
Infant Schools	197	13,081
Daily Schools	2,632	165,436
Maintained by Subscriptions and payments from scholars:		
Infant Schools	408	33,753
Daily Schools	2,487	178,464
Total ...	9,224	504,498
Other day Schools		
Endowed schools	606	40,000
Schools maintained by payments from scholars:		
Infant Schools	2,350	40,721
Daily Schools	26,791	691,728
Total ...	29,747	772,449
Grand total of all daily and Infants schools and scholars	38,971	1,276,947
Sundry schools	16,828	1,548,890

These figures have to be taken with certain reservations. Mr. Horace Mann's Report on the Educational Census of 1851 observes that these returns were defective and that they were probably underestimated by 10 per cent.[8] On the other hand, the designation 'school' was applied even to "places where children were only 'minded' or taken care of during the absence of their parents at work. The so-called education commenced often at two years of age, often at eighteen months. These were the places where 'reading and writing' were supposed to be 'taught, the latter not always'; where, as one dame confessed, 'it is not much they pay me, and it is not much I teach them'; where only one or two books were found, sometimes only 'fragments of books'; where the attendance was very irregular, the buildings often of the poorest, and the teacher's attention distracted by other occupations".[9] Moreover, the returns applied to *all* schools, i.e. they even included endowed collegiate and grammar schools in addition to schools of elementary instruction and they did not contain separate figures for the scholars belonging to the working classes on one hand and the upper

8. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 446.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 447-48.

and middle classes on the other.[10] Subject to these reservations, these figures show an enrolment of 1,276,947 scholars in daily and infant schools which works out at 8.8 per cent of the then estimated population of 14,400,000. The Sunday schools had even a larger attendance but they have been excluded from this calculation because most of the children of the daily schools attended Sunday schools also. Moreover, the Sunday schools were also largely attended by adults and no separate figures of their attendance are available.

The population of the working classes is not separately available at this period. But Dr. Farr's investigations in 1864 showed that one in every 7.2 of the population belonged to the upper and middle classes.[11] On this assumption, the population of the working classes at this period would be 12,400,000 and total enrolment of 795,219 of the scholars from the working classes would then work out at 6.4 per cent.

Turning to the more important questions of buildings, teachers, and instruction, one finds that the conditions were extremely unsatisfactory. 'Many of the schools,' says Dr. Sadler, 'were doubtless held in the upper room of a cottage, or in a room of the vicarage, in chapels, or in whatever building was obtainable. They were often deficient in apparatus and books, ill-drained and imperfectly ventilated'.[12] Even in 1848, i.e. after a period of fifteen years during which things had considerably improved, the inspectors reported that most of the schools were 'very deficient in books'. The commonly used books were 'the Society's books, Nos. 1 and 2, the parables, miracles, discourses of our Lord, and the Sermon on the Mount'. Even these books were often in a 'dirty and tattered' condition and 'children read them over and over again' until they knew them by heart. Several schools 'possessed no books whatsoever save the Bible and the extracts from the Bible'.[13] The general education and equipment of teachers was far from satisfactory. With his characteristic rhetoric, Macaulay described them as 'the refuse of all other callings, discarded footmen, ruined pedlars, men who cannot work a sum in the rule of the three, men who do not know whether the earth is a sphere or a cube, men who do not know whether Jerusalem is in Asia or America' and deplored that to these men whom 'none . . . would entrust the key of his cellar, . . . the mind of the rising generation, the freedom, the happiness, the glory of the country' were entrusted.[14] Very few teachers received training. The British

10. On the basis of various data and inferences, Sir Michael Sadler concludes that there were, in 1833, 24,074 schools attended by 795,219 children of the working classes. Vide *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 445.
11. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 447.
12. *Ibid*, p. 448.
13. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 449.
14. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 414.

and Foreign School Society had one training college, but the training seldom exceeded five months. Dr. Sadler states that '3,000 to 4,000 teachers with about four months' training each is the utmost that can be estimated for the 24,000 elementary schools'.[15] The attendance of pupils was very irregular. The evidence given in 1837 stated that 'at one of the national schools in which the books were well-kept, there were 400 scholars, and although they had admitted nearly 900 in eleven months, they never had more than 400 on the books at the same time during the eleven months.[16] If this was the case with a good school, the conditions in other schools may easily be imagined. In spite of these defects, these schools of the early nineteenth century did yeoman service to the cause of education in Engalnd and historians of education have paid well-deserved tributes to them. A great educationist, Dr. Michael Sadler, observes: "Although the teachers were, as a rule, not trained, and often unable to impart knowledge, although the buildings were frequently not suitable for schools, the books deficient in numbers and quality, the attendance of the scholars very irregular, yet the 'first step' not only had been taken, but children had been accustomed to school life; and considering the difficulties that had to be contended with, it is highly satisfactory to find that after about thirty years—for we cannot date the commencement of day schools much beyond the beginning of this century—we should find out the working class population of 12,400,000, 900,000 of their children in schools".[17]

2. 4 Development of Elementary Education in England (1833-1870): The period between the first Parliamentary grant to education in 1833 and the passing of the Education Act of 1870 forms a distinct epoch by itself. As in the earlier period, private enterprise continued to provide all the elementary schools required and the attempts to establish a rate-aided system of public elementary schools came to naught. Unlike the earlier period, however, the State now came forward to assist private enterprise and in return for such assistance, established its right to inspect, supervise and control private enterprise.

The first parliamentary grant for education was exclusively intended for the construction of school buildings. Partly because a State machinery to distribute this grant was non-existent and partly because Parliament wanted to encourage and conciliate religious organiations, it was decided that applications for building grants should be scrutinised and recommended by one or other of the two religious societies which conducted the bulk of the elementary schools then in existence, viz. the 'British and Foreign School Society' or the 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established

15. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 448.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 448.
17. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 449.

Church'. The conditions for payment of the grant were two: At least half the estimated cost of the building must be raised by voluntary contributions and secondly, there must be a reasonable expectation that the school would be permanently supported. It was also decided that preference would be given to applications from populous areas and to large schools accommodating 400 scholars and above.

These building grants continued to be distributed for six years between 1833 and 1839 and upwards of £100,000 were distributed to the two societies. On the one hand, the grants stimulated private enterprise and there was a keen demand for their continuance and extension. On the other hand, the working of the system also showed some undesirable consequences because several schools were not built in accordance with proper plans and the efficiency and quality of instruction given in many schools receiving grants was not satisfactory. In 1839, therefore, a special department, the *Committee of Council on Education*, was created by an Order-in-Council to superintend the work of education. The Committee adopted a new policy which may be described as *specific purpose grants*, according to which Government grants were awarded to private schools for such specific purposes as construction of school buildings, teachers' quarters, students' hostels, training of teachers, provision of educational equipment, stipends to pupil teachers and monitors, provision of books and maps, etc. In return for such assistance, the Committee insisted on the State's right to inspect the schools—a proposition which the religious organisations had to accept, although with considerable reluctance.

Between 1839 and 1853, the committee did considerable useful work on these lines. It appointed inspectors of schools under its direct control and dispensed with the inspectorial work that was formerly entrusted to the 'National' and 'British and Foreign' School Societies. The building grants were continued and extended to schools conducted by organisations other than these two soctieies. Similarly, the scope of the grants was extended and new grants came to be sanctioned for construction of teachers' houses, provision of school furniture, etc. Approved plans and specifications for school buildings were prepared and generally more stringent conditions were attached to parliamentary grants and enforced through the inspectors. When parents began to withdraw promising children from schools on account of financial difficulties and the system of Monitors began to collapse, the Committee sanctioned, in 1846, a system of granting stipends to pupil teachers and Monitors. When the supply of primary teachers began to fall short owing mainly to the low remuneration provided in these schools, the Committee introduced a system of allowances to teachers based on their qualifications and the number of pupil-teachers and Monitors working under them. Regulations were also framed making it obligatory on the

locality to provide a house for the teacher, free of charge, and to give him a salary equal at least to twice the parliamentary grant for the purpose. Provision was also made by the Committee to grant pensions to teachers who had served for not less than 15 years and, in 1847, grants were also sanctioned for the provision of maps and books at a fixed rate per student in attendance. All grants sanctioned were subject to the raising of a fixed local contribution; but exceptions began to be made in case of poor localities who found it difficult to raise their quota under the rules. As a result of all these activities, the grants distributed by the Committee rose from about £30,000 in 1839 to £188,856 in 1852.

On April 2nd, 1853, the Committee on Education introduced a system of *Capitation grants* which continued in vogue till 1861. The object of the scheme was to give further financial assistance to primary schools in order to enable them to meet the growing cost of education. The amount of the grant was 4*s*. to 5*s*. per head for boys' schools and 3*s*. to 5*s*. per head for girls' schools for every boy or girl who attended the school for more than 176 days in the preceding year. The following conditions were attached to the payment of the grant :—

> "A certified teacher was to be in charge of the school, at least three-quarters of the children were required to be present when the school was inspected, a fee of not less than 1*d*. per week nor more than 4*d*. was to be paid and the income during the preceding year was required to have reached 14*s*. per head for boys and 12*s*. for girls, while scholars' fees were required to have averaged a fixed weekly amount. At least seven-tenths of the whole income of the school had to be applied to the salaries of the teachers, and the necessary number of Pupil Teachers had to be provided. To discourage the appointment of indifferent teachers at lower salaries in order to have a larger sum for other expenses, it was directed that if the inspector reported that properly qualified teachers had not been provided, the whole amount of grant from the Committee of Council would be withdrawn." [18]

This principle of capitation grant differed from that of the specific-purpose grant in two ways. Firstly, it was an annual grant made to schools and secondly, it was not dependent on the amount of local contributions. In the circumstances of this period, it was a very healthy advance because it gave a great fillip to the spread of education among the people and to considerable improvement in the attendance of children which, as stated earlier, was very irregular at this time. Its main weakness was the ignoring of quality because managers and teachers alike came to attach a greater value to a pupil's *attendance* than to his *attainments*. This defect, however, was revealed later and for the time being, the expansion of education progressed at great speed

18. *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett, p. 35.

and the capitation grant increased from £22,801 in 1854 to £247,691 in 1859.[19]

In 1858, Parliament appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle to report upon elementary education. This Commission whose report was submitted in 1861, recommended that a system of *payment by results* should be adopted in sanctioning grants with a view to improving the quality of education. Accordingly, the system of grants was modified and in 1861, a new Grant-in-aid system was introduced. It was modified from time to time and its net effect was to continue the capitation grant but to superimpose another grant upon it calculated on the number of pupils that passed the prescribed examinations. The principle of payment by results, however, dominated the whole scheme. Later on, grants were also sanctioned for teaching of subjects in addition to the compulsory teaching of the three R's and for pupil teachers sent to training colleges. The system had certain good results because it did assist in improving the quality of instruction given in elementary schools. But it had also several disadvantages and encouraged mechanical teaching calculated to earn larger grants. The time of the inspectors was mostly taken up by examinations and calculation of grants on the attainments of individual pupils in a number of subjects. The 'school-year' also varied from school to school because the inspectors had no alternative but to hold examinations in individual schools at different dates. Consequently, a demand for a complete change in the system began to be put forward in the next period of educational development.

The period between 1833 and 1870, therefore, may be conveniently described as the best period for *voluntaryism*. In this period, private elementary schools held the whole field without any competition from schools directly maintained by the State and were liberally supported both by the public and by Government. Those persons who believed that such private enterprise alone can and should meet the educational requirements of the country—they were called voluntaryists—opposed the establishment of State schools and they were warmly supported by religious enthusiasts who feared that their religious freedom would be lost under a State system of education. But public opinion was gradually gathering in favour of the establishment of public schools supported by rates and soon after 1833, it began to be evident that the voluntaryists were fighting a losing battle. Their view of education was based on a number of false promises. For example, they under-estimated the vastness of the problem and over-rated the potentialities of private effort; they had an over-optimistic faith in the capacity of parents to pay such fees as would make education self-supporting; they over-

19. *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett, p. 38.

looked the large areas where poverty of the people made it impossible for private enterprise to thrive; and they denied the truth that the voluntary principle is largely inapplicable to education because 'it is precisely those who need education most that are least capable of demanding, desiring, or even conceiving it'.[20] Opponents of voluntaryism were not slow to detect these flaws and use them for weakening the opposition to a State system of education. Their task was greatly facilitated by men like Carlyle, Dickens, J. S. Mill and others whose writings strengthened the view that education was a right of the poor child and that a democratic State which needed an intelligent electorate had a vital concern in the proper education of the masses. Consequently, the cause of State schools gained strength and repeated attempts were made in Parliament to legislate on the subject. For instance, Sir James Graham introduced certain educational clauses in his Factories Regulation Bill of 1843; the Manchester and Salford Committees on Education promoted a bill to secure funds for education by levy of local rates; in 1850, the National Public Schools Association introduced a bill for the establishment of rate-supported schools; in 1853, Lord John Russell introduced his Borough Bill for the levy of rates to support schools; in 1855, Sir John Parkington introduced a bill to levy rates in order to make the schools free; and in 1867, Mr. Bruce introduced his bill for the establishment of District Committees with power to levy rates for educational purposes. Unfortunately, all these attempts failed; but they created a strong opinion in favour of rate-supported public schools and set the stage for the Education Act of 1870.

2. 5 Development of Elementary Education in England (1870-1902): As may easily be imagined, the educational conditions in England in 1869 were much better than those in 1833. The total enrolment in the elementary schools had increased considerably. The day-schools to which annual grants were paid provided an accommodation for 1,878,584 children and had an enrolment of 1,693,059 with an average attendance of 1,152,389 as compared with an estimated enrolment of 759,219 working class children in 1823. This works out at 7.6 per cent the estimated population in 1870 (22,090,163) against 5.6 per cent in 1833.[21] Buildings had generally improved, thanks to the liberal Parliamentary grants. Equipment was a little better though far from satisfactory. A large number of training institutions for teachers had come into existence and, in 1870, there were as many as 33 training institutions in England and Wales and 5 more in Scotland providing an accommodation for 2,519 teachers in 1871. Consequently, the number of certified teachers had considerably increased. In 1870, there were 12,744 certified teachers, 1,213 assistant teachers, and 14,612 pupil

20. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by Birchenough, p. 87.
21. Vide *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. II, pp. 446 and 457.

teachers. Between 1839 and 1870, the total grants-in-aid paid by Parliament totalled £12,546,559. The cost of education per child had also risen and was about 24*s.* 5*d.* per child.

These, in main, were the achievements of the voluntaryist movement which was in full swing for 37 years and which had received liberal assistance from Parliament. On the other hand, its failures were equally evident. Only about half the total number of children of educable age attended schools, the average attendance was still bad; the quality of instruction needed material improvement and this meant additional and increasing costs; the voluntary subscriptions did not have the elasticity of a grant from the Exchequer and the voluntary schools were finding it more and more difficult to get the additional funds required to expand and improve education, several institutions of elementary education were just "Venture Schools" whose efficiency was far from satisfactory; there were large areas where adequate provision for schooling did not exist—this was markedly true of the great manufacturing towns; there was no obligation on any one to build or provide a school and the managers of private schools were at liberty to discontinue them at will; and finally, there was no obligation on parents to send their children to schools. All these conditions showed that voluntaryism had failed to meet the situation and that it might collapse any time.

Educational opinion was now divided between three groups: the first believed that voluntary effort could meet the situation and advocated exclusive continuance of voluntary schools; the second opposed the principle of voluntaryism and desired to supplant the voluntary schools by public schools supported on rates; and the third group chose to compromise by conserving all that was best in the voluntary principle and establishing rate-supported public schools "to complete the voluntary system and to fill up the gaps". It was on this last view that the Education Act of 1870 was based.

This Act introduced three new principles—a compulsory local rate, a representative local authority, and compulsory attendance. Its main provisions were as follows:—

(1) The whole country (excluding London which was treated separately) was divided into districts—municipal boroughs and civil parishes. In every district, the existing provision of school accommodation was to be first ascertained. If no deficiency was discovered, the district would be let alone. If a deficiency was discovered, the voluntary schools would be given a time-limit and special building grants to make up the deficiency. If the deficiency was not thus made up in any district, a school board was to be elected with power to establish schools and levy rates for supporting them. It was believed that the cost of

education per child would be 30s. and that a rate of 3*d*. in the Pound would serve all the needs. School boards were also authorised to raise loans for school buildings.

(2) The school boards were permitted to frame by-laws for compulsory attendance of children between 5 and 12 years of age. Education was not made free; but power was given to the school boards to pay the fees of any necessitous child attending a public elementary school.

(3) Parliament agreed to give grants-in-aid to board schools as well as to voluntary schools. The school boards were not required to give any assistance to voluntary schools and all their funds were to be utilised for the maintenance of the board schools only.

(4) The religious question was also settled in a spirit of compromise. The demand for making education completely secular was not granted. The Education Act empowered the school boards to decide whether religious instruction was to be given in their schools or not. If it was decided to give it, the Act directed that ' no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught '. This is the famous Cowper-Temple clause and it included a good deal more than mere ' Bible-reading without note or comment '. The sponsors of this provision in the Act " hoped, that by imposing such limitation upon the discretion of the local boards, it would on one hand ' bring together the conflicting opinions of the various parties, and on the other, if not wholly get rid of what may be called denominational controversies, yet in a very large degree abate their acrimony and diminish their range besides, in a large number of cases, abrogating them altogether ".[22] In so far as the voluntary schools are concerned, power was reserved to the managers to decide the type of religious instruction to be given in the school subject to three reservations : Firstly, the door of treasury grants was opened to secular schools. ' Previously, a condition stipulated for grant was that a school must be either in connection with some recognised religious institution, or in addition to providing secular instruction, the Scriptures were read daily from the Authorised Version. This condition was now omitted and the obligation to give religious instruction in order to receive state grants was removed.[23] Secondly, parents who objected to the religious instruction imparted in a school were given the right to withdraw their children from such instruction only without withdrawing them from the school as a whole ; and thirdly, it was decided that religious instruction to be given in a school should either be in the beginning of the

22. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 127.
23. *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by J. Corlett, p. 50.

daily session of the school, at the end of it, in order to enable parents to withdraw their children conveniently from such instruction if they desired to do so. In so far as the board schools received grants-in-aid from the treasury, these three restrictions applied to them also.

This Act was a turning point in the history of elementary education in England and the education of the masses made great progress—qualitatively and quantitatively—between 1870 and 1902. The events of this period may conveniently be studied under the following heads :—

(1) Progress of voluntary efforts ;
(2) Progress of school boards ;
(3) Enforcement of compulsion ;
(4) Abolition of School Fees ;
(5) Changes in the Curriculum ;
(6) Rise in the cost of education ; and
(7) Methods of grant-in-aid.

(A) *Progress of Voluntary Efforts* : The party which supported the voluntary schools, particularly the denominational ones, received a challenge in the Act of 1870. It decided, therefore, to strive to the utmost to expand voluntary enterprise. Under the Act of 1870, a time-limit of six months only was allowed for submitting applications for building grants by voluntary schools. But even in this short period, as many as 2,885 applications were submitted. " The clergy and the National Society exhibited amazing energy and succeeded, according to their own account, in doing in 12 months, what in the normal course of events, would have taken 20 years ".[24] This zeal continued throughout the period and the following statistics will show the progress of private effort during this period :—

	1870	*1902*
Total number of voluntary schools ..	Not known	14,275
Accommodation ..	1,878,584	3,723,329
Number of Registers ..	1,693,059	3,074,149
Average Attendance ..	1,152,389	2,546,217
Voluntary subscription	£ 329,000	£ 670,324

(B) *Progress of School Boards* : On the other hand, the cause of school boards also made a great progress. School boards and School Attendance Committees[25] came to be established in ever-increasing numbers. On 1st January 1903, there were as many as 2,182 School

24. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by Birchenough, p. 138.
25. School Attendance Committees administered school attendance in districts where school boards did not exist.

Boards and 730 School Attendance Committees in England. They conducted 5,878 Schools with accommodation for 2,957,966 children. Actually, the number on rolls was 2,778,127 and the average attendance was 2,344,020. The grant earned by the board schools from Government was £1 1*s.* 7½*d.* per pupil.

A very interesting development of the period between 1870 and 1902 was the extension of the work of the school boards to secondary and technical education. The Act of 1870 defined an elementary school as one 'in which elementary education is the principal part of education given'. A flexible interpretation of this definition permitted the school boards to take up activities which were really of the nature of secondary education. At this time, there was a general deficiency of secondary schools and several boards began to organise a new type of educational institution called either 'higher-grade schools' or elementary schools with 'higher tops'. This tendency was encouraged because the pupils in such new types of schools could earn Education Department grants for passes in certain 'specific subjects'[26] and additional grants for examinations conducted by the Science and Art Department. These higher-grade schools or the 'higher tops' were really institutions which gave secondary education and in some of them, the pupils studied upto the age of sixteen. In the same way, the authority of school boards was extended to technical education also. In 1890, "a sum had been set aside to compensate publicans whose licences had not been renewed. It was an annually recurring contribution from the Customs and Excise. This 'whisky money' as it was called, was diverted by Parliament to local authorities for assisting technical education or for relief of rates, at their option. Most of them were sufficiently public-spirited to devote it to the first of these purposes".[27] Secondly, the boroughs and urban districts had power to levy a penny rate for secondary and technical education, and in 1902, as many as 350 authorities were rating themselves for the purpose.

This expansion of the activities of the school boards beyond the field of elementary education was desirable from the educational point of view. But it led to two main weaknesses in the system. Firstly, the secondary education imparted in board schools was not properly coordinated with that imparted in other types of secondary schools; and secondly, there was no proper legal basis for these activities. The Act of 1870 had entrusted elementary education only to the school boards and it was doubtful whether they could spend their funds on non-elementary education. The issue was clinched by Mr. Cockerton, an auditor, who disallowed the expenditure incurred by the London School Board on Science and Art classes in the higher-grade schools on the

26. For details, see Section (E) below.
27. *A Short History of English Education* by Barnard, p. 210.

ground that it was *ultra vires* of the Education Act of 1870. This view was upheld by the Court of Appeal and the position had to be legalised by passing a special emergency Act.

Another important extension of the work of the school boards was made by Acts of 1893 and 1899. The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act of 1893 which made the local authorities responsible for the compulsory education of blind and deaf children between 7 and 16 years of age; and the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899 permitted the local authorities to provide educational facilities for defective and epileptic children. Government grants at special rates were made available for all such educational work undertaken by the school boards for the afflicted and defective children.

(C) *Enforcement of Compulsion*: The Education Act of 1870 merely authorized the school boards to frame by-laws to enforce attendance. But the framing of such by-laws was not obligatory and no authority had the right to enforce attendance in areas for which a school board was not organised. For instance, in 1876, the total population of England and Wales was 22,712,266 (1871 Census). Of this, only a population of 12,522,537 or 55.1 per cent was under school boards and the population in areas for which by-laws were framed was still less, viz. 10,467,615 persons or 46.0 per cent. The Act of 1876, therefore, declared it to be the duty of every parent to send his children to school. It also penalised the employment of children under 10 years of age under penalty to the employer and authorized the establishment of school attendance committees in areas where school boards did not exist. This improved the situation a little and, in 1880, the population under school boards with by-laws was 55.5 per cent and that under school attendance committees was 16.1 per cent. This meant that a population of 28.4 per cent was still outside compulsion. The Act of 1880, therefore, went a step further and made it obligatory on school boards and school attendance committees to frame by-laws to enforce school attendance. No child between 10 and 13 years of age was allowed to be absent from school except after completion of a prescribed course of education. This improved the conditions at once and in 1881, the whole population came under compulsion—58.6 per cent under the boards and 41.4 per cent under school attendance committees.

But applying a compulsion law to the population is not enough and one must study how much of the total population of school-age is enrolled in schools and the percentage of daily attendance to enrolment. The following table shows the improvement that was gradually brought about in these matters during the period between 1870 and 1902.

Year	Total Population of England and Wales	Total Accommodation provided	Enrolment	Average attendance	Percentage of Enrolment to population	Average attendance to enrolment
1871	22,712,266	2,012,679	1,802,419	1,231,434	7.93	68.31
1881	25,974,439	4,389,633	4,045,362	2,863,535	15.57	70.78
1891	29,002,525	5,628,201	4,824,683	3,749,956	16.63	77.72
1901	32,527,843	6,610,416	5,758,143	4,731,911	17.7	82.17

By 1901, therefore, the programme of expansion may be said to be almost complete in England and this enabled her to undertake an intensive programme of educational improvement in the early years of this century.

Another interesting point of study in this case is the manner in which children were exempted under the by-laws of compulsion. In 1881-2, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education reported as follows :—

> "While 13, the maximum limit of age allowed by the Act of 1870, has been adopted in the large majority of cases, we find that out of 4,794 sets of by-laws, 237 cease to require attendance after 12 years, 13 after 11, and 39 after 10 years. Again of the 133 boroughs under school boards, 11 adopt standard VI, 93 standard V, and 29 standard IV for total exemption of children over 10 years of age ; while for partial exemption, 6 adopt standard V, 50 standard IV, 44 standard III and 15 standard II.[28]"

During this period, the standards for partial and total exemption from the Act were gradually raised until, in 1895, the partial exemptions were granted mostly for standards III and IV and the total exemptions for standards V and VI as the following figures will show :—

	Percentage of Population	
	Under partial exemption standards	Under Total exemption standards
Standard I	0.21	
" II	3.51	
" III	37.47	0.01
" IV	47.40	19.46
" V	4.65	41.30
" VI	0.01	38.66
" VII		0.42
No partial or total exemption	6.73	0.13

(Vide *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. I, p. 21.)

In 1899, the upper age-limit of compulsion was raised to 12 without exception and in 1900, the school boards were permitted to raise it to 14.

28. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. I, p. 17.

(D) *Abolition of School Fees* : Progress in the matter of the abolition of school fees was rather slow in England. The view taken by the Act of 1870 was that the state could not be called upon to pay fees for a child for the simple reason that it had compelled his attendance. Accordingly, fees continued to be levied in all schools in spite of compulsory attendance. But in 1891 the position was slightly modified and a poor parent was given the right to demand free education for his children. In such cases, a grant of 10*s*. on average attendance was made for each child between 3 and 15 years of age on condition that no fees were charged or that the existing fee was reduced by 10*s*. Secondly, provision was also made to establish free board schools in any district where such a step was considered necessary. Consequently, a large number of schools became free and fees in several schools were reduced. But even in 1902, it was estimated that not less than 600,000 children paid fees for elementary education.

This is how a historian describes the enforcement of complusion towards the end of the nineteenth century :—

> "Passing, too, were the difficulties, which must have seemed almost insuperable ten years earlier, of securing regular attendance or even any attendance at all. Here again the removal of fees had helped, the attendance leaping by 7 per cent to 10 per cent at once in certain areas and prosecution becoming easier.
>
> "The law was still very weak, the magistrates hostile, vacillating or tender-hearted. One might still read of parents convicted for the 20th, 30th, 40th and even the 61st time and of admission being sought by large numbers of children between six and ten who had never attended school before. Facts such as these seem shocking enough today, but it should not be forgotten that wages were often extremely low and that no system of unemployment insurance stood between the worker and the selling up of his home. The following letter is typical of thousands which used to reach the Education Department and the offices of the School Boards from parents who were able to express their feelings on paper, 'I now write a few lines to you to ask you if my daughters can leave school because we cannot finde them in clothes and food and keep a home for them any longer without there help there Father his 60 years of age and he goes 4 miles every morning and four miles back that makes 8 miles a day and then if it is fine all the week so he can work on the farm he gets 14*s*. but if it his wet he cannot work on the farm he his paid for the days he does work so his earning never amounts to more than 10*s*. a week and very often under 10*s*. in the winter months so what can we do if there should be any illness not a farthing to help ourselves with . . . 4*s*. rent for the house 4 children to keep in food and clothes to provide for in illness fireing and everything it really cnnot be it his impossib-le . . . no wonder the farmers do not prosper when they oppress the labourers has they do and and this cruel cruel law of a school board it his too bad we cannot cannot do it because the climate his not warmer enuff for them to go without clothes.' On the other hand experi-

ence was proving two things: first, that where it was distinctly understood that the law would be enforced, the difficulty was not insuperable; second, that the influence of a good teacher and of an attractive school was the best attendance officer. The civilising influence of the schools, too, had played its part. One reads less of the spirit of open defiance by parents which appears in such a lurid light in the evidence tendered to the Cross Commission by the superintendents of school visitors eight years previously.

"The country districts were as usual behind the towns. Potato picking in the autumn, turnip singling and potato dropping in spring, pea picking and the hay harvest in early summer gave for too many farmer members of School Boards a direct interest in irregularity of attendance, and supplied far too many parents with the wherewithal to pay any small fine which might be imposed. Epidemics, too, tended to neutralise the efforts of the school attendance staff. Measles, whooping cough and scarlatina spread by nature's provision for the cleaning of slates (spit and coat-sleeve!) were regarded and treated as trifles. Correspondingly they took a far heavier toll of a school population the vitality of which was generally lower largely owing to the absence of licensing hours—than it is today in a generation brought up in the principles of healthy living. Thus the predictions of those doctors who had opposed Mr. Forster's Education Act of 1870 on the ground that universal popular education would be the means of spreading every kind of infectious disease were to some extent justified. For another decade had to pass before the school medical service was born.[29]"

(E) *Changes in the Curriculum*: The Education Code of 1862 created six standards of elementary education and prescribed the following syllabus for each :—

	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic
Standard I	Narrative in monosyllables	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation letters, capital and small manuscript	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, figures upto 20 Name at sight figures upto 20. Add and subtract figures upto 10, orally, from examples on black-board
Standard II	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading-book used in the school	copy in manuscript character a line of print	A sum in simple addition or subtraction and the multiplication table.
Standard III	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school	A sentence from the same paragraph slowly read once and then dictated single words	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).
Standard IV	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading-book used in the school	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book but not from the paragraph read	A sum in compound rules (money).

29. *The Silent Social Revolution* by Lowndes, pp. 27-9.

	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic
Standard V	A few lines of poetry from a reading-book used in the first class of the school	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from a reading-book used in the first class of the school	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures).
Standard VI	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative slowly dictated once by a few words at a time	A sum in Practice or bills of parcels.[30]

At this time, the subjects of instruction were divided into two groups: the *compulsory subjects* which included reading, writing and arithmetic and voluntary or *specific subjects* which might be taught by individual schools in addition to the compulsory subjects. But as grants were paid for passes in the three R's only, the general tendency on the part of school managers was to give more and more time to the three R's and to neglect the voluntary subjects. In 1867, therefore, the Committee of Council offered special grants to schools that introduced a three years' course of instruction extending over standards IV, V and VI in one or two specific subjects such as Geography, History and Grammar in addition to the compulsory instruction in the three R's, the amount of the grant being fixed on individual examination of pupils. In other words, History, Geography and Grammar were introduced as optional subjects and the schools were required to teach, if they so desired, only one or two of these. In 1871, the curriculum in the three R's was revised and enlarged and the list of optional subjects was made to include Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Physical Geography, Natural Sciences, Political Economy, Languages (English literature or elements of Latin, French or German), and such other subjects of instruction as may be approved by the Inspector. Drill and Singing were encouraged.[31] In 1875, the curriculum was divided into three parts as follows :—

(1) *Compulsory subjects* which included Reading, Writing and Arithmetic and Needlework for girls.

(2) *Class subjects* which were optional for the whole school and included History, Geography, Grammar and plain Needlework. Not more than two of these subjects were to be taught, and if taught at all, they had to be taught throughout the course above standard I, and

(3) *Optional or specific subjects* which have been enumerated above and which might be taught to individual pupils in standards IV, V and VI.

30. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, pp. 346-7.
31. *History of Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 370.

In the same year, a special grant was also sanctioned to encourage singing and the teaching of cookery was permitted. In 1880, the list of class subjects was extended and made to include Natural History, Chemistry and Agriculture. The Code of 1882 introduced a seventh standard for examination purposes. Under its provisions, the class subjects were rearranged and made to include English Physical Geography and Elementary Science. The list of optional subjects was further extended to include Agriculture, Chemistry, Sound, Light and Heat, Magnetism and Electricity and Object Lessons. A grant was also sanctioned for instruction in Cookery. As a result of these recommendations of the Cross Commission (1886) a number of further changes were introduced. The essential subjects of elementary education were defined as 'Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Needlework for girls, linear drawing for boys, Singing, English, so as to give the children an adequate knowledge of their mother-tongue, English History taught by means of reading books; Geography, specially of the British Empire, lessons in common objects in lower standards leading up to a knowledge of elementary science in the higher standards.'[33] The number of compulsory subjects was raised to four in 1893, and the schools were required to teach one of the three subjects—History, Geography and Grammar—as an additional compulsory subject. In the same year, Drawing was made a compulsory subject; Domestic Economy was made a class subject for girls, Shorthand, Navigation, Horticulture and Hygiene were added to the optional subjects; grants were sanctioned for Laundry-work, Dairy-work and Housewifery; and Physical exercises, including swimming, gymnastics and Swedish drill were introduced.

(F) *Rise in the cost of Education*: Between 1870 and 1900, the cost of education was rising continuously. The cost of education per child rose because of the following factors:—

(i) Improvement in curriculum and standards of teaching;
(ii) Reduction in the number of pupils taught by each teacher; and
(iii) Provision of better buildings and equipment.

The following statistics show the rise in the cost of education per pupil:—

Year	Board Schools			Voluntary Schools		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1870		.....		1	5	4
1880	2	1	11¾	1	14	7¾
1890	2	5	11½	1	16	11½
1902	3	0	9	2	6	4

(Taken from p. 64 of *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by J. Corlett.)

32. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 370.
33. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenough, p. 374.

As the number of pupils in schools also increased very largely in this period, the total expenditure on education increased several fold. In 1901-02, the total expenditure on elementary education was £12,015,678 in England and £832,848 in Wales. Of this expenditure, the loan charges amounted to 17.9 per cent in England and 11.3 per cent in Wales. Of the remaining expenditure, 59.7 per cent (49.8 per cent in Wales) was met from rates and 40.3 per cent (50.2 per cent in Wales) was met from grants, fees, etc. In these prosperous days of England, Parliament could easily meet its share of this heavy cost. But the voluntary schools found it more and more difficult to adjust their budgets and even a number of school boards, particularly the boards in poorer localities, found themselves in the same predicament. Parliament had, therefore, to intervene and grant special assistance. This was done by the Voluntary Schools Act and the Elementary Education (Necessitous School Board) Act of 1897.

(G) *Methods of Grants-in-aid*: The methods of giving grant-in-aid to elementary schools underwent considerable changes during the period under review. It is unnecessary to narrate all the details. But it will be sufficient to state that the changes introduced into the system tended in three directions:—

(1) The old system of giving grants for a large variety of 'specific subjects' and for attendance was abolished and, in its place, a consolidated 'Principal Grant' was substituted. This was given at the rate of 21s. or 22s. per scholar (16 or 17s. for infants) and in deserving cases, higher rates were also given. The only grants for 'specific subjects' that survived in 1900 were those given for the special subjects of Cookery, Laundry, Dairy, Gardening and Manual Instruction;
(ii) the system of payment by results was gradually but finally abandoned; and
(iii) the amount of grant-in-aid was continuously increased to meet the rising cost of education.

In 1902, a situation exactly similar to that in 1870 arose again. Parliament had to intervene and establish school boards in 1870 because the system of voluntary schools was then about to collapse under the rising cost of education. In 1902, the finances of both the board and voluntary schools were strained to the utmost and the system was collapsing under the rising cost of education. Parliament had, therefore, to intervene again and this was done by the Balfour Act in 1902. This and the later developments in elementary education in England will, however, be dealt with in Chapters VI and VII.

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CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

(1815-1869)

3. 1 Introductory: The development of elementary education in England during the nineteenth century was traced in the course of the preceding chapter. Against this background, the development of primary education in the Province of Bombay during the same period will be traced in this and the two following chapters.

3. 2 The East India Company accepts responsibility for education: Although the East India Company was established as a company of traders on 31st December 1600, it soon became a political power in India. It is rather difficult to fix the exact date when the political activities of the Company may be said to have begun; but its political empire in India is generally held to have been established in 1765 when Shah Alum, the Emperor of Delhi, conferred upon it the *Diwani* of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. This made the Company the *de facto* ruler of about 30 millions of people. Henceforward, its political supremacy grew very rapidly and, during the course of the next 80 years, it became the ruler of almost the whole of India.

In the early years of its political rule, the Company was unwilling to undertake any educational activities. This was due to several reasons: firstly, the Company was busy with commerce and conquest, and did not, therefore, have any desire to undertake activities for social welfare. Secondly, even the British Parliament had accepted no responsibility for education during this period, and it is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise if the East India Company refused to undertake activities for which there were no precedents in England. Thirdly, the Company naturally felt that the education of the Indian people was a concern of Indians themselves and that it was *their* duty to provide all the educational institutions necessary.

But this attitude of inactivity was attacked on two fronts. On the one hand, some of the officers of the East India Company felt that it was the duty of the Company, as rulers, to promote the education of the people. They put forward several grounds in support of their view. For instance, they pointed out several instances in which the Indian rulers, both Hindu and Muslim, had assisted men of learning and insisted that, as successors of these rulers, the Company was bound in duty to assist the learned among the Indian people. Secondly, some of them were greatly convinced of the utility and importance of the literature in the classical Indian languages and felt that the Company must

encourage the study and publication of the available books in these languages. Thirdly, some of them pointed out the growing poverty of the Indian people which prevented them from educating themselves by private enterprise and argued that the Company must assist the people to educate themselves. Fourthly, some officers pointed out the great ignorance and low morals of the people and opined that these great evils could only be removed if the Company were to educate the people properly. And so on. This attack was kept up for about 40 years, i.e. between 1773 and 1812 by several officers. Their attempts were not successful in persuading the company to accept responsibility for the education of the Indian people. But they led, nevertheless, to the establishment of some educational institutions, like the Calcutta Madrassa or the Benares Sanskrit College, and payment of some grants-in-aid to a few private educational ventures, mostly by the missionaries.

The second attack on the Company's inactivity came from the missionaries. At this time, the Church looked upon education of the people as its exclusive domain and, in England, the Church had monopolised the efforts to educate and improve the people by imparting elementary instruction in general and religious education in particular. Without realising the difference between the socio-economic conditions in England and India, the missionaries wanted to do in India exactly what the Church did in England. In other words, they wanted to have a monopoly of educational effort in India to themselves and desired to improve the Indian people by imparting knowledge in Western literature and by converting them to Christianity. This was a Utopian project and the fun of it is that it was seriously entertained both by the Church and by those officers of the company who happened to be religious enthusiasts.

Unfortunately for them, the East India Company did not encourage the missionaries. It had no objection if they established schools for the education of the Europeans or of the Anglo-Indians. But it offered a strong opposition to all attempts of missionaries to educate or proselytise the Indian people. It would not permit missionaries to land or work in its territories because proselytisation would have evoked strong opposition from the people and endangered its empire. 'Religious neutrality' was a fundamental feature of its political policy and it ran counter to all efforts of the missionaries. Consequently, the missionaries raised an agitation in England and demanded the freedom to land in India, to organise schools, and to proselytise the people. They characterised the politically hostile administration of the company as 'ungodly' and 'anti-Christ' and appealed to Parliament to grant them those facilities which the Church already possessed in England.

As a result of these two attacks, the Company was compelled, in 1813, to accept responsibility for the education of the people. The

Charter Act of 1813 prescribed that, out of surplus revenues, a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year, 'shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India'. It also afforded facilities to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of establishing those benevolent designs. That meant that the missionaries 'were to be allowed to enter India and to reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties'.[1] The modern period in Indian Education really begins with these provisions of the Charter Act of 1813.

3. 3 Early beginnings: In so far as the Province of Bombay is concerned, efforts to organise a State educational system under the East India Company may be traced to Mountstuart Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827. Prior to his appointment as Governor, only two educational efforts had been made in the Province: the first was a *charity school* established in 1718 by Rev. Richard Cobbe on the model of the charity schools of contemporary England. This school was, however, intended for Anglo-Indian and European children only. The second attempt was the establishment of the Bombay Education Society in 1815 with the object of educating the illegitimate children of the Company's European soldiers. The schools of this society resembled the charity school of Rev. Richard Cobbe but they differed from it in so far as they admitted Indian children also. These schools were located in Bombay city only and in 1820 they had about 250 Indian children on their rolls.

The Province of Bombay was brought fully under the rule of the Company in 1818 when the Peshwa was deprived of his political power; and very soon afterwards, Mountstuart Elphinstone turned his attention to educational reforms. His first act was to establish, in 1821, the Poona Sanskrit College—with the main object of pacifying the Brahmin community. His next step was to separate the work which the Bombay Education Society did for Indian children and to establish in 1822, another Society for the purpose. This came to be known as the Bombay Native Education Society since 1827. His third act was to hold, in 1823, an enquiry into the condition of indigenous schools. It must be remembered that there existed, at this time, a considerable network of elementary schools conducted by the people themselves without any assistance from Government. It is, therefore, interesting to study the working of these schools and to compare them, both in quality and in quantity, to the voluntary schools of contemporary England.

1. *History of Missions in India* by Richter, p. 151.

3. 4 Condition of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay in 1823: Unfortunately, the statistics of indigenous schools collected under the orders of Elphinstone have little historical value. In the first place, they do not embrace the whole province; and Mr. R. V. Parulekar[2] has conclusively shown that these statistics cannot be relied upon *quantitatively* for two reasons: firstly, the enquiry was conducted in a hurry and by officials who were not interested in the problem. Secondly, the suspicion with which the Indians of those days looked upon all activities of the newly established Government made it impossible to obtain correct figures. But *qualitatively*, the enquiry of Elphinstone gives a very good account of the indigenous schools of this period.

A detailed description of these schools and the evaluation of their work is beyond the scope of this work.[3] But some of their main characteristics may be stated briefly.

(1) There were probably no separate buildings for schools. They were generally held in temples, houses of important persons of the locality, houses of the teachers themselves, or, in some cases, in sheds belonging to barbers, oilmen, and potters.

(2) They were a mobile institution and came into existence or disappeared according to the local demand. There was, therefore, no guarantee of continuity. A teacher started a school if he felt it worthwhile to do so in a given locality and closed it when the local demand failed.

(3) The strength of a school was generally small, except in towns and cities. The statistics of 1824 give the strength of a school as varying from 15 to 35 on average in the rural areas. The highest number on record is 150 for a school in the town of Kaira.

(4) They were generally non-communal in working and were open to all who could pay the usual fees charged by the school (except the untouchable castes).

(5) The teachers were predominantly Brahmins; but persons belonging to several other castes (such as Prabhus, Wanis, Marathas, etc.), also used to conduct primary schools. There were no women teachers.

(6) The remuneration of teachers was partly in cash and partly in kind. It was collected either according to seasons or from month to month or on special occasions. This was a very flexible matter and both the amount of remuneration and the manner of its payment was decided

2. *A Source Book of History of Education in the Bombay Province*, Part I, by R. V. Parulekar, pp. iii-iv.

3. The interested student is referred to the original documents published in the *Source Book of History of Education in the Bombay Province*, Part I, by R. V. Parulekar and to the masterly introduction to the volume.

between the teacher and the parents of the pupils according to mutual convenience. The total remuneration of a teacher varied from Rs. 3 per month to Rs. 12 per month or so.

(7) The minimum qualifications of teachers were a good handwriting, a capacity to read and write, and a working knowledge of elementary arithmetic and accounts. The curriculum of the schools was mostly limited to these subjects only.

(8) The reports show that pupils from almost all communities (except the untouchable castes) attended the primary schools. The majority of the pupils belonged to what are now called the 'advanced' castes. No girl pupils were reported.

(9) There were no printed books in use.

(10) The methods of teaching were crude and full of endless repetitions. The only interesting feature was the 'Monitorial' system which was later on copied in England.

(11) The duration of the course was not fixed and a pupil left the school as soon as he had learnt all that was needed for him or all that the teacher had to teach. There were also no 'classes' in the modern sense. But, on an average, a pupil continued at school for 3 to 4 years at the most.

The reports of 1824, it has been stated above, are not reliable quantitatively. But the following quotations from the writings of the officers of those days will give some idea of the extent of education that prevailed at this time in the Province of Bombay :—

> "I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more; many in every town and in larger cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps rupee a month to the school master; according to the ability of parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy, in my opinion, beyond what we meet with among the poorer orders in our own country; while the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, consciousness and clearness, I rather think fully equal to those of any British merchant."[4]

> "There are schools maintained by natives in almost every village in Candeish."[5]

4. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1832, p. 468.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

> "There are probably as great a proportion of persons in India who can read, write, and keep simple accounts as are to be found in European countries."[6]

Of course, it would not be fair to take these views too literally and to conclude that mass education in the Province was considerably advanced at this period. The utter absence of education among women and the untouchable castes and the rudimentary character of the instruction imparted in the average school are defects too glaring to be overlooked. At this period, there were no printed books, no newspapers and no post-offices in India. The demand for literacy was, therefore, confined only to the upper classes, viz. to the Brahmins, the landlords, the money-lenders, the traders, etc. The indigenous schools were conducted to meet this demand and, in most cases, the teachers were private entrepreneurs who made a tolerable living on the fees paid by the pupils, either in kind or in cash. Under such circumstances, primary education could hardly be expected to reach the masses and any attempt to picture the educational conditions of this period as *satisfactory* cannot be appreciated.

But it is also true this network of indigenous schools did not deserve the utter neglect it received at the hands of the educational authorities of this province. A comparison of these schools with the elementary schools of contemporary England would show that the indigenous schools were not much inferior to the elementary schools of England of the early nineteenth century. It would, therefore, be quite correct to assume that the indigenous schools could have been improved and incorporated in a national system of education just as the Committee of Council on Education in England assisted and encouraged the voluntary schools and finally incorporated them in the national education system. But unfortunately, our educational administrators adopted a policy of deliberate neglect of the indigenous institutions and even tried to compete with them through the departmental schools. The inevitable result of this suicidal policy was to destroy these schools and to deprive the country of their experience and traditions.

Secondly, a comparison of the educational conditions in India at this period with similar contemporary conditions in other countries shows that, in so far as the education of the males was concerned, India was not much backward. This was exactly the conclusion reached by Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, who, after analysing the statistics of indigenous schools collected in 1822, said that the state of education in that Province compared favourably with that in several European countries.[7] It would not, therefore, be far from truth to say that, at the opening of the nineteenth century, primary education in

6. *Fifth Annual Report of Bombay Education Society*, 1819, p. 11.
7. *Selections from the Records of the Government of Madras*, II, Appendix E.

India was not much inferior to that imparted in most nations of the world at this period. The unfortunate fact is that during the last 150 years, India has been moving along at a snail's pace while the European nations have been travelling at a tremendous speed. Consequently, there is a world of difference today between the educational progress of India and that of Western nations and this makes us forget or even unwilling to believe that India was almost on a level with these countries towards the close of the eighteenth century.

3. 5 Efforts of Mountstuart Elphinstone: Immediately upon its formation, the Bombay Native Education Society applied to the Government of Bombay for a grant-in-aid and it was on this application that Elphinstone wrote his famous Education Minute in 1823. In the course of this document, he made the following recommendations for organising an educational system in the Province of Bombay :—

> "1st, to *improve* the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to *increase* the number of schools; 2nd, to supply them with school-books; 3rd, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them; 4th, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; 5th, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages; 6th, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries; 7th, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge."[8]

It will be seen from these recommendations that Elphinstone never desired to set up Government schools in competition with the indigenous schools. On the other hand, he wanted to improve and multiply them. The only types of schools that he desired Government to establish were those for teaching English and Western Sciences. In other words, his idea was to develop the indigenous schools and to use official efforts merely to supplement their work.

These proposals of Elphinstone were not agreed to by Mr. Warden, a member of the Governor's Council. Mr. Warden had no faith in mass education. He believed rather in the *downward filtration theory* according to which culture was supposed to spread from the upper to the lower classes of the society. The supporters of this theory argued that Government need only educate the upper classes and leave it to them to educate the masses. Accordingly, Mr. Warden recommended the establishment of schools for teaching English only to the upper classes and opposed the proposal to aid, improve and multiply the indi-

8. *Minute*, para 7.

genous schools which were really meant for the masses. Owing to this difference of opinion between Elphinstone and Warden, the Court of Directors of the East India Company did not accord sanction to all the proposals of Elphinstone. They accepted the Bombay Native Education Society as their agent for the organisation of education in the Province just as, some years later, Parliament accepted the two religious societies as its agents for distribution of grants. A grant of Rs. 600 p.m. was sanctioned to the Society and the cost of compiling and printing its school books was also proposed to be borne by Government. Elphinstone left Bombay soon afterwards in 1827 and he could, therefore, do little to assist the indigenous schools.[9]

3. 6 Educational Development between 1827 and 1854: The Bombay Native Education Society remained in charge of the educational organisation in the Province till 1840 when it was abolished and replaced by a Board of Education of seven members of which three were nominated by the Society. This was a direct counterpart of the decision of Parliament, in 1839, to set up a Committee of Council for Education and to discontinue the agency of the two religious societies in distributing parliamentary grants.

While it was in office, the Bombay Native Education Society did a good deal of useful work in primary education. But according to its policy, 'primary education' meant only the spread of western knowledge through the Indian languages and the curriculum of its primary schools included, besides the three R's, such subjects as History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Trigonometry. It trained special teachers for such primary schools and, in 1840, conducted as many as 115 schools in different parts of the Province. But its novel concept of 'primary education' naturally excluded the indigenous schools which taught only the three R's. Consequently, the Society did nothing, throughout its period of office, to assist or improve the indigenous schools.

It is rather peculiar to note that the Revenue Department of the Company made an attempt to establish schools on the 'indigenous pattern' in the Purandar Taluka of the Poona Collectorate. The experiment owed its existence to the enthusiasm of a Captain Shortrede who was then the Assistant Collector of that part. His idea was to provide instruction for the masses in the three R's and consequently the curriculum of these schools was modelled on that of the indigenous schools. The teachers were recruited locally and paid salaries at Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 15 p.m. which worked out at an average of Rs. 4-8-0 p.m. only. The schools numbered 63 in 1840 and may be conveniently described as 'Government-managed indigenous schools'.

9. For details, vide *History of Education in India during the British period* by Nurullah and Naik, pp. 79-82.

The *Board of Education* was in existence from 1840 to 1855. Following the example of the Committee of Council for Education in England, the Board divided the Province into three educational divisions and placed a European Inspector with an Indian Assistant in charge of each. It continued the policy of the Bombay Native Education Society with reference to primary education and refused to assist indigenous schools. It even allowed the Purandar Schools of Captain Shortrede (transferred to its control in 1840) to die on the ground that the education imparted in them was valueless. It began multiplying 'primary schools' of the new type and undertook to establish such a primary school in any village where the population exceeded 2,000 and where the people gave a school-house, free of charge, and agreed to pay a fee of one anna per month per pupil. In 1853, there the Board conducted 216 primary schools with an enrolment of more than 12,000.

The Board's funds consisted of grants from the East India Company, donations from the public, and receipts from fees. In the early years, the progress of the new scheme of education was necessarily slow and no financial stringency was ever felt. But from 1851 onwards, the demands on the meagre resources of the Board began to increase so rapidly that attempts to secure additional funds began to be made. The earliest expedient adopted was the introduction of a scheme known as the *partially self-supporting system* under which the Board undertook to establish a primary school in any town or village if the local people agreed to the following conditions :—

(1) To pay half the salary of the teacher ;

(2) to provide, and keep in repair, a suitable school-house and furniture ; and

(3) to pay a fee of one anna per pupil per month.

A number of schools on these lines were opened. But the experiment did not succeed. Contributions, which were generally promised in a moment of enthusiasm or under pressure from a local magnet or zealous official, soon began to fall in arrears and became difficult to collect. The whole experiment was, therefore, stayed in 1858 under orders of the Government of India.[10]

3. 7 The Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859: In 1854, the famous *Wood's Education Despatch* arrived and gave a new lead to educational policies in India. It recommended that the downward filtration theory be abandoned and suggested that the efforts of Government ought to be directed to the education of the masses in a greater measure than before. Its general policy was that of the *voluntaryists* in England.

10. For details, vide *History of Education in India during the British Period* by Nurullah and Naik, pp. 363-7.

Consequently it directed the Government of India to assist private enterprise and to develop it to such an extent that Government should ultimately be able to withdraw from the field altogether. With this end in view, it recommended that, in so far as primary education was concerned, the indigenous schools should be wisely encouraged and incorporated into the official system of education. It directed the abolition of the Boards of Education and sanctioned the creation, in each Province, of an Education Department under the control of a Director of Public Instruction. But unfortunately, these healthy directives were not carried out in full. The Board of Education was abolished and an Education Department was created in 1855. But neither the Board, nor the Department, thought it worthwhile to assist the indigenous schools. All the additional funds that were made available to the Department, whether by increase of Government grants or by the levy of local funds as described in the section following, were used, not in assisting indigenous schools but in establishing a new type of Government primary school which directly competed with them. The Government primary schools were better, no doubt. But they were necessarily costlier and hence the progress of education was slower than what it would have been if the resources of the Department had been used in assisting the indigenous schools only.

In 1859, Lord Stanley, the then Secretary of State for India, wrote his Despatch on education. This Despatch was based on the view of that party in England which supported the establishment of secular schools by levying local rates and, therefore, it summarily declared that the voluntary principle and grant-in-aid system had failed in India and that steps should be taken to impose local rates and to establish primary schools for the people out of their proceeds. In 1854, the authorities in England had recommended a policy of assistance to private enterprise in general and indigenous schools in particular and although very little had been done in that direction during the next five years, they declared roundly in 1859 that the voluntary system had failed and that it should, in consequence, be abandoned. This contradiction, between the orders of 1854 and 1859 had no justification in the facts of history of education in India and the only way to explain it is to interpret the orders against the background of the controversy in England between the 'voluntaryists' on the one hand and the supporters of rate-aided public schools on the other. This is only one of series of instances where a wrong decision in Indian education was taken mainly owing to the fact that our educational administrators tried to impose contemporary English practices on India without taking into consideration the immense difference in the socio-economic conditions of the two nations.

3. 8 Establishment of the Local Fund Cess (1839-69) : The immediate effect of the Despatch of 1859 was to levy a local fund cess of one

anna on every rupee of land-revenue—a proposal that was equivalent to the levy of a 'local rate' as advocated in England. It must, however, be remembered that the idea of the local fund cess was not discovered by the Despatch of 1859. It really goes back to the year 1839 when Lieutenant Davidson, Assistant Superintendent of the Deccan Survey, proposed that a cess of 5 per cent on land-revenue should be collected to provide funds for 'establishment and support of schools in larger villages' and some other purposes calculated to improve the condition of the agriculturists. But Government was not then prepared to offend popular opinion by levying additional taxes and the proposal was dropped. Davidson, however, repeated his proposal again in 1843 in a slightly modified form. In this year, it had been decided to reduce the total assessment on land by Rs. 1,40,000. He proposed that a reduction of Rs. 20,000 should be withheld and spent on establishment of schools. But even this idea was turned down by the Court of Directors who were not prepared 'to authorize the dimunition of any indispensable reduction of land assessment for the establishment of local schools.[11] Nothing happened then for some years; but in 1849, the Collector of Belgaum suggested a levy of a cess of six pies in a rupee for construction and maintenance of roads. This revived the old proposal of Davidson and the whole matter was referred to Captain Wingate, the Revenue Survey Commissioner, for investigation and report.

In a very detailed and interesting letter, written in 1852, Captain Wingate supported the idea of levying a cess on land-revenue mainly because the expenditure from the cess would improve the conditions of the agriculturists and increase production. He, however, felt that no such cess could be legally levied because the assessment on land was guaranteed by Government for thirty years and, in consequence, the levy of a cess before the stipulated period was over, would be tentamount to a breach of this guarantee. He, therefore, suggested that out of the net collections of land-revenue, a sum not exceeding 3 to 5 per cent should be set aside to be spent on construction of roads and bridges and compulsory education of three years for children of agriculturists. Finally, he suggested that the amount of the cess should be managed by the Collector assisted, if necessary, by a Committee. It will be noted that these proposals closely resemble, with necessary modifications to suit Indian conditions, the proposals for establishment of rate-supported schools that were being discussed in England at this period. Their main flaw lay in the fact that the amount set aside was too small to achieve any substantial progress. But Captain Wingate, a revenue Official, could hardly be blamed for not realising the real immensity of the task of universal compulsory education.

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11. *History of the Local Fund Cess (appropriated to Education) in the Province of Bombay* by J. P. Naik, p. 2.

These proposals were circulated to officers and discussed, but hardly any action was taken till 1857. The legal difficulty pointed out by Captain Wingate—that the land assessment was guaranteed for 30 years and that it could not be increased on any account during the stipulated period—proved insurmountable. Government was neither prepared to alter the terms of the guarantee nor to set aside a part of land-revenue itself as suggested by Captain Wingate. But in 1857, the assessment of certain villages in Purandar Taluka was due for revision and, taking advantage of this, Government reserved to itself the right to levy an additional cess on land-revenue, not exceeding half an anna in the rupee, if it should establish a school in a village or a circle of villages. Orders were also issued to make a similar provision in all cases when land assessment became due for revision.

In 1860, an interesting decision was taken in the Education Department. Mr. Howard, the Director of Public Instruction, proposed, in 1857, the levy of a cess of six pies in a rupee in order to enable him to open humble village schools without throwing a burden on state revenues. This proposal was sanctioned conditionally and Government stated that 'they saw no obligation to the levy of the reserved six pies in any village *where the local officers might find a certified majority of the people in favour of the levy*'. The lessons of the so-called 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857 were still fresh, and the proviso was added to secure public support to the new taxation or at least to avoid offence to the feelings of the people at large.

Curiously enough, however, the same Government sanctioned, in the same year, two proposals for the levy of a one anna cess on land-revenue for 'improvement of internal communications' in the Erandole Taluka of West Khandesh and Sanksee Taluka of Kolaba where the land assessment fell due for revision. But a protest against these orders was soon raised and both of them were hastily cancelled six months later. The incident, however, had one bad effect. It obviously challenged the continuance of the education cess of six pies which was sanctioned earlier and, under G.M.E.D. No. 173 of 23-3-1861, it was decided to postpone the levy of the educational cess also. In 1861, therefore, the Province was again at the same point where it stood in 1839.

How long this vacillation and apathy of Government would have continued, it is difficult to say. But the orders of the Despatch of 1859 gradually made official opinion more favourable to the imposition of the cess; the nervousness created by the incidents of 1857 also passed off very soon; and as a combined result of these changes, the Government of Bombay sanctioned the levy of a local fund cess of one anna in every rupee on land-revenue in 1863. The necessity of passing a law was avoided and the difficulty resulting from the guaranteed assessment on land was overcome by describing this cess as a 'voluntary contribution' of the people and the show of obtaining a certified majority of local people in its support was kept up for quite a while.

Under the provisions of G.R.R.D. No. 3115 of 16-9-1863 which authorized the collection of the cess, a local fund cess of one anna for every rupee of land-revenue was to be collected. One-third of it was to be devoted to education and the remainder to the construction of roads, village wells, public buildings, and other objects of public utility. It was to be managed by Local Committees—District Committees under Collectors and Taluka Committees under Mamlatdars. The powers and duties of these committees were also specifically defined. These orders were obviously influenced by British ideas of rate-supported public schools.

Between 1863 and 1869, the cess was gradually extended to all the parts of the Province. There was hardly any opposition to its levy and all officers were unanimous in reporting that the people even welcomed it. This was ascribed to three reasons: lightness of the land-assessment, the growing prosperity of agriculturists due to a rise in the prices of agricultural commodities during the American Civil War, and the growing desire for education. Government, therefore, legalised the levy finally under the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1869. Henceforward the cess became a 'regular local rate' instead of a 'voluntary contribution' from the people. There can, however, be no doubt that it was a local rate right from its first impost in 1863.

3. 9 Levy of Local Rates in Urban Areas prior to 1870: The local fund cess was a tax on land-revenue and it was, therefore, a purely rural levy. On grounds of equity, it was necessary to levy a local rate in urban areas also for purposes of education and it was, therefore, suggested that a rate should be levied on the houses in urban areas and devoted to education. But unfortunately, the proposal did not materialise during the period under review.

It must be remembered that prior to 1850, there were no municipalities in the province and hence the primary schools in areas which came subsequently under a municipal administration were conducted entirely by the Board of Education, partly on Government grants and partly on receipts from fees and local subscriptions.

The establishment of municipalities began in 1850 and Act No. XXVI of that year provided that "a municipal agency should be established in any town or suburb on the application of its residents," and accordingly, a large number of municipalities came to be established within the next few years. But, at that time, education was not included within the sphere of municipal functions with the result that

these bodies could not legally incur any expenditure for educational purposes. Twelve years later, this unnecessary ban was removed by Act No. IX of 1862 and the municipalities were allowed to make contributions to the Education Department for the establishment and maintenance of schools within their areas. Unfortunately, this law was only 'permissive' and not 'obligatory'. Just as it was laid down in G.R.R.D. No. 3115 of 16-9-1863 that one-third of the local fund cess must be spent on education, it was possible to provide that a certain percentage of the municipal income must be devoted to education. It had also been suggested by the Director of Public Instruction that a special educational cess should be levied in towns.[12] But neither of these courses was adopted by Government. The Act merely legalised payment from municipal funds to the Education Department, and left the amount of contribution to the sweet will of the municipalities themselves.

Municipal assignments for education became available to the Education Department for the first time in 1862-63, when the following contributions were made or promised by the municipalities :—[13]

Name of the Municipality.	*Amount of Contribution per month.*
	Rs. a. p.
1. Ahmedabad	.. 362- 8-0
2. Surat	.. 100- 0-0
3. Kaira	.. 50- 0-0
4. Dholka (Ahmedabad District)	.. 27- 8-0
5. Parantij (Ahmedabad District)	.. 10- 0-0
6. Morassa (Broach District)	.. 5- 0-0
7. Jamboosar (Broach District)	.. 12- 8-0
8. Wai (Satara District)	.. 41-10-0
9. Karad (Satara District)	.. 41-10-8
10. Ranebennur (Dharwar District)	.. 35- 0-0
Total	Rs. 685-12-0

It will be seen that the response was very poor on the whole. Most of the assignments were from the Gujerat division; the assignments made by the two municipalities of Satara District were due to the 'very energetic persuasion' of Mr. Chapman, the Collector. The municipality of Ranebennur in the Dharwar District was the only municipality in the Southern Division to make any assignment for education. But in

12. *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay*, 1869-70, pp. 328 *et seq.*
13. *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay*, 1862-3, p. 24.

1863-64, the Educational Inspector reported that "the promised grant of Rs. 35 per mensem had never been made".[14]

The same tale of the lack of a liberal response on the part of the municipalities is told in every subsequent report of the Education Department. For example, the Educational Inspector, Southern Division, narrates the following incidents in his report for 1863-64 :—

> "The Municipal incomes in the four towns of the Dharwar subdivision into which alone the Municipal Act has been introduced average Rs. 3,357 per annum. Of these the richest is Hooblee, which has an income of about Rs. 9,000, but it was only through the great exertions and personal influence of Mr. Reid, the Acting Collector, who was good enough, while I was at Hooblee, to call a meeting of the Municipality at which he presided, that they were induced to give the paltry portion of their income shown above (i.e. Rs. 600). At Gudduck, one of the richest trading towns of the sub-division and a great cotton emporium, with an average Municipal income of Rs. 1,600, my personal exertions to induce the Municipality to assist in supporting the Government school were fruitless."[15]

A similar tale of failure to induce municipalities to make larger contributions to education was reported from the other Divisions also and the experience of the working of Act IX of 1862 was far from satisfactory.

3. 10 Effect of the Local Fund Cess on Educational Progress: It has been stated above that, at this time, the funds at the disposal of the Education Department came from three sources—popular contributions, fees, and grants from Government. Popular contributions were limited and were mostly received for secondary and higher education. The income from fees could not be considerable in primary schools. The main source of income was, therefore, grants from Government. These were inelastic and consequently the Department could not expand its activities although the need for more schools was continuously rising. In this predicament, the levy of the local fund cess came in as a godsend. Mr. E. I. Howard, the then Director of Public Instruction, observed that a 'season of plenty' had succeeded to 'the seven years of scarcity' and similar satisfaction was expressed in all quarters.

The larger resources thus made available were used for several purposes. A large amount was spent on buildings—following the example of the first Parliamentary grants for education. Considerable amounts were also spent on training of primary teachers and opening of new schools. The total number of primary schools in the Province increased from 702 in 1863-4 to 2,072 in 1870-1 and the enrolment

14. *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay*, 1863-4, p. 62.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

increased from 40,968 in 1863-4 to 1,15,660 in 1870-1. This was a progress hitherto unprecedented in the history of education in the Province.

There were, however, two flaws in these developments. Firstly, there was a great disparity between the taxes raised and the expenditure incurred in urban and rural areas. The low contributions of the municipalities to primary education were pointed out in section 3. 8. In direct contrast with this miserly attitude of the municipalities was the comparative liberality of the Department which spent large amounts on education within municipal areas year after year. Even if the expenditure on colleges, high schools, and middle schools which were mostly located in urban areas is excluded, the Department was spending a very large amount on primary education within urban areas—an amount which was far in excess of the contribution made by the municipalities themselves. It is, therefore, necessary to enquire into the problem more closely and understand the origin of this disparity between the small contributions to education made by the municipalities and the large educational expenditure incurred by the Department within their areas.

As shown in the preceding section, the funds available for primary education increased very greatly during the ten years from 1862-63 to 1871-72. This was due to three causes: firstly, Government grant for primary education increased to Rs. 1,88,538. Secondly, the imposition of the local fund cess on land revenue in 1863 followed by the universalization of its levy in 1869 brought in a large income of about Rs. 6,65,000 a year, which was mostly spent on primary education. Thirdly, the large increase of schools and scholars which resulted from these increases in expenditure on primary education was followed by a very substantial increase in the amount of fees received from pupils in primary schools. As these fees were credited to local funds, the large increase in their amount could again be used for further extension of primary education. To sum up, the funds available for primary education increased to about Rs. 9,43,000 in 1871-72! Indeed, money seemed to have been showered in the lap of the Education Department with a generosity which had no precedent in the history of education in the Province and with which, for a time, the expenditure incurred by the Department was quite unable to keep pace.

The largest part of this increase was due to the one-third share of the local fund cess which was contributed by the agriculturists in villages. The proper course for the Department, therefore, was to create a separate Primary Education Fund for rural areas consisting of the one-third part of the local fund cess, Government grants thereon, fees and other miscellaneous receipts from rural primary schools, etc. and to utilize it exclusively for establishing and maintaining primary schools

in villages. In fact, this was the object with which the local fund cess was originally imposed. But for some reason or the other, this equitable course was not adopted by the Department. Only one Educational Fund was created for each District including both urban and rural areas and was credited with the one-third part of the total cess realised in the District, the Government grant for primary education, contributions of municipalities in the District, fees received from pupils in all primary schools, etc. Consequently, it became impossible to distinguish between funds meant for rural areas and those for urban ones. What is still worse, the officials of the Education Department lost sight of the fact that the villagers who paid the cess had alone the right to claim new schools out of this fund and decided to open new schools in all such places where they were in popular demand or where they were likely to work successfully irrespective of the contributions made locally for primary education. In those days, the awakening among the people and the desire for education on modern lines was mostly confined to towns and hence the new schools opened by the Department came to be largely located in urban areas only. As a combined result of these two mistakes of omission and commission, there arose the disparity between the small contributions of municipalities and the large total expenditure on primary education in municipal areas and this led to several unhappy consequences which affected rural education adversely. Large amounts of local fund cess were utilized annually to make good the deficit on primary schools in municipal areas; the cess collected in villages was spent in towns; and the money intended for the education of agriculturists was largely utilised for the education of the non-agriculturists.

3. 11 Aims and Curricula of Primary Education (1823-70): It has been stated earlier that the Bombay Native Education Society made the first attempt to define 'primary education' in the twenties of the last century. This was an era of the first contact between the Indian and the Western civilization and the Indians of this period, dazzled by the achievements of Western science, were led to believe that they could do so no better than to imbibe Western knowledge. This concept was supported both by the officials of the company and the missionary workers in the field of education and all sections were agreed that the aim of education should be the spread of European knowledge. But strong differences of opinion arose on the question of the medium of instruction. One section of thinkers believed that Indians should first learn the English language and then acquire European knowledge through it, while another section advocated that new and suitable books should be compiled in the Indian languages and that European knowledge should

be conveyed to the masses through their mother-tongue. This controversy took a long time to be decided and, in the meanwhile, educational institutions to suit both these viewpoints were evolved. For example, the English schools of this period taught English and European knowledge through English while the primary schools taught European knowledge through the mother-tongue of the pupils.

As may be easily imagined, the curriculum of the so-called 'primary' schools of this period was over-burdened. It included reading and writing both the Balbodh and Modi scripts, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Astronomy, Geography, Natural Sciences, and History of England and India. Besides these, a candidate was allowed to study the Land Revenue Rules and Civil and Criminal Regulations if he wanted to qualify himself for a post under Government. The number of classes raised from six to ten and even single-teacher schools taught the full curriculum. The schools, therefore, were more like high schools teaching through the mother-tongue than primary schools proper.

Between 1823 and 1854, the courses of instruction in primary schools changed slightly from time to time; but the aim of primary education remained the same. For example, the regulations of primary schools issued by the Board of Education in 1840 provided that the curriculum of these schools would include 'reading, writing and grammar of the vernacular language of the Province; arithmetic and moral instruction and such other branches as may be, from time to time, determined on".[16] The vagueness of this regulation was defended by the Board on the ground that it wanted to avoid 'giving a character of permanency to that which in the present state of education ought not to be considered as fixed'.[17] A report from Captain Candy, dated May 1840, states, however, that pupils entered primary schools at about six years of age and continued there till 14 or 16 and that the subjects of instruction were reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography and moral instruction. But the details under 'reading and writing' included History of England and the Marathas and those under 'arithmetic' included elements of geometry and trigonometry.[18] A syllabus of these lines was generally in vogue till the Despatch of 1854 was received.

The Educational Despatch of 1854 did not define the aims of primary education as such. But it made two suggestions regarding the aims of the educational system as a whole. Firstly, it made an emphatic

16. *Report of the Board of Education*, Bombay, 1840-1, p. 126.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-3.

declaration that Indian education must aim at 'the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge'; and secondly, it directed that the active measures of Government should, in future, be directed to the important but hitherto neglected object of conveying 'useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, to the great mass of the people'. In order to realise these aims, the Despatch suggested the organisation of a net-work of graded educational institutions, or the construction of a 'ladder from the gutter to the University' to use a familiar phrase from Huxley. It envisaged an educational system 'beginning with the humblest elementary instruction and ending with a university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged towards obtaining superior education—by the award of scholarships'[19] proposed that the indigenous schools might be aided and incorporated into the system to give 'elementary education', that high schools teaching through English and mother-tongue should be established for secondary education, and that universities should be established to impart higher education.

Between 1854 and 1866, the Department of Education completed the construction of this educational ladder from the primary schools to the University; but in doing so, it unfortunately neglected some of the salient features of the reforms recommended by the Despatch of 1854. For example, the Despatch had recommended the establishment of high schools teaching through the medium of the Indian languages; but the Departments never carried this suggestion out and restricted the schools teaching through Indian languages to the lowest rungs of the educational ladder. But they did feel the influence of the English code of 1861 and the simple syllabus provided in it and consequently, the syllabus of the primary schools in India also came to be considerably simplified. In 1865-6, the following syllabus was prescribed for primary schools and, as in England, the system of *payment by results* was introduced with slight modifications to suit the Indian conditions :—

Standard I — Arithmetic—addition and multiplication tables.
Writing syllables.
Reading 1st and 2nd books.

Standard II — Arithmetic—Four Simple Rules.
Writing simple words.
Reading and explanation of 3rd book.

Standard III — Arithmetic upto the Rule of Three.
Writing to dictation from a senior school book.
Reading and explanation of 4th Book.

19. *History of Education in India* by Nurullah and Naik, p. 166.

Standard IV — Arithmetic complete.
Writing from dictation.
Reading current literature, including Newspapers.
Paraphrase of Poems from school Books.
Grammar.[20]

The educational ladder was thus completed. A pupil first entered the primary school and, after completing the four standards described above, passed on to a High School from whence he matriculated and joined a University. The only aim of a primary school under this system was to prepare pupils for secondary schools and although several changes were introduced in later years, this continues to be its most important aim even today.

The heavy curriculum of the so-called 'primary schools' of those days was the main reason which prevented the Bombay Native Education Society, the Board of Education, and the Department from encouraging and assisting the indigenous schools which taught the three R's only. When the syllabus of primary schools came to be simplified in 1865-6 as stated above, it was hoped that the old prejudices against the indigenous schools would disappear and that they would get encouragement at the hands of the Department. But unfortunately, this did not happen. The Department still put forward some excuses and refused to assist the indigenous schools. For instance, the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for 1870-1 contains the following passage :—

> "There is a clear demand for schools which restrict themselves to the three famous heads of instruction. 'Our lowest new Vernacular standards have therefore been made exceedingly simple. If this is a step to meet the indigenous schools, it is in my opinion a step in the right direction. Nothing can be made of the indigenous schools without training the masters, and to subsidize them as they are would be nearly as expensive as to supersede them by cheap Government schools which latter I consequently prefer to do. Branch schools, therefore, in which the two or at the most three, lowest Vernacular standards will form the course, are being established in smaller villages. Mental arithmetic, reading and writing of current hand, and other popular heads of learning, will receive special attention in them." [21]

The net result of this prejudiced and hostile policy was that the indigenous schools continued to be neglected throughout the period under review.

20. *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay*, 1865-66, pp. 172-3.
21. *Report of the D.P.I., Bombay*, 1870-1, p. 63.

3. 12 Expansion of Primary Education in 1870-1: The foregoing discussion must have shown that between 1823 and 1870, the funds at the disposal of the Education Department increased considerably (mainly owing to the levy of the local fund cess) but that the expansion of education was not equally rapid on account of the policy to neglect indigenous schools. The statistics of 1870-1 given below will completely support this view :—

No. of Schools	2,072
No. of Pupils	1,15,660
Government grant	Rs. 1,88,538
Total expenditure on Education from L. F. Cess	Rs. 6,93,391

3. 13 Comparison of Educational Developments in England with those in Bombay (1823-1870): It is interesting to compare the educational developments in England with those in the Province of Bombay between 1823 and 1870.

(1) The first Government grant to primary education in the Bombay province was sanctioned in 1823 and the local fund cess was levied as a voluntary rate in 1863 and as a compulsory tax in 1869. In England, the first Parliamentary grant was scanctioned in 1833 and the levy of local rates in support of public elementary schools was sanctioned in 1870. The orders, it may be noted, were passed earlier in India than in England—although the motive force of both was the same.

(2) At this time, all the educational effort in England was provided by voluntary schools. When Parliament sanctioned grants, they were utilised to aid and improve voluntary schools. In Bombay also, there was a large network of indigenous schools. They were not, of course, as numerous or as efficient as the voluntary schools of England. But they could have been developed to form a part of the national system. Instead of using their resources to aid and improve these schools, however, the authorities in Bombay set up their own schools in direct competition with them.

(3) In England, private enterprise in education was assisted on the ground that it educated the poor. In Bombay, mass education was not accepted as the goal of educational policy and class education under the *downward filtration theory* was the order of the day.

(4) In England, deliberate efforts were made, by Bell, Lancaster and others, to cheapen education and to take it to the masses. No such attempts were made in Bombay.

(5) In England, local rates were imposed to supplement voluntary efforts and Parliamentary grants were sanctioned in aid of both. In Bombay, the local fund cess was levied to make up for the inelesticity of the Government grant and the proceeds thereof were utilised, not to assist, but to destroy voluntary effort.

(6) In England, local rates were levied mainly on urban property. In Bombay, the cess was levied on land-revenue. There was no corresponding tax on urban properties at all.

These differences, coupled with the fact that this was an era of prosperity for England and impoverishment for India, show why education spread so rapidly in England and why it made so slow a progress in Bombay Province.

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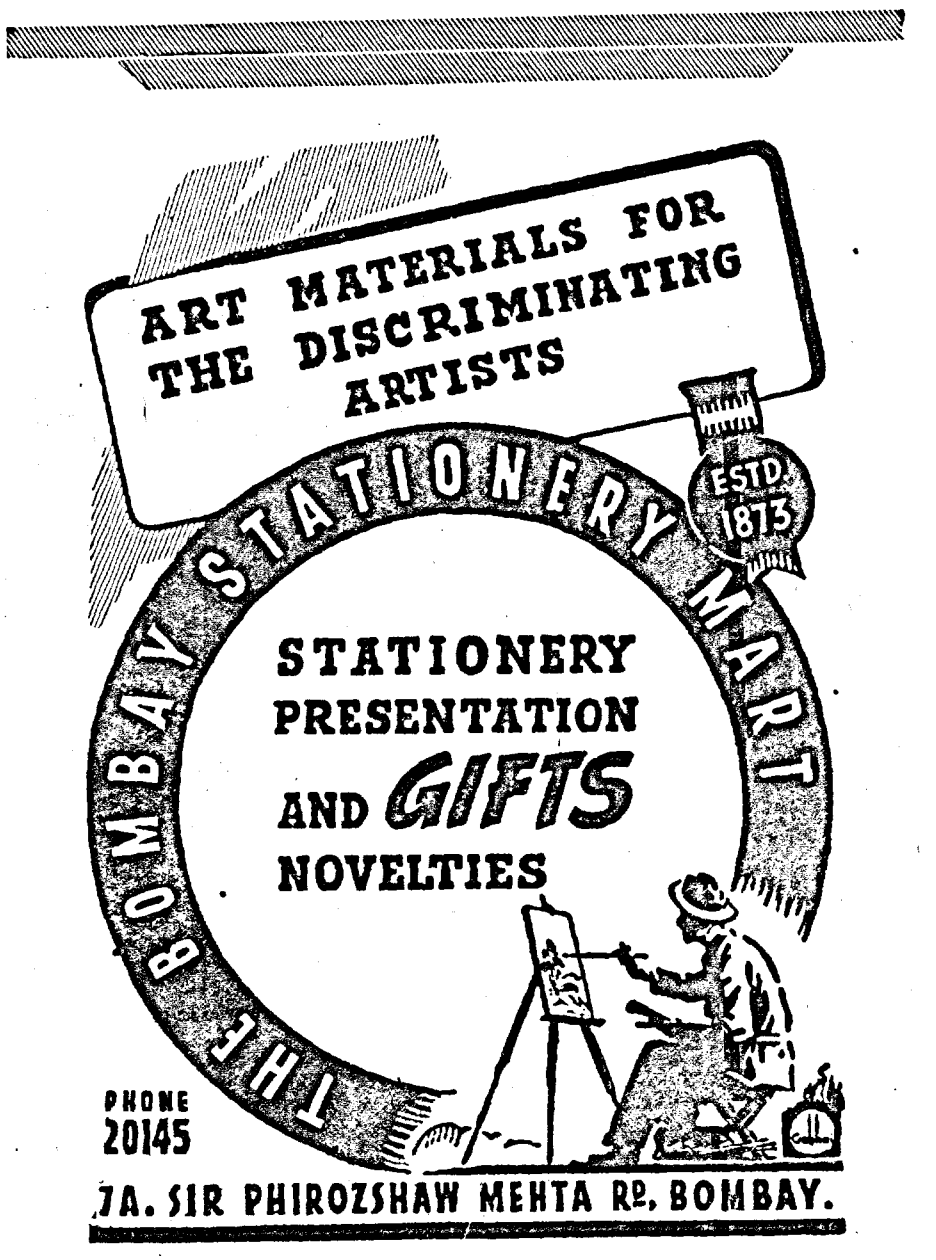

ADMINISTRATION OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS IN MADRAS

[A review of a Guide to Panchayat Administration. By K. [Vishwanatham. Published by the Author. Price Rs. 12]

The Madras Village Panchayat Act, 1920, was replaced by the Madras Local Board Act, 1930, which governs District Local Boards as well as Panchayats. The judicial powers are exercised under a separate Act. The object of including Panchayats under the Local Board Act was in conformity "with the policy of advancement that Panchayats should no longer be governed by a separate Act or otherwise treated differently." It was felt that "time had arrived for adopting a uniform system of Local Administration throughout the province and to that end the Madras Local Board Amendment Bill, 1930, provided for the constitution of Panchayats as units of Local Fund Administration" (Extracts from Statements of objects and reasons of the Madras Local Board Amendment Bill of 1930).

This consolidation of different units under one Act is in conformity with the practice in England. The English Local Government Act, 1933, deals with all units of Local Administration, Rural as well as Urban, Municipalities, County Councils, Parishes, etc. Accustomed as we are to separate Acts for separate units of Local Self-Governments in our province, we do not quite perceive what special advantage is obtained by consolidating all these Acts into one Omnibus Act. One can understand that where the country is practically wholly urban, say over 80%, the requirements of each area have a predominantly common urban character and therefore one comprehensive Act may deal with several units. In our country there is a big gulf between the Rural area which is predominant, and the urban area which is comparatively small. The latter however is markedly of a different complexion. It has therefore become necessary in all our provinces to have at least two sets of Acts—one for Rural and one for Urban. We, in our province, have found it even more convenient to have a separate Act for each class of units.

We have the Borough Municipal Act and the District Municipal Act under the Urban Group and the Local Board Act and the Gram Panchayat Act under the Rural Group. It may be that the former two Municipal Acts may be conveniently dealt with under one Act but the Madras experiment of uniting District Local Boards and Village Panchayats under one Act does not appear to us to be convenient. There is reason to believe that the legislative device is not found suitable even there. The author of the book under review remarks in his introduction as under: "Yet the plain fact is that the Madras Local Board Act, the rules made under it, the G.O.'s and other regulations, which were all

originally intended for District Boards only, are all far too complicated to be understood and grasped by Presidents of Panchayats, who are mostly simple village folk with little or no education." The result is most Presidents remain quite ignorant...With a view to put the legislative and sub-legislative measures in a simple form, Mr. Vishwanatham wrote his book, first in Telugu and Tamil and has now published this English version.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with the General constitution of a Panchayat Board—wherein are included such subjects as Panchayat meetings, Duties, etc. of Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Members, Elections, Jurisdiction of the Panchayat, Panchayat Officer, the Audit of Accounts and Reports, the Controlling and Inspecting Officers, etc.

Part II deals with the Sources of Income-taxes, licence fees, remunerative and miscellaneous income, etc.

Part III deals with the duties and work of a Panchayat Board together with Miscellaneous items like acquisitions, suits, etc.

Part IV consists of 32 Appendices giving certain rules, Bye-laws, Forms, etc.

Establishment of Panchayat

A Panchayat *can be* established if: (1) Population (1941 Census) is more than 1,000, *and* (2) ½ anna Local Fund Cess (which is payable to Panchayats) amounts to Rs. 200 or more.

It appears that even if these two conditions are satisfied the establishment of a Panchayat is not compulsory. Government may not establish it unless they are satisfied that there are no factions in a village and there are persons who would successfully manage the institution.

Major and Minor Panchayats

Those with normal annual incomes of less than Rs. 3,000 are Minor Panchayats; those with higher income are called Major Panchayats. Government appoint whole-time Executive Officers of all Major Panchayats with an income of Rs. 5,000 and over and may appoint such officers if income is between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 5,000.

"These Officers", the author, who is a Government District Panchayat Officer, tells us, "Carry out the resolutions of the Panchayat and thus carry on the Administration. The author assures us that the appointment of these Officers does not in any way reduce the powers of a Panchayat. *If any member thinks so, it is a mistake.*"

Audit of Major Panchayat is carried on by Superior Audit Officers. When Government notify in Government *Gazette* that they propose to

appoint Executive Officers in Major Panchayats these are shown as *Notified Panchayats.*

Number of Seats in a Panchayat

A schedule has been framed fixing the number of seats depending upon the population of the village; the minimum number being 8 and maximum 16, the working principle appears to be 8 seats for a population of 1,500 with one additional seat for every additional 500.

Reservation of Seats

Reservation is provided for (1) scheduled classes, (2) Indian Christians, and (3) Muslims; but not for women as in Bombay. Total number of reserved seats is not to exceed ¼th of the total strength.

Elections

Members:—Elections are generally by show of hand. In larger Panchayats—ward elections by ballet are held.

Oath:—Members take oath of allegiance before leaving office.

Election of President and Vice-President:—Nominations are invited from candidates for Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship. Nominations are proposed and seconded by members.

Election Expenses are paid by Village Panchayats.

Disqualification of members

A member disqualified for absence for 3 months can be restored to membership by the Panchayat itself.

Duties of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Members

They are practically the same as in the Bombay Village Panchayat Act, subject, however, to the performance of executive functions in Major Panchayat by the Executive Officers appointed by Government.

Hierarchy of Inspectors

It is interesting to note that there is a Hierarchy of Inspectors—roughly as under:—

1. **Inspector of Local Boards and Municipalities.**—Government have delegated all Local Self-Government powers to this Officer.

2. **Deputy Inspectors of Local Boards and Municipalities.**—These Inspectors sanction expenditure, etc. by Village Panchayats. Practically the Highest authority for Village Panchayats.

3. **District Panchayat Officers.**—Panchayats communicate with higher authorities through this officer. Direct contact with Village Panchayats.

4. **Assistant Panchayat Officers.**—Auditing, check measuring works, etc. Other authorities with power of Inspection are:—

(1) Presidents, District Local Board, (2) Collectors, (3) Divisional Officers, (4) District Public Health Officers, (5) Director of Public Instructions, etc.

We may take a brief notice of some of these sources.

(1) **Land Cess:**—As in the Bombay Village Panchayats Act of 1933, Village Panchayats get 1/4th of 2 annas local fund cess, i.e. Re. 0-0-6 in a rupee. Excepting Local Fund cess, *no tax is compulsory.*

(2) **Entertainment Tax:**—Under the Madras Entertainment Act, Government collects this tax on *the sale of tickets in* dramas, cinemas, circuses, etc. Government return the proceeds to Village Panchayats after deducting 10% collection charges.

We may do well to copy this procedure for our province. Income from this source to Village Panchayats in Madras is sometimes substantial.

(3) **Surcharge on Registration fees:**—This is a duty on the sale of immovable properties collected by the Registration Department and thereafter paid by the Collector to the Panchayat.

We may also copy this for our province. It sometimes yields large amounts in Madras.

(4) **House Tax:**—Levy of this tax does not appear to be compulsory.

(5) **Profession Tax:**—It is a very useful tax. It is levied on practically everybody who gets any income other than through agriculture subject to the condition that the income is in excess of Rs. 300 per half year. Maximum amount of As. 8 is levied on half-yearly income of Rs. 300 *pro-rata* on higher incomes.

(6) **Tax on Land:**—Sometimes, though rarely, Government sanction the levy of tax on agricultural land by Village Panchayats (rate Re. 1 to 5 per acre).

(7) **License fee on dangerous and offensive trades:**—About 19 such trades are mentioned in schedule VII of the Madras Local Boards Act which come under such category. A schedule of fees is also given. It would appear that Village Panchayats may be able to obtain some amount from this source.

Panchayats' Sources of Income

(Part II, Pp. 111—263)

1. Taxes	2. Fees (Licence fees on)	3. Remunerative Enterprises	4. Communal Income	5. Miscellaneous
1. Land Cess (1)	1. Dangerous & Offensive trade (7)	1. Market fees	1. Fishery Rents (9)	1. Magisterial fines (12)
2. Entertainment Tax (2)	2. Factories & Workshops (8)	2. Cart-stand fees	2. Grass Sales	2. Interest on Deposits
3. Surcharge on Registration (3)	3. Encroachments	3. Bus-stand fees	3. Usufruct & Windfalls of trees	3. Contributions
4. House Tax (4)	4. Burial Grounds	4. Slaughter House fees	4. Withered & Windfallen trees	4. Grants (13)
5. Professional Tax (5)	5. Quarries	5. Fees on Ferries	5. Street sweeping, cattle droppings & other rubbish	5. Sale of old articles, newspapers
6. Tax on carts & Carriages	6. Pigs & Dogs	6. Private Scavenging fees	6. Porambokes (10)	6. Rent & Product of land
7. Tax on animals	7. Private Markets & Cart-stands	7. Fees on fairs & festivals		7. Loans & Advances
8. Tax on lands (6)	8. Entertainments			8. District Board contract works (14)

(8) **License fees on factories and workshop:**—Madras Government have fixed the maximum fee leviable under this head and this is levied on horse-power. A schedule giving such maximum fee is prescribed.

(9) **Fishery Rents:**—Income of sale of fish in the village tanks is called 'Fishery Rents'.

(10) **Grass Sales:**—Income from sale of grass growing in tank bunds, canal bunds, roads, etc.

(11) **Porambokes:**—Under these are included Village cart stands, grazing grounds, burial grounds, etc. All these Porambokes are under the control of Collectors and they are at Panchayat's request transferred to them for regulating and making some revenue.

(12) **Magisterial fines:**—Fines imposed by Magistrates for various offences under the Madras Local Board Act are made over to Village Panchayats after deducting 10%.

(13) **Grants:**—*(a)* Sanctioned by Inspector of Local Boards.

Government of Madras places annually about 2 lacs at the disposal of the officer for distribution of Grants to Panchayats. These are given for inter-village roads and also for construction of culverts, which need not be inter-village. The grant is *limited to half the cost of the work, the other half being paid* by the Panchayat getting the grant.

(b) **Grants by the Collector:**—These are made by the Collector from the funds placed at its disposal by Government of India. This requires to be investigated, as the Village Panchayats in the Province of Bombay do not obtain any such grants.

In Madras, these grants are given for the construction and improvement of Roads, Wells, tanks, latrines on this basis, viz. the Collector gives 2/3rd the cost, the Panchayat spending only 1/3rd the estimated cost.

(14) **District Board Contract Works:**—If District Local Board entrust the execution of this work to Panchayat on contract, the profits may go to Panchayat Fund.

Panchayat Duties

Duties are divided into 3 classes:—(1) Essential, (2) Important and Remunerative, and (3) Cultural or Educational and others as under:—

The most Essential duties of a Panchayat are the following:—

1. Construction of new roads and maintenance and repairing of existing roads.

2. Construction of new wells and tanks, maintenance and repairing of existing ones and keeping all water sources clean and free from contamination.
3. Keeping the village clean and getting the streets swept regularly.
4. Providing lighting for the village.
5. Constructing latrines and maintaining them in proper condition.

No less important and remunerative duties than the above are the following:—

1. Construction and maintenance of markets.
2. Construction and maintenance of cart-stands.
3. Construction and maintenance of Bus stands.
4. Construction and maintenance of Slaughter houses.
5. Construction and maintenance of Ferries.
6. Managing and improving porambokes.
7. Planting and maintaining avenues.
8. Controlling fairs and festivals.
9. Controlling dangerous and offensive trades, factories and industries and entertainments.

Next in importance come the following functions:—

1. The establishment and maintenance of elementary schools.
2. The opening of libraries.
3. The establishment of reading rooms.
4. The celebration of health weeks.
5. The construction of parks.
6. The maintenance of Radios.
7. The provision of agricultural education and amenities.
8. The provision of medical relief.
9. Presentation of addresses to distinguished visitors.
10. The provision of burial grounds.
11. The provision of breeding bulls.
12. The maintenance of centres of physical culture.
13. The detection of encroachments and dealing with them.

Chapter II Part III of the Book is important for practical working purposes:—It gives instructions as to how (1) estimates are prepared, (2) Sanction obtained and works carried out (*a*) Departmentally, or (*b*) through Government agencies, or (*c*) by Contract. Method of check measurement by Government agencies is a special feature—though it is difficult to understand what big staff Government may be engaging for these purposes.

Each of the duties mentioned above are then taken up *seriatim* and detailed instructions are given as to how each item can be carried out efficiently.

Important educational activities are mentioned in Chapter V which is also important. It shows how District Local Boards and Panchayats have been trusted and encouraged to undertake educational work, how schools are to be established and maintained; in fact every educational phase had been treated in detail. Data as to actual work that is turned out by the Panchayats under the head of educational activities are not available. If, however, a fraction of what is stated is put into practice, much progress is assured.

A word about the author. Mr. Vishwanatham is a Direct Panchayat Officer. His work discloses a good insight into the practical working of Panchayats. This book is stated to be corrected upto March 1947. If so, it would at first sight appear strange that the books does not mention anywhere the Madras Village Panchayat Act, 1946 (XII of 1946), which after having received the assent of the Governor-General was published in the Madras Government *Gazette* on 9th April 1946. This Act enacted several important changes in the law relating to Panchayats as prevailing under the Local Board Amendment Act, 1930, which is the basis of Mr. Vishwanatham's book. For example, the provisions relating to Village Panchayats have been separated from those of the Local Boards and a separate Panchayat Act is framed, as we have in our province.

Section 5(2)—Number of members—5 to 15.

Section 6(3)—Revenue Patil is made *ex-officio* member.

Section 6(4)—Europeans and Anglo-Indians have been given reserved seats.

Section 10(5)—Franchise has been made identical with that of the Madras Legislative Assembly.

Sections 1-23(6)—Panchayat has to pay the salaries of Executive Officers appointed by Government.

Sections 1-29(7)—Registrar-General of Panchayats has been given powers of control, e.g. sanctioning schedule of staff, grades, etc.

Section 37(8)—Collectors, etc. are placed under Registrar-General of Panchayats as regards control of Panchayat.

Section 47(9)—The Board of Revenue has been authorised to transfer to Panchayats, Village forests, irrigation works, etc.

Section 56(10)—House tax and Vehicle tax are compulsory (compare our Act amended last month).

Section 56(2)—Panchayats may levy land cess at Re. 0-3-0 in a rupee of annual letting value.

Section 56(3)—Panchayats may levy land cess at Re. 0-3-0 in a rupee of annual letting value a tax on advertisement.

Section 62(II)—Village Headman may be required by Panchayats to collect Panchayats taxes—He may be paid 6¼% of commission. The above list is not exhaustive.

We are informed that this Governor's Act of 1946 was not brought into effect. It was reported that the Congress Ministry recently prepared a Bill called the Madras Village Republic Act. Copies of these however have not been published as yet. It would be interesting to learn what changes are made to justify the title of the new Act.

In Madras, we have little doubt that the book must have found wide publicity and found useful to all Panchayats and indispensable to the Panchayat Presidents. To those outside the Madras Province, the book is of absorbing interest. Students of comparative working of Village Panchayats will find this work of great value.

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SUPERSESSION OF LOCAL BODIES

By K. J. SHIVDASANI
Chief Officer, D. L. B. Larkana, Sind.

It is very remarkable that out of the local bodies in Sind, it should be only the municipalities, on whom should fall the axe of supersession, and after the Mirpurkhas Municipality and Karachi Corporation have been victims to it—as is being heard in the press—no municipality of any importance excepting probably Sukkur will have escaped from this axe. Should it be supposed from the fact that there has been no supersession of any District Local Board that the administration of these Boards in comparison to the municipalities is running smoothly and efficiently and to the entire satisfaction of the Government? The above remark is only by the way and has no relation to the idea underlying this article which is that the Government are as much responsible for the administration of the local bodies, as the latter themselves are and the failure in administration leading to their supersession reflects as much discredit to them as to the Government. In a group of bodies, you may generally come across one or two examples of recalcitrant type whom it may rather be difficult to properly supervise, control and set right; but if it becomes necessary to supersede practically all the municipalities, the reasons for such a state of affairs should be sought, not only in the inefficiency of administration by these bodies but also in the lack of supervision and control by the Government.

2. While discussing measures of reform in the domain of Local Self-Government, it has always been strongly urged, by the non-official elements in the provincial legislatures that a large measure of independence is necessary to the vitality of Local Self-Government. The latter as seen in India is run on a model that is witnessed in Britain and some countries of the European continent and the principles which govern its application can only be deduced from the practice of those countries. The systems of the European Continental nations provide for an elaborate and detailed control by the representatives of the Central Government. In an educationally backward Province of Sind, where powers are exercised without feeling any responsibility, there are always dangers, to which a system of administration dependent to a greater or less extent upon the inexperienced and untrained agency of non-official gentlemen, having groups among themselves based more on religious and other considerations, rather than on civic principles, is naturally exposed. It was therefore emphasized when Bombay Government introduced the new Local Board Act in 1923, and the Borough Municipalities Act in 1925 that with the advance of the Local Self-Government and the consequent grant of wider powers to, extensions in the functions of and devolving of additional duties on, the Local bodies, it was necessary, not only to retain the then existing powers of control, but that with the extension of these bodies and the weakening of the con-

trol from within, it was all the more necessary to strengthen the powers of control of the Provincial Government.

3. That this control by Central Authority is in no way injurious to Self-Government is borne out by the following extracts.

> "In the administration of National services it is of the utmost importance that the Central Authority should endeavour to secure uniformity, efficiency and economy and with this object, it should be invested with extensive powers of control."—Lord Balfour.
> "The claim for complete local autonomy for the freedom of the inhabitants 'to do what they like with their own' is incompatible with national well-being...." "In the interest of the whole nation it is necessary to secure that Local Authorities shall maintain a minimum standard of efficiency and that there shall be uniformity in the conduct of at least some public services."—Sidney Webb.

4. With the object of providing a sufficient remedy for correcting any abuses or errors which may occur in the use of new powers given to local bodies under the two Acts referred to above, the Government provided a chapter in these Acts, in which are recorded the powers of control delegated to the Collector, the Commissioner and the Government. It is not necessary to state these powers here, for any one can find them out from the two Acts and also other similar Acts for other bodies than Local Boards and Borough Municipalities, but their perusal will convince any body, that, given necessary time, a Collector could set any refractory body right, provided he was zealous, took necessary interest and adopted the right attitude. The powers of control do not go much beyond those reserved to Governments of the European countries and when they do so the difference is due to the different circumstances of European and Indian communities. It is very unfortunate that a Collector is always an over-worked official who, as my experience of nearly twenty-five years goes, has never been able to afford any time at all, to devote to the study of local bodies' problems, particularly the financial one, on which depends the success of any local administration. An illustration of the lack of interest taken by the Collectors will be found in the case of D.L.B. Larkana, not one of the thousands of whose resolutions passed during the last 25 years was ever challenged and suspended under the powers of control on account of its being unlawful, though one could come across numerous examples of illegal decisions taken by them in that period. The Commissioner is also equally responsible for the failure to effectively supervise and control the local bodies and deals only with such questions as are brought to his notice by the Collectors. Another noteworthy feature, that has further weakened the administration, is the influence that could be exercised over the ministers, by any of the smallest fish, to obtain decisions from the Government through them to his advantage in matters concerning local

bodies. Whereas inertia marks the conduct of district officers in respect of affairs of local bodies, contrary is the case of the Government who have rather been rash, as the supersessions show, in respect of use of their powers of control. They have misinterpreted them with power of interference in the working of the bodies, which does not exist in any Act and thus have been encroaching on their rights and privileges. I am reminded here of the great author Joad's saying that morality nowadays is the interest of the stronger. The stronger control the Government and not only make laws but interpret them as they would. They are not unnaturally made in their own interests. The matters are so contrived that by the mere process of obeying the laws, the citizens are led to further the interests of those who govern them. Morality which is the name we give to law-abiding conduct is therefore a device on the part of rulers to ensure subservience on the part of their subjects and a hold on them.

5. To help improve the administration of the local bodies and regulate their conduct there are other means besides the powers of control. I mean the payment of subsidies and grant-in-aid by Government to them. The history of the improvement of local services under Local Self-Government in England during the last half century, is the history of utilization of grants-in-aid for the enforcement of national supervision and control over the local authorities. As in England, so in India as well. The first condition that is suggested in regard to payment of grants is that these are conditional on the efficient administration of the services in respect of which they are given and are made subject to general power of reduction and regulation on the part of supervising authority. But this should not mean that the Government should attach to every grant-in-aid, stipulations limiting the discretion of the local bodies, in the matter of spending their funds, nor will it be expedient that pains and penalties should be threatened in individual cases. In order to safeguard the dignity of the local bodies, occasions for the use of financial pressure and decrease in grants-in-aid should be reduced to a minimum, and decisions taken after a thorough and intimate knowledge of the circumstances in each case.

6. I have so far offered no constructive criticism in respect of avoiding these supersessions and shall proceed to do it now, by suggesting that there should be some tightening of control, through creation of an appointment of Local Self-Government Commissioner who should be assisted by both an outdoor and indoor staff. He will replace both the Collector and the Commissioner in respect of affairs of the local bodies and shall have to be assigned all the powers and responsibilities vested now in the latter, and possibly some of those that are now exercised by the Government. The outdoor staff who will be designated as Inspectors will help by thorough investigation of the problems on the spot, having intimate contacts and personal discussion with local offi-

cers, and getting to the bottom of things to correctly assess and appreciate the questions relating to local bodies. The idea of having outdoor staff to assist the Local Self-Government Commissioner is not a new one and is based on the analogy of Inspectors employed by the Ministry of Health in England, who act, as has been said, as 'the eyes and ears' of Central Government. The appointment of Local Self-Government Commissioner was suggested by the Jamshed Committee as well, though they made no mention of the appointment of Inspectors without whom the Local Self-Government Commissioner will be unable to do anything. In addition to the duty of supervising and controlling the local bodies, the new important duty that will devolve on this officer will be to co-ordinate their work and regulate the administration by not only preparing model laws and rules for their adoption but issuing day-to-day instructions and regulations on a number of subjects directing them as to the manner in which their duties under the different status are to be carried out and assisting them with his suggestions as to the solutions of difficult problems they may present.

Finally, it is necessary to offer some solution in cases, where complications arise due to difference in opinions held by the Government and local bodies, or due to different interpretations put on the wording and spirit of law relating to Local Self-Government. At present the Government force their decisions on the local bodies in spite of challenges thrown by the latter, which creates bad blood. To avoid this, the Government should make a provision in the Acts, enabling them to have the power to obtain a writ of "Mandamus" from the Chief Court to require a local body to carry out an order or be guilty of contempt of court with the attendant liability of punishment. The local body concerned shall have an opportunity to present their viewpoint of the case before the Court. This power once existed in India but was taken away by the Specific Relief Act of 1879.

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(Bombay Province.)

TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1947 AND AUDITED STATEMENTS OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1946-47

I have the pleasure to submit to the Provincial Council of the Institute the Twentieth Annual Report for the year ending 31st December 1947 and the Statements of Accounts for the year 1946-47 audited by the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts and also by the Hon. Auditor, Mr. R. N. Rajadnya.

The Executive Committee

The Provincial Council in its Meeting dated 22nd February 1947 elected the following members to form the Executive Committee:—

1. L. M. Patil, Esqr., B.A., LL.B., M.L.A., *President.*
2. G. D. Vartak, Esqr., B.A., M.L.A., *Vice-President.*
3. S. S. Naik, Esqr., B.A., B.Sc., (Edin.), L.C.E., *Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.*
4. S. S. Pradhan, Esqr., B.A., LL.B., *Jt. Hon. Secretary.*
5. R. V. Parulekar, Esqr., M.A., M.Ed., T.D. (Lond.).
6. Annasaheb G. Awate, Esqr.
7. S. S. Matti, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.
8. Padam K. Illava, Esqr., B.A.
9. M. N. Wantmurimath, Esqr.
10. W. G. Shetye, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.
11. N. S. Patil, Esqr.

Honorary Office-Bearers

The following members were the Office-bearers during the year under report:—

1. *President*:—L. M. Patil, Esqr., B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
2. *Vice-President*:—G. D. Vartak, Esqr., B.A., M.L.A.
3. *Hon. Secretary & Treasurer*:—S. S. Naik, Esqr., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E.

4. *Jt. Hon. Secretary* :—S. S. Pradhan, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.

5. *Hon. Auditor* :—R. N. Rajadnya, Esqr.

Membership. Membership of the Institute continues to have practically the same strength as in the year 1945-46. Some of the Panchayats however failed to pay their subscription for 1947.

Activities of the Institute

The following Conferences were held during the year under report :—

Conferences. 1. Maharashtra Divisional Conference of Local Bodies at Ahmednagar. This Conference was held on 24th and 25th January 1947. The President-elect Shri Bhausaheb Raut was unfortunately involved in a motor accident and could not therefore preside on the occasion. Shri S. S. More, was good enough to accept the Presidentship which was offered to him by the Delegates.

2. Gujarat Divisional Conference of Local Bodies at Nadiad. This Conference was held on 1st and 2nd February 1947 under the Presidentship of Dr. Chandulal M. Desai of Broach.

3. Karnatak Divisional Conference of Local Bodies at Hubli. This Conference was held on 1st and 2nd March 1947, under the Presidentship of Shri S. K. Patil, President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

Training Classes. During the year under report, Communal disturbances had adverse effect on admission of pupils who could not find any accommodation nor safety. The housing accommodation was not at all available for students coming from outside our Training Class Centres at Bombay, Poona and Ahmedabad. The latter two Centres therefore could not be worked and the Bombay Centre had to be run with only a limited number of students. The result was that our gross income from this source which was estimated at Rs. 4,000 fell short by about Rs. 700.

In order to enable new Matriculation students to get admission to the Training Classes, the session periods were altered. The new periods now are January to May and July to December. It is hoped that this will be found more convenient.

Mr. Patel, the Bombay Municipal Commissioner, I am glad to inform the Provincial Council, has commenced to take interest in our Training Classes. Due to the encouragement he has proposed to offer to the Municipal employees of the Bombay Corporation, it is expected that our Classes will again have a larger number of students than hitherto. It would however take some time to reach pre-war level because of the housing troubles in the cities like Bombay, Poona and Ahmedabad. Our attempt to open a Centre at Dharwar could not succeed because

applications from that Centre were not received to enable us to open a Centre there.

Journals. The English Quarterly Journal continued to be published during the year. Permission to revert to the original size having been obtained, the English Quarterly is now being published in its former size. The Vernacular Journals, however, will take some time to be published as printing difficulties continue.

Publications. The following Works have been published during the year under report :—

1. *Control of Municipal Administration in the Madras Presidency* by V. Venkata Rao, M.A., M.Litt.
2. *Roads* by S. S. Naik., Esqr., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E. (New Edition).
3. *The Financial Administration in the Madras District Municipalities* by V. Venkata Rao, M.A., M.Litt.
4. *Rural Finance in British India* by Bimala Kanta Sarkar, M.A.
5. *Social Services Administration* (In the Madras District Municipalities) by V. Venkata Rao, M.A., M.Litt.
6. *Notes on Conservancy and Drainage* by S. E. Wadia, B.E., A.M.I.E., M.R. San. I. (Reprint).
7. *Principles of Rating in England and in India* (Second Edition) by N. S. Kowshik, Esqr., B.A.
8. *Self-Governing Aundh* (Report of the Chapekar Committee).

Research Scholars. Research students continue to take advantage of the Institute's Library which has been recognised by the University of Bombay for post-graduate studies under the guidance of myself and Mr. Barfivala, Director of the Institute. Four graduates have been registered under me for Ph.D. and six graduates under Mr. Barfivala for the M.A. Degree.

Book-Depot. Activities of our Book-depot have been revived and are likely to grow when transport and printing restrictions are removed.

Purchase of Stores. The Institute has been rendering a highly beneficial service to Local Bodies in the matter of purchasing a great variety of stores required by them. The Institute was able to secure for Local Bodies articles at controlled rates which otherwise it would not have been possible for them to secure. In several cases highest Government Authorities were approached by the Institute and stores for Local Bodies were purchased with their assistance.

Paper Supply. With the continued co-operation of the Government of India and of Bombay, the Institute has been able to give papers to Local Bodies at much below even the controlled rates. Local Bodies are saving more than a hundred thousand rupees annually on account of this service rendered to them by the Institute. An offshoot of this activity is the supply of envelopes to Local Bodies, which the Institute has undertaken to manufacture, print and distribute. Here, again, the Local Bodies who availed themselves of this service have been benefitted considerably because the sale price has been fixed much below the controlled rates fixed by Government. Another offshoot of this activity is the printing and supply of Vernacular Muster Rolls to School Boards at rates which have been certified by the Superintendent, Government Printing & Stationery, Bombay, as reasonable. They are sold at prices below the rates quoted outside.

School Boards have saved considerable amount by making purchases of such Muster Rolls from the Institute. Moreover, Institute has been able to supply Muster Rolls in time whereas Government Press was overwhelmed with work and could not cope with the demand of School Boards which shot up by the introduction of compulsory Primary Education.

Scrutiny of Forms required by Local Bodies. The Government of Bombay continued to entrust to the Institute the work of scrutinising the requirements of Local Bodies pertaining to numerous printed forms required by them to be purchased from Yervada Prison Press.

Stationery. Special arrangements have been made with manufacturers of Carbon papers, Ink, Ink pads and other stationery articles for obtaining these supplies at competitive rates and for distributing them to Local Bodies. Further articles are supposed to be included in this scheme.

The following other activities are continued this year also.

1. Maintaining an Employment Bureau for L.S.G.D. Diploma-holders of the Institute. 2. Giving of information and advice to Local Bodies on a variety of Educational, Administrative, Legal and Technical subjects.

Establishment of the Institute's Printing Press. The Provincial Council have already authorised me to purchase and establish a Printing Press for the Institute. A Progress Report on this subject is being circulated to the Provincial Council.

Audit of Accounts. The Statement of Accounts of the Institute for the year 1946-47 audited by the Hon. Auditor Mr. R N. Rajadnya is appended hereto. The Auditor has offered the following remarks :

"I examined the accounts of the Institute for the year 1946-47 for four days from the 28th to 31st July 1947, and found them well maintained and in order. The work has tremendously increased and it does great credit to Honorary Secretary Mr. Naik and Director Mr. Barfivala and, to the small staff that they are able to manage the work so efficiently. Every one of them must have put in at least double the quantity of the usual work and the quality has been maintained to such a high pitch."

The audit note of the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, on the accounts of the Institute for the year 1946-47 is annexed herewith.

Institute's Staff. I repeat what I stated in my last Report about the Institute's staff. "The staff of the Institute has continued to put in most strenuous work despite the fact that the work has increased manifold and entails heavier responsibilities and attendance for longer periods. I wish we could show our sympathies and better appreciation of the sincere ungrudging output of heavy and responsible work particularly when we are passing through days of great hardship. No praise of Mr. Barfivala is too high, looking to the extraordinary ability that he brings to bear on the Institute's activities."

S. S. NAIK,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer,
Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay.

Audit note on the Accounts of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay Province, Bombay, for the year 1946-47.

Office of the Accountant-General,
Local Audit Department,
Bombay, November 21st, 1947.

No. L.23/A-2922 of 1947-48.

From,

The Examiner,
Local Fund Accounts,
Bombay.

To,

The Secretary to the Government,
Health and Local Government Department,
Bombay.

The accounts of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay Province, for the year 1946-47, were audited between 27th August and 1st September 1947.

2. The accounts were found to have been well maintained and no remarks are called for.

3. It is gratifying to note that there was full co-operation and the minor points were settled on the spot.

4. A statement of accounts of the Institute for the year 1946-47 prepared in the form approved by Government is appended to this note duly certified as correct.

For (T. N. S. RATNAM)
Examiner,
Local Fund Accounts.

No. L.23/A-2923 of 1947-48.

Copy forwarded to :—

The Honorary Secretary & Treasurer,
Local Self-Government Institute.

The Senior Auditor, Bombay, III Circle (V.G.P.).

(Sd.)
Examiner.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE
(Bombay Province)
Statement of Account for the year 1946-47

Particulars		Receipts		Expenditure		Expenditure Classified by Sub-heads						Miscellaneous	
						Establishment		Stationery and Printing		Postage			
		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Opening Balance :—													
Head Office	...	34,571 12 3											
Branches	...	694 6 0											
			35,266 2 3										
Subscription	...		16,114 6 0										
Government grant	...		3,000 0 0										
Government grant for Books	...		1,000 0 0										
Public Education	...		2,266 11 0										
General Administration	...		...		2,531 11 0								
Library and Equipment	...		...		18,911 6 0								
Unpaid bills	...		2,334 2 9		1,368 1 0								
Conferences	...		...		...								
Investments	...		...		361 10 3								
Miscellaneous	...		14,233 4 9		11,013 12 0								
Training classes	...		3,318 0 0		312 9 3								
Deposits	...		34,396 14 10		572 7 6								
Advances	...		111 0 0		561 8 2								
Closing Balance :—													
Head Office	...	70,120 5 2											
Branches	...	287 3 3											
					70,407 8 5								
	Rs.		1,06,040 9 7		1,06,040 9 7	13,030 4 0		729 1 6		933 8 0		1,443 4 0	

Verified and found correct.

(Sd.) T. N. S. RATNAM,
Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, Bombay.

The Closing balance of Rs. 70,407-8-5 includes Rs. 6,431-4-5 being Employee's Provident Fund account. It also includes Rs. 55,652-7-6 being deposits for paper supply etc., from local bodies and Rs. 3,966-11-0 being Primary Education Survey Advance.

The closing balance excludes the following investments :—

		Rs.	a.	p.
3% conversion 1948/86 (Face value)	...	39,000	0	0
One share of Poona Central Co-operative Bank	...	50	0	0
2% loan 1961 (Face value)	...	11,000	0	0
	Rs.	50,050	0	0

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE
(Bombay Province)

Statement of Account for the year 1946-47

Particulars	Receipts Rs.	a.	p.	Particulars	Receipts Rs.	a.	p.
Opening Balance	*35,266	2	3	Primary Education Scheme	195	3	0
Membership Subscription	10,114	6	0	Rent	1,023	4	0
Interest	1,098	10	0	T. C. Travelling	138	8	6
Government Grant	3,000	0	0	Provident Fund Payments	561	8	2
T. C. Fees	3,318	0	0	General Administration :—			
Dead Stock	290	0	0	Contingency	996	15	0
Government Grant for Books	1,000	0	0	Stationery and Printing	729	1	6
Income from sales of Journals and other publications including advertisement Revenue	2,266	11	0	T. C. Advertisement	433	15	0
				General Administration :—			
Provident Fund Loan	111	0	0	Establishment	13,030	4	0
T. C. Deposits	10	0	0	Postage	933	8	0
Unpaid Bills	2,334	2	9	Audit Fees	243	7	0
Suspense Account	34,098	3	0	Travelling and Meetings	1,778	5	6
Directory Publication Fund	6,000	0	0	Library and Equipment	1,368	1	0
Recoupment of Paper Supply expenses included under Expenditure side under various heads and Paper Supply Receipts	6,844	10	9	2½% Government Securities	11,013	12	0
				Journals and other Publications	2,336	8	0
				Institute's General Provident Fund	69	2	3
Provident Fund Account :—				Telephone	420	0	0
Employee's Contribution	219	9	7	Conferences	361	10	3
Institute's Contribution	69	2	3	Balance	†70,407	8	5
	1,06,040	9	7		1,06,040	9	7

* The opening Balance of Rs. 35,266-2-3 is exclusive of Government Securities of Rs. 39,000/- and a share of Poona Central Co-operative Bank, Poona of Rs. 50/- and inclusive of Rs. 6,031-8-7 being Provident Fund Account. This also includes Rs. 21,554-4-6 being deposits under suspense account and Rs. 4,161-14-0 as Primary Education Survey Advance.

† The closing balance of Rs. 70,407-8-5 is exclusive of Government Securities of Rs. 50,000/- and a share of Poona Central Co-operative Bank, Poona of Rs. 50/- and inclusive of Rs. 6,431-4-5 being Provident Fund Account. This also includes Rs. 55,652-7-6 being deposits under Suspense account and Rs. 3,966-11-0 as Primary Education Survey Advance.

(Sd.) R. N. RAJADNYA,
Honorary Auditor,
Local Self-Government Institute.

(Sd.) S. S. NAIK,
Honorary Secretary,
Local Self-Government Institute.

ABSTRACTS FROM REPORT ON

GREATER POONA.

UNIFICATION OF THE EXISTING MUNICIPALITIES.

The idea of amalgamation of the Poona municipal bodies is not new. On 17th February 1933, a resolution was passed by

First Proposal 1933 the Poona City Municipality recommending to Government that a combined Municipality should be constituted in place of the present four local bodies, viz. (1) the Poona Suburban Municipality, (2) the Poona City Municipality, (3) the Poona Cantonment Board and (4) the Kirkee Cantonment Board, While forwarding the resolution to Government, the President of the Municipality pointed out that the four local bodies were already grouped together for purposes of "Octroi", but for all other purposes they were independant of each other; and that a combined administration would be more efficient and economical. Government, however, replied that the proposal was not feasible (115).

Second proposal 1939 The question was revived in 1939, when the Standing Committee of the Poona City Municipality passed a resolution that the Municipality should be raised to the status of a Corporation embrasing within its jurisdiction the areas now under the administration of the Poona Suburban Municipality and the Poona and Kirkee Cantonment Boards, and decided to to send a deputation to wait upon the Minister of Local Self-Government. But, meanwhile, the war broke out and the ministry resigned. In 1940, the Kale Committee in its report (paragraph 156) recommended the amalgamation of the Poona City and Poona Suburban Municipalities and observed that separate running of the two institutons was not at all justifiable. It, however, appears that this recommendation did not find favour in some quarters, and the proposal was eventually dropped (116).

Third proposal, 1941-42 In 1941, the City Municipality reiterated its demand for a Corporation but as Government were then pre-occupied with war problem, they postponed consideration of the question. The Greater Poona movement was started again in 1942, under the auspices of the Poona Rotary Club, when two suggestions came to be made, one for immediate application and the other by way of long term planning. As regards the first, it was suggested that meetings of Executive Officers (including Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Chirmen of Standing Committees) should be arranged periodically—say at least once in two months—for discussion of problems of common interest to all the local bodies within Greater Poona and that as regards the second an Assembly to be called "Greater Poona Assembly" should be created, consisting of 250 members, including (1) all councillors or members of

(*a*) the Poona City Municipality, (*b*) the Poona Suburban Municipality, (*c*) the Poona Cantonment Board, (*d*) the Kirkee Cantonment Board, (*e*) the Bopodi Village Panchayat, (*f*) the Aundh Village Panchayat, (2) Executive Officers of the above local bodies, (3) the President and Executive Officers of the Poona District Local Board and (4) representatives of Government and various educational, women's and other organizations; and this assembly should meet once every three or six months to discuss subjects of common interest to Greater Poona, such as drainage, water-supply, refuse removal and disposal, fire service, measures against epidemics and malaria, civic education, leper problem, public gardens and town planning. The idea appeared to be to make some concession to local patriotism and not "to force anything on the local bodies against their free will". It was also provided that "works of purely local utility should be looked after by the local body concerned, but that the works of common utility should be planned and carried out in co-operation with the neighbouring bodies". This movement did not make much headway (117).

Fouth proposal 1946

In March 1946, the City Municipality passed a fresh resolution for raising it to the status of a Corporation. This was followed, in May 1946, by a representation to Government from one of the citizens that the administration of the Poona City Municipality was unsatisfactory, that the councillors constantly interfered with the duties of the executive, that the City was fast growing and would soon assume great importance on account of the proposed University, Research Laboratory and Military Academy, and that it was necessary to raise the status of the Poona City Municipality to that of a Municipal Corporation to enable it to carry out its growing responsibilities efficiently and economically. Another representation was made to Government in August 1946 signed by about three hundred citizens of Poona wherein the same request was repeated. The views of the Local Bodies concerned were then ascertained by Government and it was found that the Poona Suburban Municipality was opposed to the merger on the ground that it would lead to deterioration of its standard of administration. The Military authorities opposed the amalgamation of the Poona and Kirkee Cantonment areas with those of the Poona City Municipality for military reasons. The Commissioner, Central Division, then convened a conference of the representatives of all the local bodies and the two Cantoment Boards on the 10th March 1947 at which the same divergence of opinion revealed itself. He, however, agreed with the view previously expressed by his predecessor that the case for amalgamation was over-whelming, that it would bring the best talent to the common task of municipal administration, that it would facilitate development and slum clearance and that it would result in economy in administration. Thereafter our Committee was appointed by

Government to examine the whole question and to make its recommendations (118).

Objections by Cantonment Board considered

Before proceeding to discuss the benefits of amalgamation, it is necessary to consider the objections raised by the Poona Suburban Municipality and the Poona and Kirkee Cantonment Boards. The latter's objection is mainly on military grounds. The areas under the control of these Boards fall within the jurisdiction of the Central (Union) Government. That being so, it might seem beyond our competence to go into the question of bringing these areas under the Greater Poona administration, but we are convinced that any scheme of municipal government for Greater Poona which isolates and keeps out the Cantonment areas will be halting and incomplete, and we therefore suggest that negotiations should be started by the Provincial Government with the Central (Union) Government at the earliest opportunity with a view to bringing these areas within the ambit of Greater Poona, so that not only the municipal services like drainage, conservancy, water supply, etc., could be rendered to all the areas more economically and efficiently but a uniform policy could be adopted for the betterment of civic life in its various aspects throughout the jurisdiction of the Greater Poona Municipality. In this connection the instance of Bombay City where no separate municipal administration is provided for the areas occupied by the military forces at Colaba may be cited. There do not seem to be any special reasons for keeping such areas at Poona segregated. We are told that the question of land tenure of building sites in these areas might give rise to some difficulties. We, however, feel that whatever those difficulties might be, they could be overcome by Government. Besides, these Cantonments have a large civil population and their needs would be better served in association with the civil population in the neighbouring areas. These Boards are at present financed by Government and it is possible that by amalgamation Government's financial liability might be reduced to some extent. However, if for any military reasons it is considered essential to vest the control over the administration of certain specified areas in these Cantonments in the military authorities, it would always be open to Government to withdraw such areas from the jurisdiction of the Greater Poona Municipality after consultation with it (119).

Objections by the Poona Suburban Municipality considered

The opposition of the Poona Suburban Municipality to its amalgamation with the Poona City Municipality seems to be based mainly on two grounds viz. (1) that the administration of the City Municipality is, according to it, not satisfactory and its meger with it will lower the tone of administration in the suburban area, and (2) that the

incidence of taxation would rise. The former is a self-complacent view, which it will be difficult to support if all the circumstances are taken into account. In the first place, it is not clear why a separate Municipality was established by Government in close proximity to the City Municipality when the interests of both the Municipalities are common in all respects; and even if it was considered necessary at that time, perhaps with a view to avoiding the imposition of additional burden on the City Municipality of developing the suburban area, there seems hardly any reason now why the Suburban Municipality should take such an isolationist and narrow view when its association with the City Municipality is more likely to improve the administration of the latter Municipality than to bring about a deterioration in the standard of administration in the suburban area. It is contended by some persons that the so-called "efficiency" of municipal administration in the Poona suburban area is due partly to the area of its administration being small and partly to the substantial help received from Government in carrying out some of the essential services. It is also pointed out that nearly 50 per cent. of the suburban municipal revenue is obtained through the Poona City Municipality, which collects octroi for it, and that its population being only 20,000 and dispersed, its sanitary and health problems are relatively less complicated. As against this, it is urged that the Poona City Municipality has to administer a large area with little assistance from Government and that its population is about four lacs crowded within a limited area, which naturally gives rise to difficult problems of health, sanitation, conservancy etc., that nevetheless it has done its best and whatever weaknesses in the administration are noticeable are mainly due to the present unsatisfactory constitutional arrangements under which the executive authority of administrative officers is constantly hampered and that with the raising of the Municipality to the status of a Corporation, and the strengthening of the Executive, greater efficiency can be achieved (120).

As regards the apprehension of the Suburban Municipality that amalgamation would result in raising the incidence of taxation, it has already been observed that a greater proportion of some of its essential services are at present being carried out by Government and that if as in the case of the City Municipality, the burden of maintaining all the services including water supply, drainage, roads, etc., were to be borne almost wholly by the Suburban Municipality it would necessarily have to increase its taxes. It is doubtful if in that case it will be able to maintain its present level of taxation even though liberal assistance may be given to it by Government by grant-in-aid or by providing additional sources of revenue. It is not a sound principle to promote small units of civic administration in juxtaposition to a large unit, especially when they are not capable of being

economically independent and are perforce required constantly to rely on Government help for their existence (121).

It is common experience that independent existence of local authorities in close proximity to each other without natural barriers creates many difficult problems of administration. The taxation policy of these authorities may differ and with it the incidence of taxation. Apart from inconvenience to the public, this may inevitably result in some persons taking advantage of easy communications between these areas for the purpose of evading taxes. So far as octroi is concerned, evasion has been prevented by these local authorities by a joint cordon. The success of joint action in this case would suggest the advisability, nay even the necessity, of joint administration in other spheres like medical relief, public health and prevention of epidemics. These activities, if carried out by small and independent units, will be costly and may endanger the health of all the units. Moreover, these units will not be able to undertake independently larger public utility services like public transport, water supply, drainage, slum clearance and housing for which necessary finance, technical ability and adequate organisation will be lacking (122).

Advantages of amalgamation

Having dealt with the objections to the merger, we may now consider its advantages. The amalgamation of the four local bodies viz. the Poona City Municipality, the Poona Suburban Municipality, the Poona Cantonment Board and the Kirkee Cantonment Board into one unified Municipal Corporation will open up vast vistas of development and town planning and improvement in administration and economy. It will extinguish the present artificial barriers between uneconomic units and consclidate them into one homagenous whole, in which rich segments can come to the rescue of poor ones in regard to expenditure on slum clearance, sanitation and health. It will enlarge the area of administration and avoid multiplicity of executive officers, all of the same status and doing similar work. There will be uniformity of policy, which may help scientific replanning and uniform development of the whole area into one living and well-knit organism. There will be pooling of resources of the local bodies, which might enable the new Corporate body to provide better amenities. It will further increase the borrowing capacity of new body and enable it to raise loans for large schemes of public utility. It will also help to foster a cosmopolitan outlook instead of a parochial one among the citizens of Greater Poona, which is very necessary on account of its position as an important centre of education and as the headquarters of Government for five months in the year. In short, the amalgamation of the different units into one unified authority with the status of a Municipal Corporation will tend to make the administration far more progressive, enlightened and efficient than at present (123).

Recommendations.

†. . . . . a reference has been made to the arrangements existing between the Poona City Municipality and the Poona Suburban Municipality in regard to primary education and between the Poona City Municipality, the Poona Suburban Municipality and the Cantonment Boards of Poona and Kirkee in regard to octroi. In other matters such as water supply, drainage, medical relief and public health, the interests of the people residing in these areas are also so closely linked together that the divisions as they exist at present appear to be more artificial than real. With so much unity in objectives and activities, we see little justification in maintaining separate entities for these units, involving inevitably disparity in rates of taxation, multiplicity of administrative machinery and conflict of authority. In our opinion it would be more conducive to efficiency as well as economy if all these units are welded into one coherent and comprehensive system of Municipal administration (124).

Greater Poona area

The modern drift is also towards larger units. It is now well-recognised that modern life necessitates an enlargement of the area of local government for may purposes. This is partly due to such inventions as automobile and telephone, which bring every part into closer connection with the centre and partly to the increase of expensive public services in consequence of which it is necessary to spread the charge for these over wide areas, so that the richer districts should bear a portion of the burden of the poorer.* Each municipal district should be able enough to maintain a strong and efficient executive. Apart from the practical advantages flowing from consolidation, we consider it necessary to establish one homogeneous authority to instil a sense of common citizenship. In our view this can be best achieved by merging the areas of Poona City, its suburbs, the Cantoments of Poona and Kirkee and the neighbouring villages of Hingne Budruk, Kothrud, Pashan, Aundh, Dapodi, Bopodi, Yeravda, Ghorpadi, Vanavdi, Kondhwa, Manjeri and Parvati into one unit, namely, Greater Poona for purposes of municipal government. The area, population etc., of the four existing municipal units and of the combined Greater Poona unit including the above villages are given in the subjoined table :—(125).

——	Area (Square miles).	Population.	Number of Councillors.	Total Income.	Total Expenditure.
				Rs.	Rs.
Poona City Municipality ...	7·65	2,37,560	60	40,00,872	39,52,525
Poona Suburban Municipality ...	4·00	19,994	29	4,19,606	4,32,280

† See para. 124 of the Report of Greater Poona Municipal Constitution Committee.

* Local Self-Government in different countries by G. Montague Harris—P. 10.

——	Area (Square miles.	Population.	Number of Councillors.	Total Income.	Total Expenditure.
				Rs.	Rs.
Poona Cantonment Board ...	5·33	40,447	18	10,02,377	8,95,870
Kirkee Cantonment Board ...	5·13	24,065	15	1,74,319	1,90,714
Hingne Budruk	1,39	806	...	...	...
Kothrud	4·61	1,071	...	...	...
Pashan	7·77	2,166	...	...	...
Aundh	2·89	2,727	...	...	...
Dapodi	0·74	2,379	...	...	...
Bopodi	0·83	6,446	...	...	...
Yeravda	6·22	6,691	...	...	...
Ghorpadi	0·94	2,085	...	...	...
Vanavdi	1·56	2,479	...	...	...
Kondhwa	1·89	1,053	...	...	...
Manjeri	7·45	3,742	...	...	...
Parvati	2·65	37	...	...	...
Total ...	60·95	*3,53,748	122	55,97,175	54,71,389

The boundaries of existing four municipal units and of the proposed Greater Poona unit are shown in the map appended to this Report (Appendix G) (126).

We are not aware of the military considerations which warrant the exclusion of the Cantonment areas from the Greater Poona unit, but if their inclusion is not favoured at this juncture, we suggest that a provision should be made in the legislation for their accession at a later stage by a notification. This will avoid the necessity of amending the Act from time to time for inclusion of any additional areas. The aggregate area of Greater Poona as proposed by us will be approximately 60·95 squire miles i.e. about 36·76 square miles more than that of Bombay which is 24·19 square miles. We have recommended the incorporation of the outlying villages mentioned above in order to provide the urban area of Poona with a rural belt, for

* The figures of population given above are according to the Census of 1941. Since then some developments have taken place and the population seems to have increased considerably. It may therefore be assumed that the population of the whole area proposed to be brought within the Greater Poona Municipal units will be about 6 lacs.

immediate expansion. There are other villages besides those mentioned above, which were suggested to us by witnesses for inclusion within the municipal limits of Greater Poona, but we think that inclusion of undeveloped areas within municipal limits is not advantageous, when the prospect of their development is remote. For it will be uneconomic for the Municipality to provide city amenities in those villages; while the inhabitants of the villages will have to pay higher taxes without adequate return. We have, therefore, not suggested the inclusion of those villages (127).

Preparation of a Master Plan.

We, however, recommend that a Master Plan should be prepared for the whole area within a radius of 10 miles from the Poona City Post Office, lying within the Haveli Taluka in order to facilitate systematic reconstruction of the already built up areas in Greater Poona and orderly development of the open lands in Greater Poona as well as beyond it where extension is likely to take place in years to come. This Master Plan should provide for zoning with separate areas for location of light as well as heavy industry, parks, playgrounds, theatres, housing schemes, etc. Poona City is now expanding in all directions and it is, therefore, very essential that a Master Plan should be prepared as early as possible. Merely preparing a Master Plan is, however, not enough. So far as Greater Poona is concerned, it will be the responsibility of the Municipality to regulate reconstruction and development within Greater Poona according to the Master Plan. Outside Greater Poona, there should be some agency which would be responsible for regulating development likewise. We suggest that a Board should be constituted by Government for this purpose consisting of the Collector of Poona as Chairman, and the Mayor, the Municipal Commissioner, the Chief Engineer of the Poona Municipal Corporation, the President of the Poona District Local Board, the Consulting Surveyor to Government, the Consulting Public Health Engineer to Government, tho District Superintendent of Police, Poona, the Executive Engineer, Poona Division, and the Director of Public Health as members. The preparation of the Master Plan with the help of experts after a scientific survey of the whole area should also be entrusted to this Board (128).

Type of City Government to be established.

Having expressed our opinion in favour of the amalgamation of the existing municipal units, we have next to consider the question as to what type of city government should be set up for the combined and enlarged unit. The municipal organisation functioning in Poona City and Poona Suburban area is of the type of a Borough Municipality. In the memoranda submitted to us, dissatisfaction was expressed almost unanimously with the present administration of the Poona City Municipality. This feeling was further

endorsed by most of the witnesses who gave oral evidence before us. The reasons advanced, however, varied from trivial instances of neglect to serious defects in the constitution of the Municipality and great stress was laid on the inefficiency of the executive to redress the grievances of the public. We have not made any investigations into the affairs of the Municipality, as it was not within our province to do so and we are not, therefore, in a position to say how far the charge of inefficiency levelled against the executive is justified. We are also unable to express opinion as to whether the administration the of Poona City Municipality is better or worse than that of any other Borough Municipality in this Province of comparable size and resources. From what we have seen of the condition of roads and drains, disposal of refuse, unfiltered supply of water, dim lighting of streets, lay-out of roads and construction of buildings in the newly developed areas, we cannot help remarking that the standard of services is not what we should expect from a Municipality in a city like Poona. It is undoubtedly much lower than in Bombay. This is recognised by the Executive Officers of the Municipality, but they seem powerless to raise the standard. The structure of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act, 1925, is partly responsible for the helplessness of the executive. Under this Act, although the Chief Officer is supposed to be the chief executive authority, his powers are so circumscribed that he is unable to do his work according to his own judgment and has in many matters merely to carry out the orders of the various municipal authorities for which he is not resposible (129).

Although democracy envisages control of administration by the elected representatives of the tax-payers, the practical experience of municipal government in India as well as in some of the countries of Europe and America goes to show that better results are obtained when the elected representatives instead of assuming responsibility for the administration of most municipal functions concern themselves with laying down the policy and seeing that that policy is carried out by the executive. It is of course essential that the elected representatives should exercise financial control, but it is in the interests of good government that the executive power should be vested wholly in a single responsible officer. If the executive power is divided among the elected representatives and the executive as under the Bombay Municipal Borough Act, 1925, a sense of irresponsibility grows among both, with the result that efficiency suffers greatly. Moreover, it does not seem fair to entrust the executive responsibility to persons who have got their own occupations and who cannot afford to devote their whole time and energy to municipal functions. If on the other hand the entire executive power is vested in a full-time experienced officer, it will be his responsibility to see that the administration is carried on as efficiently as possible, as otherwise he may risk his career by his administration being condemned by

the public as well as by the councillors. The necessity for the appointment of such an officer was recognised by the framers of the City of Bombay Municipal Act as far back as 1888 and a provision has, therefore, been made in this Act for the appointment of a Municipal Commissioner in whom the entire executive power is vested. Under this scheme although there are three distinct authorities viz. the Corporation, the Standing Committee and the Municipal Commissioner, having independent powers, none of them can interfere with the performance of the duties and functions entrusted by law to another, but at the same time the relations between all these three authorities must be cordial if the administration is to be carried on smoothly. The scheme of the Bombay Municipal Act has worked successfully for over half a century and we feel that the principles underlying this scheme should be adopted in the case of other municipalities (130).

For the reasons stated above *. . . . . we recommend that the city government of Greater Poona should be set up on the lines of the city government of Bombay. We believe that it would not be easy to provide such a constitution by amending the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act 1925, and we therefore suggest that a Special Act should be passed for this purpose. Conditions in Poona are, however, somewhat different from those in Bombay and we, therefore, consider that while the foundations of the structure of the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, may be kept intact, changes may be made in the details of the structure to suit local conditions. To facilitate early preparation of necessary legislation, in case Government accept our above recommendation, we have attempted to draft a Bill on the lines of the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, with certain changes which seem necessary to us in view of the local conditions in Poona. We are submitting the draft Bill separately (131).

The important feature of the scheme of municipal government for Greater Poona, proposed by us in the draft Bill are as follows :—(132).

Constitution.

As in Bombay, there should be three authorities charged with the responsibility of carrying out the provisions of the Act ; viz. the Corporation, the Standing Committee, and the Municipal Commissioner. Having regard to the present population of Greater Poona, we have suggested, that the Corporation should consist of 85 members, of whom

(a) *Corporation.*

64 should be elected by territorial constituencies, 16 should be co-opted by a system of distributive voting by elected councillors, of whom four should be women ; one should be elected by the Marhatta Chamber of Commerce and Industries, two by Labour through an electoral college and two should be *ex-officio* members viz.

* See para 131 of the Report of Greater Poona Municipal Constitution Committee.

the District Superintendent of Police, Poona, and the Executive Engineer, Poona Water Works Division. The term of office of elected councillors should be four years, and of co-opted councillors five years. We have proposed a longer term of office for co-opted councillors in order that when a general election takes place in the first few years the newly elected councillors should have the benefit of experience and knowledge of co-opted councillors for at least one year. The provision of co-opted councillors is made on the lines of Aldermen in the Municipal Corporarions of Karachi, Madras and Calcutta. It is intended to serve as ballast to the constitution and to enable the entry of such persons into the Corporation as are capable and willing to work, but do not wish to undergo the worry and trouble of an election. We have also provided special representation for experienced and educated women through co-option and for Trade and Industries and Labour by election from special constituencies (133).

(b) *Standing Committee.*

The Standing Committee should be a co-ordinate authority with the Municipal Corporation and invested with certain independent powers particularly in matters of finance. It should be responsible for the preparation of the Budget. It should consist of 12 members and one-third of the members should retire each year. The members should elect their own Chairman, who should hold office for one year unless removed by death or disqualification earlier. Five members should form a quorum. All contracts of the value of Rs. 5,000 and above should receive its prior approval. It should also approve all proposals dealing with establishment including Leave, Provident Fund and other Service Regulations (134).

When the Corporation comes into being, councillors will have to devote a good deal of their time in attending meetings of the Corporation and its various Committees. We have no doubt that they will readily sacrifice their time, but we feel that it will not be fair to call upon them to bear the expenses incurred by them on transport in attending meetings of the Corporation and the Standing Committee which will have to be held on different days, especially when the area of the Corporation will be extensive and many of the councillors will be persons of small means. We have, therefore, provided that councillors should be given a monthly allowance sufficient to cover their transport expenses for attending meetings of the Corporation and that councillors who are also members of the Standing Committee should be given an additional allowance for attending meetings of the Standing Committee in accordance with the rules to be framed by the Corporation and sanctioned by Government (135).

(a) *Municipal Commissioner.*

A number of witnesses who appeared before us attributed the inefficiency of municipal government in the City of Poona, to the weak executive and the effete constitution wherein executive authority was divided

between the President and the Chief Officer. They pointed out that the Chief Officer could not withstand interventions by the President and the Councillors in his day to day work with the result that he was reduced to nonentity without any authority even over his subordinates who could play him off against councillors who were only too ready to oblige them and that it was hopeless to think of improving the municipal administration without increasing the powers of the Chief Officer. We are convinced that high standard of efficiency of municipal administration cannot be achieved without a strong and independent executive and a watchful council. We cannot do better than reproduce the remark made by the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in support of our view. He said on one occasion that "the only safe and efficient way of disposing of the executive authority is to vest it in a single officer." The truth of this remark is often brought home to all those who are connected in any way with municipal administration and it is interesting to observe that this remark was made many years ago by a person who was in a large measure responsible for the scheme of the Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, and who was also a formidable champion of municipal autonomy (136).

The independence of the executive can be fostered if the appointment of the Municipal Commissioner is made by Government. If, on the other hand, the appointment, promotion and prospects of this officer were to depend on the votes of the councillors, he would be called not infrequently to compromise with his sense of duty to the common man to please the councillors. For example, councillors who are in arrears of taxes may take advantage of their position to see that the recovery is delayed as long as possible. They may also put pressure on the executive to proceed slowly with the recovery of arrears from their friends. We find that the percentage of arrears of municipal taxes in Poona City is as high as 20 and this may be partly due to the reluctance of the executive to take prompt action against the defaulters in whom some influential councillors are interested. Again, the executive may choose a certain set-back line of a street as being most advantageous and least expensive to the Municipality. It it happens to cut across any portion of a councillor's property, the Chief Officer may find it difficult to recommend the line lest he should displease one of his masters. Democracy does not mean that it should possess or exercise executive power directly. It is enough if it can exercise effective control over its executive. This control can be adequately exercised by limiting it to finance and to the power of removal of the executive for misconduct, neglect of or incapacity for the duties of his office by a requisite number of votes. If, on the other hand, it is to be exercised by insisting on the appointment of the executive of its own choise, it will result in favouritism

and inefficiency. That candidate who can canvass best will have the best chance and not the candidate who is most deserving. We, therefore, consider it most essential that the appointment of the Municipal Commissioner in whom the entire executive authority would be vested, should be made by Government and not by the Municipal Corporation. In this connection it may be mentioned that a demand was made by a large majority of the witnesses that the appointment of the principal executive officer as well as the appointments to the key post in the Municipality should be made by Government themselves or by the Municipality in consultation with some independent body. We, therefore, suggest that, as in the case of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, the Municipal Commissioner should be appointed by Government preferably from the Indian Civil Service or the future Indian Administrative Service for a renewable period of four years and be removable by three-fourths vote of the whole Corporation. Government may also remove him if he is guilty of misconduct or incapable of performing his duties (137).

The Municipal Commissioner should be a co-ordinate authority with the Standing Committee and the Corporation and, while generally following the policies laid down by the Corporation or accepting the financial control exercised by the Standing Committee, he should be independent in the exercise of the powers assigned to him under the Municipal Act. He should be entitled to take part in the discussions of the Corporation and all its Committees but not to move a proposition or vote (138).

Reconstitution of wards and the electorates.

In view of the amalgamation of the existing units and the enlargement of the area of the combined unit, it will be necessary to reconstitute the wards on the basis of population number of properties and rateable value and a mean of the three. It is not proposed to go into these details at this stage. These will have to be worked out during the interim period by a Special Officer or by the Municipal Commissioner after his appointment. As regards territorial constituences, the question as to whether multi-member or single-member constituencies should be preferred is debiteable. In European countries particularly in France, Italy, England and Germany, the Municipalities favour multi-member constituencies, while, in America single-member constituencies are preferred. The merit of single-member constituencies is that they help to secure due representation of minorities which may be ignored under the group system. In multi-member constituencies it is possible to ignore the differences in localities, which in industrial cities of to-day are important, since they denote differences in wealth, tastes demands for civic amenities and ideals. It may, however, happen in single-member constituencies that a single party may be able to secure all the

seats; but as a general rule and without most intensive party organisation and propaganda, single-member constituencies provide proper representation of minorities. Serious administrative difficulties may, however, arise on account of single-member constituencies and localism may also be encouraged thereby. That is why multi-member constituencies are favoured in municipalities with large populations. Cumulative voting is generally associated with multi-member constituencies as it helps to secure due representation of minorities with reservation if necessary. In the Poona City and Suburban Municipalities the system of multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting is in vogue, but most of the witnesses who appeared before us condemned the system of cumulative voting and advocated a change which might eliminate the evils inherent in that system (139).

(a) *Multi-member Constituencies.*

We have provided in the Draft Bill that 64 seats in the Corporation should be filled by ward elections. If the system of single-member constituencies is adopted, the City will have to be divided into 64 wards which in our opinion will cause too much segmentation. Over-fragmetantion of the city for the purpose of elections will lead to parochialism and is bound to blur the wider vision that is needed for the efficient governance of a lage city. Besides, the division of the city into so many wards will create serious administrative difficulties at the time of the general election. We are, therefore, of the view that multi-member constituencies should be continued and recommend that the system of distributive voting should be adopted in place of the system of cumulative voting as the former is easily understandable and can be followed by even illiterate voters. The system may help to check the tendency of voting according to communities. Besides it may encourage educated and experienced persons, who do not ordinarily wish to contest elections on communal lines, to offer themselves as candidates for elections. Legislation has recently been passed by Government abolishing communal electorates in the case of local bodies, and it appears that seats for certain communities will be reserved in some constituencies. We do not think that the system of distributive voting will give rise to any special difficulties in such constituencies (140).

(b) *Distributive voting.*

(c) *Joint Electorate.*

Under the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act, 1925, a person is qualified to vote at a municipal election if he has occupied as owner or tenant of a house or building or part of a house or building, of which the capital value is not less than Rs. 200 or the annual rent is not less than Rs. 12 for a certain period. This franchise is fairly liberal. There is, however, a large volume

(d) Franchise.

of opinion in favour of adult suffrage for elections to local bodies, but it be pointed out that, even in England, the qualification for a voter (local government elector) is still occupation as owner or tenant of any land or premises in the local government area, or as wife of the person so qualified. The principle seems to be that a voter should have some stake in the affairs of the local authority owing to his liability to pay taxes levied by it, even though indirectly, so that he might feel a sense of responsibility in choosing the candidate in whose favour he should caste his vote. This is a sound principle, but since adult franchise has already been prescribed for elections to the Bombay Municipality, it seems inevitable that rental qualifications will ultimately have to be abandoned and adult franchise introduced for elections to the Greater Poona Municipality (141).

(e) *Literacy qualifications for a voter.*

Some witnesses urged before us that a literacy qualification, such as passing at least Vernacular V standard should be prescribed for a voter. Others were in favour of a higher qualification namely, passing Vernacular Final examination. We are not in favour of any such restrictions. We think that the vote itself can be an instrument of education. As regards voters for election of Trade Union Delegates on the Municipal Corporation, we are of the opinion that the qualifications should be six months residence in the City and six months registration in the electoral roll of delegates (142).

(f) *Educational qualifications for a candidate.*

The question whether candidates for municipal elections should have any higher qualifications than those prescribed for voters has long been debated. Some of the witnesses who appeared before us urged that, if the civic administration of Poona City Municipality was to be improved, it was necessary that councillors should be graduates or at least matriculates. This view was contested by others on the ground that it was the essence of democracy that no such restrictions should be placed in the way of councillors and that municipal bodies should not consist merely of the intelligentsia, but also of the common people who can understand more intimately the common-man's wants and his point of view. The Kale Committee have expressed their opinion in favour of some minimum qualification being prescribed for members of a Municipality in the interest of efficiency. They have suggested that members of Borough Municipalities should be graduates of 7 years' standing and observed that this would no doubt reduce "the field of selection of members" but the minimum qualifications laid down were so low that in practice the restriction would not operate as a hardship. We are not, however, so optimistic and feel that such a qualification would hinder many estimable and useful citizens from being members of city municipalities. We are, however, of the opinion

that it is essential to have an enlightened and progressive element in the Corporation and have, therefore, provided for the election of 16 councillors possessing a degree of the University of Bombay or of any other recognised University and five years experience thereafter in any trade, profession or business or as social workers by co-option (143).

Special committees.

It is necessary that matters which come before the Corporation should in the first instance be considered by a small body of councillors so that the Corporation would not have to spend much time on deliberation of these matters and it would have the advice of persons who have carefully applied their minds to them. A provision has therefore been made for the appointment of the following Committee after each general election :—

(1) A Development Committee to deal with all matters connected with development (improvement) schemes, acquisition and sale of land, slum clearance, town planning and gardens and layouts.

(2) A Works Committee to deal with all matters connected with roads, buildings, lighting. water supply, drains, sewars, fire brigade and public transport.

(3) A Public Health and Markets Committee to deal with all matters connected with public health and safety. sanitation, disposal of rubbish, regulation of offensive and dangerous trades, markets and slaughter houses.

(4) A General Purposes Committee to deal with all matter connected with municipal taxation, sky-signs, advertisements municipal rules, by-laws and regulations and other matters not falling within the purview of any of the above Committees (144).

Each of these Committees should consist of twelve members, of whom two should be from co-opted councillors. Each of these committees should elect its own Chairman, who will hold office only for one year. Five members will form a quorum. One-third of the members of these Committees should retire each year, and their vacancies should be filled by the corporation in April each year (145).

None of these Committees should exercise any independent powers except to the extent of any powers specifically deligated to it by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Corporation. All matters which do not fall within the purview of the Standing Committee should be considered in the first instance by the relevant Committee and submitted by it to the Corporation with its recommendations, save where the final power of disposal is delegated to it. The Standing Committee may also delegate by a vote of two-thirds of its members any of its members any of its powers to

the special Committees and such delegation should be reported to the Corporation, who should have power to revoke the resolution granting the delegation. Any matters which are not disposed of by a Committee within three months may be placed by the Commissioner directly before the Corporation for its decision. We consider such a provision necessary in order to ensure that important matters are not bogged in the Committees and decisions are arrived at expeditiouly (146).

Ad Hoc Committees.

A provision has also been made that the Corporation might appoint *ad hoc* Committees consisting of such number of members as it would think fit and remit to them any matters for enquiry and report and direct that the report of any such Committee sdould be submitted through the Standing Committee or any Special Committee. The Chairman of these Committees should normally be the Mayor (147).

Primary Education.

At present the School Board of the Poona City Municipality is responsible for Primary Education within the limits of the Poona City and the Poona Suburban Municipalities. Although we would prefer that Primary Education like any other essential service should come directly within the purview of the Corporation, we do not consider it necessary that a fundamental change in policy should be made at this juncture. We however suggest that an Education Officer should be appointed by the Corporation who would exercise the powers and carry out the duties of the Administrative Officer under the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947. We also suggest that of the twelve elected members of the School Board, four should be from amongst the co-opted councillors and of these one should be a woman. In order to enable the Corporation to render this service through a School Board, it would be necessary for Government to amend the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947, so as to declare the Poona Municipal Corporation an authorised municipality for purposes of that Act. (148).

Appointment of other statutory officer.

We have provided that the Municipal Corporation should be empowered to appoint a Deputy Commissioner if the appointment of such an officer is deemed necessary. His appointment should, however, be subject to confirmation by the Provincial Government. He should be subject to the same liabilities, restrictions and conditions to which the Commissioner is subject. The Corporation should also have the power to appoint fit persons as Chief Engineer, Health Officer, and Education Officer. Each of these three officers should be appointed for a term of five years, which may be renewed thereafter from time to time for a like or lesser period. These appointments should also be subject to confirmation by Government. They

should be removable at any time for misconduct or for neglect of or incapacity for the duties of the office by a vote of 3/4ths of the whole Corporation. The Corporation should also appoint a fit person to be a Municipal Secretary to attend to all the work of the Corporation and its Committees and Sub-Committees including the drawing up of minutes and the drafting of reports, and a Municipal Chief Auditor for auditing Municipal Accounts, and carrying out such duties as he may be directed by the Corporation or the Standing Committee to perform. They may be removed for misconduct or neglect of or incapacity for duties on the votes of not less than 2/3rds of the Councillors present at a meeting of the Corporation. The staff under the Secretary and the Chief Auditor should be appointed by the Standing Committee. We think that at least in beginning it will be desirable if the services of an exeprienced officer of the rank of Assistant Accounts Officer are placed by Government at the disposal of the Municipal Corporation for appointment as Chief Auditor for a period of three years. We have not, however, made a specific provision to this effect in the Draft Bill. The appointment of such an officer will ensure efficiency and breadth of outlook in the scruting of accounts in the beginning and help to lay down good traditions for the future. (149).

Powers and manner of making appointments

In our view, the powers of appointment should be suitably graded and all appointments the starting salary of which is Rs. 500 and above (except in the case of the Municipal Commissioner) should be made by the Corporation and those the minimum salary of which is below Rs. 500 but not less than Rs. 200 should be made by the Standing Committee and all other appointments by the Municipal Commissioner save those under the Municipal Secretary and the Municipal Chief Auditor, which should be made by the Standing Committee. Temporary appointments for Loan Works carrying a monthly salary of Rs. 200 or more may be made for a period of six months by the Municipal Commissioner with the sanction of the Standing Committee. Such appointments should, however, be reported to the Corporation forthwith and no such appointment should be renewed without the sanction of the Corporation. So far as permanent appointments are concerned, we suggest that all such appointments as carry an initial salary of Rs. 200 and above (exclusive of allowances) should be made only after previous consultation with the Public Service Commission in accordance with the Rules to be framed by the Corporation and sanctioned by Government. We attach great importance to this as we find from experience that the efficiency of services depends in a large measure upon the quality of personnel and the best way to ensure satisfactory recruitment is to leave the selection of candidates to a body whose fairness, impartiality and judgment are unimpeachable and to act on its advice. So far as the powers of punishment are concerned the

general rule should be followed, namely a servant may be fined, reduced, suspended or dismissed by the authority appointing him for any breach of discipline, unfitness, neglect of duty or misconduct. This rule may, however, be varied in the case of officers drawing a salary of Rs. 200 and above per month. All these officers, including the statutory officers, except the Municipal Secretary and the Municipal Chief Auditor and the staff appointed under them, should be subordinate to the Municipal Commissioner (150).

Acquisition and disposal of property.

With regard to acquisition of immovable property by the Corporation, we have provided that, where property can be acquired by agreement, it should be done by the Municipal Commissioner subject to such maximum rate or price as may be approved by the Development Committee either generally for any class of cases or specially in any particular case. Where such acquistion cannot be effected by agreement, the Municipal Commissioner should with the approval of the Development Committee approach the Provincial Government for invoking the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1870. As regards disposal of property, we have suggessed that the Commissioner should have power to grant, with the sanction of the Development Committee, a lease of any immovable property of which the rent or premium for any one year does not exceed Rs. 5,000, up to a period of three years. Beyond these limits, the power of sanction should vest in the Corporation. In order to safeguard against the underselling or underleasing of plots under pressure, a provision has been made that the price or premium or rent for which any such property is sold or leased by the Corporation should not be less than the market rate. (151).

In the case of movable property the Commissioner should be empowered to dispose of goods up to the value of Rs. 500, the standing Committee between Rs. 500 and Rs. 5,000 and the Corporation above Rs. 5,000. (152).

Borrowing powers.

As in Bombay, a provision has been made that the Municipal Corporation should have power to raise loans up to a limit equivalent to double the rateable value of lands and buildings assessed to property taxes within the Municipal limits. Such loans should be allowed to be raised only for execution of permanent works authorised by the Act, acquisition of land, repayment of an existing loan etc., The terms of each loan should be subject to the previous sanction of Government and under no circumstances the period of repayment of a loan should exceed 60 years. No portion of a loan so raised should be applied to any other purpose except with the sanction of Government and no portion of it should be applied to meet any current expenditure except such expenditure as is required to be incurred

in respect of the capital work for which the loan is sanctioned. The Corporation should have the freedom to consolidate existing loans by a fresh loan. It is necessary that a sinking fund should be established for every loan raised and such sinking fund should be invested in Government securities or other securities guaranteed by Government or in Poona Municipal debentures. In the alternative, the Corporation should provide for equated payments (153).

Municipal Fund.

All moneys received by or on behalf of the Corporation, all proceeds of the disposal of property, moneys raised by any tax or fee, all moneys recovered by way of compensation, any grants or contributions received from Government and interest and profits arising from any investment should be credited to Municipal Account in a Bank approved by the Corporation and sanctioned by Government for the said purpose. The fund should be drawn upon by cheques signed by three persons viz. (1) the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner or in the absence of both by the Chairman of the Standing Committee, (2) by one member of the Standing Committee, and (3) by the Chief Accountant or the Deputy Accountant or in the absence of both by the Chairman of the Standing Committee. It has further been provided that no payment of any sum should be made unless it is covered by a Budget grant and that any payment in excess of Rs. 100 should be made by a cheque. When any sum not covered by a Budget grant is expended, the Commissioner should forthwith communicate the circumstances to the Standing Committee who should take such action on it as it deems fit. No expenditure outside the municipal limits should be incurred unless it is sanctioned by a vote of at least three-fourths of the councillors of the whole Corporation (154).

Accounts, Audit Administration Report and Budget.

The account of receipts and expenditure should be kept in such manner and in such forms as may be prescribed by the Standing Committee. They should be audited by the Municipal Chief Auditor each month, who should submit his report to the Standing Committee. An abstract of monthly receipts and expenditure should be published. The Standing Committee may, if it thinks fit, conduct its own audit in addition to that carried out by the Municipal Chief Auditor. The Provincial Government may also direct a special audit. The Commissioner should submit to the Standing Committee at the close of each official year a datailed report on the municipal administration of the City for the said year together with a statement of receipts and disbursements during the year. The Standing Committee should forward it to the Corporation with its review. The Municipal Commissioner should likewise prepare and lay before the Standing Committee Budget Estimates each year. The Committee may modify

these estimates. The estimates as they emerge from the Standing Committee should be placed before the Corporation for their sanction (155).

Municipal Taxes.

The Corporation should be empowered to levy (*a*) property taxes, (*b*) a tax on vehicles or animals, (*c*) tolls on vehicles other than motor vehicles, (*d*) octroi, (*e*) tax on dogs, (*f*) tax on professions, trades, callings and employments and (*g*) any other tax which the Provincial Legislature have power to impose in the Province under the Government of India Act, 1935. (156).

Property taxes should consist of water tax to be levied at such per cent. of the rateable value as the Corporation may deem reasonable and as will not be less than the minimum required to cover the cost of supplying water, conservancy tax at such per cent. as would suffice to cover the cost of collection, removal and disposal of all excrementitious or polluted matter including the cost of maintaining and repairing drains, a general tax of not less than 7 per cent. and not more than 12 per cent. and a fire tax not exceeding 1 per cent. of the rateable value of properties. Water tax should be leviable on all properties situated in any area where the Municipal Commissioner has given public notice that sufficient water supply is available whether water is actually drawn or not. In suitable cases, the Commissioner may in lieu of water tax charge for water by meter measurement with the sanction of the Standing Committee. Conservancy tax should likewise be leviable in any area in which public notice has been given by the Commissioner that collection, removal and disposal of excrementitious and polluted matter will be undertaken by municipal agency. Such tax should be leviable even on properties which may not have separate water closets, privies or urinals provided the Commissioner directs that provision of such conveniences at the property is not necessary and the tenants thereof can take advantage of conveniences provided in the neighbourhood. In the case of hotels, clubs or other large premises the Commissioner may levy conservancy tax at a special rate with the sanction of the Standing Committee. The assessment of properties should be reviewed every year and in the case of Government properties once in five years. The rateable value of a property should be determined by deducting from the gross annual rent ten per cent. "for repairs or on any other account". Valuation complaints should be heard by the Commissioner or by any officer to whom he may delegate this power. Appeal from his decision should lie to the Judge of the Small Cause Court. Valuation of Government properties should be fixed by an independent officer to be approved by both the Corporation and Government. Refund of two-thirds of the general tax and the whole of the water tax and conservancy tax

should be granted for vacancies exceeding 60 days subject to compliance with certain statutory provisions. (157).

Water Supply, Roads Drains, etc.

We have incorporated in the draft Bill detailed provisions with regard to water supply, roads, drains, sewers, sanitation, markets, slaughter houses, fire brigade, development (improvement) schemes, etc., on the lines of those in the City of Bombay Municipal Act and the amendments suggested by the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the light of experience within recent years and we do not think it necessary to refer to them here (158).

Provision against breakdown of Municipal Administration.

Although we believe that Councillors of the Greater Poona Municipality will not at any time act in such a manner as to bring about a deadlock in the municipal administration, we have made a provision for dealing with such an emergency by empowering the Municipal Commissioner to call meetings of the Corporation and its Committees and by enabling Government to supersede the Corporation and to appoint an Administrator to carry on the municipal administration under extreme circumstances (159).

TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.

Interim arrangements.

If Government accept our recommendation that a Municipal Corporation should be established for the Greater Poona area, (excluding the areas of the Poona and Kirkee Cantonments if the Central Government are not agreeable), it will be necessary for them to draft a Bill for placing it before the ligislature for their approval. We believe that the draft Bill prepared by us would be useful to Government in drafting their own Bill. This would, however, necessarily take a long time as every provision will have to be carefully scrutinised and examined. Besides a considerable amount of preliminary work will be required for preparing Schedules including the Schedule describing the boundaries of the various wards into which the Greater Poona Municipal area will have to be devided and other Schedules setting out the ceiling rates of the tax on vehicles and animals and of the octroi on goods and of the tax on professions, trades, callings and employments. This would need a careful study of local conditions by a Special Officer. As all this procedure will occupy much time we recommend the following arrangements for the interim period :— (160)

First Stage.

(1) Government should, as early as possible, pass a special Act for Poona City and Poona Suburban area embodying provisions on the lines of those contained in Chapter XIII-A (the Municipal Commissioner, his powers and duties) of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901. This will enable Government to appoint a Municipal Commissioner for the interim period.

In order to strengthen his hands, a provision should be made in this Act for the appointment by Government of such additional officers as may be requird by him. Provision should also be made for the re-employment of the Chief Officer in any other capacity and on special terms after the termination of his appointment (*vide* Section 186 (4) of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901). The Municipal Commissioner should also be empowered to appoint municipal servants on a salary below Rs. 200 per month.

(2) The Municipal Commissioner should collect necessary material and submit his proposals to Government in respect of the boundaries of the Greater Poona Municipality and its divisions into various wards for the purposes of general election. He should also submit his proposals for the various schedules to the draft bill. It should further be necessary for him to scrutinize the draft bill and submit his proposals for any modifications which he thinks are necessary in the light of his experience of the municipal administration and his knowlege of local conditions.

(3) He should explore ways and means for increasing the revenue from the existing sources and prepare a detailed plan for the improvement and expansion of the various services and a scheme for financing the cost required for such improvement and expansion (160).

We suggest that before the first stage comes into operation, Government should select a capable and energetic officer from the Indian Civil Service of the rank of Collector and place him on special duty for studying the constitution and working of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for about three months prior to his appointment as Municipal Commissioner. Much will depend upon the selection of this officer, as he will not only have to do considerable spade work for smooth transition from a Borough Municipality to a Municipal Corporation, but also to assist and guide councillors in setting up good traditions for the Corporation (161).

Second stage

We have incorporated in the draft Bill for the Corporation some transitory provisions to come into effect at the second stage. These are intended to facilitate the change in organization from a Borough Municipality to a Municipal Corporation and include the continuance in office of the existing members of the Poona City Municipality and the Poona Suburban Municipality, and the appointment of the Mayor, the Deputy Mayor, the Standing Committee, the Development Committee, the Works Committee, the Public Health and Markets Committee and the General Purposes Committee and the appointment by Government of a Deputy Municipal Commissioner, a Chief Engineer, a Health Officer, an Education Officer, a Municipal Secretary, a Municipal Chief Auditor, and any other officers on a

salary of Rs. 400 and above per month for a period of three years from the day the enactment comes into force. This has been specially provided in order to enable the Municipal Commissioner to establish a high standard of efficiency in carrying out his duties under the new Act with the help of selected officers. These officers may either be continued or replaced after three years by the Corporation in accordance with the relevant provisions in the Act. The Commissioner should proceed without undue delay to prepare the first electoral roll under the new Act so as to enable him to hold a general election as early as possible. The budget estimates, the rates of property taxes, taxes on vehicles and animals and the rates of octroi, and all assessments and valuations adopted or fixed by the two constituent municipalities should have validity during this transitional period (162).

Third stage

When the electoral roll is prepared and elections are held in accordance with the provisions of the new Act by the Commissioner and the new Councillors take office, the last stage would be reached in the inauguration of the constitution for the municipal area of Greater Poona for which our Committee was set up (163).

Conclusion.

Conclusion.

The two principal recommendations we have made are (1) the amalgamation of the areas included within the limits of the Poona City Municipality, the Poona Suburban Municipality, the Poona Cantonment Board, the Kirkee Cantonment Board and the villages of Hingne Budruk, Kothrud, Pashan, Aundh Dapodi, Bopodi, Yeravada, Ghorpadi, Vanavdi, Kondhwal Manjeri and Parvati, for purposes of municipal government., So far as the areas included within the limits of the Poona Cantonment Board and the Kirkee Cantonment Board are concerned, we have suggested that the question of their amalgamation should be taken up by the Provincial Government with the Central (Union) Government, but if there is any difficulty in regard to their amalgamation, they may be left out for the present; and (2) the establishment of an autonomous Municipal Corporation on the lines of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for the amalgamated areas (164).

These two recommendations are based on psychological as well as practical considerations. Poona City has grown extensively during the last few years and with the establishment of the proposed Poona University, National Chemical Laboratory, and Indian National War Academy within easy reach, its attraction is bound to increase. Besides, on account

of its past history and political associations, and as the seat of the Provincial Government for five months in the year, it possesses a special status. The people naturally expect that the standard of services rendered by the municipality of such a city should be high and that the amenities provided by it should compare favourably with the amenities provided by large cities elsewhere. Their expectations are not however fulfilled and this was impressed upon us forcefully by a large majority of the citizens who submitted memoranda of their views or gave oral evidence before us. A change was demanded by them in the municipal structure, which would infuse a new spirit into the municipal administration. The scheme of municipal government for the amalgamated areas recommended by us has worked successfully in Bombay for over 50 years and there seems no particular reason why it should not succeed in Poona. It is true that the existence of good traditions has contributed to some extent to the success of the municipal government in Bombay, but looking to the spirit of public service prevailing in Poona it should not be difficult for the Municipal Corporation of Poona to build up sound and healthy traditions (165).

We are nevertheless conscious that, howsoever well-designed the structure of municipal government and howsoever efficient the executive machinery may be, they cannot achieve much without adequate finances. An independent executive, with a capable and energetic person at its head, can obtain the maximum revenue from the existing sources by tightening up supervision, stopping leakages and preventing wasteful expenditure. From the memoranda and oral evidence it appears that there is considerable scope for increasing the revenue from the existing sources of the Poona City Municipality by adopting the above methods. What the increase is likely to be can be known only after proper investigation. Similarly the total cost of improving and expanding the existing services, and of providing new amenities, can be estimated only after full investigation is made. With the increase in area, the increase in staff and the employment of better qualified persons on higher scales of pay, the cost of the various services is bound to increase considerably and it may be assumed that the revenue from the existing sources will not be adequate to meet the expenditure. More revenue would be required especially as a high level of efficiency will have to be maintained in respect of all services. New sources of revenue will therefore have to be found and in this connection it was suggested to us by several witnesses that bus transport and electric supply undertakings should be taken over by the Municipality and that Government should allot to the Municipality a share of the revenue derived by them from non-agricultural assessment of land, entertainment tax, duty on petrol, and sales tax within municipal limits. It was also suggested to us that the entire proceeds from the Urban Immoveable Property Tax should

be handed over by Government to the Municipality. We feel that, if the Municipal Corporation for the amalgamated areas is to be established on firm foundations and if the demands of the people for improvement and expansion of the existing services, for provision of new amenities and for a high standard of efficiency, are to be satisfied in a large measure, it would be necessary for Government to provide adequate financial assistance to the Corporation. We therefore recommend that any proposals that may be submitted by the Municipality in this respect should be considered by Government with the utmost sympathy (166).

No system of local government can however succeed fully unless it secures the whole-hearted support of each individual citizen. It is therefore necessary that each man or woman should take his or her part in the work of reconstruction of civic life, realising that rights have also their corresponding duties. The performance of these duties will re-act on the well-being of the community, and, if all co-operate, the work of the Municipality will be facilitated and the people will be able to enjoy the maximum benefits from the municipal government (167).

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

A CRITICAL SURVEY

By

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We have so far surveyed (1) the entire field of municipal administration criticised the administrative methods and suggested improvements at various places. It may therefore be not inappropriate to conclude the survey with a chapter giving the main conclusions, reviewing the major questions that loom large in the field of municipal administration and to indicate, however briefly the reforms to which resort may be made with a view to remedy the shortcomings.

The object of administration is the production of intended results with economy and efficiency. The tests by which we can measure whether a given administration is good and efficient have not so far been laid down in detail. In the absense of well recognised methods by which we can measure efficiency, certain rule of thumb methods should be followed. Municipal administration is said to be good if a town is provided with pure drinking water, with requisite number of maternity and child welfare centres, neat and dustless roads and streets and adequate number of lights for street lighting and satisfactory arrangements for the disposal of sewage. To know whether these services are being provided in an efficient manner is a difficult task. But it can be done by the same rule of thumb methods. For instance, if the maternity death rate is more than five per thousands mothers that are confined to child bed or if the infantile death rate is more than 50 for every 1000 live births, it means that the maternity and infantile death rates are excessive. Excessive mortality rate is an indication that there is something wrong with public health administration. Similarly, if communicable diseases like cholera and small pox appear year after year then it means that protected water is not supplied at all or not supplied in plenty and that vaccination is not effective. Again, if proper

(I) See the previous issues of this Journal for the following articles.

(*a*) Municipal Commissioner—January 1944.
(*b*) Election Administration—July 1644.
(*c*) Organisational Administration—April 1946.
(*d*) Personnel Administration—July 1946.
(*e*) Financial Administration—January 1947.
(*f*) Control of Administration—April 1947.
(*g*) Social Services Administration—July 1947.

arrangements have not been made for the collection and disposal of human waste it means that the sanitary condition of the streets and lanes is not proper. Measured by these tests the administration of the district municipalities throughout the province, with few notable exceptions, was not satisfactory during the major part of the period under review. Most of the municipal services were inefficient. The personnel was not smart, well trained, assiduous in duties and free from corruption. The municipal roads and streets, in a vast majority of the cases were not well maintained. The sanitary arrangements in most of the municipal towns were far from satisfactory. The water supply was not plentiful and pure. Adequate arrangements have not been made for the treatment of the sick poor and the precautions taken against the spread of infectious diseases were not adequate and effective. As a matter of fact some of them like small pox and cholera visited some of the municipal towns as frequently as distemper visits a dog. House refuse and street refuse were not collected regalurly nor was their disposal scientific. Adequate number of public conveniences were not constructed for the use of poor and homeless. Schools were staffed with incapable and inefficient teachers producing disastrous, results such as wastage and stagnation. Parks, playgrounds and community music sets were provided only in a few municipalities. This is the conclusion to which any one would arrive at after a careful study of the conditions prevailing in the municipal areas. This does not, however, mean that all the municipalities were badly administered. There were exceptions—notable exceptions they were—like Cocanada, Mangalore and Tuticorin. Their number is small. A good number of councils like Madura, Trichinopoly, Dindigul, Walajapet, Rajahmundry, Guntur and Hindupur to mention only a few, were badly administered during the period under review.

The main cause for the mal-administration was due to the failure to make a distinction between administration and executive functions. The municipal authorities—the chairman and the councillors—laboured under the belief that administration was executive and executive was administration though in reality both are distinct from one another with distinctive spheres of activity. Administration is the most visible side of Government. It is government in action. The function of administration is the detailed application of the laws as enacted by the legislature and interpreted by courts of law. But the function of the executive is to see that all laws are complied with. In other words, the executive is concerned with the formulation of policies and securing legislative sanction for them. In short, the function is of political nature. Administration on the other hand has nothing to do with politics, though in reality it is politics that has brought administration into existence. Politics is the field of activity of the politician and administration is the field of activity of the technical official.

If this contention is conceded the functions of the chairman and the councillors are of political nature. Their function is to see that administration is carried on systematically and strictly according to rules and regulations by the administrative heads. But in practice this distinction was not observed in municipal administration till 1933. The chairman not only presided over the deliberations of the council initiated policies but also executed them. He was entrusted with such administrative functions as appointment and punishment of municipal personnel. And a good number of chairmen utilised their position and prestige attached to the office for their own benefit. The Government realised the dangers involved in combining both the executive and administrative functions in the hands of one and the same person as early as 1919. But for some reason or other the the executive and administrative functions were not separated and were not entrusted to separate persons till 1933. In that year an amendment to the Act was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council proposing the appointment of excutive officers popularly known as 'commissioners' to all the municipal councils. With the appointment of executive officers administration was separated from politics to a great extent.

The survey also reveals the fact that improvements were forced upon the councils by the Provincial Government and its agents. The introduction of compulsory education in some of the municipal areas, the construction of water and drainage works, the classification of public services, the institution of committee system, the appointment of executive officers and the departmental heads, the extention of secondary education were all initiated by the Provincial Government. Therefore much of the improvement in municipal administration was effected by the interference of the Provincial Government. On the surface it may appear to the ordinary rate payers that the whole system of municipal admininistration is being controlled by the elected representatives. In fact, however, the councils are supervised, their activities are co-ordinated and stimulated to a large extent by the provincial government. It may be that the Provincial Government has not always been progressive in outlook. It may be, that they, at times utilised their powers of interference for their own benefit. But the fact remains that if the municipal administration has attained some measure of efficiency, it is because of the constant pressure from the Provincial Government and its agents. The trend is therefore towards central supervision and control.

The causes for this centralisation are not difficult to see. Firstly, we never had a really representative and responsible form of Government. All that we had was only a paternal form of government. Paternalism favours centralisation and it is remarkably effective in resisting any attempt

at decentralisation. For a quarter of a century after Lord Ripon's reforms the local bodies were allowed to function in a most farcical manner, sometimes under the chairmanship and invariably under the control of the district officer and the intelligentzia of the country did not know the real meaning of self-government. Further, the department of local self-government was in the hands of an executive councillor, not responsible to any one but to His Excellency the Governor. As the head of the Department he was interested in the efficiency of the Departmental working and therefore interfered with the details of municipal administration. This policy was continued by the Ministers even after the introduction of Reforms of 1919. Therefore centralisation which continues till to day is a process which began when the department of local self-government was in the hands of Executive Councillor.

Secondly, there was a tendency on the part of several members of the Madras Legislative Council to crave for the intervention of the provincial government in the administrative details of the municipal councils. Requests were made on the floor of the House for the provincialisation of certain municipal services; for the introduction of communal ratio etc. and thus provided opportunities to the provincial government to assume more and more powers.

Thirdly, the general public have lost faith in the municipal councils. It is because men of low calibre are coming forward as candidates to contest municipal elections. A senior officer of the Local Administration Department told the writer that hundreds of petitions are being received by the department alleging corruption and nepotism. People therefore want that Government should have a close watch over the activities of the municipal councils.

Finally, central control is also favoured for the protection of minorities against the intolerance—racial, religious, political; social and personal—that exist in the municipal areas. If these minorities are left unprotected, they are likely to be subjected to every sort of discrimination and injustice. The Divine Right of the majority rule has therefore its limitations and the restraining hand of Government is welcomed.

The third fact which the survey reveals is that the municipal councils are being filled up by men of poor quality. The main cause for the exceedingly poor quality of most of the municipal councillors is due to the fact that the electorate is apathetic. Though we find here and there an intelligent citizen discussing municipal affairs, the fact remains that a vast majority of the rate-payers have no interest or knowledge of municipal administration. It is true that the rate-payers are served with demand

notices once in six months for the payment of taxes due from them. But in spite of this 'cash nexus' between the rate-payers and the council the former never makes an effort to find out how his money is being spent, whether the services are being run efficiently and economically, whether there was any wastage. When a rate-payer never concerns himself as to how his money is being spent, he does not follow nor make an effort to know how his representatives in the council are acting. The result is the councils are being filled by men who have no educational qualifications and social standing.

These are our main conclusions. We shall now proceed to consider the desirable changes that should be introduced to increase the efficiency of the administrative system.

A system of supervising the work of the various branches of the administrative system through the agency of standing committees of the council is on general principle commended. The importance of the committee system in municipal administration can hardly be over estimated. The committee system is something of a break on the executive action. Further, it is obviously impossible for the municipal councils, especially the bigger ones, to transact all their business in the council hall. It therefore follows that there is need for the establishment of committees for various purposes. At present there are only two statutory committees which are functioning properly in all the councils. All other committees are not functioning properly. Further, committees have not been constituted for certain essential purposes. For instance, there is no committee in most of the councils to scrutinise municipal expenditures. As we had already said, the council is not the proper body to view all expenditures dispassionately. Again there is no committee to coordinate the various activities of the several committees. The advantages of having a committee of the kind are so very obvious that they need no mention. Therefore we suggest that every council should have these two committees, viz, a committee to scrutinise all municipal expenditures and a committee to coordinate the various activities of the several committees. But the most essential feature which we should remember in this connection is the personnel of the committees. Generally we find on the committees persons who have no knowledge of the subject for which a committee is formed. For instance, when the Government suggested to the municipal councils the appointment of a maternity and child welfare committee, most of the councils appointed males who had no experience or knowledge of the subject as members with the result that these committees never functioned properly. This example should serve as a reminder to us that if the committee system is to function efficienty proper persons should be selected to serve on the

committees. If the personnel of the committee is not strong the recommendations of the committee are not likely to carry much weight with the councils. They are likely to be set aside. Further, the committee system will not function properly if the members of the committee feel that their recommendations would be set aside light heartedly by the council and may thus discourage experts from accepting the membership of a committee. To induce such men to come forward powers must be delegated to the committee.

No stream rises higher than its source and therefore no administration can be better than its personnel. The machinery devised may be good and the rules framed may be comprehensive and wise but if the personnel is bad everything else is of no avail. A well equipped automobile entrusted to an incompetent driver is bound to be wrecked. Machinery by itself cannot do anything. Ultimately therefore the problem is one of efficient personnel.

One of the characteristic features of personnel administration is permanency of office during good behaviour. It is therefore inevitable that greater care should be exercised in the selection of candidates. The nature of selection depends on the variety and extent and complexity of municipal administration.

The municipal councils employ doctors, teachers, health officers, engineers, clerical staff, health visitors and midwives and an army of labour force. The selection and appointment of these officers and servants is a task of great difficulty. Hitherto the appointments to all these places were regarded as a legitimate patronage of the party in power. Excepting in the case of few technical positions like the health officer and the engineer little attention was paid to the personal qualifications of the individual applicant for vacant positions. The practice of advertisement so very common in the European countries was almost unknown in the district municipalities. As soon as a job fell vacant a number of councillors came forward to press their claims upon the executive authority—claims not based upon fitness to hold the position but claims based on the services rendered to the party in power during the last elections. Thus in several cases municipal services were filled by men and women who were practically rejected every where. These persons consumed nearly 50 per cent of the total revenue. Though there is a remarkable improvement in the selection of personnel after the appointment of executive authorities, we have not yet reached a stage when we can confidently say that the municipal civil service has reached the high water mark of efficiency. We should therefore think of some other method for the selection of candidates so that we may secure the objective in view. And the only available method is the selection of candidates by a

competitive examination. The great merit of this method is that it prevents those who have power to make appointments from using their authority to pay political debts. Secondly, it seeks to secure properly qualified persons for the vacant posts. The examinations will be conducted periodically for the selection of candidates. These examinations are open to all under certain reasonable conditions. In order to attract better candidates for examination, there should be sufficient publicity. The test examination should be intimately related-unlike the Accounts Test Examination to the duties of the office which is to be filled. The agency that should perform this business should be an independent one. That body may be a 'Local Appointments Commission' consisting of three members, one eminent educationist, an experience administrator with a President. They should be appointed for life and removable only when their integrity is questioned. The business of the commission should be to prescribe the tests, conduct the examinations and declare the results. Whenever any vacancy is to be filled, the Commission may be asked to send a list of those who stood highest at the examination and appoint one of them to the vacant post. It may be argued that the selection of candidates by a commission for appointment is a serious limitation upon the principles of municipal self-government. But it is forgotten that the power to appoint municipal personnel should not be possessed by the elected representatives. Whatever may be the arguments against such shibboleths of the politicians the system proposed does possess certain merits which the present system lacks. It separates the public personnel administration from the influence of local politics. Neither directly nor indirectly can the chairman and the councillors bring sinister pressure to bear on the Local Appointments Commission. It secures better personnel who are generally independent of politics and politicians.

Various objections have been raised against the examination method. Firstly, it is generally understood that all appointments will be made after an examination test. As we had already said examination cannot be the universal method of selection of candidates. We do realise the several defects in a purely written examination test and it cannot be applied for all classes of servants for instance, to technical men and women and also to the labour force. It applies only to the clerical and non-technical staff. Even then it does not reveal such dynamic qualities as courage, resourcefulness and tactfulness. In spite of these defects the only method by which the non-technical men can be selected is by examination. It is any day better than the spoils system that exists in the municipal areas.

The Jacksonian belief that the duties of public officers and servants are so simple and plain that they could be performed by any one with

average intelligence is no more held valid. On the other hand, the complexity of the administrative system demands the appointment of officers who have been trained in the art of administration and this aspect of personnel administration has become important in recent times. In countries like Germany and the United States special institutions have been established for the purpose. But municipal officials other than technical officials are not receiving any kind of training. It is therefore suggested that the clerical staff should be given 'in-service training' immediately after their appointment. They should be made to work at every seat so as to enable them to have an intimate knowledge of the departmental geography and its physical layout.

However much may be the care that may be bestowed by the Local Appointments Commission in the selection of candidates for service, there is the possiblity that the persons selected may not after all prove suitable. To find out the suitability or otherwise, every candidate should be subjected to a period of probation and the probationary period should be regarded by the departmental heads as a period of trial. If during the period, a probationer is found to be unsuitable the probation should be terminated. This principle should strictly be adhered to in the interest of both the parties. "It is a mistaken act of kindness to retain in service a man who is not likely to be fitted for promotion". To discharge him from service for inefficiency at an age when he will not be able to secure any other employment is to cause hardship to him. It is therefore suggested that the departmental heads should submit periodical reports about the work of the probationers to the Local Appointments Commission and at the end of the period he may be confirmed in service if the Commission certifies that he has satisfactorily completed the period of probation.

One of the foundations of efficient civil service is the retention in service of those who have shown marked ability in the lower ranks. They should be given opportunity not only to climb the ladder but also to jump from one ladder to another if they have the ability in them to do so. Ordinarily, only those who are in sevice should be given opportunities. In practice, however, no opportunities are available to those in service to move about vertically. Municipal service is therefore defective in this respect. For promotional purposes every council is a unit by it self. A person who enters municipal service either as a clerk or as an accountant invariably goes out after attaining the age of retirement as a clerk or as an accountant as the case may be. A man gets promotion only when his senior in service either dies or resigns. But few die and none resign. It is therefore suggested that the Presidency may be divided into four or five divisions and each division should be treated as an unit for promotional

purposes. All positions performing similar functions should be treated as a unit. That is, all the managers working in all the local bodies excluding the Panchayat Boards should be treated as belonging to one unit. Similarly, the accountants, upper division clerks and the lower division clerks also should be treated as belonging to separate units. Each one of the services may be suitably graded. Whenever vacancies arise in the higher grade, a person working in the lower grade should be promoted to that vacancy.

By continuous stay in one place one is likely to acquire prejudices and predelictions. He may consciously or unconsciously become a tool in the hands of local politicians. A public servant who indulges in local politics not only impairs his own prestige but becomes incapable of rendering disinterested service to the council and being the impartial executor of its policy. To obtain this end, it is suggested that the municipal employees should be transferred periodically from place to place. For this purpose the same zonal arrangement suggested above may be adopted.

The central problem of the administration of taxes is to determine a fair rental value of a piece of property. Fairness here means finding out a satisfactory answer to the following question. "If this piece of property is worth so much as indicated by recent sale or other dependable critiear, and should be assessed for much what valuation should be placed on that piece considering its location and economic usefulness in relation to the first piece." To find a satisfactory answer to the question it is essential that all properties, both lands and buildings, should be properly be classified, for it is manifestly impossible and unsound to proceed with the assessment of properties without classifying buildings and lands according to the use and their character, their quality of construction and degree of use they are put to. Valuation should therefore be fixed only after classification. After the fixation of the rental value a reasonable amount should be allowed as depreciation. All these factors go to show that the assessment of properties is a complex affair. The complexity of the task can only be solved by the employment of professional assessors who are generally free from the sinister influence of the council politics. At present the executive authority or the Revenue Officer conduct the quinquennial revision though for various reasons they are not the proper persons that should be entrusted with this responsibility. The result is that properties are valued differently in different places; there are greater differences in the fixation of assessments for properties belonging to one and the same category in one and the same place. This is due to the fact that the assessing authority is not properly equipped for the task and secondly, he is not completely free from the political influence of the councillors. Several factors have conspired

to render his position so difficult as to resist all undue influence that may be brought to bear on him. It appears to us that the assessment of properties by some provincial authority independent of all local connections is probably the ideal solution of the problem. It is therefore suggested that a board consisting of certain number of commissioners for the assessment of properties should be created. The commissioners should be placed under the administrative control of the Inspector of Municipal councils and Local Boards. They should be entrusted with the conduct of all quinquennial revision of property taxes. It may be argued that the commissioners may not be able to understand the local conditions and therefore may not fix fair valuation. The executive authority who is at present conducting the revision is not a resident of the place. The wide experience of the commissioners and the data supplied by the local officials will be enable them to overcome this initial difficulty. Whatever may be the arguments against the proposal the solution suggested may be tried.

The entire procedure of tax administration involves the exercise of of human judgment and discretion and therefore provision should be made for the review of the decisions made by the officials. Reviews are of two kinds, administrative and judicial. That is, appeals may go to a higher administrative authority or to a court of law. But administrative review is preferable because it is less costly and less cumbersome. Further, the administrative machinery devised should be so constituted that it is far from the influence of council politics. Provision is made in the Act for the review of assessments fixed by the executive authority. But the machinery divised is not at all sutiable for the purpose. The appeals are being heard either by the council or by a committee of its own. Invariably these bodies behave in a manner almost always favourable to the appellant. Numerous instances have already been quoted. It is therefore proposed that this function should be vested in a body other than the council of committee of the council. The proper person that should be invested with this power appears to be the Revenue Divisional Officer.

It is essential to remember that men and women are living things who can be helped by good environment to evolve into desired types. Good environment involves the provision of all the social services such as education pure water supply, improvised roads, sanitary conditions and recreational activities. This necessarily leads to planning. To plan is to act with purpose. But there was no planning for any one of the services mentioned above during the period under review. The result was there was a haphzard growth of some of the municipalities in all directions. Open spaces were swalloped up for building purposes. Factories were constructed in the residential areas. Roads were not improvised. It is a

major scandal that though the Town planning Act was passed in the year 1920 no serious attempt was made to apply the provisions of the Town planning Act to all the councils and no vigorous steps were taken to plan the growth of the towns.

However, the authorities have at last perceived the need for planning and a committee has been constituted for the preparation of the post-war plans for the development of various services. It is gratifying to note that plans are getting ready and some of them are likely to come into force from the year 1946–47. Education has been planned as follows by the Madras Government. " The ultimate objective of the Madras Government is to provide compulsory and free education for both boys and girls throughout the province upto VIII standard. It is considered that this can be accomplished in a period of 20 years. The aim underlying the immediate post-war programme is to get the maximum number of children into schools in the shortest possible time and to educate them up to the stage at which there is little or no danger of a lapse to illiteracy. This is considered to be up to V standard. During the first quinquennium an addition of 1.33 millions children will be made to the three millions who now attend the school. A feature of the Madras plan is that the government intend to make no elaborate provision for school buildings. The existing buildings or rented buildings will be used wherever possible. If the children are to benefit from the instruction they must be adequately fed. It is therefore intended to provid a free mid-day meal for every poor child attending an elementary school. The scheme will be introduced gradually during the first five years preference being shown to those localities where the need is greatest. By the end of five years more than three million children will receive a mid-day meal and during the following five years it is hoped to extend the scheme to all elementary schools in the province. In order that the rising generation may be healthy as well as literate it is proposed to introduce a system of medical inspection of schools....." The Government propose to charge no fees so far as the elementary schools are concerned. Fees will be levied in the secondary schools and colleges. It is also proposed to elevate the status of the teaching profession which is now deplorably low. " It is proposed to spend about nine crores in bringing the pay of all teachers, by whatever agency they are employed, up to the minimum scales recommended by the Central Advisory Board". Provision has been made in the budget estimate for 1946–47 for the partial enforcement of the plan.

Similarly a plan has been prepared for the provision of pure drinking water and drainage schemes. The Public Health Committee of the *Post-War Reconstruction General Committee*, suggested the provision

sion of protected water supply and drainage in all the municipal areas the schemes are to be completed in the course of 20 years. As regards financing the schemes, the Sanitary Engineer to Government suggested the formation of a water supply and drainage fund. The fund should be administered by a Provincial Water Board. The functions of the Board should be to advise the Government on the policy to be adopted with regard to water supply and drainage schemes. The Board should consist of the Adviser to H. E. the Governor, Secretary to Government, Education and Public Health Department, Chief Engineer in charge of water supply and drainage, Sanitary Engineer to Government, Inspector of Municipal councils, Director of Public Health and two more members nominated by Government. The Secretary to Government Education and Public Health Department should be the secretary of the Board. The Board will maintain a priority list of all schemes in the province.

He further suggested that the financial position of all the municipalities should be surveyed and the maximum rates that can be levied by way of water drainage tax should be determined. The proceeds of the tax should be credited to a central fund—say the Provincial Water Supply and Drainage Fund. The Government should contribute a lump sum as grant for this purpose and it should be credited to this fund. The Sanitary Engineer should proceed with the investigation of schemes and submit the investigation reports to Government through the Chief Engineer. On receipt of orders approving the scheme, the Sanitary Engineer should take up the preparation of the detailed plans and submit the plans for the sanction of Government, After the approval of the plans by Government it should be placed before the Water Board for the allotment of funds and the Board after examining the financial aspect of the scheme should pass orders for the execution of scheme. The entire expenditure both ordinary and capital should be met from the Fund.

The proposals of the Sanitary Engineer are not after all very original. A similar scheme was proposed by the Financial Relations Committee in 1920 but the Government did not accept the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee. The proposals of the Sanitary Engineer have not yet been accepted by Government. But we think the proposals should be given a trial.

Similar post-war plans have been prepared for the provision of medical relief, maternity and childwelfare centres, the details of which are not yet available.

But all planning will be of no avail so long as the present administrative areas remain unaltered. In the 19th century and the early part of

the present century two municipalities fifty miles apart had little concern with each other. But the conditions have changed. Motor transport and telephone have made small local authorities an anachroism. Imagine for a moment the cost of administration if we have two municipalities with all the administrative paraphernalia for Srirangam and Trichinopoly, for Tinnevelly and Palamcottah to mention only two examples. Similarly Saidapet, Sembiam and Alandaur are likely to have better administration with all the modern amenities if they are merged into the Madras Corporation. The great merit of combining a number of areas which are contiguous is that the administration will be effective and economical. Further, municipalities require on their part a team of highly trained technical experts like the Engineers and Health Officers which the small councils cannot afford. At present there is duplication of work producing second rate results for liberal public expenditure. The obvious solution is to recast the areas of the municipal councils wherever necessary.

RECOMMENDATIONS
OF
THE ADMINISTRATIVE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE
So far as they pertain to
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

[In our issue of January 1948 we published the written memorandum of the evidence which Mr. C. D. Barfivala, Director, Local Self-Government Institute, submitted on 31-12-47 to the Administrative Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government of Bombay on 28th November 1946. The Report of the Committee is now published and we reproduce those parts of this valuable Report which pertain to Local Self-Government subjects, for the benefit of those who have not the opportunity of reading the original. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Principal Karve, Mr. S. S. Tyabji, Sir Ivon Taunton, and Mr. J. Santos were the esteemed Members of the said Committee. As Dr. Jivraj could not continue on the Committee after his appointment as Director-General of Health Service in the Government of India, Principal Karve stepped into his place as Chairman of the Committee. The other members of the Committee were Sir Ivon Taunton, Mr. S. B. Tyabji and Mr. J. Santos, Secretary and Mr. M. V. Tilve, Assistant Secretary. Thanks are due to the members for taking a realistic view of Local Self-Government and for a proper appraisal of the legitimate sphere of the activities of Local bodies and the position they should occupy in a democratic Constitution. The Local Self-Government Institute is particularly grateful to this august committee for due appreciation of its peculiar position—Editor.]

[HEADINGS ARE OURS—EDITOR.]

1. Approach from three different angles.

"We have conceived our task as embracing the whole field of administration, and have approached it from different angles, namely, efficiency, economy and association of the public with the administration."

2. Local Bodies can be made an efficient instrument of Administration.

"In Chapter XII we have shown how, with adequate supervision and guidance, the local bodies can be made an efficient instrument both for decentralisation and for the association of the non-official element with district administration."

The present is a good opportunity to overhaul the Administrative Machinery.

"'The Government of a democratic country can only be thoroughly reorganised at psychological moments when the political mood is one of reform and vested interests, governmental as well as private, are at their weakest.' The present is, therefore, a good opportunity to overhaul the administrative machinery and refashion it so that it becomes an efficient instrument for the realisation of the social aspirations of the people."

4. Establishment of the Local Self-Government Institute a landmark in the history of local Self-Government in the Province.

"Another landmark in the history of local self-government in this Province was the establishment of the Local Self-Government Institute, the first of its kind in India, in 1927. This Institute has done useful work in co-ordinating the activities of local bodies and assisting them in their dealings with Government. It has also conducted a training class for executive officers of local bodies and educates public opinion in matters of local self-government by literature and propaganda. In another chapter we have recommended that Government should give legal recognition to this Institute and make use of it as part of the machinery for controlling local bodies."

5. Government policy towards Local Bodies criticised. Reversal urged—Policy of maximum possible decentralisation-Financial as well as administrative recommended.

"The survey, both of the revenue and expenditure policy of Government in recent years, suggests another important point. Either on account of dissatisfaction and impatience at the inefficiency of local bodies or as a result of reformist zeal, there is a pronounced tendency for the Provincial Government to take over direct resposibility, administrative as well as financial, for a large variety of functions which in their nature ought to belong to local self-governing bodies. Medicine, public health, education and roads are some instances in point. 'Even ignoring the administrative principle involved, viz., the need to foster active centres of local self-government as a training ground for democratic government on the provincial and national level, on strictly financial grounds we feel that some reversal of recent policy in this respect is called for. For instance, it is probable that if the Provincial Government were to take over the responsibility for medical relief and public health all over the Province, at least for the time being efficiency of the administration of these activities would improve. But it is doubtful whether the financial burdon involved in making a progressive and satisfactory medical service available over the whole province could be continuously borne by the Provincial Government in the light of their own revenue prospects. Secondly, if the local popula-

10. Borough Municipalities should be encouraged to organise local police-Government contributing a part of the expenditure.

" Both with a view to relieve the district police of their normal routine duties so as to leave them free to concentrate on serious crime, and to extend the sphere of action of the local authorities, it is desirable that such of the borough municipalities as are ready to organise a local police force should be encouraged to do so. Enforcement of local by-laws, regulation of traffic, keeping order in public places and prevention of public nuisances are strictly municipal functions and would be better administered by a municipal police force. We expect that the municipal police would command greater confidence and co-operation of the public, and the provincial police would find in it a local ally and a useful intermediary in its dealings with the public. The duty of serving court process within the city limits, which also takes a large part of the time of the ordinary police, may be suitably transferred to the municipal police. Night watch, which generally tends to be neglected by the regular police owing to other more pressing duties, can also be conveniently entrusted to the municipal police, wherever it is organised. But it is not our intention that the provincial police should be divested of any responsibility for patrolling localities where crime is rife or where events of a suspicious nature have been noticed or reported by the municipal police or of watching the movements of bad characters. The municipal police force would have to conform to certain minimum standards of efficiency prescribed by the Provincial Government as regards organisation, training and discipline and would be subject to the general supervision and inspection of the Provincial Police Department. Subject to the maintenance of this minimum standard of efficiency, Government should contribute a part of the expenditure incurred on the force by the borough municipalities."

11. Local bodies must be made responsible for Public Health Services Government should withdraw from this field.

" While our recommendations regarding the organisation of the Department of Health Services are independent of the extent to which local bodies are called upon to provide such services, we cannot but record here a recommendation, to which we have alluded in more than one context in our report, that ameliorative and social services such as these cannot be offered with the maximum economy and effect unless local initiative and responsibility are developed. Without surrendering the final responsibility of the Provincial Government, it is possible and desirable to seek the co-operation of local bodies in the conduct of departments established for the welfare of the public. While the response from all local bodies may not be equally encouraging, the benefit to be derived from local health units of all types is

so obvious that the Provincial Government should bring home to local bodies their responsibility in the matter. To the extent to which the latter are ready and able to shoulder these responsibilities Government should withdraw from this field and content themselves with giving grants conditional on the maintenance of minimum standards of efficiency. Our detailed recommendations on this aspect of activities suitable to local bodies are given in Chapter XII."

12. Tocqueville quoted.

" Local self-government is to democracy, what a primary school is to university education."—*Tocqueville.*

13. The Committee interested in suggesting methods by which Local Self-Government can be made a valuable agency for decentralised administration.

" We are not required by our terms of reference to examine the internal organisation of local bodies or to suggest any improvement in their constitution and working. Our main interest in them lies in the extent to which they function as an instrument of decentralisation and relieve the Provincial Government of a large mass of functions which have primarily local interest and appeal and can only be efficiently carried out with local co-operation. Once the local bodies are established, problems of local finance, supervision and staffing assume more than local interest, as the Provincial Government are called upon to allocate suitable sources of revenue and to supplement their funds by grants-in-aid, to provide an adequate machinery to supervise and guide their activities and to safeguard the rights of the local services against local intrigues. We propose briefly to examine these wider aspects of local self-government and then to suggest methods by which it can be made a valuable agency for decentralised administration."

14-15. Need for Local Self-Government-criticism against "practice in Local Self-Government" refuted.

" There has been widespread criticism that the working of local self-governing bodies in this province has been inefficient and wasteful and has belied even the modest hope of Lord Ripon that " in course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely upon local administration, improved efficiency will in fact follow." The view has also been gaining ground that with the attainment of freedom it is no longer necessary to arrange for " exercises in local self-government." While sharing the impatience of these critics at the inefficient management of some of our local bodies, we are unable to subscribe to the latter view Local self-government serves at once as an instrument of political education and as an effective means of decentralisation. That responsible local admini

tration provides a training ground for the budding politician and enables him to start public life in a limited sphere and to learn the art of public administration by making mistakes of small consequences, is undoubted. This is demonstrated by the fact that many of our politicians, present and of the immediate past, received their training in politics in the school of local self-government. It also imparts education in citizenship to the unskilled elector "who can learn to judge things a far off only by accustoming himself to judge first of things near at hand."

"Another equally important object of local self-government is to decentralise administration into local channels. With the present growth of Government's functions it would be physically impossible for any Government to handle the numerous details of local administration without an army of officers dispersed over the whole province and without a considerable burden on its financial resources. As a short term measure Government may undertake such local activity as primary education to promote literacy on a province-wide scale. But in the long run Government will have to encourage the public to manage as wide a range of civic affairs as possible, with funds raised by local taxation, and to develop in course of time a capacity for self-help and self-rule."

16-17. Causes of present failure analysed apathy of the electorate, lack of civic spirit in members, inadequate financial resources, ill-trained and low paid staff, want of timely guidance and control by Provincial Government.

"Whatever the objects of local self-government, it cannot be denied that the apathy of the electorate, lack of civic spirit in the elected, inadequate financial resources, ill-trained and low paid staff, and above all, want of timely guidance and control by the Provincial Government have combined to prevent any substantial achievement in the sphere of local administration. Public indifference to the exercise of the vote is almost proverbial in this country. It was marked in the recent elections of the premier civic body in the Province, the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, which at least can boast of a highly developed civic consciousness, when only about 33 per cent. of the electorate went to the poll. Active interest in public affairs is still confined to a small section of the people, which also is not sufficiently alive to the need of holding their elected representatives to account and exercising a continuous control over them. This is but natural in a country in which the standard of literacy is low and where the public is traditionally imbued with a sense of fatalism which accepts things as they come and waits Micawber-like for better things to turn up. Added to this apathy of the electorate is the irresponsibility of some of the elected members who accept office not as a trust, but for the betterment of their own material prospects. It is therefore surprising that under conditions such as these things are not worse than what they are."

"That the financial resources of the local bodies are inadequate even for the discharge of their obligatory functions has been stressed *ad nauseam* by every committee appointed by Government. The principal sources of municipal revenue are house tax, octroi, terminal tax, taxes on professions and vehicles and special cesses for education, drainage and water supply, if these particular services are rendered. The local fund cess at the rate of two annas in the rupee of land revenue and water rates realised in the district (which Government can raise by request of a district local board to a maximum of three annas) forms the chief source of revenue of district local boards. This income is supplemented by taxes on professions and tolls. With these comparatively inelastic sources of revenue it has become increasingly difficult for the local bodies to meet the cost of labour and materials, and their already slender resources have been taxed to the utmost by the revision of pay scales and the payment of dearness allowances to the staff. Government's recent orders allotting to them 15 per cent. of the land revenue realised within a district excluding villages which have panchayats will undoubtedly grant them some relief. But there are other independent sources of revenue which could be allocated to local bodies, and we would recommend that Government place at their disposal funds adequate for the duties they are expected to perform."

"The failure to employ a well qualified and trained staff by local bodies is partly due to this lack of funds. Their limited resources are further attenuated by the reluctance of the elected members to impose new taxes and to take legal steps against defaulters for fear of losing party support and alienating the sympathies of their constituents. Nothing better could have been expected under a system of limited franchise which returned the propertied gentry to the municipalities and landholders to the district local boards; such members could hardly be expected to tax themselves and their kind to provide greater amenities for the poorer sections of society. Though adult franchise may improve matters to some extent, no substantial results can be achieved unless Government make a determined effort to increase civic consciousness among the public through the spread of literacy and exercise proper control through grants-in-aid and audit. The surest way to promote financial irresponsibity in the local bodies is to make unconditional grants without any attempt to correlate them either with the imposition and collection of adequate taxation or the maintenance of a minimum standard of efficiency. Moreover it is not enough to lay down statutory conditions; arrangements must be made for regular inspection to ensure that these conditions are fulfilled. Another distributing feature in local finance is the misuse of public funds for ends not sanctioned by law. There is provision to prevent it in the Local Fund Audit Act, 1930, which empowers the auditor to disallow items of expenditure which the local

bodies cannot legally incur and surcharge it on members and officers who are responsible for it. But we find that recovery is not enforced properly, as the processes involved are too lengthly to produce any tangible results."

18. Day to day guidance and supervision of Local Bodies should be through a statutory non-official Board representative of Local bodies themselves.

"It has been rightly contended that the powers with which Government have armed themselves in respect of local self-government institutions are more in the nature of a "pole-axe when rein and spurs are needed." The three Acts under which the local boards and the district and borough municipalities have been constituted in this Province contain special chapters through which Government have taken powers to order the performance of certain duties in the event of default by local bodies, to enquire into local administration, and to impose the penalty of supersession in case of gross mismanagement. Added to these are the emergency powers of the collectors to suspend the execution of the decision of a local body which is likely to cause injury or annoyance to the public or lead to a breach of the peace, or is unlawful, and to provide for the immediate execution of works necessary for the health and safety of the public which a particular local body has refused to perform. There is no machinery provided through which Government can wield a wholesome influence on the local bodies by way of timely advice and correction. Owing to overwork in connection with their multifarious duties rather than lack of interest, the collectors have been prevented from devoting much attention to local self-government affairs, We have carefully considered whether this want of day-to-day supervision and guidance should be supplied by a Government agency under a Local Self-Government Commissioner or through a statutory non-official board representative of the local bodies themselves and commanding their confidence and co-operation. We recommend to Government the latter course, as external control, however helpful and beneficent, is likely to be resented by the local bodies and would not be so effective as self-imposed discipline."

19-22. To achieve the object mentioned above the Local Self-Government Institute should be converted into a Local Self-Government Board by modifying its Constitution. The objects of the Local Self-Government Institute are comprehensive enough to take up additional work.

"But instead of setting up a new *ad hoc* body Government should consider whether they could utilised the services of the Local Self-Government Institute which has already done valuable work in the cause of local self-government. We have been told that even though membership of this Institute is voluntary, all the local bodies in this Province, with the exception of a few district municipalities, have become members of the Institute

by paying the annual subscription .... The governing body of the Institute is known as the Provincial Council, on which representation is on a territorial basis, the Gujarat, the Konkan, the Maharashtra, and the Karnatak Divisions being represented by three members each. In addition to these, important local bodies like the municipalities of Poona, Sholapur, Ahmedabad and Surat have been given special representation of one member each, while the school boards are represented by two members. The Provincial Council elects an executive committee which is charged with the day-to-day administration of the Institute."

"The objects of the Institute as given in clause 3 of the constitution are :—

(*a*) to further the growth of local self-government institutions by training people in the principles and practice of local self-government ;

(*b*) to promote the study of problems connected with local self-government and act as a centre of information and advice for local self-government bodies ;

(*c*) to strengthen and improve local self-government institutions by co-operation and other means and to bring them together for common endeavour by organising periodical conferences ;

(*d*) to undertake on behalf of the local bodies any services such as purchase of stores, book depot, printing press, etc. ; and

(*e*) to adopt any other measures necessary for the furtherance of the interests of local self-government and the promotion of efficient administration.

"Thus the objects of the Local Self-Government Institute are comprehensive enough to include all the duties that Government may think fit to delegate to it. In fact, our proposal is so to modify the constitution of that body as to make it an instrument whereby it can more fully achieve its object of promoting efficient administration in local bodies and advice Government in Local Self-Government matters. The Institute will continue to perform all the activities which it is at present conducting, in addition to those recommended by us, and we think it would not be necessary to alter the constitution of the general body except to the extent mentioned below ".

"We feel that the objects we have in view will be promoted by making the Minister for Local Self-Government the *ex-officio* president and the Chief Engineer and the Director of Public Health *ex-officio* members respectively of the general body. The vice-president should, however, be elected, and provision may be made for the appointment of an honorary secretary, in which case the assistant secretary will have to be a paid servant. It will

be necessary to call at least one meeting of the general body annually, and provision should be made for the holding of special meetings if called by the Executive Committee, whose constitution we advocate in the succeeding paragraph or on a requisition signed by one-forth of the members ".

" With this altered constitution it should be possible for the Local Self-Government Institute to exercise adequate supervision over the local bodies through an Executive Committee which should be constituted as follows :—

The district local boards, the district municipalities and the borough municipalities should be represented by two members each on this committee, and the Chief Engineer and the Director of Public Health should be *ex-officio* members, so that their experience and advice may be available to the executive committee. With a view to giving to the executive committee the benefit of outside experience and knowlege, it would be desirable to have one of the individual members of the Institute on the executive committee. The executive committee should be presided over by an officer more or less of the rank at present held by a divisional commissioner, who will thus be the chief executive officer of the Institute in respect of its administrative duties of sppervision and inspection. The chief executive officer will have to be given a suitable staff, both for his own office and for the several divisions of the Province. For every Revenue division the Institute, which may be given legal status as the Local Self-Government Board, should form a small committee, of which a divisional officer will be appointed the chairman. This officer, advised by his committee and assisted by a divisional staff, will be responsible for the day-to-day supervision and inspection of the local bodies. The gazetted staff of the board will be appointed by the executive committee and will be under the control of the chief executive officer, while for the non-gazetted staff the chief executive officer will be both the appointing and controlling authority, It will not be possible to finance the scheme through the membership fees which are now charged by the Institute. In order not to place a financial burden on the local bodies, at least to start with, by asking them to share the full expenditure incurred on the maintenance of the major portion of the staff, we recommend that the cost of the administrative staff should be substantially borne by Government. The Institute should be able to finance its educative and propaganda activities by raising subscriptions and by obtaining voluntary contributions ".

23. Divisional Cadres for principal officers should be formed and recruitment be made in consultation with public service Commission.

" The question whether the principal services of the local bodies should be provincialised is one which has aroused controversy in the past. On the one hand the officers of the local bodies feel that the provisions of the

Municipal Boroughs Act and the Local Boards Act, which require a two-thirds majority of the total membership of a local body for their removal or punishment, are no adequate protection against party intrigues. On the other hand the local bodies allege that the above provisions make these officers almost irremmovable as the more adroit among them can always manage to obtain the minimum support by playing one faction against another and, if need be, by showing favour towards some of the members. While we have no desire to enter into this controversy, we feel that the efficiency of local administration will not improve unless a clear distiction is drawn between the spheres of policy and action, and the services are ensured the freedom to act without fear or favour within the terms of the policy laid down by the local body and are given security of tenure which would not depend upon uncertain party fortunes and local influences. We admit the force in the argument that complete provincialisation of services would weaken the control of the local bodies over the staff and make it difficult for them to enforce discipline. But a cadre or cadres for officers of the local bodies, to be controlled by a provincial board representing the local bodies themselves, should be free from any such objection and will have considerable advantages. By removing the control of such appointments beyond the scope of local influence, it will ensure the necessary independence to the officers. While the prospect of promotion to a more important post under a larger body would provide an incentive to work, it would also be easy to transfer an officer whose relations with a local body were strained before the breach had become too wide. It has been argued that diversity of language and the differences in the size of the local bodies and in their capacity to pay their executive officers would make it difficult, if not impossible, to work such a cadre. While we appreciate these difficulties, we do not feel that they are insurmountable, and recommend that the chief officers, health officers, engineers and chief accountants of the borough municipalities and the district local boards, and the chief officers of the district municipalities should form suitable cadres on a divisional basis, so that the language difficulty may be overcome. The control of these cadres should be vested in the executive committee of the Local Self-Government Board. We find that a similar scheme for controlling such cadres through a provincial board elected by the local bodies as a possible alternative to complete provincialisation was formulated by the Local Self-Government Committee, Bombay, 1939, at the request of Government. Our scheme has the added advantage that the same body will also be responsible for the day-to-day supervision of, and guidance to local bodies.

While the qualifications prescribed for these posts are sufficiently high, the selection is not infrequently influenced by party or sectional considera-

tions. To avoid this, we suggest that recruitment to these posts should be made in consultation with the Public Service Commission. We understand that this will necessitate the passing of a provincial Act to enlarge the functions of the Commission under section 267 of the Government of India Act, 1935, so as to bring recruitment to the local services within its purview ".

24. Functions of the proposed Local Self-Government Board Government retaining only the powers regarding changes in the Constitution of Local Bodies, Taxation and sale of property and emergency powers.

Powers which cannot be delegated to the Local Self-Government Board should be distributed between the Board of Revenue and the Collectors etc.

" As our recommendation relates to a major change in the machinery for regulating the affairs of the local bodies, it is not necessary for us to define the functions which should be handed over to the Local Self-Government Board. If Government accept the principle of collective self-regulation of local bodies, it should not be difficult to outline a detailed scheme of allocation of functions. There are, however, certain powers which cannot possibly be delegated to a non-official body, such as Government's power of supersession and the collector's emergency powers. Final powers relating to changes in the constitution of local bodies, taxation and sale of property should also be retained by Government. When the posts of commissioners are abolished as proposed by us, such of their powers as cannot be delegated to the Board, will, according to their importance, have to be distributed between the Board of Revenue and the collector. We recommend that the present practice of audit of local accounts through a Government agency should be continued, but the power to enforce it may be delegated to the Board.

25. If Local Bodies and the Local Self-Government Institute do not co-operate or if 5 years trial of such transfer of powers to the Institute is not successful, Government may establish its own agency for guinance and supervision of Local Bodies.

" These recommendations have been made in the hope that both the Local Self-Government Institute and the local bodies will co-operate with Government in making this scheme a success. It is intended to be a compromise between the demand of the local bodies for complete autonomy and the proved necessity of central control. It has the added advantage that the powers entrusted to the Board could be withdrawn or increased according to the degree of success attained by it. But if for some reason or other the required co-operation is not forthcoming or if after giving this scheme a trial for a period of, say, five years it appears to Government that not much progress has been made, then it would be open to Government to

appoint their own agency for the guidance and supervision of local bodies. A nucleus for this will already have been provided by the Chief Executive Officer of the Board with the divisional staff under him, who would have acquired by that time adequated knowledge and experience of local self-government problems. This would also entail the provincialisation of the higher local services to be administered and controlled by Government through the Chief Executive Officer, who could then be designated as Local Self-Government Commissioner. "

26. Government policy of gradual eclipse of Local Boards deplored.

"We have noted with regret that the recent trend of Government policy is calculated to bring about a gradual elimination of the District Local Boards from the field of local self-government. Even Class III roads, which are of purely local importance, continue to be administered by the Public Works Department in spite of the recommendations of more than one committee to transfer them to the Local Boards not only with a view to economy but also as a measure of decentralisation. By the Primary Education Act, 1947, Government have taken upon themselves the responsibility of primary education from the local bodies which are now to function in a purely advisory capacity. The public health activities of the Local Boards also, we understand, have been substantially taken over by Government. The Local Boards have thus been gradually divested of a large portion of their primary functions. Though questions of policy are outside our scope, we cannot but express the hope that these extreme steps are the result of the keen desire of Government to force the pace of their programme of development on a province-wide scale and will be reversed as soon as the desired objectives are fulfilled.

27. District Rural Development Boards should be abolished and their functions should be transferred to District Local Boards.

" With the general object of associating the public with administration, Government have established in every district a Rural Development Board side by side with the District Local Board. Whatever may have been the justification for such a parallel body in the past, we think there is no further need for this dual organisation, and that only one of these bodies should remain. This should clearly be the District Local Board, which has a statutory basis and, being elected, is more truly representative than the District Rural Development Board can be. The latter body consists entirely of nominated members and is thus likely to be predominantly influenced by the political supporters of the Government of the day. We have heard complaints that public spirited men who do not happen to belong to the party in power find no place on these Boards. We therefore recommend that the District Rural Development Boards be abolished, and their func-

tions in connection with post-war development schemes be transferred to the District Local Board."

28. There should be a few exofficio and nominated members on the District Local Boards.

"We think that the usefulness of the District Local Boards could be enhanced by the inclusion of a few nominated members, to be selected from the ranks of social workers and others who have evinced a genuine interest in public affairs, but who for one reason or another have been unwilling to stand for election. One or two district officials in charge of Government's social and economic activities may also be made ex-officio members of the District Local Boards."

29. Taluka Committees should formed with one or two nominated members from the Locality.

"In the talukas after the abolition of the taluka local boards in 1938, no non-official agency exists which can be conveniently associated with the taluka administration. We suggest that the local members of the District Local Board in the taluka, with perhaps one or two more nominated members from the locality, should form a taluka committee."

30. The Provincial Rural Development Board may continue.

"As regards the Provincial Rural Development Board, if Government feel that, over and above the normal channels of communication with the rural public, this institution serves a useful purpose, we see no objection to its continuance."

31. Extreme importance of early implemental of the report urged.

"The principal reason for confining ourselves to practical suggestions, capable of immediate application, was the consciousness of urgency. Things all the world over are moving so fast that unless we act in the present moment, we may have no opportunity to act at all. We therefore take leave to urge on Government the extreme importance of early consideration and implementation of our report." Only next to speed is in our opinion the need for bold action on the highest level. Not only by the composition of our personnel, but by our deliberate intention, the last thing to escape our notice would be a really significant practical difficulty. But those who are accustomed to the established order of things are bound in many cases to imagine the existence of other difficulties in the way of adopting our recommendations, especially if any of these work to their own disadvantage. We know that this factor has militated against effective action on many a report of committees like ours. While we fully and freely recognise that it is for Government who appointed us to decide

whether they will accept our report, we cannot but enter, in the light of past experience, a caution that if the opinion of departments concerned is ultimately to prevail in the sphere of action on recommendations that are unpalatable to them, this report need hardly have been written. Delay and departmental obstruction have been the lot of most reports which aimed at far-reaching reform in existing institutions. It is for Government to decide whether in the fast changing complex of internal and international events, it is not now necessary to cut resolutely through these two traditional blocks."

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

(1870-1902).

CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTORY

4. 1. The thirty-three years between 1869 when the levy of the local fund cess was generalised and 1902 when Lord Curzon turned his attention to the reform of primary education form the second period in the development of Primary Education in this Province. Its most important event is the report of the Indian Education Commission (1883) which divides this period into two sub-periods, first from 1870-71 to 1883-84 and the second from 1883-84 to 1901-02. The main events of this period can, therefore, be studied more conveniently under these two sub-periods.

4. 2. Events of the period 1870 to 1884 : The history of primary education between 1870 and 1884 centres round one fundamental problem, viz., the keen and widespread demand for more schools and more teachers and the almost pathetic struggle of the Department to meet it as far as possible. It will, therefore, be convenient to describe the events of this period under two heads : the causes that led to a widespread demand for Government primary schools; and the various attempts made to increase the finances of the local boards in order to enable them to meet it.

The departmental primary schools of the period between 1823 and 1865 were not popular with the masses mainly because the people at large could not appreciate the richer and more liberal curriculum of these schools. The public opinion was still dominated by the tradition of the indigenous schools which confined instruction to a few severely utilitarian subjects such as reading and writing the *modi* script, mental arithmetic, etc., and consequently, the people preferred to send their children to the indigenous schools rather than to the departmental ones. But the simplification of the primary syllabus in 1865-66 met the popular demand to some extent and considerably altered the situation. After 1865-66 the primary schools of

the department came to be classified into three groups–*superior schools* which taught the whole of the primary course, *inferior schools* which taught up to standard IV and which differed only slightly from the indigenous schools, and *branch schools* which confined their attention to the three R's. This toning down of the curriculum helped materially to increase the attendance in these schools. Secondly, a very large number of new primary schools were opened by the Department out of the local fund cess between 1863 and 1870. Wherever these new schools with their simplified curriculum came to be opened, the local indigenous schools gradually died out and as the pupils from these schools sought admission to Government schools a demand for more teachers steadily grew up. Thirdly, the desire for education was now spreading among all classes of society and people were beginning to realise that the richer curriculum of the Government schools was really an asset. Fourthly, admission to service under Government or to a secondary school was only possible through the departmental primary schools and consequently, the pupils began to join, wherever possible, a departmental school in preference to an indigenous one. All these factors increased the demand for establishment of more Government schools or for the appointment of additional teachers in the schools already established.

The Department had to meet this demand somehow. Even at this late stage, it could have tried to improve the indigenous schools and incorparate them into the new scheme. But it continued its old policy of deliberate neglect and relied upon its own schools to meet the growing demand for education. Naturally, this made educational expansion both a slow and a costly affair—and the department found itself in financial difficulties at no distant date.

In 1871-72, the total government grant to Local Boards on account of primary education was only Rs. 1,88,538. The grant to each district was a sort of block-grant which was credited to the District Educational Fund at the beginning of the year and the Local Fund Committee was at full liberty to allot the money as it liked. This grant was fixed arbitrarily and generally represented the expenditure that was being incurred by Government in the particular district prior to the imposition of the local fund cess. When the cess was levied in 1863, the resources available to education increased so materially and in so short a time (the amount of the local fund cess was Rs. six lakhs and odd) that the Department was not even able, for a year or two, to spend all the additional money that was given to it. The question of asking for additional grants from Government did not, therefore, present itself seriously until 1870. By this time, however, a crisis began to threaten. The Department opened a large

number of new schools between 1863 and 1870 with the result that all its resources were earmarked for the maintenance of existing institutions and no amount was available for opening new schools. The revenue from the local fund cess was inelastic because it could be increased only once in 30 years when the land revenue itself would be increased. The only way in which the Department could meet the growing demand for more schools was, therefore, to ask for additional funds from Government and the successive Directors of Public Instruction began to clamour for additional grants as early as in 1871–72. Unfortunately, their requests went unheeded and the increase in Government grants between 1871–72 and 1883–84 was entirely inadequate to meet the situation.

In England, local rates were imposed to supplement voluntary contributions and not with a view to economise expenditure by Parliament. Consequently, no controversy ever arose over Parliamentary grants to school boards and, from the very beginning, liberal Parliamentary grants were sanctioned in aid of local rates. In India, on the other hand, the local fund cess was imposed to make up for the inadequacy of Government grant and hence a controversy arose over the following two issues :—

(1) Should Government give a grant-in-aid to local fund cess at all ?

(2) If so, on what principles was it to be given ?

On the first issue, the case was overwhelmingly against Government. The local fund had so often been described as a 'voluntary rate' that Government could not possibly withdraw from that position. The precendent from England also helped to support this view. It was, therefore, held that the local fund cess was a sort of voluntary contribution from the people and that it must receive grants-in-aid from Government funds.

The second issue was more important and unfortunately, the local funds did not win their case over it. Government was hard pressed for money because there were heavy deficits in the Central budget and because of wasteful wars like the Afgan War. It was not, therefore, in a position to sanction liberal grants-in-aid and consequently, under a letter from the Government of India, No. 60. Home Department, dated 11th February 1871, it was laid down that Government grants to primary education should "not exceed one half of the aggregate contributions from all other sources, or one-third of the total expenditure on education in the school cencerned."* In accordance with the spirit of this letter, the Education Department claimed that Government grants for primary education should

* History of the Local Fund Cess (approriated to education) in the Province of Bombay by J. P. Naik, p. 35.

be *equal* to one-third of the total expenditure on education. But Government which was almost always in financial difficulties, took shelter under the expression 'should not exceed' and allowed only negligible increases in grants. For example, the Director of Public Instruction stated in 1871–72, that the receipts from cess, fees, etc., in primary schools were Rs. 7,55,010. This entitled the Department to claim a grant-in-aid of Rs. 3,77,505 or an increase of Rs. 1,88,967 over the then existing grant of Rs. 1,88,538†. But as a matter of fact, the Government grant increased by Rs. 11,322 between 1871–72 and 1883–84 and stood at Rs. 1,99,860 only in the latter year‡. This niggardly growth in the Government grant is hardly justifiable and is one of the main reasons for the slow progress of primary education.

Mention must be made here of a small special grant sanctioned to the Local Boards during this period, viz., *Excise Compensation grant.* Under section 6 of the Bombay Act III of 1869, the Provincial Government was authorised to levy a cess for local purposes not exceeding one-anna in a rupee on the excise revenue of the Province. This cess was credited to the local fund of the District and, in consequence, one-third of it became automatically available for expenditure on education. The cess was levied in 1870–71 and 1871–72. In 1872–73, the Government of India abolished the cess on the ground that it diminished its excise revenue. A strong representation against these orders was made and, as a result thereof, fixed grants were sanctioned to local boards in lieu of the loss of the excise cess. These grants, briefly known as Excise Compensation Grants, were fixed on the excise revenue of 1874–75 and amounted to Rs. 43,375 for the Province as a whole. This brought some relief no doubt. But the complaint remained that the fixed amount of these grants deprived the local boards of a share in the increase of the excise revenue.

Reference has already been made to the absence of a local educational rate in municipal areas, the inadequate contribution of municipalities to primary education and to the consequent diversion of funds from the rural to urban education. This problem became extremely acute during this period. The Education Department which was badly in need of funds for educational expansion pressed the Government again and again for the impost of an education rate on urban property and requested the municipalities to increase their voluntary contributions. But neither of these requests were granted. The Director of Public Instruction, therefore, gave a great emphasis on this issue and from 1879–80, began to publish annual statistics of the loss to rural areas on account of urban education.

† *Ibid* p. 36.
‡ *Ibid* p. 37.

The following table, which has been consolidated from these statistics, will give a clear picture of the situation :—

Year	Municipal Contribution.	Total Expenditure on primary education within the municipal area.	Net loss to rural funds on account of the schools in the municipal area.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1879-80	9,873	2,23,889	1,77,354
1880-81	12,980	2,27,337	1,52,751
1881-82	18,951	2,45,401	1,66,237
1882-83	19,690	2,63,321	1,74,027
1883-84	24,031	2,75,958	1,84,038

Of course, there is one flaw in these statistics. The net loss shown in column 4 is worked out on the assumption that no Government grant is due to schools within municipal limits. But such an assumption has no justification. At that time, the Government grant credited to the Local Funds came to only 3¼ pies per capita of the population and on this basis, the Government grant due to schools within municipal limits would have been as under (Population of 1881) :—

	Rs.
Central Division.	8,837
North-East Division.	4,736
Northern Division.	7,980
Southern Division.	4,346
Total Rs.	25,899

Even if an allowance is made for this amount, it will still be seen that very considerable amounts of the rural cess were diverted to the maintenance of schools in municipal areas.

For all these reasons, the finances of primary education did not improve to any appreciable extent between 1870 and 1882. This financial stringency coupled with the refusal of the Department to assist the indigenous schools was mainly responsible for the slow progress of primary education between 1870-71 and 1883-84 as shown in the following table :—

	1870-71	1883-84
Number of Schools	2,072	3,330
Number of Schools	1,35,660	1,89,534

4. 3 The Recommendations of the Indian Education Commission :— After the Wood's Education Despatch of 1854, the most important event in the history of Indian education was the appointment of the Indian Education Commission and the publication of its report (1883). In appointing the Commission, Government directed it to pay special attention to the hitherto neglected problem of primary education and consequently, the report of the Commission lays special emphasis on the expansion and reform of primary education. Its main recommendations on this subject are summarised in the following paragraphs. It will be seen that they are considerably influenced by the British Elementary Education Act of 1870 and 1876 :—

(A) Indigenous schools :—The Indian Education Commission strongly criticised the studied negligence of the indigenous schools shown by the Bombay Education Departments. It observed that the indigenous schools 'had survived a severe competition and thus proved that they possess both vitality and popularity.' Even after admitting 'the comparative inferiority of indigenous institutions', the Commission believed that 'the indigenous schools, if recognised and assisted..... may be expected to improve their methods and fill a useful place in the state system of national education.' The Commission, therefore, suggested that grants should be given to indigenous schools by Municipal and District Boards on the system of payments by results. It also recommended that indigenous school should be given ' free play and development ' and that Boards should establish 'free schools of their own only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.' *

(B) Establishment of school Boards :—The Commission realised that the Local Fund Committees established under the Act of 1870 were far from satisfactory as local self-governing institutions and that they could not at all be compared to the School Boards of England. It, therefore, recommended the establishment of municipal and local boards on a more representative basis and the transfer to them of much larger powers in the control of primary education within their areas.

(C) Separation of Municipal schools from those in Rural areas :—The attention of the Commission was pointedly drawn to the drain on rural revenues due to schools in municipal areas. The Commission admitted the force of the arguments in support of this view and recommended that the funds for primary education in urban areas be separated from the rural areas and that a separate primary education fund be created for each municipality.

* History of the Local Fund Cess (appropriated to education) in the Province of of Bombay, by J P. Naik, Pp. 63-64.

(D) Provincial Grants to Primary Education :—The recommendations of the Commission regarding Provincial grants to primary education were unfortunately vague and short-sighted. It stated that primary education 'possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.' It talked loosely to the effect that 'still greater efforts are generally needed' and felt that 'the liberality of one part of India may afford an example to Local Governments or Local Boards elsewhere.' On the whole, its recommendations only meant that the policy laid down in Home Department letter No. 60 of 11-2-1871 (referred to already in the preceding Section) should be followed and that Provincial grants to primary education should be limited to one-third of the total expenditure.

It would be interesting to compare these recommendations of the Indian Education Commission in 1883 with the provisions of the Education Acts of 1870, 1876, and 1880 in England. The only points of similarity are two: assistance to indigenous schools and the creation of municipal and district local boards to manage primary education. But the differences are too marked: there is no provision for compulsory attendance, no penalisation of child labour, and no provision of large Provincial grants on the lines of Parliamentary grants for education; the system of payment by results was adopted here although it was slowly being abandoned in England as unscientific and wasteful and although the system of capitation grants would have been more helpful to achieve expansion.

4.4 Indigenous Schools (1884-1902) :—Although great hopes were aroused by the appointment and recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, primary education made but slow progress between 1884 and 1902. This was due mainly to three reasons. Firstly, some of the recommendations of the Commission were not properly carried out; Secondly, the financial recommendations of the Commission were fundamentally unsound and inadequate to secure rapid progress; and thirdly, the great epideic of plague and the severe famine that affected this province in the last decade of the nineteenth century considerably affected the spread of education.

The most important recommendation of the Commission referred to the encouragement of the indigenous schools. The enquiry conducted by the Indian Education Commission revealed that in the Province of Bombay, there were, in 1882, as many as 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,025 pupils. Under a proper policy, all these schools could have been made to survive and could even have been increased. But in 1901-02, the total number of aided primary schools in rural areas was 559 with an enrolment of 17,064 pupils. The amount of the grant-in-aid paid was only Rs. 14,769 i.e., less

than a rupee per head per year. The small number of schools assisted and the low rate of grant-in-aid clearly suggest that hardly any vigorous methods were adopted to assist indigenous primary schools in this period. This was probably the most important cause of the slow advance of primary education during this period.

Fortunately from the Department, the problem of indigenous schools was solved by 1902 because most of them disappeared completely towards the end of the century. They had to strive against departmental hostility and competition on one hand and the growing poverty of the people on the other. After a heroic but a losing struggle for nearly a century, they made room for the efficient (?) schools of the Department to reign supreme.

4.5 Creation of District and Municipal School Boards :—The fate of the recommendation regarding the creation of district and municipal school boards and the transfer to them of certain powers over primary education is slightly different. Government did take steps to enact special Acts for the democratisation and reconstitution of local bodies in the Province (Acts I and II of 1884). These boards were also given some powers over primary education. But a comparison of the position in India with that in England shows the following significant points of difference :—

(1) Owing to the lack of public education and sufficient public leadership in India, the boards were dominated by official influence and the voice of the district officials of Government was still supreme in their management. In actual practice the working of these boards, particularly in the rural areas, may be better described as the association of a few non-officials with Government officers in managing certain local functions than as the establishment of local self-government institutions as such.

(2) The powers given to the local boards in India were purely nominal as compared with those in England. According to the Elementary Education Acts of 1870, 1876, and 1880, the school boards had full powers over primary education in their areas and were subject to guidance and control in a few matters by Government Inspectors. In India, the boards had a few nominal powers over the budget and administration and most of the authority was centered in the officers of the Education Department. This was particularly true in the case of rural areas.

(3) The size of the area under each board in England was very small. In 1903, there were as many as may as 2182 school boards and 730 school attendance committees in England. As against this, the Province of Bombay had 20 district local

boards and about 150 municipalities. It is obvious that the 'district' was too big an area to be a unit of local administration.

The net result of these differences may be expressed in another way. In Engiand, the schools were always close to the people. Prior to 1870, there were only voluntary schools and these exclusively a popular enterprise. After the establishment of the school boards, the board schools came into existence. But even these were very close to the people because the constitution of boards was fully democratic, their powers over the schools were large, and the area of each board was very small. In India, the conditions were entirely different. The district local boards were in charge of nearly 90 per cent. of the population. In their case, the area was too large for purposes of local administration; the composition of the district boards was largely dominated by officials; and the board as such had only a few powers. The people, therefore, never felt themselves to be close to the primary schools of the boards. They did feel closer to the indigenous schools; but these were systematically neglected and allowed to die.

4.6 Government Grant to Local Funds:—In so far as the financial aspect of primary education is concerned, Government accepted the recommendation of the commission that Government grant to local boards should be at one-third of the total expenditure. But this recommendation itself was defective. It placed the main responsibility for primary education on local resources which were very meagre and inelastic. Universal primary education could never have been possible on this basis and consequently, the progress of education was slow in spite of the acceptance of this recommendation by Government. What the situation really needed was a reorientation of policy and the fixation of the main responsibility for primary education on Government. But this view was not at all acceptable to Government at this period.

4.7 Separation of Municipal from Rural Schools:—The one important recommendation of the Commission which did considerable service to the progress of education was the separation of Municipal from rural schools. This was accepted by Goverment and the following orders were issued:—

> "The system of Primary Schools controlled by the Department of Public Instruction in this Presidency is maintained at the cost of the Educational Local Funds of the Districts. The assets of these district Local Funds are one-third of the local cess on land levied under Bombay Act III of 1869 and Bombay Act VIII of 1865, together with the fees of the schools and other local contributions and a fixed sum of Rs. 2,58,900 given for many years past as a grant-in-aid from Provincial Revenues. In the early years of the department, primary schools were most easily established in towns, and thus it has happened that by far the greater part of the primary schools in towns are maintained as 'local cess schools' and their receipts and expenditure are

included in the District Local Fund Budgets. This position would have presented no difficulty if the local contributions of the towns which are credited to the District Local Fund, had been proportionate to the local contributions of the villagers in shape of the educational cess. But the maintenance of this proportion has not been enforced, the Municipal communities have not been very ready to make voluntary contributions for schools, and the result is that while the District Municipalities put into the District Educational Funds Rs. 1,14,685 consisting of the fees of the primary schools in Municipalities, the local cess levied within Municipal limits and contributions from Municipal funds, in short, every receipt for which they can claim credit, they draw out from the District Funds in support of their schools no less than Rs. 3,38,232.

2. The difference between these two sums viz., Rs. 2,23,547 per annum is a charge on the District Local Funds to a small part of which only the Municipalities have any right. The Municipal population being about $\frac{1}{8}$th of the whole population of the districts its proper share of the Provisional grant Rs. 2,58,900 is only Rs. 31,211 per annum. If this sum is added to the local assets of the Municipalities (Rs. 1,14,685), and the total deducted from the sum drawn by the Municipalities from the District Funds, it is found that the Municipalities obtain from these funds Rs. 1,92,336 per annum to which they are in no way entitled and unjustly withdraw that sum from its proper object, viz., the support of rural primary schools.

3. The Local Funds applicable to the rural primary instruction are now wholly appropriated and it is most necessary that this diversion of funds should be redressed. But if the Municipalities are required to surrender the difference between the sum which they receive and the sum to which they are entitled they will have to substitute funds of their own to the yearly amount of Rs. 1,92,336.

4. His Excellency in Council has no hesitation in deciding that this surrender must be made. But having regard to the desire expressed by His Excellency the Viceroy in Council that the extention of local self-government should not be attended by a large increase of local taxation, he has anxiously considered how this restitution may be prevented from being too heavily upon municipal resources.

5. The only practical expedient appears to be that Government should share in the burden by providing a share of the funds to substituted. The total cost of the municipal primary schools supported by the District funds has been shown to be Rs. 3,38,232. The principle has been generally accepted that the Government may properly contribute a sum equal to half the local assets or one-third of the total cost of aided schools managed by local bodies. If this principle be applied, the Government grant to municipal primary schools will be Rs. 1,12,000 yearly in round numbers. The rest of the cost should be undertaken by the Municipalities, viz., Rs. 2,26,232. Their present local assets amount to Rs. 1,14,685. They will, therefore have to provide in addition Rs. 1,11,547, a sum equal to about Rs. 4 per cent. of their present local income.

6. It will be necessary to allow a reasonable time for carrying this adjustment into effect, and His Excellency in Council proposes that the necessary steps should be taken in the course of a year after the new District

Municipal Act comes into force. At the end of the year each Municipality will, as far as is practicable, be restricted to its own assets (including the local cess revenue levied on land within its limits) with the addition of Provincial grant equal to half of those assets. The new Act empowers Government to enforce on Municipalites the duty of making adequate provision for primary schools. The Provincial grant may be fixed for a term of years, subject to the condition that the local assets from all sources must never be less than double the Provincial grant. Some economy may be affected by an improved system of grants-in-aid and by utilizing indigenous schools, but any such saving may probably be turned to profitable use by increasing the number of schools which is not yet nearly adequate to the popular wants. The municipal primary schools may be placed under the management of a School Board subject to the supervision of the Department of Public Instruction."*

The above orders of Government introdueed a new era in the history of primary education in urban areas. On the model of the local authorities in England, the municipalities were now given certain powers over the administration of primary education. A separate education fund was instituted for each municipality. All receipts such as fees, Government grants, municipal contributions etc., were credited to it and all expenditure on primary schools in the municipal area concerned was debited to it.

It will be recalled that this sudden separation of the primary school from the rural schools created a deficit of about Rs. 1,84,000 in the total municipal expenditure on primary education. In order to make it up and to allow for expansion and improvement to take place, Government adopted the following measures :—

(1) The municipalities were granted exemption from certain payments which they formerly made to Government (e.g. police charges) in order to enable them to provide the necessary funds for primary education.

(2) Government undertook to pay fixed contract grants to each municipality on account of primary education. The amount of the grant was generally fixed at one-third of the total expenditure and the contract was made renewable every five years. The first contract grants were fixed at Rs. 1,40,000 (inclusive of Sind) in 1886 and they were revised in 1893 and increased to 1,63,480.†

(3) The original intention of the new scheme was that the municipalities themselves should pay grants to the private schools in in their areas. But as a measure of financial relief, Government began to pay direct grants-in-aid to such schools.

* G R., E.D., No. 1204, dated 15th July 1884. (The figures given in this G.R. are for the whole Presidency inclusive of Sind. Hence they differ from those given above which are for the Province as it stands to-day).'

† Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, 1893-94, page 19.

(4) It was found that the parents of a large number of children attending primary schools in municipal areas paid the local fund cess to local boards because their lands were situated in the area of such boards. As it was a statutory duty of local boards to provide for the primary education of the cess payers' children, they were now required to pay a contribution to the municipality concerned on the basis of the number of such children attending its schools. This was a comparatively valuable source of income to the municipalities.

The results obtained under this system can be seen from the following table :—

	1886-87	1891-92	1896-97	1901-02
1. Number of schools in Municipal areas	498	624	611	573
2. Number of pupils in schools given in (1) above ...	58,033	74,556	75,758	68,392
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
3. Total expenditure in primary education, (except aided schools) ...	3,23,410	4,55,609	5,36,462	5,24,413
4. Municipal Contribution, (except for aided schools).	1,12,684	1,92,124	2,44,815	2,43,340
5. Provincial grant, (except for aided schools) ...	1,13,842	1,27,790	1,52,186	1,53 003
6. Number of aided schools in Municipal areas		453	488	476
7. Number of pupils in (6) above		33,247	25,087	36,220
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
8. Total grant paid to schools in (6) above				
Provincial		42,315	51,063	67,642
Municipal		18,681	16,283	43,920

The results speak for themselves. The small rise in Government grants was mainly responsible for the very small increase in the number of schools maintained by the municipalities. It will also be noted that the municipal contributions have increased from Rs. 24,031 in 1883-84 to Rs. 2,43,340 in 1901-02 which forms the most notable achievement of the period. There was also a great increase in the number of aided schools, due to the direct grants-in-aid given by Government to most private schools.

It is also worth noting that the system of fixed contract-grants was introduced in India as early as in 1883-84. In England, Parliamentary grants were mostly capitation grants which increased in proportion to the expansion achieved and the rise in the cost of education and fixed contract-grants were never adopted. Consequently, England could achieve considerable expansion during this period and the progress of education in India was very slow.

CHAPTER V

Administration and Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (1870-1902)

In the last chapter, some major events of the period 1870 to 1902 were studied. In the present chapter, we shall study some other important events of the same period.

5.2 Changes in the Curriculum: During the period under review, a general attempt was made to pitch the aims of primary education a little higher, to lengthen the duration of the primary course, and to enrich the curriculum. This was due to several reasons. Firstly repeated attention was called to the recommendation made by the Educational Despatch of 1854 to the effect that useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, should be conveyed to the great mass of the people. Secondly, the curriculum of the elementary schools in England was being enriched in this period and it inevitably led to an immitation in India. Thirdly, Government required a large number of persons for appointment as primary teachers or as clerks, etc., in the lower ranks of Government departments. These persons were not required to have a knowledge of English; but for obvious reasons, the simple curriculum of the four primary standards was hardly adequate for their requirements. It was, therefore, necessary to devise a course of general education through the mother-tongue which would be superior to that which qualified a pupil for admission to a secondary school. For these reasons, the primary course was lengthened to five years in 1867-68 and the study of History, Geography, Modi Script, Euclid (1st Book) and Algebra (Four Rules and simple equations) were introduced.* In 1870-71, a sixth standard was added and the whole curriculum was revised. Algebra was, however, omitted and its place was taken up by the Indian system of accounts.† In 1883 the Indian Education Commission criticised lowering down of the aims of primary education, and recommended that 'primary education be regarded as the instruction of

* *Report of the Director of Public Instruction Bombay*, 1867-68, Appendix D, pp. 19-21.

† *Report of the Director of Public Instruction Bombay*, 1870-71, pp. 463-67.

the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University'. In order to achieve this object, the Commission also recommended 'that the standards of primary examinations in each province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts.'* This gave a further incentive to the movement. In 1887-88, an infants class was added at the bottom of the course and in 1901-02, and seventh standard was added at the top and the full primary course was spread over eight years. Needless to say, the whole syllabus was largely revised on both these occasions and, in addition other minor changes were also made from time to time. It is unnecessary to go into all the details of these changes and it would be sufficient to describe the primary course as it was in 1902. The following quotation from the quinquennial review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902, will illustrate the point:—

Lower Primary Stage (Infant Class and Standards I and II)

Reading.—Departmental readers in Balboth and Modi; learning poems by heart.

Writing.—Dictation in Balbodh and Modi.

Arithmetic.—Simple Arithmetic, European and Native; Easy mental arithmetic.

Geography.—Study of a map; the four cardinal points; notion of the relative position of the object with reference to space; plan of the school-house; map of the taluka.

Object Lessons.—On subjects treated of in the reading-book, with simple drawing.

Upper Primary stage (Standards III and IV)

Reading and writing.—As above but more advanced.

Arithmetic.—English tables of weights, measures, etc., vulgar fractions; rule of three and compound proportion; mental arithmetic involving the use of native tables.

History and Geography.—History of the Province; General knowledge of the Presidency and of India; map of India.

Object Lessons.—Plants, animals and natural phenomena with simple drawing.

* *History of Education in India during the British Period* by Nurullah and Naik 395 and 403.

Further stage (Standards V, VI and VII)

Reading.—Departmental readers, grammar and etymology ; manuscript reading ; repetition of poetry ; prosody.

Writing.—Essay or report writing in current hand, with attention to handwriting, spelling and punctuation.

Mathematic.—Arithmetic and native accounts ; Euclid, Book I.

History.—History of India ; some instruction in the system of Indian Government.

Geography.—Geography of the world ; elementary physical geography.

Sanitary Primer. ....

"A boy who has completed the Balbodh higher standards has a thorough knowledge of arithmetic including decimal fractions, the advanced rules and native accounts, whilst his reasoning powers have been developed by mastering the first book of Euclid. He has read a good deal of prose and poetry—quite sufficient to make him understand the lighter literature of the day and to express his own ideas with correctness. He can read difficult Modi script and can write in that character. He has also a fair knowledge of the History of India, of the Geography of the world, and of the elementary sanitation and science. In fact he has received a sound all round practical education.*"

This lengthening of the primary course and the enrichment of the curriculum was the most important event of the period between 1866 and 1902 and the improved syllabus was adopted, without much difficulty, in all urban boys schools. But very early in this period, difficulties began to be felt in adopting it in rural schools and in girls schools. In the former case, the main difficulties arose from two facts : firstly, the average villager could not be made to appreciate the advantages of the new syllabus and continued to prefer the indigenous schools which gave a thorough grounding in reading and writing Modi, mental arithmetic, and Indian accounts because such education was of greater use to him in every day life. Secondly, the average school life of a child was such smaller in rural than in urban areas and hence a shorter course was likely to be of much greater benefit to rural children. The first attempt to meet the situation was made by organising primary schools, which taught the lower standards only, the rural areas. For instance, the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1872-73 states that the primay schools were being classified as superior, inferior or branch 'according to the requirements of the people and the capacity of teachers available for employment.' The superior schools taught the full primary course ; the inferior schools taught up to Standard IV only ; and

* Pages 160-01.

the instruction in the branch schools which were 'most popular with the agricultural class' was 'limited to reading, writing and arithmetic..... .....and.....subjects as distasteful as poetry, grammar and history' were 'not forced upon the scholars.'* But soon this was not felt to be enough and a separate syllabus for rural schools was sanctioned. These were known as Modi standards because of the prominence given to the teaching of the Modi script and were initially limited to four. In 1887-88, the infants' class was added and the whole course was revised in 1900. 'The Rural standards' says the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1901-02, 'contain the same preparation in the Infants' class, and thence forward or specially devoted to the three R's, while particular attention is paid to native-accounts, simple forms of agreement, the plants and animals of the locality, its agricultural products, in addition to an elementary knowledge of sanitation. A boy who takes the Modi or rural standards learns only the more practically useful rules of Arithmetic, entirely omitting Decimal Fractions, nor does he learn any Euclid. He learns only those branches of account and book-keeping which he will actually need in his later life. The technical terms used in formal documents are rendered familiar in his reading books. He can write simple reports in Modi and read fluently from the miscellaneous file in a Mamlatdar's office. His knowledge of History is limited to his Province, and his knowledge of Geography to India. He has been given also some idea of rudimentary science and sanitation. The scope of this course is thus severely utilitarian."†

In the case of girls' primary schools, a demand was put forward for a separate syllabus on three grounds, viz., that the average school life of a girl is very short, shorter even than that of boys in rural areas ; that girls need a simpler curriculum than boys; and that subjects like needlework which had a special utility for girls ought to be included in the curriculum for girls in preference to other subjects. These arguments had considerable force and accordingly, a separate syllabus was drawn up for girls' primary schools in 1877-78. Originally, it consisted of four standards only ; but it was soon raised to five standards and as infant class was added in 1887-88. In 1901-02, the syllabus for the VIth standard was as follows :—

Reading.—Reading 200 lines of poetry and 200 pages of prose from the departmental reader. Simple grammar and parsing, learning the poems prescribed by heart. Reading ordinary manuscript with fluency.

Writing.—Dictation and composition on a simple subject.

* Pages 57-58.

† Pages 42-43.

Arithmetic.—Upto discount and decimals including household book-keeping.

History.—Elementary History of India and some information regarding the system of administration.

Geography.—Detailed Geography of India and general geography of the world.

Needle-work.—A sufficiently high standard was prescribed in detail.

A comparison of these eventswith the developments in England will show that :—

(1) The syllabus of the Bombay primary schools in 1865-66 was even more difficult than the syllabus of the first four standards of the contemporary elementary schools in England ;

(2) In England, a number of optional subjects were introduced, mostly in upper standards. This system was never adopted in Bombay.

(3) In England the number of compulsory subjects was increased very slowly. Even in 1902, there were only four compulsory subjects (excluding drawing). But in Bombay, additional subjects were immediately made compulsory even when the same subject was treated as optional in England.

On this point, Mr. R. V. Parulekar makes the following observations :—

"It will be both interesting and instructive to see how the Bombay educational administrators imposed the several "optional" subjects of the English schools on the Bombay Primary Schools, making them not "optional" as in England but "obligatory". It would appear that as soon as it was discovered in Bombay that a certain subject was introduced in the schools of England, it was soon prescribed for the Bombay schools, making the curriculum compulsorily richer and richer and even far more in advance of the *ordinary* English elementary school curriculum of the time, at least so far as the number of subjects was concerned. Efficiency was the ideal and no one can seriously blame those who were responsible for the education of Bombay in those days for their enthusiasm in trying to bring the Bombay Primary School curriculum in line or even at a higher level than that of English schools of that time. For, in those days the Departmental ideal was efficiency rather than expansion. Now the ideal is altered and the time has come to adjust our means to our end, that is, the task of teaching *all* the children that ought to be in schools. One cannot, however, help remarking that in copying wholesale the English model and superimposing it on Indian schools, the educational administrators hardly took into account the very important fact that the needs of a mainly agricultural

country, split into numerous villages, would not be the same as those of a highly urbanised and industrialised country like England. It follows, therefore, that even from the point of view of efficiency the curriculum laid down was not altogether suitable for the needs of the Indian masses since the greatest use of knowledge to them was the ability to read and write and to be able to understand simple monetary transactions between themselves, the landlord, the village *Sowkar* and the *Sarkar*.

The Bombay (lower) Primary School curriculum (standards up to IV) was the first framed under the Departmental Code in 1865-66, and the subjects included were exactly the same as in England at the time, namely the three R's, except this that Bombay added "Grammar" to the IV standard. As soon as England prescribed Geography and History as "optional" subjects for the IV standard, Bombay planted both of them almost the very same year on the II or III standards as compulsory subjects. As to Object Lessons, Bombay had them in 1887 or five years later than England (1882) but compulsorily, not at option, as was the case in England. As regards Drawing, England had it as a compulsory subject in 1893, and Bombay ten years later. Nature Study took very long to come to Bombay. In England it appeared on the scene in about 1902, in Bombay in 1919. Be it however noted that compulsory Physical Training which was introduced in English Primary Schools in 1902, has not as yet appeared in the Bombay schools as a compulsory subjects."*

5. 3 Emoluments and Training of Primary Teachers :

As in England, a good deal of attention was paid in this period to improvement in the training and emoluments of primary teachers. The first detailed analysis of the position in this respect is given by the Indian Education Commission which reported, in 1882-83, that the total number of teachers in the Province was 9314. Of these

2620	teachers	drew a salary	between	Rs. 4 and 5 p. m.
2900	,,	,,	,,	...Rs. 5 and 10 ,,
2400	,,	,,	,,	...Rs. 10 and 15 ,,
1003	,,	,,	,,	...Rs. 15 and 25 ,,
349	,,	,,	,,	...Rs. 25 and 45 ,,
30	,,	,,	,,	...Rs. 45 and 55 ,,
12	,,	,,	,,	...Rs. above Rs. 55 ,,

The average salary of a teacher was anything between Rs. 8 to 9 p.m. There were no incremental scales of pay and the emoluments of a teacher were of three kinds–certificate pay, capitation allowance, and proficiency allowance. The certificate pay was Rs. 8,11 and 15 respectively for 1st,

* Mass education in India, pages 15-16.

2nd and 3rd year trained teachers but they were also eligible to hold posts carrying certain higher salaries. A certificate of training did not enable a holder to claim immediately the pay stated above but merely qualified him for appointment when a post carrying that salary fell vacant. The Capitation allowance was calculated on the average attendance of pupils in charge of the teacher and the proficiency allowance was based on the annual examination results of his pupils. But the following maximum limits were fixed for the total emoluments of a teacher

Service	I year T. T.	II year T. T.	III year T. T.
1—10 years	12	20	40
10—20 ,,	15	30	50
Over 20 ,,	20	40	60

The salary of untrained teachers was generally between Rs. 4 and Rs. 8/- p. m. and only teachers drawing more than Rs. 10/- qualified for pension.

This system has obvious drawbacks. The original pays were fixed too low. Although the system sametimes enabled a headmaster of a large school to double his basic pay by earning big allowances, such cases were few and the emoluments of a teacher were reduced by factors over which he had no control such as transfer to smaller school or fall in attendance due to an epidemic. 'The system ignored the work done by the teachers for the dull and backward boys pupils and encouraged being trained for passing examinations by cramming'*. Consequently, the system was abandoned as a result of the recommendations of the conference of the Directors of Public Instruction held at Simla, in 1901. But the total improvement in the emoluments of primary teachers was small and in 1902, the average salary of a primary teachers was anything between 9 and 10 rupees a month.

5.4 Finance of Primary Education in the City of Bombay :—The problem of primary education in the city of Bombay is largely different from that in the rest of the province. Firstly, the population of the city has increased very rapidly during the present century ; secondly, the cost of education in the city is about twice as high as that in the province ; and thirdly, the provincial grant to primary education in the city is a sort of block-grant and bears a small percentage to the total expenditure on primary education. For these reasons, it is necessary to treat separately the question of financing primary education in the City of Bombay.

A Municipal Corporation was first constituted in the city of Bombay in 1865 but it had nothing to do with primary education which continued to be under the exclusive control of Government till 1888. In the latter year, a special Act to govern the constitution of the Corporation was passed (Act

* Report of the Moos Pranjpe Committee, p. 4,

No. III of 1888) as a part of the programme of reforms in local self-government initiated by Lord Ripon. This Act divided the responsibility of primary education in the city between Government and the Corporation. Section 61(*q*) of the Act made it 'incumbent on the corporation to make adequate provision for maintaining, aiding and suitably accommodating schools for primary education' and section 39 of the Act provided for the appointment of a Joint Schools Committee of eight members—four to be appointed by Government and four by the Corporation—to manage the primary education in the city. A separate school fund was instituted and, like the Primary Education Fund of the other municipalities, was to consist of contributions from the Corporation, school fees, donations and grants from Government at half the local assets or one-third the total expenditure. The teaching and the supervising staff continued to be the same as before but worked directly under the control and orders of the Joint Schools Committee.

Steady progress was achieved in expansion of education between 1888 and 1908. In the latter year, the number of Municipal schools was 102 and that of aided schools was 103 (These figures include 17 night schools). The number of pupils was 20,218 (10,076 Marathi, 6,745 Gujrathi and 2,397 Urdu). The total receipts and expenditure from the school fund during the year 1907-08 were as follows :—

		Rs.			Rs.
Balance on 1st April	...	1,05,800	Teachers emoluments	...	1,18,300
Corporation contribution	.	1,25,000	Building Rent	...	52,000
Government Grant	...	72,800	Grants to Aided Schools	...	29,300
Fees, interest on endowments, etc.	...	31,200	School requisite etc.	...	26,100
			Superintendence	...	7,400
			Closing balance	...	1,96,700
Total	...	3,34,800	Total	...	3,34,800

An event of fundamental importance to the finance of primary education occured in 1907, viz., the passing of tho Police Charges Act (No. III of 1907) which however will be dealt with in Chapter IX.

5.5 Expansion :—The expansion of primary education achieved in urban areas under the new financial system introduced by the Indian Education Commission has been dealt with already in Section 4-7 and 5-4. It was shown therein that the spread of education was steady but slow. In so far as the rural areas are concerned, the progress was disappointing as can be seen from the following statistics :—

			Schools.	Scholars.
1883-84	...	...	3,330	1,89,534
1901-02	...	...	4,158	2,15,114

This slow advance was mainly due to the fact that the Government grant for primary education was very small and limited to one-third of the total expenditure. The main source for the remaining two-thirds was the local fund cess which was an inelastic source of revenue and which changed only once in 30 years. It is therefore no wonder that the revenues assigned to education did not increase materially during the period under review.

5.6 Conclusion :—A comparison of the educational position in India with that in England in 1902 will show the following important differences :—

(1) In 1902, compulsory education between the ages of 5 and 13 had been effectively introduced all over England. In India, it was not even talked of and expansion on a voluntary basis was extremely limited.

(2) In England, voluntary schools expanded considerably between 1870 and 1902. In addition, a very large number of board schools came to be established so that expansion of education was very rapid. In India, the indigenous schools died out altogether and the number of board schools that replaced them was small with the result that the spread of education was negligible.

(3) The curriculum of primary schools in India was enriched generally as the lines of the curriculum reform in England ; but the work actually turned out in schools was far poorer, mainly on account of the poorer quality of teachers.

(4) The prosperity of England during this period enabled Parliament to spend large amounts on education and also enabled people to take advantage of educational facilities provided. In India, on the other hand, Government could not spend largely on education because of the general poverty of the people, foreign wars, and calamities like famine and plague. In the same way, the growing impoverishment of the people also proved to be a substantial obstacle to progress.

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ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY.

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CHAPTER VI

Administration and Finance of Elementary Education in England during the twentieth century (1902-1944).

The administration and finance of elementary education in England during the nineteenth century was traced in chapter II. In the present chapter, we shall trace the development of the administration and finance of elementary education between the Balfour Act of 1902 and the Education Act of 1944.

6.2 Development of Elementery Education in England (1902-1944) :—A new era in the history of elementary education in England was introduced by the Education Act of 1902, known generally as the 'Balfour Act' because it was sponsored by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the then Prime Minister. Between 1902 and 1944, the system of elementary education in England was greatly transformed and the events of this period may conveniently be studied under the following heads :—

(1) Administrative changes introduced by the Act of 1902 ;

(2) Raising of the upper age of compulsion and abolition of fees ;

(3) Changes in the curriculum ;

(4) Improvement in the payscale and training of elementary teachers ;

(5) Provision of special services ;

(6) Methods of grant-in-aid ; and

(7) Educational finance.

6.3 Administrative changes introduced by the Act of 1902 :—Between 1870 and 1902, administration of elementary education was entrusted to a very large number of very small units, viz., the school boards and school attendance committees. This type of administrative machinery had revealed several advantages in actual working. For instance, it secured

local knowledge, local zeal, local enthusiasm, and local co-operation—all of which were indispensable to achieve expansion of education in the early stages. This system of administration was therefore, extremely useful between 1870 and 1902 when expansion was the keynote of educational policy. But the situation changed materially in 1902. The experience of the working of the Education Act of 1870 had showed that no watertight division could be made between elementary and secondary education and the view generally advocated was that the school boards must be empowered to provide secondary and technical education as well so that a comprehensive and properly co-ordinated national system of education might be evolved. Secondly, the cost of education had risen considerably by 1902 and was sure to rise still further when the proposed reforms in curriculum and training and emoluments of teachers would be carried out. A small administrative unit was entirely unsuitable for these revolutionary changes both in the cost and scope of education and a view began to gain ground that bigger administrative areas should be created. As usual in England, a controversy arose over this issue between those who wanted a few large administrative units and those who defended the *status quo* or the minimum of change, and the problem was eventually settled by a compromise. The Act of 1902 reduced the number of administrative units from 3351 to 333. The numerous old institutions of 'school boards' and 'school attendance committees' were swept away and replaced by 333 'local education authorities' which included London, 62 County Councils, 69 County Boroughs, 62 Councils of Urban Districts with a population of 20,000 or more, and 139 Councils of non-county boroughs with a population of 10,000 or more. The County Councils and County Boroughs were called 'Part II local education authorities' and were given larger powers. The remaining local education authorities' were designated as 'Part III local education authorities' and had comparatively fewer powers. Each local education authority or briefly each L. E. A.—was empowered to appoint an education committee, to which would be referred 'all matters relating to the exercise by the Council of their powers under this Act, except the power of raising a rate or borrowing money".* The majority of the members of each education committee were to be members of the Council concerned, but other persons of relevant or educational experience and women members were also to be necessarily included. The L. E. As of Part II were made responsible for elementary, secondary and technical education and their powers included the provision of scholarships, the training of teachers, and grant of fees to students in colleges or hostels. The L. E. As of Part III were concerned with elementary schools only which, however, was defined as institutions (excluding evening schools) which gave education to pupils not over sixteen years of age.

* The Education Act, 1902, § 17 (2).

The second important change introduced by the Act of 1902 related to the control of voluntary schools. The voluntarist movement which was so strong in the early half of the nineteenth century was greatly weakened by about 1900. It was now generally agreed that voluntary effort would never be able to provide the necessary funds for carrying out the educational reforms demanded by modern standards, and a view began to be put forward to the effect that Government should transfer all voluntary schools to the L. E. As. But religious organisations opposed the move and, as in other matters, a compromise was reached here also. The 'board schools' of the nineteenth century were now designated as 'provided schools' and the voluntary schools were designated as 'non-provided schools'. Prior to 1902 the managers of voluntary schools received grants direct from Government and subject to departmental regulations, had full freedom to manage the school and were also responsible to collect all the funds required to supplement the Parliamentary grant. All this was changed by the Act of 1902. As Barnard observes :—

"They (i.e. the local education authorities) had to supply elementary education in what had been board schools and were now called 'provided' schools and to erect new schools where they were needed. But they had also—unlike the old school boards—to control and be responsible for secular instruction in what had hitherto been voluntary schools and were henceforth to be termed 'non-provided' schools. These non-provided, denominational schools were now eligible to receive rate aid, but the cost of capital expenditure on buildings, as well as of structural repairs and alterations, was thrown on the religious body to which the school belonged. The managers of a non-provided school retained the right of appointing and dismissing their teachers, subject to the approval of the L. E. A. on educational grounds; but one-third of the managers of a non-provided school had to be appointed by the authority. Religious instruction could be given in a provided school, as hitherto in a board school, subject to Cowper-Temple clause. In a non-provided school it had to be 'in accordance with the provisions (if any) of the trust-deed relating thereto, and shall be under the control of the managers'. In both types of school there was to be a conscience clause and the possibility of withdrawal from religious worship or instruction."*

This is described by Birchenough as the 'annexation' of the voluntary schools. As later events showed, these provisions were extremely helpful in raising the standard of education in voluntary schools. The L. E. As spent large sums of money in improving these schools, in providing equipment, in raising the salaries of teachers and generally in bringing the

* H. C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education, pp. 246.

voluntary schools to the same leval as that of the 'provided' schools. It is evident that such thorough reforms could never have been introduced in so short a time if the voluntary schools had been continued independent as before.

6. 4 Raising of the upper age of compulsion and the abolition of fees :—It was shown in the previous section that England had completed her programme of educational expansion by about 1900. The only thing that now remained was to extend the age-period of compulsion. The goal to be reached is now generally accepted as campulsory education between 6 and 18 years of age. That is to say, the nation must provide free and compulsory elementary education of 8 years and secondary education of 4 years to every child. Although England was able to raise the upper age-limit from 10 to 14 in a period of about 24 years (1876 to 1900), it was not able to raise it higher with the same speed. Eighteen years were required to raise the age of compulsion uniformly to 14 under all L. E. As and it was only under the provisions of the Education Act of 1918 that all exemptions prior to the term in which the age of 14 was reached were abolished.

After another period of 18 years the act of 1936 raised the upper age to 15 with certain exemptions, but these provisions had to be suspended during the war. Government, therefore found it impossible to raise the upper age of compulsion uniformly to 15 until 1944. The main difficulties were financial. The various improvements in education which were introduced in this century and which will be noticed in the following two sections increased the cost of education to such an extent that further extension of education became a very costly and difficult affair.

A better progress is however noticeable in the abolition of fees. As stated earlier, about 600,000 children paid fees for elementary education. This number was reduced still further and the Education Act of 1918 definitely and finally abolished all fees in elementary schools.

6. 5 Changes in the Curriculum :—One of the important aspects of the movement for educational reconstruction that began in England by 1902 was the reform of the school curriculum. As shown in the preceding section, the curriculum of the elementary schools had steadily widened since 1862. But the subjects included in the curriculum continued to be disconnected with one another and the teachers had to face an overloaded time-table. Secondly, the aim of the whole course was never properly defined and it was, therefore, felt that a new curriculum which was better suited to the needs of the children and which co-ordinated the various subjects of instruction into an organic whole ought to replace 'the relatively haphazard list of possible branches of knowledge which were formerly

presented to the choice of individual schools or authorities.'* Accordingly, the Board of Education 'ventured' to define the aim of the elementary school in the following words :—

"The purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life.

" With this purpose in view, it will be the aim of the school to train the children carefully in habits of observation and clear reasoning, so that they may gain an intelligent acquaintance with some of the facts and laws of nature ; to arouse in them a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind, and to bring them to some familiarity with the literature and history of their own country; to give them some power over language as an instrument of thought and expression, and, while making them conscious of the limitations of their knowledge, to develop in them such a taste for good reading and thoughtful study as will enable them to increase that knowledge in after years by their own efforts.

" The school must at the same time encourage to the utmost the children's natural activities of hand and eye by suitable forms of practical work and manual instruction; and afford them every opportunity for the healthy development of their bodies, not only by training them in appropriate physical exercises and encouraging them in organised games, but also by instructing them in the working of some of the simple laws of health".†

In order to achieve these far-reaching objectives, a radical reorganisation of the curriclum was essential. A movement for curriculum reform was, therefore, started in 1902 and kept up throughout the period under review. The curriculum is really the most unstable part of any educational system and is always continually being modified as a result of the development of new educational theories. During the present century, in particular, there have been tremendous advances in the understanding of child psychology, of the various stages in the development of an individual, and of the special methods of education that must be adopted to suit the requirements of each such stage. These discoveries have profoundly influenced both the content of the curriculum and the methods of teaching it. Perhaps the best exposition of these trends is found in the following recommendations made by the consultative committee of the Board of Education on the 'Primary School':—

* History of Education in England and Wales, by C. Birchenough, p. 376.

† Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers. p. 8.

" (73) The elementary school curriculum was formed during the 19th century by a somewhat irregular precess of accretion, now one subject and now another having been grafted on to the original stock, the 3 R's. The history of the process has been told elsewhere, and we need not here recount the argument or revive the debates, instructive as they were, out of which the practice of to-day has gradually emerged. But the formal adoption of the primary school as an autonomous unit in the educational system renders necessary a fresh inquiry into the question what would be taught to children between the ages of seven and eleven, an inquiry conducted with reference to the specific part to be played by the primary schools in shaping and fostering the life of a people under modern economic and social conditions.

" The changes which have taken place since the passing of the Education Act of 1902 have given our problem a complexion very different from the one which it presented to those who planned and administered popular education during the last century. The elementary school system which was originally designed "for the children of the labouring poor" has long ceased to be self-contained, and is in effect being reorganised out of existence. Those who would have been its older pupils will be distributed among the schools-grammar schools and modern schools-which in our report on the Education of the Adolescent (1926) were envisaged as offering different varieties of secondary education; and the function of the residue of the old system will accordingly be to provide a primary education in the proper sense of the term, that is, one which will be a basis for all types of higher teaching and training. In England the State has never, as it has done in republican Germany, compelled all children to pass through the primary schools. It may indeed be many years before children of widely different social grades resort to the primary schools as freely as they resorted long ago to the parish schools of Scotland or to the common schools of the New England States. Nevertheless, we have already travelled so far in this direction that the primary schools must be considered as in principle common schools; that is, institutions provided not for a particular section of the population, however large, but for all who choose to take advantage of them and to use them as the normal way of approach to institutions for secondary education."

"(74) To say this is in effect to say that special task of the schools which are concerned with the latter years of primary education will be to provide for the educational needs of childhood, just as it is the function of the nursery and infant schools to deal with the needs of infancy, and of the post-primary schools to deal with the needs of adolescence. In framing the curriculum for the primary school we must necessarily build upon the

foundation laid in the infant school and must keep in view the importance of continuity with the work of the secondary school, but our main care must be to supply children between the ages of seven and eleven with what is essential to their healthy growth-physical, intellectual, and moral-during that particular stage of their development. The principle which is here implied will be challenged by no one who has grasped the idea that life is a process of growth in which there are successive stages, each with its own specific character and needs It can, however, hardly be denied that there are places in our educational system where the circulum is distorted and the teaching warped from its proper character by the supposed need of meeting the requirements of a later educational stage. So long as this is the case, it must remain important to emphasise the principle that no good can come from teaching children things that have no immediate value for them, however highly their potential or prospective value may be estimated. To put the point in a more concrete way, we must recognise the uselessness and the danger of seeking to inculcate what Professor A. N. Whitehead calls inert ideas-that is, ideas which at the time when they are imported have no bearing upon a child's natural activities of body or mind and do nothing to illustrate or guide this experience.

" There are doubtless several reasons why a principle so obviously sane should in practice be so often neglected. Perhaps the reason most relevant to our inquiry is that in the earliest days of popular education children went to school to learn specific things which could not well be taught at home-reading, writing and cyphering. The real business of life was picked up by a child in unregulated play, in casual intercourse with contemporaries and elders, and by a gradual apprenticeship to the discipline of the house, the farm, the workshop. But as industrialisation has transformed the bases of social life, and an organisation-at once vast in its scope and minute in its efficiency-has gripped the life of the people, discipline associated with the old forms of industrial training has become increasingly difficult outside the walls of the school. The schools whose first intention was to teach children how to read have thus been compelled to broaden their aims until it might now be said that they have to teach children how to live. This profound change in purpose has been accepted with a certain unconscious reluctance, and a consequent slowness of adaptation. The schools, feeling that what they can do best is the old familiar business of imparting knowledge, have reached a high level of technique in that part of their functions, but have not clearly grasped its proper relation to the whole. In short, while there is plenty of teaching which is good in the abstract, there is too little which helps children directly to strengthen and enlarge their instinctive hold on the conditions of life by enriching, illuminating and giving point to their growing experience.

"(75) Applying these considerations to the problem before us, we see that the curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and exeprience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored. Its aim should be to develop in a child the fundamental interests of civilised life so far as these powers and interests lie within the compass of childhood, to encourage him to attain gradually to that control and orderly management of his energies, impulses and emotions, which is the essence of moral and intellectual discipline, to help him to discover the idea of duty and to ensue it, and to open out his imagination and his sympathies in such a way that he may be prepared to understand and to follow in later years the highest examples of excellence in life and conduct.*"

It is necessary to go into all the details of curricular changes and it would be sufficient to state that the above recommendations of the Hadow Report have formed the basis of the reforms in elementary schools in England during the present century.

6.6 Improvement in payscales and training of teachers :—A reform of the curriculum necessarily implies an improvement in the general education and training of teachers because it is only improved teachers that can impart instruction in an improved curriculum by adoption of improved methods of teaching. Needless to say, therefore, very earnest attempts were made in this period to improve the quality of the teachers of elementary education.

By 1900, the quality of men and women attracted to the teaching profession had greatly improved and no longer would any one have been able to speak contemptuously about them as Macaulay did in 1848. On the other hand, the general opinion now was that the great body of teachers were well-educated and trained for their task and that they did their work with 'honesty of purpose a great diligence, steady and increasing success, if not always in absolutely the best way.'† In 1895, 'out of the 53,000 Certificated teachers, however, only just over half (29000) had received two years' training in Training Colleges, the remainder having passed the Acting Teachers' Certificate Examination. Thus.....exactly one Certified Teacher was employed to every 100 children on the roll. Dilution by 28,000 Assistant Teachers and 31,400 Pupil Teachers (aged 14-18) reduced the overall average to 47·1 children to every Certificated, Assistant or Pupil Teacher in service.....Salaries too had risen.....The average salary of Certificated Masters was £ 122. 6s. 7d., of Certificated Mistresses £ 81. 3s. 3d.....The output from Training Colleges was just beginning to overtake the wastage (6 %) which this state of affairs produced. No National scales of course existed to protect the county districts from the

* Report pp. 91 - 3.

† The Silent Social Revolution by Lowndes P. 24.

'cornering' of the best teachers by the wealtheir towns.....Pensions were inadequate in number, fitful, fortuitions and beggerly."† •

The dominant note in the opening of the twentieth century was one of sympathy for the elementary teachers and there was a general desire to do something for a profession from whom so much was expected and to whom so little was offered. The period between 1902 and 1944, therefore, saw a gradual improvement in the lot of elementary teachers. This was done in several ways. Firstly, the size of the classes was reduced by increasing the number of teachers employed and by reducing the numbers of pupil teachers, student teachers, or occasional teachers to a negligible proportion. Secondly the Acting Teachers' Certificate Examination was abandoned and college-trained teachers were substituted for the untrained teachers—and for those teachers who, in previous days would have obtained their certificates by evening study. Thirdly, a national scale of salaries was introduced and is known as 'the Burnham Salary Agreements' which secured a decent living wage for the teachers. Fourthly, decent and contributory old-age provision was made for the teachers under the Acts of 1918 and 1925. As Lowndes observes :—

"Concurrently with this improvement in teaching power, the years since 1902 have witnessed the gradual reduction in the size of classes in the schools, the Burnham salary scales, the Teachers' Superannuation Acts of 1918 and 1925, the segregation of the more seriously abnormal children into special schools and classes, and some improvement in the amenities of of the school buildings themselves. The first is undoubtedly tending to give the country a better return for its money ; the second to raise the position of the teacher in the eyes of a public still far too prone to evaluate service on a cash basis ; the third to enable him to retire after the age of 60 instead of trying to carry on until he can do so no longer ; the fourth to free him from the impossible task of giving a 'full share of conscientious attention' to those for whom that attention should be afforded by different methods or at a slower pace : the fifth to make service in an elementary school more attractive and to improve working conditions."‡

6.7 Provision of Special Services :—Another important development of the twentieth century is the organisation of two special services, the school medical service and the school canteen.

The school medical service began humbly in 1902. The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of that year permitted the L. E. As to provide for the medical inspection and treatment of school children entirely

† *The Silent Social Revolution* by Lowndes, pp. 21-22.

‡ *The Silent Social Revolution* by Lowndes. pp. 158-89.

at their own cost. In the earlier years, the only desire of the authorities was to provide for the medical inspection of school children and to leave the treatment to the parents and the family doctor. But the results of the medical inspection showed serious deficiencies and, therefore, treatment of defects discovered was also undertaken. Although no Parliamentary grants were promised in the beginning, they were sanctioned for the first time as early as in 1913 and were soon fixed at 50% of the total expenditure incurred by the L. E. As.

The special service for provision of free meals to under nourished children arose in the same way. 'Penny dinners' used to be provided for many years in several of the poorest schools and the necessary funds for the purpose were obtained by voluntary subscriptions. Obviously, such charitable enterprise could reach only the fringe of the problem and a private member's bill sponsored by the earliest labour members to be elected to Parliament made it permissible for L. E. As to provide free meals, in co-operation with voluntary Associations, to such children as were 'unable, by reason of lack of food, to take full advantage of the education provided for them' (1906). Grants on a fifty—fifty basis began to be given for this expenditure and very soon, this service became an integral and important part of the educational system.

6. 8. **Methods of Grant in aid:**—Between 1902 and 1911-12, a new system of grants-in-aid came into vogue. Prior to 1902, the Board of Education had to deal with 2568 school boards and 14,238 bodies of managers and the grant to each school had to be calculated separately. The Act of 1902 reduced the number of L.E.As. to 333 and made them responsible for the finances of the voluntary schools also. This measure, in itself, was a great measure of simplification because the Board of Education had now to deal with only 333 L.E.As. instead of with 2568 school boards and 14,238 bodies of managers. Secondly, the grants could now be calculated for the area of each L. E. A. as a whole rather than for each school. This led to still further simplication in the financial administration of elementary education.

An idea of the working of the new system of grants-in-aid can be had from the following passage which describes the grants-in-aid to L. E. As. as it was just before the outbreak of the first World War.

"**The Annual Grant**, which was the most important financially, was that fixed by the Board in respect of the normal instruction given to children in ordinary elementary schools. It had taken the place of a series of grants instituted at various times with the object of encouraging different branches of elementary education. It was paid under the Code and was based on the average attendance of all scholars. Generally it was paid

about a month after the close of the school year of each school which date might of course differ from that of other schools under the same Authority. The grant was calculated in the offices of the Board separately for each school, and was a uniform grant of 21s. 4d. per scholar for children over 5 years of age in average attendance, and 14s. 4d. in respect of scholars under 5. In 1911-12 the grant amounted to £5,754,391.

"**The Aid Grant**, which was paid under Section 10 of the 1902 Act at varying rates replaced certain special grants provided by the Acts of 1870 and 1897. It was a per capita grant to some extent, allocated according to a sliding scale, and amounted in 1911-12 to £2,472,504. The formula according to which it was calculated provided in effect for a grant of 4s. per child plus three-quarters of the difference between the produce of 1d. rate and 10s. per child in average attendance. It was paid in two instalments and the total was based on the average attendance not for that year, but for the school year (different for each school), which ended in the previous financial year.

"**The Fee Grant** was payable under Section 1 of the Elementary Education Act 1891 in replacement of school fees formerly charged. Like the Annual Grant, it was based on average attendance. It was paid at the rate of 10s. per unit in average attendance and in 1911-12 amounted to £2,690, 325.

"**The Small Population Grant** was really an Aid Grant to the Authorities of county areas. It was paid under the 1876 and 1890 Acts at rates of £25, £20, or £10 for schools in sparsely populated districts. It was an arbitrary attempt to counteract the unfair inequalities produced by the other grants, and amounted in 1911-12 to £97,764.

"**The Special Subjects Grant** (for Cookery, Laundry Work, Dairy Work, Household management and Handicraft), each with its own set of complicated conditions, was paid under the Board's Regulations at rates varying for each subject and amounted in 1911-12 to £156,188.

"**The Special Schools Grant** for blind, deaf and defective children was paid under the Board's regulations at rates varying from £4 to £5 5s. per child.

"**The necessitous Area Grant** was a special grant introduced in 1906-7, and was three-fourths of the sum by which the net expenditure from the rates exceeded the produce of a rate of 18d. in the £. It was a temporary expedient to alleviate the very heavy burden in certain areas until the whole system of grants for education could be thoroughly revised. The grant was limited to £350,000 and thirty-nine Local Education Authorities received it.

'The cost of the School Medical Services amounted to £50,374 in 1912,–13, the year in which the grant was introduced."*

This system was undoubtedly better than the earlier system; but even now it had a number of serious defects among which the following may be mentioned;—

(1) A very large share of the increase in expenditure that took place between 1902 and 1912 fell on the Local authorities and not on Parliament. This is clearly illustrated by the following tables:—

Table I.

	1871	1905–6	1911–12
Government Grant.	730,208	10,780,422	11,735,441
Rate expenditure.	71,185	9,229,509	12,593,765

Table II.

	1871	1890-0	1891–2	1898–9	1901–2	1905–6	1911–12
Government grant expressed as a proportion of expenditure.	90.4	53.5	56.2	62.6	58.1	53.9	48.2
Expenditure from rates.	9.6	46.5	43.8	37.4	41.9	46.1	51.8

(Taken from p. 77 of *A survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett).

It will be recalled that one of the main objects of the Acts of 1902 was to relieve the strain on the finances of local bodies due to heavy educational expenditure. The above statistics show that this aim was not realised.

(2) The basic assumption of the grant system was that Parliamentary aid was fixed and local resources were unlimited. It was this assumption that was responsible for keeping Parliamentary grants fixed while expenditure from local rates was rising. The local authorities strongly challenged this view of the grant system and claimed that grants ought to increase in proportion to the expenditure.

*A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education by Corlett pp. 73—75.

(3) The parliamentary grant was very unequally distributed between the local authorities. Absolute equality was not claimed and it was admitted that larger grants ought to be given to poorer areas. But a close examination of the existing system showed inequalities which could not be explained on any reasonable basis. Firstly, different types of local authorities received assistanec at different rates which varied from 31.1 per cent of total expenditure for London to 60·1 per cent of total expenditure for County Councils. Secondly, even in the same class, the Parliamentary grant varied from 30 p.c. of total expenditure in some cases to 80 p.c. in others. Thirdly, even comparable local authorities received grants at widely varying rates. It was, therefore, suggested that a rational basis for Parliamentary grants should be adopted and that they should be used to equalise the burden of local rates.

(4) The biggest item of the existing grant was the fixed capitation grant on the average attendance of pupils. This basis was inelastic and unfair because the cost of education per pupil varied from one local authority to another.

(5) It was also pointed out that the fixed capitation grant did not take into account the varying abilities of different local areas to meet the expenditure. For example, a penny rate in Hove produced 9s. 1d. per child and only 3s. 7d. in Lewes. And yet the grant system treated both these areas like.

(6) "The complications of calculation due to the variety of grants were fast becoming excrescencies in any grant system and a simplified system was desirable from an administrative point of view. Each Local Authority was receiving a stream of separate credits on the Paymaster-General from the Board for small amounts due in respect of each particular grant for particular schools. As a case in point, Liverpool in 1911 received its annual subvetion in the form of 125 separate claims on the Paymaster-General, two-thirds being in respect of Elementary education".*

In view of the serious defects outlined above, it was inevitable that an agitation for a comprehensive examination of the whole problem should start. As early as in 1909, a deputation of 178 local authorities waited upon the Prime Minister and pleaded for additional grants from Parliament. The question was, therefore, brought under review and in 1912, a Departmental Committee, known as the Kempe Committee, was set up to report on

*A *Survey of the financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by J. Corlett, p. 73.

it. Between 1911 and 1917, the problem of the basis of Parliamentary grants-in-aid to L. E. As and the manner of their payment came in for a detailed discussion from every point of view.

Several different bases for grants were suggested and their relative advantages and disadvantages were examined. For example, some thinkers adopted the expenditure incurred by a local authority on education as the basis of grants and suggested grants at percentages varying from 50 to 80 of the total expenditure. This proposal had several advantages; firstly, it related Parliamentary grants to local efforts: secondly, it was elastic and under its terms, grants varied in proportion to expenditure; and thirdly, it was likely to stimulate local authorities to tax themselves to earn larger grants. On the other hand, the proposal had several defects also. It tended, for example, to increase extragagance; it ignored the unequal economic capacities of different areas to produce a given amount of public revenue; and it tended rather to widen the differences between the advanced and backwards areas than to bridge them over.

An alternative basis was to give grants to each area according to its need, that is to say, with reference to the task that was allotted to it viz. the number of children to be educated. The educational developments in in the areas of different local authorities varied considerably with the result that extremely unequal amounts were required if all the areas were to be developed to the same level. Parliamentary grants, it was contended, ought to have some relation to this expenditure required in future rather than to the expenditure actually incurred in the past. Although this basis was theoretically better, it had the main disadvantage of indefiniteness because both the expenditure required in future and the capacity of the local authority to bear a certain part of it would always be subject to controversy. Secondly, this basis was also likely to create tendency to evade local taxation and to concentrate on an agitation to obtain bigger grants from Parliament.

A third basis suggested was that of the ability of the local area. Some local authorities, like London were rich while others, like several rural counties, were comparatively poor. The same rate produce unequal amounts. For example, the rateable value per child in different areas varied, in 1911-12, from £13 to £106 and the produce of ld. rate per child varied from ls. 3d. (Dudley) to 7 s. 9d. (Bournemouth)*. The local authorities were, therefore, compelled to levy local rates very unevenly to meet their share of the cost of education and in 1911-12, the rate actually varied

* *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett, p. 87.

from 5. 8d. in Grantham to 34. 5d. in Ebbw Vale.* It was suggested that these disparities should be made to disappear by suitable adjustments in the Parliamentary grants.

This discussion would show that there was some good in each of the three bases suggested viz., effort, need and ability. What was required, therefore, was a combination of these three factors into a suitable formula which would adjust the Parliamentary grant in such a way that children living in all parts of England would have an equality of educational opportunity. As Mr. Fisher observed:--

"There are some districts, I might even say, there are some counties, which are years behind the more progressive parts of England, so that a child of poor parents who had the misfortune to be educated in these areas or counties has no real chance as compared with the child whose parents dwelt in the areas of a progressive authority. Though the neglect is often due to human factors, to landlords, farmers, and others who do not belive in education yet it is in the main possible to establish a very close corelation between educational backwardness and a low assessable value. The primary condition of a sound scheme of elementary education finance, therefore, is to make adequate and ample provision for these financial disparities.*

The second important principle that came out in these discussions was the desirability of adopting a simple method for calculation and payment of grants in place of the extremely complicated method, then in vogue, which allowed grants to trickle to local authorities in a large number of small payments.

The World War which broke out in 1914 delayed the reform of the grant-in-aid system for some time. But the cost of living increased enormously during the war-period and so did the cost of education. Consequently the problem of adequate assistance to local authorities became still more urgent and in 1917, a new system of grants was introduced by Mr. Fisher, the then Minister of Education. The scheme can be stated very well in the words of Mr. Fisher himself:-

"With certain modifications I have adopted the recommendations of the Kempe Committee set up in 1912, as the basis of my present proposals. I do not wish to retain a system under which a fixed contribution is made by the State to meet a growing burden. I want to replace it by a system under which, as the burden increases, so will the State's contribution increase. I therefore propose a formula for automatic expansion of grant, to

* *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales* by C. Birchenaugh p. 220.

follow upon, and keep pace with, the expansion of the cost of education. I also desire to make the State contribution dependent, not merely upon the expenditure of each area, but also upon two other factors, the size of the area's educational task, and the ability of the area to discharge the task. I measure the ability of the area by the assessable value. In all these respects I have merely followed the recommendations of Sir John Kempe's Committee. The Committee, however, recommended that in that portion of the grant which varies with an area's expenditure, all expenditure should rank alike, and that the proportion covered by the Grant should be 40 per cent. I propose that all expenditure shall not rank alike. To the salaries of teachers, we shall contribute 60 per cent, to all other expenditure we shall contribute 20 per cent. Our formula is 36s. per child in average attendance, minus the produce of a 7d. rate, plus three-fifths of the salaries of the teachers, and plus one fifth of the remaining next expenditure.

"The rate factor in the Formula is calculated to produce a very powerful effect. A penny rate taken in relation with the number of children in the Public Elementary Schools works out, upon the average over the whole country, at something like 3s. per child. There are however some districts so poor that it works out at 2s. per child, while others are so affluent that it works out at 5s. per child.

"Since the Salary Bill is the great cost factor with which the Local Authority has to deal, it will help Local Authorities more effectively if the State pays even one-fifth of their charges, than if it defrays the loan charges.

"I impose both a minimum and a maximum limit to the total amount of State aid which is payable to an Authority. If there is any area, and there will be none this year, there may be one or two next year, where even after payment of a Supplementary Grant, the State contribution will be less than 40 per cent of the cost of Elementary Education in that area, I shall be prepared on one condition, to make up the State contribution 40 per cent. The condition is, that the area shall itself be raising a rate of at least 1s. in the £. If the area does not make that amount of effort, I shall not be concerned to go out of my way to give extra assistance beyond its calculated share of the Supplementary Grant. I have a similar proposal to make as to the maximum limit. So long as an area is raising a rate of at least 1s. in the £., it may receive whatever share of the Supplementary Grant it is entitled to under our formula, but if it is not raising a rate of at least 1s. then we shall not pay a Supplementary Grant to it beyond a certain limit. That limit is the amount which would bring the State contribution upto two-thirds of the cost of education in that area.

"In the Regulations I take powers, before paying the Grant in any new year, to review the provision made for Elementary Education by the Authorities, and to consider its adequacy and efficiency in relation not only to the local needs and circumstances, but also to the development of a satisfactory system of Elementary Education, including the establishment of the teaching service, on a sound basis throughout the country. If the Board are not satisfied, they may, after the first year, withhold or reduce the Grant, and if the amount so withheld or reduced is more than 1s. per unit of average attendance, they will present a report on the subject to both Houses of Parliament.

"I claim for the proposed new Grant that it will provide a more equitable adjustment between Local and Central Expenditure, that it will enable better salaries to be paid to the teachers, that its incidence will be equitable as between rich districts and poor districts, and that being expensive and responsive it will act as a powerful and perpetual lever for educational reform. It will place the Board and Parliament in a better position to undertake the very necessary work of consolidating the different grants for Elementary Education and placing the whole finance of elementary education for the first time on a scientific basis."*

Somewhat similar regulations were issued in 1918-19 and the whole position was clarified and consolidated by the Education Acts of 1918 and 1921. The net effect of these changes was to institute a single grant for each local authority based upon the following principles :—

(1) The substantive grant was calculated at 36s. per child in average attendance plus 60 per cent. of teachers salaries, plus 50 per cent of expenditure on special services (school medical service, free meals, etc.), plus 20 per cent of expenditure on other items, minus the produce of a 7d. rate.

(2) The maximum limit of grant was either (a) two-thirds of the net expenditure or (b) the excess of net expenditure over the produce of a 12d. rate plus the grant under the Agricultural Rates Act.

(3) The minimum grant was fixed at 50 per cent.

It may be admitted that these proposals of Mr. Fisher were a great advance. They were excellent in so far as simplicity was concerned.

"At one time the grant administration had involved a scrutiny and appraisement of the work of each child, and not merely his work as a whole but in detail for each of the important subjects. This had given way to a system under which the grant was assessed upon each school. Now the

* Corlett : *A survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* p.p. 96-98.

grant of each Local Education Authority was to be assessed on the area as a whole. In place of 57 grants assessed on 11 different bases, which Mr. Fisher had found when he accepted office, two Block Grants were substituted, one for Elementary and one for Secondary Education."*

In so far as equity was concerned, this system of grant-in-aid implied some progress; but it still failed to equalise the burdens on local authorities to a satisfactory extent. The disparity in local rates from area to area could not be sufficiently reduced: necessitous areas still presented difficulties; and great stress was laid upon the fact that the new system of grants did-not take capital expenditure into account. In spite of these defects, how ever, the system continued to be in vogue throughout the period under review, with three minor changes; firstly, the rate of the grant-in-aid per capita was altered to suit the rising cost of education; the minimum and maximum limits were dropped; and a new grant was sanctioned in 1932 for necessitous areas. But these were changes of detail and the fundamental structure of the scheme of grants-in-aid introduced by Mr. Fisher remained unchanged.

6. 9 Finance of Elementary Education:—In 1902, the Parliamentary grants to elementary education amounted to £8,449,052, and the receipts from all other sources came to £7,590,112. The main items of expenditure were salaries of officers £370,440, school maintenance £ 2,987,566, salaries of teachers 10,017,596, Building schools by L.E.As. 2,386,290, and Annual repayments of loans andinterest £ 2,022,318. In 1913-14 the total expenditure on elementary education was £25,608,000 and in 1919-20, the year immediately following the first world war, the total expenditure increased to £ 45,250,000. This means that in the first twenty years of this century, the expenditure on elementary education increased by about 200 per cent from about £ 16 millions to about £ 45 millions. This large increase in cost was due mainly to the several far-reaching reforms that were introduced in this period with a view to improve the quality of education and both the nation and the L.E.As. could easily afford it because this was a boom period in world finance.

Circumstances, however, were soon changed and a depression set in by about 1922 and economy began to be demanded. It is very interesting to see how the system of administration fared under the stress of economy measures necessitated by the depression of the nineteen-twenties and by the still greater depression of the nineteen-thirties.

The first attack on the rising educational budget came from the Committee on National Expenditure which reported as follows in 1922-23:—

* *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by Corlett pp. 107-8.

"The Committee reported in December, severely criticising the percentage system as a mere money-spending device, since Local Authorities, knowing the Government would bear the larger proportion of the expenditure, had no incentive to economise, and were urged into expenditure on a scale which, if left free, they would never have contemplated. The deciding voice as to what money should be spent was not that of the Government, nor of the House of Commons, but that of the Local Authorities, and the Board was impotent to control expenditure or effect economies, once the policy had been determined. Consequently the Board found it difficult to fix estimates for they were based on anticipation, not of what the Board would do, but of what hundreds of Local Authorities might do, and therefore when the Board was pressed to economise, it could do little more than exhort the various Authorities to economise. The result of this divided responsibility was seen in the rapid increase in expenditure. The Committee therefore suggested that... the percentage system should be abandoned... Further economies could be secured by raising the lower age of the limit of attendance, by revising standards of stuffing, by closing small schools, and the payment of less salaries with regard to superannuation of teachers, the committee recommended that the scheme should be made contributory. Prior to 1918, Certified Teachers had contributed at a flat rate, which represented about 2½ per cent of the average salary then current. Teachers should be asked to pay a 5 per cent levy, and a full enquiry should be made to evolve a scheme under which teachers and Local Authorities should contribute."*

Although the proposals made by this Report were not accepted in toto, a new policy of economy was adopted and its results are shown in the following table:

Year.	L.E.As Expenditure on Elementary Education. (000 omitted).	Exchequer grants to L.E.As. for Elementary Education. (000 omitted)
1	2	3
1923-24	54,152	31,717
1928-29	56,694	33,340
1933-34	57,366	30,359
1938-39	67,428	35,474

* Corlett : *A Survey of the financial Aspects of Elementary Education* pp. 113-14.

A study of these statistics will show that, even under stress of the depression, the total expenditure on education was never reduced; that it went on increasing, although the rate of increase was far slower than that in the period between 1902 and 1922; that the rise in Parliamentary grants was far less than that in the total expenditure on education; and that the burden of education was gradually shifted from the central to local sources. These statistics clearly show that a decentralised system of administration which divides the financial burden between Government and local bodies is less liable to drastic cuts, partly because it is far from easy to economise through the L. E. As. and partly because the deficiency of Government grants is often made up by an increased contribution from the L. E. As. themselves.

The methods actually adopted by the Board to effect economy in expenditure deserve some notice. Two of the most important of these were the following :—

(1) In 1923–24, the teachers voluntarily offered a cut of 5% in their salaries; this was continued for 1924–25. On April 1, 1925, a further cut of 2½% was introduced. On October 10, 1931, a cut of 10% in the salaries was again added. (Half of this cut, however, was restored on 1–7–1934 and the remainder on 1–7–1935).

(2) The Board of Education tried to set limits to the expenditure incurred by local authorities. It began to accept certain expenditure as legitimate and sanction a subvention thereon at the prescribed rate. In other cases, it accepted only a part of the expenditure for purposes of grant and in some cases, it even ruled out all the expenditure incurred. This practice introduced the concept of 'approved' expenditure which meant expenditure of a local authority on which Parliamentary grants were to be paid. It is to be noted that expenditure not approved did not necessarily mean wasteful expenditure. Very often, it included expenditure on items of vital importance, but if the Board could not see its way to pay a grant thereon for any reason whatsoever, it was classified as 'unapproved'.

It must also be pointed out that the total cost of primary education had increased enormously during this century. In 1938–39, the total cost of primary education was as follows :—

	Item.		Total cost in thousands of £	Cost per pupil. s. d.
1.	Teachers Salaries.	...	43,888	197—8
2.	Loan charges.	...	2,950	13—3
3.	Administration.	...	3,000	13—6
4.	Other expenditure.	...	11.400	11—4
5.	Conveyance of Children	...	420	1-11
6.	Special services.	...	6.200	27-11
7.	Maintenance allowances.	...	70	4
8.	Special Reorganisation & Development.	...	2.500	11—3
9.	Employers Pension Contribution.	...	2,195	9-11
		Total...	72,623	327-1

(Taken from the Year Book of Education (Evans Bros.) 1939, p. 234.).

This has increased still further during the war. Detailed statistics are not available, but the financial memorandum to the Education Act of 1944 assumes a Parliamentary expenditure on execution of £ 123.4 millions (at pre-war rates plus 20 per cent for the rise in the cost of living). The progress is extremely remarkable if it is remebered that it was only a hundred and fourteen years ago that Parliament sanctioned a grant of £20,000 for education and that the cost of education per child was then about 4s. or 5s. only.

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ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND UNDER THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1944.

CHAPTER VII

7.1 Introductory: The second World War led to a searching examination of the educational problems of England and stimulated great interest in educational reconstruction. Government therefore, took up an extensive programme of educational reform to which legislative effect was given by the Education Act of 1944. In so far as the proposals for a reform in the system of administration and finance of elementary education is concerned, the following extracts from the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction and other related documents will best explain the *Raison d'etre*, the historical background and the nature of the reforms now undertaken :—

7.2 Age-period of compulsion: The upper age limit for compulsion is now raised to 15 and is proposed to be raised to 16 as soon as conditions permit. Besides, provision is also made for compulsory part-time education of persons between 15 and 18 years of age. As the White Paper observes :—

> "11. Among the major anachronisms of the existing law is Section 42 of the Education Act 1921, which defines the duty of a parent to secure the education of his child in these terms :—
>
> > It shall be the duty of the parent of every child between the ages of 5 and 14 ... to cause that child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic"

This books back to the times when all that was demanded or provided was a strictly 'elementary' education in the three R's designed to secure a minimum of literacy. It has long been an abuse of language to apply the term 'elementary', which may have been appropriate enough 70 years ago when it connoted an education that could be terminated in the case of an intelligent child at the age of 10, to the education given in a school in which all pupils remain until the age of 14. Indeed, it is now generally accepted that 14 is too early, in the conditions of modern life, for full-time schooling to cease, as it does at present for some 90 per cent. of the children .....

> "63. It is a common criticism of our present full-time education which for most children ceases at about the age of 14 that its effects are thin and liable to wear off quickly once the child has left school for work. The reason for this is not difficult to see; to borrow the language of photography, the process of education for the vast majority of children offers at present an example of "under-exposure, under-development and insufficient fixing....."
>
> "22. It is intended that the raising of the school leaving age to 15, postponed in 1939, should be brought into effect as soon as possible after the war, but without the arrangements for exemption made in the 1936 Act, and that provision should be made for a further extension to 16 at a later date. ....."
>
> 24. The parent's duty will no longer be confined to causing his child to be efficiently instructed in the three R's; his duty will be to cause his child to receive efficient full-time education suitable to the child's age and aptitudes.
>
> "65. Something will be done to remedy the defect of "under-exposure" by the extension of school life to 15; but this extension and even the further extension to 16, will not give full value unless steps are taken to consolidate the results. The continued supervision of the health of young people after their full-time schooling has ceased, and the encouragement and the provision of opportunity to develop their capacities and their interests, are alike essential if the best is to be made of the nation's youth... "
>
> "66. From the point of view of the country's manufacturing industry, agriculture and commerce, the training afforded by a system of part-time education in conjunction with employment is long over-due. The initial and natural advantages that gave this country, almost for the asking, its place of pre-eminence in world manufacture and world markets have long been fading. More and more in the future will it be necessary to rely on the capacity, adaptability and the quality of our industrial and commercial personnel. Had fuller attention been given earlier to the all important questions of the training of young workers, some of the difficulties experienced by the services and by industry during the present war would have been markedly less acute.'
>
> "67. The principles of the Act of 1918 relating to day continuation schools, will be adapted to meet the requirements of the post-war world. The term "day continuation school" will be abandoned

and the institutions required for this purpose referred to generally as young people's colleges. It is important to make clear that what is in view is no "going back to school" a mere extension on a part-time basis of previous full-time schooling, but the entry on a new phase of life and development.

"68. All young persons from 15 to 18 will be required to attend on appropriate centre part-time, unless they are in full-time attendance at school, or otherwise under suitable part-time instruction. A number of firms already have schools in connection with their factories for the training, both general and vocational, of their young employees, which have proved of the greatest value to the young people themselves and to the whole life of the undertakings. These schools are in some cases conducted and financed entirely by the firms concerned, and in others with financial assistance from public funds. In some instances scoools are provided in works but are conducted and maintained by the Local Education Authority. Provision will be made for the requirement to attend an appropriate centre to be discharged at such works schools, subject to their satisfying the Board and the Local Education Authority as to the content and quality of the training provided and being open to inspection."

"69. The hours of attendance at young people's colleges would be taken from the hours of employment as regulated by existing law, or by any subsequent industrial legislation. At first at any rate attendance would be limited to a day a week or its equivalent. This is clearly a minimum, and it is held by some that the first introduction to employment might well be on a half-time basis. The new service can, however, only be established by stages and developed gradually, and provision within the limits now contemplated will present a sufficiently considerable task. The full age range will be built up gradually, children of 15 attending in the first year of operation; in the second year those of 15 and 16, the full range 15-18 being attained in the third year following the Appointed Day for bringing the relevant sections into force."

"70. In rural areas weekly attendance might often be impracticable, and in such areas provision may be made for comparatively short but continuous residential courses in the "dead" season. Contres so provided would be available at other times for use as camp schools, and as holiday camps and centres for children and young persons from the towns. This will lay the foundation of an appreciation of country life and pursuits."

7.3 **Reconstitution of the L.E.As.** The second important proposal of the new scheme is the abolition of Part III authorities of the Act of 1902 and the creation of bigger L.E.As. to deal with all educational functions in their areas. As the White Paper observes:—

"111. The recasting of the statutory system of public education will involve a revision of the present system of local educational administration. This system was established by the Act of 1902 which provided for two separate types of Local Educational Authority – one for elementary education and another for higher education. There are:—

Authorities for elementary education (Part III Authorities): (315 in number):—

1. Non-county Boroughs with a population of over 10,000 according to the census of 1901.
2. Urban Districts with a population of over 20,000 according to the census.
3. County Boroughs.
4. Counties in respect of the County areas, exclusive of the areas mentioned in 1, 2 and 3.

Authorities for higher education (Part II Authorities): (146 in number):—

1. County Boroughs.
2. Counties in respect of the County areas, exclusive of County Boroughs."

"112 The system thus established is open to two serious objections. In the first place an arrangement whereby in a county area some of the stages of a child's education are entrusted to one Local Education Authority and others to another is a barrier to the establishment of a proper unity in educational organisation, the disadvantages of which have been progressively realised since the Act of 1902. It is not, therefore, surprising that body after body has recommended that the proper arrangement would be to have a system whereby all Local Education Authurities are charged with all educational functions. The reconstruction of the educational system on the lines described in the earlier paragraphs will make such a change inevitable. Suitable arrangements for the transfer of a child from the primary to either a modern school or a grammar school or a technical school can only be made if the same Authority is responsible for all three types of education. At present, however, modern schools are the concern of the Part III Authority; grammar and technical schools the concern of the Part II Authority.

"113. The second defect is that the determination of the Authorities for elementary education according to criteria of population figures as they were over 40 years ago has led, as it was bound to lead in the course of time, to the most incongruous results. Thus, whereas Harrow Urban District, which had in 1938 an estimated population of 183,000, has no educational powers because its population in 1901 was under 20,000, Tiverton Borough, which in 1938 had an estimated population under 10,000, remains an Authority for elementary education because in 1901 its population exceeded that figure.

"114. These considerations suggest that any review of the units of educational administration must be informed by three principles:—

(a) that all Local Education Authorities should be charged with all educational functions;

(b) that the population of any area as it was in 1901 should not now be regarded as relevant to the question whether its council should be a Local Education Authority;

(c) that however Local Education Authorities may be constituted, there should be arrangements for preserving and stimulating local interest in education.

"115. On the basis of this principles there are two ways in which eligibility for the status of a Local Education Authority could be determined. On the one hand, the status could be conferred on all county districts which, according to the latest census figures, had a population of not less than a prescribed figure e. g. 75,000. On the other hand, those Local Education Authorities which at present have experience of all types of educational administration, i. e. counties and county boroughs, could, subject to certain modifications referred to later, be constituted as Authorities with provision, in order to secure the third principle, for delegation of certain duties and powers to county districts or combinations of them.

"116. In favour of the first solution it can be said that the size and financial resources of many county districts with such a minimum population as has been suggested would be as great or greater than those of many existing counties and county boroughs. But there are serious objections to this alternative. In the first place, to determine eligibility for the status of a Local Education Authority according to the population at a given date would sooner or later lead, owing to movements of population, to precisely those anomalies to which reference is made in paragraph 113. Again, the ultimate responsibility for the higher forms of education such as that given in grammar schools and major technical institutions rests more conveniently with the County Authority than with the councils of county districts, since

schools of these types usually serve a wider population than that of the district themselves. In general, Government policy has been against the creation of new Local E lucation Authorities, as is shown by the Education (Local Authorities) Act, 1931, which prohibited the creation of New Part III Authorities in consequence of a combination of two or more urban districts with a combined population which, according to the census of 1901, would entitle them to that status. It is equally undesirable that full educational powers should be given to the councils either of those districts which at present have no educational powers or of those whose powers extend only to elementary education. Lastly, to create as Local Education Authorities the councils of a substantial number of county districts would tend, particularly in some areas, to reduce the child population and the financial resources of the counties in which they are situated to an extent that would prejudice the efficiency of those counties as units of educational administration.

"117. It is accordingly proposed that in future *the Local Education Authorities shall be the councils of the counties and county boroughs only.* At the same time, since certain of these councils will be unable, owing to their size or financial resources, to undertake the increased responsibilities which would be laid upon them, powers will be taken to combine for educationa purpose the areas of two or more county or county borough councils where this would be conducive to efficient or economical administration or would otherwise be of nacional or local advantage.

"118. As indicated in paragraph 114, any scheme for the constitution of Local Education Authorities must be such as to preserve and stimulate local interest in educational affairs. It is therefore proposed to require County Authorities to prepare schemes for the constitution and functions of district education committees. For this purpose, the county will be divided into areas, each area consisting of one or more county districts, provided that any county district with a minimum total population of 60,000, or a minimum elementary school population of 7,000 children, will have the right to have a separate district committee for its area. District committees will be entrusted with the general duty of keeping the educational needs of the area under review and making recommendations to the county education committee, and with such other functions as may be delegated to them by the county education committee. Some county Authorities realising the advantages of relying on local knowledge and interest, already delegate many functions to local committees both in respect of elementary and higher education. Under the arrangements proposed it will be open to district committees to make representations to the Board if they are dissatisfied with the extent of the delegation to them proposed

by the county education committee. This system of district committees will not be confined to the areas of the present Part III Authorities, but will cover the whole of the administrative area of the county. Local interest in educational affairs will, therefore, not only be maintained in the areas where it exists at present, but will be stimulated and extended over a much wider field."

The net effect of these proposals has been to create bigger administrative units which now number 150 only as against 3351 in 1880 or 333 in 1902.

7.4 Reorganisation of 'Non-provided' Schools : The third important proposal of the reform scheme is the altered basis for the management of and assistance to the 'non-provided' schools of the Act of 1902. This is how the White Paper explains the scheme:—

"43. An embarrassing feature of the public system of education for many years has been the existence within it of voluntary (or non-provided) schools, the control of which is divided between the Local Education Authority and the Managers. Historically, voluntary schools were first in the field of elementary education, and until 1870 the State confined its share in this service to subsidies to the bodies responsible for them. In the Act of that year elective School Boards were established for the purpose of providing and maintaining schools, which thus came to be known as Board Schools, from public funds. In the well-known Cowper-Temple Clause, this Act established the principle that tenets distinctive of particular religious denominations should not be taught in publicly provided schools.

"44. By 1902 there were 5,875 Board schools and 14,275 voluntary schools. The latter were hard put to it to carry on in the face of higher costs, due especially to the rise in educational, staffing and hygienic standards and to the lengthening of school life. These conditions, if elementary education was to be adequately served, called for further public assistance to voluntary schools. The Balfour Act of 1902 instituted for this purpose the arrangements which now hold good. Under these the whole cost of the maintenance of voluntary schools, apart from the cost of repairs (other than that necessitated by fair wear and tear) and of improvements to the buildings, was transferred to the Local Education Authorities, which under the Act superseded the School Boards. The Act left the appointment of the teachers in the hands of the Managers, though their salaries are paid by the Local Education Authority. While the Local Education Authority have the control of secular instruction, they have no general power to alter the organisation of a voluntary school in such a way for example, as to convert a school for children of all ages into a school for juniors or seniors."

"45. The terms of the Act of 1902 aroused strong opposition at the time, and subsequently, on the ground that public funds, in meeting so preponderant a part in the financing of the valuntary schools, were in effect being used to subsidise the propagation of the dogmas of particulars churches, thus violating the spirit of the Cowper-Temple Clause. In practice the legal safeguards and the divided responsibilities of this system of dual control have given rise to endless complication, in administration, which retard educational progress, engender friction and consume time and energies which could be spent to much better purpose. The system is inconsistent with proper economy and efficiency since, for example—

(i) a non-provided school with 30 or more pupils cannot be closed, however much spare accommodation there may be in neighbouring council schools, unless there is another school of the same denomination to which its pupils can go;

(ii) a new non-provided school may be set up although the children who will attend it are adequately accommodated already in council schools;

(iii) the Authority cannot ensure that a vacancy in the staff of a non-provided school filled, not by a new appointment, but by the transfer to it of a redundant teacher from another school in the area, so that without dismissals of teachers, which are contrary to the practice of Authorities, reasonable and economical adjustments of staffing cannot be ensured.

"46 Most non-provided schools are in old buildings, nearly 92 per cent of them dating from 1902 or earlier. Much capital expenditure will be needed on thess schools if they are to be brought and kept abreast not only of present day educational requirements and aspirations, but also of modern standards of hygiene, ventilation and the like. It will be beyond the financial resources of most Managers to meet unaided the bill which must be met if children in voluntary schools are not to be denied the advantages enjoyed by children in council schools.

"47. The following figures illustrate the results of Managers' lack of funds and of Local Education Authorities' lack of control over the organisation of voluntary schools:—

(a) of the 753 schools still remaining on the Board's Black List of schools with defective premises (issued in 1925 and now very much out-of-date) 541 are non-provided schools;

(b) on the 31st March, 1939, 62 per cent of the children of 11 years of age and over in council schools were in senior schools or departments specially organised for children of that age, while the corresponding figure for non-provided schools was 16 per cent.

"48. The scope of the problems is shown by the figures for the 31st March 1938, when there were 10,553 non-provided schools with an average attendance of 1,374,000 pupils, and 10,863 council schools with an average attendance of 3,151,000. Thus only 30 per cent. of public elementary school children are in non-provided schools although these schools are more numerous than council schools. They are, therefore, in general very much smaller than council schools. This involves loss of economy and efficiency in organisation and administration, though due allowance must be made for the fact that a considerable proportion of non-provided schools are in rural areas.

"49. With the development since 1926 of reorganisation, the position of the non-provided schools became acute. Managers could not afford to make suitable provision for their older children and many would not consent to the decapitation of their school so that the seniors might attend a senior school provided by the Council. To meet this situation the Education Act, 1936, enabled, but did not compel, Local Education Authorities for a limited period to pay not less than 50 per cent nor more than 75 per cent of the cost of new non-provided school building for senior children. The building proposals and organisation had to be of a standard approved by the Authority and the Board, and the teachers in the school so aided had to be appointed and dismissed by the Authority, subject to the right of the Managers to be satisfied as to the fitness and competence of certain of the teachers (called "reserved', teachers) to give denominational religous instruction. Owing to the inability of many Managers to raise their share of the cost, to the dislike by some of the increased control given to Local Education Authorities and to the unwillingness of a few Local Education Authorities to subsidise denominational schools, only 519 proposals were put forward under the 1936 Act (289 of these were in respect of Roman Catholic Schools), providing for some 136,000 of the 400,000 or more senior children now in non-provided schools. Of these proposals only 37 have materialised and the remainder cannot now be proceeded without further legislation.

"50. It will be evident from what has been said that, under the existing law, non-provided schools will be required, if they are to continue, to shoulder a financial burden in excess of their capacity. In the first place, senior (or modern) schools will be unable to conform to the suggested policy of equal standards in all forms of secondary education. Secondly, the need for modernisation or replacement of much of the non-provided school accommodation for junior and infant children, faces the Churches with a financial problem greater in extent and no less urgent than that in respect of senior children. This is a problem which they have shown themselves quite unable to meet in recent years and which they are less than ever likely to be able to meet after the war.

"51. If large numbers of children are not to be deprived of healthy and decent school conditions-to say nothing of equal educational opportunities-there is no disguising the fact that, unless a considerable number of voluntary schools are to be brought to an end and replaced by new provided schools, some further assistance from public funds must be found towards the maintenance and improvement of the premises, where such improvement is possible. Discussions carried on in recent months with the many interests concerned have satisfied the Government that there is a wide measure of agreement that voluntary schools should not be abolished but rather that they should be offered further financial assistance, accompanied by a corresponding extension of public control which will ensure the effective and economical organisation and development of both primary and secondary education. It is believed that the view will generally be taken that in framing the proposals for such control the services of the churches to the community as pioneers in public education, as the protagonists of Christian teaching in schools and as having for many generations voluntarily spent large sums on the provision and upkeep of premises for this purpose, cannot justly be disregarded.

"In the first place it is proposed to revive the provisions of the Education Act, 1936, to which reference has been made in paragraph 49. The effect of this will be that it will be open to Authorities to enter into agreements, or to resuscitate agreements already made, for grants between 75 per cent and 50 per cent of the cost of any of the projects, proposals for which were submitted by Managers or promoters within the time limit prescribed in the Act. War damage or new planning or new educational requirements may make these proposals inappropriate in the form in which they were originally submitted, In such circumstances it will be permissible for revised proposals to be entertained. Schools already built under the provisions of the Act, and schools built in the circumstances explained in this paragraph, will be termed "Local Agreement Schools". The religious instruction in these schools will be in accordance with the trust deed and will be under the control of the Managers. At the same time syllabus instruction will be available for children whose parents desire them to receive such instruction and cannot with reasonable convenience send them to a school where it is ordinarily given.

"56. To the Managers of all other voluntary schools, whether primary or secondary, the choice of two alternatives will be offered.

A. If they find themselves unable or unwilling to meet half the cost of the alterations and improvements needed to bring the buildings up to

standard and of the continuing external repair of the fabric, all financial obligations will pass to the Authority. The power of appointing and dismissing teachers will also pass to the Authority, subject to the right of the Managers to be consulted as to the appointment of the head teacher and to the right of the Foundation Managers to be satisfied as to the appointment of reserved teachers, within limits to be prescribed. These teachers will give denominational instruction for not more than two periods a week to those children whose parents desire it. Apart from such denominational teaching, the religious instruction will be in accordance with an agreed syllabus. Schools, the Managers of which elect for this alternative, will be termed " Controlled Schools ".

B. Where the Managers are able and willing to meet half the cost of alterations, improvements and external repairs, the remaining half will be met by a direct grant from the Exchequer. The opportunity will be taken of simplifying the present law relating to the respective responsibilities of Authorities and Managers in regard to repairs, by getting rid of the unsatisfactory " fair wear and tear " clause and placing responsibility for external repairs upon the Managers and for other repairs, including those to the playground and playing fields, upon the Authority. The powers and duties of Managers in regard to the appointment and dismissal of teachers and the giving of denominational religious instruction will remain substantially unaltered and denominational religious instruction will continue to be given as at present, subject to the right of parents who so desire to have their children given syllabus instruction. Schools falling in this category will be known as " Aided Schools ".

"57. There will be no transfer of the property or ownership of the schools of any of the three types. Managers will be constituted as at present, namely two-thirds appointed in accordance with the trust deed and one-third by the local authorities concerned. In the case of controlled schools, in view of the fact that the whole cost of maintaining and improving the fabric and running the schools will be borne by the public, the proportion of Managers will be reserved, and two-thirds will be appointed by the local authorities and one-third by those now responsible for appointing the Foundation Managers.

" 58. In the case of all voluntary schools provision will be made for such alteration of the organisation and age range of the school as may be necessary and for enabling the Authority to cease to maintain redundant schools subject to the consent of the Board. This will remove two of the fundamental difficulties of the dual system referred to in paragraphs 44 and 45 above.

" 59. It will be observed that this plan will secure :

(*a*) that there is available for the voluntry schools the financial assistance necessary to enable their premises to offer their pupils educational and physical conditions equal to those which the publicly provided schools will offer ;

(*b*) that the voluntary schools can be so organised and administered as to play a full and effective part in the primary and secondary schooling of their areas ;

(*c*) that the voluntary schools retain liberty for teaching of the tenets of the church with which they are associated by teachers of their own faiths ;

(*d*) that the appointment of teachers in the " controlled " schools by the Local Education Authority, together with the exclusion of the head teacher from the limited number of " reserved " teachers, will greatly reduce the field of religious test for teachers.....

7.5 **Improvement in special services :** The proposed improvements in special services are thus explained by the White Paper :

" 93. At the present time Local Education Authorities are under an obligation to provide for the medical inspection of all childred in public elementary schools, secondary schools and certain other schools. Their obligation to make arrangements for the medical treatment of the children extends only to children in public elementary schools, and even in the case of these children the Authorities are required by statute to recover the cost of the treatment except where they are satisfied that it would be unreasonable to do so. The provision made by the Local Education Authorities varies considerably from area to area. In some few areas it includes only treatment for defects to teeth, eyes, ears, nose and throat and for minor ailments ; in others it extends to orthopaedic treatment, certain forms of chronic as distinct from acute illness, the sepervision and convalescent treatment of rheumatism and its effects, and the treatment of maladjusted children through child guidance clinics or otherwise.

" 94. The setting up of a comprehensive national health service will eventually ensure that all forms of treatment which school children require will be available for them through that service. When this stage is reached it will no longer be necessary for Local Educational Authorities to provide treatment and their functions will be confined to providing medical inspection and seeing that the children and parents are properly advised and encouraged to seek through the new health channels any treatment the children may need. Pending the completion of the new service it will be necessary for Local Education Authorities to continue their present provision

and indeed to provide additional facilities for treatment. It is proposed, therefore, to make it the duty of Local Education Authorities to provide for the medical inspection of all children and young persons attending grant-aided schools and to take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that those found to be in need of treatment, other than domiciliary treatment, shall receive it. No charge will be made for medical treatment for any of these children or young people.

"95. No less important is the proper feeding of the children. In its origin the power entrusted to Local Education Authorities to provide school meals was designed to prevent the value of education being lost through the inability of children to profit from it through insufficiency of food, and, until as late as the beginning of the war, school meals were provided mainly for under-nourished children whose parents were necessitous, and for those who found it difficult or impossible to get back to their homes at midday. Since the war, the school meals service has been greatly expanded in order to ensure that in these days of food rationing the health and nutrition of the younger generation are fully maintained, and to meet the situation created by the large scale employment of married women in war work. The development of this service is being pressed forward and has been facilitated by the recent decision to provide accommodation and equipment without any charge to local funds. The Milk in Schools Scheme, whereby children can get milk daily at a cost of a half-penny for one-third of a pint, or free in cases of poverty, has also been very valuable in underpinning the physical well-being of the children. *The extension of both these services will follow from the conversion of the present power of Authorities to provide school meals and milk into a duty.*"

7.6 **Financial Implications and grants-in-aid :** The financial implications of these and other proposals of educational reconstruction are given in the table on page No. 112.

This rise in expenditure necessitates a revision of the grant-in-aid system and the Financial Memorandum enclosed with the Education Bill of 1944 explains the new system as follows :—

"10. In 1938-39 the Board's grant for the country as a whole represented 49.56 per cent of the net recognizable expenditure of local education authorities. The aggregate grants after the increases described above will thus rise in the first year to 51.36 per cent and by the fourth year to 54.36 per cent. This new grant will apply to the expenditure in existing services (other than the supply of school meals and milk) as well as to expenditure on proposed reforms. It is proposed, however, to bring up the percentages just mentioned to the 52 per cent and 55 per cent suggested on the Command

Paper on Educational Reconstruction (Cmd. 6458) by adding 0.64 per cent. It is intended to apply this further percentage of expenditure, which will be of the order of £ 900,000 in the fourth year, 1948-49, in the form of additional grants to the poorest authorities in order to assist them to meet the necessary costs of educational reconstruction. The exact basis of distribution of these additional education grants to the poorest authorities will need further examination in the light of the financial position of these areas in connection with services other than education.

11. Expenditure on school meals and milk will fall outside this formula. Expenditure on school meals will attract the special rates of grant at present payable in respect of public elementary schools. The rate of grant for expenditure on school milk will remain at 100 percent. These items cannot be included in Table I because the position with regard to the provision of meals and milk is not precisely defined by the Bill pending consideration of the question in detail in connection with the scheme of children's allowances.

12. The revised grant system described in the preceding paragraphs will result in payment of the three following types of grant :—

(i) A main grant to each authority based on the percentage which the total grants for education for that authority's area bore to the corresponding expenditure on education 1938-39. This percentage will be increased by stages to a total increase of 5 in the fourth year (i. e. 1948-49).

(ii) Additional grants to the poorest areas, on the basis yet to be settled.

(iii) Grants at special rates in respect of expenditure on school meals and milk."*

**The New Law of Education* by D. J. Beattie and P. S. Taylor p. 78.

Total expenditure from public funds in England and Wales.

	Total	Increase over unreformed post-war year.	Met from Taxes	Increase over unreformed post-war year.	Met from Rates.	Increase over unreformed Post-war year.
	£ (m)	£ (m)	£ (m)	£ (m)	£ (m)	£ (m)
Unreformed post-war year.	123.0	...	66.5	...	56.5	...
1st year of reforms.	124.1	1.1	70.8	4.3	53.3	-3.2
7th year of reforms.	163.1	40.1	95.5	29.0	67.6	11.1
Ultimately.	190.4	67.4	110.5	44.0	79.9	23.4

7.7 *Conclusion:* The foregoing review of the development of elementary education in England leads to the following important conclusions regarding the administration and finance of elementary education:—

(1) During the twentieth century, the chief object of educational development in England was to raise the quality of education rather than to expand it. This object was attempted to be secured by several measures such as the reduction in the size of the class, enrichment of curriculum employment of better qualified, better trained and better paid teachers, use of better equipment, introduction of special services (school canteen and school medical service) etc.

(2) This attempt at qualitative reform increased the cost of education beyond all proportion.

(3) The increase in cost led to several far-reaching changes: Firstly, it reduced the sphere open to private enterprise and gradually led to the "annexation" of the voluntary schools by the local education authorities: secondly, it led to a through overhaul of the system of grants-in-aid; and thirdly, it made the raising of the upper age limit of compulsion more and more difficult.

(4) The tendency in recent years has been to adopt a bigger and bigger administrative unit for elementary education. Prior to 1902, there were about 3351 L. E. As. Now there are only 150. This increase in the size of the unit has been made indispensable by the increase in cost and by the lengthening of the compulsory age.

(5) Education is now municipalised and *all* local education anthorities are now made responsible for *all* grades or stages of education within the compulsory age.

(6) Parliament now bears as much as 55 p. c. of the total expenditure on education incurred by every L. E. A.

The salient features of the developement of elementary education in England will have to be carefully kept in view because they are so radically different from the events in India. These, however, will be dealt with in the following two chapters.

REFERENCES

1. Board of Education: **Educational Reconstruction.**
2. Beattie & Taylor: **The New Law of Education.**

Administration and Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (1902-37)

CHAPTER VIII

In Chapters VI & VII, we described how the administration and finance of elementary education developed in England between 1902 and 1947. Against that background, we shall discuss how the administration and finance of primary education developed in the province of Bombay in the same period.

8. 2. **Emphasis on quality instead of quantity:-** It was shown in Chapter VI that a great movement for the qualitative reform of elementary education began in England with the Balfour Act of 1902. This was quite legitimate because England had already completed her expansion programme and it was natural that her educators should now turn up to qualitative improvement and think of smaller classes, improved methods of teaching, richer curriculum, abler and better paid teachers, superior equipment and buildings, school canteens and medical service, etc. The Indian administrators of this period attempted a slavish imitation of these trends. They forgot that the expansion programme had *not* been completed in India. They emphasized quality because contemporary educational thought in England did so. But they ignored the fact that, even in England, *quality* came after *quantity* and, in their enthusiasm to imitate England, placed quality above quantity in Indian education. This was a fundamental error and had an unhappy influence over the development of mass education in India. Quantity was deliberately sacrified for the sake of quality; and owing to lack of funds, the improvement in quality was also poor. Consequently, India lost both in quality and in quantity and became, at the end of the period under review, one of the most educationally backward countries of the world.

8. 3. **General Financial Conditions:-** The general financial conditions in this period must be borne in mind in order to understand the overall picture of educational finance. The years between 1902 to 1913 were those of a boom period. The Government of India had, therefore, surplus budgets in succession and the surpluses in some of the years were very

large. This made it easier for Government to give more liberal grants to education and we, therefore, find that the Government of India sanctioned several new grants, both recurring and non-recurring, for educational purposes. The years between 1914 and 1921 were dominated by the economic situation created by the First World War, i. e. there was considerable inflation, rise in prices resulting in grant of dearness allowances to primary teachers, and considerable increases in expenditure on education. The Government of India Act, 1919 introduced a new system of finacial administration with effect from 1921. It is not necessary to describe here the details of the new arrangements. But suffice it to say that the new system made the Provincial Governments poor by allocating important and expanding sources of revenue to the centre. The transferred departments in particular – and they included education – felt this pinch very greatly. This was the main reason why education could not make rapid progress even under Indian ministers. In 1929, a world economic dedression set in and it compelled the Provincial Governments to abandon all schemes of expansion and introduce large scale retrentchment. The effects of this depression had not completely been wiped out when, in 1937, provincial automomy was introduced under the Government of India Act, 1935. Briefly speaking therefore, the years from 1902 to 1921 are those of boom and increased expenditure, while the the years from 1921 1937 are those of financial stringency, depression, retrenchments, and a slow pace of advance.

8.4 **Aims and Curricula of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (1902-1937):** As may be easily imagined, changes introduced in the curriculum of the Bombay primary schools in this period were greatly influenced by the change of ideologies in England described in chapter VI. The extreme importance attached, during the nineteenth century, to imparting 'knowledge' and to 'subjects of instruction' now gave place to an emphasis on improving the quality of teachers (by improving their emoluments, general education and training) and the adoption of better and improved methods of teaching. The discussions regarding aims of primary education, whether in India as a whole or in Bombay, generally followed the ideologies that were being evolved in England. For example, the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, defines primary education as 'the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their life.' It also opined that kindergarten methods and object lessons 'have been productive of much benefit by imparting greater life and reality to the teaching, and by training the children's faculties and powers of observation, when they were applied with discretion by competent teachers, who have discarded elaborate forms and foreign appliances, and have used for the purpose of instruction objects familiar to the children in their everyday life." Consequen-

tly, it recommended the extension of such teaching 'as calculated to correct some of the inherent defects of the Indian intellect, to discourage exclusive reliance on memory, and to develop a capacity for reasoning from observed facts.''* This view has the Curzonian stamp of insulting Indians because it speaks of the inherent defects of the Indian intellect. It is also influenced by the nineteenth century concept of a 'station in life', 'instruction', and 'subjects.' But still it contains something of the new spirit when it speaks of developing the child's faculties and powers of observation and suggests the adoption of improved methods of teaching.

This view dominated the scene till about 1921 and the following were the important events of the period 1902-21:—

(1) The attempt to evolve a separate syllabus for rural schools was given up during this period after a brief experimentation. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, gave support to the idea of evolving separate courses for rural primary schools and observed as follows:—

"The instruction of the masses in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life involves some differentiation in the courses for rural schools, especially in connection with the attempts which are being made to connect primary teaching with familiar objects...The aim of the rural schools should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching, but to give to the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and will protect them in their business transactions with their landlords to whom they pay rent and the grain dealers to whom they dispose of their crops. The reading books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. The grammar taught should be elementary, and only native systems of arithmetic should be used. The village map should be thoroughly understood; and a most useful course of instruction may be given in the accountant's papers, enabling every boy before leaving school to master the intricacies of the village accounts and to understand the demands that may be made upon the cultivator. The Government of India regards it as a matter of greatest importance to provide a simple, suitable, and useful type of school for the agriculturist, and to foster the demand for it among the population.'† This direction naturally led to some intensive experimentation; but the courses did not become popular. On the other hand, they came in for a good deal of criticism as an attempt to keep the masses at a lower educational level. Secondly, the *Modi* script itself passed out of vogue and this led to still further unpopularity of these

* *Para* 20.

† *Para* 21.

courses. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913, therefore, reversed the policy laid down by the Resolution of 1904 and declared that it was not 'practicable.....to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools.'* Consequently, there was a reaction against the whole scheme. In 1912-13, the course was reduced to three standards only, excluding infants, and in 1916-17, it was abolished altogether after a total existence of about 40 years since 1877-78.

(2) In 1913-14, the whole syllabus of primary schools was thoroughly revised in the light of the new ideals.

(3) In 1919, a syllabus for Nature Study and School-Gardening was introduced and was to be taught in such schools as had the necessary facilities. This subject, it may be recalled, was introduced in England as early as 1902.

Between 1921 and 1937, the aims of primary education again came in for a discussion on the transfer of education to Indian control. There was a general dissatisfaction with the existing courses on the ground that they were too literary, that they made a pupil fit only for service under Government or entrance to a secondary school and almost unfitted him for everything else, and that they lacked a practical outlook. The subject was, therefore, frequently discussed and, as an illustration, the following view of the Hesketh Committee may be quoted:-

"The aim of education may be stated in general terms as follows: The development of mind and body, the forming and strengthening of character, and the training of tastes which will fill and dignify leisure.

"The particular aim in the elementary school should be to give the pupil a mastery of the three R's, which may be called the tools of education. A taste for reading should be encouraged. The practical side should not be neglected, and a pupil should be able to write a simple letter and to perform the ordinary calculations of domestic life when he leaves school. He should understand that a knowledge of the three R's is for use in everyday life, and is intended to help him to perform his ordinary work more intelligently and efficiently. The development of the body should receive as much attention as the development of the mind, special attention should be paid to personal and domestic hygiene and to what is comprised under the term 'citizenship'. This should be continued through all the stages. Above all, the development of character should be emphasized.

"These aims may appear a counsel or perfection, but it is essential that the teachers should realise that mere instruction is not their only duty and that they are responsible for the development of their pupils in all directions"†.

* *Para 11 (iv)*

† *Report of the Committee on Primary and Secondary Education*, 1929, p. 20.

The actual achievements of the period were three:—

(1) The syllabus in individual subjects such as drawing or arithmetic was revised from time to time.

(2) A proposal to revise the whole syllabus comprehensively was undertaken and a modified syllabus was introduced in practising schools attached to primary training colleges as an experimental measure.

(3) As a means of giving practical training to agriculturists, a new type of upper primary schools known as 'Agricultural Bias Schools' were organised since 1923. The idea was older but it received a great impetus after the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1924, which strongly recommended the establishments of such schools on the model of an experiment made in the Punjab. The main object of this course which was taught in the upper primary standards only was to give such education to pupils in rural areas as will make them better agriculturists. In 1937–38, there were 81 agricultural bias schools in the Province with an enrolment of 3,276.

8.5. **Revision of the pay scales of the primary teachers:**—Another important achievement of this period was an improvement in the emoluments of primary teachers. As a result of the recommendations of the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction held in 1901, the earlier system of small salaries supplemented by capitation and proficiency allowances was abandoned and, between 1903 and 1919, a system of fixed grades for primary teachers was introduced. A 'grade' meant a fixed monthly pay attached to the post and was generally fixed on the basis of the size and importance of the schools. A revision of the grade was possible only if the size and importance of the school increased and the necessary funds were available. An individual teacher's chance of promotion under this scheme depended upon a post of the higher grade falling vacant, his seniority and efficiency. The system was better than its predecessor because it eliminated the uncertain factors of capitation and proficiency allowances. But it still suffered from two defects. The grades were low and the chances of a teacher's promotion to the highest grade were very precarious.

In 1905, the average pay of a trained Head Master was Rs. 19/–, that of an untrained Head Master was Rs. 7/– only. Attempt after attempt was made, between 1903 and 1919 to improve the minimum pay of primary teachers and to give to all trained primary teachers the minimum pay they were entitled to get on the basis of their qualifications and length of service as prescribed in the departmental code. The attempts were largely necessitated by the rising cost of living due to the World War I. In addition to the increased rates of pay, Government was called upon to give dearness

allowances to teachers with effect from 1st February 1918. As a result of all these efforts, the average salary of primary teachers (excluding dearness allowance) was as follows* in the year 1918–19:—

	MALE TEACHERS.		FEMALE TEACHERS	
	Local Board	Municipal	Local Board	Municipal
1. Trained Headmasters.	31-2-1	35-11-10	29-12-2	32-14-3
2. Untrained Headmasters.	15-6-3	17-14-7	15-5-7	23-0-6
3. Trained Assistants.	22-1-11	21-5-3	19-1-1	22-8-3
4. Untrained but passed Assistants.	12-3-11	13-9-1	14-14-3	12-0-0
5. Untrained & unpassed assistants.	12-0-9	14-5-6	12-0-5	15-5-8

On 1st March 1919, the following incremental scales of pay were sanctioned for primary teachers for the first time :—

	Rs.
First year trained	
Ordinary payscale	15-½-25-1-30
Selection Grade (10%)	40
Second year trained	
Ordinary payscale	20-½-25-1-40
Selection Grade (10%)	55
Third year trained	
Ordinary payscale	25-1-40-2-60
Selection Grade (10%)	75

But even these scales did not meet the situation. Taken along with the dearness allowances, they afforded substantial relief; but there was always a fear that the allowances may disappear or be reduced at any time. Secondly, the increased cost of living appeared to stay and an agitation was, therefore, started to merge the allowances into pay and to institute new and higher scales of pay for teachers. A committee of the Legislative Council was, therefore, appointed in 1920 to examine this problem. Unfortunately, opinion on the Committee was divided. The majority could not recommend

* *Supplement to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction*, Bombay, p. 17.

a revision of the payscale but suggested relief by increasing the minimum pay as follows:—

		Rs.
1. Unqualified assistants.	...	20
2. Qualified but untrained assistants.	...	23
3. Unqualified Headmasters.	...	23
4. Qualified but untrained Headmasters.	...	25
5. First year trained teachers.	...	25

The minority-Messrs Sathe and Paranjape strongly urged the adoption of the following scales of pay:—

		Rs.
1. Unpassed.	...	20
2. Untrained but qualified assistants.	...	25-½-30
3. Untrained and passed Headmasters.	...	30-½-35
4. First year trained teachers.	...	30-1-50 S. G. 55 Selection Grade for 10%
5. Second Year trained teachers.	...	35-3/2-65 S. G. 75 Selection Grade for 10%
6. Third Year trained teachers.	...	40-2-80 S. G. 100 Selection Grade for 10%

Government could not, on financial grounds, sanction these scales; but it sanctioned the minimum salaries with effect from 1st March 1921 (G. R. E. D. No. 560 of 24-10-21). The teachers continued their agitation for the "Sathe-Paranjape" scales and consequently, the following payscales were sanctioned with effect from 1st March 1923:

		Rs.
1. Unqualified	...	20
2. Qualified assistants	...	25-1/5-30
3. Qualified Headmasters	...	30
4. First Year trained.	...	30-1/3-35-½-40
5. Second Year trained.	...	35-½-45-1-50
6. Third year trained.	...	40-2/3-50-1-60

In addition to these, a special allowance was sanctioned for Headmasters based on the average attendance in the school. It varied from Rs. 3/-p.m. for schools having an average attendance of less than 50 to Rs. 20/-p.m. for schools in which the average attendance exceeded 250.

The scales are known as '560-scales' because they were sanctioned under G. R. E. D. No. 560 of 24-3-1924. They did not meet the aspirations of the teachers and the agitation for the adoption of the Sathe-Paranjape scales continued. A committee appointed by Government in 1924 to examine the problem again suggested an increase in Headmasters' allowances because it felt that the existing maxima were too low for the more efficient teachers and accordingly, Government increased, with effect from 1st March 1925, allowances of the Headmasters which now varied from Rs. 5/- p. m. for an attendance of 75 or less to Rs. 25/- p. m. for an attendance of more than 300. Secondly, additional allowance to first assistants were sactioned in bigger schools—Rs. 5/- p. m. in schools with an attendance between 151 and 225 and Rs. 10/- p. m. in schools with an attendance between 226 and 300. Thirdly, all these allowances were treated as pay for purposes of leave and pension.* It is obvious that these attempts did not bring any relief to the average teacher. On the other hand, the allowances payable to Headmasters and first assistants created considerable bitterness and the administration of the school boards was frequently criticized on the ground that teachers were appointed as Headmasters or first assistants, not on merit, but on communal or other considerations.

Between 1927 and 1938, the general economic depression and financial stringency led to a reduction, rather than to an increase in the emoluments of primary teachers. This was done in the following ways.

(1) Training was generally restricted in order to cut down the expenditure on salaries.

(2) Secondly, the local authorities were empowered, by the P. E. Act of 1923, to fix the scales of pay for primary teachers with the approval of Government. Taking advantage of this Government recommended‡ the following lower scales of pay for the guidance of District Local Boards and Municipalities :—

	District Local Board Scales.	Municipal Scales.
1. Unqualified.	15	20
2. Temporary qualified.	15	20
3. Permanent qualified.	20-½-25-2-30	25-1-5-30
4. First year trained.	25-½-35-1-40	30-½-35-½-40
5. Second year trained.	30-½-35-1-50	35-½-45-1-50
6. Third year trained.	35-1-60	40-½-50-1-60

*G. R. E. D. No. 560 of 21-6-1926.
‡G. R. E. D. No. S. 72 of 12-7-1929.

These scales were later on adopted by almost all local authorities and are known as the 'S-72 scales'. They were to be applicable to teachers appointed after 30-6-1923 (the older teachers continued on the 560-scales) and were to be accompanied by the Headmasters and first assistants allowances sanctioned under G. R. E. D. No. 560 of 21-6-1926.

(3) Thirdly, Government started a compaign against the Headmasters and first assistant allowances. In 1930, it gave the local authorities an option to discontinue them and consequently 14 local authorities out of 38, discontinued them as a permanent measure, The heavy emergency cuts that were imposed in Government grants between 1932 and 1938 induced several other local authorities to discontinue these allowances either as a permanent or as a temporary measure. In 1938, Government directed that the amount spent on these allowances after 1st March 1939 would not be admitted for the purposes of grants. This was tantamount to an order to discontinue the allowances permanently in all cases.

(4) Under G.R.E.D. No. 5448 of 25-2-1935, Government introduced a still lower scale of pay for teachers appointed after 1st April 1935. The object of this reduction was to increase the percentage of trained teachers without increasing the total expenditure. The new scales were as follows:—

	District Local Boards.	Municipalities.
1. Unqualified	15	20
2. Permanent qualified.	20	25
3. First year trained.	20-1/3-25-½-30	25-1/5-30
4. Second year trained.	25-½-35-1-40	30-1/3-35-½-40
5. Third year trained.	30-½-35-1-50	35-½-45-1-50

The net result of all these charges was that the emoluments of primary teachers were getting lower and lower*.

Year	Average salary of a teacher p. m.
1882	Between Rs. 8 and Rs. 9
1902	,, Rs. 9 and Rs. 10
1907	,, ,,11
1911	,, ,,13.4
1917	,, ,, 14.8
1922	,, ,, 33.0
1927	,, ,, 32.4
1932	,, ,, 31.6
1938	,, ,, 31.1

The position regarding the allowances of Headmasters and first assistants allowances was equally unsatisfactory. They were being paid in some places, either in full or at a reduced rate, and were discontinued in others.

*Compare the following statistics which show how the salary of teachers rose between 1882 and 1922 and fell between 1922 and 1938.

There was a plethora of different scales for primary teachers which varied according to their qualifications, the area in which they worked (i.e. whether it was a municipal or local board area), and the year in which they came to be appointed. The Sathe-Paranjape scales had taken firm hold on the minds of primary teachers and in spite of continuous agitation for their adoption, the scales were getting continuously reduced. All these factors led to considerable discontent and when the Congress assumed office, this was one of the most important problems it was called upon to solve.

8. 6. **Grants-in-aid to District Local Boards**—As stated in chapter IV, Provincial grants to local boards were given, prior to 1902, on the basis of one-third of the total expenditure. This low rate of grant was the main cause of the slow advance of primary education and, therefore, under G. R. E. D. No. 1749 of 29-8-1903, the Provincial grant was raised to half the total expenditure at an additional cost of Rs. 2, 61,357 to the Provincial revenues. In the same year, a non-recurring grant of Rs. 3,85,771 was also sanctioned in order to assist the local boards whose finances were badly affected by famine and plague that prevailed in the province between 1895 and 1900. This grant is noteworthy as the first example of a grant to enable local boards to tide over financial difficulties and is evidently inspired by the Elementary Educational (Necessitous School Board Act) of 1897 which was passed in England to give special assistance to needy school Boards. In 1905-6, a further recurring grant of Rs. 3,75,000 was sanctioned. Out of this, Rs. 1,00,000 was earmarked for buildings and equipment, Rs. 25,000 for aided schools and Rs. 2,50,000 for additional assistance to District Local Boards. This last grant is remarkable because it is the first instance on record in which the Department tried to assign grants to local boards *according to their needs* It was distributed between the districts, not on the basis of their expenditure, but on the basis of their needs of educational expansion and was intended to remove inequalities of educational opportunities. It is unfortunate that this healthy principle was not consistently kept in view in the years that followed.

Further grants continued to be sanctioned for purposes of educational expansion. In each of the years 1909-10 and 1910-11, a grant of Rs. 1,14,000 was sanctioned for opening of new schools. In 1911-12, a grant of Rs. 56,000 was sanctioned for the same purpose. In 1912-13, a grant of Rs. 69,208 was sanctioned for new schools and another grant of Rs. 45,000 was sanctioned for additional teachers. In 1913-14, a grant of Rs. 1,00,000 was sanctioned for new schools and a grant of Rs. 50,000 was sanctioned for additional assistants. It is not necessary to give further instances. It would be enough to state that these additional grants helped the local boards to achieve good deal of expansion as can be seen from the following table :–

	1901-02	1921-22
1. Number of Local Board Schools. ..	3,799	7,638
2. Number of Schools aided directly by the Department in the Local Board area. ...	559	963
3. Total number of schools	4,358	8,601
4. Number of pupils in Local Board ...	1,98,050	4,46,290
5. Number of pupils in aided schools ...	17,064	33,701
6. Total number of pupils	2,15,114	4,79,991

The continuous improvement in the salaries of primary teachers that was brought about between 1908 and 1921 made it necessary to alter again the basis of grants-in-aid to District Local Boards. The rise in salaries was so rapid that the District Local Boards, whose revenues were very inelastic, found it difficult to meet 50 per cent of the increase in expenditure. In 1908, a proposal to increase the salaries of teachers was santioned by Government on the explicit understanding that Government would bear all the extra expendicure for three years only and that, thereafter, the local boards would have to pay half the additional cost. But when the local-boards had no money with which to pay their share of the cost, Government had to write off the demand. Some time later, the salary had to be raised still further owing to the rise in the cost of living and Government was compelled to sanction additional grants without demanding anything from the local boards. In fact, since 1913-14, *Garernment sanctioned additional grants to local boards on the basis that each board had to pay a fixed quota and that all the remaining expenditure should he borne by Government.* The result was that the total expenditure on primary education increased from Rs. 13.92 lakhs in 1901-02 to Rs. 77.28 lakhs in 1921-22. The main cause of this rise in expenditure was of course the rise in the salaries of teachers.

8.7 Grants-in-aid to District Local Boards during the period 1921-37 : In 1921, a new era began in Indian education because, under the Government of India Act, 1919, education became a transferred subject and came under the control of Indian ministers responsible to the legislature. Naturally, some of the earliest attempts of the new ministers were devoted to expansion of primary education and the introduction of compulsion.

In 1921, the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee, known as the Chandavarkar Committee after its Chairman, Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, to report on the desirability and practicability of introducing free and compulsory education in the Province. This Committee reported in 1922 and made the following recommendations :

(1) The introduction of universal, free and compulsory education throughout the Province was not a practicable proposition in the near future.

(2) The immediate object of Government should be to double the number of pupils in primary schools in a period of ten years by (a) introduction of compulsion for boys only in villages where schools existed, (b) opening schools in 1/10th of the school-less villages in each year of the programme, and (c) by vigorous propaganda to develop the education of girls on a voluntary basis.

(3) The additional recurring annual cost of this programme would come to Rs. 110 lakhs on the assumption that the cost per pupil would be Rs. 20 in the first year and would be progressively reduced to Rs. 15/- in the 10th year.

(4) This additional cost should be shared as follows :—

Municipalities	13 lakhs
Local Boards	20 lakhs
Government	77 lakhs
Total...	110 lakhs

(5) Regarding the manner in which Provincial grants to Local Boards should be regulated, the Committee observed* as follows:—

"We consider that the introduction of compulsory primary education should as far as possible proceed at the same pace in all districts, and that the general principle to be followed as regards grants should be that in non-City Municipalities and rural areas, the Municipality or District Local Board should contribute one-third of the cost, and Government two-thirds, but in order to maintain a uniform rate of progress Government should assist individual districts according to their needs.

" We have not succeeded in devising a formula for determining the Government grant according to the needs of a particular district, but in awarding a grant it will be necessary for Government to satisfy themselves that adequate local taxation has been levied and collected, and that there has been no undue extravagance in the management of schools. As has already been pointed out, a careful scrutiny of the average cost per pupil will be necessary every year, and ultimately it may be possible to award grants on a capitation basis".

It was on the basis of this report that the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923, was enacted. Its main provisions are given below and it will be seen therefrom that it was greatly influenced by the Balfour Act of 1902.

(1) The number of local authorities managing primary education was reduced. Prior to 1923, all local boards and all municipalities were local

authorities for primary education. Under the P. E. Act of 1923, all local boards and major municipalities were continued as local authorities. All minor municipalities were classed as Non-local authorities. This division is evidently based on the Part II and Part III local authorities of the Balfour Act.

(2) The local authorities were given full powers over primary education within their areas. The non-local authorities had very limited powers and the primary education within their areas was to be managed by some other local authority.

(3) Prior to 1902, Government gave direct grants to aided schools. Following the Balfour Act, the local authorities were now required to assist the private schools in their areas.

(4) Local authorities were empowered to prepare schemes for the expansion or improvement of education and for the introduction of compulsion.

(5) Compulsion may be for boys or girls or both. It may be for the age-group of 6-11 or 6-14. It may be introduced either in the whole of the area under a local authority or in a part thereof. Employment of children who came under a scheme of compulsory education was penalised.

(6) Government guaranteed, as a grant-in-aid to all local boards, the expenditure that was being incurred by Government within their areas, prior to the introduction of the Act, and promised to bear two-thirds of the additional expenditure incurred under the Act. Government also promised to bear half the cost of primary education in the case of municipalities which were local authorities.

As a complement to this, Government passed the Bombay District Local Boards Act, 1923, which modernised the constitution of local boards and made them more democratic. It also empowered the local boards to raise the local fund cess to two annas, mainly with a view to enabling them to raise more funds for primary education.

The experience of the working of the Act was disappointing from several points of view. The school boards established under the Act misused their powers in several cases and grave charges were often levelled against their administration. It was these complaints that mainly led to the amendment of the Act in 1938.

On the side of educational expansion, the school boards failed to carry out the purposes of the Act. Compulsory education for boys only was introduced in one district (West Khandesh) alone and was limited to villages with a population of 1000 or more. The only other example of compulsion

was the village of Murdi in Ratnagiri District. This is the birth place of Sir Raghunath P. Paranjape and it was as a result of a donation given by him that compulsion for boys and girls was introduced in this village in 1937-38. There was no scheme of compulsion in any other rural area in the province and even expansion on a voluntary basis was poor. In 1937-38, the number of schools in rural areas increased to 10,931 and the number of pupils to 7,62,518. The corresponding figures for 1921-22 were 8601 schools and 4 79,991 pupils. This gives an increase of only 58.8 per cent in pupils in 16 years against the project, prepared by the Chandavarkar Committee of increasing enrolment in schools by 100 per cent in 10 years. This failure was due to two main causes : Firstly, the Provincial grants for primary education were materially reduced as a result of the general economic depression that prevailed for most part of the period, and secondly, the educational administrators continued to insist on quality and refused to admit economy devices to secure rapid expansion at a lower cost.

8. 14. **System of grants-in-aid to Local Boards between 1923 and 1947** :—The system of grants to Local Boards that grew up in the few succeeding years may be briefly described as under : —

The year prior to that in which the control of primary education was transferred to a district Local Board was called the "*Datum-year*" of the District Local Board. The total recurring expenditure of that Board on primary education in the Datum-year was called the "*Datum-expenditure*" and the assets of the Board on account of primary education in the same year (such as one-third part of local cess, fees etc.) were called the "*Datum-assets.*" One-twelfth of the Datum-assets was set aside for non-recurring expenditure and the difference between the Datum-expenditure and eleven-twelfths of the Datum-assets was called the "*Datum grant.*" Mathematically, the formula for the Datum-grant may be stated as under:—

$$\text{Datum-grant} = \text{Datum-expenditure} - \frac{11}{12} \text{ of the Datum-assets.}$$

It was this Datum-grant that was guaranteed to the Boards in the speeches of Dr. Sir R. P. Paranjpe and in the words of Section 13(2) of the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923.

Government further agreed to pay two-thirds of all the approved recurring expenditure in excess of the Datum-expenditure. In other words, the recurring grant payable to a Local Board in any particular year would be calculated according to the following formula :—

$$\left.\begin{matrix}\text{Grant payable} \\ \text{in a year}\end{matrix}\right\} = \text{Datum-grant} + \tfrac{2}{3}\,(\text{approved recurring expenditure in that year} - \text{Datum-expenditure}).$$

For facility of calculations, the department has evolved the concept of the "*Datum-constant*" which is defined as being equal to one-third of the Datum-expenditure *minus* eleven-twelfths of the Datum-assets. The origin of the idea and the method of calculations may be explained as follows :—

We have

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Grant payable}\\ \text{in a year}\end{array}\right\} = \text{Datum-grant} + \tfrac{2}{3}\ (\text{approved recurring expenditure in that year} - \text{Datum-expenditure}).$$

$$= \text{Datum-expenditure} - \frac{11}{12}\text{Datum-assets} + \tfrac{2}{3}\ (\text{approved recurring expenditure in that year} - \text{Datum-expenditure}.)$$

$$= \tfrac{2}{3}\ \text{approved recurring expenditure in that year} + \tfrac{1}{3}\ \text{Datum-expenditure} - \frac{11}{12}\text{Datum-assets}.$$

$$= \tfrac{2}{3}\ \text{approved recurring expenditure in that year} + \textit{the Datum-constant}.$$

Where Datum-constant is defined as being equal to the difference between one-third of Datum-expenditure and eleven-twelfths of the Datum-assets.

From the table on next page, the recurring grant payable to a district in any year can be easily calculated by the formula stated above. It will be seen that each district gets two-thirds of the approved recurring expenditure *plus* an amount equal to the datum-constant.

In addition to these recurring grants, Government also gave non-recurring grants for expenditure on buildings, equipment, etc. under Primary Education Rules 114 and 115. But the payment of the grants is purely discretionary and contingent upon the funds being available.

The main defect of this system is that it finalised and prepetuated the inequalities of Provincial grant that had grown up during the previous years. A district in which the expenditure on education was very high in the year preceding the transfer of – control obtained a large fixed grant for all time. On the other hand, a backward district which had a smaller expenditure on education was penalised and given a bad handicap because its datum-grant came to be fixed at a low figure. Secondly, the proposal to give a grant at flat rate of two-thirds of the approved expenditure in excess of the datum-expenditure was also inequitable because it did not take into account the varying economic capacities of the districts. In short, the system of grant-in-aid was not based on sound principles and

was more likely to accentuate the inequalities of educational advance among the different districts than to minimise them.

Actual working of the system showed that the local boards fulfilled their obligations under this plan to a larger extent than Government. As many as 11 local board, out of a total of 20, raised the cess (to 2 annas in seven cases, 1½ annas in 3 cases and to 1¼ anna in one case) under the

The following table gives the information regarding Datum-grants to each Local Board as they came to be actually fixed:—

Name of the District Local Board	Date of taking over control	Datum Line year	Datum Line expenditure	11/12ths of local assets	Datum Line grant (cols.4-5)	Datum constant (1/3 of the Datum expenditure-Datum local assets)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bombay Division.			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bombay Suburban District ...	1-9-1925	1924-25	28,824	5,832	22,992	3,776
Thana ...	1-7-1925	1924-25	2,60,566	34,994	2,25,572	51,861
Kolaba ...	1-4-1927	1926-27	2,81,982	39,570	2,42,412	54,424
Ratnagiri ...	1-6-1926	1925-26	4,61,286	32,468	4,28,818	1,21,294
Nasik ...	1-10-1925	1924-25	4,31,541	47,079	3,84,462	96,768
Total B.D. ...			14,64,199	1,59,943	13,04,256	3,28,123
Central Division						
Poona ...	1-9-1926	1925-26	5,07,967	42,863	4,65,104	1,26,459
Satara ...	1-6-1925	1924-25	5,40,325	62,177	4,78,148	1,17,931
Sholapur ...	1-8-1925	1924-25	3,09,986	37,736	2,72,250	65,593
Ahmednagar ...	1-6-1925	1924-25	4,44,566	45,539	3,99,027	1,02,650
East Khandesh.	1-7-1925	1924-25	6,53,652	85,708	5,67,944	1,32,176
West Khandesh	1-12-1925	1924-25	2,96,730	46,327	2,50,403	52,783
Total C D. ...			27,53,226	3,20,350	24,32,876	5,97,392
Northern Division						
Broach ...	1-5-1930	1929-30	2,31,178	51,882	2,79,296	58,511
Panch Mahals...	1-4-1926	1925-26	2,05,639	13,006	1,92,633	55,540
Surat ...	1-9-1929	1928-29	5,44,369	63,214	4,81,155	1,18,242
Ahmedabad ...	1-3-1934	1931-32	4,53,343	61,809	3,91,534	89,305
Kaira ...	1-6-1933	1931-32	5,50,695	60,566	4,90,129	1,22,999
Total N. D. ...			20,85,224	2,50,477	18,34,747	4,44,597
Southern Division						
Dharwar ...	1-3-1926	1924-25	6,87,168	87,844	5,99,324	1,41,212
Belgaum ...	1-2-1926	1924-25	5,10,289	63,237	4,47,052	1,06,859
Bijapur ...	1-1-1927	1925-26	4,68,474	46,127	4,22,347	1,10,031
Kanara ...	1-3-1926	1924-25	2,74,046	22,831	2,51,215	68,518
Total S. D. ...			19,39,977	2,20,039	17,19,938	4,26,620
Grand Total ...			82,42,626	9,50,809	72,91,817	17,96,732

new powers given to them; they submitted several schemes of compulsion and voluntary expansion: and in spite of every discouragement from Government, many of them spent from their own resources and made heroic efforts to expand education. Had Government grants increased and flowed more freely, they would have made still better attempts to expand education. But as things actually stood in 1937-38, the increase in contributions from the local boards was only Rs 7.25 lakhs against an increase of Rs 20 lakhs expected by the Chandavarkar Committee.

In so far as the increase of grants-in-aid from the Provincial Government was concerned, the results of this period are even more disappointing. The economic depression that prevailed in this period made it obligatory on Government to economise. Under similar circumstances, it will be recalled, the British Parliament also tried to economise. But owing to the awakened public opinion which attached extreme importance to elementary education and the effective opposition offered by educationists and local education authorities, the axe of retrenchment did not fall heavily on education. In fact, the total expenditure on elementary education increased from £ 54,152,000 in 1923-24 to £ 65,777,000 in 1937-38* an increase of nearly 22 per cent. In India, on the other hand, the conditions were entirely different. The department of finance was a 'reserved' department under the Government of India Act, 1919. It did not, therefore, hesitate to cut largely in a 'transferred' department like education. Secondly, neither public opinion, nor the elected ministers in charge of education, nor the local authorities were strong enough to stay the axe of retrenchment. The result was that Government grants increased from Rs 67.06 lakhas in 1921-22 to only Rs 75.59 lakhs in 1937-8. This means an increase of Rs 8.53 lakhs in 16 years as against an expected increase of Rs 77 lakhs in 10 years.

Government tried to limit the expenditure on education by holding up all new schemes of expansion and improvement of education. It also sanctioned progressively lower scales of pay for primary teachers and restricted training in order to cut down the expenditure on salaries of teachers. It also started a campaign to eliminate the allowances granted to Headmasters and first assistants.‡ But its attempts at economy did not stop here. It even evaded the payment of its legitimate share in the cost of education in the following three ways:

(*i*) By reduction in the datum-grants under certain circumstances;
(*ii*) By not "approving" expenditure legitimately incurred; and
(*iii*) By imposing emergency cuts even on approved expenditure.

Let us discuss these seriatum:

*The Year Book of Education (Evans Brothers) 1939, p. 233.

‡ For details, vide Chapter X.

(*i*) *Reduction in Datum-grants* : The speeches of the Honourable Minister for Education on the Primary Education Bill which eventually became the P. E. Act of 1923 show that Government had no idea of paying less to the boards than what they were actually paying prior to the transfer of control. The Minister had stated in the most unambiguous terms that there was no intention to reduce the grants then paid to the boards and that the payment of datum-grants would be guaranteed so long as the money was not misapplied or abused. Section 13 (2) of the Act was purposely introduced on the above assurances of the Honourable Minister but, unfortunately, it is negatively worded. It only states that the Act does not affect the existing cliams of the local authorities. It has now been held that the local authorities had no legal claims to any grants before the Act was passed and that grants were purely discretionary. As Section 13 (2) does not confer any new claim upon the local authorities, it is argued that even datum-grants are discretionary and can be reduced.

Consequently, Government have already promulgated a new rule, 109 (*a*), which provides for a reduction in the datum-grant.* It some-times happens that the expenditure of a board in a particular year happens to be less than the datum-expenditure. This happened, for instance, in Dharwar in 1936-37 when the pay of teachers for January and February could not be paid before the end of the financial year owing to shortage of funds. Naturally, the expenditure incurred by the board during that year was even smaller than the datum-expenditure. Morally, Government was bound to pay the whole amount of datum-grant to the board in this case because the datum-grant is the minimum guaranteed grant. Surpluses, if any, will naturally be utilized by the boards during subsequent years. But under P. E. Rule 109 (*a*), Government pays only that amount which is equal to approved expenditure of the board in that year minus the datum-assets! This is a clear breach of faith with local bodies and it leads to serious financial losses for them.

*P. E. Rule 109 is quoted below for ready reference :—

RECURRING GRANTS

109. *Grants how calculated* : The Provincial Government grants under section 13 of the Act on account of recurring expenditure on primary education shall ordinarily be calculated as follows :—

(*a*) DISTRICT LOCAL BOARDS

The grants in any year shall be not less than the grants on account of primary education fixed by the Provincial Government with reference to sub-section (2) of section 13 of the et *plus* two-thirds of the difference between the total approved recurring expenditure on primary education in the given year and the actual recurring expenditure on which the fixed grant was based :—

Provided that if the expenditure in the given year is less than the actual recurring expenditure on which the fixed grant was based, the grant for that year shall be equal to the approved expenditure of that year *minus* the local assets on which the fixed grant was based.

(*ii*) *Approved Expenditure :* The second method by which Government evaded to pay the legitimate demands of the boards was by refusing to "approve" their expenditure on primary education. When the rules reserved to Government the right to "approve" expenditure and to pay grants at two-thirds of the *approved* and not of the *total* expenditure, no one raised any great protest. For, it was believed that the words "approved" would be sensibly interpreted or that it would be used only to prevent extravagance or misapplication of funds. No one even dreamt that the word would be used to exclude such legitimate and urgent expenditure as on the opening of new schools where they were long in demand, or the appointment of teachers in understaffed schools, or the payment of house-rent in a drive to improve school accommodation !

But as the events actually showed, the word "approved" became a terrible weapon in the hands of Government and was used extensively to dodge payments on legitimate expenditure of several lakhs of rupees every year. Every technicality and excuse was availed of to evade "approval" and each audit of a school board account became a ceaseless search for excuses to "disallow expenditure for purposes of Government grant". It is needless to go into all the intricacies of the problem in this small book. The curious reader may well have a look at the "Code Containing Orders of Government Regulating Expenditure on Primary Education" in order to have an initiation into the mysteries of the subject. The book is a massive document of more than a hundred pages and seeks to explain the various items on which no expenditure can be admitted for Government grant. As a sample. the following may be quoted :—

"194. Expenditure incurred by School Boards on repairs to the articles of furniture lent by the Department will not be admitted for Government grant."

"Expenditure in connection with the items detailed below is not admissible for Government grant :—

"202. Pay of "Charka" master.

"219. Grant to Municipal Teachers' Library.

"222. Expenditure on Magic Lanterns by Local Authority Municipalities.

"223. Expenditure on purchase of materials for Magic Lanterns Local Authority Municipalities.

"224. Expenditure on accont of gardening charges in Primary Schools (in the case of Municipalities).

"225. Expenditure incurred by the Boards in planting trees in school compounds.

"231. Expenditure on Primary schools tournaments.

"249. Expenditure on handicraft exhibition."

I have quoted these illustrations to show the ludicrous side of the Code rather than its inconveniences. After all, the expenditure on items of this type is negligible and it matters little whether they are approved or unapproved. But the real inconvenience to the boards was caused by the policy of Government to disallow expenditure on the following items :—

(1) *Opening of New Schools*: Government disallowed for grant all expenditure on the new schools opened by a local board unless it had obtained the previous approval of Government for the same. This prevented rapid expansion of schools in rural areas. The total number of villages and town in the Province is 21,668. Out of these, only 7,517 were provided with schools in 1921-22. Sixteen years later in 1937-38, the number of villages and towns with schools had only increased to 9,180 ! The Chandavarkar Committee had suggested that each taluka should be taken as a unit, that a survey of the school-less villages should be carried out, and that schools in one-tenth of such villages should be opened every year, provided that the village concerned was big enough to make at least 30 children available for instruction. Had this plan been stuck to, it would have been possible to open a school in all school-less villages where about 30 children could be expected to attend. The local boards eagerly went about the programme. But Government did not "approve" several schools on the only ground of financial stringency. The result was that local boards could achieve only a slight expansion by their own unaided resources.

(2) *Appointment of Additional Teachers :* Similarly, Government disallowed for grant all expenditure on teachers for whose posts its previous sanction had not been obtained. As awakening among the people increased, more children began to come to schools even without compulsion. This was particularly so after the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1931-32. In order to cope with the demand, the local boards had either to appoint additional teachers or to adopt ecodomy devices like the shift system. The Educational Department which was bent on "efficiency" would not allow the adoption of the system and the Government which was bent on economies of finance would not sanction the additional teachers required. It is to be remembered that the posts of several hundred of teachers remaided unsanctioned for years together, not because they were considered to be unnecessary, but because Government could not see their way to "sanction" them. This was another tremendous set-back to expansion.

(3) *Rents for School Buildings*: Thirdly, Government made it a rule that the expenditure of a local authority on rents for school buildings in any year would be admissible for purposes of Government grant to the

extent to which it was admitted in the previous year *plus* an increase of 5 per cent over it. Now the amount of rents paid by a local authority has increased considerably owing to the increase in schools and pupils and the desire of the local bodies to replace rentfree buildings by rented ones—chifly with a view to secure free access to Harijans. But the above rule has led to hardships and a good deal of expenditure on rents remained unsanctioned.

It is not necessary to give instances of other items of expenditure which were usually disallowed. The illustrations given above are quite enough to show how the Government policy of disallowing legitimate expenditure for purposes of grant hindered the rapid expansion of primary education.

(*iii*) *The Emergency Cuts:* Much as one would like to condemn this action of Government in not "approving" lakhs of legitimate expenditure, it was not so bad as the imposition of emergency cuts even on the grants at two-thirds of the approved expenditure. If Government had paid all the amount due under the rules, viz. two-thirds of the approved expenditure *plus* datum-constant, the progress of primary education would have been considerable. But owing to financial stringency, Government imposed emergency cuts even on the grant so payable. The following table shows the extent of these cuts:—

Year	*Emergency cut imposed on the amount of grant due to Local Boards*
1931-32	5 per cent
1932-33	19½ ,, ,,
1933-34	12 ,, ,,
1934-35	12 ,, ,,
1935-36	11 ,, ,,
1936-37	8 ,, ,,
1937-38	8 ,, ,,

A consideration of all these incidents makes it clear that the wheels were moved back in the period of 1923 to 1937. Prior to 1923, the local boards were required to give a fixed quota and government paid all the additional expenditure on primary education. This was really an ideal arrangement. But the Primary Education Act of 1923 was a retrograde measure in so far as it required the local boards to pay one-third of the expenditure on primary education in excess of that in the datum-year. This introduction of a system of universal, free and compulsory system of primary education was impossible on this basis because the local boards

could never have been able to finance one-third of the difference between the total cost of such a scheme and the datum-expenditure. Secondly, Government avoided to shoulder even the restricted financial responsibility that was placed upon it by the Primary Education Act of 1923 in one way or the other. The situation could, therefore, be improved in two ways only: firstly, Government had to go back to the position that prevailed between 1913-1914 and 1921-22 and declare that it would assume full responsibility for *all* the expenditure on primary education in excess of a fixed quota to be contributed by the local boards; and secondly, it had to show greater liberality towards education in general and primary education in particular. It will be seen in chapter V that the Primary Education Act of 1948 is generally based on these assumptions.

Before turning to the next period, it is necessary to point out that a much larger expansion could have been achieved, in spite of the financial stringency, if the educational administrators of this period had seen their way to adopt devices like the shift system. But they were bent on improvement of quality rather than on quantity. In this endeavour, they were supported by the contemporary attempts made in England to improve education and by the report of the Hartog Committee published in 1929. This committee came to the conclusion that the expansion of primary education achieved between 1921 and 1927 had been achieved at the cost of quality, that there was appalling waste and ineffectiveness in the primary system, and that the most crying need of the hour was to improve quality and even restrict expansion, if necessary. The obvious intention of the report was to show that Indian ministers had been unable to manage the education department and although the report was strongly criticised by non-officials, it had a powerful influence upon the educational bureaucracy which finally succeeded in limiting the expansion of education to a considerable extent.*

*For details, vide *History of Education in India during the British Period* by Nurullah and Naik, pp. 534-550.

LECTURES
ON
RATING & ASSESSMENT

BY
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LECTURE I.

Measure of Value.

We all know that every Government - whether Central, Provincial or Local, needs money for financing its various schemes of public utility and for carrying on day to-day administration. Every year we hear at the budget time some new tax being levied or some existing tax being increased. Collecting money by imposition of taxes, either on all people or on some sections of them, is one of the ways of obtaining State revenue.

A tax and a rate.

A tax has been defined by Dalton as a compulsory charge imposed by a public authority irrespective of the exact amount of service rendered to the taxpayer in return and not imposed by a court of justice as a penalty for any legal offence. The two most important characteristics of a tax to be noted from the above definition, are therefore. (1) that it is a compulsory payment made to a public authority for public use or purpose and (2) that there is no immediate quantitative relation between the tax paid by the individual and the service rendered to him in return or that there is no *quid pro quo* relation between the tax paid and the service rendered. Taxes are imposed mainly with a purpose to obtain revenue while the underlying idea in the recovery of penalties, fines, fees, etc. is different.

Taxes on properties (Lands and Buildings) form one of the principal sources of revenue of Local Governments (Municipalities etc.). Such taxes are often known as "rates" (property rates). A rate has been defined as a public charge equally assessed on property, the proceeds of which are applicable to local purposes of a public nature, and which is leviable on the basis of an assessment in respect of the yearly value of property. If this definition of a rate is compared with the definition of a tax, it is easy to find that tax is a more general term while rate is only a particular kind of tax. A rate is a tax levied on properties on certain principles – principles of rating.

Note.—These lectures were delivered to the students at the Local Self-Government Institute.

There is another distinction between "a tax and a rate". When a local government first ascertains the amount required for expenditure and divides it pro rata according to the principles of rating among all the property holders (assuming that all are liable to pay), the amount paid by each property holder is "a rate". When such an idea of recovering a pre-fixed amount is absent, the payment is a tax. A rate is therefore a share of the pre-calculated total figure while a tax is an imposition without any accurate idea as regards the total yield. This distinction is however, now much more academic than real. Modern Governments, with the help of considerable statistical data, are now in a position to forecast the yield of tax and rates are also not levied with the precision qualifying the term. Rates for all practical purposes may be therefore treated as taxes.

Yearly Value of Property.

In order to calculate the actual amounts of property rates, it is necessary to fix some value to each property. Actual amounts are then a particular percentage on these values in India. In England rates are a certain number of shillings in a pound and in some States of America they are certain number of cents per doller. How do we then fix these values? A property has a different value for different purposes. It may have one value for the purposes of sale or purchase, it may have another value for the purposes of acquisition, it may have yet other value for the purposes of insurance or fire loss. The definition of a rate suggests the yearly value of property. This yearly value of property is the value with which we are concerned and it is the value of the property for the purposes of rating. In some countries capital value or sale value of property is adopted for the purposes of calculating the rates but India follows England in adopting yearly value of property as the value for the purposes of rating. Assessment of a property is this value of the property fixed for the purposes of rating.

Our problem then reduces to the fixing of this yearly value of each property. How are we then to arrive at this value? Should we take the area of land occupied by each property into consideration, or should the total amount spent by the property owner for the construction of the property be our basis? We have to fix a criterion to proceed with the calculation. We have seen from the definition of "a tax" that there may not be any direct relation (quid pro quo) between the tax paid by a property-owner and the services rendered to him. We may however be able in fixing such a criterion to adhere to some extent, to the other cannon of taxation viz "ability to pay".

We know that if we need an accommodation in anybody's house, we have usually to pay him in return what we call "rent". Every property holder has normally the right to enjoy his property to the exclusion of others. He may however transfer this right to others under certain conditions in exchange for some consideration usually called rent. Such transfer agreements are known as leases of immoveable property. This rent may be in the form of money or service or any other thing of value. The various forms this consideration (rent) might take are well defined in section 105 of the Transfer of Property Act which runs as follows :—

Vaue of Occupation.

"A lease of immoveable property is a transfer of a right to enjoy such property, made for a certain time, express or implied or in perpetuity, in consideration of a price paid or promised or of money, a share of crops, service or any other thing of value, to be rendered periodically, or on specified occasions, to the transferor by the transferee who accepts the transfer on such terms." We occupy a property or a part of it because we feel that our occupation of the property or a part of it would be of benefit to us and to secure this benefit we agree to pay rent to the owner of the property. It is a value charged by the owner to the occupier for transferring the right of enjoyment of his property. This value would however vary with the probable benefit that would accrue to an occupier. Greater the benefit, higher would be the rent paid. No occupier would agree to pay any rent for a property from which no benefit could be derived by him. What the property owner receives is therefore the value of occupation (beneficial) of the property. Every property which is capable of beneficial occupation will have a value. This value of occupation of a property would serve as a good measure of the value of a property for the purposes of rating.

Actual rent is not the test.

Should we then say that the actual yearly rent paid for a property should be the value of the property for the purposes of rating ? We shall see how rents are usually fixed in order to be able to answer this question. Rents, like other commodities are primarily governed by the economic law of demand and supply. Supply in excess of demand lowers the level of rents while supply below the demand raises the level. There are other important factors which influence fluctuation of rents near this level but we shall come to them later. Actual rents are arrived at by negotiations between landlords and tenants or occupiers, and they usually fit in, in the level of rents (fair rent level) reached by the action of the demand and supply rule.

However, cases of actual rents differing considerably from this fair rent level are not found wanting. Such variations are due to variety of causes. A landlord may agree to receive lower rent for number of reasons. A tenant may sign a long term lease and thus get a lower figure. He may also agree to render some service to the owner in consideration of low rent. He may turn out to be a relative or might have paid a premium or might agree to bear certain liabilities, such as repairs to the property, which properly must fall on the landlord. On the other hand a tenant might agree to pay higher rent on account of short term tenancy as it involves greater wear and tear to the premises. Higher rents might be due to some special amenities or services provided by landlords. A tenant in difficulties may agree to pay extortionate rent under duress. In short along with cases of fair rents, we also find cases of either "favoured" or "fancy" rents. There are also cases of Co-operative Housing Societies, where members pay concessional rents. Also we find cases of buildings provided by charitable minded persons wherein occupiers pay concessional or even nominal rents. Owners residing in their own houses pay no rents. Similarly vacant houses or portions of them produce no actual rents, at least for the time being It would therefore, be easily seen, that actual rents are not in all cases is reliable guide for our purposes of fixing the yearly value of property. If we bind ourselves with the actual rents paid or agreed to be paid for properties for arriving at the assessment of a property, we would come in conflict with one of the important principles of rating viz. "uniformity of assessment". The definition of "a rate" lays down that the burden of rates must be distributed equally on all property owners. In otherwords, the rates which every property owner has to pay must be commensurate with the yearly value of his property. Acceptance of actual rents paid for the purposes of arriving at this yearly value may induce property-holders to collude with tenants to produce low figures of actual rents. "It has long been recognised", said Lord Paramoor in Roberts V Poplar Assessment Committee (1922 Ac. 93) " that actual rent based upon contractual relations between tenant and landlord are not the test of the value of a property for rating purposes. It is no more than a presumptive evidence of value". In order therefore to be fair and just and to attain uniformity of assessment, fair and reasonable yearly rent at which a property would be let, is the basis to be adopted for arriving at the yearly value of a property. The fundamental problem of rating is, then, to ascertain the fair and reasonable annual letting value of every property. If rates are based on this annual letting value, uniformity of assessment would result, as the amount every ratepayer would have to pay would be in proportion to the value of occupation of his property. This annual letting value,

when certain conditions are fulfilled, is termed "Gross Value". This is the value which we have to ascertain in each case and the definition of "Gross Value" contained in section 68 of the Rating and Valuation Act 1925 has been accepted as a standard definition. It runs as under :—

"Definition of Gross Value"

" 'Gross Value' means the rent at which a hereditament might reasonably be expected to let from year to year if the tenant undertook to pay all usual tenants' rates and taxes (and tithe rent charge if any) and if the landlord undertook to bear the cost of the repairs and insurance and the other expenses if any necessary to maintain the hereditament in a state to command that rent. Provided that in estimating the annual rental value of a hereditament to a tenant, no account shall be taken of the value of any services which the landlord renders or procures to be rendered, to the tenant (either alone or in common with other tenents of the land lord), other than the provision of, or repairs to, or maintenance of the hereditament ". Annual rental value, annual value, or annual letting value have the same meaning here as the Gross value. But very often in actual practice, annual rental value, annual value, annual letting value or annual rent includes tenants' taxes also. In such cases, the amount representing tenants' taxes should be deducted from this figure to arrive at the gross value. This definition is extremely important and will be dealt with in detail in the next lecture.

LECTURE II

Gross Value.

The definition of "Gross value" is extremely important as it is referred to in every case where the value of a property is in dispute. The opposing counsels in every court case would be found to be repeating that what the court has to determine in the case is "the rent at which the hereditament might reasonably be expected to let from year to year ". Let us therefore examine the definition in detail.

Hereditament.

The first word that needs some explanation is the word "hereditament.". It means any land, tenement or property, which is or may become liable to any rate or tax. Lands and buildings assessed to property rates or taxes are entered in a book known by different names such as "Valuation List", "Assessment Book" etc. Any land, tenement, or property for which entry in this book has become final or conclusive is a hereditament.

Might reasonably be expected to let.

Then we come to the important expression "might reasonably be expected to let." This expression clearly states that actual rents, agreed to between landlords and tenants, are not binding. We have to determine in each case the fair and reasonable rent at which a landlord will be willing to let his property to a tenant who willingly accepts to pay the rent. A landlord would take into consideration merits and demerits of his property, as well as the number of likely tenants to his property. A tenant would likewise weigh in his mind the advantages and disadvantages of the various properties that are available to suit his purpose. The figure of annual rent which they would jointly agree, after taking into consideration all circumstances, would be the fair and reasonable rent which the property might reasonably be expected to fetch. This fair and reasonable rent is arrived at with the usual " higgling of the market " (or higgle haggle of the market). "Higgling of the market " is the argument between a buyer and a seller which usually precedes fixing of a price or value of any article in the market. Rent for a property depends largly on the economic law of demand and supply. Many other factors such as amenities offered by a property or its locality or situation have influence on rent. It is the joint operation of all these rent-influencing factors, together with any other of local origin, which is rounded up in the expression " higgling of the market" (or higgle haggle of the market). While arriving at this figure, we need not restrict ourselves to the actual landlord letting out, or to the actual tenant seeking to come in, or to the one in actual occupation already. We must consider all probable and possible tenants who would occupy the property as it stands and for the purpose for which it is intended to be occupied. In other words, we have to find out the rent which a hypothetical or imaginary tenant would pay to a hypothetical or imaginary landlord for the property in its present state and condition. The figure so arrived at–"Hypothetical rent"–is the gross value of the property provided other conditions laid down in the definition are fulfilled.

From year to year

The expression 'from year to year' embodies an important principle of rating law viz. " communibus anis". It means that in estimating the annual rent (gross value), we are not to take into consideration the circumstances and influences operating in any particular year, but we must base our estimates on an average year. Any particular year in question may be an abnormal year. In a particular year on account of unusual happenings, there might be acute shortage of residential accommodation or of some other type of properties, or a sudden incidence of some epidemic might result in very low letting values. But we have to ignore such circumstances of temporary nature as exceptions, and estimate

values which would be reasonable and fair for an average year. The circumstances we take into consideration, must have probability to continue for a fairly long period-atleast for more than a year. This principle is of wider application and we shall refer to it whenever necessary.

Respective liabilities of landlord and tenant

The remaining portion of the first paragraph lays down the assumptions under which the hypothetical rent is to be estimated. The hypothetical tenant is to be presumed to be paying "the usual tenants' rates and taxes". The "tenants' rates and taxes" are also referred to as "service taxes" as they are usually levied for specific services (such as, for instance, water and halalkhore services), the benefits of which are mainly enjoyed by tenants or occupiers. It is however necessary to remember that these tenant's taxes must be "the usual tenant's taxes". The landlord cannot add to their number at his sweet will. These taxes, though sometimes paid by landlords for convenience, are ultimately recoverable from tenants in occupation. The burden of payment for repairs, insurance and "other expenses" must be borne by landlords. Insurance protects landlords from losses due to fire or collapse. "Other expenses" usually include cost of maintenance of property as well as sinking fund. Sinking fund is the sum which a landlord has to accumulate (at compound interest) to recoup his capital sunk in his property. Every property has a particular estimated life depending upon its construction and the use to which it is put to. At the end of this estimated life, the sinking fund (with accumulated compound interest) equals the capital amount invested in its construction and hence it is also known as capital replacement fund. These expenses under the heads of repairs, maintenance, insurance and sinking fund, must be, according to the definition, just enough to maintain a property in a state to command this estimated rent. Here too, the principle of 'communibus anis' operates, and expenses for an average year are to be considered. A landlord may not spend anything on repairs and maintenance for some years and may have to face a heavy bill in a particular year. For our purpose, therefore, we estimate the average cost per year adhering to the principle of "communibus anis". Considerable difficulty is experienced in fixing this average cost and hence the amount is usually estimated at a fixed percentage of gross value.

Expenses for other services rendered by landlords.

According to the definition of "gross value" a hypothetical landlord transfers to a hypothetical tenant the right to enjoy his property in consideration of the hypothetical rent. He (landlord) is also supposed to bear the burden of expenses on account of repairs and maintenance of his

property, necessary to command this hypothetical rent. A landlords may however find it convenient or profitable to provide his tenant with additional facilities or conveniences (amenities) and on this account would expect better rent from them. The proviso to the definition (2nd paragraph) states that while arriving at the gross value of a property, such amenities must be excluded from consideration. In other words, while estimating the annual letting value, the tenant is presumed to get the property without any extra amenities but he surely expects that the property would be kept by his landlord in a state to command the estimated rent by proper repairs and maintenance. An example would make this point quite clear. Suppose there are two identical properties, but one of the landlords also promises to supply electric energy, or services of a whole time servant, or a free supply of flowers every morning. We would be tempted to estimate higher rent for the property which brings in these additional amenities, but the proviso to the definition lays down that no account is to be taken of any extra services rendered by the landlord beyond ordinary repairs and maintenance, and hence the annual letting value of the two identical propeties proper, would be the same.

So now we have a formula or a scheme for estimating the annual letting value of a property. We have to arrive at a fair and reasonable figure of annual rent for each property at which it might reasonably be expected to let from year to year assuming that landlords and tenants bear their respective burdens. Extra services rendered by landlords are to be left out of this consideration.

Statutory deduction for repairs etc

Actual rates or taxes are not calculated on this gross value of a property but on a value derived from this gross value. We have assumed in arriving at gross value, that the burden of repairs, maintenance, insurance and sinking fund is borne by landlords. Different Municipal Acts in India have provided that cost under these heads should be estimated at 10 percent of gross value. This is known as "statutory deduction". The figure obtained by deducting this amount (10% of gross value) from the gross value of a property gives us the rateable value of the property and this is the value on which rates and taxes are calculated at a certain percentage. The following formula will represent this statement in short.

Rateable value.

Gross value – 10% thereof = Rateable value. To take a concrete illustration, suppose the gross value of a property in Bombay is Rs. 1000/-. The rateable value of the property would be (Rs. 1000 – Rs. 100 = Rs. 900) Rs. 900/- per annum. The percentage rates of taxes in Bombay (in 1948) are as under :—

General tax 14¾ percent'(this includes fire tax at ¾ percent) Water tax 3¾ percent, Halalkhore tax 3 percent. The Government of Bombay levies urban immoveable property tax at 7% on properties having rateable values Rs. 2000, at half this rate on rateable values of Rs. 500/- or above upto Rs. 2000/- (inclusive). Properties having rateable values below Rs. 500/- are exempted.

Rebus sic Stantibus

A short while ago we learnt that, gross value is an estimate of the hypothetical rent which a hypothetical tenant would reasonably be expected to pay to a hypothetical landlord for beneficial occupation of the property. One is likely to think on this account that rating is a science based on hypothesis or fiction. No doubt it is, but it is a fiction based on real facts and conditions as they exist at the time of assessment. For though landlord, tenant and rent are in each case hypothetical, the property to be assessed is real and is to be considered in the actual state and condition in which it exists at the time of assessment. This brings us to one more important principle of rating, viz. levery property must be assessed Rebus Sic Stantibus. It means in plain words, that while arriving at the gross value of a property, we must take into consideration only the present state and condition of the property as well as the user to which the property is actually put to. We must not imagine what a property would fetch with certain additions or alterations or under some other circumstances. If a property is now deteriorated, we must not take into account its condition before deterioration or after improvement, and put up a higher value. " Future and reversionary prospects are not to be taken into consideration ". This important principle of assessing properties rebus sic stantibus helps to maintain uniformity of assessment.

LECTURE III

Assessment — (Rateable Value)

Actual rent how far evidence of fair & reasonable letting value.

With the help of the knowledge that we have gained so far, let us try to proceed with actual assessment of properties. We have seen that in each case we have to determine the fair and reasonable annual letting value of the property. Majority of properties are actually rented and the first stage would be to get the information as regards the actual rents paid by the actual tenants of such properties. One may immediately ask, " If the actual rents are not binding on us for the purposes of rating, why this enquiry ? Actual rents, in majority of cases are negotiated between landlords and tenants with due regard to the fair-rent level, as well as special merits and demerits of the properties. The higgle-haggle (higgling) of the market actually precedes such agreement and it is likely that the rents agreed to by them, would be the fair and reasonable rents according to the definition. The reason is very simple. No landlord would agree to receive less nor would any tenant pay more than the market value or the fair and reasonable letting value for a property. We, therefore, accept these actual rents as the fair and reasonable letting values for rating purposes. But we accept them, it is necessary to remember, not because they are actual rents, but only because they appear to be the fair and reasonable letting values of the respective properties. " The actual rent paid is no criterion, unless indeed it happens to be the rent that the imaginary tenant might be expected to pay ". In fact actual rents are always assumed to be *prima facie* evidence of fair letting value, and it is necessary to prove, while rejecting them, that they are either too much or too little in comparison with other rents of similar properties. If we obtain information in respect of a number of similar properties, it would not be much difficult to pick up cases wherein the actual rents do not represent fair letting values. The definition of gross value empowers us to reject such actual rents and estimate in their stead fair and reasonable letting values.

Standardization of tenancies

Our procedure, then, in majority of cases would be very simple. We ascertain the actual rents paid and from the figures obtained, work up the rateable values. In practice, however, it would be found that landlords and tenants in fixing actual rents, do not conform to the definition of " Gross value ". The definition presumes, that the tenant would pay usual tenants' rates and

taxes and the landlord would bear the burden of repairs, maintenance, insurance, and sinking fund, necessary to maintain the property in a state to command the rent (gross value). Gross value also excludes payments made by tenants for "other services" provided by landlords. Landlords and tenants often accept other man's burden or transfer their liabilities in actual agreements. It becomes necessary for this reason to apply "a correction" to these figures of actual rents, to bring them in accord with the definition of gross value. This is known as "Standardization of tenancies". Such cases arise in variety of ways. In majority of cases in Bombay, actual rents are inclusive of tenants' taxes. "Gross value" does not include tenant's taxes as they are supposed to be paid by tenants independently, and hence a deduction equivalent to a sum representing tenants' taxes is required to be made from these actual rents to arrive at gross values. Again actual rents may often be inclusive of charges for electric lights (energy) or electric pump or lifts etc. These are all "other services" rendered by a landlord and hence a portion of actual rent charged by him is in return of these services, though he may or may not show them separately in his rent bills. A landlord, on the otherhand, may shift the cost of repairs and maintenance of his property (his own burden) on to his tenant and the tenant in such a case would agree to pay the fair and reasonable rent less the estimated cost of repairs and maintenance. If the fair and reasonable rent (i. e. gross value) is Rs. X per year and the average cost of repairs and maintenance is estimated at Rs. 100 per year, the actual rent, the tenant would agree to pay would be Rs. (X–100) per year. To arrive at the gross value of this property (Rs. X) therefore we have to add the average cost of repairs and maintenance (Rs. 100) to the actual rent paid by the tenant (Rs. X-100). Such cases would be found in unlimited variety but the calculation in all such cases could be put in the form of an equation as under:

G. V. = A. R. + L. T. — T. L. — O. E.

Wherein

G. V. Means gross value as per definition in S. 68 of the Rating Valuation Act 1925.

A. R. Means the actual rent recovered by landlord or agreed to be paid by a tenant.

L. T. Means landlord's liabilities shifted over to a tenant (cost of repairs, maintenance).

T. L. Means tenant's liabilities borne by landlord e.g. tenant's taxes.

O. E. Means other expenses incurred by landlord for maintaining other services rendered to a tenant. This amount may or may not be shown separately in rent bills. It is very difficult to put up an exhaustive list of such services. They range from the commonly found services of electric lights, electric pumps or lifts to the rarer services of tennis courts, gymnasium or a swimming pool.

It is necessary to utter a word of caution at this stage. When charges for other services are mentioned by landlords in rent bills, it is necessary to examine them very carefully before allowing the amounts as deduction. If such figures are found to be abnormal, facts must be ascertained to see if they are justifiable. Any deduction allowed in excess, reduces gross value to that extent and impairs uniformity of assessment. When rents are restricted (by Rent Restriction Acts or otherwise) landlords often try to obtain abnormal rents for furniture or for other services with a view to extort unimaginable total rent from needy and helpless tenants. Vigilance is therefore necessary to see that excessive rents or charges for furniture or other services do not absorb a portion of fair and reasonable rent or gross value of a property.

There are other cases which this equation would not cover. Landlords often recover a sum in advance (premium) as well as some rent per month or per year. It is necessary to convert this advance or premium into a sum to be added to the monthly or yearly rent. This is usually done by adding interest on premium at fair percentage (say 6%) to the annual rent actually paid or 1/12th of it to the monthly rent. Cases are also found where tenants incur capital expenditure to add to the value of the property by extensions or alterations and similar adjustments are required to be made by adding a suitable figure to the actual rents. Rents are often paid per week or per day instead of per month or per year. Monthly rents are usually converted without dispute into annual rents by taking twelve times the monthly rent, but similar calculations are challenged when rents are paid per week or per day. Annual rents in such cases have to be estimated with due regard to circumstances in each case. There is yet another way of charging rents—monthly rents by Indian calender instead of by English calender. By adopting this method a landlord recovers one month's rent in excess every three years and letting value in such a case would therefore be 12 1/3 month's rent by Indian calender.

Calculation of Rateable Value when rent includes tenant's taxes

It is necessary to explain one process of calculating rateable value before closing this lecture. In the equation stated earlier, all other items except tenant's taxes, are to be estimated when actual figures are not available or when available, are not reasonable. Tenant's taxes are to be worked out at the percentage (fixed by a rating authority) on the rateable value of a property. If actual rent paid is inclusive of tenant's taxes, to

arrive at gross value, we have to deduct the amount representing tenant's taxes from actual rent. The equations in such a case would be (i) Actual rent — Tenant's Taxes (X) = Gross Value. (ii) Gross Value — Statutory deduction = Rateable Value (Y). Difficulty in such a calculation arises on account of the fact that tenant's taxes are to be calculated on the rateable value of a property — a figure which we have yet to determine. In other words, in the equations (i) and (ii) we cannot find out 'Y' unless we know 'X' and we cannot work out 'X' unless we know 'Y'. The following formula would be useful for this purpose.

If the rateable value of a property, is Rs. 100/- per annum, its gross value would be Rs. 111/- approx. per annum as under :—

If Rs. 100/- is the gross value, the rateable value would be (Rs. 100/- — Rs. 10/- (10% statutory deduction) = Rs. 90/-. So when Rs. 90/- is the rateable value, Rs. 100 is the gross value and hence the gross value of a property of which the rateable value is Rs. 100/- would be Rs. $\frac{100 \times 100}{90}$ or say Rs. 111/- approximately.

Now if the tenant's taxes are charged at 7%, the amount of tenant's taxes for this property (of rateable value Rs. 100/-) would be Rs. 7/- and hence the actual rent (including tenant's taxes) which the landlord of this property would recover, would be Rs. 111 (gross value) + Rs. 7 (tenant's taxes) = Rs. 118/-. This gives us the basis for calculation of rateable value in all cases (where tenant's taxes are chargeable at 7% on rateable value and statutory deduction is fixed at 10% on gross value) where actual rents include tenant's taxes. When the actual rent is Rs. 118/- the rateable value is Rs. 100/- so by rule of three, the rateable value of the property fetching an actual rent of Rs. X (including tenant's taxes) would be Rs. $\frac{X \times 100}{118}$. For such calculations usually tables are prepared and printed, to save time and energy. We shall deal with a few actual problems in the next lecture.

LECTURE IV

Illustrations in Valuation.

We shall in this lecture discuss a few illustrations:—

(Note: Rateable Value=Gross Value— 10% thereof) (R & V Act 1925)

(1) The rateable value of a property is Rs. 2,700/-. What would be the annual rent inclusive of tenant's taxes at 5%? (L. S. G. D. Exam. December 1947).

If Rs. 100/- is the rateable value of a property, its gross value is Rs. 111 as explained earlier. The amount of tenant's taxes at 5% would in this case be Rs. 5/-. The annual rent inclusive of tenant's taxes would be Rs. 111 plus Rs. 5 = Rs. 116/-.

By rule of three, the annual rent inclusive of tenant's taxes of a property having a rateable value of Rs. 2,700/- would be $\frac{2700 \times 116}{100}$ = Rs. 3,132/- or say Rs. 3,135.

(2) An owner recovers from his tenant Rs. 6000/-per year by way of rent which is inclusive of tenant's taxes and other service charged. The tenant's taxes amount to Rs.250/-at 5%. Find out the amount of the yearly service charged included in the rent stated above. (L. S. G. D. Exam. Septr. 1944.)

We are given that the tenant's taxes are charged at 5% (on the rateable value) as well as the amount of tenant's taxes. We get therefore the rateable value of the property $\frac{(250 \times 100}{5}$ = 5000. From this rateable value we can work out the gross value of the property as we know that the gross value of a property is Rs. 111/-, when its rateable value is Rs. 100/-. The gross value in this case would be $\frac{5000 \times 111}{100}$ = Rs. 5,550/-. If we add the tenant's taxes (Rs. 250) to the gross value we get Rs. 5,550/- plus Rs. 250/- = Rs. 5,800. As the landlord actually recovers Rs. 6,000/- inclusive of tenant's taxes and charges for other services, the difference of (Rs. 6,000 - 5800) Rs. 200/- must be the charges for other services.

(3) A property consists of 5 shops on ground floor and 10 tenements on first floor. The rent of each shop is Rs. 40/- p.m. and that of each tenement is Rs. 15/- p.m. (inclusive of charges for consumption of electrical energy at Rs. 2/- per tenement). All these rents include tenant's taxes at 9% of the rateable value. Find out the rateable value of the property.

Assuming that the actual rents recovered, are fair and reasonable, the actual rent for a year would be:

Gr. Fl. $5 \times 40 \times 12$ = Rs. 2,400
F. Fl. $10 \times 15 \times 12$ = Rs. 1,800
Rs. 4,200

From this actual rent we shall have to deduct first the other expenses viz. Electrical charges as it is an extra service rendered by the landlord. It appears that the ground floor tenants either have no such service or pay independenty for it. The first floor tenants in all pay Rs. $2 \times 10 \times 12$ (Rs.240) per year for such service which amount is included in the actual rent of Rs. 1,800/-. It is necessary to verify whether this sum is reasonable by looking into actual bills and if the average figure for a year is below Rs. 240/- we may allow deduction only to that extent. Let us assume that this average figure is Rs. 200/- only. We then deduct only Rs. 200/- from the actual rent of Rs. 4,200/-. Deducting this figure of Rs. 200/- from Rs. 4,200/- we get Rs. 4,000/- which still includes tenant's taxes at 9% on the rateable value. On the analogy of the illustration stated earlier, we get, Rs. 100 rateable value, Rs. 111 gross value and Rs. 120 (111 plus 9) rent inclusive of tenant's taxes at 9% on the rateable value. By rule of three we get $\frac{4000 \times 100}{120}$ = Rs. 3,333 1/3 or say Rs. 3,335/- as the rateable value of the property. [It is convenient to have 5 or 0 as the last digit and the one that is nearer or makes smaller difference is preferred.]

(4) A property consisting of ground and two upper floors has two similar flats on each floor. The landlord has provided as extra services, a water pump, a lift, a watchman. The tenants bear the expenses of minor repairs and white washing &c. The actual rents paid per month are as under:—

Gr. Fl 2 flats Rs. 275/- each.
F. Fl. 1 flat Rs. 300/-, 1 flat vacant.
S. Fl. 2 flats Rs. 325/- each.

At the time of fixing the rateable value of the property, the landlord advances the following arguments.

(1) He receives rents for five flats only.

(2) He pays a commission of 2% to a house agency on the total rent received.

(3) He has invested Rs. 30,000/- for installing the lift and the pump and should therefore be allowed interest on that sum.

Work out the rateable value of this property, assuming that the rents are inclusive of tenant's taxes at 7% on the rateable value.

As we are to find out what a hypothetical tenant would pay and not what the actual tenants pay for the property, we have to disallow the first point of the landlord. We would be justified in estimating the rent of the vacant flat on first floor at Rs. 300/- per month. Similar argument will hold good if the landlord is using any portion for his own use. On the same grounds, we have to disallow the second point. We need not consider what the landlord ultimately receives but what a tenant is raesonably expected to pay. The sum mentioned in the third argument is a capital expenditure which helps the landlord to command better rents. The lift and the pump have become a part and parcel of his property and only overhead charges for maintenance of these extra services are to be allowed.

The total monthly rent which the property would fetch including the rent of the vacant flat would be Rs. 1,800/-

Annual rent would be ... ... Rs. 21,600/-

Expenses for repairs, white washing &c. is a liability of the landlord and as he has shifted it partly on the tenants, we shall have to add to the rent, a reasonable sum on this account. Let us estimate the average cost per year of such minor repairs etc. at Rs. 1,000/-. Similarly we shall have to allow deduction for expenses incurred by the landlord on other services. Let us estimate them us under,

Water pump (Electric energy)	Rs.	60 per year
Lift ,, ,, ...	,,	180 per year
Wages of liftman ...	,,	720 per year
Wages of Watchman : Assuming that he renders services to tenants and also protects the property of the landlord, only half the amount of the wages is allowed for service to tenants.		Rs. 300 per year
Total		Rs. 1,260/-

The annual rent inclusive of tenant's taxes with this addition (LT) and deduction (O. E.) would be

$$21600 + 1,000 - 1260 = 21,340$$

Proceeding with the usual process for deducting tenants's taxes we get the rateable value.

$$\frac{21340 \times 100}{118} = \text{Rs. } 18,084\ \frac{44}{59} \text{ or say Rs. } 18,085/-$$

(5) A factory is let with furniture and some machinery. The tenant pays water tax by meter measurement directly to the rating authority but

the monthly rent of Rs. 5,000/- is inclusive of halalkhore tax at 3%. State how you would proceed to work out the rateable value of this factory.

The actual rent here is composed of (i) annual letting value of the factory premises, (ii) rent for furniture and machinery and halalkhore tax. As gross value is the estimated annual value for the premises only, we shall have to deduct from the actual rent (i) Fair and reasonable rent for furniture and machinery (ii) Halalkhore tax liability of the tenant but here borne by the landlord.

The present value of furniture and machinery is first ascertained with the help of an expert in the line. Usually 10% of this value is accepted as the fair and reasonable annual letting value of the furniture and the machinery. Let us assume that the value of the furniture and the machinery is agreed at Rs. 2,40,000/- so that the annual letting value would be (10%) Rs. 24,000/-.

The actual annual rent would be $12 \times 5000 = 60{,}000/-$. Deducting the annual letting value of the furniture and machinery we get (60,000–24,000) = Rs. 36,000/- as the annual rent for factory premises including halalkhore tax. If Rs. 100/- is tne R. V., then gross value would be Rs. 111/- and the amount of halalkhore tax would be Rs. 3/-. The annual rent including halalkhore tax would be Rs. 114/-. By rule of three, we get the rateable value as $\frac{36000 \times 100}{114} =$ Rs. $31578\ \frac{54}{57}$ or say Rs. 31,580/-. As water tax (tenant's liability) is paid directly by the tenant it does not come in, in the above calculation.

(6) A tenant pays Rs. 1,000/- per year for a bungalow with garden. He also pays (*a*) Rs. 100 (average) per year for repairs to the bunglow (*b*) Rs. 200 per year towards maintenance of the garden (*c*) Water and halalkhore taxes together at 7%. Work out the rateable value of the Bunglow. (L.S.G.D. Exam. June 1948).

Cost of repairs to his property must be borne by the landlord as it is his liability. Sometimes it is contended that the repairs carried out by a tenant are much in excess and not necessary for obtaining the rent agreed upon. In such a case it would be necessary to split up the figure for repairs and only the part of expenditure necessary to maintain the property in a state to command the rent should be added to the actual rent. we shall here assume that the whole expenditure is necessary and therefore add Rs. 100/- to the actual rent. These remarks also apply to the expenditure on maintenance of the garden. As the bunglow has been let with garden the landlord must bear the expenses. If, however, the tenant wants to maintain the garden

'to his taste'' he will have to bear the extra cost. Let us assume that the enant spends a part for his own liking and split up this item of Rs. 200 – as Rs. 100/- for necessary expenses and Rs. 100/- for special taste of the enant. We should then add only Rs. 100/- to the actual rent.

We thus get Rs. 1,000 plus Rs. 100 plus Rs. 100 = 1,200/- as the ent for the bunglow with garden. As the tenant is paying tenant's taxes water and halalkhore taxes) separately this figure of Rs, 1,200/- per year s the gross value of the property. Deducting 10% from the gross value, ve get the rateable value as Rs. 1,080/-. (1200-120 = 1080)

LECTURE V

Comparison Method.

So far we have learnt the process of assessing properties actually let at fair and reasonable rents. Such properties usually form a large percentage of the total number of properties. We shall now discuss the methods of assessing properties in respect of which actual rents are either not paid or if paid, they do not represent fair and reasonable rents. Properties lying vacant or occupied by their owners fall under the first category while properties occupied at nominal rents, concessional rents or favoured or fancy ents fall under the second.

"Comparison Method" is usually adopted to estimate fair and reasonable rents of such properties. If we want to know the length of a room, we measure it up by comparing it with a known length such as a yard-stick or a foot-rule. If we want to know the weight of a substance, we compare it with known weights. Similarly, fair and reasonable rent of such a property is estimated by camparing it with other similar properties actually let at fair and reasonable rents.

The necessary condition that properties to be compared must be similar lends some toughness to the problem. What we need is not merely similarity in construction or similarity in appearance or geometrical similarity. Properties, in order to be similar for the purposes of rating, must have in the first place the same user, or in other words, they must have been occupied for the same or similar purpose. For instance if we want to estimate the rent of a restaurant, we must compare it as far as possible to restaurants actually rented at fair and reasonable rents. A printing paess must be compared to a printing press, a studio to a studio and so on. Secondly as the floor area is the main substance of a property for which rent is paid, it is necessary that properties compared should have approximately the same floor areas. Larger areas relatively yield smaller rents and hence suitable adjusments are necessary if the properties compared have widely differing areas. Thirdly, locality exerts a very noticeable influence on rents and hence the properties to be compared should be in the same locality as far as possible.

We have seen earlier that the fair and reasonable rent actually paid is the result of joint operation of various rent influencing factors. Some of these factors are important while others are of negligible influence. These

factors of importance differ for different classes of properties. For instance, road frontage is not as much an asset for a residence as it is for a shop; while "open west or south" influences the rent of a residence much more than that of a shop. It is therefore necessary that properties to be compared should be similar with regard to their important rent influencing factors. If they are not, adjustments for differences have to be made in estimating the rent of the property in question. To do this, one must know how much a particular rent influencing factor adds to the letting value. Careful inspection of properties actually rented, goes a long way in improving the skill and the judgment of a person charged with this job. The factors generally affecting rental values are: locality, situation, age, size, shape, convenience, construction, planning, general finish, character of the particular premises themselves or the curtilage thereof and the immediate neighbourhood. There may be other factors having special application or having a local origin. Often it is difficult to get properties suitable for camparison and it becomes necessary to consider properties having maximum similarity to the property in question and make adjustment for differences. Adjustments and corrections in such cases are more difficult. Sometimes these results can be checked by application of other methods. These methods will be discussed in the subsequent lectures. Although estimating rents by comparison is every day work of a rating officer, yet it calls for the greatest care and skill and the widest experience and training especially where some intricate and difficult adjustments have to be made to conform the particular property in question with others under comparison.

It is easier to estimate rents of smaller properties by mere inspection but larger areas demand special methods. In such cases, we have to measure, carpet areas-floor areas within walls—of rented properties and work out the rent per 100 sq. ft. of such floor area. For instance, if a property having a carpet area of 20000 sq. ft. is let at Rs. 2000/- per month, we say that the rent per 100 sq. ft. is $\frac{\text{Rs. } 2000 \times 100}{20000}$ or Rs.10/- per 100 sq. ft. This is the rate per 100 sq. ft., at which the property is let. We estimate a suitable rate for the property to be assessed, taking into consideration its merits and demerits in relation to properties chosen for comparison and work out the monthly rent $\frac{(\text{floor area} \times \text{Rate})}{100}$. It is necessary to note while adopting such a rate for the property in question that generally an excess in landings staireases and passages does not add to the letting value but on the contrary reduces it. This point will be further dealt with in the lecture on "Surveys & Schedules".

Terms and conditions under which actual rents are paid for different properties selected for comparison, may be varying. In such circumstances

it is necessary before working out rates, to standardize all such rents. The most convenient procedure would be to work out gross values of such properties so that gross value of the property to be assessed is determined straightaway. Failure to do this often leads to wrong estimates which consequently disturbs uniformity of assessment.

Although by comparison method we have to estimate fair and reasonable rent of a property by comparing it with other similar properties, a word of caution is necessary. Sometimes it is discovered that properties selected for comparison are underassessed. In such a case uniformity of assessment must not be attained by underestimating the value of the property to be assessed. On the other hand such a property must be adequately assessed and steps must be taken to bring up the underassessed properties to the proper level. "It is a vital principle of the law of rating that each hereditament should be independently assessed". "The assesseing authority" says Lord Justice Scrutton "should not sacrifice correctness to secure uniformity but if possible obtain uniformity by correcting inaccuracies rather than by making an inaccurate assessment in order to secure uniform error". (Ladies Hosiery and Underwear Ltd. vs. West Middlesex Assessment Committee (1932) 2 K. B. 679; 16 R & I. T. 238.)

MASTER PLAN FOR GREATER BOMBAY.

Present Picture.

1. Bombay City has an area of 26 sq. miles and today it has a population of about 30 lakhs as against a pre-war population of about 15 lakhs. Its public utility services, designed for this population, are groaning under the strain imposed by this 100% increase in population, and are at a breaking point. Its transport system of buses, trams and local railway trains are strained to the limit. The plight of the population as regards housing is no better. There has practically been no building activity worth the name during the last eight years. Consequently, there are more than four lakhs of people in Bombay today, whose only home is the footpath, the shop otla or the awning in front of the shop, and more than double that number are living in temporary make-shift accommodation. To allow such deterioration of civic amenities any further would be to say the least, tantamount to utter disregard to human misery.

What is provided for in the Master Plan.

2. But fortunately, the Bombay Municipality and the Government of Bombay have realised the seriousness of the situation and have prepared a 'Master Plan for Greater Bombay' which is propably the first plan of its kind in India. It has been prepared by the Special Engineer of the Bombay Municipality in collaboration with two American Town Planning Experts and it looks ahead into the future over a period of 50 years. All the verious amenities essential to provide a full measure of civic life to all the citizens are taken care of in the plan. These include an upto date road system, parks residential, business and industrial areas, housing for the working classes, shopping centres, etc. The plan thus aims at an orderly development of the whole region of Greater Bombay and the correct use of every acre of land.

Extent and population proposed for Greater Bombay.

3. The area of Greater Bombay will extend upto Bassein Creek and will also include Thana, thus adding an area of 197.50 sq. miles to the existing city area. Further, sites for three satellite towns have been earmarked in the region beyond. All this new area is intended to provide healthy living conditions for a population of about 37 lakhs, which is proposed to be distributed in the following manner: Approximately 13 lakhs on Bombay Island, 18 lakhs in the suburban areas upto Bassein Creek including Thana, and 5 to 6 lakhs in the new satellite towns beyond. The densities proposed are 175 persons, falling down to about 140 persons per

acre in Bombay Island and 50 persons per acre in Greater Bombay, including local shopping centres, schools. local parks and local roads.

How these densities & population figures are proposed to be achieved.

4. This proposed distribution simply means that a substantial number of the present city population will have to be shifted to the Suburbs and in the Region beyond. It is proposed to achieve this by decentralization of the industry and the shifting of the working class population near its place of work to the new industrial and residential areas in the Greater Bombay Region. The middle class population of office workers who are today living in none too decent quarters in the City are expected to migrate to the well-planned residential neighbourhood units n the region beyond. A substantial part of the refugee population, at present putting up in make-shift accommodation, camps and with relatives and what not, is also expected to move beyond the city limits to the various new residential centres. The removal of milch cattle stables from the City to the new Dairy Farm Colony near Goregaon is also anticipated to help materially in the reduction of the excess population from the City. All these, and many other factors combined, will, it is hoped help materially to bring down the city population to the recommended figure. The cause of slum clearance and redevelopment of slum areas is also expected to be given a much needed impetus by this reduction of city population, because the slum areas vacated and cleared in these operations are proposed to be left as open spaces, so badly lacking in the City at present. It is needless to point out, that all this decentralization of the industry and the reduction of the city population will help materially to ease the present strain on railways and other means of transport and other public utility services.

Shifting of the industry to the new industrial areas outside the city.

5. For the decentralization of the industry, new industrial areas have been located along both the railways. On the G. I. P. Railway side, the area extends approximately from Ghatkopar to Bhandup and on the B. B. & C. I. Railway side approximately from Kandivli to Borivli. Because of the worn-out condition of the plant and machinery of many textile mills and other industries which would need renewal, and the cramped working conditions obtaining in most of the industrial concerns in the city, it should not be altogether impossible to expect a certain amount of voluntary exodus of the industry to the new sites, particularly, when communications, water-supply and power are provided. In fact, a few industrialists are already planning for moving to the new 'Industrial areas'.

In the City itself, apart from a small percentage of light industry, the only other industries that are proposed to be permitted, will be limited to those essential for the daily needs of the population. This will be limited to bakeries, laundries, automobile repair shops and the like.

There is no place for heavy industry in Greater Bombay Region. It will be located in the industrial area at Ambernath where a nucleus has already been established, the development of which will be encouraged for this purpose. Noxious trades and industries such as tanneries and the slaughter houses are proposed to be shifted to Trombay or other suitable site away from the City and the aerodrome. They will be insulated from the other zones by a deep green belt.

Road Communications.

6. There are at present two main road approaches to the City viz. The Bombay -Agra and Ghodbunder Roads. Both of these are inadequate to serve the needs of the traffic they carry and pass through many residential localities. To widen these roads would be neither desirable nor possible, except at heavy cost and loss of safety to the pedestrians and inhabitants of built-up localities. It is therefore proposed to create two new expressways for fast-moving traffic running approximately parallel and to the East of the G. I. P. and B. B. & C. I. Railways respectively. The Eastern Expressway will start from Sion and terminate at Thana where it will join the Bombay-Agra Road and the Western expressway will start in continuation with the Tulsi Pipe Line Road in the City and continue to run as far as Borivli. There will be grade separation (which simply means difference in levels for cross traffic) for these roads at important road intersections. Speed and complete safety will thus be assured to the users of these expressways. They will be 250' wide inclusive of green borders on either side and there will be patches of green areas at intervals for relaxation and pleasure with benches and other road furniture.

Both these two expressways are proposed to be carried out further south in the City proper by means of arterial roads, one on the west and the other on the East. This will establish a quick fast and direct link by road from the greater Bombay Region, as far as the south of the City proper.

The inadequacy of East-West roads in the region is also sought to be corrected by the provision of a number of cross roads.

Near railway for the City.

7. A railway link-up between Ghatkopar on the G. I. P. Railway and the Andheri Station on B. B. & C. I. Railway is proposed to cater to the needs of the large residential areas located to the north of the Andheri-Marol Road. This will also carry the traffic to and from the Santacruz Aerodrome and the Educational Centre near Ghatkopar. The urgency of the Kurla-Palasdhari

proposal of the G. I. P. Railway is stressed highly, not because of the saving of the time it will effect in the journey to Poona, but more so because it will enable development of the region between Kalyan and Panvel which has remained undeveloped all these years for lack of good communications.

Tube Railway for the City.

8. Congestion on the city roads is proposed to be minimised by a number of clever ideas, foremost of which the provision of a tube railway starting from Bombay Central and serving the southern areas as far as the Fort. This will help materially to solve the pedestrian traffic problem because the proposed route of the tube railway is much closer to the locations where the incoming people work and will reduce the length of the walk in the central and southern parts of the City.

Site for additional aerodrome and expansion of docks.

9. In view of the rapid strides made in civil aviation and because of the strategic importance of the airfields, one more site has been earmarked for an additional major aerodrome near Manori creek.

The expansion of the Docks is not neglected and the southern portion of Trombay is reserved for the this purpose.

Development of new residential areas on the lines of neighbourhood units.

10. Coming now to the residential localities proposed to be created it is very happy to find them so placed as to be near industrial areas, so as to enable the working class population to cut down needless travel. Indirectly, this is expected to help in the clearance of city slums, provision of open spaces and recreation grounds, reduction of strain over the road and rail transport system and the city services. Other residential areas for the middle and higher class population are well served by good transport, as mentioned elsewhere.

It is stressed that the residential areas would be developed as neighbourhood units where every citizen would find life happier and pleasanter because it would meet all his every day needs. There will be schools, maternity homes, dispensaries, post offices, cinemas, clubs, and gymkhannas, etc. for all the units which are recommened to have a population varying from 35,000 to 80,000. An inviolable green belt running round the unit is intended to be provided to ensure its size being maintained to the predetermined population. These green belts are intended to serve as agricultural fields, fruit orchards and vegetable farms, and help to maintain a healthy mind in a healthy body.

Such self-contained neighbourhood units are also recommended to be created in the City, although there are admittedly fewer opportunities for

their creation in the City. However, four areas have been suggested for such development.

Housing.

11. Housing is recognised to be Bombay's most pressing need. It is recommended that as many houses should be built for working class population as deficit money could be made available for the purpose. Altogether, it is recommended to build 1,61,400 houses in the City and the region during a period of 15 yeares. In the first five years, more houses are recommended to be built in the City, because of the availability of existing services.

Shopping & Business

12. Shopping and business area in the City is very limited and it is proposed to augment this by clearing and developing the slum area to the east of Hornby Road and absorbing some residential area along Churchgate Street in the Reclamation Scheme, expressly for this purpose. Additional shopping centres are also recommended to be created further north at Bellasis Road, Dadar and other suitable locations in the City, and in the Suburban areas in the Greater Bombay Region. This is expected to reduce the south-bound traffic to a certain extent and help in reducing the congestion on city roads. Shopping centres and markets are recommended to be designed in such a way that they will be safe for pedestrians and make it possible to take the children along.

Gardens & open spaces.

13. Inadequacy of garden areas in the City is strongly stressed and the worst slum and high density areas in the City are recommended to be cleared gradually to provide open parks. It is proposed to provide a total of 2,300 acres for parks and although this is recognised as being inadequate on the basis of 4 acres per 1000 of population, it is thought to be as much as could be realistically planned. To a certain extent, it is not considered to be extremely bad because of the long shoreline of Bombay.

The Greater Bombay Region is adequately served by large green areas of the mountains, the National Park and the green belts round the neighbourhood units for recreation of body and mind.

Dairy Farm:

14. The Dairy Farm Colony established by Government at AAREY near Goregaon is not considered to be in a happy location by the planners, as it falls almost in the centre of the Greater Bombay Region. It is considered that as Greater Bombay develops there will be demand from the public for its removal to areas beyond the Bassein Creek.

Legislation:

15. Prompt and thorough going legislation and a powerful Planning Body or Commission for the successful implementation of the Master Plan is urgently recommended. The subjects

to be tackled under the legislation being, control of land use, density, prevention of ribbon development, the basis of arriving at property value, prevention of premature or partial development, etc.

Cost of work as envisaged in the plan.

16. The work has been estimated for being carried out in a substantial measure in four stages of five years each. The total cost of development, if taken up at one stretch, is estimated at Rs. 115 crores, resulting in a deficit of Rs. 62 crores. It is stressed that development at one stretch is not necessary and the work should be carried out in four, five year stages. A loss of Rs. 10 crores is shown in the first stage, Rs. 4.75 crores in the second stage and Rs. 4.75 crores in the third stage. It is pointed out that the estimates are based on the highrates of labour and material prevailing today, which are likely to come down during the 20 year period of work. Because of this it is hoped, the work may actually cost less. That is one of the reasons why the fourth stage has not been estimated.

It is stressed all through, that the Plan is just an outline of what is proposed to be done, and although it covers the ground as a conception, it is a product of experience and observation only, and not of detailed surveys which will have to be made. The Plan, as it is before the public, is an envelope whose contents must be filled in quickly to prevent further mistakes, confusion and civic decay.

All in all, this Report on the outline of the Master Plan is a most interesting publication and the facts and proposals are presented in a manner that will create the interest of every public minded citizen who is keenly interested in civic affair. We feel that no sizeable city in India should be without such a planned proposal for its orderly development. This is a duty that every city owes to posterity.

V. N. Ambdekar,
(A.R.I.B.A.)

Address of Hon'ble Mr. K. Chandramouli, Minister for Local Administration at the conference of Municipal Chairmen on 1-9-48.

Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in welcoming you to this Conference. If I am not mistaken, this is the first conference of the elected Chairmen of the Municipal Councils of this Province held under the auspices of Government. Chairmen of Municipal Councils have met before twice, but both times on their own initiative, and more or less unofficially. And this is the first time they are meeting after the momentous 15th August 1947, when we became fully and independently responsible for managing our own affairs in this country. It is a good augury that the Honorable the Premier whose heart always responds to the welfare and interests of the common man has been chosen to open this conference; and I am confident that under his able guidance and sincere advice, local bodies will take their rightful place and discharge their civic duties for the welfare of the people.

2. Speaking the other day at Delhi to the Ministers for Local Administration assembled in conference, our distinguished Prime Minister, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out the supreme importance of efficient local self-government in the evolution of real democracy. "Local Self-Government is and must be", he said, "the basis of any true system of democracy. We have got rather into the habit of thinking of democracy at the top and not so much below. Democracy at the top cannot be a success unless it is built on a democratic foundation." Democracy enables every citizen to take his due share in the Government of the country. In a democratic country every citizen must feel a certain sense of responsibility, each in his own field of work however limited it may be, and take a real and genuine interest in his own town or village. This is where the importance of local self-government lies in the words of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Minister for Health in the Government of India, "a first class local administration must really be the basis of universal good government in the country." The independence which we have achieved after years of strenuous effort and tremendous sacrifices will not avail ourselves much unless we use it for the establishment of a strong, pure and broad-based democratic Government which will have as its sole aim the good of every citizen in the country regardless of his caste, community, creed, status or intellectual attainment. The happiness of the people, the bringing about

of conditions which will enable every citizen to raise to the highest that is in him, the provision of amenities which will conduce to comfortable living, these must be the aim of all local self-government institutions in the country. People must not only have their basic civic needs met, but must also be given opportunities to find some pleasure in life. We must so administer our municipal councils and local boards that the citizens in our town and in our villages will bebome morally strong, spiritually great, physically fit and economically sound. The discussions in this conference will be directed towards finding out the ways and means by which the local administrative units may be better enabled to carry out these functions, and achieve these objects. We shall examine the changes necessary in law and procedure in order to help elected representatives of the people in municipal councils and local boards to work to the best of their abilities and capacities for the happiness of the people.

Local Administration is not new to India. From time immemorial, our country had popular elections and efficient civic administration. But, unfortunately when we were subjugated to foreign rule, the incentive for local administration was put down with a despotic hand and our well-organised and efficiently administered local institutions were destroyed; and people were made less and less responsible for the administration of their own affairs. The first local governing institutions under British Rule came into existence in our province in 1850, when consultative committees were appointed in towns. Later under the reforms effected by Lord Ripon for the introduction of elective principle, financial independence and reduction of official control, the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1884 came into being. The progress of local self-governing institutions was reviewed by the Government of India from time to time, and finally in 1915, on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation which had gone into the subject of local self-government in India, exhaustively. The result was the passing of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920 in which the introduction of an elected majority and an elected Chairman, wide powers for levy of local taxes, control of staff and relaxation of the control of Collectors were the main features. In 1930, the Act was again amended when the system of nominations was altogether given up. In the light of the experience gained in working the Act of 1920, a further amendment was made in 1933 when the system of appointing Commissioners was introduced. This measure did not, at first, find favour with some municipal councils who regarded it as an inroad on their powers. But, the system has, on the whole, worked satisfactorily. Generally speaking, Commissioners have been doing useful work and have effected some improvement in the efficiency of the executive administration. But even so, we have to admit, however reluctantly, that, generally speaking, our local bodies have not yet reached

that standard of efficiency, and freedom from corruption, which must be the goal so every one to attain, if the independence which we have obtained is to serve its worthy purpose. It may be that sometimes the low standard of administration and the lack of a sense of corporate responsibility have necessitated in the past the curtailment of the powers of municipal councils and governmental interference. We, as elected representatives of the people and men in charge of the civic administration of towns and cities in the province, must see that we prove ourselves worthy of real Self-Government.

I must also point out that, " while for its proper functioning, the whole structure of local self-goverment must rest on the strong foundations of an enlightened public opinion, and a keen civic sense amongst citizens, it is at the same time necessary to ensure that the machinery to ensure that the machinery of local self-government is framed in such a manner as to ensure good and efficient administration, while giving full scope for the expression of the popular will". This is where the services of paid executive officers for the actual carrying out of the practical day-to-day administration of municipal affairs become necessary. A legislature which will echo the popular will and give expression to enlightened and responsible public opinion, as well as a strong and efficient executive are both necessary for the proper functioning of any form of democratic Government. May I therefore suggest that, as a conference of Chairmen of Municipal Councils, it may not be good for you to ask for the transfer of executive powers to you or the councils. You may ask for the extension of your legislative, administrative and appellate powers; you may ask for more financial resources and powers which will help towards the speedy execution of works: but it may be wise to leave the day-to-day administration, the execution of works, the control of the subordinate staff and such like things to an executive officer.

I must here say a word also about the essential need for close co-operation between the Executive Officers and the Council; and for harmony among everyone connected with municipal administration. While I will not even for a moment suggest that you should tolerate laziness, inefficiency, undue self-esteem and corruption on the part of the Commissioners, Health Officers, Engineers and other paid staff, I would request you not to interfere with their executive administration or in matters pertaining to their control over their subordinate staff. The prodigious interest which members of the Legislatures, members of our Municipal Council and such other influential non-officials take in officials and official subordinates in these days has been a source of wonder to me. This sudden interest in the prospects of the paid staff, while it may be humanitrian in its object, may not be wholesome in its effect. It is bad for the official and even worse for

the whole administration if, instead of looking to his immediate superior for sympathy and support and instead of earning his promotion and prospects by dint of honest and hard work, he is led to expect that he can more profitably and less strenuously have recourse to the sympathy of the non-official. I would request you to put an end to this practice in the public interest. It is however certainly open to you to do all that lies in your power to help them generally by providing them better living conditions, by removing their handicaps and by giving them facilities to do their work speedily and efficiently

3. Gorvenment have always been anxious that in order to ensure a cordial relationship between the Chairman of the Municipal Council and the Commissioner there should be certain well-understood conventions in all matters which are likely to lead to friction in the administration. In the year 1939, a Government order was passed which gave definite instructions in regard to several such matters and the Government have no reason to think but that these instructions were very useful. Recently, three months ago, in yet another Government order the Government further nstructed Commissioners to give suitable clerical assistance to chairmen and to provide them with convenient office accommodation and to give them every facility in the discharge of their duties. If there are any other suggestions which you can make which will conduce to greater harmony I shall be glad to have them. But above all it is purely a question of human relationships. Harmony can be achieved only through mutual adjustments and a spirit of give-and-take;—not by each insisting on his own dignity or his powers or relying on rules and orders. If both the executive and the councillors realise that they are there for the common purpose of serving the people and work together in that spirit the people can be made more happy and more comfortable. This can be achieved only by co-operative and joint effort. With such co-operation and in such a joint effort there will be no room for difference of opinion or friction or disharmony.

4. The finance of most Municipalities have, I know, been very seriously affected by the revision of the scales of pay of their staff, the payment of dearness allowance, and the recent enhancement of the allowance all caused by the rising cost of living. This serious depletion of your income was inevitable. As a matter of fact I hove noticed that you and your councils have been inclined to be far too generous in the matter of giving effect to the revised scale, and to recommend their adoption with much too long a retrospective effect, even when your finances did not permit or warrant such generosity; and Government have had to curb your enthusiasm in this respect, in your own interests. I notice also an undue generosity on the part of municipal councils in making contributions to

institutions and to outside funds and objects which however worthy are not really intended to be supported by public money such as you handle. It is easy for you to vote a few thousands of Rupees for say the provincial welfare fund or some such very worthy object; but you must remember that the money you handle consists of small sums paid by hard pressed tax- payers most of whom are not in such affluent circumstances as you are and that a little private ganerosity on your part is worth much more and will indicate better your appreciation of the worthiness of the cause than voting away large sums from your municipal funds which does not cost you anything.

I also notice a tendency in all municipal councils generally to pay preferential attention to the more showy among the amenities they desire to provide than to the more useful ones: such for example as the opening of parks, the provision of mercury vapour lights, the putting up of a clock tower and such like. It will be wiser though less spectacular to provide suitable buildings for your schools, construct a culvert there, widen a narrow street corner here, and provide a few electric lights in the slums and cheries in your town. You must ensure the necessities and the ordinary amenities of urban life to the more obscure portions of the town and the poorer areas before going on to beautify your promenades, and your main thoroughfares. You should provide houses and tenements to the poorer classes, clear the slums, have drinking water and drainage facilities in the poorer quarters before you take up grand schemes for town development or an underground drainage scheme for the portions of the town inhabited by the wealthier classes. This will be more indicative of your real sympathy for the poorer and under-privileged among your citizens.

It is also well-known that in many municipalities under-assessment of taxation is a serious evil and has seriously affected their financial position. The executive authorities of some municipalities have repeatedly complained to Government that taxes properly enhanced after due consideration of all the circumstances, after elaborate inspection and enquiry by the staff sometimes specially employed for the purpose, have been cut down by the municipal councils sitting as appellate authorities without assigning any valid reason and without any inspection or enquiry by themselves, merely on personal and partisan grounds and sometimes even for more unworthy reasons especially in the case of rich and influential persons. This ought not to be. No municipal council can function properly without adequate finances and it is very necessary that all taxes should be properly assessed and collected. It is a crime against the public if any municipal council or its councillors, by making themselves a party to such a barefaced under-assessment and by failing to assess the rich (house-owner) properly, deprive

a poor man of some little amenity or benefit he could have got by the proper use by the council of that much money.

I am saying all this to impress upon you the need for conserving your financial resources, for avoiding wasteful expenditure and for concentrating on the essential needs before going in for luxuries. Government on their side are all the time exploring the possibilities of adding to your revenues and have as you know recently made available to you large sums of money obtained through the special surcharge on the stamp duty in respect of transfers of immovable property and the enhancement of the rates of entertainment tax. It is for you to husband your resources wisely, avoid wasteful and unnecessary expenditure and ensure by your watchfulness efficient and proper return for the moneys expended.

5. You already have wide powers of laying down policies, of initiating schemes of improvement, of deciding on things to be done and works to be executed and of raising necessary funds for the purpose. You have freedom to frame your own budgets subject only to the elementary rules of all financial administration that you must make provision for day-to-day living, for discharging your debts, and for meeting your obligations, before you think of luxuries and elaborate capital expenditure, and that you must always keep a certain reserve in the form of a closing balance.

The present policy of Government is to give more powers to municipal councils and more financial recources. The decentralisation of powers and ensuring local financial stability should be the aim and goal of a truly democratic government. Such decentralisation and financial security enables both provincial Governments and Local Administrations to discharge their respective functions and duties properly and efficiently. But the mere handing over of power and of financial resources to any local institution will not and cannot by itself confer any benefits on the people. There must be men, men of character and integrity, who can handle the powers and the finances thus handed over in such a selfless and wise manner that they will benefit all sections of the people, rich and poor, high and low, all alike.

I am confident that you will go back from this conferece with a determination that you will administer your respective municipalities in this noble and selfless spirit. If this conference succeeds in spreading such a spirit and clears the clouds of suspicion and fear haunting the minds of a section of people regarding the working of our local bodies, it will not only to a great achievement but will at once raise the position and influence of Local Bodies in the body politic and will help them to make a great contribution to the evolution of a truly democratic and efficient government in our country.

The amendment to the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920 that have been tentatively accepted by Government have been printed and circulated to you. They are all intended to make the Chairman of the Council completely responsible for the muuicipal administration and to ensure prompt and efficient carryinw out of the Council's policy and resolutions by the executive.

Among other things, it is proposed to vest in the Chairman of the Municipal Council the powers now conferred on the District Collectors under section 35 of the Act with a view to enabling the Chairmen to watch and report on the execution of the resolutions of the Municipal Council by the Commissioner. - Section 35.

It is also proposed to give Municipal Councils the power to alter the number, grades, etc. in the case of the inferior and menial servants without the sanction of the Government — Section 70 (3).

At present appointments to posts the pay or the maximum pay of which does not exceed Rs. 50/- are made by tee Commissioner, while other appointments are made by the Appointment Committee. In the amendments to the Act, it is proposed to lower the pay limit to Rs. 30/- in order to enlarge the powers of the Appointment Committee. - Section 73.

It is proposed to constitute standing committees in Municipal Councils and give them certain powers of sanction and administration.

I would also suggest that you consider in this Conference besides the amendments that have been proposed the following questions:—

(i) How to co-ordinate the activities of the health department and the general administration of municipalities.

(ii) How the execution of works and carrying out of improvements in municipalities can be expedited.

(iii) How the financial resources of municipalities may be expanded

In the light of the above suggestions, I shall be glad to have your considered opinion on the future constitution and administration of the Municipalities in this Province; so that they may function smoothly and efficiently and may redound to the happiness and welfare of the people living in our towns.

Let me thank you, Gentlemen, for your ready response to our invitation and for your presence here, to-day, to assist us in the important task we have under taken, viz., that of making our Municipal administration more effective and efficient: and let me express the profound hope that as

the result of your deliberations in this conference, we shall be able to make such changes in our methods of local administration as will conduce to the increased happiness and prosperity of the people in the towns of our province; and that we will continue to set an example to other provinces in matters relating to local self-Government.

Conference of Chairmen of Municipal Councils in Madras (1-2-48) Resolutions Passed.

RESOLUTION V:

This Conference requests the Government to decentralise such powers as are now vested with the Government and its Departmental Heads and as are necessary to make the Municipal Administration really democratic and realistic and vest the same in the elected councils and make the elected chairmen responsible for the whole administration.

This Conference therefore requests the Government to abolish the posts of the Commissioners in the present form.

RESOLUTION VI:

In view of the above resolution, this Conference authorises the Executive Committee of the Chamber to prepare the draft amendments to the Madras District Municipalities Act and with the approval of the Chamber place the final proposal to the Government before 31-12-48.

RESOLUTION VII:

This Conference resolves to request the Government to consitute a Committee immediately consisting of the representatives of the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Chairmen and heads of Departments of Government connected with Municipal Administration to examine urgently the position regarding the inter-departmental relationship in Municipal Administration and make recommendations for the introduction of such changes as are necessary to ensure smooth and efficient administration.

RESOLUTION IX:

This Conference resolves to request the Government refer the Chamber of Chairmen for their views on all reports of committees affecting the Municipal Administration such as the report of the Town Planning Committee and all such proposals involving change of policy before the Government arrive at decisions in the matter.

LECTURES ON RATING & ASSESSMENT

BY

L. H. MARATHE, B. A. (Hons.), B. SC. LL. B.

LECTURE VI

Structural Method

(Contractor's Test)

There are yet certain types of properties, to which the methods of assessment explained so far, are not applicable. Such properties are either never let or on account of their peculiar nature are not capable of being let. They are in fact owneroccupied properties, built for definite purposes as in the cases of Schools, Colleges, University buildings, etc. Most of the government buildings such as Court houses, Secretariat, etc. are never intended for the purposes of letting. There are also other kinds of properties like the Railways, Tramways, Gas Works, Electricity undertakings, Race Course, etc. which on account of their peculiar nature are incapable of being let.

Such properties are usually divided into two classes, one includes the properties occupied mainly with the object of making profits such as a Race Course, as well as those which are occupied for public utility purposes such as Railways, Electricity undertakings, etc. Usually such concerns enjoy monopoly rights. We shall deal with the assessment of such properties in the subsequent lecture. We shall now deal with the other class having properties such as Schools, Colleges, Government Buildings etc. which are usually built for the purpose for which they are occupied.

Every landlord expects at least a certain minimum return or yield on his investment. No landlord would therefore generally construct a building for which there is only one intending occupier, as in such a case his power of bargaining is considerably reduced. Let us suppose that a public body such as Government or Municipality invites tenders for the construction of a building for their own occupation. What would be the factors which a person having money to invest would take into consideration when making his offer? He will have to spend in the first place for getting a suitable site and then for constructing a building of the required type. He would then naturally expect to get a fair return or yield on the total amount invested by him. He would not be satisfied with a percentage of interest equal to that he would easily get by investing the sum in gilt-edged

securities or in a bank. The expected rate of return on investments has some relation to the security of investment. The greater the risk, the greater must be the gain. Investment in land is not considered as secure as investment in gilt-edged securities and investment in buildings involves still further risks. If a contractor expects 4 or 5 per cent on the money he invests in land, he would naturally expect a higher percentage of interest on the money he invests in buildings. The sum total of the amount of interest that he would expect from the total investment in land and building would ordinarily represent the net return or the rateable value of the property. This method of arriving at the rateable value is known as "Structural Method" or "Contractor's Test". The method may briefly be explained as under:—

The cost of land is in the first instance ascertained. It may be the actual price at which the land was recently purchased or it may be an estimated price having regard to the recent sales in the locality. The figure obtained by calculating a fair percentage on this price-say 4 or 5 percent as the case may be-would represent the rateable value of the land. If there is a building on it, the cost of the building is similarly ascertained-either the actual cost if the building is recently built or a reasonable probable cost of construction-a percentage varying from 5 to 6 on this cost would represent the rateable value of the building. The sum total of the two figures would be the rateable value of the property i.e. the land and the building together.

While calculating the cost of land and building it is necessary to bear in mind the following points. Inferior land is often originally purchased and expenses are incurred to make it suitable for building on it the required type of structure. The cost of land to be taken for the purposes of rating is not the original one alone. The amount spent on the land for improving it or for converting it into a building site, is also added to original cost. Actual cost or "Book values" may not often serve as a sure guide, especially if the figures are very old. Land values might have since then risen up or dropped down. The cost in such cases will have to be estimated having regard to the recent sales of similar lands in the locality. Several other factors such as the area of the land, the use to which it is put, etc will have to be taken into consideration in estimating the cost for the purposes of assessment.

Similar considerations also apply while ascertaining the cost of buildings for the purposes of rating. If the building is recently constructed, the actual cost of construction, provided it is reasonable, is adopted as the basis. The building on the other hand might have been built up at a time

when the cost of building materials, etc. was either abnormally high or low. The present cost in such cases should be estimated having regard to the rates ruling at the time of assessment.

Buildings are often found with disproportionately large amenity land or with costly decorations, architectural features, vast domes, or high turrets. Expenditure incurred on such items is not generally taken into account unless such items are considered absolutely necessary for the purpose for which the building is used. A hypothetical tenant while fixing rent ordinarily takes into consideration the benefits that he is likely to get and is not concerned with extra decorations or such other superfluous items. The total cost of land and building worked out with these considerations is called the "Effective Capital Value". Any amount invested in building or land which does not contribute towards beneficial occupation from the point of view of a hypothetical tenant cannot be taken into account in estimating the "Effective Capital Value".

Factors, such as the nature of the structure or the user to which the property is put to etc. are required to be taken into consideration in arriving at the rateable value by this method. It is however necessary to remember that such adjustments should not be made twice over viz. in estimating the capital cost as well as in calculating the percentage on the estimated capital cost. Such allowance should be made once only either in the estimated capital cost or in the percentage applied.

The value of the premises to be arrived at is their worth to the hypothetical tenant. This can often only be found by recourse to what is termed the "Substituted building theory". In other words we estimate the cost of a modern building whose sum total of advantages and disadvantages having regard to its size, planning etc. would be nearly the same as that of the actual (old) building. A reasonable percentage on this cost (of land and building) would give us the rateable value.

This, in short, is the structural method or Contractor's basis method of assessment. It must, however, be borne in mind that this method is inferior to comparison method in as much as hypothetical rent is based on what a tenant might, reasonably, be expected to pay and not on what a landlord might be expected to get. This method is therefore used only when other methods of assessment cannot be applied. It is also used to verify rateable values arrived at by other methods.

LECTURE VII

Profits Basis or Accountancy Method.

We have seen in the last lecture that properties, which cannot be assessed either on the basis of actual rent or by comparison with similar properties actually let, are usually divided into two classes, viz. (i) those assessed on the basis of Contractor's Test and (ii) those assessed on profits Basis. The first method-Contractor's Test-has been explained in the last lecture. The latter method-Profits Basis-is also described as the method or principle of "gross receipts and working expenses" or of "receipts and penses" or as "valuation on profits basis". In this process, the profits made by a business concern or undertaking are taken as a guide to arrive at the estimate of the rent which a hypothetical tenant might reasonably be expected to pay from year to year for the hereditament.

Enquiry as regards profits is not ordinarily permissible. Where there are other suitable places available for carrying on the particular business or trade and evidence of rental values of such places can be had, there is no need to go into the details of profits made. Profits are associated with persons as well as properties. Two shopkeepers carrying on business in two shops similarly situated, may bring in widely differing profits, but our values for the two shops should be very nearly the same, as these shops afford equal facilities for earning profits: the difference is due to the individual skill in the management of the business. Where, however, no other method is available, such an enquiry into profits is absolutely necessary and is on that ground permitted for the purposes of rating. In such cases generally the published accounts are available and our estimate of rateable value is likely to be reliable if it is based on profits. The hypothetical tenant, in such a case, would ordinarily take into account, while fixing the amount of rent to be paid, the extent of profits he is likely to make by the occupation of the premises. This method is therefor adopted in assessing the premises of public utility undertakings such a Railways, Tramways, Gas works, Electricity Undertakings, etc. which enjoy monopoly rights. There are also cases of premises licensed to carry on certain business such as "Race course". Such a business cannot be carried on at other places. The actual occupier in each of these cases, is therefore the only tenant who is to be considered. In the case of concerns having monopoly rights, the value of occupation is enhanced by the special facilities afforded by the premises for making increased profits as a result of such monopoly rights. The profits, in such cases, do not so much

depend on the personal skill of the tenant but could be earned by any ordinary tenant by the occupation of such premises. This enables the landlord to demand higher rent for the premises when larger profits would be derived by monopoly rights. This is known as "the principle of enhanced value". The value of occupation of such a property enhances in proportion to the profits derived by the business or undertaking occupying the property. In such circumstances it would not be improper to suppose that the amount of rent and consequently the rateable value of the premises is directly governed by the profit-earning capacity of the business or undertaking under consideration.

Although such properties are owner-occupied, we have to proceed on the assumption, that the landlord is providing the properties and the tenant is running the business. For the purpose of rating, we have to carry out a notional division of the same person into hypothetical landlord and hypothetical tenant. The former provides the immoveable properties necessary and fit for the purpose of carrying on the business while the latter brings in the moveables to run the actual undertaking. Our first step then is to divide the total assets into two portions (i) Landlord's assets or capital (ii) Tenant's assets or capital. Every immoveable property and all that forms part of it and which is necessary to make the premises fit for occupation for the purpose for which they are intended to be used, would go under the category of landlord's capital while all the rest would fall under the category of tenant's capital.

The next step is to ascertain from accounts of the business or undertaking (i) gross receipts & (ii) working expenses. The excess of the former over the latter, if any, is termed as "net receipts" of the business or undertaking. In working out the figure of gross receipts, we are to consider those receipts only which relate to the business or trade alone. Any other receipts such as interest accrued on investments etc. have to be excluded. Similarly in calculating the working expenses the items of expenditure which are not connected with the earning of the receipts are to be left out of account. For instance, expenses of capital nature incurred for additions or alterations or repairs of immoveable property are to be excluded.

On the net receipts so determined, it has been accepted, the first claim is that of the hypothetical tenant for his reasonable return of profits on his investment in the trade or undertaking (tenant's capital). He must be allowed in the first place, ordinary interest on his capital which he would have otherwise earned by investment in gilt-edged securities or bank deposits. Secondly he deserves a reasonable percentage of profit for the trade or business. A person goes in for business with the expectation of earning something more than he would ordinarily do by a safe investment.

Thirdly he is allowed a special percentage of profit for the extraordinary risk of the special type of trade or business he undertakes to carry on. The cumulative percentage on account of these three grounds varies usually from 12½ to 17½% but it is a question of fact and as such must depend on the circumstances of the particular case under consideration as well as on the monetary conditions prevailing at the time of assessment. This is known as the tenant's portion or tenant's profit.

The balance remaining after deduction of this figure of tenant's profit from the net receipts is usually taken as the sum representing the landlord's portion or the gross value of the premises. This is the sum which a hypothetical tenant would be willing to pay to the landlord for the occupation of his premises. From the gross value so determined, if we allow statutory deduction, the balance would represent the rateable value of the premises.

This method can briefly be explained in the following tabular form:—

Gross Receipts. ...	Rs. ... ...
Less Working expenses ...	Rs. ... ...
Net Receipts	Rs. ... ...
Less Tenant's Share ..... percent on tenant's capital of Rs. ...	Rs. ... ...
Landlord's Share or Gross Value	Rs. ... ...
Less Statutory deduction 10%	Rs. ... ...
Rateable Value	Rs.

This is the skeleton of the method of assessment known as "profits basis" or "accountancy method". Rateable value by this method is arrived et by the help of audited Statement of Accounts for the immediately previous year. If there are considerable fluctuations in any item, an average of some years for that item is taken into account having regard to the principle of "communibus anis".

It would be beyond the scope of these lectures to explain this method in greater detail, but these are the essential principles usually followed to arive at the rateable value of a property by adopting "Profits Basis" method.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY.

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CHAPTER IX.

Administration and Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (1902-1937).

9.1 **Grants-in-aid to municipalities on account of primary education (1902–24)** : The main developments in the grants-in-aid to municipalities on account of primary education between 1902 and 1924 were broadly the same as those in the system of grants-in-aid to District Local Boards in the same period. These have already been described in detail in the preceding chapter. It is, therefore, unnecessary to narrate them here in detail and it would be sufficient to state that, in 1903, the rate of Government grants was increased to fifty per cent. of the total expenditure and that, between 1903 and 1924 larger and larger grants were sanctioned to municipalities to enable them to extend and improve primary education and to pay a higher salary to primary teachers. Secondly, the constitution of the municipalities was made more democratic by the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, and they were given larger financial resources than before. The effect of these constitutional changes was further heightened by the general economic prosperity of this period, the rapid increase in the rate of urbanisation that was evident in these two decades and the prosperity brought to urban areas by industrial and other developments. Consequently, the total resources of the municipalities in the Province increased considerably and enabled the municipalities to make bigger grants for primary education. Thirdly, the great political and social awakening that took place in this period in India as a whole and in urban areas in particular made the public attach great importance to the spread of education among the masses and induced the municipalities to spend ever-increasing amounts on primary education. This tendency was all the more strengthened by the fact that the municipalities were now made fully responsible for the provision of primary education in their areas and were given far wider powers than what they had prior to 1883-84. These and other factors led to a considerable growth in expenditure as the following statistics will show :

	1906–7	1913–14	1919–20	1924–25
1. No of schools in Municipal areas.	817	772	887	940
2. No of pupils in (1) above.	83,395	1,06,616	1,09,470	1,44,416
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
3. Total expenditure on primary education (except aided schools).	7,70,362	8,96,862	18,28,295	27,95,080
4. Municipal contribution (except aided schools).	3,88,271	3,62,469	9,91,553	12,94,228
5. Provincial grant (except aided schools).	2,82,467	3,88,136	6,97,377	13,84,276
6. No of aided schools in Municipal areas.	379	387	598	447
7. No of pupils.	33,462	31,350	50,080	37,860
8. Provincial grants and Municipal Grants.	72,993 23,280	76,486 8,398	1,11,970 3,643	1,67,450 38,820

These statistics show several interesting features. Firstly, a considerable expansion of education has taken place and the number of schools maintained by municipalities, as well as the number of pupils attending them, has increased considerably; Secondly, the total expenditure on primary education has increased from Rs. 5,24,413 in 1901-02 to Rs. 27,95,080 in 1924-25; and thirdly, the contribution of municipalities has also substantially increased and is nearly equal to the Provincial grant.

An important event of this period was the passing of the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1918, known popularly as the Patel Act because it was sponsored by the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. The Act applied only to municipalities and not to rural areas. It was a purely permissive measure and enabled a municipality to introduce compulsory education within its area with the approval of Government. Under the provisions of the Act, Government was required to bear a prescribed percentage of the total additional expenditure involved in the scheme of compulsion and in practice, a grant-in-aid at 50 per cent. was sanctioned. By 1924, the following four municipalities introduced compulsory education in their areas under the provisions of this Act:-

1. Surat
2. Bandra.
3. Satara City
4. Dhulia

9.2. **Finance of Primary Education in Urban Areas between 1924 and 1937:**—The position of municipalities with reference to the control of primary education was fundamentally affected by the Primary Education Act of 1923 which introduced the following changes:—

(1) The municipalities managing primary education within their areas prior to 1923 were divided into two groups: the bigger municipalities were called 'local authority municipalities' and were continued in control of primary education. The smaller ones were called 'non-local authority municipalities' and were deprived of their control over primary education. The primary schools in the area of these municipalities were transferred to a convenient local board or local authority municipality for management.

(2) In 1921–22, there were as many as 79 municipalities controlling primary education in their areas. Under the Primary Education Act of 1923, this number was reduced to 40 in 1937–38.

(3) The Government grant to local authority municipalities was fixed at 50 per cent of the approved expenditure. The non-local authority municipalities were required to contribute to the local board or the municipality which managed its schools at rate of one-third of the net expenditure on primary education incurred within its area. Detailed rules were framed regarding the calculation of the share of cost to be paid by each non local authority municipality and the manner of its payment.

The general trend of events in the history of primary education in rural areas between 1923 and 1937 has already been described in the preceding chapter. The observations made there regarding (1) economy measures adopted by Government, (2) imposition of emergency cuts or grants due, and (3) disallowance of legitimate expenditure for purposes of Government grant apply equally to municipal areas and need not be repeated here. It would, therefore, be sufficient to note only the following special features of the finance of primary education during this period:—

(1) The population of most of the towns in the Province increased considerably during this period.

(2) The increase in urban population coupled with industrial developments increased the revenues of the municipalities very considerably. On the other hand, the cost of primary education in municipal areas also increased materially on account of the rise in the cost of living in urban

areas and the increase in the number of children to be educated due to an increase in the population.

(3) The following statistics compare the condition of primary education in urban areas in 1924–25 with that in 1937–38:—

		1924–25	1937–38
1.	No. of Schools in Municipal area.	940	1251
2.	No. of pupils in (1) above.	1,44,416	2,67,418
		Rs.	Rs.
3.	Total expenditure on primary education.	27,95,080	29,49,569
4.	Municipal Contribution.	12,94,228	21,29,893
5.	Provincial grant.	13,84,276	17,65,859
6.	No. of aided schools in municipal area.	447	265
7.	No. of pupils in (6) above.	37,860	35,995
8.	Provincial and Municipal grants to (6) above.		
	Provincial grant.	Rs. 1,67,450	Rs. 1,73,485
	Municipal grant.	38,830	could not be ascertained.

These statistics, it may be noted, are to be read with certain reservations. Firstly, the statistics of aided schools for 1937–38 are of aided primary schools in the areas of local authority municipalities only. The statistics of private schools aided in the areas of non-local authority municipalities could not be ascertained from the report of the Director of Public Instruction owing to the introduction of new tabular forms. The fall in their numbers should, therefore, be ignored. Secondly, the expenditure on municipal schools was subdivided, in 1937-38 under three heads only, viz., provincial revenues, fees, and other sources. The amount of municipal contribution shown above is taken as equivalent to the amount shown in official tables under 'other sources'.

Even with these reservations, it may be noted that the expansion of primary education is more rapid in municipal areas than that in the rural areas during the corresponding period and that municipal expenditure on primary education had substantially increased and was much larger than the Provincial Grant.

Another interesting feature of this period is the new schemes of compulsory education introduced in urban areas. In 1924, compulsory education had already been introduced in Surat, Bandra, Satara city, and Dhulia under the Patel Act of 1918. Under the provisions of the Primary Education Act of 1923, four other municipalities introduced compulsory education in their areas, viz., Ahmednagar city, Sholapur (in three wards) Broach and Poona city (in five wards). Compulsory education in Poona city only was both for boys and girls: but that in the three remaining urban areas was for boys only. In all these cases, Government grant was sanctioned at 50 P. C. of the total additional expenditure.

9.2 **Primary Education in the City of Bombay (1902–1939):** An event of fundamental importance which affected the development of primary education in the city of Bombay occurred in 1907 when the Police charges Act, 1907, was passed (Act III of 1907). Under Section 62 of the Act III of 1888 it was provided that the Corporation shall pay to Government such proportion of the annual expenses of the police of the City as Government shall from time to time determine. This amount, popularly known as 'police charges', was small at first but was continully increasing with the growth of the city and the rise in the cost of living. As time passed, the Corporation found it more and more difficult to provide for the police charges without detriment to the more important municipal functions such as the maintenance of public health. An agitation was, therefore, started for the abolition of the police charges, especially because the sister-Corporations of Madras and Calcutta did not pay them. At last a bargain was struck in 1907 and Government assumed full responsibility for police and the Corporation assumed full responsibility for primary education. Under the provisions of the Act III of 1907, Section 62 (a) of Act III of 1888 which compelled the Corporation to provide for police charges was repealed but, at the same time, the Government grant to primary education in the city was discontinued and the Corporation was required to provide for the whole of the expenditure on primary education. The only concession made was the insertion of section 62 (B) which provided that 'if by or at the instance of Government, education be made free or free and compulsory in the city, the Government was to pay a grant of one-third of the additional expenditure incurred therefor and also that the Municipality was to benefit by a change of policy, if any, to the same extent as other city Municipalities in regard to increase in expenditure involved in the adoption of that policy.'*

**The Schools Committee Manual*, 1947 pp. 3-4.

In view of this fundamental change, a number of consequential changes were introduced in the constitution and powers of the Schools Committee. The number of members was kept the same but all of them were to be appointed by the Corporation. The inspecting staff reverted to Government but the teaching staff was continued with the Corporation on foreign service terms. The Corporation was authorised to have its own inspecting and administrative staff and to make all future appointments in the teaching and other staff required for the schools. The powers reserved to Government included the right of inspection and approval to grant-in-aid rules, courses of instruction, etc. The Director of Public Instruction was also authorized to call for returns, statistics, etc. regarding primary education.

Between 1908-9 and 1918-19, therefore, the Corporation was solely responsible for paimary education. In the latter year, the total number of schools rose to 393 including 52 night schools. The number of pupils rose to 42,752 (19,984 Marathi, 14,094 Gujrati, and 8,674 Urdu). The total expenditure on primary education rose to Rs. 8,53,400 which included an expenditure of Rs. 4.61,600 on teachers' salaries, Rs. 1,96,800 on rents, Rs. 85,400 on grants-in-aid, and Rs. 15,400 on superintendence. An important scheme undertaken by the Corporation during this period was the organisation of medical inspection of school children with effect from 1914.

The period of twenty years between 1919-20 and 1939-40 forms the next epoch in the history of primary education in the city. Its main features were a tremendous increase in the total expenditure on primary education owing to the growth of population and the rise in the standard of living, the introduction of free and compulsory education in the whole of the city, the restoration of Government grants for primary education, and the passing of the City of Bombay Primary Eduction Act, 1920.

In July 1916, the Corporation called for proposals for larger extension of primary education and improvement therein. A programme of progressive expansion followed by the introduction of compulsory education at the end of ten years was, therefore, prepared in 1917. In 1917-18, the number of Municipal schools was 211 and the total number of pupils under instruction was 34 284. It was anticipated that the number of pupils would rise to about 67,284 when compulsion would be introduced. This implied that additional provision had to be made for about 23,000 children and it was, therefore, proposed to open 20 new Municipal schools every year for ten years in order to accommodate about 15,000 pupils and to expand and encourage the aided schools to accommodate the remaining 8,000 pupils. It was also estimated that the total cost of primary education

would increase annually by Rs. 1,25,000 for ten years making a total of 12½ lakhs and that there would be a further increase of 5½ lakhs as soon as comsulsion would be introduced. That is to say, the total cost of the scheme was expected to be to 18 lakhs a year and it was expected that Government would pay Rs. 9 lakhs per annum because, at this period, Government was assisting City Municipalities at half the total approved expenditure on primary education. The whole of this scheme was approved by Government and it also undertook to bear half the actual progressive increase in expenditure subject to an upper limit of Rs. 9 lakhs.

The city of Bombay Primary Education Act, 1920 was passed to enable the Corporation to introduce Compulsory primary education. It is a short enactment and mainly deals with the introduction and enforcement of compulsion. It raised the number of members of the Schools Committee to 16 - of whom at least two must be women and at least four must be selected from among the residents of the city who were not members of the Corporation. It empowered the Corporation, by a resolution passed at a meeting specially convened for the purpose and supported by at least two-thirds of the Councillors present and by at least one-half of the whole number of Councillors, to introduce compulsory primary education in any or all parts of the city and for children of either or both sexes. Such a resolution was to come into force with effect from the date on which, with the previous sanction of the Governor-in-Council, it was published in the Official Gazette. The Act does not make any specific provisions regarding the financial aspects of primary education and merely provides that the Governor-in-Council may make rules, when Government decids to share the cost of providing free and compulsory primary education, in order to specify the extent to which such cost would be borne by it. But no such rules were subsequently framed and to-day, the only liability accepted by Government is that of Rs. 9 lakhs per annum as stated in the preceding paragraph.

The events of the period between 1920 and 1940 showed that all the estimates of cost prepared in 1917-18 went wrong. This was due to three causes: firstly, there was a phenomenal increase in the population of the city in this period; secondly, this led to a rise in the standard of living and increased the cost of education for child; and thirdly, the introduction of compulsion was considerably delayed—it was introduced in two wards in 1925-26 and in all wards in 1939-40 as against the original programme of introducing it in all wards in 1928-29 so that the very basis of the scheme prepared in 1917-18 was fundamentally altered. For instance, according to the proposals made in 1917-18, the total number of children to be provided for under a scheme of universal and compulsory education was 67,284 of whom about 34,000 were already at school and about 23,000

had to be enrolled. But in 1939-40 there was already 1,33,982 children at school and a census taken in September-October 1939 showed that the number of non-attending children of school going age was 24,103! It was, therefore, natural that the total expenditure on primary education incurred by the Corporation steadily mounted up during these years. In 1918-19, the total expenditure was only Rs. 8,53,400, but in 1939-40, it rose to Rs. 36,89,180. The following statistics show how the number of schools, pupils and total expenditure rose in this period:-

Year	No. of School	No. of Pupils	Total Expenditure Rs.
1918-19	393	42,752	8,53,400
1939-40	552	1,33,982	36,89,180

In order to be able to finance this growing cost of education, the Corporation requested Government to bear half the actual increase in expenditure in accordance with the agreement reached on the 1917-18 proposals. Government paid the grant accordingly for three years. In 1919-20, it paid Rs. 1,17,000 against the original estimate of Rs. 62,500; in 1920-21, it paid Rs. 2,47,000 against the original estimate of 1,25,000/-; and in 1921-22, it paid Rs. 4,41,000 against an estimate of Rs. 1,87,000 only. But in 1922-23, the need for retrenchment felt by Government itself made it seek refuge under a technical defect and refused to pay the demand of Rs. 6,36,000 made by the Corporation against the original estimate of Rs. 2,50,000. Some attempts were made to reach a settlement by negotiations; but they failed and the Corporation filed a suit against Government in 1927 in order to recover half the increase in expenditure over the 1917-18 level. The suit was heard by the High Court in 1932 and was dimissed with costs. The Learned Judge held that the Corporation had a moral claim to the grant, that Government was not right 'in taking advantage of a legal technicality in their favour to avoid an obligation they had deliberately undertaken in regard to the spread of primary education in the City of Bombay.' * but was constrained to dismiss the suit because the agreement between the Corporation and the Government did not amount to a legal contract enforceable in a Court of Law. Government grant to the Corporation, therefore, continued to be limited to Rs. 9 lakhs only. In 1939-40, the amount of Provincial grant actually paid to the Corporation was Rs. 8,95,000/-

* *The Schools Committee Manual*, 1947, p 226

CHAPTER X

Administration and Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (1937-47.)

10. 1 Primary Education in rural areas (1937-47):—The period of ten years between 1937 and 1947 is probably the most important period in the history of primary education in this Province. Although about five years out of these ten were lost in 'marking time' during the world War II when the 'Section-93' Government was in power, the Congress Ministry held office both in the opening and closing years and it was during the regime of this ministry that the cause of primary education received an unprecedented fillip.

The first Congress Ministry took the following measures for the spread and improvement of primary education: —

(1) The Primary Education Act, 1923, was amended in 1938. The main object of the amendment was to institute corrective measures against certain malpractices that had crept into the administration of the school boards. It made the administrative officers the servants of Government, deprived the school boards of their power to transfer or appoint teachers and made inspection of primary schools a duty of Government. It had, however, no financial provisions and left untouched the system of grant-in-aid to local authorities.

(2) The eight per cent cut in the grants-in-aid of local authorities which existed in 1937-8 was removed.

(3) The ministry decided to enlist voluntary effort and announced direct grants-in-aid to private primary schools. This scheme was eminently successful as the following statistics will show:—

Year	Number of Private schools aided by Government.	Number of Pupils.
1937-8	11	2,890
1938-9	2,706	1,00,947
1939-40	4,780	1,72,872
1940-41	5,252	1,82,623
1941-42	5,735	2,00,843
1942-43	5,586	1,94,677
1944-45	4,560	1,51,958

The statistics for 1945-6 and 1946-7 are not yet available. But even the above statistics will show what a substantial expansion was achieved on account of this scheme. The fall in the number of schools and their enrolment after 1941-2 was only due to the fact that the rates of grant-in-aid were not quickly and properly adjusted to the rising cost of living. This will be all the more evident if it is remembered that the total increase in primary schools in the Province as a whole between 1937-8 and 1944-5 was 5,282 and that in pupils was 3,72,686. In other words, the voluntary schools have contributed to 86 per cent of the increase in schools and 39 per cent to the increase in pupils.

It may be stated that the grants to voluntary schools were given for equipment and for maintenance on a capitation basis. In addition, associations conducting voluntary schools were also assisted to meet certain overhead charges. The Committee appointed by Government under the Chairmanship of Mr. S. S. More (known popularly as the More Committee) recommended that third year training should be abandoned and that all teachers should be trained in a continuous course of two years. It also recommended that a *common scale* for all primary teachers should be adopted by Government in lieu of the large variety of scales that prevailed at that time. For consideration by Government, it suggested grade being limited to 50 per cent of teachers. On the report of this Committee, Government discontinued third year training and consequently, primary teachers were deprived of certain scales of higher salaries which were open to them so far.

In order to remove the discontent among the teachers on the question of their pay scales and in order to consider the problem comprehensively a committee consisting of Mr. S. N. Moos and Mr. M. R. Paranjape was appointed to report on the problem in the year 1939.

Unfortunately, the Congress Government did not remain long in office to pass orders on all the recommendations of the Committee. But the following orders passed by the 'Section-93' Government on the report of this Committee in the course of the next few years may be mentioned here for the sake of the continuity of the narative:-

(1) Headmasters' and first assistants' allowances were revived as personal pay in the case of all persons who were drawing them for twelve months prior to 1st April 1939 or prior to their discontinuance in 1938. These were to be merged in future increments as they fell due.

(2) A basic scale of Rs.25-½-30-1-40 was sanctioned for all teachers appointed and trained after 1935. The scale of pay recommended by the Moos-Paranjape Committee was 25-1/2-30-1-40 S.G.-1-55-Selection grade posts being at 15 per cent of the cadre.

(3) A pay of Rs.30/-p.m. from 1-4-1940 was sanctioned to those untrained Head-masters who had been drawing Rs.30/- prior to 30-6-1923 but whose pay was subsequently adjusted owing to the abolition of the Headmasters' allowances.

(5) Local Board Schools were opened in all schoolless villages of more than 700 population.

(6) A scheme for constructing school buildings was sanctioned. A Primary School Building Committee was established for each district and Government began to pay grants-in-aid at the rate of two-thirds * of the total expenditure. The remaining one-third had to be raised jointly between the people of the locality where the school was to be constructed and the local board concerned.

(7) Larger grants were given to local boards to finance expansion on a voluntary basis and certain schemes of compulsion were sanctioned.

(8) The training of primary teachers was accelerated and a system of compulsory and continuous training for two years was adopted in lieu of the earlier system which trained only a section of teachers intermittantly for one, two, or three years.

(9) The experiment of basic education was undertaken in three compact areas - one in each linguistic division - and special training institutes for teachers of basic education were organized.

The work of this Ministry suddenly came to an end in 1939 when it resigned on political grounds. For the next six years, the powers of Government were vested in the Governer under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 and there was no popular ministry at the head of the administration. This was, therefore, a period in which all schemes of expansion and improvement were put in cold storage and the work was resumed only when the second Congress Ministry came to office in 1945. It took up the problem again and with a view to devising the necessary machinery for its ultimate solution, passed the Primary Education Act of 1947 whose provisions will be dealt with in section 10.4 et seq.

10.2 **Primary education in urban areas between 1937-47:-** Between 1937 and 1947, primary education in urban areas made considerable progress To begin with, schemes of compulsion were extended to the whole of the municipal area in Poona and Sholapur and new schemes of compulsion were introduced in Dharwar, Hubli, Bijapur, Haveri, Byadgi and Ranibennur. Secondly, there was also considerable expansion on a voluntary basis as the following statistics for 1937-8 and 1944-5 will show:—

* *Recently this has been raised to three-fourths.*

	1937–8	1944–5
1. No. of maintained schools in municipal areas.	1251	1426
2. No. of pupils in (1) above.	2,67,418	3,12,254
3. No. of schools aided by l. a. municipalities.	265	269
4. No. of pupils in (3) above.	35,995	47,291
	Rs.	Rs.
5. Municipal contribution to Primary Education (except aided schools)	21,29,893	30,65,454
6. Provincial grant for Primary education (except aided schools)	17,65,858	28,37,357
7. Total expenditure on primary education in municipal areas (except aided schools)	39,49,569	60,62,107

The second important event of this period was the passing of the Primary Education Act of 1938 which affected the position of primary education in urban areas in two important ways. firstly, a number of municipalities that were classified as 'local authority' prior to 1938 were now deprived of their powers and declared to be 'non-local authority municipalities'. In 1937–8, the number of local authority municipalities in the Province was 40; but in 1944–5, it was reduced to 23 only. The main reason for this change was the view that some of the local authority municipalities were too small to manage primary education efficiently. The municipalities which thus lost their powers might have been readily reconciled to the change had their contribution to primary education been reduced to one-third as in the case of other non-local authority municipalities. But Government insisted that they should continue to-pay 50 per cent of the expenditure although their powers had been taken away. These orders were based on the view that the contribution of a municipality was based on its capacity to pay and had nothing to do with the question of powers, and that the mere fact that these municipalities were actually paying 50 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education in their areas for all these years

showed their capacity to continue to pay at 50 per cent in future also. This view is not quite sound because it ignores the fact that the municipalities had probably agreed to pay a little higher contribution than what would have been justified on purely economic grounds because such payment gave them the right to exercise certain powers over education. What Government ought to have done is to enunciate a general principle that all municipalities shall be required to contribute towards the cost of primary education according to their ability. A suitable formula should then have beem evolved in order to correlate 'municipal contribution' with 'capacity to pay' and enforced in the case of *all* municipalities. In the absence of such a step, it was natural for these municipalities to resent the arbitrary orders– a potent cause for disaffection which continues even today.

Government fixed different rates of grants-in-aid to different local authority municipalities also prior to 1938. Government grant total local authority municipalities at 50 per cent of the approved expenditure. A different policy was now adopted under Act of 1938. It was now held that the ability to contribute to primary education varied from municipality to municipality and that it was wrong to give a grant-in-aid at 50 per cent to Ahmedabad and Satara alike. It was, therefore, laid down that Government grant to Ahmedabad municipality shall be at 25 per cent, to Surat, Poona and Sholapur at 33.1/3 per cent. and to the other local authority municipalities at 50 per cent of the approved expenditure. Although the general principle underlying these orders is sound, it has to be conceded that no attempt was made to evolve a suitable formula for correlating municipal financial ability with its contribution to primary education and that the arbitrariness of the orders went unmitigated.

By 1947, therefore, Government had to face the following important issues regarding the finance of primary education in urban areas of the Province:-

(1) What should be the rate at which the non-loal authority municipalities should be called upon to contribute to the cost of primary education in their areas? and

(2) What should be the rate at which Government should pay a grant-in-aid to local authority municipalities on account of primary education?

It was the problem which the Primary Education Act of 1947 was called upon to solve.

10. 3 **Primary Education in Bombay City (1939-47)** :–The period of eight years between 1939-47 saw a further deterioration in the position. The population of the city increased tremendously in this period and is now

estimated at nearly 30,00,000. The cost of living also increased owing to the conditions created by the World War II. Consequently, the total expenditure on primary education has increased to Rs. 87,67,000 in 1948-9 (budget estimates) although the Government grant continues at Rs. 9 lakhs only. Meanwhile, the Corporation finances have been thrown out of gear by the heavy increase in administrative and other expenditure due to conditions created by the War and Government has had to sanction subventions to the Corporation to enable it to balance its budget. At the present moment, therefore, the situation is critical and careful study and planning on the following issues is essential :—

(1) What amount can and should be earmarked by the Corporation for primary education in view of its total increase and commitments for other Municipal services ?

(2) On what principles should the Provincial grant to the Corporation on account of primary education be regulated ?

(3) What steps should be taken to reorganize the administration of primary education in the city so as to secure the best return for the expenditure incurred ?

10. 4. Circumstances that led to the passing of the Primary Education Act, 1947 :—When the Congress accepted office a second time in 1945, one of the earliest problems that engaged its attention was that of primary education. Very little progress had been made between 1939 and 1945 when the 'section-93' Government was in power. In fact, the situation had considerably deteriorated in several ways. To begin with, the cost of living had increased enormously during the World War II. On the other hand, the emoluments of the primary teachers and the rates of grant-in-aid to 'voluntary' schools did not increase in proportion, with the result that there was keen discontent among the primary teachers working in local authority and voluntary schools. The number of 'voluntary' schools was being reduced from year to year as the teachers of these schools found it difficult to maintain themselves on the meagre grant-in-aid given to them and the primary teachers in local authority schools were engaged in organising an intensive agitation for a betterment of their emoluments. Secondly, the financial machinery devised by the Primary Education Act of 1923 had completely broken down under the new conditions. It was shown earlier that the financial arrangements of this Act were based on the assumption that the cost per pupil would be about Rs.15 p.a. and that the objective of Government was to double the number of pupils then under instruction. In the conditions prevailing in 1945, the cost per pupil was at least twice this amount and the objective of Government had been enlarged into the introduction of free, universal and compulsory education

of at least four years. Government had also declared its intention to universalize basic education and to lengthen the compulsory course to seven years, if and when possible. The financial basis of the Act of 1923, under which a local board was required to pay one-third of all expenditure on primary education in excess of the datum-expenditure, had simply collapsed under the load of the higher cost of education per pupil and the loftier ideals adopted by Government. Thirdly, there was a great discontent against the Act of 1938. The local boards and municipalities never took kindly to this measure which had deprived them of powers over primary teachers and they generally demanded either the abolition of the school boards or the restoration of their powers to the 1923 level. These and other factors made it inevitable to consider the whole situation *de novo* and to devise a suitable machinery for the speedy realisation of the declared Government policy, viz. the introduction of universal, free and compulsory primary education by 'a definite programme of progressive expansion'. It was to this end that Government repealed the Primary Education Act of 1923 and enacted a comprehensive new Act - now known as the Primary Education Act, 1947.

10.5. Provisions of the Act:—The main changes introduced by the Primary Education Act of 1947 may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(1) The preamble of the Act states that it is "the duty of Government to secure "the development and expansion of primary Education"; it further reiterates 'the declared policy of Government that universal free and compulsory education should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansion"; and finally it states that the object of the Act is "to make better provision for the development, expansion, management and control of primary education in the Province of Bmobay."

(2) The Act makes a fundamental difference between the control of primary education in rural areas (including the areas of those municipalities which are not authorized to manage primary education) and that in the areas of the bigger municipalities which will be authorized to manage primary education. In general, it may be stated that the powers given to 'authorised municipalities' are wider than those given to the distric school boards. The main reason for this distinction appears to be that the authorized municipalities would be contributing a much larger percentage towards the cost of primary education than what the District Local Boards or the non-authorized municipalities would do.

(3) The constitution of the school boards is considerably altered by the Act. Each district local board and authorized municipality is to elect a school board consisting of such number of members, being not less than

twelve or more than sixteen, as may be prescribed. The principle of nomination, which the congress itself abolished in the case of local bodies is reintroduced and the Provincial Government now has to nominate not less than two or more than three members and only the remaining members are to be elected. Seats on school boards have been reserved for women minorities and backward communities. Higher educational qualifications have been prescribed for members of school boards. For instance, at least three elected members must have passed the Matriculation or the second year training examination for primary teachers. Persons from backward communities may have a lower qualification viz. passing of primary IVth tsandard examination. Other elected members must have passed the primary school certificate examination or possess any other equivalent or higher educational qualification.

(4) Under the Primary Education Act of 1923, the local boards were statutorily incorporated and the school boards had to depend upon them for all financial sanctions and other major questions of policy. Very often, the relations between the school board and the local board were unhappy and the cause of education suffered. In order to overcome these difficulties, the Act has made the district school boards entirely independent of the district local boards. The relations between authorized municipalities and their school boards are, however, continued as before.

(5) The powers of a district school board are considerably reduced. Section 13 of the Act defines them as follows :—

(1) Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, the district school board shall have control over all approved schools within the district and may grant aid to any approved school other than a primary school maintained by the Provincial Government or by a school board or by an authorized municipality.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, and so far as its primary education fund will allow, the district school board shall perform the following duties and functions :—

(a) to provide for the welfare of the children attending primary schools ;

(b) to maintain an adequate number of primary schools ;

(c) to provide adequate accommodation and equipment for primary schools ;

(d) to maintain an adequate staff of Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers, clerks, teachers,

inferior servants and other staff as may, in the opinion of the Provincial Government be necessary ;

(e) to maintain an adequate number of engineering staff required for the construction and maintenance of schools and other buildings ;

(f) to determine, on the recommendation of the Administrative Officer, the distance measured according to the nearest road between an approved school and the residence of a child for purposes of clause (c) of section 33 ;

(g) to determine with the approval of the Educational Inspector the hours of instruction and the number and duration of vacations ;

(h) to determine the exact location of primary schools ;

(i) to grant on the recommendation of the Administrative Officer exemption from attending an approved school to a child who is receiving instruction otherwise than in an approved school ;

(j) to sanction all tenders for the supply of forms, stationery, furniture or equipment ;

(k) to suggest the opening of additional schools for the sanction of the Provincial Government ;

(l) to recommend to the Director such modifications in the curriculum as may seem necessary to suit local requirements ;

(m) to advise the Provincial Government generally in respect of primary education within the district ;

(n) to carry on propaganda for the expansion of primary education ;

(o) to perform such other duties and functions as may be prescribed;

(3) The district school board shall from time to time with the sanction of the Director make regulations not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder for—

(i) laying down the days, the time and the periods on each day during which a child shall be present for instruction at an approved school ;

(ii) determining the constitution, powers and duties of the taluka advisory committees.

(iii) the supply of books, slates, educational requisites, milk, meals or clothes to indigent children of any age receiving primary education if provision for such supply is made.

The powers of a Municipal School Board are, however, continued as before. Sections 17 and 18 of the Act define them as follows :—

17. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder an authorized municipality shall perform the following duties and functions, namely :—

(a) to make adequate provision for maintaining the existing primary schools and opening new schools, wherever necessary, and for granting aid to approved schools other than primary schools maintained by the Provincial Government or by a school board or by an authorized municipality ;

(b) to provide adequate accommodation and equipment for primary schools ;

(c) to maintain an adequate staff of Assistant Administrave Officers, Supervisers, Attendance Officers, clerks, teachers, inferior servants and other staff as may in the opinion of the Provincial Government be necessary;

(d) to make adequate provision for facilities for the free primary education of all children to whom a scheme of compulsion applies;

(e) to sanction with or without variation the budget of the municipal school board;

(f) to perform such other duties and functions as may be prescribed.

(2) The authorized municipality may, subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, also make provision for the welfare of the children attending primary schools within its area.

(3) The authorized municipality shall, subject to the sanction of the Provincial Government, make regulations—

(i) determining the qualifications, pay and terms of employment of the Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers, clerks, inferior servants, and other staff;

(ii) regulating the administration, management and control of primary schools;

(iii) determining the qualifications, pay and terms of employments of the Administrative Officer appointed by it under section 22 ;

(iv) for the supply of books, slates, educational requisites, milk, meals or clothes to indigent children receiving primary education if provision for such supply is made.

18. [1] Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, the municipal school board shall be responsible for the

management and control of all primary schools which vest in the authorized municipality and for the control of all other approved schools within the area of the authorized municipality excepting such as are maintained by the Provincial Government: and the board shall exercise such powers and perform such duties and functions of the authorized municipality in respect of primary education as may be prescribed.

[2] Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, a municipal school board shall perform the following duties and functions, namely:—

(a) to prepare schemes to be submitted by the authorized municipality to the Provincial Government for expansion of primary education and to carry out the provisions of such scheme;

(b) to disburse monies from the primary education fund in accordance with the budget sanctioned by the authorized municipality ;

(c) to perform the duties and functions specified in clauses (f) to (j) and (l) and (m) (n) of sub-section (2) of section 13;

(d) to perform such other duties and functions as may be prescribed.

[3] The municipal school board shall, with the sanction of the Director, make regulations laying down the days, the time and the periods on each day during which a child shall be present for instruction at an approved school.

(6) The idea of appointing taluka advisory committees is introduced for the first time. Section 15 of the Act describes it in the following words :—

"15 The district school board may by a resolution recommend to the Provincial Government the establishment of taluka advisory committee for all or any of the talukas in the district to advise it in respect of primary education. On such recommendation being accepted by the Provincial Government such committees shall be constituted from a date to be notified by the Provincial Government in the Official Gazette. The constitution, powers and duties of the committees shall be as laid down in the regulations made by the district school board:

Provided that the Provincial Government may on its own motion or on the recommendation of the district school board supported by at least two-thirds of the whole number of members of the board by an order dissolve a taluka advisory committee from a date to be notified in the Official Gazette."

(7) Under the Primary Education Act of 1923, as amended in 1938, the Administrative Officer was made a servant of the Provincial Government. He was vested with full powers of control over primary teachers only and the test of his subordinates continued to be under the control of the Board The Act of 1948 makes important alterations in this arrangement. The Administrative Officer is continued in his position of a Government servant. But he is now vested with full powers of control over all subordinate staff. On the other hand, his powers of appointment have been curtailed by the provision of a staff selection committee and by providing appeals against his orders in certain cases. Lastly, a distinction is made between the staff of an authorized municipality and a district school board because Government has assumed wider powers over *all* the staff of the district school board and over the primary teachers only in the case of authorized municipalities. In this connection, sections 20, 23 and 24 of the Act deserve careful study:—

"20 (1) Every district school board with the approval of the Provincial Government and every authorized Municipality shall maintain an adequate staff of Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers, clerks, primary school teachers and inferior servants and other staff (including engineering staff), as may in the opinoin of the Provincial Government be necessary for the administration management and control of approved schools within its area.

(2) The staff maintained under sub-section (1) shall be servents of the district school board or of the authorized municipality, as the case may be and shall receive their pay, allowance, provident fund gratuities and pensions from its primary education fund.

(3) The rates of the pay and allowances and terms of employment in respect of all members of the staff maintained by a district school board and of the primary school teachers maintained by an authorized municipality shall be as fixed from time to time by the Provincial Government.

(4) The Provincial Government may from time to time prescribe the duties to be performed by the staff maintained under sub-section (1).

23. (1) There shall be a staff selection committee for every district school board or authorised municipality.

(2) The staff selection committee shall consist of the Educational Inspector of the division or any other officer designated by the Director, the chairman of the school board and the Administrative Officer.

(3) The Administrative Officer shall act as secretary of the staff selection committee.

(4) The Committee shall select candidates for appointments as Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers and teachers; and in the case of district school boards also members of the other staff excluding inferior servants. The Committee shall also select teachers to be deputed for training. The selection of candidates and teachers shall be made in accordance with the instructions issued by the Provincial Government.

(5) The school board or the authorized municipality or the Administrative Officer, as the case may be, shall make appointments of the candidates given by the staff selection committee.

24. (1) The Administrative Officer shall have power, subject to such general instructions as may be issued from time to time by the Director, to promote, transfer and take all disciplinary action (including removal or dismissal) against the staff maintained under section 20.

(2) Any person aggrieved by an order of dismissal, removal, reduction or any other order involving disciplinary action made under subsection (1) may submit an appeal to a tribunal consisting of the chairman of the school board and the Eucational Inspector of the division. The tribunal shall follow the prescribed procedure for the disposal of its business. In the event of a difference of opinion between the members of the tribunal the appeal shall be referred to the Director whose decision shall be final.

Provided that primary school teacher who is a guaranteed teacher on the date of the coming into force of this Act, may make a further appeal to the Provincial Government against any order of removal or dismissal.

Explanation:-A guaranteed teacher means a primary school teacher who was holding a permanent appointment as such teacher on 30th June 1923.

(3) An appeal made under sub-section (2) shall be made within 30 days from the date of the order appealed against.

(8) The Act makes statutory provision, under sections 38, 39 and 40, for the scheme of assisting voluntary schools which was inaugurated in 1938-39 and which has been so successful.

(9) The most important and the most revolutionary sections of the Act are those relating to the financial relations between the Provincial Government and local authorities. They are as follows:—

41. (1) Every district local board shall pay over annually to the district school board for the purposes of primary education such portion of its income from its revenue described in clauses (b) and (c) of section 75 of the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923, as the Provincial Government may from time to time fix in this behalf.

(2) Every non-authorized municipality shall pay over annually to the district school board or the authorized municipality, as the case may be, for the purposes of primary education such proportion of the rateable value of properties in the area of the municipality as may form time to time be fixed in this behalf by the Provincial Government and the income accuring from any funds (including trust funds) held, and all moneys received by it for the said purposes.

42. (1) If a scheme submitted by an authorized municipality is sanctioned under section 28, the Provincial Government shall bear half of the additional recurring and non-recurring annual cost of the scheme so sanctioned: but the liability of the Provincial Government shall not exceed half of the said cost as it was estimated by the authorized municipality.

(2) Nothing in this section shall affect the claim of any authorized municipality to any annual grant which at the time of this Act comes into force is being paid to it as a local authority under the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923, by the Provincial Government for the purposes of primary education.

Provided that, if the Provincial Government considers that the primary education fund or any authorized municipality has been or is about to be misused or misapplied, it may call upon such authorized municipality for an explanation of such misuse or misapplication; and if not satisfied with the explanation given may make such reduction in the grants payable to such authorized municipality as it may deem proper.

(3) The Provincial Government shall pay to a district school board grant equivalent to the amount by which expenditure in accordance with the budget sanctioned under the next following section exceeds the receipts referred to in clauses (b) to (d) and (f) (g) of sub-section (2) of section 44.

43. The budget of the district school board shall in the prescribed manner be framed and submitted to the Provincial Government and

the Provincial Government may sanction it with such modifications as it may deem fit to make therein.

(10) An interesting provision in the Act is the authority given to district school boards to liquidate themselves. Section 14 of the Act runs as follows:—

> [14] (1) The district school board may, by a resolution passed by at least two-thirds of the whole number of members of the board and with the consent of the District Local Board, intimate to the Provincial Government that it desires to relinquish its powers and duties excepting the duties of advising and of carrying on propaganda for the expansion of primary education.
>
> (2) If, on receipt of such intimation, the Provincial Government so directs, all powers and duties of the district school board, other than those so excepted, shall from such date and for such period may be notified by the Provincial Government in this behalf be exercised and performed on behalf of the Provincial Government in the prescribed manner.
>
> (3) All primary schools with their lands, buildings, records and equipment and all other properties, moveable or immoveable which were vesting in, held by or were under the control of the district school board immediately before the date notified by the Provincial Government under sub-section (2) shall vest in, be held by or be under the control of the Provincial Government during the period notified under the said sub-section.

10.6 Problems that the Act had to face:— In order to evaluate properly the achievements of this Act, it is necessary to understand the problems which the Act had to solve. They may be stated as follows:—

(1) Should primary education be a provincial, or local, or a joint responsibility? If it is to be a joint responsibility, how should the powers and duties regarding primary education be allocated between the Provincial Government and the Local Bodies?

(2) What would be the best form of administrative arrangements in order to organise an efficient system of primary education?

(3) What would be the total cost of a scheme of universal, free, and compulsory primary education for the Province of Bombay and through what 'definite programme of progressive expansion' can it be realised?

(4) How should the total cost of the approved programme of universal, free and compulsory education be shared between the Pro-

vincial Government and the local bodies (if it is to be shared at all) and how would the Provincial Government and the local bodies meet their obligations under the allocation?

It is to be regretted that these problems were not fully realised when the Primary Education Act, 1947, was passed; and although it is a lengthy enactment running into 65 sections, the Act makes only a very small progress over the Primary Education Act of 1938. In trying to work out a compromise between those who advocated the grant of larger powers to local bodies and those who recommended that the Provincial Government should accept sole responsibility for primary education, it has created a formula that involves the worst of both positions and without satisfying any section, has succeeded in creating an administrative machinery that will lead to delays, increase in establishment charges, and still more embitterment of feeling. From the administrative point of view, the Act does not create any better machinery for the management of primary schools than that which exists at present. Financially, it records two gains for the district local boards and the non-local authority municipalities because it definitely fixes their shares in the total expenditure on primary education But it simply ignores the vital questions of the preparation of a 'definite programme of progresive expansion', the evaluation of the cost thereof, and the ways and means of raising the necessary funds. All things considered, one cannot help feeling that the Act has not taken the Province materially nearer to the goal of universal and compulsory education. This will, of course, appear as too harsh a judgment upon what a section of political workers would like to describe as the *magnum opus* of an enlightened ministry and it is therefore, necessary to consider the issues raised above in some detail.

10.7 Should primary education be a Provincial, Local or a joint responsibility :—In England, elementary education has been a joint responsibility between the national government and the local bodies ever since 1870. The English view of the problem is that elementary education is a semi-national service which is conducted in local as well as national interests and which, therefore, must be financed and administered together by the local and national governments. "The educational system of this country and its development" says Dr. Corlett, "are typical of our methods of dealing with semi-national services. Education is a service, the cost of which theoretically should be a national charge, for children are educated not because they live in any special locality, but because they are the citizens of the future, and it is to the benefit of the nation as a whole that its citizens should be educated. But although regard must be paid to this national aspect of education, the question of administrative efficiency

overrides all other considerations. To put the administration of the service wholly under the Central Authority would divorce it from local interest and local criticism, and would tend to undue uniformity and the suppression of healthy variety of method. In fact it would be impossible to administer effectively the Education Acts without local knowledge, and therefore, the duty of administration is discharged by Local Authorities which are really the agents of the State." * A reference to Appendix A will show that a similar position holds in most progressive countries of the world. The Indian educational administration has grown in the shadow of the educational developments in England and consequently, primary education in India has also been a joint responsibility of the Provincial Governments and local bodies ever since 1863.

It must, however, be realised that the British practice is not quite applicable to Indian conditions. England is an urban and industrialised nation while India is a rural and agricultural country. This socio-economic difference is so fundamental that a blind imitation of British methods can only prove detrimental to the best interests of India. "The social and educational problems of England and Wales," writes F. H. Swift, ... are predominantly those of industrial urban communities. The area of England is 50,874 square miles, and that of Wales 7,438 square miles. According to the estimate of 1935, the total population of England is 38,107,300, equivalent to approximately 743 persons per square mile, and that of Wales 2,537,700 or approximately 339 persons per square mile.....Most of the area of England and Wales is either highly urbanised or dotted with villages or small towns within easy reach of one another. It is estimated that 80 per cent. of the total population is urban and 20 per cent rural. Approximately two-thirds of the population resides in four clearly defined industrial areas, namely, the city and district of London, approximately 10,000,000; Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, approximately 8,000,000; the industrial section of the Midlands....., 4,000,000 and the South Wales coal field, approximately 2,000,000. Much of the remaining third of the population resides in towns of respectable size." † The administrative and fiscal policies evolved in such an area can, at the most, become applicable to the richer urban areas of the Bombay Province, such as Bombay City, Ahmedabad, Poona, Surat, Sholapur, etc. It is, therefore, argued that Government may adopt the British model and pass a separate Primary Education Act for such areas. There is already a special Primary Education Act for Bombay City and there is no reason why an Act drafted in general terms so as to apply to all the bigger and richer cities should not be passed. In fact such a measure would be greatly welcomed. The

* *A Survey of the Financial Aspects of Elementary Education* by J. Corlett, p. 8.

† *European Policies of Financing Local Institutions*, by F. H. Swift, p. 695

City of Bombay Primary Education Act, 1920, is now outdated and overdue for revision. This occasion ought to be utilised, therefore, to pass a new and a comprehensive Act for primary education in the bigger towns and cities.

The problem of the rural areas is, however, entirely different. Here the local bodies concerned are the municipalities, the village panchayats and the district local boards. The question of financing primary education jointly between the Provincial Government and these bodies does not really arise. The present resources of these bodies are so meagre that they can pay only a small fraction of the total cost of compulsory primary education. Let us, for example, take the district local boards. Under the existing orders of Government, a local board is required to raise its total local fund cess to three annas in a rupee and give fifteen pies out of it to primary education. It is estimated that, under this order Government will bear 96 per cent. of the total cost of primary education and that the local bodies will only bear the remaining four per cent. Is it worthwhile to have this contribution at all, is the question most frequently asked. It must be noted that this contribution is entirely illusory because Government gives far larger amounts as grant-in-aid annually to every local board in connection with its other duties (roads, public-health, etc.) and that it has also decided to assign 15 per cent of the land revenue to local boards. To grant, on one hand, 15 per cent of the land revenue to local boards and, on the other, to ask for a contribution of 15 pies of the cess for primary education is an arrangement which cannot be defended on any sound principles of administration. It would be much better for Government to exempt the local boards from the contibution of 15 pies of the local cess to education and to assume full financial responsibility for primary education in rural areas. This will also imply assumption of all administrative authority and primary education should, therefore, be administered as any other provincial department. This does not, of course, preclude Government from employing, on grounds of decentralization, the agency of local bodies in order to avail itself of their local knowledge and enthusiasm, to set up local advisory committees consisting wholly or partly of persons elected by the local bodies in the area, or even to entrust the local bodies with certain function connected with primary education such as the enforcement of compulsory attendance. This is precisely the view put forward by those who advocate the abolition of the district school boards.

Another strong reason in support of the abolition of the district school boards is that they are not useful as a *local* body in education. A municipality or a village panchayat is a local body which contributes local knowledge to a very large extent and should, therefore, be fully utilised in

performing those functions connected with primary education which require such local knowledge and zeal. But a district is too large a unit. A board of sixteen persons elected for a district in practice, a majority of them will be found living in few towns only — cannot function as a local authority should. Such a body, therefore, has no definite advantages even as an agency for local functions and must, it is argued, be abolished.

The other view of the problem is diametrically opposed to this. It denies theory that power should follow the purse and belives that Government does not get a right to assume all powers merely because it foots the largest part of the bill. In fact, it holds the view that the Provincial Government is itself responsible for the inability of the local bodies to contribute larger amounts because it has usurped to itself all the important sources of revenue. It suggests that the financial and administrative questions in education must be dealt with separately on merits—that the bill must be paid by the richer partner and that the management must be done by the abler. It argues that local bodies are a much better agency to supervise education than a provincial department and recommend that large and real powers must be given to local bodies to manage the primary education in their areas. In short, this view would perfer to go back to the Act of 1923 with changes in financial matters on the lines of the 1947 Act.

The sponsors of the Act could have worked on either of these viewpoints. Or, if a 'golden mean' between the two extremes had to be sought they could have attempted to divide the responsibility, for primary education horizontally, rather than vertically, on the French model.* In other words, they could have isolated a part or the parts of the administration of primary education and given *real* responsibility to the local bodies in that sphere. A practical proposition for the administration of primary education in rural areas, designed on the French model, would have been something like the following:—

(1) The idea of pooling together into *one* fund the contributions of the Provincial Government and the local bodies and then trying to exercise every important power jointly — the vertical division of authority should be abandoned as unworkable.

(2) As in France, the Provincial Government should hold itself responsible for payment of salaries, allowances and pensions (or provident funds) of primary teachers, for organisation of the training of teachers and inspection of primary schools, and for the disbursement of school contingencies. The responsibilities of the Provincial Government would also in-

* For a detailed account of the French system of financing primary education vide *Appendix A*.

clude organisation of refresher courses, teachers, libraries, and all such activities concerned with the teachers. Under this plan, the primary teachers would have the status of Government servants and would be recruited, controlled, and paid by the Government direct through their own Administrative Officers. Each Administrative Officer would have a number of assistants to help him in administering and inspecting the primary schools. The posts of the Deputy Educational Inspectors would be unnecessary and the Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors would be transferred to work under the Administrative Officers. The charges on account of the salaries, etc. of primary teachers would appear in the provincial budget as an item charged upon the revenues of the Province and the question of appointing a Staff Selection Committee as proposed by the Act of 1947 would not arise at all.

(3) The local bodies, which term would include all municipalities to whom the Special Primary Education Act intended for Urban areas does not apply and the local boards, would each have a separate Primary Education Fund of their own. This fund would consist of .....*

(a) Fifteen pies of the local fund cess in case of district local boards and a prescribed percentage of total income in the case of municipalities;
(b) Donations;
(c) Fines under compulsory education: and
(d) Government grants at fixed rates. The grants would be related to the amount collected locally and slightly larger grants would be fixed for poorer areas.

Subject to certain general powers of supervision and audit, the local bodies will have freedom to manage their own Primary Education Funds and untilise them for the following objects which would be deemed to be the responsibility of local bodies :—

(1) Construction and maintenance of school houses;
(2) Provision and maintenance of playgrounds;
(3) Provision of educational equipment;
(4) Organisation of pupils' libraries;
(5) Inter-school and inter-village sports;
(6) Organisation of Reading Rooms and Libraries;
(7) Supply of educational requisites to poor children;
(8) Scholarships to pupils on ground of merit, poverty, or backwardness of community; and
(9) Grant of scholarships, etc. for encouragement of education among girls.

When the time comes for it, the organisation of medical inspection and treatment, the provision of mid-day meals of milk or supply of milk to children should be left to these local bodies and a suitable system of grants-in-aid devised for the expenditure incurred by them in these items.

In addition to the fulfilment of the responsibilities mentioned above, the local bodies would be entrusted with the responsibility of enforcing compulsion They will also advise or make recommendations to Government on matters connected with primary education (especially in their own area), either on their own initiative or on a reference made by Government.

Such a scheme as the above is based on assumption that primary education would be a joint responsibility between the Provincial Government and local bodies. But owing to a horizontal division of authority, it avoids conflicts in the day-to-day administration. It throws the responsibility for salaries of teachers—the costliest item of the programme—on the rather spacious shoulders of the Provincial Government and makes the local bodies responsible for a smaller portion of the task which is proportional to their capacity. The sphere is smaller; but the transfer of responsibility in that sphere is *real* and *substantial*. Moreover, only those aspects of the problem are transferred in which local interest and enthusiasm are essential and in which a healthy variety of method is desirable. The primary teachers would obviously be better off, more efficient and more useful if they form a cadre of national or provincial service.

Unfortunately, the Primary Education Act of 1947 does not accept any of these sound positions. It attempts a compromise in a wrong manner, pools provincial and local contributions in one fund, and tries to set up a machinery in which every important power is shared between Government (or its officers) and the local bodies. This can only lead to employment of excessive staff, rise in administrative costs, delays and heart-burning.

To agree or not to agree to the utilisation of local bodies in the administration of primary education is a 'question of taste' and one would not mind an honest difference of opinion on this issue. But to enlist local bodies in the cause and to place them in an awkward position; to discribe them as executive authorities and to reduce them to mere advisory councils; to give

* It would even be desirable to include secondary schools in the purview of this scheme and call this fund a 'Primary and Secondary Education Fund.' But this is an aspect of the problem with which this book is not directly concerned. Similarly adult education work ought also to be transferred to this agency.

them a statutory existence and then to distrust every action of theirs; to give powers in one breath and then to circumvent them through other channels; to clog the steps of departmental officers by the association of non-officials in details of administration and to injure the self-respect and dignity of non officials by assigning them a minor place in an administration ridden by officialdom: these are measures which are not likely to satisfy anyone nor can they be justified on administrative or financial grounds. And yet, these are precisely the methods that have been adopted by the Act.

It is, therefore, recommended that action on the following lines may be taken :—

(1) A special Act should be passed for the richer municipal areas. It should extend only to such municipalities as contribute fifty per cent or more of the expenditure on primary education. This Act should give the local bodies wider powers and responsibilities and be on the British model or on the lines of the Act of 1923. The grant to each municipality should be based on a consideration of the wealth of the area and its task in education.

(2) For the Rural areas, Government may either assume sole responsibility and abolish the School Boards ; or share the responsibility for primary education with the local bodies on the French Model. A separate Primary Education Act should be passed for these areas.

10·8 What would be the best form of administrative arrangements in order to organise an efficient system of primary education? :— It would generally be agreed that the present system of the administration of primary schools is defective and requires radical reorganisation. The main defects of the present system may be stated as follows :—

(1) The district is too large a unit of administration on the basis of local self-government. For example, even in England, the number of local authorities exceeded 300 in 1902 and even in 1944, their number is 150. The population of the Province of Bombay is about 20 millions as against 38 millions of England. And yet, the whole area of the province is divided only between 20 district school boards and 24 municipal school boards. A district has, on an average, a population exceeding one million and an area of about 3000 sq. miles. This is really too big for administration as a local unit and it is suggested that a much smaller unit of administration should be adopted if local knowledge, interest and zeal is to be exploited.

(2) All primary schools in rural areas are administered by the Administrative Officer *centrally* from his office. The administration often becomes weak and ineffective because the administrative officer has no touring assistants and because the postal system and communications in rural areas are not properly developed. What is needed is the organisation of rural primary schools into smaller and more compact groups for administrative purposes and the provision of a number of touring assistants to the Administrative officers.

(3) The separation of the office of the District Educational Inspector from that of the Administrative Officer is merely a historical accident. Prior to 1923, a single educational officer—the Deputy Educational Inspector- was responsible for the administration *and* inspection of the primary schools in the District. After the Primary Education Act of 1923, the posts of administration officers were created under the local bodies and consequently there came to be two educational officers in each district—the Deputy Educational Inspector as a representative of Government and the Administrative Officer as the Chief Executive Officer of the district school board. But even here, the Administrative Officer continued to be responsible for the administration and inspection of primary schools. The Primary Education Act of 1938 transferred the supervisors of primary schools then working under the Administrative Officer as assistants to the Deputy Educational Inspector, separated administration of primary schools from their inspection, and took inspection directly under Government. This arrangement has proved to be administratively inconvenient for several reasons. Firstly, it deprives the Administrative Officer of his feet and cripples him in his work : secondly, it leads to delays and increases red-tape by dividing work between the Administrative Officer and the Deputy Educational Inspector; and thirdly, the results are not often happy because the necessary co-ordination between the work of the Deputy Educational Inspectors and Administrative Officers is often lacking. It is, therefore, felt that it would be much better to go back to the position that prevailed *prior* to 1923 or to device some other more efficient system.

Of these three issues, the Act deals with the first and the third only. The second issue is not dealt with, either because it was not realised or because it can be dealt with by executive orders only. A careful perusal of the Act, however, shows that its provisions in respect of the first and third issues are far from happy.

The Act evidently accepts the view that the district is probably too big a unit for local administration of primary education. Section 15 of the Act, therefore, provides that the Provincial Government may, on the recommendations of a district school board, set up local advisory committees for any or all talukas; that the constitution, powers and duties of such committees shall be determined by regulations to be framed by the district school board concerned; and that the Provincial Government may,

either on its motion or on a recommendation by Government, dissolve such taluka committees. This appears rather as very half-hearted attempt at solving the problem. It is very unlikely that taluka advisory committees will function satisfactorily under these provisions and in most cases, they may not come into existence at all.

It would have been better if a more vigorous policy of decentralization in the administration of primary schools had been adopted. This could have been done by providing for delegation of authority to non-local authority municipalities and to village panchayats in certain specified matters. Even now, this can be done by drafting suitable rules under section 63 (1) read with section 61(2). In accordance with the policy adopted by Government, the number of village panchayats will increase very largely in the Province and it is essential that full advantage should be taken of these local bodies in administering primary schools. If this suggestion is followed, the constitution of taluka advisory committees would not be necessary.

A very radical and interesting proposal for simplifying the administration of primary schools and making it more efficient is that of establishing *Central Primary Schools*. The main idea underlying this proposal is to group the villages suitably according to weekly bazaars, to establish a model primary school in the central village of each group, to draw up a comprehensive programme of educational development for the group as a whole after correlating the work of the various primary schools in the group, and give certain administative and supervisory powers to the Headmaster of the primary schools in the central villages over the other primary schools in the group-villages. The plan is described in detail in Appendix C. If such a plan were to be adopted under the Act, group advisory committees can be formed for each group, and specific powers are delegated to municipalities and village panchayats, the administration of the primary schools would improve considerably.

It is, therefore, recommended that —

(1) The diluted provision regarding the establishment of taluka advisory committees (section 15 of the Act) is not likely to serve any useful purpose and may be deleted;

(2) Steps should be taken to delegate specific powers to non-local authority municipalities and village panchayats;

(3) The scheme of Central Primary Schools should be adopted; and

(4) Group-Advisory-Committees may be formed for each group of villages.

10.9 What would be the total cost of a scheme of universal, free, and compulsory primary education for the Province of Bombay and through what 'definite programme of progressive expansion' can it be realised? These two are the financial and practical aspects of the Act and it goes without saying that they are the most important.

It must be remembered that every Education Act must be accompanied by two important documents: The first is a document which will set forth all the details of educational reconstruction proposed to be undertaken and the second is a memorandum which will explain the financial implications of the approved programme undertaken and the manner in which the necessary funds would be raised. For example, when the Education Act of 1944 was passed by the British Parliament, it was preceded by the publication of a *Command Paper on Educational Reconstruction* (Cmd. 6458) and the Education Bill of 1944 itself was accompanied by a detailed financial memorandum setting forth the financial implications of the proposal. Unless these steps are taken, a document of educational reconstruction has no value beyond a mere declaration of good intention which, from the point of view of practical administration, do not have the way to anywhere. It is, therefore, an indefensible short-coming of the Act of 1948 that it is not accompanied by (1) a document setting forth the details of the reconstruction programme and (2) a memorandum on the financial implications of the Act.

In the absence of these papers, one is compelled to seek indirect sources for such data and some information on these points can be had from the speeches of the Hon'ble the Prime Minister on this bill and from the "Revised Five-Year Plan of Post-War Reconstruction in the Bombay Province" which has been published by Government. The latter document contains the following schemes bearing on the problem:—

1. Scheme No. 79— Training of Primary Teachers.
2. Scheme No 84— Strengthening of the Inspecting staff.
3. Scheme No 91— Agricultural Bias Schools.
4. Scheme No. 92— Opening of primary schools in schoolless villages.
5. Scheme No. 93— Provision of play-grounds and school farms.
6. Scheme No. 96— Introduction of free and compulsory elementary education
7. Scheme No. 97— Construction of buildings for full-grade and lower grade primary schools.
8. Scheme No. 98 - Medical Inspection and treatment of school children.
9. Scheme No. 99 - Supply of mid-day meals.
10. Scheme No. 100 - Craft-training in primary schools.

The following brief notes give the objects of each of these schemes and the official estimates of their recurring non-recurring costs:—

Scheme No.	Brief Notes.	Estimated non recurring cost for first five years, beginning with 1947-48.	Estimated recurring cost at the end of five years.
		Rs.	Rs.
79.	The scheme proposes to increase the output of trained teachers by expanding the existing training institutions and opening 13 new training colleges. Details regarding the total number of teachers trained per annum at present and those that will be trained in the scheme are not available. Each college will be located in rented buildings until separate buildings are constructed. Each college will have a hostel, a practising school, and a farm of 8 to 10 acres. It will teach two crafts-agriculture and spinning and weaving.	52,56,000	14,40,000
84.	It is proposed to create 220 additional posts of Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors (180 for men and 40 for women) in order that each A.D.E.I. may be held responsible for a manageable number of primary schools. (He manages about 80 schools at present).	22,000	4,50,000
91.	It is proposed to open 100 new agricultural bias schools (at the rate of 20 schools each year) and to attach 20 hostels to central agricultural bias schools (at the rate of 4 per year).	8,70,000	5,89,600
92.	It is proposed to encourage private bodies to open 1400 schools in school-less villages having a population of 400 to 700 and to open 300 D. L. B. schools in villages with a population between 700 and 1000.	30,000	7,60,000
93.	It is proposed to acquire suitable sites for providing play-grounds for primary schools, secondary schools, training institutions, and farms for agricultural bias schools, training institutions, and agricultural high schools.	30,00,000	...
96.	It is proposed to introduce compulsory elementary education for children between 6 and 11 years of age throughout the Province within a period of 10 to 12 years. During the five years beginning with 1947-8, compulsion will be introduced in all villages with a population of 1000 or more. It is estimated that the number of children in primary schools will increase by 10 lakhs in the first five years and by 16 lakhs when the scheme is complete.	...	1,40,00,000
97.	It is proposed to construct 6000 new buildings for primary schools.	2,13,33,000	5,47,000
98.	It is proposed to organise a thorough School Medical Service to provide for (*i*) the medical examination of all children in Primary and Secondary Schools once on entry into a Primary School and again at the ages of 11, 14, 17, (*ii*) the re-examination every year of those who are not found fit, and (*iii*) their treatment locally or at some central place.	...	...
99.	It is proposed to provide mid-day meals in selected villages in 10 backward districts of the Province.	...	11,30,000
109.	It is proposed to introduce craft-teaching in every primary school as soon as it is possible to secure a teacher to teach the craft concerned. The possible crafts are spinning leading to weaving, kitchen gardening leading to agriculture, and cardboard modelling leading to woodwork in higher classes. It is estimated that at the end of 5 years, some 8 lakhs of children will be learning some craft.	1,38,00,000	26,80,000
	Grand Total Rs.	4,45,72,000	2,29,98,500

The above figures are taken from the latest publication issued in 1947 and yet, it does not appear that the estimates of costs are properly worked out. For example, the additional cost of bringing in 10 lakhs of children is estimated at Rs. 1,40,00,000 recurring or at Rs 14 per pupil per annum. This is obviously too low. The cost of building is put at Rs. 2,13,33,000 for 6000 schools or at Rs 3,555 per school. This can, at best, suffice for one or two rooms only. In the same way, extremely essential data necessary for a thorough examination of the question is not always given. It is, therefore, impossible to rely on this document as an authoritative publication regarding the financial implications of the " definite programme of progressive expansion " under which the goal of universal, free and compulsory primary education is to be realised.

The other source which can give an idea of the financial implications of the Act is the speech of the Hon'ble the Prime Minister when he moved the first reading of the bill. On going through it, one finds only the following scrappy reference to the most important financial aspects of the Act :—

" Our first difficulty is about the expansion of primary education, more especially in rural areas. We have 32 lakhs of children of school going age in this province. Out of these 32 lakhs, only 16 lakhs are in schools. Therefore, the problem of expansion reduces itself to bringing in the remaining 16 lakhs of children to school. This is a part from the content of education, the capacity of the teacher and other problems to which I made a reference in the beginning. Assuming that the education that we are giving is desirable, that we will make its content such as I described, we must now arrange that out of the 32 lakhs of children who are of school-going age 16 lakhs who are not in school should be brought into school. .....

" According to the census of 1941, of the total population of 209 lakhs, 174 lakhs of people were residing in rural (or non-local authority municipal) areas. Now assuming that 15 per cent of the population belong to the school-going age group, which is usually the case, about 26 lakhs of children of school-going age have to be catered for by the district local boards. The *per capita* cost of education on the basis of the present scale of pay for primary teachers comes to about Rs 36, and on this assumption the cost of putting 26 lakhs of children through the elementary course of primary education upto the 4th standard works out at about 9.5 crores of rupees. At present, most of the district local boards- I believe 11 or 12 - have raised the rate of local fund cess from 2 annas to 3 annas. But even if the rate of cess is raised to 3 annas in a rupee by all the districts, the district local boards will not be able to assign more than 35 lakhs of rupees to primary education. Assuming therefore, that the district local boards contribute the maximum amount for primary education, their share will amount to more than 4 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education, so that 96 per cent will have to be borne entirely by Government. I am saying all this to make it clear to honourable Members that the district local boards will not be able to bear their share of the expenditure on primary education under the present system. They have to bear one-third of the expenditure and it is for that reason very very necessary to make provision for finance in the Bill which I am now bringing before the House, under the present Bill, as honourable Members will see the bulk of the expenditure - 96 per cent of it - is to be provided by Government. That is the principal feature of this Bill. "

This speech throws no light on the following aspects of the problem :—

(a) How is the cost of Rs. 36 per child arrived at ? Although the speech says that this cost is based on the present scales of pay, it does not clarify the number of pupils per teacher assumed in this calculation. It is obvious that the cost per child be calculated only if the emoluments of teachers and the size of the classes is specified together and not on the basis of emoluments alone.

(b) What is the cost per pupil in urban areas where 6 lakhs of children will have to be educated ?

(c) Is the cost of Rs. 36 per child the cost of basic education which is proposed to be universalised or of the ordinary primary education? Presumably, it is the latter. But the point requires clarification.

(d) How does Government propose to raise Rs. 9 or 10 crores a year for primary education consistently with the other programmes undertaken by it, *viz.*, prohibition, schemes of economic development, etc.?

Unfortunately, the whole discussion on the bill was really centred round one administrative issue — powers of the school boards — and the significant questions mentioned above regarding its financial implications went unheeded. One, therefore, looks in vain to the Assembly debates for a clarification and the conclusion that these aspects of the problem were entirely ignored becomes inevitable.

What the situation really needs is the preparation of development plans for each district on the lines of the scheme described in Appendix D. Such a plan would begin by a survey of existing conditions of primary education in the district, then fix the targets to be realised, and finally prepare detailed plans of educational development with estimates of costs and a definite programme of action spread over ten years. These plans on a ligni-

stic basis for such items as training of teachers, organisation of teachers and pupils' libraries, publication of necessary educational literature, etc. and by plans on a Provincial basis for such items as inspection of primary schools. On the basis of these plans a final Master Plan should be prepared for the Province as a whole giving the various approved schemes in their order of priority and stating the definite programme of development as appoved by Government.

In preparing these plans, the most fundamental principle to be kept in view would be to provide *equality of educational opportunity in all districts*. It was pointed out earlier, that educational progress is very uneven at present and that some districts are greatly advanced while others lag far behind. The development plans to be prepared by Government must try to eliminate such difference and must endeavour to bring all districts to almost the same level of development at the end of a stipulated period.

It is rather unfortunate that no action on these lines has yet been taken by the Government. Under section 25 of the Primary Education Act of 1948, the Administrative Officer is made responsible for preparing schemes of compulsion in accordance with the orders of the Director of Public Instruction. But this is hardly enough to solve the problem. The administrative officer is too burdened with red-tape to find the necessary leisure for this task and it is certainly worth a good deal more attention that what the administrative officer and his clerical assistants can bestow. What is needed is an Officer on Special Duty for the purpose for about one year. The administrative officers and the other offices of the Department may assist him; but he should be given adequate staff and held responsible for the preparation of detailed plans for each district on common and well-considered lines.

What is even more unfortunate is the fact that Government seem to have lost sight of the principle that equality of educational opportunity is to be provided in each district. Already the inequalities of Government expenditure and educational development in the various districts are too glaring to be tolerated. These will be accentuated, rather than reduced, by the decision to introduce compulsion in all villages with a population of 1000 or more because the number and population of such villages varies from district to district. A better basis would have been to work out the average population per village seperately for each district and to introduce compulsion in all villages where the population would have been in excess of this average. Secondly, Government will sanction schemes as and when they come with the result that moneys will be allotted to districts on the unscientific principle of first come, 'first served'. What is really needed is an unequivocal declaration by Government that its policy will be guided dy

the principle of equality in educational opportunities and that it will allocate available funds among the districts in accordance with this policy.

It is, therefore, recommended that—

(1) *Government should create a special section for a short period and prepare detailed development plans for primary education in each district and in the area of each authorized municipality.*

(2) *Government should declare unequivocally that it would try to provide equality of educational opportunity in all districts and then an attempt would be made to bring all districts to a specified common level in a fixed period; and that*

(3) *Government should prepare a Master Plan for the development of primary education in the Province based on the plans prepared under (1) above and containing (i) a definite programme of progressive expansion and (ii) the financial implications thereof.*

After a concrete programme of expansion is prepated and its financial implications worked out, the next question to be decided is the division of this burden between the Provincial Government and the local bodies. Even on this issue, the provisions of the Act are not very clear or very satisfactory.

The financial relations between the Provincial Government and the authorized municipalities may be considered to begin with. In this connection, section 42 (1) and (2) of the Act provides as follows :—

42. (1) If a scheme submitted by an authorized municipality is sanctioned under section 28, the Provincial Government shall bear half of the additional recurring and non-recurring annual cost of the scheme so sanctioned; but the liability of the Provincial Government shall not exceed half of the said cost, as it was estimated by the authorized municipality.

(2) Nothing in this section shall affect the claim of any authorizedi municipality to any annual grant which at the time this Act comes into force is being paid to it as a local authority under the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923, by the Provincial Government for the purpose of primary education:

Provided that, if the Provincial Government considers that the primary education fund of any authorized municipality has been or is about to be misused or misapplied, it may call upon such authorised municipality for any explanation of such misuse or misapplication:

and if not satisfied with the explanation given may make such reduction in the grants payable to such authorized municipality as it may deem proper.

In this connection, the following questions arise :—

(1) From the wording of Section 42 (1), it appears that Government is going to treat all authorized municipalities alike and give them grant-in-aid at fifty per cent. of the expenditure on a sanctioned scheme. Government have already laid down a healthy principle that grants to municipalities shall vary according to the financial condition of the municipality and that the richer municipalities would be required to shoulder a proportionately larger part of the expenditure on primary education. The only thing now needed is to work out a rational basis for fixing the rate of grant-in-aid with reference to the ability, need, and effort of each such municipality as is done in England. But Section 42 (1) of the Act means that this healthy principle has been abandoned and that Ahmedabad will be aided on the same basis as Satara City. This is an extremely retrograde step and cannot but affect adversely, the spread of education in rural areas.

(2) The proviso to Section 42 (1) says that Government liability on account of grant-in aid shall not exceed fifty per cent. of the cost of the compulsion scheme as estimated by the municipality. This is a wrong way to legislate. It is impossible to estimate accurately the cost of any compulsion scheme in a city because the growth of population is an extremely uncertain and unpredictable factor. Secondly, salary scales and allowances of teachers change from time to time and throw all estimates out of gear. The classic example of the estimates of cost of the compulsion scheme for Bombay City given in Chapter IV will show how such estimates go out-of-date very soon. This proviso is, therefore, a handicap, and an unjust handicap at that, to the municipality concerned. It ought, therefore, be ropped and word 'approved expenditure on' should be substituted for the words 'cost of' occuring in Section 42 (1). That is to say Government should be bound to pay the prescribed percentage of the approved expenditure on a compulsion scheme irrespective of the fact whether such expenditure exceeds or does not exceed the estimates sanctioned.

(3) This section only prescribes the rate of grant-in-aid for sanctioned schemes of compulsion. What of the expansion on a voluntary basis and of the normal rise in educational expenditure due to such factors as increase in population, increments to staff, etc. or of the increased costs due to the introduction of newer methods of teaching, provision of better equipment, medical inspection of school children, provision of midday meals, etc.?

What is really needed is the prescription of the percentage of *the total approved expenditure* of an authorised municipality, which Government will bear. A more provision regarding the manner in which costs of compulsion will be shared is not enough and the section must be redrafted from that point of view.

(4) It is not known why section 42 (2) of the Act has been inserted. It is really equivalent to Section 13 (2) of the Primary Education Act of 1923. It was pointed out in Chapter III that this section did not confer any right on the local Authorities for Provincial grants-in-aid and was just useless. It is, therefore, necessary to recast it and to make it clear that Government grants at a certain percentage of the total approved expenditure on primary education are guaranteed and will be treated as a contract enforceable in a Court of Law, if necessary. If there is no intention to give such a guarantee, it may as well be dropped. But there is no reason why a section which confers no right on local authorities be unnecessarily continued in the statute.

It is therefore recommended that Section 42 of the Act should be redrafted on the following principles :—

(1) *Government should lay down the policy that Government grant to an authorized municipality shall be at a prescribed percentage to its total approved expenditure on primary education.*

(2) *Power should be taken to Government to make rules regarding the principles on which the percentage of grant to any authorized municipality shall be decided.*

(3) *The Provincial grant to authorized municipalities should take into consideration the wealth of the municipality concerned and a lower rate of grant-in-aid should be fixed for wealthier municipalities.*

(4) *Government grants should have an annual statutory basis and must be recoverable, if need be, by having recourse to a Court of Law.*

Next comes the question of the non-authorized municipalities. In this connection, section 41 (2) makes the following provision:—

41. (2) Every non-authorized municipality shall pay over annually to the district school board or the authorized municipality, as the case may be, for the purposes of primary education such proportion of the rateable value of properties in the area of the municipality as may from time to time be fixed in this behalf by the Provincial Government and the income accruing from any funds (including trust fund) held, and all moneys received by it for the said purpose.

The main question to be decided in this connection are the following :—

(1) Why should the municipal contribution be based on House-tax only which forms olny a small portion of the municipal revenues ? Would it not be better to fix the contribution with reference to total municipal incomes ?

(2) Is it intended to fix a separate percentage for each municipality ? If so, on what principles would it be determined ? Or is it intended that all non-authorized municipalities shall be made to contribute at a uniform rate ?

(3) Would it not be desirable to connect the contribution of a municipality to the educational facilities provided within its area ? Is a municipality, whose income increases, be made to pay a higher contribution even though the expenditure on primary education within its area may have decreased ? Would it not be desirable to fix upper and lower limits to such contributions ?

These are questions to which neither the Act nor the debates thereon provide complete answers and they will have to be thoroughly studied before the rules under this section are finally framed.

Thirdly, there is the question of the contribution of the local boards. In this connection, it is to be decided whether the small contribution that is proposed to be levied from the local boards is worth having at all or whether, as suggested earlier, the adoption of the French Model would not be a better alternative.

Lastly, the following three questions will also have to be discussed and definite policies laid down thereon:—

(1) On what principles and to what extent should the Union Government accept responsibility for financing schemes of compulsory primary education ?

(2) How would the Provincial Government be able to meet its obligations to finance a scheme of universal compulsory education in the Province?

(3) What adjustment in the financial relations between the Provincial Government and local bodies are necessary in order to enable the latter to contribute their quota to the cost of primary education ?

The decisions on these questions will not, of course, be capable of incorporation in the Primary Education Act of 1948; but they are intimately connected with the problem and the realisation of universal, free, and compulsory primary education will obviously depend upon the decisions reached on them.

10.11 **Conclusion:** The above are some of the vital administrative and financial issues raised by the Primary Education Act of 1947. This book is mainly concerned with the financial problems only; but a brief discussion of the administrative problems was essential because the administrative problems themselves have important financial consequences and was, accordingly, included in the earlier sections.

The various financial issues raised in Section 10.9 and 10.10 will be dealt with in the Chapters that follow.

District Rural Development Boards
VS.
1. District Local Boards,
2. Taluka Development Associations and
3. Village Panchayats.
Government Policy Criticised

By

Chunilal D. Barfivala, M. A., LL. B.

ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS IN MARATHI DELIVERED BY SHRI. CHUNILAL D. BARFIVALA, M. A., LL. B., AT THE CONFERENCE OF TALUKA DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION HELD AT NASIK ON 23RD JANUARY 1949.

Bhausaheb Thorat and Delegates,

I accepted the invitation of the Reception Committee to preside over the deliberations of this Conference with considerable hesitation because I could not claim to have any direct personal experience of the working of the Rural Development Associations. I was, moreover, defident about my ability to express my views as clearly in the Marathi Language as in the English or the Gujarati which is my mother tongue. My first difficulty was removed because I was privileged to hold informal discussions on the subject with two of the Hon'ble Ministers concerned. They put me in possession of facts which I did not know and of the views of the Government on the subject which I had no other means to learn. I was also pleased to receive an official letter from the Registrar of Co-operative Societies on the eve of my departure to Nasik. I am obliged to the Registrar for a very clear enunciation of Government Policy underlying the Government Resolution of the Agricultural and Rural Development Dept. No. 2588, dated the 27th August 1948, to protest against which this Conference has been specially convened. This letter helped me considerably in answering several querries that were put in the Subjects Committee. My second difficulty about language was solved when the Subjects Committee which discussed the matter for about 4 hours in Marathi expressed the view that the audience would be able to follow my Marathi much better than any other

language that I could have used. In fact they directed that I should speak in Marathi.

As stated above the main purpose of this Conference is to lodge a protest against the action being taken by the Registrar under the directions given to him by Government to take steps to have the Bylaws of the existing Taluka Development Associations on the lines laid down under the abovementioned Government Resolution.

The objects underlying the issue of the G. R. are stated to be *inter alia* to make each Taluka Development Board (a new designation proposed in the G. R. to be substituted for the present one of Taluka Development Association) a focus for all rural development activities in the taluka and specially to assist and advise officials and rural workers, and institutions like Gram Panchayats and others in carrying out their functions efficiently. Evidently Government seem to think that the present Organisation of Taluka Development Association is not capable of fulfilling these objects and therefore they propose to reorganise them on the lines mentioned in the G. R. The fundamental principles of this reorganisation seem to be that these Taluka Development Associations are to work as agencies of the District Rural Development Boards which are to be given powers to supervise the Taluka Development Boards. Administrative control over these newly constituted Boards is to be exercised by the Collector and the Chairman of the District Rural Development Board. The very Constitution of the Taluka Development Associations is to be overhauled to such an extent that a number of officers will be ex-officio members. Not only that but all members of the District Rural Development Boards resident in the taluka are also to be ex-officio members. In addition, the District Rural Development Boards would be entitled to nominate "active members" on the Taluka Development Boards. The G. R goes further and prescribes the composition of the managing body also and adds thereto nominees of the District Rural Development Boards and others. It goes still further to the length of appointing ex-officio official Vice Chairmen and official Secretaries though it permits, (It is not mentioned whether in addition to or substitution of officials) that the "Board *may elect* its own Chairman, appoint Vice-Chairman and non-official Secretary, if necessary."

This is in brief the general outlines of the policy underlying the reorganisation as forecast in the G. R.

The Registrar has been good enough to write to me that it was not proposed to create a majority of outsiders in the Managing Committee, that the outsiders will pay their fees and that officials will not be entitled to vote in the meetings. These explanations were indeed necessary to fill up lacuna in the G. R. The G. R. as so analysed seems to aim at converting the present Taluka Development Associations into Boards taking up a

greater scope of work of rural development. The District Rural Development Boards it appears, require a Taluka Agency to which they could transfer their responsibilities and also the benefits of the privileges which they at present enjoy at the hands of Government.

The G. R. directs the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to take steps to have the by-laws of the existing Taluka Development Associations amended on the lines of the policy laid down in the G. R. It would therefore appear that the adoption of the new By-laws by a Taluka Development Association would be the first condition of their application. It is optional for a Taluka Development Association to adopt the amendments or to continue to function under the existing Bylaws. The penalty of a non-co-operative attitude would be that such a recalcitrant Taluka Development Association will not be permitted to act as agent of the District Rural Development Board. If therefore Government continue their present policy of endowing privileges or grants to District Rural Development Boards these advantages cannot be shared by the Rural Development Associations.

It is necessary to consider whether the situation thus created is likely to be helpful and condusive to serve the objects which Government have in view.

I have always felt that some sort of demarcation of functions between various authorities that at present hold the field of rural development is the first necessity. If one carefully scrutinises the list of functions assigned to District Local Borads, Village Panchayats, Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies, Taluka Development Associations and District Rural Development Boards he will be bewildered by the confounding overlap. For example read Section 50 A of the Bombay Local Boards Act, Section 26A of the Village Panchayat Act, and the model Bylaw No. 2 of the Taluka Development Association. Every one of these statutory bodies are given powers almost of identical nature with territorial jurisdiction over same localities. It is an irony of arrangements made at the Provincial Government level. Despite this confusion, it was considered necessary in the days of Diarchy to create a bureaucratic non-statutory body the District Rural Development Board for doing work which legally belonged to statutory bodies. Later on when the Congress party first took up the reigns of Government in their hands the District Rural Development Boards were freed from official control but were put in the hands of government nominees. It was argued that between election and nomination, there was very little difference when Government becomes National. In course of time this District Rural Development Boards became a preserve of party-favouri_ties and exercised superiority over statutory bodies. The District Local Boards complained very bitterly about the encroachment by the District Rural Development Boards on the powers which they enjoyed statutorily.

The position became still worse when Government commenced giving grants to the District Rural Development Boards and made District Local Board agencies for carrying out works executed out of these grants. Conferences of Local Bodies throughout the provinces protested emphatically against the encroachment by this non-statutory Government-favoured body. The Subject came for examination by the Kale Committee appointed by the Congress Government to examine the working of local bodies. This Committee emphatically recommended the abolition of the Rural Development Boards. Unfortunately Government did not pay heed to this recommendation of the Kale Committee. The matter came for consideration again last year before the Administrative Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the present Government to investigate the problems of administrative reforms. This Committee again unequivocally and emphatically recommended the abolition of the District Rural Development Boards. Principal Karve who has exceptional knowledge and experience of co-operative problems was the President of this Committee when its report was submitted. It is strange therefore that Government should still cling to this body and continue to endow upon them powers and privileges which by law belong to other bodies created by statute.

It is not necessary to repeat here all the arguments which have been advanced by speakers at the Conferences of Local Bodies, or by the Kale Committee or by the Administrative Enquiry Committee for abolition of the District Rural Development Boards. I would however appeal to the Government of Bombay not to hug these District Rural Development Boards any longer. The present Government legitimately takes pride for the abolition of nominations and for the creation of wholly elective bodies. It therefore behoves Govetnment not to prop up these nominated District Rural Development Boards by making grants of funds to them instead of making them to statutory bodies and giving them a place of superiority over the latter. District Local Boards today feel a sort of humiliation when for example they are told that their reconstruction programme should have the approval of these District Rural Development Boards, when they are told that programme of new wells should be in accordance with priorities approved by the District Rural Development Boards, and when they are told that they could straightaway reject works which the District Local Board proposes as falling within the Rural Davelopment programme appropriate to the needs of the area within its jurisdiction. In the case of Taluka Development Association Government proposes, under the G. R. in question to endow upon District Rural Development Boards powers and position *vis a vis* the Rural Development Association which no self-respecting Rural Development Association can tolerate. It is not denied that some Rural Development Associations may not be doing its work to

the satisfaction of Government Officials. It is also possible that there may be found Rural Development Associations which are thoroughly mismanaging their affairs. But these are no reasons why a body like District Rural Development Board should have all the powers of supervision, control, and internal interference to the extent of outsiders being introduced as ordinary members and even as member of the Managing Committees of Rural Development Associations. Even if we make an impossible assumption that Government will always appoint on the District Rural Development Board members who are all self-less social workers who are above party politics and party-partisanship we must admit that they are no proper substitutes for members elected in accordance with statutory provision.

I find that some of the Rural Development Associations are doing excellent work. I wish that Government should not disturb their work. It is an objectionable policy to favour a particular nominated group and to tell statutory bodies that unless the latter submit to work under the former, the latter will not be entitled to share in the benefits and privileges which Government will continue to grant to the nominated group. This sort of treatment of statutory bodies makes them subordinate to non statutory bodies who are generally party ridden, makes the former assume an inferiority complex and causes loss of initiative on their part and the result will be that these bodies which have direct contact with the people will lose faith in their mission and the distrct District Rural Development Boards will be absolutely incapable of arousing any enthusiasm amongst the villagers. It is just possible that some Rural Development Associations tempted by the hopes of sharing the favours and privileges which Government bestow on District Rural Development Boards may accept the implications of the G. R. and amend their bylaws accordingly but I suggest that this step will not be ultimatly to the benifit of the people at large. If Government continue to favour the District Rural Development Boards against the Taluka Rural Associations or District Local Boards and give enhanced grants to the former and deny them to the latter if this practice is followed for a long time and if the assumption of power by these Government favourfed bodies grows into great magnitude it will mean coersion of statutory bodies into submission to the non-statutory undemocratic and unrepresentative partisan bodies. Every change in the composition of the political parties will be shadowed down in these bodies where parties should be tabooed. I wish that Government should seriously contemplate the consequences of their policy. I have no doubt that Government will ultimately see the unwisdom of the present policy. I have faith in their wisdom and ferventiy hope that they may retrace their steps early.

Reviews of Books

PANCHAYATS IN MADRAS

(A Review of a study of Panchayats in Madras by K, Jayaraman, M. A., M. Litt., Dip. Pol. & Pub. Admn., Published by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. Rs. 5/-).

"Of late interest in the institution of the panchayats is reviving, but the literature on the subject is not adequate". "With this in view" the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics "planned a comprehensive study of the working of Village Panchayats in India". As the first of the monographs among this series, they have presented Mr. K. Jayaraman's 'A Study of Panchayats in Madras' with an illuminating introduction by the Honorable Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. The long and intimate practical acquaintance which the author has as the district panchayat officer has enabled him to take a rather 'realistic view' shall we say an 'official view' of the 'Subject of Village Administration'. Whereas we appreciate this approach to the subject, may we sound a note of warning to the promising author to balance this official leanings with a more popular and democratic handling of this matter.

For, recently we received a book on almost the same subject, A Guide to Panchayat administration by K. Vishwanathan, which we reviewed in our Issue of April 1948. As observed therein, that was more or less like an official manual, just putting the legislative and sub-legislative measures in a simple form.

Mr. Jayaram's study is deeper and more scholarly and not a guide to panchayat workers in the field. Mr. Venkataraman's book served the latter proposal admirably.

In his eight chapters, Mr. Jayaram has made an attempt to assess the adequacy of the existing Panchayat administrative machinery in Madras on a scientific and analytical basis. Against the background of the village assemblies in ancient South India, comes the next chapter, which gives a general trend of development of Panchayat movement, under modern legislation. A study of the Constitution, function and finance of Panchayats has occupied four chapters, while the last but one has been devoted to the problem of state control and supervision. As to be anticipated of such a

study, the last chapter, bears certain suggetions, with regard to the future of Panchayats. It is gratifying to note that all the eight chapters have been properly harmonized.

Mostly based on the materials gathered from the works of Prof. A. Nilakanth Sastri, a picture of the working of the village assemblies in ancient South India has been presented. Most of it pertains to the period of Conlas, since Chola period, particularly that of Raja Raja and Rajendra-Chola, is considered to be the "Golden Age". Authoritative inference is drawn that the then existing village administrative system was at its best.

The different kinds of assemblies that existed, the system of election of members, stringent qualifications prescribed for membership, inclusion of women members to the Committee, each stand as testimony as to the perfection attained by that system. Apart from the villagers, managing their own affairs as a body, including the administration of justice, they were undertaking the management of irrigation, transport and other allied matters. The outstanding feature of the *sabhas* were their duties as bankers and trustees. The Sabhas were practically autonomous, almost sufficient to protect their members, even if all other government were withdrawn. The musalman invasion marked the beginning of the end of this glorious system. With the advent of the British rule, which chose to deal with the villages direct in matters of land Revenue and administration of justice, the entire indegenous system, went out of gear, and remained so, until the Royal Commission on decentralisation, stressed the importance of the Village.

So the next chapter deals with the revival of village panchayat system under the British, up to the present time. Though the Madras Education Act of 1863, gave a sort of legal recognition to the Village Committees, the actual foundation was laid by the Village Panchayat Act of 1920. Under the provision of this act, for the first time, an officer was appointed, called the Registar General of Panchayats with powers, to give statutory recognition to the village organisations. After a detailed survey of the movement since its inception in 1920, the author observes "that splendid work was done by panchayats in *period of 1920—30*". He attributes this initial success to three factors, "First, the V. P. Act of 1920 gave panchayats a wild field to play their role and full freedom of Action. Secondly, the personal touch and guidance of the officers, particularly Mr. N. G. Ayyangar. Finally the liberal policy pursued by the Government.

The movement entered a new phase, when the V. P. Act of 1920 was repeated and panchayats were brought within the ambit of Madras Local Board Act. In one beautiful sentence, the vast change, thus brought over,

has been synchronised, "Panchayats become a miniature copy of the smallest unit of democratic administration in the west". Next, the author has steadily followed the logic of events, that demanded a change, and how they were inadequately met with, by mere amendments, now and then. In the light of sound statistical reports he assesses the progress in these words: "although it is more than twenty five years since the panchayat movement in the Madras Presidency was started, the number of panchayats is small... just a fifth of the total number...their working has been found to be unsatisfactory in most cases".

The ensuing chapters are an account of the reasons for this sluggish progress.

While discussing the constitution of the Panchayats Board certain interesting but yet confronting problems have been tackled. Though in some cases, any definite logical conclusions have not been arrived at, a valiant attempt to go straight to the core of the problem is made. The study of certain topics, such as, basic unit of administrative area, voluntary and compulsory formation of Panchayats, adult franchise and property qualification system, have become more instructive, since they have been illustrated with instances.

Under the existing law, once the president is elected by the members, he enjoys his position, even though he loses the confidence of his supporters. The author argues that the introduction of no-confidence motion system as a remedy, would do more harm than good. Instead he suggests the Direct election of the president by the entire body of electors. As regards the executive authority of the presidents, here are his views: "Having come to power through election, he naturally finds it necessary to favour his partisans and this in turn rouses the indignation of his opponents". The appointment of separate whole time executive officers ... should therefore be welcomed." It is a mistake to suppose that the appointment of executive officers is an infringement of local self-government". But some of these have to be taken for their intrinsic worth and not at the face value.

With regard to the functions of panchayat, he differs basically. "A rigid classification of functions into compulsory and optional, is to say the least arbitrary especially as conditions vary from area to area". For the guidance of the future legislative action, the functions have been "classified into three broad categories: Representative, Regulative, and Service functions".

One chapter has been devoted partly to condemn certain irrelevant and mischievous theories which according to the author are actually marr-

ing the progress of local self government, under the disguise of fanatical upholders of local self government. Some of them are, the Demand for the transfer of power of assessment and collection of land Revenue and the adoption of Village police system.

"No scheme of Rural Self Government can succeed without adequate finance, but so far the panchayats have not been treated in a generous fashion". The validity of this statement has been amply substantiated in the chapter on Panchayat Finance. Indeed that was the purpose and the purpose has been more than fulfilled. After acquainting with the present position of panchayat finance, even the most austere economist has to put his consent to the view "if the villages are to be really improved, the government must be prepared, besides financing all major services, to undertake liability to give an equivalent grant, subject perhaps to a maximum of the amounts raised by taxation in any one village".

Registrar General of Panchayats, Mr. Jayaram points out, was the central authority up to 1939. Then came the inspector of local boards with powers to control and supervise Panchayats. The power has now been delegated to the District Panchayat Officer. The chapter on State control and supervision makes a study of the degree of efficiency effected in administration, under each regime. A realistic presentation is given of the practical difficulties which crop up while enforcing the law, the loop holes in official routine and the drudgery of Red Tapism.

Some personal views so as to bring an improvement in rural life, have been recorded at the end. These suggestions come as a logical conclusion to the long discourse held in previous chapters. They carry more weight since they come from a person of long practical experience with the background of sound theoritical knowledge. We have no doubt the Government of Madras will have taken note of these suggestions and it is needless to mention that it will prove to be a valuable guide to those of other provinces, who are equally confronted with typical problems. Conditions and history may differ, the fundamentals, however afford good guidance.

We congratulate the author for giving us such valuable book on this all-absorbing subject and we welcome the publication as timely and of immediate interest to all the provinces.

BOMBAY—A CITY IN THE MAKING

(Review by Mr. S. M. Kini, B. Sc., B. E., M. I. E.)

Dr. J. F. Bulsara's book "BOMBAY-A CITY IN THE MAKING" is a book which every city father and every citizen of Bombay should go through critically. The book is a high academical achievement and the ideas given in the book can galvanise the cities life and prompt measures now taken can direct the growth of the city in the proper direction. This will bring about the balanced planning of the city, which the city fathers are so much after. The author having worked in an important position is conversant with the present working of the city and in his characteristic way dwells in the practical and realistic approach to the correct layout and growth of the city. Frequent references and quotations from no less a person than Lewis Memford are made and I am reminded of the following three famous volumes of that famous American writer :—

(i) The Culture of Cities,

(ii) City Development,

(iii) The Condition of Man

from which important doctrines and tenets are oft quoted.

The book consisting of 3 parts of 15 chapters deals on the springing of the cities, the trend in their growth avoiding the haphazard development and directing the growth in a correct direction as envisaged in Master Plan for Bombay. The birth, the growth and the extinction of some of the cities from the Babylonion, Sumerian, Assyrian times, down through the Greeco-Roman period to the Medeaval ages and the present days serve as object lessons and eye opener to the modern town planners. The history of cities e. g. Mohenjodaro, Memphis, Babylon, Nineveh, Athens Alexandria Carthage, Rome, Pompei, Peking and Pataliputra bring back to our minds the purposes of the human activity of the multi-proposed-individuals and how the city fathers, and the town planners of all times were striving to build up their cities on the Eutopian ideals to achieve a balanced social economy which gives the citizens all the services and comforts for a healthy and abundent life. The writer, with these object lessons gradually switches on to our premier city in India, 'urbs prima in Indis' and gives the History of Bombay not only from 1661 when it was handed over to the British Crown, but even from the times of Ptolemy when Bombay was known as Heptanesia with the seven Islands-Mahim, Parel, Worli, Mazagaon, Mombayim,

Al-Ominas and Colaba. The city is still in infancy compared with the old cities of London, Paris, Rome, etc., and had just 287 years of unplanned growth, and it is during the last two to three decades that the acceleration of growth has been so fast that the Master Plan for Bombay had to be drawn in order to avoid the haphazard development and to canalize the the growth in the right direction. Mr. N. V. Modak, the Special Engineer, Bombay Municipality, with the advice of Messrs. Albert Mayers & Cox, the American Town-Planning experts, drew the Master Plan for the Greater Bombay Region and if the actions and reactions of the city growing stimulii are studied and analysed, then it should not be difficult to direct the growth of the city in the proper direction so as to eliminate the traffic jam, and the wear and tear of the nerves of the inhabitants on account of the over congestion. Dr. Bulsara is really to be congratulated for giving his adminstrative experience in a book form, and his loud thinking, I am sure, will galvanise the city life and bear good results.

A close examination of the city growth will show that the meteoric growth of the city especially after the II world war is due to the well established textile industry, the abundence of the hydro-electric power, the close proximity to the Western Ghauts which can give any amount of water to the city, the motor and other industries, electric goods manufacture, all the finished goods being transported either by sea from the excellent harbour or by rail through the two well known Railways, the G. I. P. and the B. B. & C. I. Rly. It is beyond the scope of this review to go into the life of the great persons who dedicated their lives to Bombay. We must see that the present Metropolis, comprising of the 26 sq. miles of the corporation limits is not allowed to over-develop into tyranopolis which again will grow into necropolis, but having fixed the maximum population should not be allowed to grow bigger. More areas round about should be developed like satellite towns round the present nucleus, and make the city worth living in as described in chapters IV to X or the second part of Dr. Bulsara's book. The city must be made literate, prosperous and cultured by the bold policies of the Hon.' B. G. Kher, the eight industrialists and the pursuit of total education. As rightly pointed out by Dr. Bulsara, the eighty six slums, the seventy four per cent of oneroom tenements, the thirty per cent of the under nourished children, the five to seven thousand begger problem, the forty thousand T. B. patients, the seventy per cent illiterates, one quarter mortality amongst infant under one, the small-pox and typhoid epidemics, the intolerable density of population rising in parts over seven hundred to a thousand per acre, the twenty seven year average expectation of life, are the problems which have to be tackled immediately and we should aim at a healthy and abundent life by developing into a well ordered city that would give pure and plentiful water

supply, cheap, adequate and comfortable transport facilities, proper lighting and power in the form of gas and electricity, well laid out clean roads and foot paths and their proper illumination at night, adequate and well kept parks, play grounds, gardens, green belts and avenues. All this human endeavour tends to the fullness of life which in its turn leads to the inner urge for culture and civilization which in its term crystallize into the living embodiment of the city. This positive side of philosophy advocated by the Great Chinese philosopher Confucious may not be palatable to the followers of Lotz who adocated the negative side of life. But in a city every human being and every party has to work himself or through the city corporation, the civic administration or through the Provincial Government and aim at its aim and objective. Bombay's verigated population which makes the community life, should forge ahead with a resolute will and sincerity of purpose and should adopt the several well formulated schemes of civic progress, thinking well ahead.

BHUVELNI TAPAS (ભુવેલની તપાસ)

(Written by Vimal Shah, M. A., & Sarla Shah, B. Sc.)

(Published by Gujarat Vidyasabha, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4/8).

[Review by Mr. G. S. Desai]

This is the socio-economic survey of the Village Bhuvel of Bhadran Mahal in the Baroda State, carried out by the authors under the auspices of "The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics". This village is not located on any railway line, nor it is served directly by any other transport service. The nearest railway stations are Cambay and Dharmaj, the former being six miles and the latter being seven miles from it. The nearest place where the Bus can be reached is Udel, a village about one and half a mile away. The out going road from this village is only a fair weather road, invariably getting out of function in Monsoon. It has a population of 1070 people with the total areable land admeasuring about 1934 Bighas, with 217 Khatedars, out of which 146 Khatedars are from Bhuvel proper, who are cultivating about 1273 Bighas out of the total of 1934 Bighas. Thus the land per Khatedar comes to 8.7 Bighas and per capita, it comes to about one Bigha.

This would, perhaps lead us to believe that Bhuvel is a typical Indian Village devoid of the direct Railway and other transport facilities, with only fair weather roads, with the population mainly agricultural depending upon inadequate agricultural lands. But there is one important feature, which distinguishes Bhuvel from a typical impoverished and starving Indian

village. And it is this. About one third of the total agricultural land gives winter and summer crops with the aid of well and pump irrigation. This village has the further advantage of the tobacco crops. It must be borne in mind that the teeming millions reside in the villages which are not only cut off from the civilization but which submits precariously on once-a-year erratic monsoon crop.

At the outset, the authors deserve congratulations for having undertaken this task and having so admirably fulfilled it. In these days of lot of tall talking on planning, one is apt to forget that a thorough scientific survey is prerequisite to sound planning. The planning for "Freedom for Want" is the main task before our country and such a planning necessarily requires the scientifically carried out socioeconomic survey. The authors have shown the method of approaching such a problem. They (couple) have preferred to stay in the village of Bhuvel for about eight months and half in the company of the suspecting villagers. They remove the suspicion of the villagers, gain their confidence and extract the facts from them, which no official machinery however efficient could have been able to do. In the course of their work the authors have developed a technique of carrying out such a survey. Thus the authors have, at once shown the way of approaching such a problem and the technique to be employed. As it happens in the cases of such an enquiry that in the enthusiasm of collecting and tabulating the facts, one is tempted to collect such facts as may be of little or no importance for the final objective, it has to some extent, happened so in this case too. But this dose not affect the merits of this socio economic enquiry on the whole. Especially the enquiry into the economic condition of the people is admirably carried out.

Of the many interesting items which emerge from the survey are two glaring facts. Efficient working of the credit Co-operative Society of the village since the year 1913 has given a death-blow to the inhuman village usury with the result that there is not a single village-bania usurer left in the village. And only one liquor shop takes away about Rs. 10,000/- a year from the villagers - not to mention the mental and moral degeneration resulting from the habit of drinking. This glaringly shows how one single good factor, like an efficiently managed credit co-operative society can materially add to the welfare of the Villagers and how one single curse such as a liquor shop, can, likewise, be a source of miseries, in an Indian village.

Now let us examine the facts, revealed by the socio-economic survey :

That the agricultural lands are split up into holding too small to support a family.

That about 2/3 of the arable lands yield only one crop a year, if Monsoon is favourable.

That for want of manure, yield of the produce per Bigha is substantially poor.

That there is no sufficient fodder for the animals.

That only 19 per cent of the people can be said to be in a state of bare sufficiency.

That only 15 % of the people can be said to be normally healthy and free from diseases.

That the people are mostly illiterate and constant victims of superstition and caste-tyranny.

That the whole lay-out of the village is bad and the resulting configration is unhygenic and insanitary.

That there is scarcity of potable water supply. That the roads are bad and almost unpassable in monsoon.

That there is no transport or marketting-centre facility.

The same will be the story for any village in our country. It must again be pointed out that Bhuvel is comparatively better in that it has about 1/3 lands, which avail of the well and pump irrigation and that it has a money crop in tabacco. These advantages are absent in a typical Indian village. If the socio-economic surveys of such villages are carried out by similar competent persons, our planners will have an accurate quantitative picture of the country-side. Let us hope, in the coming census operations, our Government does something on these lines. It is high-time that our Government realises the imperative need of such a survey for every village.

After reading the first nine interesting chapters of the book, one is disappointed with the last chapter on "Re-development (पुनर्रचना)."

Unknowingly, it appears, the authors have been drawn into the false and unattainable ideal of a "self-sufficient village". In their enthusiasm to suggest short cuts and ready means for raising the standard of life of the population of Bhuvel, they have fallen victims to oversimplification and suggested peddling reforms. They have missed the jungle for the trees. Can peddling reforms, here and there, in our big country take us any further? Do we not want to change the whole pattern of our depressing country side radically? Do we not want to collect the waters of our great rivers by bunding and river-training? Do we not want to have electric grid lines, traversing our whole country side? And do we not want many other such things? We must start from the National Planning. Then there should be regional planning, fitting in the pattern of the National Plannings

Then comes local planning of the cluster of 10 to 15 villages, so as to fit in the pattern of regional planning. Redistribution of population, relieving the pressure on agricultural lands of the country, establishment of the regional industrial centres, etc. will have to be dealt with first on a national and regional scale. The local planning comes last. Of course, it is none of the authors' fault that there is, yet no tangible national or regional plan. But when such plans do come and let us hope they come earlier, cost of implementing the schemes envisaged in such plans will have to be met from the taxes to be paid by the village people in general. The paying capacity and therefore, the earning capacity of the villagers will have to be substantially higher than the level, which the authors have fixed as target for the population of Bhuvel in the last chapter of the book. However in the interim period, certain pilot schemes will be necessary, such as lift irrigation, cheap credit to the cultivators, certain patch work on the existing physical pattern of the country side, eradication of illiteracy, etc. But this will only check the further deterioration. We want to go forward, not with a snail's pace but with sufficient velocity so as to make up the time lost in the past. But I should not be misunderstood for having had to criticise the 10th Chapter of the book. The value of the first nine chapters remains unaffected. Let us hope that the National and Regional patterns evolved early and socio-economic surveys of the Indian villages are also carried out side by side. Then will come the opportunity of utilising the surveys to the full and sound local planning proposals will be evolved for the cluster of organically and typographycally connected villages within the national and regional pattern.

AT LAST

Someone is Looking

AFTER

OUR VILLAGES

By

The Hon'ble Mr. G. D. VARTAK,

Minister, Local Self Govt., Govt. of Bombay.

Last year while writing in ..... paper about the Village Panchayats in the Bombay Province, I had taken an opportunity of enunciating the basic principles of Government policy in regard to the growth and development of the Village Panchayats in this Province.

The cardinal principle of this policy was that the Village Panchayats were the primary units of the democratic Government that we are endeavouring to establish on sound lines in this country and as a corollary to this they were to serve as the effective means of decentralisation.

Many of the Village Panchayats that were established in this Province were found in practice to be in a moribund state and it was discovered on inquiry that the root cause of this state of affairs was that the Village Panchayats had very slender financial resources.

First Step

The first step towards their resuscitation, therefore, was to improve their financial position and as soon as this was realised, no time was lost in placing at their disposal additional sources of revenue. The most important of these sources was the assignment to the Village Panchayats of 15% of land revenue collected within their respective areas.

This was altogether a new innovation in the history of the Village Panchayats of this Province. This assignment of 15% land revenue has now been given statutory basis which would bring in a handy amount to many Village Panchayats.

Entertainments Tax

Another equally important new source that the Village Panchayats can tap is the tax on entertainments, shops and hotels. It has also been laid down that the Village Panchayats should levy compulsorily in addition to the house-tax one of the taxes mentioned in Sec. 89 of the Village Panchayat Act.

All these measures are expected to give the necessary financial help and stability to the Village Panchayats. Once their financial position is stabilised, there is no reason why the Village Panchayats should not function effectively provided the necessary guidance is given to them from time to time.

Administrative Side

This guidance will be needed on the administrative side. There would be many Village Panchayats old as well as new the administration of which will have to be placed on proper lines.

The work of such Village Panchayats is handicapped for want of proper guidance. To remove this handicap and also to quicken the establishment of the Village Panchayats in this Province, steps are being taken to appoint a special staff for this purpose.

The main concern of this special staff will be to foster the growth of the Village Panchayats in general and to assist the Village Panchayats in the proper exercise of their powers and performance of their duties in particular. With the appointment of this special staff it is hoped that the target of establishing 5,000 Village Panchayats in this Province will be more quickly reached.

Side by side, steps have also been taken to expand the functions of the Village Panchayats with a view to enable them to serve the local interests on a much broader basis. This step, by the way, will also be in the furtherance of Government policy of decentralisation.

"Nyaya Panchayats"

One of the important functions that the Village Panchayats have to perform in the new set-up relates to the exercise of certain judicial powers by the "Nyaya Panchayats". The Nyaya Panchayats are an integral part

of the framework of the Village Panchayats. In fact, in old times, the Village Panchayats were devoting major portion of their time to the settling of petty local disputes. This work was being done admirably by them.

Nyaya Panchayats are thus a rich heritage of the past which can still render a very valuable service in the local areas. The main purpose they are intended to serve in the context of modern conditions is to eliminate costly litigation which often times ruins the villagers.

With this aim in view, the scope of the Nyaya Panchayats has lately been much widened but the problem before Government is how to activise these Nyaya Panchayats. With a view to secure this end, the question whether the procedure under which judicial powers are conferred upon the Village Panchayats can be suitably revised is at present being examined.

Democratising Panchayats

A great stride forward has been recently taken to democratise the working of the Village Panchayats. The Secretary of the Village Panchayat who is a servant of the Village Panchayat will no longer be appointed by Government even though Government will continue to bear three-fourths of the cost of his salary.

Government has now promulgated the Bombay Village Panchayat Secretaries (Conditions of Service) Rules, 1948 under which definite pay-scales for the Village Panchayat Secretaries have been laid down.

The Village Panchayat Act is also being amended with a view to provide for the institution of the Provident Fund by the Village Panchayats for their employees.

Unless there is a contented staff it cannot be expected that the working of the Village Panchayats will improve to the desired extent. It is hoped that the measures mentioned above will provide sufficient impetus to the Village Panchayat staff to work energetically and with zeal.

Election by Ballot

A far-reaching innovation is being introduced in the constitution of the Village Panchayats. The elections will now be not by show of hands but by ballot and under the distributive system of voting. Under this system of voting, every voter will have as many votes as there are seats to be filled in his ward but he cannot give more than one vote to any one candidate.

This system is calculated to eliminate narrow and sectional outlook and to create a feeling of solidarity and oneness.

The introduction of this system together with the joint electorates will lay the true foundations of democracy in this country and the elections to the Village Panchayats will give a valuable training to the electorates in the rural areas in the art of choosing their representatives who will govern their destinies and ultimately destinies of our country.

Orders have already been issued for the revision of the constitutions of the Village Panchayats on the basis just described.

Wells and Tanks

Mention may also be made of the orders recently issued under which all wells and tanks vesting in the Crown and situated within the Village Panchayat area have been vested in the Village Panchayats.

Government has also modified its policy to some extent regarding the Village Water Supply. The aim of Government is to provide every village with a population of 200 and above with at least one well. The problems assume a different complexion where no sweet water can be had by sinking wells.

The policy of Government has now been suitably revised to cover such cases. The solution in such cases will be to construct bandharas or to prepare and execute schemes of piped water supply. The question of finance in such cases becomes all important.

Government, however, have undertaken to finance such schemes to the extent of 60% of the estimated cost by way of grant-in-aid and by advancing loan for the remaining amount on certain conditions provided, of course, the Village Panchayat concerned is prepared to meet the recurring charges of maintenance and repairs. This opens another useful field of activity for the Panchayats.

Housing Accommodation

Lastly, I would like to touch upon one more aspect of Government policy and that is in regard to the provision of housing accommodation to the Harijan employees of the Village Panchayats.

The orders issued in this respect cover a much wider field but they lay down so far as the Village Panchayats are concerned that if a Village Panchayat is prepared to construct quarters for its Harijan employees, then Government whould be prepared to sanction to the Village Panchayat a grant equal to 50% of the estimated cost.

It is for the Village Panchayats to take advantage of these orders and construct quarters for their Harijan employees and thus remove the stigma on the fair name of their village.

Within the limited space, I have tried to indicate the lines on which steps are being taken to put the Village Panchayats on sound basis and I hope that the improvement effected if worked in the true spirit will open in many cases new fields of constructive activity for the Village Panchayats and will ultimately restore to them their ancient glory which has made them immortal in the annals of Indian History.

LOCAL FINANCE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

MINISTRY OF HEALTH

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the Local Self-Government Ministers' Conference held at New Delhi in August, 1948, the Government of India have appointed a Local Finance Enquiry Committee consisting of the persons named below:—

Shri P. K. Wattal, Retired Accountant General ... *Chairman.*

Shri R. K. Sidhva, Member, Constituent Assembly of India *Member.*

Shri C. D. Barfivala, Director, Local Self-Government Institute, *Bombay* ... ... *Member.*

Shri Rameshwar Narain Agrawala, Chairman, Bhagalpur Municipality, United Press Buildings, *Bhagalpur* City (Bihar) ... ... *Member.*

Shri T. K. T. Veeraraghavachariar, Retired District Board Engineer, Gandhi Road, *Chittoor* (*Madras*) ... *Member.*

Shri P. B. Gole, President, Akola Municipality, *Akola* (C. P. & Berar) ... ... *Member.*

Shri R. D. Kapila, Secretary, Local Self-Government Reforms Committee, East Punjab ... ... *Member.*

Shri L. T. Gholap, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Health & Local Government Department, *Bombay* ... ... *Member.*

Shri M. B. L. Dar, Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, Health & Local Self-Government Department, *Lucknow* ... ... *Member.*

Shri S. K. Gupta, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, Local Self-Government Department, *Calcutta* ... ... *Member.*

Shri D. P. Gupta, Retired Assistant Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, United Provinces ... ... *Secretary.*

The terms of reference given to the Committee are as follows:—

To enquire into the question of the finances of local bodies and to make recommendations for the improvement of local finance and for that purpose:—

(1) to examine whether the existing resources are adequate for the performance of the functions assigned to the local bodies and to consider whether and, if so, what further sources of revenue should be provided;

(2) to examine the methods of Government assistance to local bodies, and

(3) to examine the existing machinery and methods of (*i*) assessment and (*ii*) collection of taxes.

In accordance with the above terms of reference, the accompanying questionnaire is circulated for eliciting expression of opinion.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Revenue

1. What are the main sources of income of your local body and what percentage of total income does each source represent? Mention heads of taxes or fees and the rates at which they are levied.

2. As the present sources of income of local bodies are admittedly inadequate, make suggestions for additional resources, dividing them into (1) tax and (2) non-tax resources.

3. Are there any classes of population, either in urban or rural area, which escape payment of local taxes? If so, mention such classes and also state how, in your opinion, they can be made to contribute.

4. Do you feel that any of the taxes now designated as "Provincial" should be assigned to local bodies? If so, which?

5. Do you feel that a local body should receive a share of any one or more of the following or any other sources of revenue :—

1. Stamp duty on transfer of property ;
2. Entertainment tax ;
3. Motor vehicle tax ;
4. Cattle trespass income ;
5. Excise revenue (so long as it exists) ;
6. Land revenue ;
7. Forest revenue ;
8. Tax on electricity ;
9. Petrol tax ;
10. Sales tax ;
11. Unearned income tax or betterment tax
12. Betting tax ;
13. Succession duty ;
14. Provincial share of income tax ;
15. Non-agricultural assessment ;
16. Agricultural income tax.

6. Is a Profession tax levied by your local body? Are there any restrictions on the imposition of such a tax ? Considering the great activity in

the exercise of various professions in urban as well as rural areas, is it not desirable that very much higher rates than those now in vogue should be introduced? Make suggestions.

7. Is any pilgrim tax levied in your province? How is it collected ?

Does pilgrim traffic by road in motor buses escape this tax ? If so, make suggestions for collecting pilgrim tax from buses. Are you in favour of increasing the present rates of pilgrim tax ?

8. Are you in favour of compulsory levy of house tax both in rural as well as in urban areas? If not, what other sources of revenue do you suggest for such a body where it is not levied? Give reasons for your answers.

9. Should assessment of all taxes imposed by local bodies be done by local bodies themselves or by an independent agency ? If latter, please state the constitution, powers, etc. of such an agency.

10. (a) Do you think that the rate of local fund cess should be uniform for all districts? If so, what should the rate be in your province. Give reasons.

(b) Should the local fund cess be assessed on a progressive or graded scale? Give reasons in support of your view.

11. When zamindaris are abolished, what is your suggestion regarding replacement of the cess or any other income which is now paid by zamindars?

12. Are you in favour of the imposition of a terminal tax or octroi by the local bodies? If so, what are your suggestions ?

13. What is your opinion on the advisability of allowing taxes for local improvements to be paid in kind or in the form of manual labour in lieu of cash in villages ?

14. What is your opinion on the advisability of levying a betterment tax for purposes of improvement or a surcharge upon the owners of immovable property, the value of which is automatically increased by the improvements? In case you are in favour of levying such a tax or surcharge, what, in your opinion should be the basis for such levy; whether it should be with reference to the cost of improvements or with reference to the rental value of the immovable property or with reference to the actual increase in the value of the property?

15. Do you think that collections of taxes by local bodies are made in full? If not, what improvements do you suggest?

16. (*i*) Do you suggest any special levy of road tax on industrial

concerns making extraordinary use of roads in the jurisdiction of local bodies,

or

(*ii*) Do you suggest any amendment to the Motor Vehicles Act as regards special amounts payable to local bodies?

17. Do you suggest that recovery of rents by Municipalities of properties owned by them should be made in the same manner as the recovery of taxes?

18. Do you think it is possible or workable to simplify the existing system of local taxation and to reduce the multiplicity of taxes? If so, in what manner?

19. What factors are, in your opinion, to be taken into consideration for determining whether the incidence of taxation is high or low in a particular local body ?

Grants-in-Aid

20. What financial assistance do local bodies in your province receive from the Provincial Government in the form of :—

(a) statutory grants for specific objects;

(b) non-statutory grants for specific objects;

(c) general grants;

(d) assignment of revenues, or

(e) any other form.

21. Are you satisfied with the present system of grants-in-aid ? If not, suggest on what basis they should be determined and in what proportion with special reference to (1) education, (2) public works, (3) health, (4) medical relief and (5) in aid of general funds.

22. How far should grants-in-aid be replaced by assigned revenue ?

Expenditure

23. Has the growth of revenue of local bodies kept pace with the expenditure ? If not, how have the budgets of local bodies been balanced ? Give figures.

24. (a) Do you think it desirable that certain functions and the expenditure associated with them should be handed over to local bodies along with definite sources of revenues ? If so, name them and state reasons.

(b) Are there any functions of local bodies, which, in your opinion, should be transferred to the provincial governments ?

25. In what proportion is the expenditure on primary education shared between the provincial government and the local bodies in your province ?

26. Do you think it (1) economical and (2) administratively convenient for two or more small local bodies to perform certain common functions by an administration jointly run by them ? If so, which are those functions and how should such joint administration be controlled ?

27. (a) Under what heads is retrenchment in expenditure possible? Mention details.

(b) How far, in your opinion, readjustment of local areas will conduce to efficiency and economy ? Can this be done by abolition of district boards and grouping of villages into Panchayat Boards ?

28. What is your opinion on the proposal to form an association of local bodies for the purchase of essential materials and commodities required by them?

29. Are you in favour of a provincial body of experts being attached to the Provincial Government in the Local Self-Government Department and will this lead to economy in the finances of local bodies?

30. Are you in favour of the power of surcharge being given to the Provincial Accountant-General or Examiner of Local Fund Accounts ? Should there be any appeal, and if so, to whom ?

Local Loans

31. Are there adequate facilities provided by law or by Government to encourage local bodies to take loans either from Government or to raise them directly from the open market ? If not, what further facilities should be provided ?

Municipal Bank

32. What is your opinion on the advisability of starting a joint bank of local bodies with the capital to be made up of Provident Funds and other accumulated funds of local bodies for the special purpose of enabling local bodies to take loans from their own Bank on easy terms ?

Commercial Undertakings

33. (a) Are you in favour of local bodies undertaking business enterprises, such as, tramways, bus services, electricity supply, dairy farms, vegetable gardens, fish farms, poultry farms, printing presses, theatres, workshops, etc. (1) as remunerative activities calculated to improve sources of revenue and/or (2) for providing cheaper and better service to the community?

(b) Mention any utility concerns, which can be profitably run in the local area of which you have special knowledge.

Taxation of Railway Properties

34. What is the position relating to the levy of taxes on railway properties by your local body?

35. What difficulties, if any, have been experienced in getting a notification of liability to pay particular taxes issued in respect of railway properties?

36. What is the system followed in assessing railway properties by your local body and what difficulties, if any, are experienced in this respect?

37. To what extent do the railway authorities claim special treatment in the assessment of their properties and what loss, if any, is caused by such treatment?

38. What is the approximate loss of revenue, if any, suffered by your local body by the refusal of permission by the Central Government to levy any particular tax on railway properties?

39. To what extent do the railways provide the usual municipal amenities in railway colonies in your area, including primary schools, lighting, road maintenance, water supply, sanitation, medical relief and anti-epidemic measures?

Taxation of Central Government Properties

40. Has any difficulty been experienced by your local body in levying municipal taxes on properties of the Central Government, which have come into existence since 1st April 1937 ?

41. What loss, if any, does your local body suffer on account of the inability to levy municipal taxes on such properties?

42. Give particulars of any Central Government properties in your area, which are used for purposes of profit and which cannot be taxed because they came into existence after 1st April 1937 and state the approximate revenue, which is lost every year on this account.

The term "local body" includes all units of local self-government, such as, City Corporations, Municipalities, Rural Boards, Village Panchayats, Town Committees, Notified Area Committees, etc.

The above list of questions is by no means exhaustive and does not prevent the inclusion of additional points, which may be considered as falling within the terms of reference of the committee.

It is earnestly requested that the replies to this questionnaire may kindly be forwarded to the Secretary, Local Finance Enquiry Committee, Kennedy Cottage, Simla, within two months from the date of its receipt.*

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* Those who are interested in replying to this questionnaire may send their replies directly to the Secretary at the address mentioned above. If the answers are sent to the office of the Local Self-Government Institute, 11, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay, arrangements will be made to send them to the Secretary of the Committee - Editor.

Town & Country Planning in Britain

CHAPTER I

A Historical Survey

By Gordon Stephenson

In the not far distant past, Britain was a land of small inland towns and ports, each one the heart of a closeknit agricultural region. The one great city, London, largely destroyed by a disastrous fire, had been rebuilt. It was the scene of intense activity, intellectual as well as commercial. When William III came to the throne, after the political revolution of 1688, he inherited a modern capital in good working order and ready to become the commercial centre of the world. It had been built under the supervision of Sir Christopher Wren, the greatest architect of the English Renaissance and a practical planner who achieved results. It was the work of Wren in the City of London which, more than any other, set the pattern of town building in the eighteenth century. It is this century which has been described as the golden age: an age when the arts and crafts, science and literature, flourished; a period of prosperity and stability when there was a practical application of ideas of quality.

In the eighteenth century Britain created its contemporary landscape. An agricultural revolution was carried through by the English Country Gentleman. It was a revolution made necessary by the rapid growth of population. Great areas of land were enclosed and improved by new and more scientific farming methods. Capital flowed to the countryside from commerce and the growing cloth, cotton and coal industries. England's lovely land, with its softly undulating fields bordered by hedgerows, groups of trees and woods, is man made. It was made at a time when men of action were men of taste, when the rules of etiquette were established by Addison's *Spectator* and by Beau Nash at Bath, the social and intellectual meeting place of eighteenth century England.

Sordid Slums

The capital created by the incipient industrial revolution flowed to the great estates in the country and also helped to create what remain to this day the most beautiful and civilised parts of British towns. But in the first half of the nineteenth century it was producing the most sordid

industrial slums the world has ever seen. By the middle and late Victorian age capital expenditure was immense, but the feeling for beauty had gone. In the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, old and new towns grew at an astonishing pace. To give but two examples out of many the population of the town of Manchester and Salford increased from 90,000 to some 400,000 and that of Liverpool increased by nearly 300,000. The process went on throughout the century. There was a constant flood of immigrants from the countryside of England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Agricultural workers and their families came to crowd the basements and rooms of houses in the older parts of the towns and to live in the new serried rows of brick shacks being built in a mad rush by speculative builders. They came to work in the numerous new industries which jostled the houses and spewed forth their dirty smoke.

Nowadays, eighty per cent of the population lives in towns. Britain is an industrial nation and she made the industrial revolution. She made all the mistakes. Now we can see what they are and they have to be corrected. This is no easy task.

In the early part of the nineteenth century there were reformers in Parliament, followers of Jeremy Bentham, who tried to give proper direction to the mad rush of town building. They were the philosophical radicals led by Mill and Roebuck. The latter, having grown up in the great spaces of Canada, strove manfully to get open spaces, parks and gardens and tree-lined boulevards in British towns. But he and his fellow pioneers were to fail, and in Britain a hundred years were to elapse before the principles they advocated began to be adopted. It was in Australia and New Zealand that their ideas met with some success, largely through the influence of Wakefield and his fellow colonisers. The highly original plans of Adelaide and Wellington, even though both have been partly submerged in a welter of suburban sprawl, still stand as witness to the sense and foresight of the nineteenth century radicals. Can anybody deny the enormous value of the green belts which remain to this day?

In Britain, at the beginning of this century, the development of public health was changing the character of town extensions. New housing estates were still laid out in small unrelated pieces of narrow parallel streets; but they obeyed certain by-laws and were sanitary though dismal. It was not until 1909 that a Housing and Town Planning Act was passed. This resulted from the pressure of a small group of men. At this time the Garden Cities movement was growing in force, but the culminating triumph of this body was the passing of the New Towns Act in 1946.

CHAPTER II

Towards Finer Towns And Lovely Countryside

By

Gordon Stephenson

Between the two world wars various British planning and housing acts carried further the process of central and local government intervention in town building. But, if finer towns were to result, there were many weaknesses to be remedied. The main theme until World War II was one of *control and preservation,* with local authority housing schemes, often badly placed, as the only signs of positive action. The initiation of development on sound planning lines was difficult, if not impossible, for reasons which were in the main financial. A planning authority which might bring about important improvements and enormously increase the value of some private land and property could not claim that increased value, and yet it had to pay very high claims for compensation if it disturbed that same private property. This problem, commonly known as that of compensation and betterment, should be solved now that Britain's 1947 Town and Country Planning Act is in operation.

Before World War II many eminent town planners, and notably Sir Patrick Abercrombie, had prepared what were called regional plans. Some authorities realised that it was necessary to study a region and the way it was likely to grow and change if one were to satisfy such simple needs as the location of residential areas within easy reach of workplaces and to devise a sensible scheme for main roads. During the war, as public interest in reconstruction and planning grew on an unprecedented scale, some most important regional plans were prepared. The one best known is that for the whole area of Greater London, where nearly ten million people are clustered together. The plan was prepared in two parts, but fortunately Professor Abercrombie was engaged in the preparation of both. In order to relieve the congestion in inner areas so that they could properly be rebuilt as worthy places for civilised people to live in, he suggested that a series of New Towns should be built at a distance of about thirty miles from the centre of London, and that people and industries from inner London should move to really modern and spacious smaller towns.

Exciting Developments

Largely as the result of this proposal, the British Government, through Mr. Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, enacted legislation which allows it to establish Development Corporations with full powers to build new towns on sites designated by the Minister. These promise to be the most exciting developments in the new town and country planning. Never before has a democracy deliberately set out to build new towns which will be planned from the start as admirable places for families of all kinds, with complete provision for modern community life and efficient modern industries. Already twelve New Towns are under way in England and Scotland; some are for people coming from overcrowded areas; some are for mining communities which will grow on new coalfields about to be intensively exploited; one is to be built adjacent to a great war-time ordnance factory now occupied by peace-time industries.

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What of the existing towns? Here the process of reconstruction will be relatively slow, but for the first time plans can be well laid. Effective legislation for the reconstruction of bombed areas was introduced and passed in 1944 — while the war was still on. Towns have the power to acquire compulsorily even their central areas so that they may be laid out afresh on modern, spacious lines. Financial assistance from the central government is very considerable. The Ministry of Town and Country Planning has issued a Technical Manual containing advice on the redevelopment of central areas — the most difficult task before the larger local authorities.

Because of the scope and importance of the new Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, local planning schemes will be in the hands of the larger authorities, the county boroughs and the counties. All are required to prepare a plan in the next three years, but such plans will be subject to revision every five years, for the new concept quite rightly emphasises the need for revision as circumstances change.

Realistic Plans

What kind of plans are being prepared? The first answer is that they are more realistic than ever before. Firm decisions can be made about what land should be built on and what should remain in agricultural use. Even when land is "ripe for development" but should remain agricultural, an authority can now decide that this will be so. Now the local planning office need not fear having to pay compensation, for all development rights in land are being acquired by the government. Eventually British towns are going to be much finer places than those which were so hastily built in the nineteenth century. They will be more spacious; main roads will become

parkways; residential areas will contain all those facilities such as shops, schools, clubs, pubs and churches, within five minutes' walk of every home. The larger factories will be grouped in well laid out industrial areas. The town centres will once more be places of which people will be proud. The counties will be preparing the plans for the rural areas which have been so long neglected. Capital, mostly government capital, is now being invested in agriculture. There may be once more an agricultural revolution which will again modify the face of the British countryside. Certainly there will be new village building, for the farm worker has once more come into his own. He is now one of the key men in the attempt to carry out a new economic policy which will give Britain stability, and once again a land of handsome towns and an even more lovely landscape.

CHAPTER III

Building of New Garden Cities

By

F. J. Osborn

The need for new towns in Britain arises from the fact that far too many of her people are packed in overgrown cities. Of the 48 millions now on the main island, more than four-fifths live in cities and towns. This would not be in itself an evil, since Britain is and must be an industrial and trading country; at the most only about six or seven per cent of the population can live by farming and village services to agriculture. What is wrong is that, like other industrial countries, Britain has allowed far too large a proportion of her people and of her industries and businesses, to drift into a handful of very large cities.

No less than half Britain's urban population is now herded in the seven huge and shapeless agglomerations of London, Manchester, Birmingham, Merseyside, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Tyneside, and Clydeside. There are 25 other agglomerations of between 250,000 and 750,000. In the continuously built-up area of Greater London there are over nine millions — a quarter of the town-dwellers of Great Britain. And up to 1939, when the War stopped building, the growth of the great cities continued — much more rapidly than that of the smaller towns — while the population of the farming counties, and of certain mining, regions, was falling alarmingly.

Regions of declining population present a serious economic problem They are, so to say, in a flat spin. Young and enterprising people leave them. The cost of social services rises, and there is a smaller taxable capacity to sustain them. Every kind of improvement, from the provision of electricity, better schools, housing and health services, to the enlivenment of entertainment and cultural life, is held back. This in turn accentuates the desire of the brightest people to move to the bigger towns. Industry, which must have workers, follows the crowd.

Twenty New Towns

Unfortunately, this accession of new millions and new activity does the big cities little good and their people much harm. The pressure

on central space debases living conditions. Land values and building costs rise so high that the richest cities cannot rebuild their dilapidated dwellings decently. One family houses are sub-divided into ill-equipped apartments. These, if replaced at all, give way only to inhuman blocks of lofty flats; and this only at enormous cost in national subsidies (twice the cost of family houses in smaller towns). Space for play is hopelessly scanty — one reason, I thlnk, why Britain lost the Ashes to Australia and cannot recover them.

The average big-city dweller has the painful choice between living in a slum or tenament-block near his work, and wasting time and money in a long journey to the ever expanding suburbs. Bus queqes, "strap-hanging", traffic congestion and a shortage of car-parking space are symptoms of this over-concentration and over-expansion of cities — conditions not peculiar to Britain. But it must be admitted that Britain has led the way in this crazy form of city development. The New Towns Act of 1946 is a signal of her ambition to lead the way out of it.

The sane thing to do, Britain now thinks, is to put a stop to the outward expansion of big cities, preserving for farming and recreation the green land still remaining around them — already much too distant from the throttled millions in the centres. These decayed centres must at the same time be rebuilt on more open plans, with fewer people, so that those who remain can have gardens and more space for play and health.

Thus Britain is returning, 50 years late, to the idea put forward by Sir Ebenexer Howard in 1898 in his famous book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, and demonstrated in the pioneer new towns of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. The people who must be displaced on a more spacious rebuilding of city centres will have the chance to go to new towns, placed well away from the cities and separated from them by wide agricultural green belts.

Some of the city industries and office businesses will move as well, so that for residents of the new towns the suburban daily journey will be cut out. Powers exist in other new Acts to guide industry to desirable situations and restrict it where there is congestion or over-centralisation. These powers have still to be adequately used, but the machinery is there. And business firms, as well as workers, have proved willing to move in sufficient numbers when facilities are provided.

How Cities Deteriorate

The British Government's programme is for twenty towns; sites for about ten have been chosen. For most of these, government-financed cor-

porations have been appointed with powers to make plans and undertake development. They are directed to plan for all the town equipment necessary for a full and modern urban life. Private enterprise will of course take part in the actual building. The Reports of the New Towns Committee, 1946, make recommendations for all aspects of this great project.

The New Towns Act was passed with the concurrence of all parties, and has public support. Naturally, as in any democratic country, there is criticism in detail. It takes time to prepare the plan and do the ground work for a new town. And when, as in many of the sites chosen, there is already a small town — typically one of 5,000 or so, which is to be expanded to 40,000 or 60,000 — difficulties must arise in dealing with existing local interests. There is also the problem, not yet solved, of giving each Development Corporation independent responsibility, while retaining enough control to knit the new towns into a national policy.

Britain, however, is always meeting new problems of this sort and usually finds a solution. The public promotion of town-building on this scale is a new technique which has to be learnt as you go along. Modifications of the machinery may well be found desirable. The whole project is a daring one, and has immense possibilities of social and economic benefit. It deserves study by every country that has a big-city problem; and what advanced country has not?

The above five articles are published with due acknowledgments to the British Information Service, Bombay.

CHAPTER IV

Problems of Regional Planning

By

HERBERT JACKSON

The devastation of war on the towns of Britain created an intense public interest in the opportunities presented for replanning and for creating better urban conditions. It was not long, however, before the town planner found himself at a dead end unless he took into consideration much more than the immediate problem of the town itself.

It was clear that the chance should be seized to open up the damaged areas in order to create a new spaciousness and to free the tangles of obsolete properties. But what of the former occupants, whether commercial, industrial or residential, where could they be permanently relocated to the greatest advantage? Some had been forced to go to other towns, some to the countryside. Would they want to stay there? Would they be able to operate there economically under more normal conditions? What other problems of housing or transportation would be involved? So the town planner had to invoke the regional planner to get a broad factual basis for his work and in order to decide whether the opportunities he proposed to grasp might be won at too great a cost.

Soon after the initial flood of public interest it became evident that replanning as a result of war damage was but one facet of the prospect for better towns, particularly in congested industrial concentrations where much rebuilding was inevitable in the interests of working efficiency. Towns had grown in "helter skelter" fashion during the last century following on the industrial revolution. Cramped industries tightly packed among houses at unbearably high densities had lead to a relationship which prohibited them either to expand or to function fully in the twentieth century. Schools, shops, cinemas, clubs and pubs, all the paraphernalia of modern urban life competed for more space. Moreover, the populations of industrial towns were increasing, as more and more people operated a growing number of industries. And then came the age of the motor vehicle. Wider roads, more roads, car parks and bus stations became essential, all needing more

space. The industrial towns (and it must be emphasised that most of Britain's towns are of this type) became "good places to get out of". Many, usually the wealthy, lived in the adjoining countryside, often alienating good agricultural land, and by travelling to work daily to and from the towns added to traffic congestion. It was quite clear that many urban centres were choking themselves and degenerating because of the concentration of too many people and too much traffic. The only answer was to develop counter-attractions elsewhere.

Counter-Attractions

Counter-attractions are essentially the stock-in-trade of the Regional Planner. No individual town can halt or regulate its growth by itself if there is inexorable economic pressure. The purpose of the Regional Planner is to invite that pressure to a place where it may be met more adequately. So the conception of new towns emerged firstly in relation to London. The principle, however, is applicable to other overcrowded centres and new towns or existing small towns much expanded in size are being contemplated in many parts of Britain.

Needless to say, the process of developing adequate and effective counter-attractions to towns that are over-attractive is no easy matter. A growing town has a colossal impetus and is much like a moving vehicle. However good the brakes may be it cannot be brought to a standstill or put in reverse without travelling some distance while slowing down, unless serious damage or discomfort is caused. Moreover, an additional impetus to the growth of many congested centres has been forced by post-war conditions and the urgent need to export manufactured goods. It may often be quicker to step up existing industrial installations to greater production than to build entirely new plants located more suitably in the long-run. To expand in the wrong place to achieve a quick result is often necessary challenging the Regional Planner to be acute and swift in the selection of sufficiently attractive alternatives.

Fundamental survey material has to be collected and collated of both an intensive and extensive quality. The economist, the social scientist-geographer and geologist all have their parts to play jointly with the architect, engineer and surveyor, and other specialists, the dominant role varying with the particular characteristics of the region concerned.

Greater London Plan

The Greater London Plan 1944, prepared by Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie started on the basis of the Barlow Report on the Distribution of Industrial Population, 1940. In this Report it had been recommended,

that some industry with attendant population should be moved away from the London built-up area for economic, social and strategic reason The Plan that followed was mainly the spatial solution, a pioneering illustration of what could be done with an effort. That effort is now being made. It is an exciting experiment full of challenging difficulties, yet being pushed forward with great energy.

Regional Plans for other parts of Britain — Merseyside, the Development Areas — formerly the Depressed Areas, such as South Wales, West Cumberland and the North East, have been undertaken by independent consultants commissioned by the British Ministry of Town and Country Planning but acting in liasion with local planning authorities. In these cases, the problem has not been one of dispersing population and industry but rather that of infusing new industries where needed to check unemployment, and regrouping population so that the new industries may function efficiently in present-day conditions when larger scale industrial units are becoming more commonplace.

Nor does Regional Planning in Britain stop there. National highways restricted in use to motor traffic are contemplated. It is only through a Regional Plan that most benefit may be derived from them. A deflection here or a link from a motorway there may save miles of new road or costly road improvements elsewhere.

National Parks and regional open spaces are to be preserved to serve the masses of population for the recreation and relaxation so necessary to balance intensive modern urban life. Local administrative units even on the County scale, often are too small to be able to formulate proposals of this nature or to meet the cost. The medium of Regional Planning is the answer.

But finally it must be emphasised that the whole process is essentially a process of *saving*. By getting in front of events, where possible, the planner aims at avoiding the wastefulness of capital expenditure in wrong places. That this can happen without planning is evident. Britain abounds with examples of townships built for specific purposes, usually the extraction of minerals, which now no longer exist. Having failed to respond to changed conditions these remained as one of the basic causes of pre-war unemployment.

CHAPTER V

Redevelopment of Central Areas

By

Jacqueline Tyrwhitt

The fact that planners in Britain to-day are tackling the redevelopment of the central areas of their cities is in itself revolutionary.

Apart from the Housing Act 1936, which permitted the redevelopment of slum areas, there were no powers before the war for comprehensive redevelopment of urban areas, nor financial assistance to authorities to undertake such schemes. Following the heavy raids, when perhaps 40 to 50 of the large towns suffered war damage varying from a few to hundreds of acres in extent, the Coalition Government brought in the Town and Country Planning Act 1944, which first enabled redevelopment of City Centres to be planned for. The Act gave authorities powers of compulsory purchase of areas of extensive war damage with Government financial assistance. In some cases, such as Salford, the damage was scattered, while in others, such as Plymouth or Southampton, the commerical core of the town was almost obliterated. To avoid speculation the basis of compensation on compulsory purchase was fixed at prices ruling in 1939 with additonal amounts for owner occupiers. This Act in addition gave powers of compulsory purchase for redevelopment of obsolete areas, for rehousing people displaced from central areas by redevelopment, open spaces, etc.

The Act of 1944 has now been absorbed in the much wider Town and Country Planning Act 1947, which in addition to the power referred to, introduces comprehensive town planning powers to be operated by about 145 Local Planning Authorities as against roughly 1,150 formerly in existence. Complementary to those powers a revolutionary method is introduced of putting the financial burden of planning largely on central government rather than on local authorities.

Earliar Obstacles

The built-up city centres of Britain present to the popular mind an impression of Stability and permanence. It was accepted, with grumbling

resignation, that the movement of traffic within them was difficult, hampering, and often dangerous, and the buildings were congested and over-shadowed. Schemes were put forward from time to time for widening certain main thoroughfares or cutting an additional road through congested traffic districts, but the fears of the enormous costs of acquiring the site, and of the dislocation that would be caused to trade during the period of construction prevented almost all of these schemes from getting beyond the early stage of discussion.

And yet these centres were not so stable and permanent. For instance, in a survey of the City of London in 1936 it was found that nearly a third of the buildings were under 30 years old *i. e.* that, at this same rate of development, the whole city would be rebuilt in 100 years. In the heavily damaged areas of Sheffield about one-half of the buildings still standing have been put up since approximately 1890. Records of other prosperous centres give the same picture, showing that piecemeal redevelopment has, in fact, been steadily taking place.

The permanence lay with the road pattern. This was strikingly demonstrated in the book, "When We Build Again" (Bournville Village Trust, 1941) which discussed the redevelopment of Birmingham. This showed a map of Birmingham as a small village in 1731 and another of the town centre today. The lines of the roads through that village, inconvenient even then, still persist in the commercial centre of England's most prosperous manufacturing city.

Of course, new roads have been cut through city centres the series of Haussmann Boulevards cut through Paris in the 1850's is the world's outstanding example. But Paris had at that time an autocratic government, and the roads were planned primarily to facilitate the political and strategic control of the Paris populace. Such actions are far more difficult under a democratic system — witness the long difficulties before a road could be cut through in London in the early years of this century — Kingsway — which connects two main east-west arteries of London, Holborn and the Strand.

Bold Acts

The bold Acts of 1944 and 1947 realise, however, that changes are continually occurring and that, provided one has knowledge of the buildings and the density of the accommodation in the central areas, these inevitable and constant changes can be adjusted so that "all the activities that take place within a central area do so under the best practicable conditions".

To this end, great stress is laid upon survey work. An effective and easily understandable method or tool for this has been devised for

measuring the amount and intensity of different uses within an area. This method involves the use of the Floor Space Index, which is briefly the ratio between the floor space in a building and the area of the plot of ground on which it stands plus the immediate area of adjoining roadway. This is fully described in the handbook of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, "The Redevelopment of Central Areas" (H. M. S. 12s. 6d.).

Only after thorough and careful survey and also an analysis of the town's traffiic in volume, origin, and destination can any realistic plan be worked out.

After a full survey many possibilities become apparent. The city centre is the epitome of a civilisation. It is the seat of government, higher education, culture, finance, and also the centre of gravity for the milling crowds in search of pleasure, food and purchases. Day and night the centre throbs with life, though the character and direction of the crowds alter every few hours.

Clear Characteristics

The rate of change in the physical plan of English town centres has not kept pace with the changes in tempo and interest of the citizens. Even so, some clear characteristics emerge: a focal area for entertainment, for shopping, for government, for art, for business, can usually be discerned, sometimes clearly, sometimes confusedly. Only after a careful examination of these *foci* of historic development and established values and a suitable traffic census can a road system be adjusted that will separate the traffic that goes to these focal areas from the traffic that goes through them to somewhere else. The greatest single boon and revolution that can take place in a city centre is the segregation of the human being from the goods truck, the pedestrian from the lorry: the second is the tactful and sympathetic provision of parking areas for private cars. Neither of these can be effectively designed without a most careful survey.

An initial step in the formulation of the city centre and other parts is, therefore, the preparation of an Advisory Plan by officers of the local authorities or by a Consultant. This plan is then published and an exhibition is held for the public so that reactions from all interested in the proposal can be obtained. This has taken place in the City of London, the County of London, the City of Manchester, in Plymouth, Portsmouth, Southampton and Bournemouth. In two notable cases, at Plymouth and Coventry, work has started on a small scale towards the realisation of the Central Area Plan. New roads have been constructed and new buildings are in process of erection.

COMPULSORY
PRIMARY EDUCATION
in
THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

By

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CHAPTER I

Introductory

The Government of Bombay has declared its desire to introduce free and compulsory primary education for all children between 6 and 11 years of age. The scheme was started with effect from the academic year 1946-47, and is expected to be completed in a period of 10 to 12 years.* The Government of Bombay is to be congratulated on this bold experiment in public interest, and every one, who has the good of the country at heart, would surely pray that it should be completed successfully according to the plan. In this connection it has now become absolutely necessary to study the problem of compulsory primary education in all its aspects-historical, comparative and administrative. For instantce, it is necessary to study how the idea of compulsory primary education has developed in this Province. Secondly, we must also find out the practical experience obtained in those areas of the Province where compulsory education has been introduced already. Thirdly, we must study how compulsory primary education is being enforced in the Baroda State which is the only major State to have introduced compulsion as early as in 1906. Fourthly, we must also take into consideration the development of compulsory primary education in other Provinces of India. Fifthly, it would be desirable to study how compulsory primary education was introduced and successfully enforced in

* Post-war Reconstruction in Bombay Province (Revised Five Year Plan) 1947 P. 212.

England. Such a comprehensive study will undoubtedly enable us to anticipate the difficulties that might arise in the enforcement of compulsory education, and will also suggest the measures which should be adopted in order to overcome them successfully.

The object of this book is to make this historical and comparative approach to the problem of compulsory primary education and to make concrete recommendations which will enable the Government to implement its scheme successfully, and to enforce compulsory education vigorously in all parts of the Province.

The book is divided into six Chapters including the introductory. Chapter II deals with the development of compulsory primary education in the Province of Bombay. It shows how the idea was first put forward by Sir Chimanlal Setalwad in 1893 and how it progressed slowly and step by step through the efforts of men like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Vithalbhai Patel, Sir R. P. Paranjpe, Mr. B. G. Kher and others. It describes the detailed provisions of the Patel Act of 1918, the city of Bombay Primary Education Act of 1920, and the Primary Education Acts of 1923, 1938 and 1947, in so far as compulsory primary education is concerned. The Chapter also discusses the successive changes in the policy of Government of Bombay towards compulsory primary education - how it was first accepted, first as a matter of policy and then as a matter of duty; how a program of compulsory education was prepared by the Chandavarkar Committee of 1921 and the reasons for which the programme remained unrealised; how in 1937 Government refused to accept a time-limit for the universal introduction of complusory primary education and how it finally sanctioned a scheme of introducing by 1960, universal compulsory and free primary education for the age-group of 6 to 11. The Chapter also deals with the expansion of compulsory primary education in the Province upto the present day, and appraises the work done so far and the difficulties experienced.

Chapter III deals with compulsory primary education in other provinces of India. It shows how Compulsory Education Acts were passed by different Provinces, and little progress done so far in sanctioning schemes of compulsion and the indifference of authorities to enforce it vigorously in practice. The narration of events given in this Chapter shows how Bombay leads all the other provinces in India in so far as compulsory primary education is concerned.

Chapter IV deals with compulsory primary education in the Baroda State. After giving a brief history of the introduction of compulsion, the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act of Baroda are analysed in

detail. The difficulties experienced in the Baroda State in the actual administration of compulsory primary education are then analysed. Finally, the main achievements of Baroda as well as its failures are discussed, and the implication of these for the Province of Bombay is suggested.

Chapter V deals with the development of compulsory primary education in England. History tells us that compulsion was first introduced in England in 1870 and became practically effective by about 1900. This part of the history is, therefore, treated in detail, because to-day the Province of Bombay is exactly at the same point where England was in 1870. The methods adopted by England between 1870 and 1900 in order to make compulsory primary education effective have, therefore, a great educational value for the Province of Bombay.

The final Chapter makes a number of suggestions in order to make the enforcement of compulsory primary education successful at an early date. Among other things, it is suggested that the financial aspects of compulsory primary education need more careful examination; that a large number of properly trained Attendance Officers will have to be employed at considerable expenditure; that the co-operation of non-officials will have to be secured to a great extent; that a large number of periodical investigations will have to be carried out and that several experiments, particularly those connected with part-time education will have to be undertaken; that intensive efforts for liquidating adult illiteracy will have to be organised and that attempts will have to be made to improve the economic condition of the people and to raise their standard of life.

It is hoped that findings of this study will be of some use to those who want to make the scheme of compulsory primary education successful.

CHAPTER II

Development of Compulsory Primary Education in the Province of Bombay (1893-1947)

1. Early attempts to introduce Compulsory primary education in the province (1893-1918):—

The Province of Bombay has always led in advocating the introduction of compulsory primary education. As early as 1893 Sir (then Mr.) Chimanlal Setalwad moved the Government of Bombay to make primary education free and compulsory. The proposal was obviously much ahead of the times, and was not likely to appeal to the alien and bureaucratic government of this period. It is no wonder, therefore, that this proposal was turned down on the ground that the application of the principle of compulsion to India was totally unsuitable.*

The second attempt made by Mr. Gokhale was to introduce, on 16th March, 1911, a Bill for the introduction of compulsory primary education. Under the provision of this Bill, the local authorities were permitted, with the approval of Government to introduce compulsory primary education in their areas. The Bill also authorised Government to prescribe the conditions which must be fulfilled before a local authority could introduce compulsory education within its jurisdiction. Lastly Mr. Gokhale also expected that Government will have to give substantial grants to local bodies in order to enable them to introduce compulsory primary education effectively. The Bill was very moderate in scope. As Mr. G. K. Gokhale himself said, "It was of a purely permissive character". Introduction of compulsion was not made a question of 'must' for local bodies as well as for Government, but a question of 'may'. It was also a very cautious measure in as much as it embodied 'sufficient safeguards against any rash or injudicious action on the part of local bodies'. Even this mild dose of educational reform was felt to be too revolutionary by the conservative Government of this period and by a large section of the non-official themselves. Consequently, the Bill failed and a great opportunity of building up the nation was foolishly thrown away. Mr. Gokhale himself was aware that his

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* *Vaidya B. N.*:- History of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay from 1815 to 1940. P. 39.

Bill stood no chance of meeting with official approval and concluded his speech on the Bill with the following words:—

"I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even be depressed..... I have always felt and often said that we of the present generation in India can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later..... This Bill thrown out to-day, will come back again and again, till on the stepping stones of its dead selves a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land".*

The subsequent developments in primary education in the province of Bombay and in other parts of India testify to the correctness of the vision of that 'mighty mind of the old'.

2, The Bombay Province Act of 1918:—

The Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918 popularly known as the Patel Act was the first legislative measure for the introduction of compulsory primary education in the Province of Bombay. The Act came into force from 5th December, 1917. The Act aroused the country-wide interest. In his speech in the Legislative Council, Mr. Patel observed:—

"I venture to say that in the whole history of legislation, in British India, so important a measure is for the first time being placed on the statute book and I rejoice that the Bombay Legislative Council takes the credit for it. The Bombay Presidency has taken the lead and I am glad to notice that some of the other provinces are following it up. The Punjab, Bihar and Madras have already taken up the question in right earnest. Very soon after the bill was published in the Bombay Government Gazette, in July last, I received hundreds of letters from various parts of India asking me for copies. I atonce got a thousand copies printed and not one is left with me. †

The measure though called "revolutionary" by a large number of speakers in the Legislative Council who rose to move amendments to limit its scope to boys only, is in fact a very mild measure, very cautious in its provisions and unsatisfactory in its financial implications. Mr. Patel realized that the Imperial Government turned down Mr. Gokhale's Bill

* *Hoyland, John S.* —Gopal Krishna Gokhale—His Life and Speeches. P. 139

† *Naik* J. P.— Compulsory Elementary Education in the Province of Bombay—A Historical Review (Published in The Progress of Education, Poona, Vol. XVII. No.s). 1940, P. 269.

because of its financial demands on the Imperial exchequer. He got wiser by Mr. Gokhale's experience and did not seek to involve Government into compulsory financial obligations for aiding schemes of compulsion. The followings are its salient provisions :—

(*a*) The Act was applicable only to urban areas excluding the City of Bombay.

(*b*) A municipality could launch a scheme of compulsory education for either or both sexes within the area of its jurisdiction, provided that (*a*) such decision was supported by two-thirds of the members present at the meeting and by half the total number of municipal councillors, and (*b*) was approved by Government.

(*c*) Government had to be satisfied regarding adequate provision of schools, teachers, epuipment etc. before a scheme of compulsory education could be sanctioned.

(*d*) The age-period of compulsion was from 7 to 11 years of age.

(*e*) Every parent residing within the area of compulsion was called upon to cause the child to attend a recognised primary school. In case of his failure to do so, he was to be prosecuted and on conviction was liable to a fine of not more than five rupees.

(*f*) A fine of not more than Rs. 25 was prescribed for people employing children of compulsory age.

(*g*) Compulsory education must also be free.

(*h*) To meet the rise in expenditure on account of the introduction of compulsion, Municipalities were empowered to impose fresh taxes or to increase any of the existing taxes.

(*i*) It was not obligatory on Government to aid schemes of compulsion submitted to it. If Government decided to share the cost with the municipality, its grant-in-aid to the municipality was to be at such percentage of the total expenditure as may be fixed by Government

The Act, indeed, is a great landmark in the history of primary education in the Province of Bombay. It was the first successful and bold attempt to enunciate the great principle of free and compulsory elementary education. It gave a legal status to the popular demand for free and compulsory education and sought to work it out despite all the social, economic or linguistic difficulties. Students of education will gratefully remember

the name of Vithalbhai Patel as that of a pioneer who caused Government to accept the principle of free and compulsory primary education for the first time.

The Act, however, did not fulfil the high hopes it aroused. The progress made during the next four years was very negligible. Only five municipalities introduced compulsion under this Act : the municipalities of Bandra and Surat introduced compulsion for boys as well as girls, while the municipalities of Satara City, Dakore and Byadgi introduced it for boys only. The table given on page 269 shows the progress of compulsory education as on 31st March 1922.

From the figures given in the table for the city of Surat, we cannot get any idea of success of introduction of compulsion, as the non-co-operation movement of 1921 resulted in a great withdrawal of children. In the case of Bandra municipality, we find that the number of boys attending schools doubled on the introduction of compulsion; but the number of girls rose by 109 only – which clearly shows that compulsory education was not effectively introduced for girls. Leaving Surat apart, we find that, after compulsion, the total number of boys in the remaining four municipalities rose from 2948 to 5951 i. e. the number of boys was more than double. From this we can say that compulsion was successful in case of boys; but it failed to have any appreciable effect in case of girls.

The late Mr. M. R. Paranjpe offered the following remarks:—

"The Bill was passed and compulsion was introduced in three big municipal areas – Surat, Satara and Dhulia. It does not appear, however, that they have been on that account much ahead of the Municipalities which aimed at educational expansion on voluntary basis as was desired in the Educational Policy of 1913. First it takes time to make compulsion effective and its effects can be noticed only when the illiterate adult population is largely replaced by the literate youngsters ..... Things would have been rosier if provision for adult education were made simultaneously with the introduction of school attendance that was not done."*

We find that municipalities were not willing to take any legal action against the offending parents and on the whole, therefore, it may be said that compulsion remained more or less on paper only. Moreover the financial provisions of the Act were not encouraging and consequently municipalities did not come forward to introduce free and compulsory education because their financial resources were too inadequate to meet the additional

* *Paranjpe, M. R* :— Educational Administration of the Province of Bombay (Published in 'The Progress of Education, Poona, Vol. XVII, 1946'), P. 222.

Statement showing the Progress of Compulsory Education till 31st March, 1922.

Serial No	Municipality	Year of the introduction of compulsion	Population			No. of pupils prior to introduction of compulsion			No of pupils on 31st March, 1922			Percentage on 31st March, 1922			Percentage at the time of the introduction of compulsion
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	SURAT	1919	61,711	55,723	1,17,434	6,041	2,343	8,384	2,631	2,419	*5,050	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	BANDRA	1920	15,626	12,318	27,944	907	361	1,268	1,572	410	2,382	12 8	3 3	8.5	4.5
3	DAKORE	1920	4,383	.....	4,383	450	.....	450	629	.....	629	14.3	.....	14.3	10.2
4	BYADGI	1920	2,889	.....	2,889	397	.....	397	598	.....	598	20.9	.....	20.9	13.7
5	SATARA CITY	1921	10,208	.....	10,208	1,174	.....	1,174	2,152	.....	2,152	21.5	.....	21.5	11.5
	Total		94,817	68,041	1,62,858	8,969	2,704	11,673	7,982	2,829	10,811	.....	.....	.....	.....

* This decrease was due to the effects of the non-cooprational movement of 1921 and consequent withdrawal of children from the Municipal Schools.

cost of compulsion. Thus the failure of the Patel Act was inherent in the provisions of the Act itself. A desire, therefore, soon began to be expressed to replace the Patel Act by a more comprehensive and radical measure. This was done by passing the City of Bombay Primary Education Act, 1920 and the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923.

3. The City of Bombay Primary Education Act 1920.

Bombay which is popularly described as the *Urbs Prima India*, was also the first City in India to press for the introduction of compulsory primary education. Some noble patriots or enlightened citizens like Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla or Sir Phiroz Shah Mehta agitated very early for the introduction of the compulsory primary education in the City of Bombay. But their attempts did not succeed owing partly to the apathy of the Government and partly to the absence of the educated public opinion. For instance, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla moved a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council, as early as in the year 1902 requesting Government to introduce compulsory primary education in the city of Bombay. The proposal, however, was turned down by Government as impracticable. Government even felt that if compulsion was introduced in any ward of the City, that ward would soon become deserted and the people would soon go over to other localities where they could be free from the nuisance.* Not daunted by this failure, Sir Ibrahim raised a question again in the Corporation in 1905 and got a resolution passed requesting Government to appoint a joint-Committee to investigate the possibility of introducing compulsory primary education in the city.† Government accepted the proposal and appointed a Committee for the purpose; but unfortunately the opinion of the Committee was that the time was not then ripe for the introduction of compulsory primary education. Sir Phiroz Shah Mehta then proposed in 1909 that a new Committee should be appointed to reconsider the matter, but no useful result came out of this proposal also.

In 1916, the demand for the introduction of compulsory primary education became more persistent. In July of the same year the Corporation called for proposals for the extension of primary education and its improvement. In response to this demand, a scheme was prepared with the object of expanding primary education on a voluntary basis for a period of 10 years and eventually ending in the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in all parts of the City. This scheme was forwarded to Government and was ultimately sanctioned. Government also agreed to give one

* Vaidya, G. N. :— History of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay, P, 47.

† Indian Education, August, 1905, P. 28,

half of the additional expenditure due to the scheme, as a grant-in-aid. (Government order. E. D. No. 499 of 10-2-1919.)

It was as a result or this scheme that the City of Bombay Primary Education Act, 1920 (Bombay Act No. XIV of 1920) was passed. Its main provisions are as follows:—

(1) The corporation was authorised, with the previous sanction of Governor-in-Council to declare by notification that the primary education of boys or of girls or of children of both sexes shall be compulsory in the City of Bombay or in any ward or part of a ward thereof from a date to be mentioned in the notification. A resolution regarding the introduction of compulsory primary education required the support of at least two-third of the members present at the meeting of the Corporation in which this question was discussed and by at least one-half of the total number of members of the Corporation.

(2) The parent of every child to whom notification regarding compulsory education applied was under an obligation to make him attend a recognised primary school unless he had a reasonable excuse such as the following :—

(*a*) Where the child is prevented from attending school by sickness, infirmity or other unavoidable cause ;

(*b*) Where the child is receiving, otherwise than a recognised primary school, instruction which in the opinion of The Schools Committee is efficient, or has already completed his primary education ;

(*c*) Where there is no recognised primary school within one mile, measured according to the nearest road, from the residence of the child.

(3) If a parent failed to cause a child to attend a school, he was to be heard and an attendance order regarding the child was to be passed. Failure to comply with such attendance order made the parent liable for prosecution and a fine of not more than five rupees.

(4) A person employing a child of compulsory age was liable to prosecution and a fine of not more than twenty five rupees.

(5) Government was given the power to exempt any particular class or community from the operation of compulsory education.

(6) The Corporation was authorised to either impose a fresh tax or to increase any existing tax, levied under the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888 in order to meet the additional expenditure of compulsory education.

4. Compulsory Education Committee of 1921.

It was shown in section 2 above that the Patel Act of 1918 proved to be too weak to force the pace of expansion of mass education. Moreover, the Patel Act was applicable to urban areas only and the need of a similar measure of compulsion for rural areas also began to be greatly felt. As a result of World War I, there was a great awakening among the people and the demand for the introduction of universal free and compulsory education began to be made on all sides. Government could not ignore this voice of the people for a long time and consequently, it decided to investigate into the problem. In its Press Note No. 3319, dated 15th July, 1921, the Government of Bombay stated that the question of introducing free and compulsory education both in municipal and rural areas had been engaging their attention for some time and observed.

"While educated public opinion is strongly in favour of compulsion and there is a growing popular demand for primary education, it is necessary to determine how far the vast population of this Presidency, especially in rural areas will accept compulsion being applied to them. The provision of the necessary funds for compulsory education and the creation of the necessary machinery for enforcing compulsion also demand careful investigation".

Government, therefore, appointed a Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, to consider and report on the problem.* The terms of reference of the Committee can briefly be stated as follows:—

(*a*) To consider and report on the desirability and practicability of introducing free and compulsory education in urban as well as rural areas.

(*b*) To suggest new sources of taxation to meet the cost of such a measure.

(*c*) To make detailed proposals on the machinery required to enforce compulsory and free education.

* Report of the Chandavarkar Committee, P. 1

(*d*) To submit a definite programme of introducing a complete system of free and compulsory education within a definite period.

(*e*) To suggest new sources of taxation to meet the rise in expenditure as a result of the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in all parts of the province.

The Committee drew up a questionnaire and circulated it widely. It also examined a number of witnesses. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the committee's work was a series of three questions which were sent to Collectors and which were to be answered by selected members of cultivators' class and backward communities. The questions were as follows:—

(1) Are you in favour of the introduction of a system of compulsory primary education, i. e. will you send your children, girls as well as boys, between ages of 6 and 11, to a school if there is one in your village or within a mile or two of your village?

(2) Do you think that the people of the class to which you belong would support a compulsory system of primary education, and send their children to school if there were one near?

(3) If a compulsory system of primary education is introduced, do you understand that if any child absents himself from school without reason his parent or guardian will be liable to be fined? And do you accept this system and do you think that people of your class will approve of it?*

In the Deccan, backward communities like Bhangi, Bhil, Koli, Maratha, Paradhi, Vangari, Vaswas answered all the three questions in the affirmative while communities like Chambhar, Mahar and Mang were divided among themselves and the number of persons against compulsion was more than 50 per cent. But on the whole, backward communities in the Deccan appeared to be favouring compulsion for both the sexes.

In Konkan, communities like Bari, Dharkoli, Kathodi, Kunbi definitely like favoured compulsion, but communities Chambhar, Ketkari, Konkane and Luhar were in favour of compulsion for boys only. More than 50 per cent of the persons belonging to such communities as Deoli, Maratha etc. were found to be against the introduction of compulsory primary education on the whole.

* Ibid. P. 53.

In Karnatak, communities like Ager, Ambiga Chamar, Dhed, Halepaik, Harankant, Holer, Hulsar, Moger, Vaddar welcomed compulsion; some communities like Vakkal, Kharvi, Mochi supported compulsion for boys only. One witness from the Mahar community said that books and slates should be supplied free. There was appreciable opposition to the system of compulsory education for either or both the sexes from such communities as Chamar Metri, Sunnagar and others.

With respect to the attitude of the people of Gujarat regarding compulsory education the Committee observes :—

"In Gujarat and Sind, however, a very large majority of the cultivating and backward classes who were consulted opposed compulsion in no uncertain manner for boys as well as girls. From these two divisions appeared most of the educated masses who advocated caution. Gujarat educationally the most advanced area in the Presidency, and judging from the statistics of literacy at the 1921 census is very little behind Baroda, in which compulsory education was introduced over 15 years ago. We consider, however, that the conditions in Gujarat are far less favourable, for the introduction of compulsion than in the Deccan. The population is far less homogeneous, and the wealth of Gujarat has produced a far larger proportion of dependants on well-to-do cultivators than is to be found in any Deccan village. Disturbed political conditions may have also temporarily affected the attitude of the people but the root cause is undoubtedly ethonological and economic".*

The Committee observed that on the whole people realised that sufficient progress in education could not be made on a voluntary basis. A certain number of witnesses suggested to the Committee to adopt a 'cautious policy, as they believed that people were not yet ready for compulsory education. A few cultivators who opposed any measure of compulsory education complained of their poverty and expressed their inability to forgo their childrens' earnings. The Committee stressed the need of a good deal of propaganda to educate public opinion in favour of compulsory education.

The main recommendations of the Committee were the following :—

(1) The age limit of compulsion should be from 5 to 10 years of age.

(2) Compulsion should be applied to boys first.

(3) Education of girls should progress on a voluntary basis, but in city municipalities compulsion to girls could also be applied.

A campaign of vigorous propaganda should be launched in right earnest, especially in villages to induce parents to send their daughters to school.

(4) If necessary, particular communities or areas should be exempted from compulsion.

(5) Compulsory education should be free upto and inclusive of standard IV. Poor children should be supplied books and slates free of charge.

(6) Government should create Local Education Authorities to administer Primary Education. In urban areas municipalities and in rural areas District Local Boards should be the Local Education Authorities, and they should be given as large a measure of control as possible in the management of primary schools, subject to the general control which Government must exercise.

(7) Under each Local Education Authority a School Board should be constituted and large powers should be delegated to such a School Board. It was suggested that some educational qualifications should be laid down for the members of the District Education Board, but majority of the Committee did not consider such a step feasible.

(8) The District Education Boards should be allowed to employ their own Inspecting Officers to be called 'Supervisors' who would inspect each school in detail annually. The Government Inspecting Officer would report on the work of the schools in his charge. The Educational Officer should be a servant of the Board although he might be an officer lent by Government. Actual administration must be in charge of a responsible officer possessing expert knowledge though it was not intended that such an officer was to act independently of the Board or against its wishes.

(9) In the areas of city municipalities and town municipalities compulsion should be introduced in a period of five years or less, and in rual areas which already possessed a school, in a period of seven years.

(10) Every year, in one-tenth of school-less villages, if at least thirty boys of school-going children could be collected, schools on voluntary basis should be opened. In such villages copulsion would come in force three years after the opening of a school.

(11) Government should be called upon to pay two-thirds of the cost in the case of District Local Boards and one-half to two-thirds of the expenditure according to the needs of the municipal local authorities.

Estimates: The Committee worked out the estimates of the additional expenditure involved in their programme of expansion as follows;—

Additional Expenditure on Compulsory Primary Education

(In lakhs of Rupees)

Estimated additional expenditure in each of the ten years. (The Committee calculated at Rs. 20 per pupil in the first year, and allowed for the reduction of 8 annas each year bringing the figure to Rs. 15-8 per pupi in the tenth year.)

Years	Municipalities.	District Local Boards.	Government.	Total
1	5	2	21	28
2	8	4	35	47
3	12	6	49	67
4	13	8	60	81
5	14	10	70	94
6	14	12	78	1.04
7	15	14	86	1.15
8	14	16	83	1.13
9	14	18	80	1.12
10	13	20	77	1.10

In these amounts the Committee has included an annual provision of Rs. 6 lakhs for building and an annual increase of Rs. 70,000 for training institutions. It has also included the cost of management and inspection.

It was on these recommendations of the Chandavarkar Committee that the Primary Educoation Act of 1923 was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council.

5. The Primary Education Act of 1923.

The recommendations of the Compulsory Education Committee of 1921 were mostly accepted by Government and were largely embodied in the Primary Education Bill which was moved by the Honourable Dr. R. P Paranjpe, Minister of Education, in the Legislative Council on 29th September, 1922. The third reading of the Bill was passed on 15th December, 1922.

Of the various provisions of the Primary Education Act of 1923, only those relating to compulsory education need be studied here. In this respect we find that the Act made five great advances over the Patel Act. They are as follows:—

(1) The Preamble of the Act showed a wider sweep, fuller vision and better goal and a marked advance over the Preamble of the Patel Act. It ran thus; "Whereas it is the declared policy of Government that universal, free and compulsory education for boys and girls should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansion and whereas it is expedient to provide for a progressive development and expansion of primary education so as to reach the goal on the lines recommended by the Compulsory Education Committee of 1921 appointed by the Government and whereas it is expedient for the purpose to provide for compulsory elementary education ....."

(2) The Patel Act applied to urban areas only. The primary Education Act of 1923 on the other hand applied both to the urban and rural areas.

(3) Following the Patel Act the Primary Education Act of 1923 also left the initiative in the matter of introducing compulsion to the local bodies. But it also went a good deal further. Under the Patel Act the municipalities alone could put forward a proposal to introduce compulsion. If it failed to do so, no other power could force it to introduce compulsion. The primary Education Act of 1923 altered this position fundamentally. Section 10 (2) of the Act authorised Government to call upon local bodies to prepare schemes of compulsion within a specified period if they failed to take initiative in the matter. Moreover, Section 26 of the Act gave Government power to prepare or execute Schemes of Compulsion through its own officers if the local authorities failed to comply with an order under Section 10 (2) and to recover the expenses of the Scheme from the local authorities concerned. The background of this legislation was thus explained by the then Minister of Education, the Honourable Mr. (now Sir) R. P. Paranjpe:

"Then again, we do not leave to the Municipalities the option to introduce compulsion or not. While in Section 8 we leave to local Bodies the option of making the first move, the option of making a scheme for themselves and asking Government to sanction it, we have not stopped at that though in fact we believe that for a short time at any rate that part of the section will remain practically only a devout hope; what we intend is that

according to the second part of that Section, Government will call upon any Local Body to make a scheme of compulsory education and if that Body does not make that scheme of compulsory education Government will appoint its own officers to make a scheme and ask the Local Body to carry it out. The Local Body may still perhaps be recalcitrant. Government will not stop there; Government will appoint an officer of its own to carry that scheme through even if the Local Body does not want it, and we will compel the Local Body to contribute its quota to the expenses of the scheme. You will find, therefore, that according to the clauses of this Bill, it is not left to the Local Body to introduce compulsion, although we devoutly hope that many Local Bodies will come forward of their own accord to do so. But we feel that the introduction of compulsory education is so vitally important to the progress of the people of this Presidency that Government must have power to take the initiative themselves and compel the Local Bodies to go ahead in this direction. Thus Section 8 gives power to Government to ask Local Bodies to introduce compulsion and make a scheme. The clause relating to difault, clause 24, will prove to you that Government is in dead earnest in this matter of introducing compulsory education. *

If a child under a scheme of compulsion did not have a reasonable excuse and also failed to attend an approved school, the school board was required to give a hearing to the parent and to pass an attendance order directing the parent to cause the child to attend an approved school on and from a date specified in the order. If the parent failed to comply with such attendance order he was to be prosecuted before a magistrate or a revenue or police Patel or a person empowered in this behalf by District Magistrate and was liable to a fine not exceeding two rupees.

Finally a person who employed a child coming under a compulsory scheme was liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 25/-. (Section 22).

Section 25 of the Act authorized Government to exempt children of either sex of any particular class or community from the operation of Compulsory education.

The financial provision of Primary Education Act of 1923 were better than those of Patel Act. It will be recalled that the Patel Act did not make it obligatory on Government to pay definite part of expenditure on primary education. The Primary Education Act of 1923, on the other hand, made it obligatory on Government to pay grants on account of compulsory primary education at the following rates. ;—

* Bombay Legislative Council Debates (Vol. VII) 1922, P. 391-92.

(1) In the case of the district local boards, Government agreed to pay all the expenditure incurred by it on account of primary education in the district in the year preceding the transfer of control. In addition, it agreed to pay two-thirds of the additional expenditure required for a sanctioned scheme of compulsory education.

(2) In the case of local authority municipalities, Government agreed to pay fifty per cent of the additional expenditure required for a sanctioned scheme of compulsory education.

(3) In the case of non-local authority municipalities, Government agreed to pay two-thirds of the additional expenditure required for the sanctioned scheme of compulsion.

(4) The act and rules made thereunder prescribed the detailed procedure for the enforcement of compulsion. Under Section 18 the parent of every child which came under a scheme of compulsion was obliged to make him attend an approved school unless there was a 'reasonable excuse' to the contrary. Section 19 of the Act mentioned the following as reasonable excuses:—

(*a*) Where the child is prevented from attending school by sickness, infirmity or other unavoidable cause;

(*b*) Where the child is receiving, otherwise than in an approved school, instruction which in the opinion of the school board is efficient, or has received from the school board a certificate of having already completed his elementary education;

(*c*) Where there is no approved school within a distance to be fixed by the Government in consultation with the school board and measured according to the nearest road, from the residence of the child;

(*d*) Where after due application, entrance to an approved school has been refused to the child and there is no other approved school to which he can be admitted within the distance fixed under clause (c) until such time as the parent is notified that the child can be admitted;

(*e*) Where there is no approved school in the locality in which instruction is given in the vernacular of the child;

(*f*) Where there is no approved school in the locality to which the parent can send the child without exposing it to religious instruction to which the parent objects.

6. The progress of Compulsory Primary Education in the Province of Bombay between 1923 and 1938.

The passing of the City of Bombay Primary Education Act of 1920 and the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 created high hopes that there would be a great expansion of primary education in the Province and that compulsion would be introduced everywhere in a short time. But unfortunately these hopes did not materialise as will be seen from the following paragraphs:—

(*a*) Bombay City:

The original programme prepared by the Corporation was to have begun in 1917–18 and completed in 1927–28 when compulsory education would be introduced in all parts of the City. The Secretary to the Schools Committee thus describes the details of this programme:

"It anticipated that the number of children of school education by 1928–29 would be 90,000. The provision was divided between the Municipal Schools and Aided Schools. At the end of 1917–18 there were 211 schools, 16 schools having been added in the year. In the Scheme of expansion adopted that year, it was proposed to open 20 new schools every year so that in 10 years there would come into existence 200 new schools. In 1928–29 an additional number of 175 schools would be opened for the purpose of enforcing compulsion. On the average an annual increase of 1,500 pupils in Municipal schools was anticipated making a total of 15,000 in 10 years, of whom boys would number 7,000 and girls would number 8,000. It was expected that the Aided Schools would expand so as to provide primary education for 5,000 boys and 3,000 girls, making a total of 8,000 pupils. The grand total would, therefore, be 23,000. This combined with the number already in school at the end of 1917–18 would meet with the total requirement of 67,284 pupils".*

Unfortunately this programme was not carried out according to the plan. Compulsory primary education was introduced in two wards of the City only (F and G) on 2nd November, 1925. The idea of extending it to other parts of the City just remained a dream, and even in 1938 'F and G' were the only two wards of the City which had compulsory education.

(*b*) Compulsory Schemes under the Patel Act :

As pointed out in section 3 five municipalities had introduced compulsory education under the provisions of Patel Act of 1918. In

* The Schools Committee's Manual (The Bombay Municipality), 1947, P. 222.

1923 Dhulia Municipality introduced compulsion under the same Act, but the Municipalities of Dakore and Bydgi discontinued it, with effect from 1926. Consequently, only four municipalities namely Surat, Bandra, Satara City and Dhulia were enforcing compulsion under the Patel Act in 1938.

(*c*) Compulsory Schemes under the Primary Education Act of 1923 :

The following six Schemes were sanctioned under the provisions of the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923:—

(1) Compulsory education for boys only in Ahmednagar City with effect from 1st June 1927.

(2) Compulsory education in three wards of Sholapur City for boys only with effect from 1st November, 1927.

(3) Compulsory education for boys only in the town of Broach with effect from 1st September, 1927.

(4) Compulsory education for boys and girls in five peths of Poona City with effect from 1st December, 1929.

(5) Compulsory education for boys only in all villages of a population of 1,000 and over and in the areas of all the Non-Local Authority Municipalities in the district of West Khandesh.

(6) Compulsory education for boys and girls in the village of Murdi in Ratnagiri District.

The table (Appendix A) gives the progress of primary education in compulsory areas as it stood on 31st March 1938.

The progress of compulsion in areas other than Bombay City cannot also be considered satisfactory. In the first place, the number of areas in which compulsion was introduced was very small. Secondly, in most areas compulsion was applied to boys only. Thirdly, compulsion was mostly restricted to urban rather than to rural areas. Fourthly, the total population of the compulsory areas was about 5½ lakhs or 3 per cent of the population of the Province. And finally in all areas of compulsion hardly any steps were taken to enforce compulsion by prosecuting the defaulters with the result that compulsion remained much or less on paper. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the progress of compulsory education in the Province of Bombay, between 1923 and 1938 was extremely disappointing.

Who is responsible for this failure? Government blamed the loca authorities, and the local authorities blamed the Government, but a careful

examination will show that both of them were partly responsible. The following were the real causes of the slow progress:—

(1) The years after 1927 were those of depression. The decade of 1927 to 1937 was a period of retrenchment, cuts in grants and financial stringency. Consequently, Government was unable to sanction the schemes of compulsory education which were submitted to it.

(2) Much could have been done to expand education in spite of the financial stringency if devices like the shift system had been adopted. But this was not done as Mr. J. P. Naik points out :

> "We are not convinced, however that financial stringency was the only cause of the dismal failure. Much could have been done and a far greater expansion could have been achieved in spite by the alleged financial stringency; but twoother factors come in the way. Firstly, Government would not give up their century-old habit of beginning all retrenchment by axing the education budget ... Secondly, Government could not see their way to adopt such money-saving devices as the shift-system and encouragement of aided schools. Had they been alive to the potential value of these means to achieve expansion at a smaller cost, they would have achieved far better results in spite of the smallness of the purse they could command. We attribute the failure of the Primary Education Act of 1923 to the two causes mentioned here rather than to the financial stringency which has been so much made of in the D. P. I.'s reports".*

A very good example of the unwillingness of Government to expand primary education by adoption of measures like the shift system is found in the Bombay Legislative Assembly debates for 1934. On 14th September of that year Mr. L. R. Gokhale moved the following resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council :—

> "This Council recommends to Government that they should take immediate steps to achieve the rapid expansion of mass education within the available financial resources by adopting the following, among other, measures:—

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* *Naik, J. P.* :— Compulsory Elementary Education in the Province of Bombay, P. 279

(a) Simplification of the Curriculum of the lower primary schools, that is, of Standards Infant to IV, so as to confine the instruction to the three R's.

(b) Reducing the period of instruction in the lower primary schools from five years (Infant and Standards I to IV) to four years (Standards I to IV).

(c) Entrusting on an average larger number of pupils than at present to the care of one teacher.

(d) Organising of the lower primary school instruction on the basis of the shift system.

(e) Imparting of part-time instruction wherever necessary by the employment of peri patetic teachers." *

A very interesting debate followed, and several members took part in the discussion. But the Honourable the Education Minister of this period, Diwan Bahadur S. T. Kambli, was not prepared to accept it. He pleaded that there was a good deal of difference of opinion among the educationists themselves on the points raised in the resolution. He, however, assured the House that it would be carefully considered by Government. The resolution was withdrawn on this assurance, but Government did nothing to implement it.

(3) The recommendations of the Hartog Committee were against the large scale extension of compulsory education. They exerted, therefore, a damping influence on Government and prevented the spread of compulsion. This will, however, be dealt with in detail in the next paragraph.

(4) The local bodies prepared schemes of compulsory education and submitted them to Government for sanction. They performed this duty quite satisfactorily. Government did not sanction these schemes and failed in its duty. But the local authorities also failed to enforce compulsion rigidly, in those schemes which were sanctioned by Government. They also are, therefore, responsible for the slow progress of compulsory education.

* Bombay Legislative Council Debates (Vol. xxxix), 1934, P. 1485.

8. The Hartog Committee, 1928.

The Indian Statutory Commission appointed, in 1927, a Special Committee under the charmanship of Sir Philip Hartog to inquire into the growth of education in British India after the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1919. The Report of this Committee is a very important document because it exerted considerable influence on educational policies between 1929 and 1938. Unfortunately, this Committee did not recommend the vigorous extension of compulsory education. They stressed *quality* rather than *quantity* and felt that the immediate task before Indian educationists was *consolidation* rather than *expansion*. The following quotation from the Report of the Committee will show the cold attitude which it adopted towards compulsory education:—

> "Progress (i. e. in the matter of compulsory education) in the initial stages must necessarily be slow and difficulties are bound to arise. There are indications, however, that, apart from technical flaws in the statutes, the main difficulties up to the present have been due to lack of experience and, in some cases, of interest on the part of local boards, to the inaction or inexperience of attendance officers and committees, to unwillingness to make use of the power of prosecution under the Acts and to delay in the conviction of defaulters. These are not, however, insuperable difficulties and there are hopeful signs that, with greater experience and with suitable modifications in the technical machinery of the existing Elementary Education Acts, a greater measure of success will be obtained."....

> "Necessary preliminaries to compulsion.—We have been much struck by the feeling expressed in many places that an immediate panacea for all the defects which now darken the picture of primary education is to be found in compulsion. Although we regard compulsion as essential to the ultimate success of any scheme of mass education, we realise that the immediate and widespread application of compulsion would present serious, and in some places, almost insuperable financial difficulties, and that a sound system of national vernacular education can only be developed upon lines which permit the consolidation of one position before another position is attacked. In many places a drastic reorganisation of the elementary system should precede any wide application of compulsion; for an impetuous and ill-considered application of the principle would inevitably result in much unprofitable expenditure of money and even in an accentuation of many of the present evils. To compel children to attend or stay in ineffective, ill-equipped and badly staffed schools, such as are found at present in large numbers in many provinces can only result in a serious addition to the existing waste. This danger has been well illustrated by Mr. Harrop in his Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces:—

> 'For my purpose ...it is sufficient to note that of the 49,800 pupils in Class IV all but 8,000 or 84 per cent were aged eleven or over. Suppose that one hundred boys between the ages of six and eleven are compelled under the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act to attend school. On the proportion which holds at present, eighty-four at least will be able to leave school after attaining the age of eleven and before they have reached Class IV, and thus without having received any permanent benefit from education. 84 per cent of the money spent on compelling these 100 boys to attend school and educating them while at school will, under present conditions, thus be wasted. These provinces cannot afford more waste. Real expansion must, therefore, be based on an improved primary education and compulsion must not, if waste and injustice are to be avoided, go in advance of improvement '.

> "There are other precautions which should be taken before compulsion is enforced on a wide scale. At present, the universal, simultaneous and unconditional application of the principle of compulsion throughout the whole of any one province would probably be impracticable. Its application must therefore be partial and local in the first instance and depend both on the willingness of an area to adopt it and its ability to bear its share of the cost. .....

> "Compulsion should be a means of reducing and not of increasing waste; and waste there must be unless there is at hand an adequate number of efficient administrators and inspectors whose business it will be to review the present resources, to make proposals for an effective concentration of schools and to make plans whereby money should be economically spent." *

In short the opinion of the Committee was that no haste should be made in extending compulsory education ; that the first attention of educational administrators should be directed to the improvement o existing system of primary education; and that compulsory education might be introduced and extended slowly *after* the present system of primary education is improved. This recommendation gave a wrong lead to all provincial governments and damped the progress of compulsory education between 1928 and 1938.

* Report of the Hartog Committee, 1919, P. 89.

9. The Policy of The First Congress Ministry towards Compulsory Education.

In 1937, a Provincial Autonomy was introduced and a Congress Ministry came to power for the first time. The question of compulsory primary education was therefore taken up again and the people began to demand that no time should be lost in introducing it in all parts of the Province. For instance, Sardar Khan Bahadur Haji Amin Saheb Rais moved the following resolution in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on 17th September 1937 :—

"This Assembly recommends to Government to introduce free elementary education all over the province from 1st April 1938."*

A very interesting debate which lasted for three days was held on this important resolution. Several amendments were tabled to this resolution; but one of the most important of them was the following tabled by Mr I. I. Chundrigar :—

"This Assembly recommends to Government to introduce free elementary primary education all over the province from 1st April 1938 and by gradual stages, introduce free and compulsory primary education for boys and girls between the ages of 5 and 10 throughout the Province by 31st June 1941".†

The principal object of all persons who supported this resolution or its amendments was to set a time-limit for the introduction of free and compulsory primary education all over the province. The Congress Government, unfortunately, refused to accept any definite time-limit for this programme and merely stated that it would introduce compulsion *as early as possible*. Mr. Chundrigar vigorously criticised this policy of the Congress Government and said :—

"Now my amendment merely puts down a time limit for the programme which has been already accepted by the Ministry. Their programme is to take early steps to make provision for the extension of free and compulsory primary education. My submission is that so long as we use such vague expressions we cannot make a steady progress and the object of my resolution is to put down a time limit within which you must definitely carry out the policy of having free and compulsory primary education throughout the province.

* Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, (vol. I, Parts 1-28) 1937, P. 1092

† Ibid. P. 1102

"Now, if we look to the history of this question, we find that even at the time, when the Bombay Act No. IV of 1923, the Primary Education Act, 1923, was passed, the preamble of that Act ran as follows:—

'Whereas it is the declared policy of the Government that universal, free and compulsory elementary education for boys and girls should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansions.....'

"Now, you will find that almost every Government has always put down as its declared policy the object of having universal, free and compulsory elementary education, but then the putting down on paper of such a programme has seldom taken us nearer the goal and in spite of such generalisations, we have not been able to come nearer the goal. The preamble proceeds thus:—

'And Whereas it is expedient to provide for a progressive development and expansion of primary education so as to reach that goal on lines recommended by the Compulsory Education Committee of 1921 appointed by the Government, and Whereas it is expedient for this purpose to provide for compulsory elementary education and to make better provision for the management and control of primary education in the Presidency of Bombay .....'.....

"Here also we find that it is clearly mentioned in the preamble that the progress was to be made according to the programme on the lines which were recommended by the Compulsory Education Committee of 1921, and I am sorry to say that in spite of the acceptance of that goal, that policy was not put into force within the time limit then prescribed and we find in the report to which I shall presently refer that we are still very much behind the programme which was then accepted; and it was therefore that I said that the present Government should not also declare its goal merely in vague terms as was the practice of the previous Government but should put down a specific and definite programme to reach our goal within a fixed time. When we were considering our excise policy, I was glad to find that this Government propose a definite scheme to reach the goal of total prohibition within a definite period of three years. Now, I submit that this is also a matter which is equally important if not more important, for this province and therefore I strongly urge the advisability of accepting a definite scheme of establishing free and compulsory elementary education throughout the province in period of three years. That is why I have suggested in my amendment that we ought to introduce by gradual stages free

* Ibid pp 1103-5

and compulsory elementary education for boys and girls between the ages of 5 and 10 years throughout the province by the 30th June 1941 .....

"I object to vague generalisations and urge that we should have a clear and definite programme, to be carried out in three or four years, similar to our definite programme of prohibition. Even though we approved of the programme which was enunciated in the report of the Compulsory Education Committee of 1921 and which was accepted as our declared policy in the preamble to the Bombay Act IV of 1923, we find that we have not still reached the goal which was then declared by us. It is therefore that I want the House to accept a definite programme that there must be free and compulsory primary education throughout the province by the 30th June 1941." *

It is really unfortunate that the Congress Ministry refused to accept the idea of a time-limit. Almost all the Congress members opposed the resolution, often using the very expressions for which they themselves had criticised the former Governments, and advocated the insertion of words 'as early as possible' in place of those used to denote a definite time-limit. The following extract from the speech of Honourable Prime Minister, Mr. B. G. Kher gives a clear picture of the Government's attitude to the problem under discussion as well as the lines of policy which it thought of adopting in future:—

"So far, Sir, as the introduction or the necessity of compulsory elementary and primary education being made universally available if possible immediately, is concerned, I do not think, as I already said, there is any difference of opinion. But let us see the magnitude of the task. Not that members are not aware of it, but we find that the total number of towns and villages in this Presidency is 26,859. The number of towns and villages having schools today is 10,757. The percentage of pupils in primary schools to the total male population is 8.2. As you are aware, the Interim Ministry had got a very good programme on this subject, and the cost that was estimated by them to open 197 new, schools was Rs. 1,06,349. Now, you will understand that the immensity of illiteracy, the poverty of the people and the finances that will be required are all factors which will bring to the House a very correct perspective, a very good idea of the magnitude of the task on which we are all bent. As I said, there does not seem to be any difference of opinion on either side as to the necessity of doing this as early as possible, as early as we can and even immediately if we can do it. Why then wait for so

* Ibid pp. 1103-05.

many years? And this brings me to a detailed consideration of the amendment of the honourable member, Mr. Chundrigar. "....."

"His main argument was: This is all right; we are all agreed about the main end, but your words 'as early as possible' really mean nothing, and if you are serious about your policy you must put down a time limit". Sir, I am not exaggerating when I say that the majority of the speeches, which were made on the floor of the House to-day, practically wanted to support the honourable member, Mr. Chundrigar's view to the effect that the words "as early as possible" do not commit the Government to any particular policy. They do not, as it was freely said, mean anything at all, or they are too vague and therefore "do fix a time limit."

"Let us not now be asked to fix such a time-limit and let it not be said that then and then alone we will believe in your *bona fides*. I do hope that the honourable member will see that is not a very fair attitude, that is not a very reasonable attitude, to take. In the matter of the words, "as far as possible", I know those words may mean anything. Those words may mean, you might want to do it atonce or they may mean, as somebody said, 15 or even 100 years. But, do you really want to cast such aspersions on us as to say that in the matter of introducing literacy, in the matter of introducing free primary education, the bona-fides of the Government benches or the party which we represent, are in doubt? If you say that, then, indeed, I must say that we have almost come to the parting of ways, because I want you to believe that I do not yield to anybody, either on this side or on that, in my intentions, in my desire, in my anxiety, to introduce free compulsory primary education. So that a time-limit is not what we want. It is the intensity, it is the earnestness with which we begin our task that is of greater value. I have quoted to you an example, where a time limit was fixed. We did begin (An Honourable Member: It was a bureaucratic Government, then.) but what is the result? We find that we cannot carry on without full investigation, and, therefore, I say, that it is necessary for us to resolve that this matter must be taken up with as much earnestness as we can command. It is not merely enough to say, as the honourable mover of the amendment would want us to say, that we shall do this within three or four years; it is the sincerity behind the announcement, it is the intensity of purpose, that would have great value; but in as much as you think that setting up a time-limit itself is the best form of sincerity-perhaps, there is some force in your argument-I have already assured you that in 1923 we once did it, Government did it and it was found that it was not possible, they went on these lines and again we are now at a stage

where we find that before we go on immediatly spending more money, carrying on experiments, expending we have got to see that we do not repeat, on a much larger scale, the same system which has already been tried and found a failure. As I have said, it is necessary for us to see that this machinery is overhauled, because we have seen that it has not been found at all satisfactory, and we should see that this is done as soon as possible, and naturally, therefore, every effort must be made to push on with our programme of free, compulsory elementary education "as early as possible." Every effort, I can assure the House, will be made to increase mass education to the maximum extent at minimum cost at the earliest possible date and you will agree that, circumstanced as we are, that is the prudent course to take and that is the correct attitude to adopt. I am sure that if the honourable member were on this side and responsible for the introduction of compulsory and free primary education, he would have come to the same conclusion.*

After a heated debate on the original resolution and its amendments, it was finally passed by the Assembly in the following form :-

"This Assembly recommends to Government to introduce free compulsory elementary primary education all over the province as early as possible after taking steps to overhaul the present system in the manner already set out in the declaration of policy made by Government."†

The decision taken by the Congress Government in spite of all its sincerity and intensity of purpose, was, however, a very unhappy one. One always feels that the overhauling of the machinery and expansion of primary education could have gone on side by side. Probably, the real reason why the Congress refused to accept a time-limit was the fact that it did not want to commit itself to two programmes at once. The Congress had already pledged itself to programme of prohibition which would deprive it of an income of about three crores of rupees a year. Consequently, it was unwilling to take up a programme of compulsory education which would require an equally large amount, if not larger. One cannot help feeling that the education of the masses was sacrificed on the *altar* of prohibition. Had Government set a time-limit to their programme of expansion of primary education, our Province would have made substantial progress in the field of primary education even during the regime of 'Section -93' Government. That was not unfortunately done, and, in consequence, the Congress Government had to start, when they again came to power again in 1945, at the very point where they left in 1939.

* Ibid. pp. 1209-13
† Ibid. P. 1223

10. Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938.

The Primary Education Act of 1923 was amended in 1938 by the Congress Government in persuance of the policy enunciated above. The Congress Ministry held the view that the powers of the School Boards must be withdrawn before primary education could improve. The main object of the Act of 1938 was, therefore, to transfer the control of primary education from the local bodies to Government. The following were some of the changes made by this Act :—

(1) The Administrative Officer was made a Government servant.

(2) The powers of appointment, transfer and dismissal of primary teachers were taken away from the Boards and given to the Administrative Officer.

(3) Government took over the duty of inspecting primary schools and appointed its own staff for the purpose.

(4) Minimum educational qualifications were prescribed for some members of the School Boards.

(5) Government assumed certain additional and necessary powers of control over the School Boards.

(6) A Provincial Board of Primary education consisting of 12 members (out of whom 6 will be elected by the School Boards) was constituted.

These were the great and important changes in the administration of primary education which were introduced by the Primary Education Act of 1938. But they do not refer to compulsory education. In so far as compulsion is concened, the only progress which the Act of 1938 achieved over the Primary Education Act of 1923 was to state that it was the *duty* of Government to introduce compulsory education. For instance, the preamble of the Primary Education Act of 1938 marks a great advance over that of the Primary Education of 1923. The preamble of the Primary Education Act of 1923 stated that the declared *policy* of Government is to make primary education universal, free and compulsory. The preamble of the Amending Act of 1938 improved this statement and said: "Whereas it is the *duty* of Government to secure the development and expansion of primary education : and whereas it is the declared policy of the goverment that universal, free and compulsory primary education should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansion and whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the development, expansion, management and control of primary education in the Province, of Bombay.. ....."

In so far as compulsory education is concerned, this is the only gain secured by the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1938.

II. The progress of Compulsory Primary Education in the Province of Bombay between 1933 and 1947.

The first Congress Ministry was in power from 1937 to 1939. As described above, its main achievement in the field of primary education was the passing of the Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938. But it also did a few more things to expand primary education and to introduce compulsion. The most important of these was the introduction of the scheme of *Voluntary Schools*. Under this Scheme, any person or association which opened a school in a school-less village was entitled to a grant-in-aid on a capitation basis. This scheme was extremely successful and in a short time, several thousands of voluntary schools were opened and more than two lakhs of children were brought under education. In 1944–45 there were as many as 6468 voluntary schools with 3,19,076 pupils. Obviously, this scheme was very helpful to expand education and to prepare the ground for the introduction of compulsion.

Another important action of the Congress Ministry was to make more funds available to primary education. In 1937–38, there was a cut of 8 per cent in the grants to School Boards. This was immediately restored and additional grants for the expansion of education by appointing additional teachers or opening new schools was also sanctioned. This was the second important measure of the Congress Ministry to pave the way for compulsion.

A provisional administration under 'Section 93' of the Government of India Act of 1935 was set up in this Province during the War years of 1939–1945. This Care-taker Government was mainly concerned with War efforts. It could not, and did not, initiate any new and bold policy in the introduction of compulsory primary education; but it sanctioned a few schemes of compulsory primary education. (It must be stated, however, that the correspondence regarding some of these had started when the first Congress Ministry was in office.)

They are :—

(*i*) In Bombay City the Compulsory education for boys and girls was extended to all parts of the City with effect from 1st April 1940.

(*ii*) It will be recalled that in the cities of Poona and Sholapur compulsion was introduced in parts of the cities only. In 1943 compulsory education was extended to all parts of both cities.

(*iii*) Dharwar Municipality introduced compulsion for both the sexes in June 1942.

(*iv*) Between 15 July 1941 and 1st June 1944 Hubli introduced compulsion in Wards Nos. 1—7 for boys only.

(*v*) Bijapur Municipality introduced compulsion for boys only in 1944.

(*vi*) In the year 1944 Broach District Board introduced compulsion for both the sexes in villages with a population of 500 and over.

(*vii*) In the year 1943, compulsion was introduced for both the sexes in the Non-Local Authority Municipalities of Haveri, Bydgi and Ranebennur (Dharwar District).

The Table Appendix "B" shows the progress of Compulsory education in 1944-45 (the latest year for which the staistics are available).

The following comments may be offered on the situation revealed by the above statistics :—

(i) Compulsory primary education is more needed for girls than for boys. It is, therefore, absolutely essential to introduce compulsory education for both the sexes together. But even now, the Local Authority Municipalities of Broach, Satara Ahmednagar and Sholapur or the District Local Boards like West Khandesh have not introduced compulsory education for girls.

(ii) It appears that intensive efforts are not made to enforce compulsory primary education. This will be clear from the extent of the coersive measures taken in the Compulsory areas. In most of them, large numbers of children are outside schools and yet very few notices are issued; the number of attendance orders passed is still smaller. Only few prosecutions are started and the amount of fines realised is almost negligible. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that compulsory primary education is more on paper than a reality.

The Second Congress Ministry came to power in 1945. It again went back to the policy enunciated in 1938 and paid its first attention to improving the machinery to administer primary education rather than to expanding it. Its main object was to abolish the School Boards altogether; but this did not succeed and consequently, a compromise measure was passed under the caption of "The Bombay Primary Education Act of 1947". This has curtailed the powers of the District School Boards still further and reduced them to the position of advisory bodies. The powers

Municipal School Boards, however, are allowed to continue as before. In so far as compulsory primary education is concerned, the Act does not make any material change from the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1938.

The Second Congress Ministry, it must be admitted, has taken compulsory education more seriously than the first. With effect from 1st April 1947, it has already sanctioned the introduction of compulsory primary education in all villages with a population of 1,000 or more. This scheme is to be completed in five years and compulsory primary education is proposed to be extended to the Province as a whole in 10 or 12 years. It may, therefore, be hoped that universal compulsory and free primary education of 4 years may be introduced all over the Province by 1960. In other words, the idea of a time-limit has been accepted by Government at long last. Unfortunately, prohibiton still has a priority over compulsory education because prohibition is proposed to be implemented all over the province in 1952 while compulsion will not be extended to all the province until 1960. One does often wish that the Congress would go 'slow' with prohibition and 'fast' with compulsion !

CHAPTER III

COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN SOME INDIAN PROVINCES.

1. The Passing of Compulsory Education Acts by various Provinces in British India.

With the Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1918, the Province of Bombay gave a heartening lead to other provinces of the country in passing Acts of Compulsory primary education. The social and political awakening among the people during the World War I and the Non-co-operation Movement led to a general dis-satisfaction at the slow progress of mass education and a burst of enthusiasm for schools marked the prevailing popular trends in education. The transfer of Education Portfolio to Indian ministers stirred the enthusiasm and interest of people to a high pitch and even the cold, apathetic Department of Education was made 'more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion.* So, it is not surprising to find various provinces undertaking measures of legislation for the introduction of compulsory primary education in their areas. The following table* gives the details regarding various provincial Acts of Compulsory education:—

Year	Province	Name of the Act	Compulsion whether for Boys or Girls.	Whether applicable to Rural or Uban areas.
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
,,	United Provinces	,,	Boys	Municipal
,,	Bengal	,,	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	,,
,,	Bihar & Orissa.	,,	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P. E. Act	Both	Applicable to City of Bombay only
,,	Central Provinces	P. E. Act.	,,	Both
,,	Madras	Ele. Education Act	,,	,,
1923	Bombay	P. E. Act.	,,	Applicable to whole of the Province except Bombay city
1926	Assam	,,	,,	Both
,,	United Provinces	District Boards P. E. Act.	,,	To rural areas only
1930	Bengal	Bengal (Rural, P. E. Act.	,,	,,

* Nurullah Syed and Naik J. P. – History of Education during the British Period, P. 524.

2. Main Features of the Pryoincial Act of Compulsory Primary Education.

The Compulsory Primary Education Acts passed by the various provinces follow, more or less, the measures provided in Compulsory Primary Education Acts of Bombay Province. It will be interesting and instructive to glean out the main features of these Acts of Compulsion.

(*a*) The Acts empowered the local authorities to make adequate provision for primary education in their areas.

(*b*) All the Acts make it obligatory for the local authorities to evaluate the local educational needs at the primary stage, and to provide for the measures of expansion and development of primary education.

(*c*) The initiative for taking steps for the introduction and enforcement of compulsory primary education in areas within their jurisdiction was left to local authorities.

(*d*) To enable the local authorities to meet the additional cost of introducing compulsory primary education or expanding education on voluntary basis, the Acts empowered them to levy educational cesses.

(*e*) Government's share in financing schemes of compulsory primary education is provided in all Acts.

(*f*) The age-period for compulsion is not uniform in all provinces. The Acts fix the age of compulsion at 6 to 10 in those provinces which have a four years' course of primary education. (The Punjab Act also provides the optional age period of 7 to 11 and at 6 to 11 where the primary course is of five years' duration.)

(*g*) All acts lay down penalties for parents for not causing the children at compulsory age to attend approved schools and except in the Madras Act, there is provision in other Acts for the prosecution of persons employing children of compulsory age.

3. Methods of Applying Compulsion in Some Indian Porvinces.

It is true that the Compulsory Primary Education Acts in various Indian provinces have many common features and that many provinces are almost indentical, some provinces have atleast adopted distinct methods of applying compulsion in their areas. To every province the problem of ntroduction and enforcement of compulsion has been a problem of

problems. Every province has its indigenous hardships and handicaps. Some form of compulsion is always thought of better than no compulsion at all. The examples cited below of the Punjab and of Madras will show how they strived to grapple with the stupendous task of introducing compulsory primary education amidst socio-economic difficulties. The methods these two provinces adopted are not ideal but by adopting them they could achieve something in the initial period. A study of these methods will not only enable us to understand the problem of compulsion in this Province better, but also will give us food for thought to grapple with the problem of providing and organizing effectively compulsory primary education in the province of Bombay.

(a) The Punjab (Before partition):

In the Punjab, the method of applying compulsion to rural units is interesting. First a local board provides a school to a rural unit if it does not possess any. Efforts are, then, made to secure voluntary attendance of children of compulsory age. If sufficient accommodation is still found remaining idle, the District Board is advised to apply compulsion to bring in a larger number of children and thus to fill in the vacancies.

The Punjab Government decided to equip *all* primary schools with four classes. This measure was calculated to facilitate introduction of compulsory primary education in all parts of the provinces.

(b) Madras:

In Madras, the Elementary Education (Amendment) Act of 1934 enabled the Government 'to compel a parent who had once admitted his child to school to continue that child in school until the child had completed the elementary course'. This is usually called a modified form of compulsion. How far has this new measure in compulsion, been effective, is not easy to ascertain. But it is a feature worthy of special note by other Provincial Educational Authorities for adoption.

It is interesting to note that Mysore State has also thought it fit to undertake the enforcement of *Partial Compulsion* in the State. (Mysore D. P. I's Report, 1946, Page 39). So compulsion now enforced in Mysore appears to be on the Madras lines which aims at retaining the children who joined schools voluntarily till the completion of the elementary course, rather than securing the attendance of compulsory age.

4. The Progress of Compulsory Primary Education Between 1921—27.

Although some of the Acts of compulsory primary education were passed prior to 1919, action on all of them was transferred to popular

control. The passing of the Compulsory Primary Education Acts in varions provinces led to a remarkable expansion of mass education. Multiplication of schools and better enrolment of students were the outstanding features of primary education in all provinces. The following table * shows the areas brought under compulsion in the various provinces during the period 1921-22 to 1926-27:-

Areas under Compulsion

Provinces	Municipalities and Urban Areas	District Boards and Rural Areas
Madras ...	21	3
Bombay ...	6	...
United Provinces	25	...
Punjab ...	57	1,499
Bihar and Orissa	1	3
Central Provinces	3	66
Delhi ...	1	...
Total	114	1,571

N. B.—The large number of areas under compulsion in the Punjab is due to the fact that in the Punjab every school is calculated as an unit of area. So the rural areas shown in the table are, in fact, the areas served by individual Schools.

5. The Slackening of the Pace of Expansion during the years 1927-47.

The period of rapid expansion of primary education during 1921-27 was followed by a period of slow progress between 1926-27 and 1946-47.

The slow rate of expansion was due

(1) to economic depression and financial stringency between 1926-27 and 1936-7 ;

(2) to the second World War between 1929 and 1945 ; and

(3) to the wrong lead given by the Hartog Committee.

The following table shows the progress of Compulsory primary education in the provinces of India as a whole between 1926-27 and 1940-41. (The latest year for which statistics are available):—

* Ibid. P. 534

Area under Compulsion

Province	1926-27		1931-32		1936-37		1940-41	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Bombay	6	—	9	1	9	1	9	2
Sind ...	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	2
The Punjab	57	1,499	54	2,924	63	2,981	66	2,908
N. W. F. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
U. P. ...	25	—	37	24	36	25	36	25
C. P. ...	3	66	27	7	27	8	27	8
Bengal ...	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
Assam ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bihar ...	1	3	4	4	1	1	4	2
Orissa ...	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
Madras ...	21	2	25	7	27	7	27	6
Total ...	114	1,571	157	2,968	166	3,025	173	2,954

N. B. :— Combined from tables given in '*History of Education in India*' - *Narullah and Naik* (Page 534) and in '*Primary Education in India in 1931-41*' - *V. N. Narwane* (Page 84).

The following are the main features of compulsory primary education as it was enforced in the various provinces of India:—

(a) The progress of compulsion was very slow. The number of urban areas in which compulsion was introduced increased from 114 in 1926-27 to 173 in 1940-41 and that of rural areas from 1,571 in 1926-27 to 2,954 in 1940-41. Considering the large number of towns and villages in India this is a very poor record of progress.

(b) Government was not able to sanction schemes of Compulsory education mainly on account of financial stringency. This was the experience in most provinces of India.

(c) Compulsory education is more needed for girls than for boys. But actual experience shows that it has been very scarcely introduced for girls. As Mr. Narwane points out:

> " In Bombay, primary education for girls was compulsory in the municipalities of Surat, Bandra, Dhulia, Bombay (F and G wards), and Poona city during the whole of the decade. Compulsion was introduced for girls along with boys at Mordi village in 1938.

In the United Provinces, it was in force in Cawnpore, Muttra and Mirzapur municipalities from the year 1935. No more schemes were undertaken for lack of funds.

In Bengal, in the year 1938, compulsory education was introduced for girls in Chittagong where primary education was already compulsory for boys.

In Madras, primary education was made compulsory along with boys in all the divisions of the city of Madras and in municipalities of Erode and British Cochin ". *

(d) Even in the areas where compulsion was introduced there was no good effect made to enforce compulsion. The following examples will illustrate it :—

(i) In Bombay Province compulsion remained more or less, on paper, and year after year the annual reports on public instruction of the D. I. P. offer sad comments on the apathetic attitude of the local authorities towards education and on their almost suicidial reluctance to enforce compulsion. The Bombay Quinquennial Report for the years 1932-37 mentions a case of a local authority which, after having introduced compulsion in 1920, asked the Department in 1937 to instruct it regarding the enforcement of compulsion. The case illustrates the lamentable apathy the local authority showed for schemes of compulsion.

" Even in the case of the Bombay Corporation, it was decided that the parents who refused to send their children to schools should not be prosecuted. No coercive measures except the issue of a warning were taken in the case of the defaulting parents. Pure and simple propaganda which was resorted to in some cases proved too ineffective ".†

(ii) The following extract from an official document ‡ describes very vividly the efforts of the Punjab Government for the enforcement of compulsion in that province and the outcomes of its efforts :—

" The numerical advance is no doubt a refreshing feature but it cannot be productive of satisfactory results unless it

* Narwane, V. N:—Primary Education in India in 1931-41, P. 87.
† Ibid. P. 88.
‡ The Quinquennial Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab, 1927-32, P. 60.

brings in, in its train, regularity of attendance of instruction leading to the retention of scholars once enrolled for complete course of primary instruction. The disparity between the number of scholars in the higher classes to those in the lower is still marked. This has been due to the unhappy selection of areas and teachers, lack of interest on the part of the attendance committees, the inaction of the attendance officers, the unwillingness of some divisions to make use of the power of prosecutions under the Act and the delay in the conviction of defaulters. The difficulties are very many and varied but not insuperable. Vigourous application of the penal clauses of the Act is being attempted in atleast two divisions. In Rawalpindi divisions, 2,000 prosecutions were launched against the defaulters during the last year. In Multan, similar steps were taken where cases were being tried with summary powers. This large number of prosecutions have provoked no opposition. Public opinion generally appears to be in favour of coercion whenever and wherever the other methods have failed. Legal aid is sought as the last resort while in the ordinary course persuations through suitable propaganda is the chief agency. With better selection of teachers, attractive schools, vitalised instruction and effective supervision, compulsion will achieve its goal. In some districts compulsory education officers have been appointed for the purpose of (1) advising attendance committees, (2) assisting school teachers in improving attendance and (3) in instituting cases against recalcitrant parents. "

(ii) "In the United Provinces the D. P. I.'s reports tell the same sad story of unsatisfactory enforcement of compulsion. In Lucknow, where compulsion was introduced in a few wards only, it was avoided by migration into another ward in which compulsion was not in force. The Schools Committees were often reluctant to prosecute the parents for fear of becoming unpopular and when prosecutions were launched, the fines imposed by the magistrates were never adequate and the result was that only 20.7 per cent of the boys reached standard three, which means that a very large proportion of pupils was not at all benefited by the introduction of compulsion."*

(iii) "The Central Provinces were no better in effectively carrying out the programme of the introduction of compulsory primary

*Narwane V. N.:— Primary Education in India, P. 99

education in areas within their jurisdiction. The C. P. D. P. I.'s Report for the year 1933-34 describes the attendance authorities as irregular and "ignorant of their powers and responsibilities" and attendance officers as "ignorant of the provisions of the Act, careless and incapable of offering any real guidance to the attendance authority and obtaining assistance of the teachers in the organisation of their work."

(*v*) In Madras, the introduction of compulsion did not materially lessen the percentage of wastage. "It was found that insufficient preparation was made before the introduction of compulsion by way of the number of schools, provision of adequate staff and more particularly the provision of complete five standards."

It will be seen from these extracts that in most areas where compulsion was introduced, the local bodies were unwilling to take effective coercive measure, and consequently compulsory primary education remained on paper.

It may, therefore, be concluded that there was no material difference between Bombay and other provinces in so far as compulsory primary education is concerned. It is the same sad story everywhere——lack of funds, the small number of areas under compulsion and weak enforcement.

CHAPTER IV

1. Compulsory Primary Education in Baroda State.

The State of Baroda has an unique distinction in the history of primary education in India. It was an enlightened ruler of this State, the late Sayajirao Maharaj Gaikwad (1863–1938) who introduced compulsory primary education, as an experimental measure, in the Amreli Division of his State as early as in 1893. This was the first instance of the introduction of compulsory primary education in India. The experience gained in Amreli was very encouraging. The late Sayajirao Maharaj Gaikwad extended the area of compulsion from time to time, and in 1906 he made it applicable to the State as a whole. Even to-day Baroda is the only major State in India where compulsory primary education is universally enforced. It will, therefore, be a very interesting study to find out the experience of the Baroda State in the matter of enforcing compulsory primary education and to use it in making compulsory primary education successful in the Province of Bombay.

2. Provisions of the Compulsory Education Act in force in the Baroda State.

The Compulsory Education Act which is now in force in the Baroda State was passed in 1926. It has been amended a number of times and the following is the summary of its provisions inclusive of all amendments upto date. :—

Section 2: The Act is applicable to the State as a whole, but the power is reserved to Government to exclude any area or any community from the operation of the Act.

Section 4: Both in the case of boys and girls compulsion is applicable between the ages of 7+ and 12+.

Sections 5 & 6: It is obligatory on the parent of every child of compulsory age to cause him to attend a school. Some exceptions to this general rule are also allowed. For example, exemptions are granted to children who

(i) are receiving satisfactory instruction at home;

(ii) have passed Standard V or an equivalent examination;

(iii) cannot attend school owing to some permanent physical or mental disability;

(iv) have to maintain themselves or attend upon parents who are disabled by old age or disease, or who must be kept at home to take care of younger children as both the father and mother have to go out for work, and

(v) have no school within one mile of their residence.

Section 8: One month before the annual examinations are held, the Officers of the Revenue Department are required to prepare and publish, in the prescribed manner, a complete census of all children within the age period of compulsion.

Sections 9 & 10: Within 30 days of the publication of the lists, any parent who desires to challenge the correctness of the census or claim exemptions for his children may apply to officers authorised in this behalf and their decision on the subject is final.

Section 11: The parent of every child whose name is included in the census and who is not exempted from attendance under the provisions of the Act, must send him to a school within 30 days of the publication of the Census or of the date of decision on his application for exemption, if any.

Section 12: The head master of every primary school is required to send monthly reports regarding the children whose names are included in the Census but whose names are not registered in his school.

Section 13: On the receipt of the headmaster's report, the Village Panchayat (in Villages), Municipality (in Towns), and the Mamlatdar (in Baroda City) summon the defaulting parents, give them a hearing, and if found guilty, fine them eight annas for the first offence, one rupee for the second and two annas more than the previous fine for every subsequent offence, subject to a maximum of ten years. The fines continue to be imposed every month till the child is sent to school.

Section 14: A child who himself is ill or who has to attend a sick member of his family or whose assistance is required by his parents in their professional work is entitled to leave of absence; but leave on account of assistance to parents in their professional work must not exceed 15 days at a time or 30 days in a year.

Section 18: The authorities specified in Section 13, on receiving a report about non-attendance of a child described in Section 15, will follow the same procedure and penalise the parents in the same way, but the upper limit of the primary penalty will be a fine of Rs. 5 only in this case.

Section 19: For fines levied under Sections 13 and 16 no appeals are admissible, but a revision application to a higher authority is permitted.

Section 20: Employers of children of compulsory age are also liable to fines prescribed under sections 13 and 16.

Section 23: It is enjoined upon Inspecting Officers to study the Census of children and to report on the correctness of the census, the validity of exemptions granted and the proper execution of penalties provided in the Act and the realisation of fines.

Section 24: The Mamlatdars may write off irrecoverable fines.

Section 26: Sixty-five per cent of the amount of the fines realised are to be spent on education and the balance of thirty-five per cent on supply of books to poor children.

3. Comparison of the Compulsory Primary Education Act of Baroda with the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947.

A comparison of the foregoing provisions of the Compulsory Education Act, 1926 of the Baroda State with those of the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1947 shows the following interesting features:—

(a) The minimum age-limit for compulsion in Baroda State is 7 + while that in Bombay is 6 +. The lower age-limit of 7 + is certainly better. Mr. R. V. Parulekar has studied this point thoroughly in Chapter IX of his book, '*Literacy in India*' and gives the following reasons in support of the view that the age of compulsion should be 7 + :—

(*i*) Children under 7 are not ripe physically and mentally for the kind of instruction that is possible to be given in a school imparting mass education.

(*ii*) Industrial countries fix a low age-limit while agricultural countries or countries which are just developing or countries which have a scattered population usually fix it at 7 and above, because this higher age limit is more suitable to their socio-economic conditions. India is an agricultural country with a population which lives in lakhs of villages. She should, therefore, fix the lower age limit for compulsion at 7+ and, wherever necessary, even at 8+.

(*iii*) Children of 7 or 8 are more developed mentally and can, therefore, learn more quickly and with greater certainty of retention. In order to spread mass literacy in the shortest time and with minimum of expenditure, it is desirable to admit children of 7 + rather than of 6 +.

(*iv*) Stagnation is much less in the case of children who are admitted to schools at the age of 7+ than at any early age.

(*v*) Resistance to disease and death is greatly strengthened when the child is 7+.

(*vi*) Even the Wardha Scheme of education fixes the age of education at 7+ only.

(*b*) Sections 5 and 6 of the Baroda Act give the reasons for exempting a child from compulsory attendance in great details. The Bombay Act is more brief on this point, but contains one important phrase, namely, 'where the child is prevented from attending school by sickness, infirmity or *other unavoidable cause*'. The expression 'other unavoidable cause' is sufficiently wide to cover all kinds of cases. An amendment of the Bombay Act on Baroda lines is not absolutely essential, although it would be better to have it.

(*c*) In Baroda, the census of the children of school going age is to be prepared by the Revenue officers; in Bombay this is a responsibility of teachers. The Borada system is certainly better, particularly in the villages. But a still better method would be for the teachers and the revenue officers to work together.

(*d*) After the census of children of compulsory age is published, the parents are called upon, according to the Baroda Act, to challenge the correctness of the census or to claim exemptions. No individual notices to parents are necessary. In the Bombay Act, on the other hand, it is the duty of the officers of the Education Department to issue a notice individually to every parent and to request him to send his child to a school. This implies heavy work and all of it is avoided in Baroda.

The Baroda system is quite good in any area where the people are accustomed to compulsory education. In the Province of Bombay where illiteracy is very large and where the people are not as yet accustomed to compulsory education, it is necessary to send individual notices to parents. It means heavy work no doubt, but it also means educating public opinion.

4. Difficulties experienced in the enforcement of Compulsory in the Baroda State.

The experience of the enforcement of compulsion in the Baroda State is very interesting. It shows the usual difficulties that one comes across in

the enforcement of compulsory primary education. The Province of Bombay may learn a good deal from them.

(*a*) The first step in the enforcement of compulsion is the preparation of the census of the children of compulsory age. The following are the most important difficulties experienced in this work:—

(*i*) It is very difficult to obtain information regarding girls. Especially the Rajput and Muslim parents who have the Purda system prevailing among them resent any such attempt to obtain information regarding the women inmates of their household. A hereditory custom about withholding all information about the female members of the family prevails in many families.

(*ii*) A constant complaint is made by the Education Department that Revenue authorities do not seriously take to the work of enforcing compulsion and that their co-operation is often not coming forth. The Patels are often found indifferent to the work assigned to them.

(*iii*) The rural people want their children to help them either at home or at the farm, and, consequently, they often try to escape the scrutiny of Census Authorities by withholding the names of their children whose services they want to utilise.

(*iv*) The Patel on whom the burden of preparing the Census mainly rests is found very often to be too ignorant to compile a correct list. He is often either swayed away by the influence of his fellow villagers or unwilling to court their displeasure by enlisting the names of the children who are required to assist their parents. The census lists are, therefore, very defective.

Probably the best agency to prepare a correct census of school going children is that of the Primary teachers assisted by the Revenue Officers. The Revenue Department alone will not be able to prepare the Census. This is due to several reasons. For instance, the Revenue Department is extremely busy and preoccupied with its own work. It will, therefore, be unable to devote as much time to the census as necessary.

Secondly, the officers of the Revenue Department will not be interested in the work of the Census and will often do the work carelessly. The teachers, on the other hand, have no authority in the villages. The best procedure, therefore, be to combine the authority of the revenue officers with the intelligence and interest of the teachers.

(b) The next step in the enforcement of compulsion is the granting of exemptions in deserving cases. The experience in Baroda has shown that very few applications for exemptions are received. This is due to the following causes amongst others:—

(*i*) Ignorance of the law on the part of backward communities or illiterate adults; and

(*ii*) no individual notices are sent to parents.

Even now it is found that among the applications received, those claim exemptions for girls are twice as many as those for boys.

(c) The third step in the enforcement of compulsion is to prosecute the parents of those children who are not enrolled or are unable to attend regularly after enrolment This work is done very thoroughly in the Baroda State. Headmasters are very regular in sending monthly reports about children whose names are not registered or of those who do not attend regularly after registration. The fining authorities such as Panchayat or Municipalities go on imposing fines as the cases come up, but unfortunately very few fines are recovered and heavy arrears go on mounting up from year to year. This is really the weakest point of their system.

This non-recovery of fines is due to two reasons. In some cases, fines are not realised because no prompt measures were taken to collect it. In several cases, however, the fines are not realised because of poverty. "A poor Harijan, for example, fails to send his son or daughter to school. He is fined again and again till the total amount of fine accumulates to Rs. 10. But all his assets are not worth even Rs. 2. How is the fine to be realised?" * This difficulty experienced in Baroda

* Naik J. P.:— Compulsory Primary Education in Baroda State, (the Pregress of Education Poona Vat. x Vii. 1941), P. 372.

shows how compulsion fails against economic factors. The only remedy is to adjust the hours of schooling properly or to raise the standard of life of the people.

(*d*) Some of the socio-economic difficulties in the enforcement of compulsion which are experienced in Baroda are given below:—

(*i*) *Vested interests of the upper classes*:

"There is a peculiarity in this division that the population is divided into a large number of backward class people. The backwards never acquire literacy in spite of compulsion. Lapse into illiteracy has no meaning in their case. The forward class people are very careful to see that these backwards should not learn anything and thereby keep them constantly under subjugation as of yore. Poor backwards are the only people to be fined and often their forward overlords do not hesitate to pay up their fines too." *

Educational Inspector, Navsari Division.

(*ii*) *The Special difficulties of the backward communities and in particular of the Harijans:*

The poverty of the backward communities prevents them from sending their children to school. In places where schools are held in private buldings or temples, the forward classes often object to allow Harijan students to enter the school premises. In some cases the upper classes apply indirect economic pressure to prevent Harijans from sending their children to schools. The following incidents narrated by a Deputy Educational Inspector of the State is very interesting from this point of view:—

"In a certain village, there is a custom that for certain services (sweeping the streets etc.) the caste Hindu families give one Javar bread to Harijans and this forms the main source of their livelihood. When, as a result of compulsion, the Harijans began to send

* Ibid, P. 323

their children to schools the caste Hindus protested to the authorities; and when the authorities remained firm, the caste Hindus stopped the daily bread given to Harijans. The result was that the Harijans withdrew their children from school and preferred to pay the occasional fines rather than lose the daily bread."

(c) *Economic difficulties:*

Agriculturists require the help of their children in a number of ways. For instance, a grown up child can take care of a youger child when the parents are away at work; he can go out and earn something in order to help the family to maintain itself; or the child may assist the family by tending cattle or in operations connected with the sowing and harvesting season. In all such cases compulsion becomes a hardship and attempts are made to evade it.

Such difficulties as above are sure to arise in the Province of Bombay where the socio-economic conditions are similar to those in the Baroda State. They will have to be overcome by the adoption of speial measures such as improvement of the economic condition of the people, removal of the disabilities which the Harijans suffered from and adjustment of school hours and vacations to local condition.

5. Achievements of the Baroda State in the matter of Compulsory Primary Education.

No one claims that Baroda has succeeded completely in enforcing compulsory primary education. If it had done so, illiteracy would have disappeared from Baroda by now. As matters stand, illiteracy in Baroda State is even lower than that in Travancore where no compulsion exists. This only means that a good deal of compulsion in Baroda is only on paper.

Even after admitting this failure it can be shown that Baroda has been benefited by the introduction of compulsory education. In 1911 the literacy in Baroda was less than that in Bombay Province. To-day the tables are turned and and Baroda has a literacy of 35 per cent as against of 20 per cent in Bombay Province. Another important achievement is the very large enrolment of girls in primary schools. Mr. J. P. Naik * makes the following observations on the subject :—

* Ibid. pp, 364-65

The following table compares the figures of boys and girls reading in primary schools of major British Indian Provinces and the Baroda State :—

Province		Number of Pupils in Primary Schools 1937-38 Boys	Girls	Number of girls in schools to every 100 boys in schools
Baroda	...	147,991	106,527	61.2
Madras	...	1,993,410	881,549	44.3
Bengal	...	19,05,126	685,424	35.9
Sind	...	119,611	42,306	35.0
Bombay	...	887,359	304,150	34.3
Assam	...	396,177	80,590	26.4
Orissa	...	232,368	57,801	25.0
Punjab	...	737,394	170,052	23.0
Central Provinces	...	356,055	79,731	22.5
United Provinces	...	1,193,760	204,709	17.2
Bihar	...	706,983	107,215	15.1
N. W. F.	...	59,864	7,001	11.6

It will be seen that there is a great disparity between the enrolment of boys and girls in all Provinces and it is only Baroda that has succeeded remarkably in enrolling a very large number of girls. This is mainly due to (i) compulsion and (ii) strict enforcement of the Act preventing child marriages.

In the rural areas of Bombay Provinces, girls are still married or betrothed early and as soon as either ceremony takes place, the girl is withdrawn from the school. The Sharda Act is too mild a weapon to deal effectively with this social evil. In the Baroda State, a more powerful weapon is put on the Statute book and is known as the "Child-Marriage Prevention Act". Under the provisions of this Act, the marriage of a girl or a boy under 8 years of age is declared void and persons responsible for the marriage of a boy under 18 years of age or that of a girl under 16 years of age, including the priests who officiate at such marriages are liable to be punished by simple imprisonment up to one month, or fine up to Rs. 1000 or both. There are, of course, some exemptions allowed in very special

circumstances, but the extent to which the Act is enforced can be seen from the following figures for 1938-39:—

Total number of marriages celebrated in the State.			20,093
Number of child marriages:			
Allowed by courts ...	51		
Penalised ...	1386		1,437
Percentage of child marriages to the total number			6.8
Number of prosecutions started during the year (with arrears from the preceding year)			2,054
Number of cases disposed of			1,772
Percentage of cases ending in conviction			60.6
Number of persons convicted:			
Imprisonment only ...	12		
Imprisonment and fine...	69		
Fine only	2818		2,899
Amount of fine collected			Rs. 43,982

A very interesting point in Baroda's programme of introduction of compulsory primary education is the system of periodical inquiries instituted by the Educational Department to find out the various impediments that obstruct the progress of compulsion and to offer suggestions for the better organization of Compulsory Primary Education. Three years after the introduction of Compulsory Primary Education in all parts of the State, a Commission was appointed in 1909 to examine the whole question carefully and report its deliberations upon it. In 1916 and in 1926 again, such commissions were appointed to go through the problem of the compulsory primary education. In 1934, Mr. Littlehailes, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India studied, at the request of the Baroda Government, the whole educational system of the State and made recommendations to place it on a better footing. But most interesting of all is the Prime Minister's order to every Deputy Educational Inspector to undertake an intensive study of one village in his beat every year. Such studies were to ascertain the following things amongst others:—

(1) Whether the lists of school-going children are complete;

(2) The reasons for non-attendance;

(3) The grounds on which exemptions are applied for and granted.

(4) The strength of various classes and a detailed analysis of the reasons for the withdrawal of public before they have grown through all the four classes;

(5) How far literacy has increased among the communities in the village as the result of compulsory education;

(6) The manner in which the system is ordinarily worked;

(7) The extent of lapse into illiteracy of pupils who have been through the full compulsory course; and

(8) The extent of appreciation of the system by the parents; a change for the better if any, noticed in recent years.

The Deputy Educational Inspectors were instructed to conduct their inquiries on the following lines:

1. Seasonal fluctuations are to be studied in their relation to the total number of students on the school register and the total number of absentees and these figures are to be compared month by month for a number of years.

2. It is enjoined upon the officers to investigate the reasons on account of which a child remains either absent from the school or attends it irregularly.

3. The officers were also required to study stagnation in case of each child and find out the causes and tabulate the results of his study.

Every year, such studies were undertaken in as many as 40 villages and the results were published annually under the caption, "Compulsory Education Studies No. ....." Between 1929 and 1941, the Baroda Government has published eleven such studies.

In 1941, it was proposed that the officers should select the same villages that were selected ten years before, so that the progress achieved during the last 10 years can be accurately measured. It is unfortunate that no studies are published after 1940-41, mainly on grounds of paper shortage due to war. In the interest of education it is necessary to publish these studies again as early as possible.

This is really a very good practice which the Government of Bombay can copy with advantage.

It should not be supposed that it is only the achievements of Baroda that are of interest. Even the failures of Baroda are of equal interests, because we can learn to avoid their mistakes. For instance reference has

already been made to the failure of compulsory education against a background of economic poverty. Equally interesting is the failure of the State to abolish single-teacher schools. It is a very common and old cant among educationists that the single-teacher schools are inefficient and that they should be abolished as early as possible. No province of State has taken this recommendation seriously. In a country like India where we have a large number of small villages, single-teacher schools are a necessary evil. To abolish them would mean that the small villages will have no educational facilities whatsoever. On the other hand to convert them into two-teachers schools is financially impracticable. But curiously enough the Baroda State has made a serious attempt to abolish the single-teacher schools and has laid down a rule that no new school will be opened unless there are at least 75 educable children. In the whole of the Baroda State, the total number of single-teacher schools was 33 in 1937-38 (the latest year for which figures are available). The result is that all the small villages in the State are without schools. According to the Report on Public Instruction in 1940-41 as many as 1,298 villages (out of a total of 2969) with a population of 4,68,353 (about 20 per cent of the total population of the State) had no schools at all. It is a mere farce to say that compulsory education is applicable to the State as a whole when 20 per cent of its population is without educational facilities of any kind. It is, therefore, absolutely essential for the State to revise its policy with regard to signle-teacher schools.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE

(Bombay Province.)

Twenty-first Annual Report for 1948 and Audited Statement of Accounts for the year 1947-48.

I have the pleasure to submit to the Provincial Council of the Institute the Twenty-first Annual Report for the year ending 31st December 1948 and the Statement of Accounts for the year 1947-48 audited by the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

The Executive Committee.

The Provincial Council at its Meeting dated the 21st February 1948 elected the following members to form the Executive Committee:—

1. L. M. Patil, Esq., B.A., LL.B., M.L.A., *President.*
2. G. D. Vartak, Esq., B.A., M.L.A., *Vice-President.*
3. S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc. (Edin), L.C.E., *Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.*
4. S. S. Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B., *Jt. Hon. Secretary.*
5. R. V. Parulekar, Esq., M.A., M.Ed., T.D. (Lond).
6. Annasaheb G. Awate, Esq.
7. S. S. Matti, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
8. Haribhai Sarabhai Patel, Esq.
9. M. N. Wantmurimath, Esq.
10. W. G. Shetye, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
11. N. S. Patil, Esq.

Honorary Office-Bearers

The following members were the Office-bearers during the year under report:—

1. *President:*—L. M. Patil, Esq., B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
2. *Vice-President:*—G. D. Vartak, Esq., B.A., M.L.A.

3. *Hon. Secretary & Treasurer:*—S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E.
4. *Jt. Hon. Secretary:*—S. S. Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
5. *Hon. Auditor:*—R. N. Rajadnya, Esq.

Membership. Membership of the Institute is distributed as under:—Special Municipalities 4, Borough Municipalities 28, District Municipalities 88, State Municipalities 17, District Local Boards 21 including one State Local Board, School Boards 7, Village Panchayats 100.

It may be noted that this Institute made efforts to secure Memberships of the Municipalities from the States merged in the Province of Bombay. It is gratifying to record that 17 Municipalities in Merged States enlisted themselves as Members and it is hoped that more of them will follow suit.

Activities of the Institute.

Conferences. A Conference of Municipalities in Merged Deccan States was held at Sangli on 24th August 1948 under the presidentship of Shriyut G. D. Vartak, B. A., Minister for Local Self-Government, Government of Bombay. The Institute offered its full co-operation.

It was proposed to hold a Provincial Conference of Local Bodies during the year under Report along with the General Meeting of the Institute but it was decided by the Executive Committee to hold them later during September to December 1949 on account of impending elections to local bodies.

Traing Class. I am very glad to submit that as the L. S. G. D. Diploma has been recognised by the Bombay Corporation which as moreover decided to pay a special increment to their employees who obtain the Diploma of this Institute, the employees of Bombay Corporation have begun taking keen interest in the L. S. G. D. Classes with the result that admission to some of them had to be refused for want of accommodation. I give below the number of students who have passed during the last three years:—

Year.	No. of students passed.
1945-46	60
1946-47	37
1947-48	54

Interim reports (1) on the Progress of the Printing Press and (2) the Office administration were submitted to the meeting of the Provincial Council held in Bombay on the 24th October 1948.

Journals. The English Quarterly continued to be published in its former size during the year under report. As printing and paper difficulties are overcome to some extent it is proposed to revive publication of Quarterly Vernacular Journals shortly. The publication of Marathi Journal is proposed to be commenced from April 1949 if possible and that of Gujarati and Kanarese a couple of months is thereafter.

Publications. The following works have been published during the year under report:—

1. Local Self-Government in different Countries by G. Montagu Harris, M.A., O.B.E., Bar-at-Law. (Reprint).
2. Lighting Problems of Towns in India by S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E. (New Edition).
3. The Problems of Regulating Buildings in Towns and Cities by S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E. (New Edition).

Two or three more publications are under print. This Institute's Library which is recognised by the Research Scholars. University of Bombay for post-graduate studies is widely taken advantage of by Research Students. Four graduates studying for Ph. D. are receiving training under my guidance and seven graduates for M. A. Degree under that of Mr. Barfiwala, Director of the Institute.

Book-depot. The services of this Institute's Book Depot continue to be widely utilised by a number of local Bodies and students.

Purchase of stores. Local Bodies have been receiving considerable assistance in the matter of purchase of large number of miscellaneous requirements at controlled rates. Numerous enquiries are being received from Local Bodies week after week and this Institute thereafter approaches the standard dealers of required materials and arranges delivery of the goods to the Local body concerned economically and efficiently. In some cases co-operation of Government authorities is also sought by this Institute in order that local bodies' administration may benefit. It is very likely that in the near future this Institute's service will be further extended and found indispensable to all local bodies.

Paper Supply. For the last so many years, this Institute has been supplying papers to local bodies with the continued co-operation of the Government of India and Bombay. In order that the day to day administration of Local Bodies may not suffer inconvenience and papers may be purchased cheaply this Institute had

approached Government authorities to secure allotment of available paper of assorted qualities in time. Sometimes it was found that the Mills were not in a position to produce the required paper on account of shortage of raw materials, strikes, enormous transport troubles, etc. but this Institute has done its best to overcome these unforeseen difficulties and secured a steady flow of papers to local bodies. The papers were supplied to local bodies at less than the controlled rates and their wants in paper were satisfied as best as the circumstances permitted. Local Bodies have appreciated these services, they have saved hundreds of thousands of Rupees since the services commenced to be given by the Institute and they continue to save huge amounts every year. This is in addition to the avoiding of dangers which threatened the administrative machinery of local bodies for want of supply at certain stages.

Envelopes Supply.

As regards one other sister activity of this Institue of supplying huge quantities of envelopes, a good number of Local Bodies commenced purchasing their envelopes requirements from this Institute with a great saving of money to them. The Institute has been getting prepared and supplying these envelopes in different sizes to local bodies, with or without printing as may be required.

Stationery.

Special arrangements have been made with Manufacturers of Carbon Papers, ink and other stationery articles and found to be very useful to Local Bodies as greater and greater advantage of this service is being taken by Local Bodies.

Scrutiny of Forms required by Local Bodies.

This Institute has continued to scrutinise on behalf of Government the indents of local bodies to Government Yeravda Prison Press for numerous printing forms required by Local Bodies and to advise the Prison Press for disposal of the same.

The following other activities are continued this year also:–

1. Maintaining an Employment Bureau for L. S. G. D. Diploma holders of the Institute. 2. Giving information and advice to Local Bodies on a variety of educational, administrative, legal and technical subjects.

The old retired veteran Chief Officer of the Ahmedabad Municipality, Mr. I. R. Bhagat, has been taking great pains to answer numerous complicated querries put up by many local bodies for replies. Mr. Jhinubhai Thakore, Chief Officer of Broach District Local Board and Mr. S. S. Pradhan of Thana District Local Board, our Assistant Hon. Secretary have also been rendering enormous help in this direction.

Institute's Printing Press.

This Institute's Printing Press has proved a great boon to Local Bodies in the matter of their printing requirements., I am very glad to note that the Provincial Council has already authorised me to invest to the extent of a lakh of rupees for the establishment and running of the Press. Over Rs. 60,000/–have been invested and the remaining amount sanctioned by the Provincial Council will be invested very shortly. The Press is daily being equipped with the urgent requisites. Enormous printing work is being rushed in from local bodies with the result that the Printing Machines and the staff are kept very busy. Besides you will be much interested to know that Government of Bombay has entrusted to this Institute the exclusive printing of Municipal Account Code Forms in English and other regional languages. In addition to this, the Institute's Press has undertaken printing of 'Sanjivan' in Gujarati, a monthly magazine issued by the Provincial Prohibition Board established by the Government of Bombay. I am circulating a separate progress Report on the Printing Press and I feel sure that a day will arise very shortly when this Institute's Printing Press will be able to install substantial equipments and turn out a quality work of a good Printing House.

Proposed New Activities.

Medical Stores.

Arrangements are in progress to contact the standard Manufacturers of medical stores in order that Local Bodies may secure best possible medicines through the agency of this Institute at rates which cannot be obtained by local bodies from whole sellers or retail merchants or from any other party. These arrangements are nearing completion and local bodies will be requested to send their Indents of Medicines to this Institute. This activity will relieve local bodies of the enormous trouble they will have otherwise to take to secure these medicines. They will avoid the dangers inherent in the present practice of purchasing them.

Cement & Steel Supply.

Negotiations are also in progress with the Government Authorities regarding the supply of cement and steel to Local Bodies. Local bodies at present are much inconvenienced as they are unable to get sufficient supply of these essential materials in the market. The Institute has therefore proposed to tackle these important branches of work and make available these materials at controlled rates and the required quantities.

Co-operation with other Institutes.

You are aware that you have already authorised the office of the Institute to work in close co-operation with other persons or Associations for establishing & maintaining Institutions devoted to any activity connected with

any of the functions which may be of interest to local bodies and to even incur if necessary expenditure therefor to the extent of Rs.500/-. In pursuance of these directions the office of the Institute rendered full co-operation in establishing two Associations specially named by the Provincial Council viz. The Indian Town and Country Planning Association and the Indian Institute of Education, offices of both of which are located in the premises occupied by this Institute. I give below a short account of their activities.

The Indian Town & Country Planning Association

This Association is specially formed to tackle the field of Town and Country Planning in all its aspects and promote and extend knowledge and study thereof and educate public opinion by holding conferences, a series of Lectures, opening Training Classes and establishing a Library on the subjects. I am very glad to let you know that the Association has now commenced its activities and all the preliminaries having been over, has been arranging a series of public Lectures and study tours. You will be interested to learn that Mr. Barfivala, the Director of the Institute, has been elected, one of the two Hon. Secretaries of this Association. There is therefore a great possibility of this Association growing up into a full fledged Institution of great public usefulness in course of time.

Indian Institute of Education

This Institute is formed with the object of expanding and improving education in India and conduct research in educational field. With this object in view, this Institute has started M. Ed. Classes which have been recognised by the University of Bombay. It has opened for the use of the students a big Library which contains books worth about Rs 20,000/- on a number of subjects on different branches of the Educational field. This Institute's Classes and its Library have already been recognised by the University of Bombay. This Institute has enlisted about 400 distinguished members including many eminent educationists and the work of imparting training to students for Ph. D. by the learned lecturers of these classes has also been undertaken by this Institute. Your Director, Mr. Barfivala, is also elected one of the Hon. Secretaries of this Institute. I may mention here that I am an elected member on the Executive Committee of this Institute. This Institute has already grown into eminence and shows signs of attaining a premier position in educational research.

Audit.

The audit notes of the Examiner Local Fund Accounts and of Mr. R. N. Rajadnya, the Hon Auditor on the accounts of the Institute for the year 1947-48 and statements of accounts are reproduced hereunder.

Office of the Local Self-Government
Institute, 11 Elphinstone Circle, Fort,
Bombay. Dated 16th Sept. 1948.

I have examined the Accounts of the Institute for the year 1947-48 on the 13th to 16th September 1948 and found them correct. I wish to add that the work of the Institute has increased considerably. There is a further increase during the year under Audit, and further activity in the shape of Printing Press is organised which means a substantial increase in work. The Staff remains practically the same with but little addition. I suppose some concrete appreciation of the present Staff is certainly called for. What shape it should take is the concern of the Provincial Council to whom I strongly recommend my suggestion. The efficiency has been maintained to its high level as usual. Mr. Naik, Mr. Barfivala and the Staff, all deserve compliments for this state of affairs.

Sd/. R. N. Rajadnya.
Hon. Auditor,
Local Self-Government Institute.

The Institute's Staff.

Year after year, I have been putting on record the meritorious services of your capable, ever enthusiastic, energetic, and self-sacrificing, Director, Mr. Barfivala, in whom Local Bodies have found a great supporter of Local Self-Government. He, with the help of hardworked, industrious and moderately paid staff has raised the Institute to an eminent position in the whole of India and placed it on a solid foundation of further progress. I am glad that the Provincial Council shares with me this appraisal of his services. The Provincial Council, has created an additional post of a Personal Assistant to the Director and appointed Mr. S. V. Samant, Ex-Chief Officer of the Thana Municipality, to fill up the post. Mr. Samant brings with him wealth of experience and reputation for industry and integrity. I have no doubt that this appointment will help us to expand our activities still further.

Mr. Gangoli, our Superintendent, whose charming manners every member and visitor of the Institute has been admiring, is the pivot on whom all Institute's activities hang. A more hardworking and honest man it would be difficult to find. The services of Mr. Ranadive, our Deputy Superintendent and Accountant, are complementary to Mr. Gangoli and exceptionally intelligent. Our audit Reports show his sterling capacity in accountancy.

Mr. Patel, our young Press Manager, has shown competence and energy beyond my expectation and far above the average.

I have no doubt these Officers of the Institute can be relied upon for greater and greater progress.

S. S. Naik,
Hon. Secretary.

Audit Note on the accounts of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay Province for the year 1947-48.

No. L.23/A-2537 of 1948-49.
Office of the Accountant General,
Local Audit Department,
Bombay, December 16th 1948.

From

The Examiner,
Local Fund Accounts,
Bombay.

To

The Secretary to Government.
Health and Local Government Department.
Bombay.

The accounts of the Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay for the year 1947-48 were audited between the 26th and 29th October 1948.

2. The accounts were generally well maintained and call for no remarks. Minor points were settled on the spot.

3. A statement of accounts of the Institute for the year 1947-48 duly certified as correct is appended.

(S. Vaidyanathan.)
Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

No. L.23/A-2538 of 1948-49.

Copy forwarded to:—
The Honorary Secretary & Treasurer,
Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay.
The Senior Auditor, Bombay III Circle, (A.D.S.).

Sd/. (S. Vaidyanathan.)
Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE
(Bombay Presidency)
Statement of Accounts for the year 1947-48.

Particulars.	Rs.As.Ps.	Particulars.	Rs.As.Ps.
Opening Balance	*70,407-8--5	Primary Education Fund	3,96 6-11--0
Membership Subscription	9,261-2--0	Rent	989--5--0
Interest	2,258-4-11	T. C. Advetisement	663--6--0
Government Grant	3,000-0--0	Prov. Fund Loan	29--0--0
T. C. Fees	5,280-0--0	Gen. Adm Contingency	1,329--2--0
Income from sales of Journals & other Publications including advertisements Revenue.	6,005-4--3	,, ,, Stny. & Ptg.	1,495--0--6
Prov. Fund Loan	36-0--0	Establishment	15,925-11--0
Directory Pub. Fund	10,000-0--0	Postage	1,087--8--9
T. C. Deposits	90-0--0	Travelling	1,212-15--6
Unpaid Bills	6,776-7--3	Audit Fees	243--7--0
Ptg. Press Fund	35,000-0--0	Suspense Account	93,304-13--2
Conference	10-0--9	Telephone	420--0--0
Paper Supply Suspense A/c.	4,565-1--6	Library & Equipment	1,241--4--0
Recoupment of paper supply expenses included under expenditure side under various heads & Paper Supply receipts	9,000-0--0	Journals & other Publications	3,996--6--0
Prov. Fund Account:—		Institute's Gen. Prov. Fund A/c.	598-13--9
Employee's Contribution.	504--1-11	Prov. Fund Payments	153--1--5
Institute's Contribution	598-13--9	Balance	**36,136--2-11
Total	1,62,792-12-0	Total...	1,62,792-12-0

*The Opening Balance of Rs. 70,407 8-5 is exclusive of Government Securities of Rs. 50,000/- and a share of Poona Central Co-operative Bank, Poona of Rs. 50/- and inclusive of Rs. 6,431-4-5 being Provident Fund Account. This also includes Rs. 55,652-7-6 being deposits under suspense account and Rs. 3,966-11-0 as Primary Education Survey Advance.

** The closing Balance of Rs. 36,136-2-11 is exclusive of Government Securities of Rs. 50,000/- and a share of Poona Central Co-op. Bank, Poona of Rs. 50/- and Rs. 37,652-5-8 being advances and dues under suspense account and inclusive of Rs. 7,541-4-1 being the Balance of Provident Fund Account.

(Sd.) R. N. RAJADNYA,
Honorary Auditor.
Local Self-Government Institute.

(Sd.) S. S. NAIK,
Honorary Secretary,
Local Self-Government Institute.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE

(Bombay Province)

Statement of Accounts for the year 1947-48.

Particulars.		Receipts	Expenditure.
Opening Balance ..... Rs.		Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.
Head Office ..... "	70,120-5-2	70,407—8—5	
Branches ..... "	287-3-3		
Subscription			
Government Grant		9,261—2—0	
Public Education		3,000—0—0	3,996—6—0
General Administration		6,005—4—3	22,459-10—9
Library & Equipment			1,241—4—0
Unpaid Bills		6,776—7—3	
Miscellaneous		60,833—6—5	94,147—1-11
Training Classes		5,280—0—0	663—6—0
Deposits		1,192-15—8	4,119-12—5
Advances		36—0—0	29—0—0
Closing Balance			36,136—2-11
Head Office	36,851-15-8		
Branches	284—3-3		
		1,62,792-12—0	1,62,792-12—0

The closing Balance of Rs. 36,136-2-11 includes Rs. 7,541-0-0 being Employees Provident Fund Account and excludes Rs. 37,652-2-8 being advances and dues under Suspense Account. It also excludes the following Investments:-

3% conversion 1946/86 (Face value)	Rs.	39,000—0—0
One share of Poona Central Co-operative Bank	Rs.	50—0—0
2½% loan 1961 (Face value)	Rs.	11,000—0—0
		50,050—0—0

Verified & found correct
(Sd.)
Examiner, L. F. Accounts,
Bombay.

DEVELOPMENT OF
Local Self-Government in India
(With special reference to the United Provinces.)*

BY

Shri M. B. L. DAR, I. A. S.

I shall talk to you today about the development of Local Self-Government in India with particular reference to the United Provinces. The concept of local self-government is neither new nor foreign to this country. It has existed in India since times immemorial. We find references to a well developed system of village self-government even in the Vedas. The Manu Samhita refers to a well defined organization of villages and groups of villages and local administration by a hierarchy of civil officers with the Superintendent of the village i.e., "Gram Adhipati" as their head. References to this system of village government and the various officials working for the village community are also to be found in the *Artha Shastra* of Kautilya. The village affairs were governed by a Council of Elders called the Panchayat presided over by the Headman who also represented the village community in dealing with the State. The village communities were highly organised and autonomous-the council exercising semi-judicial and semi-legislative functions. Each village community had its own police system and was a self-sufficient unit needing little external aid or assistance. They were economically self-sufficient as each village produced all its requirements of food, raw materials and finished products. These village communities coming down to us from the remote past maintained their integrity and retained their own indigenous system of internal administration in spite of conquest and civil strife down to the early period of British rule.

2. The Muslim Rulers did not introduce any radical change in the system of village administration. In the early periods when the invaders were busy consolidating their conquests they had neither the time nor the inclination to disturb the administrative organisation of the country. They contended themselves with imposing a tribute upon the conquered Rajas leaving them free to run their internal administration as before. The

* A talk given by Shri. M. B. L. Dar, I A.S., Secretary to Government, Unit d Provinces, Local Self-Government Department, on 6th June 1949, at the Panchayat Inspectors' Training Camp, Lucknow.

social, cultural and economic life of the country continued to develop undisturbed and the village republics retained their vitality and freedom. As time advanced, however, and as the Muslim Rulers consolidated their hold and gained security they introduced the system of Jagirs and the practice of collecting revenue through Contractors and Tributary Chiefs. This had definitely a weakening effect on the solidarity of Panchayat Government and some of the functions of the latter started passing into the hands of the local land owners and the officers of the State. There cropped up a superior claim of these intermediaries which had a demoralising effect on the growth and vitality of the self-governing institutions. This system of intermediaries brought in its yoke a rule of oppression which gradually led to the disintegration of Panchayat Governments. With the decline of the Mughal Empire chaos and anarchy swept over the entire length and breadth of the country with the intermediary Chieftains and Jagirdars trying to grab as much power as possible with the result that the pristine self-governing institutions of the country received a terrible set back from the after effects of which they have not yet fully recovered. But though, as I have said above, Muslim influence had a weakening effect on these institutions they still survived in some kind of a decadent form until the early years of British occupation.

3. Elphinstone in his report on the the territories acquired from Peshwa wrote in 1819 that :

> "These communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves, and are sufficient to protect their members if all other governments were withdrawn."

The Parliamentary Report, 1812 also referring to village self-government says :

> "Under this simple form of municipal government the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up or divisions of kingdoms. While the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves ; its internal economy remains unchanged."

4. With the advent of British rule the Panchayats gradually faded out for obvious reasons. The Rulers preferred to centralise all power in the hands of their own officials and since the time of Lord Cornewalis onwards one after the other all local functions were transferred from the Panchayats to the officers of Government. By the middle of the 19th century the Panchayats in their old form had completely disappeared though their

memory and tradition still lingered on. The British after consolidating their position in the country gradually attempted to foist their own ideas of municipal government on us but even they could not entirely ignore the the traditions of the past and many a time even some British officers attempted to invite Governments' attention to the necessity and desirability of reviving the old system of Panchayat Government. I shall, however, revert to this point later in this discourse and meanwhile let me take you back to the early years of British rule in India and trace the growth of the system of local self-government which they imposed on us.

5. British Raj in India was founded on the ruins of Moghal Empire. The only vestige of local self-government which the Britishers inherited was the Panchayat in a decadent form and the institution of the Kotwal in whom was vested almost all the municipal functions of the cities. It was he who was responsible for watch and ward, elementary conservancy and regulation of offensive trade. Side by side there also existed private institutions set up by local citizens for minor sanitary improvements. In Benaras for example when it came under British Rule it was found that sanitary arrangements were regularly financed and carried out by the traders and shop-keepers of the city.

6. The first step taken by the British Rulers in the direction of loca self-government was the formation of Municipal Corporations in the Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The Madras Corporation was set up by a Charter from James II in 1687. In 1726 Mayor's Courts were established in Calcutta and Bombay by Royal Charter., The beginnings of municipal organisation in non-Presidency Towns related to the making of watch and ward arrangements in them. Regulation XVI of 1814 initiated the establishment of ward committees in large cities. The ward committees were empowered to levy and collect a tax on houses and lands in order to defray the chaukidari expenses. In 1837 it was declared legal to apply the savings from the Chaukidari tax for town improvement purposes. The first Municipal Act was passed in 1842 and was applied only to Bengal. It proved to be extremely unpopular and in the only town to which it was applied the Tax Collector was prosecuted for trespass. The Act was thereafter replaced by Act XXVI of 1850 which was an all India measure. As a result of its application to the N. W. Province (U. P. of today) municipalities were established at Dehra Dun, Mussoorie and Naini Tal, places generally inhabited by Europeans. Subsequently municipalities were formed in Allahabad, Agra, Meerut and Banaras. During those days Oudh was a separate province and the municipalities in Oudh were constituted under a different enactment. Until the year 1869-70 Lucknow and

Fyzabad appear to have been the only municipalities in Oudh. It was not until 1873 that the municipalities of the two provinces N. W. P. and Oudh were assimilated under one enactment known as the N. W. P. and Oudh Municipalities Act 1873. Octroi was the most important source of municipal revenue the only other source of income being the house tax which was distinctly unpopular. Police expenditure was the first charge on municipal funds. What was left was to be devoted to education, roads, drains, lighting, dispensaries, markets and public improvements generally. Members of municipalities were mostly appointed by Government and later they were partly appointed and partly elected on extremely restricted franchise. Generally speaking municipal administration during those days was an entirely official show, the D. M. being the President of such committees.

7. The next step in the development of local self-government in India is reached with Lord Mayo's Resolution of 1870 on financial decentralisation and Lord Rippon's Resolution on Local Self-Government in 1882. Lord Mayo's Resolution made it clear that local interest, supervision and care were necessary for success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical charity and local public works. To this end the Governor General desired the Provincial Governments to enlist the active assistance and sympathy of the natives of the land. By this time municipalities partly elected or wholly nominated had been formed in almost all the important towns of the province, but their Cahirmen used to be officials and the work was conducted as though they were just one of the departments of Government. In the rural areas various nominated committees had come to exist in each district consisting of officials and non-officials to look after education, dispensaries, roads and public works etc. They were financed by the proceeds of certain cesses such as road cess and education cess. With the advance of time Government of India found themselves faced with the difficulty of satisfactorily providing for the development of nation-building services like education, roads, sanitation etc., because the funds at their disposal for these purposes were much too limited. They sought relief, therefore, by transferring the burden of these services increasingly to local initiative. Towards the end of the 19th century English education had produced a new class of politically self-conscious peoples who were clamouring for better opportunities for participation in the management of public affairs. It was partly to assuage this sentiment and partly to palm off Government's financial responsibility to the people of the country that Lord Rippon's famous Resolution of 1882 was thrown out. Moreover, by this time the necessity of relieving the overburdened Government officials from works connected with civic management was being increasingly felt. The Resolution, therefore, laid down that: :

(1) Local bodies should have non-official majorities and wherever possible the system of election should be introduced.

(2) The Chairmen of local bodies should be non-officials as far as possible.

(3) Government control should take the form of friendly advice.

(4) Local services should be entirely under the control of local bodies.

8. This resolution may well be called the Magna Charta of local self-government in India, but unfortunately the Governors in charge of the provinces considered the principles enunciated to be too liberal and did not translate them into action. Election was introduced but with a restricted franchise and though provision for the election of non-official Chairmen was made in law, in practice the official Chairman was still retained.

9. In 1906 a Royal Commission on decentralisation was appointed to study and report upon the progress of decentralisation in India and the directions in which it can be carried further with advantage. This Commission recommended that:

(1) The village should be the basic unit of local self-government. There should be for every village or group of villages a Panchayat elected by the inhabitants;

(2) The members of the Panchayats should constitute the electorate for sub-District Boards of which there should be one in each Tahsil, and for District Board;

(3) Local bodies should not only have non-official majorities but their members should be genuinely elected on a broad franchise. The representation of minorities was to be secured by nomination.

(4) Government control should take the shape of advice and encouragement rather than dictation and forbidding;

10. Government Resolution on the report of this Commission was published in 1915. The recommendations of the Commission were conceived in a conservative spirit and were accepted by Government in a halting manner. While a lip service was paid to the principles of the Commission's report their spirit was totally ignored. Political events of the country had moved fast during this period and Government's Resolution met with a hostile reception. In 1918 the Montague Chelmsford Report on constitutional reforms was published. It was in 1917 that Mr. Montague first

declared that responsible government was the ultimate aim of British policy in India. Government of India's Resolution of 1918 made detailed proposals for the application of this policy in the realm of local self-government. It fully accepted the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and in some respects even went beyond them. It accepted the principle of substantial elective majorities in local bodies and stressed the need for creating a local electorate with a broad and unrestricted franchise. The system of nomination was retained only for giving representation to minorities. Chairmen, as far as possible, were to be elected non-officials unless the members of a local body desired otherwise. In internal matters of administration local bodies should have absolute freedom. Outside control should be reduced to the minimum. Finally the Panchayats were to be established in selected villages to develop their corporate life. This declaration was followed by the Government of India Act 1919 according to which local self-government became one of the provincial transferred subjects under the charge of a minister. From now onwards the connection of Government of India with local government policy ceased and the Provincial Governments were left entirely free to chalk out their own separate course. As a direct consequence of the Government of India Act 1919 local bodies became almost wholly elective. An extended system of franchise was created and the chairmanship of local bodies was restricted to non-officials. Side by side provision made for separate representation through separate electorate was introduced.

11. After Lord Rippon's Resolution of 1882 the N. W. P. and Oudh Municipalities Act of 1872 was superseded by the N. W. P. and Oudh Municipalities Act 1882. This remained in force till 1900 by which year the total number of municipalities in the province rose to 104. The Act of 1900 gave to the municipalities larger powers than before to deal with matters of common interest, legalised some new tax and provided for the establishment of Notified Areas. Sometime after the year 1905 Municipal Police was abolished in order to relieve municipalities of the financial burden of maintaining them and with a view to provincialise the force. After the publication of Government Resolution on the report of the Royal Commission on decentralisation in 1915 the U. P. Municipalities Act 1916 was passed. It further liberalised municipal constitution, made provision for communal representation and relaxed Government control over municipal finances.

12. Notified Areas as you see them today were first created under the U. P. Municipalities Act 1900. The object was to realise the smaller towns from the operation of the Municipalities Act and to provide for them a simpler form of administration. This much for the Towns.

13. Now let us revert to the rural areas. I have already mentioned that the various committees - the education committee, the dispensary committee and the public works committee had cropped up in every district as a result of administrative exigency and that these were financed by cesses. Under the Local Rates Acts of 1871 and 1878 the cesses were provincialised. Under the latter Act the Provincial Governments were empowered to make a number of appropriations and reservations from the proceeds of the cesses. The balance was made over to what were then called the Local Fund Committees established under the Local Rates Act 1871 for being spent on education, public works and dispensaries etc. The unspent balance lapsed to the Provincial Government. The District or the Local Fund Committee had the Commissioner, the District Magistrate, the Civil Surgeon, the Superintendent of Police, the District Engineer and the Deputy Inspector of Schools as its ex-officio members while a number of additional members, at least half of whom were non-official residents of the district, were nominated to it by the District Magistrate subject to the approval of the Commissioner. Those Local Fund Committees form the nucleus of the present day District Boards. After Lord Rippon's Resolution of 1882 the N. W. P. and Oudh Local Boards Act was passed in 1883. This act was responsible for the creation of a District Board in every district of the Province and a local board in every Tashil. The local boards were to exercise such powers as the District Boards allowed them to exercise. The Act permitted the election of the Chairmen, but the election had to be approved by Government and the net result was that the Collector remained everywhere the Chairman of the District Board and one of his subordinates as Chairman of each of the Local Boards. By the U. P. District Boards' Act 1906 which superseded the Act of 1883 the Local Boards were abolished as useless bodies. The only other significant change which this Act brought about was the abolition of reservations and deductions from local rates. From now onwards the proceeds of local rates went entirely into the hands of District Boards and Government also undertook to further supplement their revenues through a system of contract grants. As a direct consequence of the report of the Decentralisation Commission and the Montague Chelmsford Scheme of Constitutional Reforms the U. P. District Board Act 1922 was enacted which still constitutes the basis of our District Boards today.

14. The smaller towns in the rural areas known as Town Areas were originally formed under the Bengal Chaukidari Act XXII of 1856 after its application to the Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1874 and 1876 respectively. This measure was enacted to make better provision for watch and ward. Under this Act the Magistrates determined the amounts needed for

maintaining the town chaukidars and it was realised from the dwellers either on the basis of their general circumstances and property or on the annual value of the premises occupied by them. Any surplus after meeting the maintenance charges of the watchmen and chaukidars could be applied to sanitation and general improvement of the town. This act was replaced in 1914 by the U. P. Town Areas Act which relieved the towns of their watch and ward duties and made the Town Area Committee responsible mainly for sanitation and other improvements.

15. I have metioned above the Royal Commission on Decentralisation's findings on the question of resurrection of village panchayats. "We are of opinion" wrote the Commission, "that the foundation of suitable edifice which shall associate the people with administration must be the villages". Working on this idea and also according to the spirit of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms a Committee was appointed in the U. P. in 1918 to study the possibilities of reviving the ancient Panchayats and the recommendations of this Committee were embodied in the U. P. Village Panchayats Act 1920 which with certain amendments governed the Panchayats until 1947.

16. This brings us to the thresholds of India's independence. When the Congress Ministry assumed office in 1937 it immediately set up a Committee known as the Local Self-Government Committee with Shri A. G. Kher, now Hon'ble Minister L. S. G., as its President to study and examine the structure and working of the existing law and machinery relating to local self-government in all its aspects and to make its recommendations thereon. The recommendations of this Committee were published in two volumes in 1939 which I strongly recommend for your study. It was in pursuance of the report of this Committee that the Gaon Panchayat Act of 1947 was enacted. It constitutes one of the boldest experiments local self-government ever undertaken in any country of the world. An attempt has been made to revive our own ancient form of self-government with a group of villages as the unit of administration. Local self-government would now be organised pyramidlike with the Village Panchayat as its base. The important towns and cities will continue to have their municipalities, town area and notified area committees. The Town Area Act, the Municipalities Act and the District Boards Act have all been thoroughly revised and overhauled so that they may act as vital and corporate bodies within the framework of the New Constitution of Independent India. Franchise has been liberally extended and the pernicious system of separate electorate has been done away with. In municipalities and town areas we now have adult sufferage and joint electorate with reservation of seats for minorities. This is the only system which a secular demo-

cratic state may have. Official control has been reduced to the minimum and the system of nominations by Government has been abolished and substituted by a system of co-option of unrepresented interests by the local authority itself. A determined effort has been made to give new life, vigour and vitality to all local self-governing institutions. The only bottle neck is finance and Government are taking active measures to make all local bodies financially self-sufficient. It is Government's earnest endeavour to see that within a reasonable space of time every city, town, village or hamlet has fresh water-supply, drainage, electricity, medical aid and educational facilities. We have thus reached a stage from where we can look across the future with hope and aspiration.

Constitutional Position of Cantonment Local Self-Government

Introduction

Twenty eight years ago in January, 1921, the first Cantonment Reforms Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble W. C. Renouff, to consider what changes were necessary in order to introduce into the administration of Cantonments the spirit of Montford Reforms Much water has flown under the bridges since then. India has become Independednt. Independent India has placed before it the ideal of Democratic Republic. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the foundation of all institutions-Governmental and semi Governmental-must be placed on substance of Independence, and superstructure be raised on principles of Democratic Republic. It is in this background that the All-India Cantonments Association welcomes the appointment, though delated, in January, 1949, of the present Committee under the distinguished chairmanship of one of our wellknown public men who also happens at this time to be the Head (Mayor) of the premier Local Self-governing body in the country. The Association feels that whatever the wording of the terms of reference, they mean that the Committee's task consists in suggesting ways and means for introduction of the spirit of freedom and independence in the sphere of Cantonment Administration.

2. And what is the Cantomnent Administration? To use the words of the Government of India Act, 1935 (Seventh Schedule Federal Legislative List I, item 2) it is, Local-Self-Government in Cantonment areas, the constitution and powers within such areas of Contonment Authorities, the regulation of House Accommodation in such areas, and the delimitation of such areas." These words have been reproduced verbatim in the Draft Constitution of a Free India (in item 7 Union List I of the Seventh Schedule). They mean in brief that Contonment Administration is really *Municipal Administration of Indian Cantonments.*

The principal statute concerned with this administration is the Cantonments Act, II of 1924, which was enacted quarter of a century ago, to bring into conformity with ordinary Municipal Law the system under which Military Cantoments were administered. (See statement of Objects and

Reasons of Cantonments Bill introduced in Legislative Assembly on 26th March, 1923). Besides the structure of this Act is nothing but that of any other Provincial Municipal Act in the country. In fact this particular Act was framed on the model of the then Municipal Acts of United Provinces and the Punjab.

3. It is necessary for us to emphasis this municipal or Local-Self-governing character of the Cantonment Administration at the outset for more than one reason. The officers of the Cantonments Department, constituting the hierarchy from the Director downwards, are never weary of surrounding the administration with the halo of 'Defence,' evidently with a view to shut it out of the public gaze. Even at the time of the Cripps Misson in 1942, the Congress President was told that the Directorate of Contonments was to be reserved for the portfolio of the Commander-in-Chief and was not to be given over to the proposed Indian Defence Member. When this position became known, the Association submitted a lengthy memorandum to Sir Stafford detailing the functions of the Cantonments Directorate and explaining the true character of the Administration which was nothing but Local-Self-Government in Catonments. Eventually it was agreed that the Contonments Directorate be given to the Indian Defence Member. Even now the official emphasis on the Defence Character of the Administration is so great that even most of the Legislature are not prepared to discuss it on democratic basis. But the fact remains that the Cantonments Act is not concerned with provision of any civic amenities to the Defence services. For them the Defence Ministry at defence expense directly maintains Military Hospitals, special clinics, and child welfare and maternity centres, undertakes sanitary and hygienic duties, and provides education in principles of health, runs schools, libraries, reading rooms, extension lectures, constructs buldings, roads, water-supply, electricity, drainage, and sewerage, arranges cinemas, recreation clubs, sports and games, and baths, and regulates, and controls the exhibition and sale of daily articles of necessity. The Cantonment Board has nothing whatever to do with the arrangements made in those respects, by various Defence Departments, under the direction and control of Commanding Officers. Of-course, Officer Commanding of the station arranges with the Board on annual payment the provision of Sweeper Staff, and transport vehicles required to clean and remove rubbish from the areas where the troops are quartered. But even in that case the number of the personnel required or the work required to be done by them, is determined by the Commanding Officer, and in this respect the Board acts merely as his agent.

4. On the contrary the Board is intimately connected with the lives of civilians residing in Cantonments. The civil population of 55 Canton-

ments in the Union of India in 1931 was 5,36,000 and in 1941 it was 6,02,000 (see appendix A). Considering the great rise in city population during War in general, and Cantonment population in particular that has taken place since 1941, and the fact that 1941 census was taken in winter, when population of 17 Hill Cantonments was evidently less, it can safely be estimated that the present civil population of 55 Cantonments must be *One Million souls*. Some of the Cantonments are big enough towns with over half a lac of population, and some of them are so small that they should not exist as independent local bodies. Besides the Cantonment Boards derive all their income by levy of House Tax, and Water Tax, Octroi or Terminal Tax and Profession Tax from the civilian residents. No house tax is levied on the Military buildings. The Defence services goods, and commodities entering cantonments are exempted from payment of Octroi or terminal tax and Defence services personnel is free from payment of Profession or Water Taxes. Not only that the Cantonment Boards are concerned vitally with the provision of civic amenties like schools, libraries, reading rooms, hospitals, clinics, Child welfare and maternity centres, water supply, electric energy, drainage, sewerage, buildings, roads, fire-brigades, Parks, Gardens and a hundred and one civilised necessities of life to civilian inhabitants of Cantonments. Thus the Board can do a lot to ameliorate the condition of masses, and help them in their troubles.

5. Having emphasised the Municipal or Local self-governing character of the Cantonment Administration, let us for a moment try to see what a "CANTONMENT" means. The dictionary meaning of the word 'Contonment' is "A QUARTER ASSIGNED FOR LODGING OF TROOPS." But in India it means a permanent Military Station. Perhaps in no other country than in India (except countries under imperial domination) there are separate Military stations. The troops are quartered in ordinary towns or villages. Nowhere they have special towns or villages created or assigned to them. The reason for this special growth of Cantonment towns in India are not far to seek. The Britishers having added a big country like India to their empire wanted to keep the same under their domination by force of arms. They therefore designed to keep their defence forces segregated from the rest of the country. They did not like the British soldiers to mix with the Indian civilians or the Indian Soldiers, to be influenced by joys and sorrows of their countrymen. They therefore built Cantonments in suburbs of Important cities in India, in first decade of he nineteenth century. They also built some Cantonments in Hills as summer pleasure resorts for British Troops. As the time passed on, they wanted amenities in these Cantonments for officers and soldiers alike in addition to investment for building bungalows for residence of Military Officers, so they attracted an increasing number of civilians by offering them free land

and prospects of good business. Towards the middle of the century the number of civilians increased so much that they had to pass laws like the Bengal Cantonment Act XXII of 1864, Madras Cantonment Act I of 1866 and Bombay Cantonment Act III of 1867 for the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, to control them. These Acts were consolidated in cantonments Act III of 1880, which was repealed by Act XV of 1910. This Act was in force when Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, promised gradual development of Self-Government in this country, and followed up this announcement by getting the Government of India Act 1919 through the British Parliament. These reforms called the Montague Chelmsford Reforms, or simply Montford Reforms stirred the imagination of residents of Cantonments, and they brought into being the All-India Cantonments Association. In the beginning this Association, consisted of titled gentry who although were anxious to improve their own lots in Cantonments, tried to show to the Britishers, that they were against the rising Nationalist side in the country. They therefore started petitioning to authorities and leading deputations. As Gandhiji's first non-co-operation movement was at its height in 1921, they got immediate response from the official world, who were anxious to placate them. Close upon the report of a Departmental Committee, the Renouff Committee was appointed in March, 1921, and submitted its report in following October. Then the Draft of the Cantonments House Accommodation Act and the Cantonment Act was prepared and laid before the Indian Legislative Assembly the life of which was drawing to a close. As the 'Pandits and Patels' to use a phrase of Sir Malcolm Hailey (referring to the late Hon'ble Pandit Motilalji Nehru and the late Hon'ble President Vithalbhai J. Patel) were shortly expected on the scene of the Indian Legislature, the Cantonments Act was virtually rushed through both the Houses, under threats of withdrawal. The members accepted this measure as 'half a loaf.' Since then this enactment with minor amendments has remained on the statute book all the time, the Britishers were in India, and continues uptil today.

II

6. The very first thing that the Association will recommend is the early repeal of the Cantonments Act, the abolition of the Cantonment Board and the consequent redelimitation of boundaries of Cantonments to include only areas where troops are quartered. It will mean that Local Self-Government in what are now known as Cantonment areas, will be transferred to Provincial or State Governments from the Ministry of Defence of the Central Government. The reasons for this proposal are fourfold:—

(1) Defence forces in the country are now citizen forces, and not mercenary forces.

(2) The Local-Self-Government in the country is a Provincial (State) Subject and no special reasons continue for treating Local Self-Government in Cantonments to be Central Defence Subject.

(3) Better areas for Municipal Administration can be created by Provincial Governments.

(4) Incidentally the Reforms suggested will mean a saving of nearly rupees ten lacs, if not more to the Central Defence Budget.

7. *Citizen Forces*: The Defence forces in this country are no longer mercenary. They are National Forces of which the country is justly proud of, and as such there exist no reason to keep them insulated in special areas with special Administration. They can as well be quartered in cities, towns, and even country-side. In fact even now Colaba in Bombay is practically a Cantonment area, yet it is not a CANTONMENT with a separate Cantonment Board. It forms part of the Bombay City Corporation. Similarly larger number of Army, Air force, and Naval officers live in New Delhi Municipal area, than in any Cantonment of the country. Not only that troops are even quartered in this area. Yet the local administration is in the hands of New Delhi Municipal Committee, and not a Cantonment Board. At Ranchi, similarly, the Eastern Command has its Head Quarters and training battalions are quartered, but there is no Cantonment Administration. Therefore it follows that the troops can be quartered and are being quartered in India and elsewhere in the world in areas, the local administration of which is not controlled by the Ministry of Defence.

8. *Provincial Subject*: In fact local self-Government in the country is a Provincial or State subject. Each of these provinces or State has a separate Ministry dealing with the problems of the Local Self-Governments. Each has a Provincial enactment in keeping with the genius of the people residing therein. Besides each Provincial Government is charged with the duty of spreading education and removing illiteracy, rendering medical aid and preventing diseases, and undertaking measures for relief of distress and and poverty. These and a hundered other ameliorative measures fall within the purview of the Provincial Administration, and not that of the Central Government. There is no reason therefore why one million civilians residing in the Cantonment areas in the Union be deprived of the benefits that will accrue from the civic measures and the social security plans of the Provincial Governments. Tne Ministry of Defence is not the proper department to foster local self-Government or to study and provide for increasing social needs. It is a technical department which has to look after a more important subject, the Defence of this great Continent. It is time therefore that it is absolved from the duty of looking after Municipal Administration.

9. *Better Municipal Units*. On account of separate delimitation of Cantonment areas, in the neighbourhood of big cities and consequent existence of separate Cantonment Boards unnecessary, undesirable and certainly uneconomic units of administration exsit side by side. For example why should the proposed Greater Poona Corporation not include the Cantonment areas of Poona & Kirki as suggested by the Bombay Government, or for that matter why any other City Municipality should not have the neighbouring Cantonment areas within their Jurisdiction? This will partly simplify municipal services, and even the collection of town duties like Octroi and Terminal Taxes. As for small Cantonments in Hills, they must be merged in District Boards or created as notified Committees. But to keep them distinct units of Administration, and give them financial reccour to keep them going, is no longer a desirable economic or political proposition. If the Municipal Administration of the so-called Cantonments is handed over to the Provincial Governments these Governments will amalgamate them in such a way that they no longer remain un-economic and burdensome.

10. *Financially A Saving*: On the 29th March last in reply to a starred question of Shri R. K. SIDHWA, the Hon'ble Minister of Defence pointed out that the Cantonments Directorate, consisting of the Director, three Deputy Directors, and the three Deputy Assistant Directors, Military Estates officers and their staff and half salary of the Executive officers will cost the Central Exchequer over 15 LACS OF RUPEES in 1949-50. All this expense is really unnecessary. At least 2/3rd of it can be easily saved if Local-Self-Government in Cantonments is handed over to the Provincial Governments. The money so saved can be better utilised for expansion of Defence Forces, or even the Welfare of Defence Services.

11. Therefore it will indeed be a step forward if the Cantonment Boards are abolished as separate entities and the Cantonment areas included in such Municipal areas as the Provincial Governments think advisable.

There is, however, one set of objections against this proposal which we would like to meet. It is said that the municipal administration in the country is inefficient and therefore better administered Cantonments be not given to them. The Secretary to the Local Self-Government Department of Bombay made a categorical statement in the Local Self-Government Ministers, Conference refuting this view, and urging that the efficiency of the municipalities is as good if not better than the Cantonment Boards in his province. But even if for a moment we admit that in the past there were undesirable tendencies leading to inefficiency in Municipal Administration of the country, we submit that such tendencies are bound to disappear under the future constitution of the country. Communalism

was the root cause of all this inefficiency in the past. Fortunately we have said GOOD-BYE to that Pet-child of the British Imperialism. Besides there exists no reason now for the District officers to pull strings from behind and create parties, and fractions among Municipal Councillors. Not only that, the Provincial Governments will be ready to take severe action against all delinquent members. All these changes in the situation, and the growth of national feeling and healthy public opinion in the country, cannot but improve the efficiency of all Governmental institutions, including the Municipal bodies. But even if some inefficiency results let us take it in the spirit in which our Great Prime Minister would like to take it. Speaking at the Local self-Government Ministers Conference in New Delhi only last year, he is reported to have said: "Local self-Government concerned the largest number of the people. We must look at this question from a wider outlook. It is essential that a person must have freedom to do work, and then he becomes responsible. At the same time we have to guard against errors. Whatever the sphere give freedom to work, if you like to have some kind of check; check later on when errors go far enough. Do not check at the start."

Therefore we urge let us trust our Ministers in the Provinces and our new municipal councils which they will create for Cantonment areas, and hope that they will run the civic administration with responsibility and provide better administration and more civic amenities. As for the actual areas where the troops are quartered, we are one with the local self-Government Ministers Conference which unanimously resolved that for reasons connected with the security and health of troops, such areas "should be under the general control of Army authorities."

Everywhere, even in Bombay city such areas are under the control of Army authorities, and they must remain so in the future set up of the country.

12. If these recommendations are accepted, by the Committee all that follows in Part II, which deals with the Cantonments Act, (and the rules framed thereunder,) or the Constitution, Functions or Finance of the Cantonment Boards will become redundant and can be safely ignored. But if the Committee feels that for some strategic or political reasons it is necessary to keep the Cantonment stations all over the country, and also to maintain a separate system of Local self-Government in those Cantonments, the Association will request the Committee to give due consideration to Part II. As for Part III which deals with Cantonment Land Problem that will have to be tackled in either case, whether Local Self-Government in Cantonment areas is kept a central subject, or is made over as a Provincial subject. But in case it is agreed that it should become a provincial subject, then even that problem will be greatly simplified.

CHAPTER I

CONSTITUTION OF CANTONMENT BOARDS

13. The pivotal problem of Cantonment Reforms is to transfer power from the Officers of Cantonment Department to the representatives of the people. The only change that has so far come at the wake of our independence is the substitution of one type of bureaucracy for another. On the other hand what we plead for is the establishment of real local-self government of the people, by the people and for the people. The present constitution of the Cantonment Board is a reflex of the Montford Scheme of Reforms. That scheme imposed upon this country what is now known as DYARCHY. Under 'DYARCHY' power has shown to have been divided between the officials and the representatives of the people. But in reality it was concentrated in the officials and the elected members were turned into helpless onlookers, to serve as scapegoats for all misfortunes of the people. The farcical character of 'DYARCHY' was completely exposed in the Central Assembly, by no less an authority than the Late Pandit Moti Lalji Nehru. Those arguments need no repetition. Dyarchical System has continued in Indian Administration right upto our independence. It was only then that India became a democracy, and placed before it the goal of democratic republic. But the Cantonment Administration uptil today continues to be a 'DYARCHY' in which power vests in the hands of officers of Cantonments Department, and elected members are mere helpless critics.

14. We have on the scene of the Cantonment Board three different types of elements: (*i*) Officers of the Cantonment Department; (*ii*) The Official nominated block in majority; (*iii*) and the elected members in minority. Under the constitution the responsibility of carrying on the administration is vested in the Official Majority, with the Official President. But in fact all the power is exercised by the Executive Officers under the directions of his higher Officers, the Director and the Deputy Directors. The Official Majority consists of Military Officers to whom a Civil Magistrate is appended in bigger Cantonments. None of these officers have any interest in Municipal Administration. In fact their Military duties are so important that they have neither the time nor the inclination, to study the Cantonment affairs. On the other hand they consider it a burden to attend the monthly meetings of the Board or its committees, where their presence is secured by urgent whips from Executive Officers. By their presence they

serve as a voting block. The President who is Officer Commanding the Station, has even greater Military responsibilities to discharge. He does not attend the Cantonment Board Office to study its working, or bear public grievances. It would be news, indeed if any President has cared to study the Cantonments Act or the financial or budgetary position of the Board. The fact is that military atmosphere is entirely different from civic administration, and one who is called upon to concentrate all his energies in Military affairs should not be expected to probe into civic problems. As regards elected members besides being in a standing minority, they are perpetually mistrusted. The elected Vice-President of no Cantonment Board in India, has been delegated any powers or duties under sub-section (2) of S. 22, by the official President during the last quarter of a century. The Statutory Bazar Committees brought into being by the then Government in 1936, as a counterblast to opposition's demand in the Legislature for an elected majority were rendered impotent the moment they were created and all the assurances held out about them were ignored. The Government yeilded to the pressure of their officers of the Cantonment Department, and issued instructions that these committees be reduced to the status of merely recommendatory sub-committees of the Board, with an extremely limited scope of work. No elected member of a Cantonment Board has been trusted with the duties of Executive Officers during the absence of permanent incumbent, and the provisions of S. 286-A have in this respect remained a dead letter throughout all these years. With so much distrust permeating the Administration, no wonder that in the Cantonment Board the elected members have assumed merely the role of critics. The real power in the administration vests in the Executive Officer. He receives his orders from the Deputy Director and Director who are the officers of same cadre. These orders take two forms: (i) of Circulars, open and confidential, and (ii) of instructions, D. O. and verbal. As soon as a Circular reaches the Cantonment Board Office, the Executive Officers take action on it, even before its merits have been considered by the Board. Out of Circulars non-confidential are no doubt placed for information before the Board, but the confidential ones are not even shown to the Boards, *a thing fundamentally and constitutionally wrong.* The Board is the corporation vested with the administration, and not the President or the Executive Officer. Therefore there is no constitutional propriety in keeping things confidential from members of the Board, particularly the elected members. Of course confidential letters may be discussed in a secret meeting if so desired, but under no canons of constitutional law can they be kept out of the board. Yet this is what actually happens. These circulars (and not the Act of the Legislature) guide the conduct of the Executive Officers. If this Committee were to examine all the uncancelled circulars, they will understand the

background of the Administration, as it is carried on today. Armed with instructions from above, the Executive Officer approaches the Official President one day before the monthly meeting of the Board and tells him what proposals, and in what manner had to be carried through the Board. He paints a dark picture of the elected members except his own favourites. The President being the Senior-most Military Officer in the Military, other officers are under him in Military discipline. He therefore easily arranges to get the Executive Officer's views carried through the Board. Every Officer votes as one with him, whereas elected members have amongst them different angles of vision. To the elected members the Executive Officers try to hoodwink by saying that Military Members are adamant, and do not agree to things. Hence they play a sort of double policy, and carry everything before them. In rare cases if elected members carry any measures against their wishes, say once in the blue moon, they get the same suspended and latter vetoed by writing demi-officially to the Deputy Director. Thus the present system of Administration is a sort of Dictatorship. It is neither local nor self-government.

15. The Association will propose a complete break with the past, and entire re-orientation of the Constitution of the Board. *It will urge that the basis of the new constitution should be democratic republican in substance and form.* Therefore the Board should have (i) Universal Suffrage, (ii) Free Elections (iii) Responsible House (iv) Republican Office bearers, (v) Enlightened Services and (vi) National Control.

Universal Suffrage

16. We suggest that every Indian male or female, above 18 years of age, who has resided on the Cantonment for a period of six months, previous to a specified date, in every year, should be registered as an elector for the Board, and the present system of restricted franchise based on property, earnings, educational or other qualifications be given up. The only disqualifications to be recognised for being enrolled as an elector be (i) alien status, (ii) non-residence, and (iii) unsoundness of mind. To effect this change Section 27 will have to be re-casted. The change suggested, needs no arguments, as it has been accepted by the Constituent Assembly as basis of Franchise in the country.

Amendment of Section 28.

17. But the qualifications of membership of the Board be kept a little higher, than those of the electors. Every person enrolled as an elector in any ward must be eligible for election in any ward in the Cantonment provided he is 25 years of age and is literate or passed some examination prescribed

by the Government. The disqualifications for the membership should be those mentioned in Article 83 of the proposed Indian Constitution to which " holding of place of profit under the Board be added." They will include alien status, holding place of profit under Government and the Board, and unsoundness of mind, undischarged insolvency, suspended legal practice, or sentence by a competent court of imprisonment over two years, involving moral turpitude. These suggestions will need amendment of Section 28 of the Act.

Amendment of Cantonment Electoral Rules for Election And S (26)(3).

18. At the same time joint-electorates alone be recognised under the Cantonments Act. At present the Government of India is maintaining communal electorates in United Provinces, Cantonments by a provision made to this effect in Cantonment Electoral Rules. The law in this respect be made explicit by amending Section 29 (3) so that the Government cannot do so anywhere in future.

Free Elections

Amendment of the Cantonment Electoral Rules.

19. The Executive Officer will prepare a provisional Electoral list, house-wise, and have it checked. Then it must be thrown open to inspection to all persons in 3/4 places in the Cantonments. Afterwards objections for and against entry be invited, and enquired into summarily by a First Class Magistrate, and the list amended under his orders, and authenticated under his signature. The authorised list so prepared be divided seriatum into wards of approximately equal number of electors for the number of seats in the Board, and printed separately and made available to whosoever wants on payment. By this method the objection that the wards are often created with widely different strength will be eliminated and approximately equal election wards will be ensured. But if this system is not acceptable the Cantonment be divided in geographical wards of approximately equal size.. Such lists should remain in force for election till new lists have been similarly prepared in the next year or the year following. The objections against acceptance or rejection of nominated candidates be also heared and decided by a Magistrate of First Class with right of revision by District Magistrate and not by Officer-Commanding the station,

who is certainly not expected to study Election Law and practice. The voting must as usual be by ballot. But to ensure complete secrecy coloured box-system or symbol-box system be provided in the Act. This will mean that nobody will be present near the ballot box to mark the ballot papers of illiterate voters and elections will be free and unobjectionable. Every facility will have to be given for exercising right of the vote. For example, voting may begin late in the day and continue upto say 8 or 9 p. m. so that wage-earners and office goers can come and exercise their right of franchise in the evening, after attending their duty. These suggestions it is urged be embodied by suitably amending Sections 21 and 31 and Cantonment Electoral Rules. These Rules provide election petitions to the District Judge which forum must be maintained, but in addition to corrupt practices, it must be provided that petition may be presented for wrongful refusal of a candidate's nomination papers.

Responsible House

Amendment of S 13 & 14 of the Act.

20. Under Section 13 of the Act the present strength of the Cantonment Board varies from 3 to 15 numbers(see Appendix B). Out of these two to eight members are officials (or nominated) and 1 to 7 are elected. Thus the elected members are in a standing Statutory Minority. We have already shown how the administration of the Board is a ' DYARCHY ' and pleaded for its abolition. The only alternative to such abolition will be either to vest power in officials or in the elected members. The Constituent Assembly of India, the sovereign body in the country, had unequivocally declared for democratic republican form of the Government, and we cannot envisage a system of Local Self-Government, which is both republican and at the same time bureaucratic. Without going into merits or demerits of either system, we will therefore request the statesman to rise above the deparmental fears and be bold enough to carry out the declared wishes of the Constituent Assembly. We hope, and pray that our people however ignorant and poor, will rise sooner, rather than later, and make democracy a success in this country. Therefore we propose that strength of every Board should be raised and vary form 3 to 21. Out of these one in each case be the

President elected by all electors in the Cantonment at the time of general elections, and the remaining 2 to 20 should be elected members one from each ward as was suggested in the previous para. Upto 2000 civil population, the members elected be 2, and thereafter for every increase of 1000 civil population one more elected member be provided, till the maximum number is 20. In addition to these 3 to 21 elected members (including the elected President) the Officer-Commanding the Station be empowered to nominate for co-option a maximum of three Military officers to the Board. It is expected that in bigger Cantonments two of these three officers will be the Senior Medical officers and the Garrison Engineer of the Cantonment. These nominated officers will have all the previleges of membership that is right of moving motions, addressing the house, and joining the Committess of Board. All these proposals will mean complete overhaul of Section 13 and repeal of Section 14.

Republican Office Bearers.

Amendment of Section 20 & 21.

21. In consonance with our ideas of democratic republican form of Government, we propose that the President of the Cantonment Board must be elected by all electors. In fact electors in all wards at the time of general election will exercise two votes, one for membership of their ward, and the other for the President of the Board. But the candidate offering himself for the election of the president must be a registered elector above 30 years of age, in all cantonments be atleast a matriculate, and even in Cantonments with population of 10,000 or more may be required to be graduate of recognised University. He must possess all the qualifications needed for membership of the Board, and must not be subject to any one of the disqualifications for membership. Like other members of the Board he will hold office for three years upto next general election, but if he dies or resigns or is removed by Central Board for misbehaviour his office for the remaining period will be filled by the Vice-President. No bye-elections will be held to elect a President.

22. The Vice-President of the Board be elected by the Board in its first meeting after general election by a secret ballot of all members present. The Vice-President should also hold office for three years but he may be removed by Central Board for misbehaviour. In case the person holding the office of President dies, resigns, or is removed, the Vice-President will step in his shoes for the remainder of the term, and a new Vice-President elected by the Board in his place. This provision be embodied in Section 20 and 21. But the provision, in Section 22 or S. 23 containing duties of the President or the Vice-President be kept in tact.

Enlightened Services

Amendment of Section 12.

23. The Executive Officer as at present must belong to an All India Service. He must be a Graduate and a provision to this effect must be inserted in Section 12 on the lines of S. 33 (i) of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act. The members of this cadre must be recruited through the Central Public Services Commission. All powers under which the Government of India appointed as many as 20 superannuated, overage persons as Executive Officers must be withdrawn. At the same time powers to appoint ex-Military Officers as Executive Officers contained in para 32 of the Cantonment Executive Officers Service Rules, 1937, be also taken away. The training of the Executive Officers must be conducted either at Local Self-Government Institute, Bombay, or at the Administrative Training School, at Delhi. It is no use allowing the recruits to waste their time with the Executive Officers where they unlearn many principles of life. The course of the examination prescribed in appendix I to the Rules also need change, in as much as (i) Principles of Local Self- Government, (2) Principles of public and local Finance, (iii) Indian Educational and Health problems; and (iv) a thesis on a subject studied by personal observations be substituted for things like aboriculture or Minor or Major Acts prescribed in the Appendix. During the course of their training it must be impressed on the mind of the trainees, that it would be their proud previlege to serve the poor, the distressed, and the needy of the country. They must therefore approach the problems in right spirit of service and not of governance. They must study intensively civic problems and evolve out the scope of our Municipal activities. During the course of their service they must be transferred from smaller to

bigger Cantonments, but they must not aspire to become Military Estates Officers, Deputy Directors or Directors. We have elsewhere recommended the abolition of the posts of Military Estates Officers, and Deputy Directors. Here we wish simply to urge that Municipal Service be considered as an ennobling profession in itself with a very wide scope for public service.

24. As regards other posts under the Cantonment Board, the same be divided in two groups. Officer grade posts should be those of Assistant Health Officers, Education Officers, Engineer Officers, Office Superintendents, and Tax-Superintendents. All these should be organised on All-India basis and appointments and transfers be made by the proposed Central Board. Incumbents of the Junior Posts, like doctors, compounders, nurses, teachers, overseers, clerks and the rest be organised on Regional Basis; all Cantonments in India being divided in four regions, and their transfers arranged within the region by the Central Board. By this means power of patronage which so often leads to bickering among members will lesson and better qualified staff will be recruited by proper tests and examinations. Not only that the Staff being liable to transfer will not create vested interests. Of course responsibility of Executive Officers and other officers to the Board be secured by vesting in the Board the power to get them transferred. In case of junior staff the Board be given powers to suspend or dismiss subject to appeal to the Central Board. Arrangements be also made for by the Cantonment Board a refresher course of a fortnight's duration for officers and junior staff of the Cantonment Board, every alternate year.

25. In keeping with the spirit of times, the CANTONMENT FUND SERVANTS RULES be amended to drop the distinction between the mental servants and other servants. Every permanent servant should contribute to Provident Fund, and be entitled to leave with pay, the minimum of which should be fixed at Rs. 40/-per mensem. Even a Sweeper or Chaprasi must get that pay. The hearing of appeals of Cantonment Fund Servants be vested in a Sub-Committee of the Central Board, and not with any one of the officers as at present provided.

National Control

26. The entire control over Boards is at present exercised by the officers of the Cantonments Department, who are promoted from sub-ordinate position of Executive Officers to the controlling position. To control the Boards in circles, Military Estates Officers have been appointed, in Commands Deputy Directors and Deputy Assistant Directors are being maintained; and in the Centre the post of the Director has been created. The why and how of this control has a history behind it, and must be told. Before the Cantonments Act II of 1924, the Officers of the Cantonment Department were known as Cantonment Magistrates. They were highly autocratic functionaries, and combined in themselves the powers of Magistrate Ist. Class, heads of Police Force in the Cantonments, Civil Judges, Registrars, Secretaries, and Members of Cantonment Committees, Land Officers, and what not. They were little monarchs in their little castles. On being deprived of all powers and prestige the members of this cadre raised a hue and cry. In those days services yeilded the greatest influence, and the Government had to devise ways and means of placating them. Therefore the post of an Inspecting Officer of Cantonments in the then Army Secretariat and four Deputy Inspecting Officers in four Commands were created, and the Senior-most Cantonment Magistrates, were appointed to those posts. In order to placate the rank and file it was also promised that a new Lands Branch in Cantonments will be created, wherein those other Officers will be appointed so that they are directly responsible to the Government and not the Boards (See para 12 of Renouff Committee Report). After 1st May 1924, the all powerful Cantonment Magistrate found themselves suddenly reduced to the position of mere Secretaries of the Boards. This loss of prestige and power was unbearable for them. Therefore the CANTONMENT LAND ADMINISTRATION RULES were immediately brought into being in 1925, by the rule-making power of Government by which the very same Executive Officers were also styled as Military Estates Officers, and in that capacity were made independent of the Board. In fact in that second capacity they started dictating to the Boards. We will examine these developement and their bearings

in detail in part III which deals with land problem. Gradually the Inspecting Officer became Director of Cantonments, and the Deputy Inspecting Officers became the Deputy Directors, and were given Assistants called Deputy Assistant Directors. By 1936, the remaining members of the old magistracy were fed up with their jobs of Executive Officership and thus the Legislature was made to agree to the creation by statute of Military Estates Officers as independent functionaries, by inserting clause (XXa) to S. (2). We urge that the Military Estates Officers have nothing whatever to do with the Board, and as such no mention of them should come in the Municipal Act.

As regards Deputy Directors or Deputy Assistant Directors, the Act even does not make a mention of them. The Officers on being appointed to these posts, by promotion from the Executive Officers' job, atonce become bosses of the Board. In the name of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief they ruthlessly exercise powers of suspension, reference and veto over resolutions of the Boards, under Section 51 of the Act. Under Section 47 they inspect officers and works of the Boards, and send directions amounting to orders. Under Section 48 they call for documents. Under the Cantonment Account Code (Rules) they have been created the budget sanctioning authority. In fact not one pice expenditure can be incurred without detailed sanction of each item by the Deputy Director. Under Cantonment fund Servants Rules, they decide the appeals of servants, on behalf of the G. O. C.-in-Chief and under Cantonment Land Administration Rules they are all in all. It is pity that even no Advisory Committees have been attached to them, or their agents in circles the Military Estates Officers, and they can weild power in just whatever manner they like. We strongly urge the abolition of the Deputy Directorate. To control 55 Cantonments, the presence of 6 officers out of whom three are Deputy Directors and another three are Deputy Assistant Directors, must be considered a huge waste of public money. All we need is perhaps addition of 2 assistants to the Director, who should be styled as Secretary to Central Board, one for Cantonments Section, and the other for Land.

This reform will mean not only economy, but also greater freedom and responsibility for Boards.

As regards the Director he too is not mentioned in the Act, still he exercises all powers of the Government of India. The late Defence Members, and now Defence Minister have hardly time enough to probe deeply in the affairs of the Local Self-Government in the Cantonments. They have to look after bigger problems of Defence policy. Barring one or two exception, the Defence Secretaries in the past have not taken things seriously in Cantonments Branch. The results have been that the Director is all in all. Not only that the Legislature uptil recently had appointed no committee to keep watch over the doings of this Director. The results have been that rules have been promulgated, and circulars issued entirely against the letter and spirit of the Act, and against public welfare.

27. We propose that in the new set up of a free India, there should be a Central Board, a sort of Local Self-Government Board, with the following constitution: –

(1) The Hon'ble Minister for Defence: CHAIRMAN.
(2) The Defence Secretary or the Joint Secretary.
(3) The Quarter Master General or his Deputy.
(4) The D. G. of Medical services or his Deputy.
(5) A representative of Ministry of Education.
(6) A representative of Ministry of Health.
(7) A representative of Ministry of Finance.
(8) The Senior Architect, or Town Planner of the Ministry of WMP.
(9) 6 members elected by the Central Legislature.
(10) 6 elected members elected by the Cantonment Boards in 3 regions as members.
(11) The present Director of Cantonments to be Secretary of the Board.

Amendment of Section 46 to 52 of the Act.

The Central Board should advise the Government of India on all matters concerning Cantonments and Land Administration. In particular it should:—

(1) Pass all rules.
(2) Recruit and transfer Executive Officers, and other officers of Board.

(3) Recruit and transfer other servants within regions in which the Boards be divided;

(4) Sanction budgets.

(5) Hear appeals against orders of the Board, both from public and Cantonment Fund servants.

(6) Distribute grants-in-aid.

(7) Arrange inspections.

(8) Suspend and remove delinquent members.

(9) Sanction schemes of Town Planning.

(10) Decide to issue notices of resumption or acquisition of property, and settle the compensation to be offered.

(11) Decide whether a Resolution suspended by Officer-Commanding the station be re-referred to a Board for re-consideration or be vetoed.

(12) Pass orders of suspension of Boards, and arrange for administration to be carried on during suspended period.

(13) Arrange for training of Executive Officers and for refresher courses for other servants of the Board; and

(14) Create and distribute literature for guidance of members and for public.

Of course the Central Board will be advisory in nature, and will not in any way encroach upon the Minister's Cabinet responsibility. But still it will help him a good deal to keep up the democratic atmosphere in the Administration.

These suggestions will mean complete overhaul of Section 46 to 52 of the Act.

Implementation of National Policy.

28. We, however, propose that in the new set up of our country, the Central Government must have wide powers of issuing general or specific orders to Boards for getting things done, in the manner they want them to be done, in pursuance of National Policy, plan or programme. Not only that in order to safe-guard Defence interests the Officer-Commanding the Station, or G. O. C. in-Chief may suspend any resolution passed by the Board within one

Safeguard of Defence Interests.

week, and refer the case to the Central Government who may within one month make a reference to the Board for re-consideration in the light of observations, or veto the same. This provision will amply safeguard defence interests.

Amendment of Section 54

29. As regards suspension of Boards envisaged in Section 54 we are opposed to it in the present form. If the Board after receiving a warning from the Central Government does not mend matters satisfactorily, the Central Government should order fresh general election and widely publicise in the Cantonment why the need had arisen. The newly elected Board be again given time of say three months to put matters right. Even if the new Board fails a sub-committee of Central Board be appointed to run the administration for two years, and the Board be suspended for that period. The amendment of section 54 should take this form.

Amendment of Section 32 and Section S 34 (i) (b).

30. We also feel that to secure efficiency the Central Board should not hesitate to take action against delinquent elected members. For this purpose the scope of Section 32 be enlarged to provide that in case an elected member is reasonably believed to take bribes or takes a land in Cantonment on lease during his term of office, or is interested in contract with the Board or does not pay Cantonment taxes due from him within two months on receipt of notice of demand he may in addition to removal be made criminally liable. Besides this there should be no hesitation in invoking the provision of Section 33. As regards Section 34 a provision for obtaining leave of absence be inserted in clause (b) of Sub-Sec (i) so that members may avail of it.

GENERAL

31. Other constitutional matters that need reform are:—

1. Committees of Boards.
2. Procedure of meetings.
3. Definition and delimitation of Cantonment.

Amendment of Section 43 A & Section 44.

32. We have already said that the Bazar Committees are a farce. They have failed to justify their existence, and should be abolished forthwith by repeal of Section 43A. In their place, every Board having more than 5 members

should be called upon to constitute a Standing Committee of 3 to 5 members elected annually by that Board, on the model of Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act. The Committee should meet every fortnight on an appointed date:—

(1) To regulate collection of revenue;

(2) To hear appeals against assessment and liability to payment of taxes, terminal tax and other taxes;

(3) To regulate and scrutinize expenditure;

(4) To propose budget and present the same to the Board;

(5) To serve as town improvement and town develepement Committees;

(6) to hoar appeals against orders of Executive Officer; and

(7) to do all acts delegated or assigned to them by the Board. There should be another Standing Committee of military members of the Board to look after the sanitation and health of areas where troops are quartered.

In addition to the Statutory Standing Committee the Board may appoint consultative or executive Committee with such constitution as is prescribed under the sanctioned bye-Laws.

Amendment of Section 42.

33. The procedural reform should include the throwing open of meetings of Board to 'press' in addition to public in Section 42, to making it compulsory for the President to call a special meeting on requisition of one fourth of members within one week, failing which the members themselves be entitled to do so in Section (37) and to obliging the Board to hold public meetings every month to keep the public in touch with the doings of the Board.

Amendment of Section 37.

Amendment of Section 4 & 5.

34. At present the Central Government is empowered to declare any area in the country to be a Cantonment, and to lay down its limits or to include any neighbouring area, within an existing cantonment under Sections 4 & 5 of the Act. In case separate Military Stations have to be kept as Cantonments in the country, and our suggestions contained

in part I of this memorandum are not accepted, it is but natural that both these powers should continue to vest in the Central Government. But the Central Government before declaring an area as a Cantonment or including an area within a Cantonment, should consult the Provincial or the State Government.

Amendment of Section 286.

35. There is however one connected provision in the Act, which is highly objectionable. That provision is contained in Section 286 of the Act under which some of the chapters of the Act can be applied to neighbouring Municipal or District Board areas. We feel that this Section is *ultra vires* of the existing Government of India Act and the future constitution of India. When Local Self-Government in areas outside Cantonment is a provincial (State) subject how can certain chapters of Central Act be made applicable to these areas wherein only Provincial Act can apply? Even from moral point of view we hold that the Board should not exercise jurisdiction over the inhabitants of an area, without giving them due representation on the Board. For these and other reasons Section 286 be repealed. These are our submissions on Constitution of the Boards. Let us now pass on to the Finances.

CHAPTER II

FINANCES OF THE BOARD

36. The Financial Provisions are contained in Chapter V to VII Section 60 to 115 of the Act, and Cantonment Account Code and Cantonment Property Rules. There is at present a lacuna in law in this respect in as much as nothing is said about the procedure relating to the presentation of Accounts or budget-estimates in the Act. We would therefore suggest the insertion of new Chapter V dealing with budget and accounts on the Model of Chapter II (Section 209 to 212) of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act, or Section 99 to 103 of the U. P. Municipalities Act.

New Chapter on Budgets and Accounts.

This chapter will provide:—

(1) The framing of a budget say in January every year by the Standing Committee of expected income and expenditure of Board in the coming financial year based on

consolidated statements of Accounts for the previous financial year and actuals for 8 months of current year together with a proposal fixing the rates of taxation within the range permitted.

2. The budget so framed should contain two portions (i) dealing with the current income and the other (ii) with capital income and capital expenditure.

3. The budget must be discussed in a special meeting of the Board, and the appropriations and ways and means be discussed, voted upon, and passed.

4. The budget so passed be considered by the Central Board in March and April, and any recommendation considered necessary in pursuance of national Policy or programme be communicated to the Board.

5. The budget passed by the Board be published for public information at few places, and explained to public by organising one or two public meetings in the Cantonment.

6. That a consolidated statement of accounts for closed financial year be prepared in May, and after being passed by Board be published in prominent places in the Cantonments and explained to public. These provisions in the Act, will mean consequent repeal of reactionary Rules in Cantonment Account Code. At present the audit of Cantonment Accounts is only a test audit. If some system of internal complete audit, can be provided at moderate cost, it will mean great check and consequent economy.

Sources of Capital Income.

37. The income of the Board so far has been only of the nature of Revenue income. Such income can hardly provide for the capital expenditure, which in the coming years must necessarily increase because the Boards will be called upon to provide sewerage system, drainage system, water supply, and even housing for the poor. Expenditure on these schemes cannot and ought not to come from current income. Therefore the Boards must have some sources of Capital income.

We suggest the following:—

(1) borrowings;

(2) premiums on Lands Leased;

(3) share in unearned increment in value of property; and

(4) a fixed percentage of revenue income. Hitherto the Boards have not been allowed to borrow from the market, and undertake bigger projects. This policy should now be liberalised. If a Board can show that its income will increase to cover interest charges, sinking fund, depreciation, and replacement, it must be helped, may even encouraged, to provide amenities by borrowing in open market.

At present in every Cantonment there is a paucity of living accommodation. Since the Cantonments were first planned in the last century, there has been tremendous increase of population everywhere both due to biological causes, and the influx from other places. The housing problem in Cantonments has not kept pace with this increase. The result is that acute housing shortage both for Military Officers and civilians exists. This shortage can be met easily by town-developement in Cantonments. Land being the property of the Government and plentiful, such town planning will be quicker and easier, In fact we suggest that the proposed Standing Committees in every Board be given powers of Town Developement, and expert advice needed be provided, by the Town Planner of the Works, Mines, & Power Ministry on the Central Board. Premiums collected by disposal of plots be credited to the Capital fund of the Board for providing roads, water-supply, drainage, and other amenities in the Cantonment; while the annual rent be credited to the Central Government to become its permanent source of income.

The value of immovable property in town rises on account of increase of population, and provision of amenities by local bodies. It is therefore but fair that the local body should share in such increment by taxing the increased sale price of the property. Such income in Cantonments can form part of the Capital income of the Cantonment Board.

Every year the Board be called upon to contribute say five per cent of its current income to Capital fund for meeting depreciation and replacement of existing projects

and future extension of such projects. From these four sources every Board can create its Capital income to meet Capital expenditure.

CURRENT INCOME

38. The principal source of current income of every Board, are the local taxes. These taxes can be grouped under four groups; indirect taxes on goods like Town duties, Terminal tax or Octroi tax; direct taxes on buildings like House tax, and on persons like Profession tax; and service taxes like Water tax, and Scavenging tax. Almost all Cantonment Boards levy all taxes Octroi tax, House tax, Profession tax and even Water tax. It is on this account that incidence of taxation per head of civil population is higher in Cantonments than in the neighbouring Municipalities. And it is this higher income that enables the Board to maintain better standard of administration, than Municipalities, which are being virtually starved for want of funds. We do not wish that this incidence should be reduced. Rather we urge that section 60 be amended to make it compulsory for every Board to impose a (i) House-Tax, (ii) Octroi Tax, & (iii) Profession Tax. The maximum rates and the minimum rates of these taxes be prescribed in a schedule to this section, and the Boards be allowed freedom to increase or decrease rates within these limits every year to meet the budgetary situation. The present system under which the Board's taxation proposals await sanction of the Government, for months during which the financial position often changes, need not survive now. To illustrate the point we think that every Board should levy house tax between Rs. 9-6-0 per cent to Rs. 10-15-0 per cent of the annual value of property, and those owner-occupiers who own one house, the annual value of which does not exceed Rs. 75/- be exempted, with a view to *grant relief to poorer classes*. At the same time in the definition of 'annual value' a provision be inserted that out of gross value determined as defined in section 64 ten per cent reduction will be given to cover repair, renewal, and depreciation charges, in accordance with Section 78 (2) of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act. The service taxes however like Water Tax, Scavenging Tax etc. though levied on the basis of annual value, be collected from occupants.

Amendment Section 60.

Amendment of Section 64.

Similarly minimum and maximum schedule of Octroi rates be prescribed, and board allowed freedom within those limits. In this respect we should prefer Octroi Tax as against Terminal Tax. In the case of Octroi Tax, it is levied on the value of the goods, and not on weight, hence it is more flexible. With rise in prices which means rise in cost of living, more income will accure to the Board, and with fall in prices less. However if in the neighbouring Municipalities there is a system of Octroi we urge that by law the Cantonment and City system be combined, and the Board should get share of entire collections in proportion to population. At present such joint action depends upon the will of the parties, which in many cases is not coming, and hardship is caused to public. For example the residents of Delhi Cantonment have, at present to bear double Octroi charges both of Delhi Municipal Committee and of Delhi Cantonment Board, because 90% of the goods in Delhi Cantonment are imported from or through Delhi City. If there is a joint system then this double taxation would be avoided. As for Profession Tax no class, not even salaried people be exempted from its incidence, and a provison on the lines of clause (iii) of sub-section (1) of section 128 of the U P. Municipal Act, be introduced, because Municipal services are rendered to this class also, and they must pay local taxes.

Amendment of Section 66.

39. As regards method of assessment under existing law no provision for declaration of annual value by the assessee as a preliminary to assessment exists. We therefore propose that amended section 66 be divided into two parts, the first requiring the owners and occupiers of buildings to submit every year a return, upto a prescribed date, giving the number, situation, and annual value of their property, and second of determining the value by the Executive Officer and his staff. Objections against such assessment be heard by the Standing Committee, and not by special Assessment Committee as provided in Section 68 (4). Similarly in assessing Profession Tax the assessees be required to submit returns.

Amendment of Section 73.

40. In view of the past experience we submit that it is not desirable to leave the form of notice required to be given to the Executive Officer on transfer of property for

tax purposes, to be determined by the Executive Officer. Therefore sub-section (3) of the Section 73 should provide that the form of notice should be something like that prescribed in Schedule III or IV, as the case may be of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act.

41. In addition to taxation the Cantonment Boards be encouraged to increase their financial resources by undertaking profit-earning local public untility services. In our view the following services if rendered will provide amenities to inhabitants, and financially prove a source of income of the Cantonment Boards:—

(1) Vegetable Farms maintained from Sewerage and drainage water.

(2) Cinema and talkie houses, which must be acquired.

(3) Dairy Farms started by obtaining help from Military Dairy Organisation.

(4) Petrol pumps.

(5) Rent for houses built for lower classes.

(6) Transport service.

All these undertakings are also such that can be reduced to routine, and thus easily managed by a Board. They can also be so managed that they may benefit poorer classes more.

42. As regards fines imposed under Cantonments Act, and the bye-laws we suggest that they must be credited to Cantonment Fund, and not to Provincial Revenues. A specific section to this effect be introduced in the Act.

CHAPTER III

FUNCTION OF CANTONMENT BOARDS

43. The functions of a Cantonment Board, or for that matter, any other local body in the country, fall in two main categories, the positive or the social service activities, and the negative or the Police activities constituting the prevention of anti-social public habits. The old conception of a state was that of a Police State in which un-social activities of inhabitants were prevented and punished. But

in the present century the world has witnessed the evolution of the State as a full-fledged social state, serving the public in a thousand and one ways.

The Draft Indian Constitution rightly emphasises the positive side of the Indian Republic by specifically laying down " FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS " and Directive principles. We are also conscious of the desire of our leaders and statesmen to develop India into such a state. In the Cantonment Administration, uptil to day emphasis exists only on negative side of the Police aspect. About 80% of the time of the Board, its Committees, Executive Officers and High Officers goes in policing. Inevitably the result follows, and social service activities receive step-motherly treatment. There is no cantonment which has during the last quarter of a century introduced compulsory free primary education, or undertaken adult education; there is no Cantonment which has undertaken housing of poor by providing cheap sanitary houses; and there is no Cantonment Board which has constructed underground sewerage, to mention a few essential services. The Cantonment General Hospitals are ill-equipped and poorly staffed. The educational institutions are neglected. We therefore urge that the Central Board should frame a plan and urge every Board to carry out that plan. For this purpose firstly the provisions of Section 116 and 117 which lay down both duties and discretionary Functions of the Board need considerable argumentation. The preamble to Section 116 of the Act be worded on the lines of the preamble to Section 68 of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act and words "so far as funds at its diposal" be deleted, and after the words "reasonable" the words " and adequate " be added. By these amendments it shall become compulsory for the Boards to make adequate provision for amenities, mentioned in that section. No Board shall then be able to take shelter for its own inactivity behind the plea of lack of funds. At the same time the scope of duties mentioned be enlarged by adding the following in the Section 116 :—

Amendment of Section 116.

(1) Provision of anti-rabic treatment for indigent persons.

(2) Provision for treatment for lunatic and lepers.

(3) Providing special medical aidand accommodation for persons suffering from dangerous diseases.

(4) Giving relief and establishing relief work in times of famine and calamities.

(5) Registering marriages.

(6) Establishing and maintaining child welfare and maternity centers.

(7) Establishing and maintaining libraries.

44. Scope of discretionary functions in Section 117 be also enlarged by laying down :—

Amendment of Section 117.

(1) Construction of sanitary dwellings for poorer classes.

(2) Providing accommodation for poorer servants of the Board.

(3) Maintaining Labour Welfare Centres.

(4) Starting Cottage Industries, and running cinemas, petrol pumps, transport, etc.

(5) Maintenance of grazing grounds, and establishments and;

(6) Maintenance of Dairy Farms and breeding studs.

It may also be provided that by a resolution passed by two-thirds of the members present the Board may decide to give public reception or arrange entertainment or exibition in the honour of a distinguished person or on a big occasion.

Amendment of Section 116 A.

45. As for management of lands envisaged in Section 116A we have proposed a separate Cantonment Land Legislation in part III as we are opposed to framing rules and frequently changing them by executive action.

It is in the increasing of the civic amenities mentioned in Section 116 and the 117 that success of the Boards will depend, and the Central Board ought to exert to help the Boards in increasing such amenities, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

46. The negative or the police activities of the Board are no less important. They are dealt with in the Act under 7 headings :—

(1) Spirituous Liquors (Chapter IV)

(2) Public Safety and Supression of Nuisance, (Chapter IX)

(3) Sanitation and Prevention of Diseases. (Chapter X)

(4) Control over Buildings. (Chapter II)

(5) Control over Markets and Trades (Chapter 12)

(6) Control over Water Supply and Lighting. (Chapter 13)

(7) Removal from Cantonments and Suppression of Sexual Immorality. (Chapter 14)

Amendment in Chapter IV

47. In the Chapter IV, the Officer Commanding the Station is given powers to control the sale of spirituous liquors and drugs to defence personnel. That control must continue and no change is needed. But if the Boards are also given powers to regulate hours, and places of a sale of liquors to civilians with a view to introducing prohibition or saving poorer classes from drink evil, it will be a step forward. We therefore suggest that amendments to this effect be made by adding one or two sections to this Chapter.

Amendment in Chapter IX Section 118

48. In Chapter IX on Nuisance, in Section 118 we would suggest the dropping out of few clauses :—

(1) Clause (ii) deals with the breaches of peace, which is really criminal matter and should be deleted from here.

(2) Similarly loitering or begging for alms should not be an offence under Cantonments Act under clause (iv).

(3) Clause viii has been a bone of contention in Cantonment, and should therefore de re-enacted on the lines of Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act S 169 and should read "picket animals or collects carts, so as to obstruct or endanger public traffic therein."

Amendment Chapter X.

(4) Playing of music or singing etc. should not be controlled and clauses (g) & (h) be dropped.

49. Provisions of Chapter X on Sanitation & Treatment of Diseases have been generally considered fair during

all these years and be kept in tact, except in Section 175 it must be provided that the Health Officer or the Medical Officer having reasons to believe that a person is suffering from infectious or contagious diseases must examine him at his place free of charge, instead of immediately ordering his attendance for examination at Hospital. In case no proper arrangements for his treatment exist at his residence, they may arrange for his removal to the Hospital, where they shall have to make due and proper arrangements for his treatment. In view of this amendment and political developments in the country S. 176 is unnecessary, and should be deleted.

Amendment Section 176.

50. In the Chapter XI "CONTROL OVER BUILDINGS" certain innovations and provisions were inserted, in 1936, by the Amending Act, with a view to re-establishing the authority of Officers of Cantonments Department, and securing their control over Boards. We have seen that first of all a definition of 'Military Estates Officer' was inserted in Section 2 and then in S. 181 sub-section (3) it was provided that all building applications in major part of every Cantonment will first be sent to Military Estates Officer, who keeps then for several months, and then returns with his recommendation. As there is military majority on the Boards, in actual practice the recommendations of the M. E. O. mean an order to the Boards which the latter dare not disobey. No Municipal Act in India except Punjab Municipal Act (Pre-Independence) provides for such reference of building applications to authorities other than the local body. In the Punjab Municipal Act this provision was inserted because the efficiency of Municipalities in that Province has gone down considerably due to intensity of communal tension. We strongly urge that there is no other Act where such a provision exist, and hence sub-section (3) of the section 181 and also proviso to sub-section 6 of the same Section be deleted. This will free the Board from dictation by the Military Estates Officer, and ensure their local autonomy. We have dealt with this subject more fully in part III, Cantonment Land Problem.

Chapter IX Amendment of Section 181

51. In section 183-A the period of completion of a building allowed by the Board shall not be less than one year, because it is so difficult nowadays to get building

Amendment of Section 183

materials. The remedies provided in S.184 & S185 should not be availed of, both atonce. The Board may choose either of the two. In Section 185 (i) in second proviso the previous concurrence of the General Officer Commanding in-Chief for composition of certain offences be deleted, and similarly in Section 192 his previous sanction for closing or opening a street be deleted. The general provision of veto vested in Central Government must be considered enough to right any wrong in these respects. It has been observed that control over building exercised under S. 181 comes in conflict with control over boundaries exercised under S 194 because whereas a boundary wall not abutting on street, and not more than 8 ft. in height is exempted. from definition of buildings, and is therefore left out in S. 181, the same control has been reimposed in S. 194. To resolve this coflict e propose that after the words "BOUNDARY WALL" in Section 194 the words "Not being a boundary wall not abutting on the street or not more than 8 ft, in height" be inserted. This will make the two provisions consistent.

Amendment of Section 185 & 192

52. In the following Chapter XII, we propose that necessary powers be given to the Boards to seize adulterated food and punish the offenders. We know how difficult it has become to get staple articles of food; like milk, ghee, atta, spices, vegetable oils, and other products free from cheap adulterants consisting of less nutritious or even positively harmful stuff. Preservation of health is one of the most important duties of a local body. Therefore steps be taken to vest in the Cantonment Boards the duty of preventing the sale of adulterated food and drinks.

Chapter XII Adultration of Food & Drink

53. Provisions relating to water-supply, drainage, lighting, etc. be kept as in Chapter 13th but Boards be encouraged and helped to have independent water supply system for non-enetitled persons, and to provide sewerage and drainage system in habited area.

Chapter XIII

54. In Chapter XIV powers to remove brothels and prostitutes from Cantonment be given to the Boards in addition to the Officer-Commanding the Station, in Sections 235-237. But we strongly urge that Section 239 be expunged from the Act. Under this section the Officer

Cammanding the Station can exile anyone out of the Cantonment on mere suspicion that he is likely to cause disloyalty among troops. This section existed as S 210 of the Cantonment Code of 1899 & S 215 of the Cantonment Code of 1912. It was then regarded as "Sword of DEMOCLES" hanging over the heads of Cantonment residents, Anyone who had the courage of his convictions or who freely expressed his views suddenly found himself exiled from home, family and business in less than 24 hours. Respectable and peace-loving, but honest and independent people found themselves victims of this Section. One member of the Renouff Committee L. Narain Dass himself fell prey to this abnoxious provision. Consequently there was a good deal of agitation about the repeal of this provision both when the Renouff Committee was sitting, and the Legislature was considering the Cantonments Act in 1923. But the Government of the day became adament, and refused to repeal the section, but amended it by providing provisions to mitigate its effects. In such amended form it was enacted in spite of strong opposition, as Section 239. Shortly after this enactment L. Durga Charan B A., President, Congress Committee and member Cantt. Board, Ambala Cantt. was called upon to quit the Cantonment by Officer-Commanding the Station, but he refused to go and preferred to be hauled up before the Magistrate for suffering the penalty of fine. Better counsels then prevailed, and the notice was withdrawn. Since then action under this Section became rare, and we have it on the authority of the Defence Minister in his reply to Shri R. K. Sidhwa's starred question No. 931 dated 23rd March, 1948 printed on page 2533 of volume IV that during recent years only 4 persons were exiled. Accordingly we unequivocally urge for the removal of this section from the Statute Book, now that we have our freedom and independence. The reasons for such repeal are:—

Repeal S239

(1) This provision is unnecessary because ample provision exists in the criminal law of the country for punishing those who spread disloyalty and disaffection among troops and punishing them severely.

(2) This provision is undesirable because during recent years, only on four occasions, it has been invoked. Besides our Defence Forces are no longer the forces of occupation. They are citizen forces, and need not be kept insulated.

(3) Thirdly it is ineffective, the penalty for breach being fine, which any rich person will easily pay, rather than leave his hearth and home.

For these reasons and the fact that we have to value and guard against our civil liberties, we have no hesitation in proposing the immediate removal of this section from the Cantonment Municipal Act.

Repeal S242

55. Now for the supplemental provisions. Firstly we ask for repeal of section 242 of the Act. The Presidents have never granted permission to Board members in the past to inspect any work or institution of the Board. Besides such a section does not exist in any other Municipal Act, why then in this Act. We must trust that our members of the Board will behave in a responsible manner, and therefore there is no need for this section.

Amendment of Section 256

56. In Section 256 provisions be inserted that in the event of the non-compliance with the terms of any notice order or requisition of the Board, the Board should again consider the matter in the light of any representation received from the other party, and then decide to serve a notice for taking direct action after allowing atleast ten days further time. What happens at the present moment is that the Board at the time of issuing the first notice also empowers the Executive Officers to take action under S 256 in case of non-compliance. Thus any reference which the party concerned offers, is not placed before the Board. At the sametime order under S 256 be made appealable.

Amendment of Section 262

57. The Chairman of the Arbitration Committee appointed under section 262 should not be nominated by the Officer-Commanding the Station but in the first instance be named by the members who are to be nominated by both the contestant parties. In case they fail to come to an agreement, as soon as they meet, the District Judge be empowered to nominate the Chairman. Similarly in Sub-section (2) it is the District Judge who shall be empowered to nominate the members in case of failures of any party to do so.

Amendment S274

58. Appeals from the aggrieved parties under Section 274 be heard by the District Judge or if that is not possible a Committee of Central Board, and not by any individual Officer like the Deputy Director of Cantonments, as at present. Order under S256 be also made appealable.

Deletion of classes (a) (b) & (bb) of S280 (2)

59. We have already urged that Rules framed under S 280 must receive the sanction of the proposed Central Board. In the following part of this memorandum we have also made out a case for a comprehensive Land Law to replace all order, rules, and regulations that are supposed to be in force in Cantonments. Such law will remove all arbitariness and snatch away from the executive the powers of issuing amendments to rules from time to time without consulting the Legilature. In fact our view is that even at present the executive does nor possess powers under clause (a)(b)(bb) of sub-section 2 of S 280 of the Act, to issue all the rules contained in Cantonment Land Administration Rules 1937 or of 1925. Many of the Rules are ultravires of the Act. Yet they are being enforced. However we will take up this subject again in the next part. For the present we urge the deletion of these three clauses from S, 280 (1) of the Act and the deletion of sub-section (2) of Section 287 which called upon the Registrar to furnish information of the registration of documents to the Board The Registration Act is a self-contained Act and no provisions laying certain special duties on Registrars be inserted in the Cantonments Municipal Act.

Amendmeut of Section 287

60. These are in brief our submissions the Canton ments Act. The Committee has members who have wide experience of Municipal Administration in the country. Besides they are men who understand public needs and aspirations. The Association prays that they should not hesitate to propose measures which they think a local body ought to take to serve the public. In fact we think that the future Cantonments Act, being a Central Act, must be a model Municipal Act and not merely a halting copy of any Provincial Act.

TOWN-PLANNING

As an important aspect of Local Self-Government*

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Man's abilities to imagine, to reason, and to cultivate behavior, have enabled him to transcend the crude struggle for survival that exists throughout nature. He is able to control his physical environment, and to turn it to his advantage. He is also able to mould his social environment through habitual behavior, by which he develops customs and institutions to safeguard his fundamental interests. The control of his physical environment, and the establishment of modes of behavior, have enabled him to develop a pattern or design for living. The physical product of his aspirations is seen in the whole fabric of his constructional efforts—his cities, his towns, his villages. The conflicts that exist in the animal and plant worlds, and that lead to extermination, are changed by man into a struggle of rivalries. Man has evolved a means whereby an ordered way of life may be followed by compromise in the interest of common well-being. The city, the town, or the village is a device—its buildings, its streets, its trees and its flowers are means for attaining a pattern of life.

Town-planning, in the widest sense of the term, is a way of pre-arranging human environment. Its motives arise mainly from the deep-rooted and altruistic aims of man to improve his physical surroundings and to achieve social betterment—such purposes have actuated him since civilization began. Only the *term* "town-planning" is of comparatively recent origin —the *idea* is rooted in history.

The scope of town-planning today, of course, differs very greatly from what it was in the days of our forefathers. As the nature of urban environment and social institutions has become more complex so, of necessity, has the scope of planning changed. The internal combustion engine brough

* With acknowledgments to the Municipal Review of Canada—*Ed.*

into being a means of locomotion infinitely superior to any that had existed before — it has also brought about in its train a complexity of factors affecting the whole pattern of urban environment which were unknown in the age that preceded it. To plan for modern urban traffic is a different matter from planning for horse drawn vehicles.

Today town-planning is properly regarded as an important aspect of local self-government, whereby a framework of policy is formulated with regard to physical development — the policy being determined upon the co-ordination of all aspects of local government activity that bear upon the growth and control of the urban unit. The policy that is formulated is embodied in a plan which exerts a discipline upon both private and public enterprise. It affects everyone within the corporate unit — and nearly everyone participates in the realization of the plan.

Regarded in this way, town-planning would seem to be a simple and direct method of doing things. And yet, apart from a few who are usually regarded as insufferable, it is generally considered that town-planning is a mysterious affair — beyond the comprehension of the average man — and a trifle dangerous because it encroaches upon private enterprise and individual interests.

It is important before considering these doubts to draw some distinction between town-planning as a policy to be followed in the development of an urban unit, and certain duties of an everyday character which a municipality carries out. A local authority is, by obligation, required to maintain certain services in an efficient state, sewage disposal, garbage collection, snow removal or the maintenance of the streets. Such functions are purely managerial — they maintain an efficiency in the management of essential services.

Town-planning, on the other hand, extends much beyond the purely managerial function of local administration. Its scope embraces policy, it lays down the directives which govern the ultimate development of the urban unit.

The general belief that town-planning is something of a mystery, seems to have come about as a result of political and technical make-belief. Unfortunately, in many cases, the process of town-planning have been carried out in the arified atmosphere of committee rooms, and the aurora of mystery has been largely achieved by a deliberate estrangement of public interest. The man in the street has usually been consulted only when his sympathies are solicited for political purposes. The exclusion of public interest and a disregard for public opinion have undoubtedly been responsible for the prevalence of the notion that town-planning is something very much detached from our everyday affairs. The dream pictures of the millenium which many proposals in the past have conjured up rightly deserve to be entitled as mysterious.

The plea that planning is beyond the comprehension of the average man is difficult to understand when it is recalled that planning deals essentially with control over land and property, matters with which the average man is indeed familiar. No doubt certain technical aspects of planning are very involved, and many administrative ramifications are not easy to grasp. But so far as the public is concerned, these complexities may be reduced to simple and easily understood generalities. It is not necessary to be conversant with the permutations and combinations which underlie a plan, any more than it is necessary to know the art of cooking in order to enjoy a delectable dish.

The third objection, and perhaps the most critical, is that town-planning encroaches upon private interests, and places fetters upon individual initiative. It would be wrong to maintain that planning does not impose restrictions upon individual freedom with respect to the use and development of private property. But it is important to bear in mind that the ownership of property is not an absolute right. Property may only be used in so far as it does not detrimentally affect the public well-being — the principle underlies the legal definition of the term under both the civil code of Quebec and the common law of the other provinces in Canada. Furthermore, it is necessary to bear in mind that a city, a town, or a village has grown up as the common achievement of its inhabitants, and that a great number of restrictive devices have by custom been accepted by the inhabitants in order that a regulated and secure way of life may be enjoyed in common. A city, a town, or a village is in a constant state of flux — the struggles of rivalries for the use of land. There is a constant state of change and variation. In order to maintain its vital and constantly varying character, it is essential to recognize the need for restraint so that the ebb and flow shall not be disordered or wasteful.

That is not to say that control requires to be of a straight-jacket order. My contention is rather the reverse — town-planning is the imaginative conservation of the resources of an urban area. Conservation does not mean the frustration of effort, but rather the wisest possible exploitation or development of the resources to maintain a balanced and ordered pattern. The acceptance of the principle of crude exploitation, on the grounds of individual liberty, has never been to the advantage of any community. Dull uniformity, so easily associated with a planned pattern, is not the aim, but vigorous diversity within an ordered arrangement.

It is necessary not only to dispell these misunderstandings of town-planning,, but also to point to certain illusions which are held by some — town-planning is a magical means of curing all the ills of urban living! Planning is essentially a matter of conservation — of wise and careful management. It is merely a device for dealing with the physical aspects of growth of a city according to an overall scheme. There are many problems of urban living with which town-planning is not devised to deal. For instance, the remedy for substandard housing is dependent upon other measures than those of planning control. It requires positive housing policy and very different administrative machinery to effect the desired end. The improvement of public health requires totally different devices than merely the betterment of urban environment, though it is of course true that surroundings play an important part in the matter.

In conclusion, I would say that town-planning is an essential undertaking which concerns every community, not as a theatrical and abstract idea, but as a matter of practical and far-reaching consequence. The well-being of a community is evidenced in the quality of its urban environment. Planning has proved to be of great material benefit. It has eliminated waste; it has maintained and encouraged both material and spiritual well-being; it has banished ugliness; it has stimulated commercial and industrial enterprise.

But the benefits to be derived from planning do call upon the community to make certain sacrifices for the common welfare. The fruits of town-planning are achieved only by long and patient years of toil and effort. And no matter how carefully and how well plans are prepared their objectives can only be attained by positive public participation. Planning is an exciting and turbulent affair which calls for vigor. It should be discussed around the family table, it should be argued about on the street corners, it should be wrangled over on every possible occasion! The homes we live in, the safety of the children, their schools, our journeys to work, the environment of our work, the means for comfortable and enjoyable relaxation — these and a thousand other subjects are vital to every man and woman, and they are the matters with which town-planning is concerned.

COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION in THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

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CHAPTER V

Compulsory Primary Education in England (1870–1947)

1. The Factory and Mines Acts:

The beginning of compulsory primary education in England can be traced to the Factory and Mines Acts which were passed in the earlier half of the 19th century. These laws did not introduce compulsion directly, but they made education compulsory indirectly in two ways:

(1) They permitted the employment of children between the age of 8 and 13 only on conditions that they attended a school part time, and

(2) they exempted children from further schooling and thereby permitted their employment in factories or mines if they could produce a certificate of proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic.

These provisions encouraged the attendance of employed children in schools and paved the way for the Compulsory Acts which were passed in 1870 and after.

2. The Elementary Education Acts of 1870, 1876 & 1880.

The first Act of Parliament which made primary education compulsory was the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Under its provisions a School Board was formed for the City of London; and in all other districts such School Boards could be formed either *voluntarily* i. e. on the application of

the proper authority, or *compulsorily* i. e. in areas which suffered from a deficiency of school accommodation. It was the duty of these Boards to supply and maintain the necessary school accommodation for the area in their charge. They were also *permitted* to make bye-laws for compelling children to attend a school.

Unfortunately this Act had several defects. To begin with, there was no compulsion on parents to make their children attend schools. Secondly, there was no obligation on a School Board to frame bye-laws and if the School Boards did not frame such bye-laws, there was no other power which could frame them. And thirdly, there were large areas where no School Boards were organised at all. In such areas, of course, there was no power which could frame bye-laws for compulsory attendance.

These defects were remedied by the Elementary Education Acts of 1876 and of 1880. The main provisions of these Acts were as follows:—

(1) The Elementary Education Act, 1876, which came into force on 1st January 1877, laid down first the declaration that "It shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and if such parent fails to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by the Act".

(2) This Act also made an employer liable to a penalty if he employed a child under ten years of age, or a child which has not obtained the required certificate of proficiency in reading, writing and elementary arithmetic, or of previous due attendance at a certified efficient school.

(3) The Act also provided that in all areas where a School Board was not established, a School Attendance Committee should be appointed and the power of making the bye-laws for compulsory school attendance was left to the Committee.

(4) The Elementary Education Act of 1880 empowered the Education Department to make bye-laws for all school districts where local authorities had, by the 31st December 1880, failed to make them.

As a result of all these changes compulsory elementary education became universal throughout England and Wales by 1881.

The following table shows how the population of England and Wales was brought under compulsion gradually between 1872 and 1881:—

Table Showing Population of England and Wales under School Boards and School Attendance Committee, also the Population subject to Bye-laws until the Elementary, Education Act, 1880, made Bye-laws universal

Year ending 1st April	Total Population of England and Wales	Population under School Boards	Percentage to Total Population	Population under Bye-laws of School Boards	Percentage to Total population	Population under School Attedance Committee	Percentage to Total population	Population under Byelaws of School Attendance Committees	Percentage to Total Population	Total percentage of population under Bye-laws to Total Population of England & Wales
1872	22,712,266 (Censue of 1871)	9,711,667	42.7	8,142,639	35.4					35.4
1873	,,	9,994,582	44.0	8,926,349	39.3					39.3
1874	,,	10,494,507	46.2	9,442,749	41.5					41.5
1875	,,	11,647,998	51.2	9,856,041	43.3					43.3
1876	,,	12,522,537	55.1	10,467,615	46.0					46.0
1877	,,	12,829,831	56.4	11,221,363	49.4					49.4
1878	,,	12,994,977	57.2	11,814,946	52.0	9,717,289	42.7	1,702,639	7.4	59.5
1879	,,	13,150,219	57.8	12,395,550	54.5	9,562,047	42.1	3,083,609	13 5	68.1
1880	,,	13,192,722	58.0	12,605,453	55.5	9,519,544	41.9	3,665,705	16.1	71.6
1881	,,	13,318,492	58.6	13,318,492	58.6	9,393,744	41.3	9,393,744	41.3	100.1

(Taken from Special Reports on Educational Subjects (England), 1896-97, vol. 1, 1397, p. 15)

3. The initial difficulties in the way of the enforcement of Compulsion.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 authorised the levy of local rates for primary education and led to the establishment of a very large number of Board Schools supported by the rates. But if compulsory education was to be really enforced, it was not enough to establish schools. The children had to be brought into the schools, and to be induced to attend regularly when they got there. This was no easy matter. Indeed it was one of the most important problems of this period. School Boards might compel attendance within their own districts, but over a large part of the country no such powers were in existence. Besides the mere exercise of compulsion on unwilling scholars is not very satisfactory in its results. Poor and irregular attendance was due to diverse causes. Many parents had no great faith in schooling; many others who were not unwilling to send their children to school, had not realised the importance of regularity; others, again, merely followed custom in setting their children to work. The idea of sending children to school as a duty was necessarily a thing of slow growth, and it implied that the parents had experienced the benefits of Education"*.

To these formidable difficulties might be added a few others which were very important. Firstly, a large percentage of parents were poor because the wages were extremely low and there was no system of unemployment insurance. This proverty of the parents compelled them to make their child work rather than send them to schools. For instance, Mr. G. A. N. Lowndes quotes the following interesting letter from a poor parent to an Attendance Officer of the School Boards.

"I now write a few lines to you to ask you if my daughters can leave school because we cannot find them in clothes and food and keep a home for them any longer without their help their father is 60 years of age and he goes 4 miles every morning and four miles back that makes 8 miles a day and then if it is fine all the week so he can work on the farm he gets 14s. but if it is wet he cannot work on farm; the he is paid for the days he does work so his earning never amounts to more than 10s. a week and very often under 10s. in the winter months so what can we do if there should be any illness not a farthing to help ourselves with 4s. rent for the house 4 children to keep in food and clothes to provide for in illness firing and everything it really cannot be it is possible...no wonder the farmers do not prosper when they oppress the labourers as they do and this cruel law of

* *Birchenough Charles*—History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the present Day, P. 120

a school board it is too bad we cannot do it because the climate is not warm enough for them to go without clothes*.

Secondly, the attitude of the magistrates was not always helpful. They were often "hostile, vacillating or tender-hearted. One might still read of parents convicted for 20th, 30th 40th and and even the 61st time and of admission being sought by large number of children between six and ten who had never attended school before".† Steady and patient work for about 30 years was required to overcome these difficulties and compulsory primary education may be said to have been really effective by about 1900.

4. Growth of Compulsory Education in England (1870-1917)

Under the Elementary Education Act of 1870 the lower age limit for compulsion was five and the upper age limit for compulsion was 13. But this does not mean that all children in the age-group of 5 to 13 were brought under compulsion. The School Boards had three options while framing the bye-laws :—

(*a*) They could choose any upper age limit for compulsion provided it did not exceed 13;

(*b*) they could grant partial exemptions after a child had attained a specified standard; and

(*c*) they could grant total exemptions after the child had attained a certain standard which was higher than that prescribed for partial exemptions.

A study of the history of compulsory education between 1870 and 1895 shows how the School Board availed themselves of these three options and how the enforcement of compulsion became more and more rigorous as years passed.

(*a*) The first point to be noted is the variety of the bye-laws regarding compulsory attendance. The Committee of Council on Education said in their report for 1882 that there existed 4,794 sets of bye-laws and that they varied considerably in their provisions from one School Board to another. There was one advantage in this variety, namely, it was possible for a School Board to frame such bye-laws as were best suited to the social and economic condition of the area in its charge. It must also be pointed out that even the good principle of variety may be carried too far.

* 2 *Lowndes G. A. N.*—The Silent Revolution P. 28

† 3 Special Reports, (England), 1896–97, Vol. 1 P. 28.

Even in England, for instance, there was such an infinite variety of bye-laws that, in some cases, adjoining parishes which were similar in all social and economic conditions were placed under different types of bye-laws.

(*b*) The second point to be noted is the large number of School Boards and the School Attendance Committees that were established at this period. Birchenough points out that even "On January 1st, 1903, powers for elementary education were exercised by 3351 independent authorities. Of these 2564 were School Boards and 787 were School Attendance Committees made up as follows :— *

School Boards	England	Wales
London ...	1	
In County Boroughs	58	3
In non-County Boroughs.	116	23
In 2865 Civil Parishes.	2007	In 607 Parishes 356
	2182	382

School Attendance Committees, not under School Boards

County Boroughs	8	–
Non-County Boroughs	105	5
Urban District Councils...	89	2
Unions...	528	50
	730	57

Even for a small country like England it was felt necessary to have as many as 3,351 authorites for enforcing compulsion. This large number of local authorities made it possible to place only a small area under the jurisdiction of each local authority. This, in its turn, made it possible to secure local knowledge, local interest and local enthusiasm. This fact was one of the important causes that led to the success of the enforcement of compulsory education.

(*c*) The third point to be noted was that the School Boards were free to adopt any upper age-limit for compulsion between 10 and 13. In 1881–82 the age-limit of 13 was adopted in a large majority of bye-laws; but 237 bye-laws ceased to require attendance after 12 years of age, 13 after 11 and 39 after 10 years. †

* See Birchenough p. 152

† Special Reports Vol. I. P. 17

(*d*) The fourth point to be noted was the system of granting total exemption from attendance to those children who had completed a prescribed standard. In 1886, total exèmption were granted generally after Standards IV, V or VI and in a very small number of cases even after Standard III. The following table will illusstrate this point :— ‡

As years passed these standards of total exemptions were gradually raised. For instances in 1895 the standards for total exeptions varied from Standards III to VII as shown in the following table :—*

	Under Total Exemption Standards						Total Population.
	III	IV	V	VI	VII	O.§	
Population	3,576	3,645,770	11,978,380	12,212,781	122,224	39,785	20,002,525
Percentage of Population	.01	19.48	41.30	38.66	.42	.13	

In 1893, it was laid down that no child below 11 years of age could be totally exempted. In 1899 this limit was raised to 12 years. The Education Act of 1918 required all children without exemption to continue at school until the end of the term following their 14th birthday. It will be seen, therefore, that in England compulsion was first introduced for children between 5 and 10 years of age only. It required 48 years to raise the upper age-limit of compulsion from 10 to 14. Twenty-six years later, the upper age-limit for compulsion was raised to 15 under the Butler Act of 1944.

(*e*) The fifth point to be noted is the system of partial exemptions. This system was specially meant for poor parents. Under this system a child was required to attend the school on a part-time basis only after it had reached a specified standard. In other words, this system enabled poor parents to get some money from the labour of their children and also send them to school for some time. It is obvious that the system is extremely useful as a transitional measure. It enables a poor child to continue much longer at school than would otherwise have been possible.

‡ Ibid P 18

* Ibid. P. 21

§ In some districts there is no standard for total exemption, in others no standard for partial exemption. In a few cases included in these columns, attendance is only compulsory up to 10 years of age.

The minimum standards for partial exemptions as prescribed in 1886 are given in the following table : ‡

As years passed on these standards for partial exemption were gradually raised. In 1893 the following standards were prescribed :

	Practical Exemptions.						
	No Standard.	I	II	III	IV	V.	VII
Parishes ...	1,361*	26	1,246	8,374	2,033	15	6
Boroughs under School Boards‡ ...	12	—	15	54	76	6	—
Boroughs under School Attendance Commitee ...	5	—	11	83	26	—	—
Urban Sanitary Districts ...	2	—	18	40	12	—	—
Total	1,380	26	1,290	8,551	2,147	21	6
Percetages ...	10.3	2	9.6	62.7	16	,	

In 1899 it was laid down that no child below 12 years could be exempted from attendance except children in agricultural districts who, under certain conditions, might become half-timers at the age of 11.

After 1900 continuous attempts were made to abolish the half-time system. This reform had become possible now because of the increasing wealth of the country. In 1909, the Committe on Partial Exemption from School Attendance recommended that the half-time system should be abolished but the reform could not be carried out. In 1918 no half-timers below the age of 13 were allowed. In the Act of 1944, part-time education is provided only between ages of 14 and 18.

‡ Ibid P. 19

* Includes 9 parishes where there is no standard for total exemption.

‡ London, though not a borough, is included under this head.

(*f*) The sixth point to be noted is that enforcement of compulsion in England was fascilitated by a number of factors among which the following may be noted :—

(*i*) The improvement in the training of teachers, school equipments and methods of teaching was partly responsible for improving school attendance. As G. A. N. Lowndes observes : "The influence of a good teacher and of an attractive school was the best attendance officer." *

(*ii*) The Local Education Boards and the magistrates became more and more strict as the years passed.

(*iii*) The spread of education among the people created a generation in which a large majority of the adults were literate and educated. Compulsory primary education is very difficult to be enforced among an illiterate people, but it is comparatively easier in a society where a majority of the adults is literate. After about 1900, the spread of education among the English people was so great that there were not serious obstacles to the enforcement of compulsory primary education.

(*iv*) The rise of the standard of living in England also helped materially in making the enforcement of compulsory education successful.

(*g*) The seventh point to be noted is that the attendance in schools did not improve all atonce when compulsory education was introduced. When compulsory education is introduced, accommodation in schools has to be provided for *all* or *most* children of compulsory age. It is quite certain that all the seats provided will not be filled up. Only a percentage of the children of compulsory age will be registered in schools. Moreover even all these children who are registered in schools will not attend regularly. In the beginning, the average attendance will always be low. As years pass on, there will be a gradual improvement in the percentage of enrolment and the average attendance. This will clearly be seen in the following statistics † of primary education in England between 1871 and 1895.

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* The Silent Social Revolution, P. 29.

† Special Reports, P. 48.

Year ending 31st August	Number of Schools	Number for whom Accommodation has been Provided	Number of Scholars on the Registers	Average Attendance
1871	8,798	2,012,679 (100%)	1,802,419 (89.55%)	1,231,434 (61.13%)
1872	9,854	2,295,894 (100%)	1,968,888 (85.76%)	1,338,158 (58.28%)
1873	11,094	2,582,549 (100%)	2,218,598 (85.90%)	1,482,480 (57.40%)
1874	12,246	2,861,319 (100%)	2,497,602 (87.28%)	1,678,759 (58.67%)
1875	13,217	3,146,424 (100%)	2,744,300 (87.21%)	1,837,180 (58 38%)
1876	14,273	3,426,318 (100%)	2,943,774 (85 91%)	1,984,573 (57.92%)
1877	15,187	3,653,418 (100%)	3,154,973 (86.35%)	2,150,683 (58.86%)
1878	16,293	3,942,337 (100%)	3,495,892 (88.67%)	2,405,197 (61.01%)
1879	17,166	4,142,224 (100%)	3,710,883 (89.58%)	2,594.995 (62.64%)
1880	17,614	4,240,753 (100%)	3,895,824 (91.86%)	2,750,916 (64.87%)
1881	18,062	4,389,633 (100%)	4,045,362 (92.15%)	2,863,535 (65 23%)
1882	18,289	4,538,320 (100%)	4,189,612 (94 51%)	3,015,151 (66.43%)
1883	18,540	4,670,443 (100%)	4,273,304 (91.49%)	3,127,214 (66.95%)
1884	18,761	4,826,738 (100%)	4,337,321 (89.86%)	3,273,124 (67.81%)
1885	18,895	4,998,718 (100%)	4,412,148 (88.26%)	3,371,325 (67.44%)
1886	19,022	5,145,292 (100%)	4,505,825 (87.57%)	3,438,425 (66.82%)
1887	19,154	5,278,992 (100%)	4,635,184 (89.80%)	3,527,381 (66.81%)
1888	19,221	5,356,554 (100%)	4,687,510 (87.50%)	3,614,967 (67.48%)
1889	19,310	5,440,441 (100%)	4,755,835 (87 41%)	3,682,625 (67.69%)
1890	19,419	5,539,285 (100%)	4,804,149 (86.72%)	3,717,917 (67 11%)
1891	19,508	5,628,201 (100%)	4 824,683 (85.74%)	3,749,956 (66.62%)
1892	19,515	5,692,975 (100%)	5,006,979 (89.70%)	3,870,774 (68.17%)
1893	19,577	5,762,617 (100%)	5,126,373 (88.95%)	4,100,030 (71,14%)
1894	19,709	5,832,944 (100%)	5,198,741 (89.12%)	4,225,834 (72.44%)
1895	19,739	5,973,228 (100%)	5,299,469 (89.25%)	4,325,030 (72.84%)

CHAPTER VI

Recommendations for making the Programme of Compulsory Primary Education successful in the Province of Bombay.

1. Introductory.

In the course of the preceding Chapters, we have seen how compulsory primary education was introduced and how it progressed in the Province of Bombay. in the State of Baroda, in other provinces of India and in England. In the light of this survey, it is possible to make some suggestions regarding the methods which must be adopted in order to make compulsory primary education successful in the Province of Bombay. The present chapter, will be devoted to this object.

2. The Financial Aspect of Compulsory Primary Education:—

The most important aspects of compulsory primary education are financial. It must be realised that Compulsory primary education is very costly. In the first place, it requires provision to be made for every child of the compulsory age. This means a large expenditure on the salaries of teachers and school buildings. Secondly, compulsory education ought to be also be free. This implies that there will be no income from fees. Thirdly, educational requisits like slates and books will also have to be supplied to poor children free of charge. In some cases, even clothes will have to be supplied. In a few cases, help will have to be given to children in order to compensate their family, in part at least, for the loss of their labour. The provision of food to under-nourished children will also have to be undertaken sooner or later. Lastly, a large army of Attendance Officers will have to be maintained in order to enforce compulsory education effectively. It is, therefore, obvious that the cost of the programme of compulsory primary education is bound to be very heavy. The first duty of the Government, therefore, is to estimate liberally the cost of compulsory primary education and to provide for it in such a way that the programme will not be held up on financial grounds.

Another point to be remembered in this connection is that an ever-increasing provision of funds is required for the programme of compulsory primary education. The population of a country like India is always increasing. Similarly, the cost of living is also becoming greater, year after

year. In the same way better qualifications are expected from teachers and better standards will have to be defined for the schools as time passes on. For these and other reasons, it becomes essential to provide more and more funds for education. Once compulsory education is introduced, no Government can go back on it. Consequently, it becomes obligatory on Government to provide an ever increasing amount for compulsory primary education.

The important questions that now arise are these:— (*i*) has the Government of Bombay clearly foreseen all these financial implications of compulsory primary education? (*ii*) has it taken the necessary steps to provide the necessary funds for the programme undertaken by it? (*iii*) will it be possible for the Government of Bombay to enforce compulsory primary education successfully all over the Province or will this programme also fail on account of financial stringency as the programmes of 1921 did? These are important questions; but no definite replies to them are forthcoming, and one feels doubtful whether it will really be possible for the Government of Bombay to finance the programme of Compulsory primary education successfully. This point is so important that it requires some detailed examination.

3. The Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947:—

When the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947 was passed, it was the *duty* of the Government to prepare a detailed report showing the administative and financial implications of the Act. For instance, when the Education Act of 1944 was being considered by the British Parliament, His Majesty's Government also published a statement showing the financial implications of the Act. (vide-Educational Bill of 1944) If the Government of Bombay had done the same thing, it would have been possible for the public to have some authoritative idea regarding the estimated cost of introducing compulsory primary education in the Province. It would then have been possible to say that Government has clearly visualised the financial implications of their programme of compulsory primary education. But unfortunately, this has not been done, and we have no direct evidence of the view of Government on this problem.

4. Post-War Reconstruction Programme of the Government of Bombay.

The second source from which we can have an idea of the views of Government regarding the financial implications of compulsory education is the Revised Five-year Plan of Post-War Reconstruction in Bombay Province (published in 1947).

According to Scheme No. 96 published in this plan, compulsory primary education is to be introduced in the Province in two stages. The first stage will begin in 1947-48 and will last for five years. During this stage,compulsory primary education will be introduced in all villages with a population of 1,000 and over. It is not definitely stated anywhere as to how many additional children will be brought into school during this stage. But the Scheme provides for the appointment of 25,000 primary teachers. The usual rule is that there should be one teacher for 40 pupils. On this basis, it may be guessed that in the first stage of five years it is proposed to enrol about 10 lakhs of additional children into schools. The same scheme also states that the recurring cost of this programme will be Rs. 140 lakhs. Obviously the estimate is made on the basis of Rs. 14 per child.

To-day the cost of education has gone so high that it costs not less than Rs. 36 per child per year in a primary school. This is the figure used by the Premier in the Bombay Legislative Assembly while speaking on the Primary Education Bill of 1947. Since then the emoluments of teachers have been increased still further and so, the cost per pupil is still larger. The cost of primary education was Rs. 14 per child per year in the days before the war. To publish an estimate based on these figures in the year 1947 is far from correct. It is obvious that this Scheme cannot, therefore, be taken to indicate the true cost of introducing compulsory primary education in all villages with a population of 1,000 and more.

Coming to the second stage of the programme, we find from this Scheme that compulsory primary education will be extended to the remaining areas of the Province within five to seven years after the first stage is completed. It is estimated that during the second stage 6 lakhs of additional children will have to be provided for. No estimates of cost are given.

In so far as the post-war reconstruction programme of Government is concerned, we find that the estimate of cost given for the first stage of the programme of compulsory primary education is very low and that no estimates of any kind are given for the second stage of the programme. On the basis of this publication, therefore, we can say that the Government of Bombay have not made an earnest effort to work out the financial implications of their declared programme of introducing compulsory Primary education in the Province as a whole.

5. Speeches of the Honourable, the Prime Minister.

Another source from which we might get some idea about the financial implications of compulsory education as worked out by Government is the

speeches of Shriyut B. G. Kher who is the Prime Minister and also the Minister for Education. For instance, while speaking before the All India Conference of Education Ministers held at Poona in July, 1946, he said: "Like the U. P. we have decided to introduce compulsory primary education the course of the next ten years. We have in all 31½ lakhs of boys of the compulsion age to educate.

"Out of these, at present 16 lakhs of children are already receiving education. So, we shall have to make provision for about 16 lakhs more. For this purpose, we will ultimately require 45,000 teachers To-day we are spending about two crores of rupees from our resources, on primary education. The additional expenditure which we will have to incur as a result of increase in pay and in dearness allowance will be over six crores of rupees. The total expenditure on Education is, therefore going to be over Rs. 8½ crores per year."*

This estimate of 8½ crores became outdated very soon. while speaking on the Primary Education Bill of 1947 in the Bombay Legislative Assembly the Honourable the Prime Minister made the following reference to the financial implications of compulsory primary education:—

"Our first difficulty is about the expansion of primary education, more especially in rural areas. We have 32 lakhs of children of school-going age in this province. Out of these 32 lakhs, only 16 lakhs are in schools. Therefore,the problem of expansion reduces itself to bringing in the remaining 16 lakhs of children to school. This is apart from the content of education, the capacity of the teacher and other problems to which I made a reference in the beginning. Assuming that the education that we are giving is desirable, that we will make its content such as I described, we must now arrange that out of the 32 lakhs of children who are of school-going age, 16 lakhs who are not in school should be brought into school."

"According to the census of 1941 of the total population of 209 lakhs of people were residing in rural (or non-local authority municipal) areas. Now assuming that 15 per cent of the population to the school-going age group, which is usually the case, about 26 lakhs of children of school-going age have to be catered for by the district local boards. The *per capita* cost of education on the basis of the present scale of pay for primary teachers comes to about Rs. 36, and on this assumption the cost of putting 26 lakhs of children through the elementary course of primary education up to the 4th standard works out at about 9.5 crores of rupees. At present most of the district local boards I belive 11 or 12 have raised the rate of local

* Proceedings of All India Conference of Educational Ministers. Poona. July 1946 P. 8

fund cess from 2 annas to 3 annas. But even if the rate of cess is raised to 3 annas in a rupee by all the districts, the district local boards will not be able to assign more than 35 lakhs of rupees to primary education. Assuming therefore, that the district local board contribute the maximum amount for primary education, their share will not amount to more than 4 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education, so that 96 per cent will have to be borne entirely by Government. I am saying all this to make it clear to honourable Members that the district local boards will not able to bear their share of the expenditure on primary education under the present system. They have to bear one-third of the expenditure and it is for that reason very necessary to make provision for finance in the Bill which I am now bringing before the House. Under the present Bill, as honourable Members will see, the bulk of the expenditure -96 per cent of it is to be provided by Government. That is the principal feature of this Bill."

This Speech of the Honourable, the Prime Minister does not give information on one important point, namely, the number of pupils per teacher. The Prime Minister says that the cost of Compulsory primary education will be Rs. 9.5 crores on the basis of the existing salaries and allowances of teachers. It must be remembered that the cost of educating a child does not depend only on the salaries and allowances of teachers. It also depends upon the number of pupils taught by a teacher and unless both these factors are started simultaneously, no correct picture of the cost of education per child can be formed. Subject to this defect, it may be stated that the latest Government estimate of the cost of a programme of compulsory primary education is Rs. 10 crores.

6. Defects of the Official Estimates.

This estimate of Rs. 10 crores is open to serious objections on several grounds, the most important of which is the programme of basic education that has been undertaken by Government. It has now been announced that Government propose to convert all primary schools into basic schools. It is true that basic education began with the ideal of self-sufficiency. This principle, however, was given up later on and to-day basic education is costlier than ordinary, primary education. It is unfortunate that Government has not published any figures to show the cost of education per child in a basic school. A number of experimental basic schools are being conducted by Government for the last 10 years. Sufficient data must, therefore, have become available by now to find out how much costlier basic education really is. But this data is not published, and we cannot say definitely how the cost of compulsory primary education will be increased by the conversion of all primary schools into basic schools. The general guess is that basic education is at least half as much costiler than ordinary

primary education. In other words the old estimate of Rs. 10 crores will have to be increased to at least Rs 15 crores for the simple reason that all primary schools will beconverted into basic schools.

The other objections to this estimate of Rs. 10 crores may be briefly stated. For instance, they do not allow for the growth of the population during the period which will be required to complete the Scheme. Secondly, they make no provision for the large staff of Attendance Officers etc. that will be required for the effective enforcement of compulsory primary education. Thirdly, they do not include any amount on account of the construction of school buildings.

The above arguments are enough to show that the old official estimate of Rs. 10 crores now become obsolete and has to be revised at an early date. This revision has become all the more necessary, because a large number of Indian States most of which were educationally backward have merged in the Province of Bombay. It is, therefore, high time that the Government of Bombay should take up this question for examination in right earnest, and visualise all the financial implications of its programme of compulsory primary education.

7. *Ability of Government of Bombay to support Compulsory Primary Education.*

Let us assume for the sake of argument that a revised and complete estimate of the cost of compulsory primary education is prepared. The next question, will Government of Bombay be able to support it ? In order to answer this question, let us try to find out how much money Government of Bombay will be able to spare for compulsory primary education.

In its recent meeting held at Allahabad, the Central Advisory Board of Education has suggested that every Provincial Government should set aside 20 per cent of its total revenue for education, that the Central Government should set aside 10 per cent of its total revenue for education and distribute it among the Provinces for grant-in-aid. The revenue of the Province of Bombay for year 1948-49 is about Rs. 52 crores. To this will have to be added the revenue of Baroda and Kolhapur States. The total revenue of the province of Bombay may, therefore, be taken at Rs. 60 crores. On a 20 per cent basis it will have to spend Rs. 12 crores on education.

The revenue of the Governmaet of India for the year 1948-49 is about Rs. 320 crores. On a 10 per cent basis Rs. 32 crores will have to be reserved for education. The Central Advisory Board of Education has not suggested the principles on which this amount should be distributed amougst the

provinces. Assuming that it is to be distributed among the provinces on the basis of their respective population, the Province of Bombay will get from the Central Government Rs. 3 crores by way of grant-in-aid.

The total amount available for education in the Province of Bombay will be Rs. 15 crores. Out of this we may expect three-fourth or Rs. 11.25 crores to be devoted to primary education. It is easy to show that this amount is inadequate to finance a programme of the compulsory education. In the Province of Bombay, the present population is 3 crores. At 15 per cent. we shall have to provide for 45 lakhs of children. Their education on the basic pattern would require an amount of more than Rs. 21 crores.* It is, therefore, obvious that the Government of Bombay will not be able to finance a programme of compulsory primary education unless its revenue is increased substantially. This involves a great risk but a national and a popular Government must take such risks.

8. *Recommendations regarding the finance of Compulsory Primary Education.*

Under these circumstances, it is desirable that the whole position should be clarified on the following lines:—

(a) Government should officially prepare an estimate of the cost of a programme of introducing compulsory primary education all over the Province.

(b) Government should also indicate how it is going to raise the funds required for the programme of compulsory primary education.

(c) Government should publish the cost of educating a child on the basic lines. It should also publish how the total cost of a programme of compulsory primary education would be increased by the scheme of converting all schools into basic schools.

(d) Government should lay down a definite policy that the programme of compulsory primary education will not be curtailed or abrogated on any account.

(e) If funds fall short, it should adopt devices like the shift-system, increase the number of pupils per teacher and reduce the cost of education, but it should, on no account, hold up the progress of compulsion.

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* According to the Honourable Mr. Kher's speech, the compulsory education of 32 lakhs of children cost Rs. 10 crores. Therefore the education of 45 lakhs of children will cost Rs. 14.20 crores

Add 50 per cent for converting all schools into basic schools Rs. 7.10 crores

Total Rs. 12.30 crores

If these steps are adopted by Government, it will be possible to say definitely that no financial difficulties will arise, and that scheme of compulsory education will be definitely completed according to the schedule.

It must be remembered that India is a poor country and that several good schemes of education have often to be given up on financial grounds. The history of compulsory primary education in this and other Provinces has clearly shown that the schemes of compulsion did not make any progress on account of financial stringency. We must profit from this experience, and avoid repetition of old mistakes. If the schemes of compulsion undertaken now are to be completed, we must either provide all the money required or adopt devices like the shift-system; if we do not adopt either of these methods, the schemes of compulsory primary education will again end in disaster.

9. Provision of Administrative Personnel.

If compulsory primary education is to be effectively enforced, it is necessary to provide all the trained staff required for it. This is an aspect of the problem which is second in importance only to the financial one, and requires detailed examination.

At present, it is not generally realised that a large army of official and non-official workers is required to enforce compulsory education effectively. This can be easily illustrated. For instance, the City of Bombay has a population of 27 lakhs and about one lakh of non-attending children. For enforcing attendance of children in this big unit, the Corporation maintains a small staff of about 14 persons. For holding the annual census of children a large number of teachers are temporarily taken up as enumerators, but it is obvious that such temporary recruitment is hardly of assistance in bringing children into school or in maintaining regularity of their attendance. In other words, it will be realised even by a casual observer that the Bombay Corporation do not have the staff necessary to enforce compulsion effectively. If this is the case under a rich body like the Bombay Corporation, the conditions in rural areas may be easily imagined. The number of Attendance Officers is far too inadequate everywhere to cope with the problem.

This inadequacy of staff is only one aspect of the problem. Equally important is the training of Attendance Officers. At present, it is to be regretted that the problem of compulsory education is hardly studied. The several aspects of the problem such as—

(*a*) the causes of non-attendance of children and the manner in which they can be overcome;

(*b*) the seasonal fluctuations in the attendance of children in the different parts of the Province;

(*c*) the manner in which the co-operation of non-officals can be secured in enforcing compulsory education;

(*d*) the procedures prescribed for the enforcement of compulsion and the manner in which it can be simplified; etc.

No attempt is made to pool practical experiences together by occasional conferences etc. of Attendance Officers. No one tries to study the problem comparitively and find out how compulsory education is enforced in othe parts of India or in other countries. There are no special courses organised, either by the Department or by an institution to train Attendance Officers. Most of the Attendance Officers of to-day are primary teachers who do not know English and no books dealing with the subject have been prepared and published in Indian languages. All things considered, it may be stated that no stpes are being taken at present to train the Attendance Officers for their jobs. Consequently, a majority of the few Attendance Officers that we have are ignorant of their duties, and their work leaves much to be desired.

If this situation is to be altered—and it must be altered if compulsory education is to be made successful—we must take steps in two directions. On one hand, we must provide for the appointment of a very large number of Attendance Officers, and on the other hand, we must provide their proper training. Let us discuss these two questions in some detail.

10 The Number of Attendance Officers required :—

It is to be regretted that no detail figures have been worked out for the Province of Bombay regarding the number of Attendance Officers required. We can, therefore, make only a few broad suggestions on the problem:—

(*a*) Very recently (i. e, March, 1949) the Bombay Corporation have published a Report by the Special Officer (Mr. R. V. Parulekar) on *Some Educational and Administrative Problem of Primary Educataion in the City*. In this Report, the problem of the enforcement of compulsory primary education in the city of Bombay is studied in great detail for the first time. This Report of the Special Officer definitely states that the existing staff of the Attendance Department is absolutely inadequate to cope with the problem, and recommends the appointment of 75 Attendance Officers and 75 part-time helpers at the additional total cost of Rs. 1,70,000 a year. The present expenditure of the Corpopation on primary education is about Rs. 90 lakhs. This implies that about 2 per cent of the total

expenditure on primary education will have to be provided on account of Attendance Officers etc. This is heavy expenditure no doubt, but it is indispensable.

(*b*) No such studies have been made in other cities and towns of this Province, but the broad outline of the Bombay City Report may be taken as applicable to their case also, and it would serve the purpose if one Attendance Officer is provided for about 2000 children on the census register.

(*c*) In the case of rural areas, the problem becomes a little more difficult. Most of the villages are small and scattered. The enforcement of attendance becomes, therefore, more difficult than in the cities. In this case, therefore, it will be necessary to divide villages into small and suitable groups and to appoint one Attendance Officer for about 15 hundred children.

11. Recruitment of Attendance Officers:—

The second problem to be discussed is about the recruitment and emoluments of the Attendance Officers.

Two proposals are generally put forward on this issue. One suggestion is that the Attendance Officers should form an independent cadre with their own scale of pay. The other suggestion is that the Attendance Officers should be selected from amongst the primary teachers themselves. They should not have any separate scale of pay; but should only be given a special allowance over and above their usual scale of pay of a primary teacher. The second of these suggestions is certainly better. Experience has shown that primary teachers make very good Attendance Officers. Moreover, this plan throws several promotions open to primary teachers and thus induces them to show good work. It is, therefore, felt that as a rule about 90 per cent. of the Attendance Officers should be selected from primary teachers who have put in a minimum service of 5 to 10 years and who have shown good work. The remaining 10 per cent of the posts should be filled up by recruiting trained graduates. Obviously they will be the mainstay of the organization and hold the directive and the more responsible positions. These superior officers should be regarded equal to the Inspecting Officers of the same educational qualifications in all respects.

12. *Training of Attendance Officers* : — The third problem regarding Attendance Officers refers to their training. In this connection, we make the following recommendations:—

(*a*) Government should depute one or two specially qualified Officers to study how compulsory primary education is enforced in other countries. Their reports should be made available to the public, and should be published in Indian languages for the benefit of those Attendance Officers who may not know English.

(*b*) In the same way, the enforcement of compulsory primary education in other parts of India should be carefully studied, and reports of such studies should be published periodically.

(*c*) Government should organise special training classes for Attendance Officers. No Attendance Officer should be confirmed unless he undergoes such training satisfactorily.

(*d*) Books and pamphlets regarding powers, duties etc. of the attendance Officers should be published in Indian languages.

(*e*) Special diploma courses of three months' duration should be instituted for Attendance Officers both in the Secondary Training Colleges and in the Primary Training Colleges. Persons who hold these diplomas should be given preference in recruiting Attendance Officers.

(*f*) Just as in Baroda State, every Attendance Officer should be required to study one village in his beat every year from the point of view of the enforcement of compulsory primary education. The results of these studies should be properly correlated and published annually.

(*g*) Government should undertake occasional and thorough investigations into problems connected with compulsory primary education. The results of these investigations should be published and made available to the Attendance Officers.

13. Co-operation of Non-officials:—

If compulsory education is to be successfully enforced, it is not enough to have a sufficient number of trained officers only. This is essentially a matter where success can be obtained only by educating public opinion and by securing the co-operation of non-officials. It is, therefore, necessary to fix the manner in which the co-operation of non-officials can be best obtained for this work.

A good lead in this direction is given by the Elementary Education Act of 1870 passed in England. Under the provisions of this Act, small areas were taken as a unit, and placed in the charge of a School Board. This Board consisted of influential non-officials in the area and was mainly responsible for the enforcement of compulsory primary education. It was this machinery that secured local interest and non-official co-operation in

enforcing compulsion, and was mainly responsible for its success. Even to-day, England has very small school districts which are placed in charge of a non-official committee which is subordinate to the Local Authorities. The general principle is that a separate district is formed for an area which has about 7000 school children. We must adopt the same plan in India, if we desire to succeed in enforcing compulsory primary education.

Our first recommendation, therefore, in this respect is that small school districts should be formed and placed in charge of Special Education Committees. The duties of such committees would be to study the educational requirements of the area in their charge and to make recommendations to the local Authorities concerned from time to time. They will also be mainly responsible for enforcing compulsory education. They will, in addition, have authority to raise funds by local contributions for certain local purposes of education, and will be paid grants-in-aid thereon. If such Committees are constituted for small areas in towns and villages, it will be possible to secure the co-operation of non-officials in enforcing compulsory education.

In cities, the wards in which the area of a city is divided for purposes of municipal election, can be conveniently taken as equivalent to School districts. Ordinarily there will be only one committee for each district, but as the electoral districts are often unequal in size and population, more than one committee may be formed in some of the wards. In no ward, however, should the number of Committees be more than three. Each such committee should consist of (a) the members of the Municipality elected from the ward, (b) influential non-officials in the ward (These must be in the majority), and (c) head masters of the primary schools in the ward or their representatives. The Attendance Officer in charge of the district should work as ex-officio Secretary of this committee.

It is on these principles that Mr. R. V. Parulekar has proposed to divide the City of Bombay into small school districts. At present the City of Bombay consists of 34 election wards. For these, as many as 75 district committees have been proposed. The total number of members of these committees will be 938, of whom 106 will be Councillor-members, 318 will be Non-Councillor members and the remaining will be headmasters of municipal and aided Schools (Vide Appendix C of Special Officer's Report – Bombay Municipality). This is an excellent plan and it can be applied to all big towns and cities with necessary modifications.

In the case of villages, the problem is a little more difficult. Under the Bombay Village Panchayat Act of 1939, the Village Panchayats elect a School Committee in all those villages where Panchayats are established.

Certain powers over the schools are already delegated to these Committees. These powers will have to be enlarged to some extent, and in particular they will have to be given the authority to enforce compulsory primary education.

The only problem that now remains is that of villages where Panchayats have not been established. These are generally very small villages. They should, therefore, be grouped suitably and a Committee should be appointed for each group. The powers and duties of these Committees should be the same as those of the Committees established in villages where Panchayats exist.

In the preceding paragraphs it has been already suggested that an Attendance Officer should be appointed in rural areas for a unit of about 1500 children. It will, therefore, be necessary to have a small group of villages in which the total number of children will be about 1500 children, and place all of them in the charge of one Attendance Officer. It will always happen that in this group of villages, there will be some Panchayat villages and some villages where Panchayats do not exist. There will, therefore, be a number of Non-Official Committees working in this group of villages. The Attendance Officer in charge of the group must, therefore, work as the Secretary of all these Committees, and must assist them. There will in practice be no difficulty in doing so.

If these measures are taken, it will be possible to secure the co-operation of non-officials in the task of enforcing compulsory primary education, and the Scheme now undertaken by Government will succeed in a short time.

1. Investigations:

After the necessary funds and staff are provided and after an administrative machinery is set up to secure the co-operation of the non-officials, the next step would be to undertake scientific investigations into problems connected with the enforcement of compulsory primary education.

The first and the most important of these problems is that of non-attendance of the children of school-going age. We must, first of all find out the reasons for which children do not attend schools, because it is only such a study that will enable us to devise suitable remedies to bring these non-attending children into schools. It will be readily granted that the reasons which prevent children from attending schools depend upon the socio-economic conditions of the people. They, therefore, vary from area to area. For example, the reasons which lead to non-attendance in the hilly-tracts of Thana District must be quite different from those that cause

non-attendance in the fertile tract like the East Khandesh District. Similarly, the causes of non-attendance in a community like the Marathas are different from those that lead to non-attendance among Harijans. In the same way, these causes will also differ from time to time, because the socio-economic conditions themselves are liable to change. If this problem, therefore, is to be studied in right earnest, and in all its aspects an investigation or two will not serve the purpose. It will be essential to hold several investigations in every tract of the Province. It will also be necessary to repeat these investigations from time to time. In other words, Government will have to set up some sort of a permanent machinery to undertake and carry out these investigations.

It is to be regretted that no detailed investigations have been carried out so far on this problem in the Province of Bombay. The published accounts referred to only two interesting investigations of the problem. The first of these is an investigation that was conducted by Mr. J. P. Naik in the Dharwar Taluka. The results thereof have not been published in detail. But the *Report on Stagnation and Wastage in Primary Schools* submitted by the Provincial Board of Primary Education to the Government of Bombay observes, on the basis of this investigation, that the following are the causes of non-attendance:—

A. Economic

(*i*) Employment outside the family.

(*ii*) Employment in the family.

(*a*) Cattle-tending.

(*b*) Dairy-work.

(*c*) Work on the farm.

(*d*) Taking care of a younger child.

(*e*) Cooking, etc.

B. Social.

(*i*) Migration.

(*ii*) Marriage or Betrothal.

(*iii*) Inference of Parents.

C. Physical.

(*i*) Death.

(*ii*) Ill-health.

(*iii*) Infirmity.

D. Systematic.

(*i*) Inelasticity.

(*ii*) Ephemeral character of some aided schools.

(*iii*) Incomplete schools.

(*iv*) Stagnation.

Of all these causes, the Board believe that the economic ones are by far the most important & present a large majority of children from attending primary schools.

The second investigation of the Problem was carried out by Mr. R. V. Parulekar in the City of Bombay. He used the two agencies for the purpose:

the Attendance Departments of Schools Committee and the Primary Teachers. The number of cases investigated through the first agency was 430 and that of the cases investigated through the primary teachers was 1884–thus bringing the total number of cases investigated to 2314. On the whole it was found that about 50 per cent of the children did not attend schools on account of economic reasons. The detail analysis of these cases is given below :—

Economic Reasons.	*No. of children.*	*Percentage*
(*a*) Looking after youngsters	285	27
(*b*) Doing household work	414	38
(*c*) Earning by outside work	100	10
(*d*) Poverty in general–want of clothes, food, etc.	260	25
	1,059	100

Other reasons	*No. of children*	*Percentage*
(*a*) Sickness of the child	133	10
(*b*) Indifference of the guardian.	201	16
(*c*) Unwillingness of the child.	234	19
(*d*) Road Difficulty.	88	7
(*e*) Returned to Bombay recently.	385	31
(*f*) Tender age.	128	10
(*g*) Other miscellaneous reasons	86	7
	1,255	100

Investigations like these must be undertaken in every district. They will reveal the causes of non-attendance and such revelation will enable us to devise measures to overcome these difficulties and to bring more children into schools. For example, the above investigations enabled Mr. R. V. Parulekar to conduct an interesting experiment of giving part-time education of two hours a day to those children who could not attend schools full time on account of economic reasons. The results were extremely good and showed that the working hours of a school should be adopted to the convenience of working children if compulsory primary education is to be made

successful. The experiment and its findings which are capable of generalisation to the Province as whole are thus described by Mr. R. V. Parulekar:-

"40. As the percentage of the non-attending children under economic reasons was found to be fairly high from the sample investigations mentioned above, it was thought desirable to see if the problem of such children could be tackled by some arrangement for their schooling as per their convenience. Two experimental Marathi Classes, one at Byculla and the other at Tardeo, were therefore, started in two selected localities under two selected teachers. The classes were conducted during vocation time for a period of two hours daily. The time of the commencement of each class and its duration were fixed after ascertaining the convenience of the children in consultation with their parents. As the classes were to meet only for two hours a day, it was thought necessary to confine the admission to children, boys and girls, between the ages of eight and ten. It is the usual experience that children who are somewhat advanced in age and, therefore, more mature in mind and body are able to assimilate instruction in lesser time than those of lesser age. In order to secure homogeneity, the teachers were directed to admit, as far as possible, only those children who had never attended a school before. The principal aim undertaking the experiment was to see how far children with economic handicaps could attend regularly a class held at a time and for a duration which were fixed after ascertaining their convenience. The teacher at the Byculla Class adopted a novel method to ensure the attendance of some of the children who had to look after youngsters at home almost the whole time of the day. He engaged the services of a woman attendant to take care of the youngsters in one of the rooms in the neighbourhood of the class, while the elderly children were engaged in receiving instruction."

"41. The two experimental classes were conducted only for a month each. It may be pointed out that the main object of carrying out this short term experiment was to see how far the children with economic handicapes can regularly attend classes, if they are held according to their convenience. The amount of instruction that could be imparted during one month must naturally be small and yet it is reported that it was not at all less than what a child of six could ordinarily assimilate in one month of full-time instruction. As for regularity of attendance, it was found to be perfectly satisfactory."

"42 The problem of non-attendance of children owing to economic handicaps is not a problem of this city only. It is a problem for the whole Province to tackle. The poverty of the villagers in India does come in the way of their children attending schools. The Government of the Pravince, if it wants to make compulsion a success throughout the Province in the

near future, as they are very anxious to do, will have to tackle the problem as much as the Corporation have to. Experience and practice of other countries which are at present at a high stage of educational advancement point out that the economic disabilities of the masses cannot be disregarded in an attempt to educate their children by compulsion under standard of instruction and duration of attendance which may be feasible to be enforced on the upper sections of the community. Adjustments of the amount of time devoted to instruction and in its standards of attainment must be made if the poorer sections of the community are to be brought under compulsory education. The experiment of conducting the two classes described above may show a way to get out of the conflict between the ideal of those who want to raise the educational status of the masses and the poverty of the masses."*

In a poor country, part-time education is the only method of spreading education among the masses. We must realise that the poor people can only have part-time education or no education at all. Even in England, the system of part-time instruction was in vogue from 1870 to 1918, and it was abolished only because the rise in the standard of life of the people made it possible to abolish it. Even to-day part-time education is accepted as an integral part of the education programme in countries like Denmark or Philipines where the economic background is similar to ours. We must, therefore, adopt suitable programmes of part-time instruction for the next few years or until the economic conditions of the people is sufficiently improved. Unless this is done, compulsory primary education can never be strictly enforced.

The second important problem on which investigations and experimentations are necessary is that of adjusting the vacations of primary schools to the season of heavy work among the agriculturists. In India, about 70 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture. In the rural areas this percentage is even higher. Now it is a well known thing that the labour required for agriculture is not evenly spread over all parts of the year. On the occasion of seasons like those of sowing or harvesting, the work in the field is so heavy that all available personnel in a village-men, women and children-are required to take part in agricultural oprations. The more grown up children can help their parents directly in these agricultultural oprations, but even the younger children are required to help indirectly. They either guard the house or take care of the younger children etc. and release the older members of the family to take direct part in agticultural oprations. These agricultural seasons are so important that it would be

* Report of the Special Officer on Some Educational and Administrative Problems of Primary Education in the City (The Bombay Municipality,) 1949, pp. 113-14

wrong to deprive the agriculturists the labour of their children on these occasions. At the time of harvesting and sowing, therefore, the attendance of children of the agriculturists in schools of the rural areas falls very greatly and the only practical way in which this fall in attendance can be remedied is by closing down the schools for vacations just at a time when the labour of children is indispensably required in the fields.

It must be realised that the labour of children becomes indispensable to agriculturists at the time of harvesting and sowing. An attempt to compel the children to attend the schools on these occasions will either fail or will cause immense hardships to poor parents. Moreover, it must be realised that it is not bad for children to work with their parents in the fields. In fact, it does great good, because they get excellent "vocational" training for an occupation which most of them will follow in after life. It will therefore, be a very good thing if our primary schools are closed during the busy seasons of the agriculturists, and children are allowed to work on the farm with their parents.

This principle is now generally accepted and power is given to School Boards to adjust vacations of primary schools to requirements of agriculture, within certain limits prescribed by Primary Education Rules; but this freedom is hardly ever utilised. The main difficulty is that the problem is not sufficiently investigated into. The busy seasons of agriculturists differ from area to area and depend upon factors like rainfall, climate, crops raised, etc. Moreover, they do not repeat themselves on the same dates every year and it is difficult to fix in advance when these seasons will exactly begin. What is, therefore, needed is a careful investigation into the problem and the evolution of an elastic system of school vacations. If careful investigations are undertakn into the problem in a number of areas, the methods of adjusting school vacations to the needs of agriculture will be eveident, and it will be possible thereby to improve attendace in primary schools.

It is not necessary to enumerate here all problems connected with cumpulsory primary education which need investigations and experimentations. It will be sufficient to state that Government must organise permanent and an independent agency for carrying on these investingations. Competent officers in sufficient numbers must be appointed for the purpose, and the full time Research Bureau should be organised as a part of the Education Department. It may cost a lakh or two a year, but this expenditure is nothing as compared to the crores of rupees that will have to be spent on compulsory education every year. The best returns will be obtained for the money spent on these

investigations and the project must be undertaken by Government without any delay.

15. Adult Education :—

Compulsory primary education cannot easily be enforced in a society where the large majority of the adults are illiterate. An illiterate man or woman does not value literacy or school education. Consequently, he is generally unwilling to send his children to schools. On the other hand a literate adult is generally careful in sending his children to schools—compulsion or no compulsion. The task of enforcing compulsion becomes, therefore,easier in proportion to the increase of adult literacy. In countries like England, the same experience was obtained, and compulsion became effective only after literacy was largely spread among adults.

In the Province of Bombay, the percentage of literacy is only about 20. The mass of social opinion is, therefore, unappreciated of literacy and school education. Compulsory primary education can never be vigorously enforced in such society. It is only after the percentage of literacy rises to 50 or more that it will be easier to enforce compulsion. Government, must, therefore, undertake a programme of the liquidation of illiteracy side by side with that of extending compulsory primary education. The best results will be obtained only if both these programmes go on side by side. It is true that the Government of Bombay has undertaken a programme of adult education with the object of liquidating illiteracy. A good deal of useful work is being done down in this direction and it must be admitted that the problem of adult illiteracy is now being tackled on a scale on which it was never tackled before; but all the same it is true that our present attempts to liquidate illiteracy are not sufficient to solve the problem. In the five-year Plan of Post-war Reconstruction sanctioned by the Government of Bombay, a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs only has been provided for the scheme, and it expected that about 12 lakhs of adults will be made literate during this pereod. If we remember that the number of adult illiterate in the province is more than a crore, it will be seen that the scale on which the work is organised at present will not be adequate to solve the problem. What is now needed is that Government should undertake a much bigger programme, and liquidate adult illitracy in five to ten years.

It is not within the purview of this dissertation to discuss this problem in detail, but it may be said that attempts will have to be made in three directions. Firstly, Government will have to compel adults to attend literacy classes. Secondly, educated persons will have to be conscripted to teach in adult classes, and thirdly much larger amounts would have to be provided for the purpose. Employers of labour should be compelled to

make their employees literate within a specified period. If actions on this and other lines are taken, then only it will be possible to liquidate adult illiteracy within a short period.

One aspect of the problem deserves special notice. Illiteracy is very large among women, and most of the non-attending children are girls This is due to our social customs according to which it is believed that education is not necessary for women. Intensive propaganda will have to be organised to overcome this belief and to pursuade parents to send their daughters to school. Liberal prizes, presents, etc. will also have to be provided for the purpose. In the same way, special steps will have to be taken to liquidate illiteracy from among the backward communities, and to bring the children of these communities into schools.

16. Procedure for the Enforcement of Compulsion :

The present procedure for the enforcement of compulsion is very elaborate. Its successive steps are the following :

(1) The first step is to hold a census of all children of school-going age, and to make separate lists of children that do or do not attend schools.

(2) The second step is to send an individual notice to every guardian directing him to send his child to a specified school from a specified date.

(3) The third step is to give a hearing to the parent if he makes an application for exemption and to decide it.

(4) The fourth step is to find out from headmasters whether those children for whom a notice was issued have or have not been enrolled in the schools. If they are not, an inquiry is to be made, and a special attendance order is to be passed in the case of every child.

(5) The fifth step is to find out whether the parent has sent the children to the school or not in accordance with the attendance order. If not, he is prosecuted and generally fined a small amount or let off with a warning.

(6) Some parents will not send their children to schools in spite of a convinction or even after repeated convictions. In such cases, the sixth step is to prosecute the parent and to obtain a *de diem* fine. This is the most effective method of bringing children into schools.

In the case of children who are already enrolled but who do not attend regularly, the following procedure is to be followed :

(1) The first step is to obtain from the headmaster a list of children who have not attended the school according to rules. The information is to be collected every month.

(2) The next step is to contact the parents of those children who have not attended the school regularly during the preceding month, and to find out why the child did not attend. If there is no reasonable excuse for non-attendance, an attendance order is passed against the parent.

(3) If the child does not attend in accordance with the attendance order, the parent will be prosecuted.

(4) Wherever necessary, the fourth step is to obtain a *de diem* fine.

This procedure often goes wrong, and requires some simplification. It has already been pointed out that the Baroda procedure is simpler than ours. Steps should, therefore, be taken to simplify our procedure also after some time when the people will have become familiar with the idea of compulsory primary education. One important point regarding this procedure refers to the prosecutions. Some times the case goes on for more than a month or two and ends in a fine of a few annas. This does not help the cause of compulsory education. What is necessary is to have quick disposals of these cases. Government must, therefore, authorise a large number of persons to try cases under the Primary Education Act.

17. Improvement in Teaching Methods :

In all countries where compulsion had been made effective, it was found that an improvement in the appearance of the school, its equipments and teaching methods was greatly helpful in improving school attendance. A good school and a sympathetic and competent teacher are always the best attendance officer. If a school is made a happy place for children, it goes without saying that the attendance in schools will improve immediately.

Government must, therefore, take every step possible to make the schools better and happier. This will raise the quality of education, and at the sametime indirectly assist in improving attendance also.

18. Other Measures :

In the preceding paragraphs were mentioned most of the measures which have to be adopted in order to make the scheme of compulsory primary education successful and effective. It will have been realised that the main difficulties which prevent children from coming to schools are

economic. Compulsory primary education can, therefore, succeed best only if and when the economic condition of the people is improved. Government must, therefore, push on vigorously with its general programme of development and spend large amounts on irrigation, land-development, industrial development etc. Such schemes will produce more wealth and increase the national dividend per head. This will make it easier for parents to send their children to schools and keep them there longer. In England and in other countries, it was found that compulsion became effective and the age of compulsion could be raised in proportion to the increase of national wealth. In India also the same principle holds good, and an effective scheme of compulsion is not possible without an improvement in the standard of the life of the people.

There is no need to doubt the sincerity or the earnestness of the Government of Bombay in so far as the scheme of compulsory primary education is concerned. Let us all hope that the scheme becomes successful. But there is a growing fear that it may not. This is not due to want of sincerity or earnestness, rather it is due to defective planning. We find, for instance, that Government is going fast with prohibition; that basic education is also being pushed ahead irrespective of the financial implications; and that instead of concentrating on a few important schemes, Government is spreading itself thinly over a very large number of all types of schemes. These are the danger points in the present situation, and if they are not properly corrected in time, we may find ourselves in trouble before long. Let us pray to God that these fears do not materialise.

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COMPARATIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

By

G. Montagu Harris,

President of the International Union of Local Authorities.

A review by-*CHUNILAL D. BARFIVALA*

The renowned author of this manual on "Comparative Local Goverment" needs no introduction to the readers of this Quarterly Journal to which he has been an esteemed contributor. Lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the Bombay University were also published in this journal *in extenso*, when he was on a tour in India, organised by the Local Self-Government Institute. During that tour, the author delivered a series of lectures in Bombay, Calcutta, Mysore, Baroda and other places.

'Local Government in many Lands' is his world famous classical work. Local Government systems in the principal countries of the world were dealt with in that masterly work, each country having a chapter devoted to its system. Comparative Local Government is, so to speak, the third edition of that standard work, with this difference that whereas in the present work important *topics* of local government in different countries receive a comparative treatment, a chapter being assigned to each topic, under the previous work a *complete picture* of the system of local government as prevailing in a *specified country* was presented from all points of view. Indeed the change from the title "Local Government in many Lands" to 'Comparative Local Government' is amply significant of this changed treatment'. We welcome this new mode of presentation; we however wish that the author need not give up his original idea of publishing the third edition of his old work because the country-wise treatment of the subject has its own utility. Unfortunately the changes that are rapidly taking place in European as well as non-European countries render it almost impossible to get the first-hand knowledge of the latest development in the domain of local government. Political conditions in Germany, Italy, Japan and several other Countries including India necessitated new set-ups of local government systems, many of the changes being yet in

experimental stages. The author therefore rightly deplores that much of the information in the book is based on conditions prior to 1939. We, however, find that the author has taken full advantage of information available from many of the recent standard works on the subject, supplemented by information which his position as the President of the International Union of Local Authorities enabled him to obtain from different sources—information which no one else could possibly procure. His visits to all the countries in Europe, the U. S. A., Canada, Japan and India and his previous mature experience in the Ministry of Health in England have gone into the making up of this very valuable study.

The book deals with nine fundamental phases of Local Government viz. (*i*) The Underlying principles (*ii*) Areas of Local Government (*iii*) Local authority (*iv*) Officials (*v*) Functions (*vi*) Finance (*vii*) Control (*viii*) Public Relations and (*ix*) The future. A list of books used in the preparation of the book is given at the end.

The first chapter dealing with the fundamental underlying principles defines the term 'Local Government' and discusses the two meanings attached to it. In one sense, it may be called 'Local *State* Government' meaning government by local agents appointed and responsible to central government. In another sense, it signifies what we know as 'Local *Self*-Government' or Communal autonomy–meaning government by local bodies, freely elected, which, subject to the sovereignty of the national government, are endowed with power, discretion and responsibility–varying in different degrees in differnt countries – which they can exercise without control over their decision by higher authority. Both these systems imply different methods of devolution of power from above one to the agents of central government and the other to the people of the locality. The two methods are described in French phraseology as *deconcentration* and *decentralisation* respectively.

The author points out a further distinction viz. that which exists between '*Local Self Government*' and '*Local Self-administration*". The latter term is an appropriate translation of the German word *selstwervaltung*. According to the German ideology, it appears, self-administration is a generic term of which self-government would be a specie. Self-government accordingly exists even if organ of local administration vested in a mere agent of central government, carrying out all its orders. This is exactly the reverse of what we understand by local self-government. The correct connotation of the word, in the sense in which an Englishman understands it, would be government by the people themselves, freely elected, and not by local agents of central government.

The author then takes up the principal countries and examines where and how far the system of local self-government in its true English sense is met with.

It is easy to dispose of Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany in one breath. In the former, the Podesta, centrally appointed and entirely subject to the Prefect, was never bound to follow the advice of his 'Consulta' or the Council. In short, there was complete 'Local *State*-government'. Similarly in Hitler's Germany, local government became purely a bureaucratic institution under the direct control of the central government and the Nationalist Socialist Party. It is an irony of fate that this ultra-centralisation was carried out in the very name of that great Statesman Baron Von-Stein rightly called the Creater of Communal Self-Government in Germany.

Turning to Belgium and Holland, we come across an ardent attachment to the principle of Communal autonomy. It must be conceded that during the two world-wars it was the Communal system of autonomy which preserved the good government of Belgium. The apex is reached in Switzerland where the citizens have a greater opportunity of governing both the policy and the administration of local authorities than any other country in the world.

The author then illustrates the business character of American local government by an apt quotation from a Mayor's foreword to a Municipal Annual report. We reproduce the preamble:—

"The City of Albert Lee, a Corporation, through its Board of Directors, the City Council presents to you, Citizen share-holders the ninth annual report etc.

The British Ideal.—The author's pen-picture of the ideal of Local self government in England is highly illuminating. Representative democracy forms the basis of the British system, which though known by the name of 'local government' means to an Englishman nothing else than 'local self-government'. He looks upon local government as "a school of politics, life and character and it is even considered worth while to sacrifice a certain amount of efficiency if this is the only way of giving the local population, through their representatives the power to carry on their own affairs". "It is important to note that in Great Britain and the Dominions, it is the elected representatives in Council who are fully responsible not only for policy but for day to day administration". In these lines, which we have underlined the author has given us the quintessence of the British system of local government, in contradiction on the one hand to the

systems obtaining in the totalitarian States like Germany or Italy or in ultra centralised state like France and on the other hand, to the system of direct government in Switzerland where "the democracy is" as Bryce states, " more truly democratic than in any other country" and whose (Switzerland's) system is said "to be far superior to our British system" (E.D. Semon).

The most important point made out by the author in this *quinta essentia* is that in England the councils of local bodies are supreme not only in policy-making but are fully reponsible even for day to day administration. This point requires more than a mere passing notice. The Americans of to-day are more concerned with efficiency and all that it implies–and this in spite of all that Abraham Lincon orated about democracy.

The separation of the legislative or the deliberative powers from the executive power is, as the author points out, a matter of faith in the United States. The elected councils there are expected to deal only with the questions of policy and in no way concern themselves with the details of administration. The responsibility for day-to-day administration according to the prevailing opinion in the U. S. A. "must be in the *Executive-an institution unknown to Great Britain but in most other countries an important principle*. Thus the Burgomaster in Eastern Germany and the Magistraat in the Western Germany were the exclusive executive authorities so also are the mayor in the Mayor-council form and the city manager the executives and the elected councils there are merely the deleberative bodies".

We give below a quotation from Municipal Administration by J. H. Warren, which distinguishes the British system from the system in other countries – as regards the separation of the administrative and executive functions on the one hand and also distinguishes the English Mayor and the Presidents of Municipalities in India who enjoy executive powers as mentioned above:

"There are systems such as the French, the Scandinavian, the pre-Nazi German, and the more modern forms of City Government in America and the Irish Free State in which responsibilities are assigned to the elected council in questions of policy and in the control of expenditure, while independent responsibility is assigned to some executive officer, or a small executive group, for administration and management For example, a French Mayor, a German Burgomaster, an American City-Manager, and the small executive group called the Magistraat operating in Scandinavian Local Authorities, have powers of their own in the executive sphere. There is no comparable arrangement in English Local Government. The independent

powers given, for example, to an English Mayor are practically negligible. They do not amount to more than two or three items, all told. Their character is ministerial rather than administrative or executive; and they chiefly relate to procedural steps necessary to keep the Authority's constitution on foot, e.g. fixing polling places. In no sense is the Mayor an administrative or executive agent. And while as we shall see, an English Local Authority can set up committees, it remains responsible for all the acts done for it by such committees, or by its officers".

The English principle that the deliberative and the executive powers should both be centred in the elected Council has been embodied in the Bombay District Municipal Act which recognises no separate paid executive authority-though the President (unpaid non-official) is given considerable executive powers. The same principle is recognised in the Bombay Local Boards Act which mentions the appointment of a paid Chief Officer but confers no statutory executive powers in that officer-though the President here also enjoys these powers to a considerable extent. This method of endowing Presidents with executive powers has met with disapproval from the Simon Commission, though it has been freely admitted by the commission that Sardar Vallabhbhai's (now the Deputy Premier of India) presidentship of the Ahmedabad Municipality was a marked success. The same could be said of many other Presidents-degree of the success may however vary. The legislative trend however changed with the passing of the Bombay Municipal Boroughs Act of 1925, when the deliberative functions were separated from the executive, the Council was made supreme in the exercise of the former and the Chief Officer and the Standing Committee shared between them the executive powers.

The Bombay Corporation Act however follows the American principle of separation of powers–with the modification that the Standing Committee of the Corporation shares some of the executive powers with the Municipal Commissioner. The Bombay Act goes further and even removes the appointment of the Municipal Commissioner from the hands of elected representatives of the people i. e. the Corporation and places it in the hands of the Provincial Government. This feature has been hailed by some experienced persons as one of the most salutary provisions of the Bombay City Corporation Act and the Government of Bombay has extended this principle to the new Corporation Act which has been enacted in the current session of the Provincial Legislative Council. Experience gained several times of communal and political spirit influencing elections of officers whose appointments rest with the Corporation, has been cited to show that the arrangements regarding the appointment of the Commissioner by the

Government was a more suitable one. Sir Phirozsha Mehta, the veteran Indian politician was the leader of this school of thinkers and there are not wanting to-day many admirers of this system. With reference to this controversial subject one is tempted to quote Sir R. P. Masani who at page 396 of his execllent work "Evolution of Local Self-Government in Bombay" writes as under:—

"It was a deplorable confession of the tendency of certain sections of the Corporation to succumb to communal or party consideratons, but whether such lapses on the part of some members of a growing self-governing institution constituted a valid reason for depriving the whole body of much coveted powers of responsible government is a question which needs to be considered dispassionately, irrespective of the failings of individual members. The remedy for misuse of authority lies not in retrogression and the ruin of Constitution, but in the reform of the personnel of the governing body. No self-governing institution in the world was immune from the danger of jobbery and nepotism in the early stages of its evolution. Even now, not even advanced institutions can claim immunity from this danger, but the reason why such institutions attained the existing stage of perfection is that instead of committing suicide, they manfully faced the danger and shouldered the responsibility".

When the Bombay City Municipal Act was being amended in 1887, the late Justice Telang said " I am in favour of the preservation of the Municipal Commissioner-though I can quite see that time may come when we shall take a further step in the direction of local self-government and the Municipal Corporation of that day will have to ask the (Legislative) Council of that day to concede the power of appointing him " (quoted by Sir R. P. Masani in the "Evolution of Local Self-Government in Bombay").

Looking to the present trend of events, it would appear that we will have to undergo a tutelage of at least another decade before attaining the maturity of a degree that would satisfy Justice Telang's test of fitness for moving government in the direction of this reform.

Areas of Local Government.

The author, in the first instance, draws attention to the use of the words Local government areas' which in an unitary state like England would mean areas under the jurisdiction of local authorities or rather local self-governing authorities whereas in countries where the form of government is that of a federation as in the United States of America or in India, the levels of government are threefold-the Federal, Provincial of

State and Local, we give the name local government areas or more properly as in India, Local Self-Government areas, to the areas under the last named level of Government.

Discussing the units of Local Government area in different countries the author describes how the French model differs from others. In France the Commune is the basic unit for local administration over every part of the country - from a great town to a small hamlet. For every commune-whatever its size-the constitution of the local authority, its powers, and its legal status are the same whether the area concerned is rural or urban. This feature distinguishes it from the units in Germany and in England where the rural and the urban areas have been differently treated.

Comparing the development of the City Units in the U. S. A. and in England, the author points out that the present trend in the former is towards 'bigger and better cities'. The English method of solving the problem of metropolitan development differs materially from the American, in so far as the tendency in the former is to restrict the growth by means of green belts and by satellite or dormitory towns, big and small. Incidentally the author informs us that in American phraseology a 'town' is equivalent to a rural district in England. In India it would correspond roughly to a Taluka.

Recent tendency in every country appears to be to enlarge the areas. In Scotland parish councils are abolished, in Ireland rural districts-in the same way as we abolished the Taluka Boards in the provinces of the Punjab, Madras or Bombay or the Baroda State.

The author mentions how there is a constant change in the Area and Status. We are familiar with such changes here e. g. from notified Area Committee or a Village Panchayat into a District Municipality and from the District into a Borough Municipality and from the Borough into a Corporation as in the cases of Ahmedabad and Poona.

Mr. Harris then explains how the regional idea is spreading wide-wider in many cases to such an extent as to embrace areas larger than the French Departments. In Great Britain some of the whole-hogging regionalists would cover the whole of England and Wales under a region-to them the author says "even the whole of Great Britain is not too large a region for some purposes."

For us in India, it is well to emphasise that our western regionalist, however, do not desire the complete suppression of smaller units of local government though they may differ in the views as to whether areas of such combining units should be directly represented in the governing council of

the reigon or whether they may be indirectly represented by nomination of members by local units. The English regionalists generally favour direct elections.

Local Authority

Chapter III deals with the '*Local authority*'–a term indicating the body (or it may be a person) responsible for local administration in any area whether urban or rural. It is wider than the term municipality which connotes an urban unit–though in Canada the word municipality includes both the urban and the rural units.

Under the heading of structure-a number of interesting topics are dealt with. In 'Mussolini's Italy', one third the strength of the Council is nominated directly and two-thirds indirectly from among recommendations of local syndicates and economic organisations; in 'Hitler's Germany' elected councils were abolished; In Portugal the '*freguesia*' or the parish is an aggregate of families; in Denmark, the county council consists of members chosen by the parish councils whereas in Norway it consists of the chairman of the district councils (Talukas) and in Ontario and Quebec it consists of the heads of various local authorities, in Cuban, the provincial council is composed of the mayors of municipalities in the province.

"One of the weaknesses in the local government system of England" says Mr. Harris "is the lack of any organic connection between the councils of the countries, rural districts and parishes". There is no representation of the one council on the other. We, in the Province of Bombay, should carefully consider whether some connecting representative link could be established between different units, with advantages. Some other provinces are experimenting in this direction. In the small state of Oundh, (Deccan State) the experiment of establishing a pyramid of authorities on these lines was found workable.

In the matter of *Wards*, it is for consideration whether it is sufficient to divide cities merely for the purpose of elections or we should utilise these wards for administrative decentralisation. In the bigger Russian cities, Ward Soviets carry out detailed administration within their respective areas; in Turkey 'quarters' within every city have their own separate Mayors and an elected Council. In England wards are not used for such administrative purposes, and in the U. S. A. even elections are almost always "at large". In the former it may be that members are more in contact with the locality, whereas in the latter, they may be able to represent the city as a whole and have a wider outlook.

As regards the *size* of the councils, ideas differ very widely–for example in the Soviet Union, the City Soviets are enormous bodies, some

having a membership of over 1000, whereas in the U. S. A. there is growing feeling in favour of very small councils; in the 'City Manager System, the most usual number of member is only of 5.

The minimum age for the right of voting varies in different countries from 18 to 27.

Mr Harris gives from Down Brown's 'Soviet Local Government' and Webbs' 'Soviet Communism' very interesting details regarding election procedure. We reproduce his words:—

> "Canditates must be nominated thirty days prior to the election; the election must not be held on a work-day, the polling booth must be open from 6 A. M. until midnight; electors are not disenfranchised if unavoidably absent from home on voting day, for they may vote wherever they are on production of their identity cards, which are then stamped to show that they have voted. Elections are under the control of an electoral Commission, an 'ad hoc' body elected by each Soviet from its own members for the duration of the elections. Prior to the actual polling day, many election meetings are held for each electoral area, forming a number of "eliminating rounds" for the several canditates who may have been put forward. At these meetings, candidates are closely questioned and this process of selection goes on until there is probably only one candidate left. The election proper-the actual polling day-is often a matter of putting an almost unanimous seal upon the public choice which has resulted from the examination of candidates. To make sure that the elected deputy is genuinely representative, he is obliged to poll at least 51 per cent of the *total electorate* (not of the votes cast only) and failing this the election must be held again".

The Mayor in different countries is known by different titles-in France as *Maire*, in Italy-*Sindaco* (*Podesta* under the Fascists), in Spain-*Alcalde*, in Balgaria–*Kinet*, in Hungary *Biro*, in Czecoslovakia *Starosta*, etc Mayor is elected generally from among the council members, but in England he may be elected from outside the Council, provided he is qualified for being elected as a councillor. The author informs us that though this is the legal position in England, it is seldom resorted to. It is interesting to note that Paris has no mayor. Government officials are taking his place. Mr. Harris has prefered treating the 'Burgomaster' under this heading–though he is a paid official, on the ground that his position was that of a master, rather than that of a servant of the council.

The mayors receive a salary or reasonable remuneration or allowance in several European countries, e. g. in the U. S. A., in France and in Great Britain.

Who are the *officials*, is the querry with which Chapter V on 'Officials' commences. The author answers this by saying that in the U. S. A. the mayors and councillors are called 'officials' because they are all salaried. In France and Germany the paid and the unpaid are both included in the definition. but in England, the distinction is strictly marked between the councillors who are unpaid and the paid officers, including even the Town clerk. The latter are the servants of the local Council, their duty is to carry out the orders of the Council and to exercise no initiative of their own. This position of the English officials is in marked contrast to that of the Italian Podesta or the German Burgomaster–who is in fact the local authority and not its servant. The position of the City–manager in U. S. A. differs from the English as well as the German or Italian prototype. He is a business manager solely responsible for day-to-day administration. He should not however be considered a local dictator like a Burgomaster but a servant of the Council with complete control over him, through its power to appoint and dismiss him, and its power over the purse. The English Town clerk does not enjoy the same power of day-to-day administration. In Dr. Redlich's words "the position of the official chiefs of particular departments is quite independent of that of the Town clerk, in so far that they are not in any way subordinate to him by the rules of the service. On the contrary every permanent head of a department is subordinated only to his Committee and through it to the Council. He (the Town clerk) is the adviser in chief."

Mr Harris points out that since the publication Dr. Redlich's great work, 'Local government in England', Town clerk's position has become more and more recognised as the Councils chief official and the person to advise not merely on points of law, but on administration generally and even on policy.

It may also be noted that the Town clerk is a lawyer whereas the American City manager is generally an Engineer.

The problems of appointment, punishment and dismissal of officers and of their salaries and grades are so very controversial that they cannot be dealt with in detail in a small book of the type under review. Attention however is drawn to the Hadow Report (1934) which is of great importance on the subject. Readers from our province would do well to refer to the Local Self-Government Enquiry Committee's Report 1939 otherwise known as The Kale Committee's report wherein the problem has been very judici

ously and carefully examined. Interesting question regarding qualities required for a good official may be studied from Volume III of the Local government administration, edited by Lord Macmillan.

Functions:—

Multifarious activities of local authorities in the principal countries of the world have been excellently summed up, catalogued and classified under the chapter on '*Functions*'.

Exercise of functions by local bodies depend upon two fundamental principles governing grant of statutory and shall we say enjoyment of prescriptive rights of local authorities. Firstly, a local authority may be authorised to do anything it considers to be for the good of the community. This principle is illustrated by the case of France, where each Municipal Council is broadly entitled by law to "regulate the affairs of the Community ", but the term 'affairs' is so narrowly interpreted as to restrict the actual powers.

Under the second principle no local authority is entitled to do any thing which it is not specifically authorised by law. In other words, the functions are all enumerated and no function that is not enumerated can be exercised by a local authority. Under this positive grant of powers, larger the enumeration, the greater the scope for exercise of powers. This principle is illustrated by the case of local authorities in Great Britain and or in the province of Bombay. The functions enumerated are so very numerous and powers are described in words of such wide connotation that many of the things which a local authority may need to undertake could be included therein – though it must be conceded that it is impossible under this system to forsee all possible things which a local authority would do for the benefits of its community.

There is moreover one thing about these two fundamental principles. Under the continental method, which illustrates the first principle, the burden of proving before the auditors or a Court of law, that expenditure on a particular item is *ultra vires* of the local authority concerned rests with the party alleging that it is *ultra vires*. The local authority would not be called upon to prove that it is *intra vires*. whereas under the second principle the local authority would have to prove positively that the expenditure is *intra vires* be pointing out the particular enumerated function which the law permits it to exercise.

The case of local authorities in the U. S. S. R. furnishes us with what may be called a third principle viz. that whereas by law there is nothing which is beyond the powers of local authorities, their actions may be over-ruled by any higher authority.

There is a distinction of another kind regarding functions–viz. between obligatory and optional–the former being regarded by the State as of interest to the State as a whole. A modified method would be where the State may lay down minimum standard of performance, and the local authority is permitted at its option to go beyond. This latter model is followed in Great Britain.

The author then illustrates how the principal functions like the Police, Education, Highways, Public Health, Housing, Keeping of Public Open Spaces, Planning, Public Assistance, Unemployment Relief, Trading undertakings, Libraries, Administration of Justice and othere functions are exercised by local authorities in different countries.

We may only note that Great Britain is unique in so far that the Police are, generally speaking under the control of local authorities, so also Education-both elementary as well as higher, other than the University-is a function of local authorities under the British system. In the case of Highways, the principle of State or National roads has only been recently introduced and even now, the author tells us, the Ministry of Transport does not by its own staff construct or maintain these roads, but only inspects and makes grants to the local highway authorities, like the Councils of Countie or County Boroughs. In the matter of Town Planning, powers and duties to prepare town schemes have been conferred and imposed upon local authorities generally as in no other country–though it is admitted that the wider power of German local authorities have enabled them to buy land to any extent and for any purpose and to introduce new systems such as the redistribution of plots in a Town Plannimg Scheme between different owners under the famous Lex Adickes – a principle which has been adopted in the Bombay Town Planning Act of 1915, and very successfully carried out.

Trading Undertakings:—

Under *Trading undertakings* Mr Harris treats public utilities — which in its ordinary connotation may mean four kinds of services viz. the supply of water, gas, electricity and provision of public transport — although the term is equally applicable to almost any activity of a local authority. Laws in Germany give considerable freedom to local authorities to undertake municipal enterprises with the result that municipal threatres, concerts halls, restaurants, breweries, mills, baths, agricultural, forest and other estates, trams and motor omnibuses, ports, Saving banks etc. are found in many German towns.

Short of complete municipalisation of certain services, there is what is known in America as *franchise* "which is a contract between the Municipality and a Company whereby the former grants to the latter a

privilege in consideration of its rendering a specified service at a fixed rate of charge. There is also what is called a "*Concession*" system, under which the Municipality requires from the Concessionaire a share of the profits of the business. A third method is that of the "*mixed undertaking*", wherein the Municipality holds certain shares, often a majority of them and has a representation on the board of management. In Belgium there is a sort of a co-operative method in which the State, the Provinces, the Communes and private individuals take part.

Administration of Justice — It appears that in Switzerland, the Communes have certain powers of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal in minor matters. Mr. Harris also mentions the system of judicial benches which are established under the Viliage Panchayat Acts of different provinces in India.

The widest range of local government activities is to be found in the Soviet Union. Mr. Harris enumerates a number of such activities, quoting extracts from a war time speech of Kalinin, from the "Soviet President Speaks".

Concluding this chapter, Mr. Harris very appropriately suggests that it is always advantageous to have local organisations, even when they normally perform few functions or even none. This is on the lines of the famous dictum that it is better to have a body which does not function than to have none at all. There is a potentiality in such an institution which has its own value. In this connection the following words quoted from the present reviewer's 'Village Panchayat Manual' may appear apposite :—

"When I plead for the revival of corporate village life I do not mean that these village corporate bodies should necessarily exercise all the powers which a modern municipality in a rural area is supposed to exercise, though I would legally provide them with powers to exercise all these and many additional functions.... ... ...*What I want in the first instance is the re-formation* of a habit of acting together in a body and and creating an *esprit de Corps*... ... ..."

Finance:—

"Finance" is the most important problem of all the problems facing local bodies. For reasons which are well known, expenditure by local bodies is rising from year to year, much of it is unavoidable and obligatory. Commissions and Committees everywhere in the world have been at their wits end to discover additional sources of revenue for local authorities. In India, the problem is at present under fresh investigation at the hands of

an All-India Local Finance Enquiry Committee. The subject matter of the Chapter on Finance is therefore of immediate interest to us.

In this universal and unending hunt after additional sources of revenue or local bodies, the primary consideration with many is how to increase the rates or local taxation. Mr. Harris points out that this approach is wrong. The *primary consideration, he says, is to exhaust all* other *sources of revenue, before thinking of increasing the taxes.* He adds that lacal taxation should not be increased beyond what is clearly necessary after taking credit for what is available from other sources. Government grants are often based, in our country, on conditions which coerce local bodies into levy of taxes at a level not only beyond their capacity but irrespective of taxes raised or raisable from other sources. A recent Government resolution of the Bombay Government makes a grant of a portion of non-agricultural assessment conditional on the imposition of a minimum of 20% taxes on residential and 30% on non-residential quarters, irrespective of the consideration as to what amount the body raised from other sources.

Mr. Harris, in conformity with this caution, treats of other sources of revenue first and taxation last. Thus he takes up (1) Grants-in-aid (2) Communal Funds or Assigned revenues (3) Trading Profits (4) Returns from Municipal Property (5) Fees and charges and lastly (6) Local Taxation.

Under *grants-in-aid*, figures are given of percentage of grants given to local bodies as compared to their total revenue, which show that the percentage in England is as high as 53%. Mr. Harris however hastens to inform us that this is partly because local authorities bear the burden of several services which in other countries is wholly borne by the State. Another corrective, in our opinion, is also necessary to avoid errors of comparison viz. it must be simultaneously stated as to what sources of income are left to local bodies in each country brought under comparison after the mighty federal and state governments have had their preferential 'feed'.

Various basis on which grants have been paid–e. g. (1) percentage grant (2) block grant (3) Exchequer Equalisation grant and the services in respect of which they are paid in different countries, are enumerated in some details. There is also a mention of the recent practice in the U. S. A. of paying back to the municipalities a proportion of the moneys contributed by their inhabitants to the State in taxation. This would correspond to the latest welcome innovation in the Province of Bombay whereby Local Boards and Village Panchayats would be paid 15% of the Land Revenue collected by the State from within their respective areas ; and whereby municipalities would receive 75% of the non-agricultural assessments collected within

their respective areas. In Michigan it has been resolved, the author informs us, to return one-sixth of all sales taxes collected by the States to the school districts and another sixth to the cities town-ships and villages. Local bodies in India have an eye on this sales-tax and hope to share it with the Provinces which are greatly enriched by this ever-increasing source of revenue.

It appears that no country seems to have been satisfied with the different system of grants-in-aid prevailing in different countries, but every one seems to tolerate it because of a want of better basis. "The major trouble with aids is that they require a formula of distribution about which there may be endless quarrelling and which may be arrived by balancing the 'pressures' rather than by an earnest attempt to serve the public good" (Prof. Groves).

"Communal Funds" or Assigned Revenues:—Under this head of local revenue Mr. Harris deals with those funds which in some countries are "fed as a rule from the yield of certain national taxes and therefore corresponding to what is known in England as 'assigned revenue'. For example, central tax on business turn-over is paid into a fund in France and then distributed to Communes on the basis of population and to the Departments on the basis of population and rateable value. Similarly in Belgium a fund was formed out of national taxes on the abolition of Municipal Octrois and the proceeds of the fund were distributed to the Communes on certain specified formula. It appears that a similar process is bound to come in India where the evils of Octroi and terminal tax are increasingly felt and their abolition is delayed because the question of adequately compensating local bodies for loss of revenue is not so far solved.

Trading Profits.

Law and practice in different countries tend to the view that profits from business enterprises may be used towards relief of rates. The famous Deutche Gemeinordnung of 1935 goes to the extent of laying down that such enterprises *must yield* a profit to the Communal fund. In the Reports of the Urabanism Committee (U. S. A.), it is stated that *some sixty cities are 'taxless'* in the sense that they are supporting their public services from the profitss of such undertakings. "There are eightyfour cities in the U. S. A. which levy no taxes yet perform all the functions of ordinary cities and keep out of debt" (Louis Bartlett). John Maud in his well known work 'City Government' tells us of enormous profits earned by such enterprises. The British practice is or rather was averse to making such profits but the tendency seems to gradually veer round to the other view.

Returns from Municipal Property.

In Germany, Switzerland and the Soviet Union huge properties are owned by local bodies and considerable profits made therefrom.

Local Taxation.

Mr. Harris classifies the main system of local taxation as under:—

(1) *Centralized* systems in which the central government assesses, levies and collects local taxes and returns the proceeds to the local authorities in a variety of ways.

(2) *Semi-Centralized* systems, in which local taxes though assessed and collected by the Central Government are levied locally and the produce returned to each local authority according to the yield in its area.

(3) *Non-Centralized* systems, in which the sources of national and local revenue are distinct and the local authorities assess, levy and collect their own taxes.

Additional Centimes. This is the well known European system wherein percentages are added, at the instance of each local authority, to certain national taxes to be collected by the central government and the proceeds paid over to the local authority concerned. For example, in the Soviet Union, local authorities may levy surtaxes on State business, trade taxes, on State income-tax etc. Huge income is collected in this manner, some times upto about 80% of the total revenue of local authorities, in some of the European countries.

Local Income tax. Levy of local income tax is permissible in several countries. This is particularly noticable in small democracies' (Simon, E, D.) in Denmark, Sweden, Norway etc. Levy of Professional tax by local bodies in India smacks of this procedure-though the amount of such levy has now been restricted by the Constituent Assembly to Rs. 2500 per annum on any individual tax-payer.

Mr. Cole suggests for England Divisional Income-tax in the following words:—

"The proceeds of the 'divisional' income tax, levied in the way I have described, should I suggest, be apportioned among the Regions falling within each Division, and supplemented by a national grant-in-aid, in such a way that the sums received by the Regions from both sources combined

would be weighted to some extent according to needs. It would, of course be most convenient for the 'divisional' tax to be collected by the nationa, income-tax authorities, in order to avoid duplication of administrative machinery.'

Credit Communal. Under this heading Mr. Harris takes a note of that ancient and important institution in Belgium known by this name. Herein all local authorities join together in the manner of a share-holders' Corporation and the institution acts as a loan-granting Corporation to local authorities. Government have been co-operating and aiding this institution in a variety of ways.

Control

The chapter on *Control* commences with a quotation of Representative Government by J. S. Mill which though written about 90 years ago retains its perrennial interest. Control which he specifies as necessary is merely for two reasons, firstly for assisting local bodies to carry out effectively their administration and secondly to see that the administration is in accordance with law.

Mr. Harris then enumerates the different methods of control adopted in different countries. In the totalitarian countries like Italy or Germany there is indeed no local self-government in its true sense. (See however Dawson's Municipal Government in Germany of pre-Hitler days.) In centralised countries like France or even Japan the State has an exceptional firm hand over local bodies. In Great Britain and the U. S. A. we breathe a fresh air, but it appears the trend everywhere is towards greater control even where it was previously almost non-existent.

Control in England by the methods of audit and the system of Government inspectors deserves to be noticed. Here in India, we have been accustomed to these methods, which however present a striking contrast. The English auditors, Mr. Harris informs, seldom exercise their legal powers in practice and the inspectors who are 'the eyes and ears of government', are warmly welcomed by local officials. "They are not looked upon as 'noisy Parkers' searching for faults, but as advisers with a wider experience than any local officials can hope to possess. Indeed they exemply, perhaps more than anything else, the fact that the relation between the central government and the local authorities in Great Britain is not that of an all powerful controlling authority and its agents but of partners in an enterprise-viz. of carrying on of good administration''. (P. 153).

Public Relations

Under 'Public Relations,' Mr. Harris has stressed the necessity of making people understand what local self-government is and of inducing

them to take active interest in it. Laws may provide for active participation of the local people in the management of their local affairs but if people remained apathetic, content to be ruled by anybody whom government placed over them, there is no hope for the growth of local self-government and the nation as a whole will deteriorate, for does not the "strength of a nation lie in its local institutions" or "can there be a free state without a free Commune?"

In this connection Prof. Mac Corkle observes appropriately that:—

"In a democracy the individual is more than a spectator; he is actually one of the actors. Therefore, if we are to accept the right of the people to govern, it would seem to follow logically that they be properly informed regarding all matters involved in the process of government".

"Since the citizen elects the officials, uses the services, and pays the taxes by which city government is financed, he has a right to be informed regarding its affairs".

"The modern development of what is called public relations" is therefore to be welcomed, not as a means of providing public bodies with opportunity for self-advertisement, but as a method by which a public body can explain itself to the citizen and seek his confidence and understanding, and can at the same time, ascertain public opinion in relation to the services which the body provides."*

Mr. Harris having made out a strong case for a close contact of the people in local administration takes a brief note of what the U. S. A., U. S. S. R. and Switzerland and other countries are doing to educate their people in the matter. We shall put together some of steps taken by different countries for convenience:—

(1) Licence given to the members of the public not only to attend meetings of local bodies but even to address them.

(2) Adoption of the 'Initiative, Referendum, and Recall'.

(3) Publication of annual Reports of local bodies on definite scientific methods calculated to possess highest educative value.

(4) Facilities to the Press and the reporters for publishing news about local bodies.

* W. Eric Jackson : "Structure of Local Government in England" pp. 255-59

(5) Frequent interviews granted to the representatives of the press and public.

(6) Speeches by the City manager at numerous public functions and under the auspices of numerous institutions.

(7) 'The Open House' institution. The public are invited to visit the City Hall in order to see the working of the municipal departments and inspect various exhibits, charts etc.

(8) City Contests. Contests are organised in America between Cities in different services public health, protection against fire, prevention of motor accidents, water supply, reduction in mortality etc.

(9) Great facilities given for the education of the electors at the time of elections, for example "public examination" by voters of candidates at local elections in U. S. S. R.

(10) 'Civics' made a subject in schools.

(11) Establishment of Associations and Institutes of local bodies and encouraging publications by them.

(12) Exchange of visits by the citizens of one town to those of others on education tour.

(13) Promotion of voluntary associations, like the Social Service League.

(14) Institutions, like the 'Youth Festival' in Switzerland, which is an annual event at which those who have attained the age of 21, are welcomed as citizens, an instructive volume is presented to each of the youth citizen. The volume develops the theme. "You are now a citizen, these are your duties and privileges".

(15) Institution of Compulsory Voting.

(16) Stimulation of public interest by the contesting parties in local bodies.

The Future.

'What of the Future' is the heading of the last chapter in which the trends are examined and a probable forecast is given of the position of local self-government in the future.

The general tendency appears to be towards enlargement of areas of local government, and towards transfer of certain functions from local bodies to government. Prof. Wells (American Local Government p.-130) prognosticates a dark future in the following words:—

"Transference of functions from a locality to the state is not peculiar to the states mentioned above or even to the United States as a whole. It is part of a world-wide trend which builds up larger business and political units at the expense of the smaller. Because of economic and social charge, the town-ship loses ground to the country, the country to the state, and the state to the nation as a whole. If this process continues unchecked, the ultimate outcome will be the destruction of local self-government as we have traditionally known it."

The effective working of democratic institutions on a national scale is impossible unless these institutions rest on a firm foundation of local democracy. Officials, however, and to a large extent elected councillors as well, are all too apt to conceive of the problem primarily in terms, not of popular self-government, but of administrative efficiency as seen from the administrator's angle of vision. Such efficiency is, of course, highly important; but the aim should be, not to give it primacy over democracy, but to reconcile it with democracy and to make Local Government, much more than it is to-day or can be with its present structure, interesting and near to the ordinary citizens, both women and men.

This cannot be done at all if hugeness is allowed to prevail over neighbourhood. There is a place for large scale administration – for larger administrations than exist over most of the country to-day – and for realistic reorganization of the large units in which people do actually move and have their being. But the bigger local governments have to become for some purpose, the greater is the need for preserving and for recreating really small-scale agencies for other purpose closely related to the every day lives of the people.

Mr. Harris also predicts the spread of city manager system in the U. S. A. and copying of the system even in other countries. He however sees no hope for its adoption in England. Mr. Warren, however does not seem to agree with this view. He feels that "the growing recognition given to the Cheif Administrative Officer may carry England along the path to the American City Manager System" at any rate in the largest authorities. ('Municipal administration' p. 229). Centralisation in France Mr. Harris, thinks is likely to yield to more democratic process.

Everywhere, union of local authorities are held out as the possible defenders of the independence of local authorities. For example, Association of Italian Communes, is expected to move for liberalisation of local authorities from the fetters imposed during the facists regime.

Union of different local authorities in England are expected to defend inroads upon the powers of local authorities of the class represented by the respective unions. French Association of Mayors is already known to be working strenuously in this direction. The Local Self-Government Institute of Bombay is given credit by Mr. Harris for its work in this direction.

We have taken a rather unusually detailed review of this work and summarised many of the author's paragraphs – because in our opinion, the book is of great interest not only to the students of Comparative Local Government all over the world but, to the large number of general readers who are interested in this subject. The book is bound to be a text-book wherever the subject of Local Government forms part of any syllabus of studies on the subject. There are voluminious works on Local Government in individual countries. These works incidentally give comparisons and contrasts of principles obtaining and methods followed in different countries but there is no single book where each important point is brought under a comparative review by a most competent authority. We congratulate the author who though advanced in age continues to give to the public his best in the domain of Local Self-Government.

RATIONAL PLANNING

By

G. P. Dandekar, B. E., A. M. I. E.

The Dictionary defines an Architect as "one making a *broad and detailed plan* for a desired end." This definition suits my purpose most fittingly, because I am not going to confine myself today to the narrow technical meaning of the words, "Architect & Architecture."

We call a successful man as the Architect of his fortune and we describe God, the Creator, as the Architect of the Universe and the Universe is his work of Architecture. I am therefore going to keep before me the functions of the Architect of our Country as a whole. The above definition says that his chief function is to make a broad and detailed plan because no human activity can take shape without proper planning. Of course, if planning is to be for the attainment of material and moral well-being of every national of our country it must be a Rational or Judicious planning and that is why I would call my to-day's subject "Rational Planning."

With such a wide concept of planning you would not expect me to deal in details about planning of a city like Greater Bombay, which after all forms a small part of the Rational Planning. "Rational Planning" obviously cannot be done piece-meal confined to a limited area only because there are so many interdependent factors impending on each other which must be taken into account.

I would therefore keep in view our country as a whole for today' s discussion. The first step would be to create machinery to take up this planning and I would constitute a country-wide spiral of 'Planning Boards' for tackling all urban and rural areas as follows:—

* Paper read by Mr. G. P. Dandekar, B, E., A. M, I. E. of Bombay Municipality before the Indian Institute of Architects, Bombay on Thursday the 13th October 1949.

Central Planning Board

(for the whole country).

Provincial Planning Board.

District Planning Board.	"Town" Planning Board.	City Planning Board.
Taluka Planning Board		
Village Planning Board.		

The Central Planning Board would consist of a Chairman and one Member of each province making eleven members. This Board will have an executive council consisting of 5 Members with powers to co-opt equal numbers as technical advisers.

This Central Planning Board should plan for the country as a whole on broad lines. It should have a statistical department which should collect reliable vital statistics and it should be able to supply them whenever needed to the Planning Board. Before a broad plan is undertaken by the Central Board it must fix a target of works for a period of say ten years. It should then fix up the financial resources and find out the approximate quantities and varieties of materials, the means of transport, the availability of labour for all such schemes and study the effects of such projects on other nation building activities. It is obvious that these statistics cannot be obtained by the centre without the help and co-operation of Provinces. Each province should therefore have a Provincial Planning Board with suitable number of members and a technical advisory Committee. These Planning Boards should collect all relevant data for the Province and forward them to the Central Planning Board.

Below this Provincial Board there should be Urban and Rural Planning Boards. There should be one Planning Board for each District, city and and town upto a minimum population of 30,000 peoples.

Next in order should be Taluka Rural Planning Boards for a group of villages comprising a population of 30,000 and finally there should be a small board for each village having a population of 4,000 to 5,000.

Thus the smallest unit in this spiral would be the Village Planning Board. This Board should possess the following statistics and information:—

(1) The Village Map, the Taluka and District Map.

(2) Areas of agricultural and non-agricultural lands.

(6) Kinds of crops grown and their value in Rupees.

(4) Amount of land Assessment paid to Government and Local Fund-cess and other taxes such as Village Panchayat Taxes etc.

(5) Population of the village showing men, women and children.

(6) Trades and Industries.

(7) Number of agricultural labour required for cultivating all lands in the village and the actual number available.

(8) The number of residents of each village, who have gone to cities and the figures showing the increase or decrease in such exodus from year to year.

(9) Number of houses in the village and the number of occupants of each house.

(10) The number of vernacular schools for boys and girls and the total number of pupils.

(11) The number of middle schools, if any, and the number of pupils therein.

(12) If a high school is to be started what number of pupils from Local Schools and from surrounding small villages would be available.

(13) If there is any qualified Doctor stationed in the village and what other medical aid like hospital, nursing, medicines is available locally, if not, at what distance it is available from this village.

(14) If there are katcha or pucca village roads connecting this village with other villages or towns or Taluka place and their mileage.

(15) What are the possibilities of Cottage Industries, what small Industries are actually existing and the number of persons employed therein.

These statistics should be maintained up-to-date and once in every three years they should be forwarded by each such village to the Taluka Planning Board.

The Taluka Board should collect its own data for areas not covered by these village Boards and they should further collect the following:—

(1) What educational and medical centres could be located and where, in their jurisdiction.

(2) What kind of major industries or factories could be located so as to enable workers to live in their own village houses and work in such factories, thus avoiding over-crowding and creating housing problems.

(3) What are the conditions of village roads and major roads in in their Taluka and what new means of communications are contemplated. Plans for ten years, programme should be prepared.

Similarly each Town, City and District should have similar, statistics and plans for itself for the next ten years.

These Village, Taluka, Town, City and District plans thus prepared together with all statistics should be forwarded by each to the Provincial Planning Board and each Provincial Board should send the same to the Central Planning Board together with their own plans for major works required in each Province.

The Central Planning Board should then lay before its members and technical advisers all this material who after careful study must be in a position to allocate sufficient funds and major works to be undertaken by each Province, indicating the financial resources from which the expenses are to be met and the period in which the schemes are to be executed.

I would here emphasise that more than 60% of the money spent during the first five years should be allocated to village and Taluka Planning Boards, because if we can properly develop these areas, much of the pressure on Towns and Cities will be lessened, their problems will be fewer and of less magnitude. The chief aim of this rational planning should be to broad base our schemes and to restrict the size and populations of towns and cities.

Out of this 60% expenditure allocated for villages and Talukas a large percentage should be expended on constructing village and other feeder roads, establishing schools and giving medical aid and starting village industries and establishing large factories within Talukas and groups of villages so that at-least 75% of the local population should not feel the necessity of migrating to Towns and Cities.

Some of the modern amenities such as sports, clubs, cinemas and radios etc. should also be provided in these rural areas.

Coming to Towns and Cities their limits of expansion and population should be laid down and when they are reached further expansion should be prevented and other towns and cities should be created leaving a large

green agricultural belt between the old towns and new ones. These old and new towns and cities should be self sufficient in every respect and residents of one should not be allowed or required to go to the others for their means of livelihood or trade. The aim should be to reduce travel between them to the minimum so that acute transport problems may not arise. Special consideration should be given in locating Railway Terminals, Air Ports and large scale Industries of an all-India character.

Over-lapping of efforts in these directions should be checked to conserve essential materials and labour and to keep down scarcity and inflationary tendencies.

I think I have given a general view of Rational Planning which if followed, will ensure all round progress of each individual and eventually of our country as a whole.

I would lastly touch upon the most important factor in planning without which all the above thoughts would be null and void and that is the planning of the moral character of the individual and the community. We see now a days that almost every benevolent scheme of Government or of public bodies does not succeed. Why? Because we have gone down in moral standards. Otherwise how to explain the rampant black-marketting in almost every necessity of life? The greed of the rich, the go slow policy of workers, the production of substandard materials and their indiscriminate use in Buildings in spite of the supervision of qualified Engineers, Architects and Contractors shows how every layer of our society has sunk low.

Let us therefore pause and think within ourselves as to where we are leading our country by our lapses.

Let us therefore plan for an honest life and create a really worthy *Master Plan* for our country which should be our pride and envy of other nations.

The motto of our Character should be "सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्। 'Truth, Purity and Beauty' ".

Bombay's Transport System

By

J. P. L. Shenoy, I. C. S.,

General Manager, B. E. S. & T. Undertaking.

The Bombay Electric Supply and Transport Undertaking was municipalised in August 1947, and is probably the first combined undertaking of its kind to come under the ownership of a Municipal Corporation.

It is a matter of gratification to the citizen of Bombay that they themselves now own the transport undertaking. Any surpluses that accrue from year to year, besides the statutory minimum annual payment to the Municipality of Rs. 10 lakhs go to the Municipality and this enables the Municipality to keep down the level of rates and taxes. It is therefore in the citizens' interest to see that the conductors do not misappropriate revenue and also to so see that every passenger pays his proper fare. The Undertaking do, of course, employ a large number of inspectors to check the work of the conductors, but without public vigilance as well, leakage and loss of revenue would inevitably occur.

Bombay is indeed fortunate in having a well co-ordinated transport system operated by a single municipalised authority. You have only to visit other comparable cities like Calcutta and Madras, where numerous petty private operators have been allowed till recently to run the city's services, to realise the difference between co-ordinated transport and chaotic services running with much unhealthy competition, with profit as the main motive and with service to the public as a very minor consideration.

Bombay is likewise fortunate in having an autonomous statutory Committee in charge of the Electric Supply and Transport Undertaking. We have all the advantages of a business undertaking without any of the dilatoriness and indecision of a wholly municipalised concern. The B. E. S. T. Committee consists of hand-picked businessmen, who are shrewd financiers and, above all, successful businessmen. They realise the value of efficiency, of time, and of expedition in the dispath of business. Above all, they are interested in good results both financially and in providing a good service to the public. Under their able guidance, the B. E. S. T. Undertaking has grown from strength to strength.

During the last decade the population of Bombay City has more than doubled. This has imposed a very severe strain on the City's transport services. In 1947, when the Municipality took over the old B. E. S. T. Co, Ltd., there were only 185 buses (mostly single deckers) on the roads. Two years later *i. e* to day, the Undertaking has as many as 300 vehicles on the road out of a total fleet of 350 vehicles (mostly double deckers). It is a striking tribute to our maintenance and workshop organisation that out of a total of 350 vehicles, we are able to put on the roads every day not less than 300 vehicles. The balance of 50 vehicles represents (1) vehicles withdrawn from service for periodical overhaul or for the major repairs and breakdowns, and (2) old vehicles that are in process of retirement. We reckon on an average life of 10 years for each vehicle. It is gratifying to note that the additional buses which have recently been put on the roads have reduced to a very large extent the long queues that were once a painful sight in the City. Nevertheless, it must be appreciated that no transport undertaking in the world is ever able to cope with its peak traffic. Even London Transport with 7,000 vehicles at its disposal is unable to clear the traffic during the half-hour peaks when offices open and close every day. Staggering of office hours is therefore essential. The public sometimes inquire why the Undertaking do put on extra buses during the two daily peaks. We have to find useful employment for drivers and conductors for eight hours every day and we cannot therefore employ them for just one hour in the morning peak and keep them idle for the rest of the day. Nevertheless, the Undertaking do put on 30 extra vehicles during the peak hours. These are the reserve buses and school buses which take children to school and back during the non-peak hours and go into ordinary passenger service during the peak hours. Further, the peak demand obtains simultaneously throughout the City–everyone wishes to rush home the moment his office closes down and unless the opening hours of the various offices, shops and factories are staggered, this rush to get to work and to get home from work causes a severe strain on the City's transport system and leads to the inevitable queues and congestion.

In 1939, the B. E. S. T. bus fleet consisting of 125 vehicles, mostly single deckers, carried 28 million passengers. In 1949, the Undertaking has 300 buses, double deckers carrying about 142 million passengers.

It might well be asked why the Undertaking extended its services into the suburbs when it was in no position to meet the clamorous and urgent demands of the City. Firstly, it had no intention of taking over the entire suburban services run by the Bandra Bus Company, and indeed it was in no position to do so. This was forced on the Undertaking by the refusal of the Bandra Bus Company to operate any of their services if we were allowed

to operate on their main route. The Undertaking had decided on operating the main route in order to facilitate the dispersal of he City's population. The density of the population in the City has been greatly intensified during the last decade and was further aggravated by the recent influx of refugees. In the interests of health it was essential to encourage people to build houses and live in the suburbs. A through bus service from the City to the suburbs has always proved the most effective inducement to people going out and living in the suburbs. The Undertaking therefore rightly considered this to be a higher priority than meeting fully the traffic demands of the City. Furthermore, as from 1st April, 1950, the suburban area will be merged into Bombay Municipality and the Undertaking would in any case have been expected to provide transport services in those areas. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the 26 double decker buses that serve the Mahim and Jogeshwari run, also serve the City between Mahim and Flora Fountain. Having put into the suburban service 26 double decker and 21 single decker buses, the Undertaking does not propose to put any more buses into the suburban services until the City's demands are adequately met.

The public will no doubt be interested to know what the Undertaking's future plans are for bus transport. Notwithstanding the queues that one still sees during the rush hours, it is found that even the paying routes are reaching saturation point and the Undertaking is operating a fair number of non-paying routes in the interests of the public. The Undertaking would not therefore be justified in launching out on a large expansion programme. It has also to face the possibility of a recession in trade and consequent unemployment. Labourers who at present board a bus or tram for a 300-yard run might prefer to walk the distance and save a few annas thereby. The Undertaking's bus earnings would consequently suffer and the large capital investment in buses might prove to be so much dead capital. The Undertaking must proceed warily and has accordingly decided to expand in small stages by ordering no more than 50 buses at a time and reviewing the position every six months. It is intended at present to operate 300 vehicles in the City and 50 in the suburbs as against to-day's figures of 253 vehicles in the City and 47 in the suburbs. These figures indicate the actual number of vehicles (viz. 300) on the road from day to day.

Passengers sometimes complain that the Undertaking's bus drivers drive dangerously and it must be confessed that the Undertaking's accident record is none too good. It is curious that the accident rate goes up during the week-end. Whether this is because the drivers partake of the carefree holiday atmosphere over the week-end or indulge in wood alcohol one cannot say. A dear old lady complained to one of the conductors that the

driver was driving the vehicle too much fast round the bends and that she had to close her eyes in fear every time the bus went round a corner. The conductor told her that the driver was a mad fellow and was in the habit of closing his own eyes when he went round every corner. But the Undertaking proposes to remedy this state of affairs by giving the drivers a no-accident bonus which they will earn over a 6-months' clean record and lose the moment they have an accident and earn it again by a further period of 6 months' clean driving. It is not sufficient to penalise the reckless driver without at the same time rewarding the good driver.

As a further inducement to good driving and careful handling of vehicles, we propose to allot, as far as practicable, the same vehicle to a particular pair of drivers who will operate this vehicle in shifts every day, except of their weekly-off. We find at present that our drivers do not report to the workshop any defect they might notice in the operation of their vehicle. They do not do so, because they are not at present allotted the same vehicle on succeeding days. Every vehicle has its own idiosyncracies or its personal (though inanimate) equation, and this is best known only to the driver who handles it regularly. If the steering is stiff, or if the brakes are not working well, or if there is any other defect, the driver under the proposed system will be put to the inconvenience of repeatedly operating such a defective vehicle and it would therefore be in his interest to report the defects immediately for attention in the workshop.

In order to prevent our drivers from speeding, we propose to install a 'speedolite' in each vehicle. The red light will come on as a warning the moment the speed limit is exceeded.

The Undertaking also receives numerous complaints of discourtesy shown to passengers by its conductors. We have no less than 100 men up every day at our morning and evening traffic courts for disciplinary action, and if they are found at fault the Undertaking does not hesitate to punish them. We act on the theory that the passenger is always right nevertheless, we often find the passenger at fault. It has been said that people get the sort of Government they deserve. This observation applies with equal truth in relation to public transport— the public usually get the sort of public services they deserve. A disciplined, courteous, considerate and constructively-critical public ensures for itself an efficient and courteous staff of conductors. The conductors dread service along certain routes for they have to deal with a particular section of the people who think they have done the day's good deed if they succeed in saving ½ anna or 1 anna on their fare. There is also that other charitable type of passenger who

hands over one anna to the conductor for a four anna fare and requests the conductor not to issue him a ticket but to keep the anna for himself. There is another class of passenger who tenders a 5-rupee note for a one-anna fare. In most cases, our conductors can't be bothered to dig out change amounting to Rs. 4/15-and the passenger gets away without buying a ticket. When however the conductor presses him for chage he digs into all his pockets or his waistband and produces the odd anna. Whereupon our conductor calls him a 'chor'-which results in a bitter altercation and a strongly worded written complaint to us. Our sympathies in such cases are very largely with the conductors. We have our black sheep among our conductors, but by and large they are not such a bad lot and I have frequently been told by disinterested parties that our conductors behave reasonably well. You have no doubt noticed a marked improvement in their behaviour in recent months and this is the result of tightened discipline and the certainty of punishment. But there is undoubtedly much room for further improvement and this is receiving the attention of the Management. With the active co-opration of the public, it is hoped that our traffic staff will earn the reputation of courtesy and good conduct which they once enjoyed in pre-war days.

Coming now to the finances of bus and tram transport, the common imprssion is that the Undertaking is doing quite well on the financial side. This is incorrect. Our bus earnings (about 105 lakhs) roughly cover our expenditure including the large debt and depreciation charges. It must be emphasised that the capital costs of new buses and trams is about three times as much, as pre-war prices and therefore require larger provision for depreciation. Operation expenses have also risen phenomenally. The old B. E. S. T. Co. operated on pre-war vehicles purchased at pre-war prices with very low capitalisation and debt charges. The old level of fares, which have remained unaltered, was sufficient to cover the low operation and debt charges. Consequently, we make no great profit on our buses —whereas we sustain a large loss of about 24 lakhs per annum on our trams. Our tram earnings are 125 lakhs per annum, but the cost of maintenance of our permanent way, our overhead and our staff is over 150 lakhs per annum. We have always lost heavily on our trams. We have not raised our tram fares since 1907, although we pay every employee of ours a minimum dearness allowance of Rs. 52/- per month in addition to his monthly salary, *i. e.*, every employee gets well over Rs. 100/- per month, whereas we paid them only about Rs. 20/- per month in the good old days. This large commitment on dearness allowance is a war time legacy which will continue to burden our finances for an indefinite numbers of years to come. Nevertheless, it is not proposed to raise our tram fares as it is felt that the tram is, and must always remain, the poor man's mode of convey-

ance. On the contrary, the Undertaking would be prepared to lower our rates and introduce a flat one-anna fare on our trams irrespective of distance provided transfer tickets were abolished. Not even a municipalised undertaking can afford to subsidise tram transport to the extent of 24 lakhs every year. If transfer tickets are abolished, we expect some slight net increase in revenue which will help to reduce the large recurring deficit on the tram side. The following are some of the reasons which impel us to seek the abolition of transfer tickets:—

1. No other transport system in India allows a system of transfer;
2. It leads to abuse — transfer tickets are sometimes sold to others, resulting in loss of revenue to the Undertaking;
3. Delays in punching as many as six holes on each transfer ticket and resultant delays in issue of transfer tickets;
4. Delays in issue lead to ticketless travelling and loss of revenue to the Undertaking;
5. To some extent it fatigues the conductor, makes him quarrelsome and discourteous and efficiency is thereby impaired;
6. Owing to the complicated nature of the transfer system more staff is needed resulting in waste of man power which we can hardly afford particularly when more production is the crying need of the hour;
7. Simplicity for the passenger — a simple one anna fare for adult and half anna for child throughout the system:
8. With the introduction of a flat rate of fare of one anna for adult and half anna for children throughout our entire system our tramways fares which are already the cheapest in the world will become even cheaper.

If a dispassionate view is taken, it will be readily appreciated that it will benifit the long distance tram passenger who forms the bulk of tram traffic. Our statistics reveal that only 34% of tram passengers avail of the facility of transfer tickets. A beneficient scheme of this nature is bound to affect a small minority adversely. Nevertheless, in the larger interests of the public and in order to provide an efficient service, it is essential that this minority should make some sacrifices. If hower the abolition of transfer tickets is achieved, we shall endeavour to run as many through services as possible so as to avoid the necessity of transfers. This involves considerable capital expenditure in laying new through routes.

It must be emphasised that the absence of profits on the transport side of our Undertaking is not the result of municipalisation. The old B. E. S. T. Co. Ltd., likewise lost heavily on public transport but was able to more than balance this loss by the profits they made on the Electric Supply side. We still make profits on the Electric Supply section and this enables us to make the statutory annual payment of 10 lakhs to the Municipality and to remit in addition a small surplus to the Municipality every year. Nevertheless, it will be our constant endeavour to increase our transport revenues by more rigorous checks on leakages of revenue and on ticketless travel, while at the same time reducing our expenditure to the minimum. We are not utilising our staff to the best advantage owing to indequate supervision. So long as our staff of inspectors and ticket examiners are recruited by promotion from the driver-cum-conductor class of employees, we cannot expect them to be in a position to exercise adequate control or discipline over their own one-time colleagues. We propose to remedy this state of affairs shortly by methods which it is not expedient to reveal at present.

As regards the Undertaking's tram system, it had 250 units and 30 trailers on the roads in 1947 when the Municipality took over. We now have 275 units and 30 trailers. In 1939 we carried 98 million passengers in our trams. In 1949, we will have carried 183 million passengers. All the 25 Amercian tram cars recently purchased are now on the roads. We also have on order 30 new tram chassis on which we will build D. D. bodies. We cannot operate more than 330/350 trams on our existing 29-mile of tram tracks, nor do we propose to extend new tram tracks as the world trend everywhere is away from trams and in favour of buses.

No public transport system could operate efficiently without a well-equipped and well-organised workshop. Our tram workshop is very well-equipped and can undertake almost every type of tram work short of building a new tram car. We build all our tram bodies in our workshop, rewind electric motors and perform a host of complicated engineering operations. This not only reduces our dependence on imports but furnishes useful training to our mechanics, all of whom are raw men who leran their various trades at our expense. As an inducement to better output, we have introduced the Bedeaux system in some of our oprations which lend themselves to the application of this system and the good worker can earn a very substantial wage in proportion to his capacity and output.

Our bus workshop buiding has just been completed and will soon be the best equipped Bus Workshop in India. Good and adequate maintenance

is the backbone of any efficient transport system. In addition to good maintenance, however, we should be eqipped to carry out complete overhaul of all our vehicles and our old workshop is already well eqipped for this purpose although it is much too small to cater to our present needs. With periodic overhauling we have succeeded in extending the useful life of some of our vehicles from ten to even seventeen years of regular service.

Standardisation of one type of bus or tram is most essential. There are some transport undertakings in India that have as many as ten different makes of vehicles. This is most unsatisfactory from the point of maintenance and of spare parts. Jigs and fixtures suitable for many sizes and shapes of vehicles are a most expensive business and should be avoided at all costs. On our bus side we have standardised on the Gardner engine with the Daimler chassis. The Gardner engine is possibly the best diesel bus engine in the world and we have been entirely satisfied with its performance. It is most important however that manufacturers of chassis and engines should carry a large stock of spares and servicing facilities in India and it is only manufacturers that are prepared to comply with these essential requirements that will receive our consideration in future.

To sum up, although we are not indifferent to profits, our transport system both buses and trams works at a loss. We believe, however, that if we could prevent leakages of revenue and ticketless traffic, our transport could show a small margin of profit, particularly on the bus side. The B. E. S. T. transport charges are possibly the cheapest in the world having in view the type of comfortable service provided. Our bus rates are on the basis of seven pies per mile, whereas a passenger could travel a distance of five miles for one anna. With rising costs all round, we are unique in that we have not raised our bus or tram fares for the last twenty years. Nevertheless, we have provided and shall continue to provide a good and efficient service to the public of this City. The congestion in our buses and trams is due largely to the fact that the labouring classes who were accustomed to walk to the workshops and factories have not got into the habit of using buses and trams for even short distances. This is largely because we have not raised our fares. Nevertheless, it is a good sign of a rising standard of living among our labourers and is not a thing to be discouraged. On the other hand, we are painlfuly conscious of our shortcomings, which we trust will be gradually overcome with the co-operation of the public in maintaining order and helping our staff in the difficult duties they have to discharge.

PUBLIC HEALTH
&
ENVIRONMENTAL HYGIENE

By

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"The term 'health' implies more than an absence of sickness in the individual and indicates a state of harmonious functioning of the body and mind in relation to his physical and social environment so as to enable him to enjoy life to the fullest possible extent and to reach his maximum level of productive capacity".

The Government of India realizing the low state of public health in our country, as reflected in wide prevalence of diseases and consequent high rate of mortality in the community as a whole and particularly among such vulnerable groups as children and women in the reproductive age period, appointed in October 1943 the 'Health Survey & Development Committee' to carry out a survey of the whole field of public health and medical relief with a view to make plans for the improvement of public health services. The Committee was asked to review primarily all activities falling within the scope of health administration including all factors which have a direct and indirect bearing on the health of the community and to suggest the plans, short-term and long-term, for the improvement of the public health for the consideration of Government. This Committee submitted its report in 1946, but so far no action has been taken by the Government of India or the Provinces to implement its recommendations. It is therefore feared that for want of 'finance' public health is likely to be allowed a very low priority in the 'National Planning' of the country.

What were the findings of this Committee regarding the present state of **Public Health**? They found that India still continued to be one of the

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* Talk given by Mr. Modak at the Lecture Hall of The Local Self-Government Institute under the auspices of the Indian Town and Country Planning Association on 18-10-1945.

reservoirs of preventible diseases like Malaria, Small-pox, Typhoid and the main reservoir for Plague and Cholera and that the rate of mortality due to them was heavy. Plague took a toll of about 40,000 persons per year, Cholera 47,000, Small-pox 70,000. Over 100 millions suffered from Malaria and the number of deaths due to this disease was about 2 millions per annum i. e. 8 persons per 1000. Tuberculosis was on the increase. The average annual deaths due to the same numbered about 500,000 per annum against a figure of one million for the whole world. They estimated that there were over 2½ million open cases in the country who were continually disseminating infection amongst those, with whom, they came in contact. The rate of infantile mortality was 158 per 1000 in 1937, the rate for England and Wales, U. S. A. and Newzealand for the year 1925 being 75, 71.5 and 39.36 per 1000 respectively. This rate has been considerably lowered in those countries in recent years. According to the Committee, atleast 50% of the existing mortality is preventible and should be prevented.

Cholera, Plague and Typhoid have been more or less wiped out in Great Britain, U. S. A. and some other western countries, by the adoption of suitable health measures, falling under the category of environmental hygiene. The improvement in environment and curative health services has resulted in increasing the expectation of life at birth. In India, it is found to be 20.91 years for males and 26.56 for females. The corresponding figures for Newzealand being 65.04 and 67.88, for Australia 63.48 and 67.14, for England & Wales 58.74 and 62.88 and for Germany 59.86 and 62.75 respectively.

Typhoid, Dysentry and Cholera have their origin in impurity of water supply and inefficiency or absence of sewerage and sewage disposal. Plague has it soccurence in slums and badly built grain stores and shops. Malaria is closely related to the sites selected for 'Housing', places of work and the existence of ponds, stagnant pools of water and irrigation areas close-by. Tuberculosis is connected with bad housing, over-crowding and insanitary and congested residential areas.

The Committee also found that existing organizations for curative and preventive health work were altogether inadequate for the tasks with which they were confronted on the medical side and that the existing staff was hardly able to do anything more than struggle with the large number of patients crowding into hospitals and dispensaries. On the public health side, the energies of the skeleton staff employed in the provinces was concerned mainly with the measures for the control of epidemic diseases and even this task was being performed with insufficient results.

Upto now, most of the public health activities in India are connected with the curative side and very little is being done to encourage the improvement of environment. Experience has demonstrated that both the sides of Public Health, preventive and curative, must work together and the former if given priority over the latter, considerable improvement in Public Health would take place. This fact has also been admitted by the Health Survey and Development Committee who write: "the creation and maintenance of an environment conducive to healthful living may be considered to be of even greater importance because in the absence of such provision, the services rendered by the Doctor, Nurse and other members of the health organization will largely fail to produce the desired results. 'In the compaign for improved health, drugs, vaccines and sera can in no way replace such essentials as hygienic home, good food, fresh air and safe water supply".

In this connection, the following observations of the National Health Services Commission (South Africa) are also very interesting:—

"The medical men have not the layman's high regard for the hospital as an instrument of health. The provision of mere doctoring is futile without drastic improvements in those basic, promotive and protective requirements of non-personal health services and that a hospital is a costly monument of the failure of preventive medicine, because amongst those who enter its portals, some never leave it alive with many who are victims of bad housing, polluted water, infectious diseases, wrong diet, and ignorance of the natural laws of health".

The British Medical Association has also emphasized "that the health of the people depends primarily upon the social and environmental conditions under which they live and work, upon security against fear and want, upon nutritional standards, upon educational facilities and upon facilities for exercise and leasure".

It is thus obvious that promotion and preservation of public health has to be tackled simultaneously from two fronts - preventive and curative. Unfortunately, in India, as pointed out before the preventive side has received very little attention as compared to the curative side. Other countries tackled preventive side first as they were convinced that it was much better to remove the cause of disease by taking adequate measures than to allow an individual to fall ill and then treat him in a hospital. Consequently the measures adopted by them took the form of improved sanitation, pure water supply, efficient sewerage and sewage disposal food inspection prevention of pollution, elimination of vectors and the like and control of casual agencies, present in the external physical world of the community.

Preventive side is divided inte (I) preventive medicine and (2) improvement of hygienic environment. It is in the latter sphere that the public health Engineer has to play his roll. So far, preventive side (medical & environmental) was considered to be a monopoly of the medical officer of health, but it has now been appreciated that if the work of improvement of the environment is left to the Engineer, he would be in a much better position to carry out sucessfully the work than his professional brother the medical officer of health.

The Health Survey and Development Committee has divided the environmental service into two groups (A) National Planning for towns and country including housing and (B) public health engineering to deal with water supply, general sanitation, including conservancy, drainage, river and beach pollution, control of insects, rodents and other vectors of disease and control on trades dangerous and offensive to the health of the community. The inclusion of items in group (B) is in accordance with morden tendency viz. the functions associated with environmental services should be placed in the hands of an engineer specially trained in the science of environmental hygiene so as to enable the medical officer to concentrate on the preventive and curative medical work. I do not think it necessary to divide environmental services in two groups as done by the Committee. It is possible for a Public Health Engineer to undertake the work falling in Group (A) with the help of a professional Town Planner.

Being convinced of the need of improved environment of the community, Government of India in June 1948 appointed the 'Environmental Hygiene Committee' to consider steps to be taken to implement the recommendations of the Health Survey and Development Committee in regard to the environmental hygiene. This Committee was composed of Engineers and was presided over by a Medical Officer of Health. The terms of reference of the Committee *inter alia* INCLUDED (I) investigation of the whole field of Environmental Hygiene with special reference to town and village planning, housing urban and rural, water supply, general sanitation including conservancy and drainage, prevention of river and beach pollution, control of insect vectors of diseases and regulation of certain trades, industries and occupations, dangerous to health and offensive to the community.

The Committee has recently submitted its report to the Central Ministry of Health and it is hoped that some authoritative statement would be made by the Central Government regarding the position of environmental hygiene in the sphere of public health services. It is likely,

that due to financial stringency and the abnormal and critical times through which we are passing, the Government may defer the implemetnation of the recommendations made by this Committee.

I personally feel that environmental hygiene should be given a very high place in the 'National Planning' because the strength of a nation does not depend upon the absolute number of its population, but on the relative number of those, who are in that positive state of well-being, in which the mind and body are able to function to their fullest capacity. For this reason, public opinion must be created to bring pressure upon Government to give a very high priority to environmental hygiene services to the maximum possible extent even in the days of depression. To achieve our object, we must inculcate principles of healthful living in order to secure full co-operation of the individual in the maintenance of his own health. Without genral education the task of imparting instruction in matters of health cannot be accomplished. The low standard of personal and environmental hygiene found in many large sections of the people in urben and rural areas indicate that the measures so far taken to educate them in the hygienic mode of life will have to be strengthened considerably if their co-operation is to be secured in the demand for more preventive services and to maintain a high standard of community hygiene.

The ingredients of a decnt human environment are many. They cover all the phases of human life from infancy to old age. The home and its surroundings in which an individual is born and grown must be conducive to healthy and comfortable living. It must be capable of giving him privacy and company of fellow beings when desired and he should be protected against infection, contagion, physical hazards, with full security of person and property. This can only be achieved through judicious town and village planning and housing.

The water that he uses for cooking, drinking and cleansing must not only be plentiful but free from impurities likely to endanger his health. To serve this purpose, Water Works Schemes to suit the local condition must be undertaken.

Mere supply of water would not be sufficient. Steps must also be taken to collect and remove from the house waste-products of human habitation in such a manner as not to endanger his health as well as that of the community. For this purpose, efficient public cleansing, sewerage and thorough hygienic disposal of excreta and refuse have to be enforced.

Again, an individual must be given facilities to obtain adequate and nutritious food, milk, beverages and they must be prepared and served

under hygeinic conditions. To achieve this end, control over sanitation of food and drink establishments, markets, slaughter houses, public eating houses, dairies etc. is needed.

His place of work, especially if he is an industrial worker, must have a comfortable atmosphere. It must be adequately lighted and free from health hazards such as dust, smoke, odours, fumes and microbes of diseases to enable him to give the best possible output. This has to be secured by improving the environment of the 'place of work' through industrial hygiene-engineering.

Measures must also be taken to collect and remove factory wastes from the place of work, without causing nuisance and affecting the health of the workers and the community at large. To secure this end, thorough control over pollution of streams, lakes, rivers and beaches is necessary.

To prevent the risk of transferring infection from one person to another particularly at places where people congregate, such as schools, fairs and festivals, places of amusements, public transport vehicles, railway stations, vigilent control over the sanitation of the environment is demanded. Thus, the environment under which an individual is born, grows, schools, eats, drinks, travels, works and relaxes must be free from health hazards and conducive to comfortable and health living and suited to the various phases of human life from infancy to old-age.

Let us now take stock of a few items comprising environmental hygiene services such as town planning and housing, water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal and control of malaria which play a very prominent part in eradicating preventible diseases.

Town planning is not merely a matter of planning streets or placing restrictions on the size of sites for various types of buildings but it is more concerned with the allocation of land to its best economic and beneficial use. It aims at securing proper relation between buildings of different uses and design and endeavours to improve the existing conditions of habitation to ensure that development functions both from the utilitarian and sanitary points of view and is also artistically satisfied. The progress in town-planning has been extremely slow in our country. There are no outstanding examples of new town-ships created in recent years according to the modern conception of Town-Planning except New Delhi. A few town planning schemes have been launched by some Municipalities and Improvement Trusts but they do not fall under the category of new Town-ships. Most of the cities have grown and are still growing in a haphazard manner without

proper and orderly planning. The modern conception of town planning is wanting in their development. Today, we are in the same position, as England found 75 years ago, when that country, took to industrialization. Every possible site on which a building could be put was utilized irrespective of its suitability or otherwise for the purpose. This ultimately resulted in creating 'slums'. The same is happening in almost all the large cities of India. Due to the non-availability of materials during the War period, no new houses could be constructed and this has resulted in creating acute shortage of housing and in most of the Cities a large number of population is living literally on pavements. The quantities of materials required for building construction are not sufficient to meet the requirements of those who want to build and controls had therefore to be introduced. Refugees have added considerably to the problem of housing in towns and cities. Some new town-ships are being created for accommodating them but it is feared that they are not being developed according to the modern conception of town-planning. Here is an opportunity for creating modern town-ships which would serve as examples for others to follow but this oppertunity is unfortunately not being availed of.

The health of urban population has therefore considerably suffered for lack of shelter and adequate sanitary services and also due to overcrowding. The existing essential services like water supply, drainage and refuse collection and disposal have fallen far short of the requirements. Transport facilities have also deteriorated. The existing means of communications being inadequate to cope with the ever increasing traffic, accidents are on the increase. This state of affairs can only be improved by adopting a bold policy in planning. Over-crowding must be removed by shifting population from the congested parts of the city by expanding the city limits and by accommodating the spill-over population in specially planned satellite towns or neighbourhood units which should be self-sufficient and capable of giving full facilities for an individual not only for healthful and comfortable living but also for social welfare.

The gross density of population in new neighbourhood units and suburban planning may vary between 60 and 120 persons per acre depending upon the local conditions and the value of land. The density in existing over crowded towns should be reduced wherever practicable to atleast 200 persons per acre. The roads should be designed to ensure swift movement of traffic consistent with safety. Their widths should be sufficient for segregation of traffic in lanes. Their surfaces should be suitable for the kind of traffic to which they would be subjected. Through roads should not pass through residential areas. Level crossings should be replaced by separation of grades if the volume of traffic is heavy. The existence of

service lanes as seen in the existing towns should be discouraged as far as possible in the new planning as they have proved to be depositories of filth. Parking places, vehicle and bus stations, shelters for bus and tram passengers, pedestrian traffic islands, vehicular round-abouts, stands for petrol pumps, markets, hospitals, schools, theatres etc. should be considered in the planning stage and provided for.

Housing.

On the basis of growth of population in the last ten years and the influx of refugees, it is estimated that about 3 million new houses will be required in large cities and towns to relieve prevailing acute shortage of housing. The Local Bodies and the Improvement Trusts Boards could not make much progress in this direction because the cost of construction, wages of labour and the prices of land have more than trebbled. The economic rent that the occupants of such houses would have to pay would be far in excess of their capacity to pay. Besides, if slump were to set in, the wages of the working and middle class would be difficult for them to to pay the economic rents of new houses. Private enterprize is therefore shy in constructing new houses for the lower-middle and working classes. How are we going to slove this housing problem ? The Government of India has declared that they would be building about 1 million houses for the industrial working class all over the country. They have spent about 40 lakhs of rupees in importing machinery for the manufacture of pre-fab houses. The cost of a pre-fab house having a built-up area of about 300 S. ft. is estimated at about Rs. 2,500/-. This house will however be only a ground floor structure and such houses are suited to places where large areas of land are available at cheaper rates. They would not prove economical in cities like Bombay where the prices of land are very high. The advantage of pre- fab house built with conventional materials is the speed of erection.

In connection with housing, a question is generally asked what percentage of one's income should be spent in rent ? The limit suggested varies from 10 to 15 per cent. of the total earnings of the family. Instead of restricting the expenditure on rent in this way, it would be better if the worker was given a special allowance over his basic wages, which he must spend for accommodation.

It is doubtful whether new houses will be built in the near future and unless this is done there is no prospect of the slums in the cities getting cleared. The existing sub-standard houses in cities have deteriorated on account of scarcity of building materials during the war and thereafter.

They will have to be demolished and replaced by new ones. Unless new houses are built in advance, there is every likelihood of the housing problem being further deteriorating.

The plan should provide for zoning to segregate industrial areas, big transport centres and godowns, dangerous and offensive trades and dairy farms, from residential and business areas. Green belts should be provided to segregate residental area from industrial areas. This aspect of planning has been badly neglected In the past. Zoning helps in the regulation of speculation of land values. Planning of residential areas should ensure a fair mix for all social groups and too much segregation should be avoided. Suitable sites should be earmarked for shopping centres, clubs, parks, playgrounds, hospitals, places of worship, burial grounds and small service industries in residential areas. The open spaces provided for recreation and other purposes should be on the basis of 4 to 6 acres per 1000 persons. The work of planning should be entrusted to those who have the necessary training for this type of work, and are fully conversant with local conditions.

No town planning can be said to be complete without the provision of adequate water supply, efficient drainage both for storm water and sewage, lighting of streets, refuse collection and other services. The cost of these services is disproportionately high in dispersed planning. This factor should not be lost sight of in the planning stage.

There are instances where new townships are being created without provision of adequate water supply and facilities for sewerage and sewage disposal. The development of such townships without essential sanitary services is to be deprecated. Most of the existing towns are suffering from the lack of such services and efforts have to be made to have them introduced as early as possible. Administration of towns and cities in India is in the hands of local bodies who are responsible for health administration in their respective territories. The powers conferred on these bodies in respect of health matters relate to town sanitation, control of infectious diseases, regulation of housing construction, control over purity of food and water supply, abatement of nuisance and registration of vital statistics. The health duties and powers conferred on the different types of local bodies vary to a considerable extent. Municipal authorities have generally larger powers than rural local bodies. The local bodies have not been able to make much progress in the provision of essential sanitary services and amenities due to financial resources in majority of cases being inadequate to provide them. It will be impossible for them to provide sanitary services such as water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal unless they are given grant-in-aid both from the centre and the provinces.

Water Supply.

Only 253 towns out of 1471 existing in 1939 possessed protected water supplies. West Begal, Madras, Bombay, U. P., Mysore and Hyderabad State have comparatively more protected water supplies than Assam, Orissa, Behar and C. P. The population served by these supplies was in 1939 about 48.7 per cent. of the aggregate population of all towns and only about 4.5 per cent. of the total estimated population of British India in that year. The percentage of total population served by protected water supplies in some of the provinces in 1939 was as follows:—

Madras	6.6
Bengal	7.3
U. P.	4.1
North-West Frontier Province	9.0

The expenditure incurred on water suppply scheme during the course of the past 80 years was less than 12 annas per head of the population, and the major portion of it was spent in providing water supplies to large towns. Even where water supplies have been introduced they cannot be said to be satisfactory. They suffer from the following major defects:—

(i) The quantity supplied is inadequate.

(ii) The rate of supply varies from 2 to 25 gallons per head per day;

(iii) The supply is intermittent;

(iv) The pressure at which it is given is also inadequate;

(v) There is no uniform standard as regards quality and it varies from province to province; and

(vi) Regular examination of water served on premises is done only in certain towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Poona in special laboratories.

The Health Survey and Development Committee drew up a planned programme for water supplies. Their target was to provide 50 per cent. population with safe water supplies in 20 years and to extend it to the remaining 50 per cent. in the next 15 years. They recomended that the expenditure should be divided equally between urban and rural supplies, that work on schemes should be commenced only after due investigation and allocation of suitable and adequate sources and that the first five years should be spent in organizing the investigative and executive machinery

and that Water and Drainage Boards should be established in each province consisting mostly of scientists, administration to establish priorities and standards, to promote research, ensure allocation of funds and facilitate continued im lementation of a steady policy by Government in the provision of water supply - and drainage till the goal was reached.

These plans of the Health Survey and Development Committee have neither been accepted by the provinces nor by the Centre. The Health Ministries have not shown sufficient practical interest or initiative in getting funds allotted and securing personnel and materials for promoting them. The Central Government itself has no Public Health Engineer in the Ministry of Health and no system of grants-in-aid or loans to induce provinces to promote new water supplies or improve existing ones. The Madras Water Supply & Drainage Committee has drawn up a plan for provision of water supplies to all urban areas within 10 years but their recommendations have not yet been accepted. Bombay and U. P. have some post-war Schemes to be implemented.

Coming now to villages, they have not much changed. They continue to be the same as they were 50 years before. About 85% of the population of India lives in villages. For the purpose of census villages are defined as 'places with a population of less than 5000.' The population of an average Indian village may be taken at about 500.

The structure of a village has a pattern which varies from province to province. In Mysore & Madras, the structure is well developed into a plan and has streets, temples, grazing grounds, etc. In West Bengal, the village is hebulous collection of houses set amid ponds and served by no roads. Here, one village merges into another and the whole area is under rice cultivation or water. The structure of a village in C. P. and Behar and U. P. is compact and is provided with some sort of streets. The villages of Rajputana and Bombay appear to be congested like towns.

The existing sites of villages were not selected on grounds of sanitary conditions or facilities. Most of the villages have been situated by the side of low lying banks of rivers, open plots at the foot of hills or in the wide gorge of a valley liable to floods. Some of them have been erected on what were formerly swamps of river beds or ruins of old cities. The ground in and around villages is always uneven and rendered more so by the people digging pits to obtain earth for building houses. As no care is taken to fill these hollows, they become receptacles of foul water, filth, garbage and waste water of the kitchens and bath rooms. These inequalities in the ground are also resorted to by the people for natural purposes.

There appears to be no shortage of houses in villages and not much of over-crowding but the houses are ill-ventilated and badly lighted due to inadequacy of windows. Living conditions are not satisfactory. Villagers live in unduly close proximity of animals and the insects and pests are innumerable. According to the survey conducted by Messrs. Lal and Seal of Indian Institute of Hygiene, Calcutta, about 11.6 per cent. of the village population do not enjoy good health.

Most of the rural water supplies are unprotected. The supply of water in villages is obtained mostly from wells, tanks, rivers and streams. Wells dry up in summer in many parts of Deccan, C. P., Berar and Rajputana. Water of some wells is saline. Wells are bably built and the water is mostly contaminated. One member of the family has to spend ones time in finding and fetching water for household purposes, practically for four months of the year. Rivers, tanks and canals are constantly polluted with the result that among the cases of sickness, diarrhoea and dysentry rank next in importance to malaria. Dr. Lall's survey discloses that diarrhoea accounted for 34.5 per cent. and dysentry for 8.8 per cent. of the total sickness in Syngore near Calcutta.

Some incentive for the provision of rural water supply was given by the Government of India by making a grant of Rs. 2 crores in 1935-37 to Provincial Governments to finance rural development schemes. A part of this grant has been spent by provinces to improve rural water supplies. Bengal and Madras have created Rural Water Supply Fund of their own. Bengal has spent about Rs. 50 lakhs in providing a large number of tube wells but it is reported that 50 per cent. of them are not functioning properly for want of proper attention.

It is very difficult to improve planning of the existing villages. If at all they are to be replanned, they must be removed in a majority of cases from the existing sites and located in suitable positions. This, however, is not possible on sentimental grounds and would also not be practicable. In siting a village, the obvious factors controlling its position are farming land, water and accessibility to main roads or sometimes to sea or streams. Less obvious considerations are (1) its exposure to wind and rain, (2) the nature of the ground on which it is to be built and (3) the proximity to stagnant water and places of insect breeding.

Sewerage & Sewage Disposal.

Human excreta provides germs of gastro intestinal diseases and if allowed to lie exposed to places where they can either breed or feed on it, food and drink gets contaminated through them. The pollution of the

soil by the human excreta can also be a very great contributory factor in helminthic infections. Where protected water supplies are installed it is essential to ensure collection and disposal of human excreta without polluting the soil from exposure to flies. The removal of human excreta without pollution of soil or water and exposure to flies is satisfactorily accomplished by providing underground sewerage systems. Again, the progress in this sphere of sanitary services is disappointing. Only 23 cities out of 48 having a population over 100,000 have been sewered and about 12 more of less than 100,000 population enjoy this amenity. All the areas covered by the 23 towns have not been sewered. It is estimated that the total population of India nominally served by sewerage system is not likely to be more than 10 millions out of 320 millions in the country, inspite of the fact that the first sewers were laid in Calcutta as far back as 1867.

There are no means for the disposal of excreta existing in a majority of villages. The latrines do not exist. People answer calls of nature in the fields backyards of houses, wash in tanks and rivers which also used for bath and drinking. It is desirable to insist on the provision of latrines in villages. They should be such that the excreta would be disposed of on site without any risk of transmission hook worm and without exposure to flies and without contaminating the surface water.

Bore hole latrine is found to be suitable for a single family where soil is soft and water table atleast 10 ft. below ground. It is reported to cost about Rs. 12/- or Rs. 2/8/-per head of the population served. It also entails an expenditure of about 13 annas per head per annum for renewing the bore at the end of about two to four years. Where the subsoil water is high, the hole is likely to be filled up soon and it is also likely to splash. To get over this difficulty, mound latrines have been used with success in Ceylon. In this type of latrine an empty tar barell or cement pipe or brick shaft is built on the water logged ground over the shallow bore holes to a height of 3 ft. and the seat is placed above it. Both these latrines can also be used with a water seal plate and flushed out with half a gallon of water. It has been found that this latrine it clean and the excreta is completely out of view and inaccessible to flies. Where more than 10 people are expected to use a latrine one of a cover type is found to be suitable. A pit privy is useful in some situations. It is however a little bit more expensive than the bore hole latrine as special precautions are required to be taken against the collapse of the pit and fly control. Where funds permit, septic tank latrines, absorption pits and trenches should be encouraged. Public latrines have proved unsatisfactory. The villagers have apathy for their use. It is the family latrine that is likely to find favour with them provided it is well attended. It is suggested that Government should construct

bore hole or mound latrines in some villages at their cost so that after finding the benefits derived from their use, the villagers themselves may come forward to build them at their cost.

Improvement of the rural environment cannot be imposed from outside and sustained for long without the active efforts and co-operation of the local people. Imposed improvement from outside on those who are to benefit from it is neither welcome nor appreciated.

Control of Malaria.

According to the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations, about one-third of the total population of the world suffer from this disease every year. In India, it ranks foremost amongst the causes of death.

This disease is more intense in rural areas. It can only be combated by the spread of education among the rural population regarding its causation and methods of its prevention. If it is brought home to the villager that the disease can be stamped out by the execution of minor sanitary works on co-operative basis in the villages such as draining marshes, cleaning channels, filling up gullies where water collects, this will help considerably in combating the disease. Measures like removal of weeds, re-cannalization of dead rivers and oiling operations have been found to be successful.

Some of the Malaria is man made. An Engineer by digging trenches for earth work required for embankments of roads and railways, without taking measures to provide efficient drainage for the removal of rain water collecting in the trenches is responsible for creating favourable conditions for the breeding of malaria mosquitoes. Things have since changed and the Engineer having now learnt the causes of disease and the methods of prevention is now-a-days very careful to see that the earth work or any other engineering work carried out by him does not become a plague-spot of malaria.

In the past, irrigation projects have been found to produce malaria because measures were not taken simultaneously for adequate drainage to prevent the development of marshy conditions. Sukkar Barrage and and Metur Irrigation Projects are examples of this kind. In both the cases, malaria developed on a large scale in the regions which were previously dry and consequently free from the disease. With the advance in knowledge in regard to the causes of malaria and the methods of prevention, this has now become a thing of the past.

The need of assessing malarial implications of proposed Engineering Projects and preventing development of malarial conditions from the beginning of the constructions programme has since been recognized. The Central Water Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission is consulting the Director of Malaria Institute of India regarding measures to be taken for the prevention of the disease in the execution of various irrigation and hydro-electric schemes. Engineers are consulting Malariologist in land reclamation schemes also.

The Expert Committee on Malaria of the World Health Organization held in May 1948 at Washington agrees with the following:—

(i) Measures directed against the mosquito transmission of malaria are, in the existing state of knowledge, the only methods which give permanent control. They should take priority wherever possible.

(ii) Chemotherapy and chemoprophylaxis have an important part in the clinical control of epidemic malaria.

(iii) Chemoprophylaxis, however efficient, can be considered in general only as palliative.

(iv) Preventive drugs have and will retain an important part in personal prophylaxis.

(v) Therapy plays a secondary role in the prevention of malaria.

In the early stage, this disease was controlled by the use of quinine drug but that too was not in sufficient quantities. It is found that the quantity made available for the use of sufferers was about 1/8th of that actually required. After quinine, came the age of plasmoquine, antilarvae oiling and paris-greening. They were all expensive and imperfect. Adult spray killing with pyrethrum extracts came into vogue about 12 years ago and was more successful in many places. It, however, did not give satisfactory results in certain situation and with certain species because its killing effect was quick but not lasting. Then came on the scene D. D. T. which changed the whole picture. According to the Expert Committee on Malaria of the World Health Organization, D. D. T. has so far given the most outstanding performance of all the numerous chemicals in this group of residual insecticides. In the existing circumstances, D. D. T. thus appears to possess many of an ideal insecticide for the control of malaria in that the dosage required it is cheap, has a prolonged residual action, is non-toxic to man and domestic animals and confers collateral public health benefits through the simultaneous destruction of other disease carrying insects. There is a definite and overwhelming evidence that the recently introduced insecticides can be relied upon as a basis for a wide-spread attack on malaria with the

expectation of a significant reduction of morbidity in areas where they are properly applied. This opinion is based on the results available from many countries where D. D. T. has been used as an indoor residual spray and where its effectiveness has been demonstrated against different vector species of anopheline with wide variations in resting and feeding behaviour.

Pure D. D. T. is white crystaline sybstance, density 1.6 gm. per cc., melting point 107 to 108°C. It is stable above this temperature and is unaffected by light, air, water, acids and alkalies. It was discovered as far back as 1874, but it came to be used as insect controller about the year 1942.

D. D. T. also reduces cockroaches and exterminates bugs. It is the one public health service which is readily appreciated even by the illiterate and provides thereby the means of persuading and educating them to carry out improvements in their environment. In the City in areas affected by malaria it is desirable to apply D. D. T. spray to every house periodically like white-washing.

D. D. T. is at present manufactured in U. S. A., U. K. and Switzerland. It is learnt from the quarterly bulletin issued by the Ministry of Industry and Supply that the present requirements of D. D. T. in India are put down by them as 500 tons per annum. This quantity may not be quite sufficient to meet our requirements. It is estimated that about 3000 tons will have to be imported at a cost of about 1.8 million dollars or Rs. 2.69 crores. It is being suggested that at least a plant capable of an out put of 3000 tons should be erected in India as early as possible by Government aid and control. The manufacture of suitable emulsifiers and spraying equipment may follow afterwards, perhaps by private enterprise.

The following remarks made by the Expert Committee of the World Health Organization in this connection goes to support the above suggestion :—

"The manufacture of D. D. T. is at present concentrated in non-malarious parts of the world, whereas in uhe malarious countries where this chemical is most needed there is hardly any local production. In these circumstances, any interference with the free flow of trade through any cause will have disastrous consequences, as severe and epidemic forms of malaria will appear in areas dependent upon control with D. D. T. There is, therefore, an emphatic need for planning and stimulating the production of D. D. T. on a regional basis particularly in the malarious parts of the world.

Some of the Public Health Engineers feel that the work of controlling Malaria instead of being done by the Malarialogists should be entrusted to them. Because mosquito control work includes consideration of civil engineering aspects which an Engineer can carry out better than a Malarialogist with a medical anti-malarialogical back-ground. Drainage, filling of low-laying lands, maintenance and mechanical equipment are some of the aspects. Combined efforts of Engineers, Biologists and Malarialogists are required to stamp out this disease in the shortest time possible with the lowest cost. This has been proved to be so in New Delhi and Mysore. It is, therefore, suggested that Malaria control should be included in the Syllabus of the Engineering Courses. Malaria Engineering does form a integral part of the training in the Public Health Engineering given at the Indian Institute of Hygiene in Calcutta.

Industrial Environment.

It is necessary when considering the health of the worker to think not only of the necessary environment of the factory where he works but also of the environment in which he lives outside the factory. It is, therefore, desirable that the industrial hygiene should include in its broad sense not only the conditions inside the factory but those of housing, water supply etc. outside the factory. Attempts to develop the industrial hygiene, industrial medicine and factory inspection in water-tight compartments without paying any heed to the improvement of housing and living conditions of the worker should be depreciated.

The control of the environment inside the factory is regulated by the Factories Act and carried out by the Factory Inspector. This Act has been revised recently and has come into force from 1st April 1949. The main changes introduced in the revised Act are as follows:-

(1) The Manager of the Factory is required to carry out certain measures of protection, fencing, ventilation, lighting, dust control etc. for the safety and confort of the workers on his own initiative without waiting for the defects and remedies to be pointed out by the Factory Inspector. This is certainly a big advance in the direction of improvement of industrial hygiene but there being few Inspectors, they are not in a position to inspect every factory more than once a year. It is, therefore, necessary to increase their number so that factories could be inspected more often or atleast twice a year. It is, no doubt, that during inspection the Inspectors pay attention to fencing, guarding and white-washing. They also examine various registers showing reports of accidents, payment of wages etc. Dust control, lighting, ventilation etc. are not checked with any degree of

precision for want of requisite standards having been laid down. It is learnt that the Indian Research Fund Association is collecting data concerning the environment of the conditions prevailing in various industries. When this data is collected, it would be possible to devise some minimum standards from such a survey, and incorporate them in the Factories Act for the guidance of the Factory Inspectors. Due to this, constructive suggestions regarding improvement in the above matter, cannot be made by the Factory Inspectors. If, however, necessary equipment is provided and standards are laid down, it would be possible for the Factory Inspectors to judge the conditions prevailing in the factory in regard to these matters.

(2) Conditions on the whole of small factories cannot be said to be satisfactory from the point of industrial hygiene. Usually, while constructing large factories, some sort of planning is done towards making the structure suitable and reasonably confortable for the worker. Such is not, however, the case in small factories such as oil mills, flour mills, small brass and iron factories, smithies, workshops, etc. Some of these factories are located in most unsuitable, dangerous and ill-ventilated slums and corrugated iron sheet sheds. The workers in these buildings are baked in summer, soaked in rains and choked by dust. It is, therefore, suggested that the buildings intended for small factories should be inspected before a license is issued for its working. The diagnosis of the fault in the environment of the industries cannot be done by the ordinary factory doctor who certifies or treats the workers. It can only be done by a team work in collaboration with the highly trained personnel-the Factory Inspector, the specialized Doctor and the Chemist. The correction of the fault in the environment will have to be carried out by those specialising in industrial hygiene engineering. It is, therefore, necessary to give training in indnstrial hygiene to three professions, Doctors, Engineers & Chemists.

It will be obvious from the foregoing that immediate steps are necessary to implement environmental services both in villages and cities without any delay. If immediate steps are not taken, the health of the people may undergo further deterioration.

We find in most of the provinces a tendency for urbanization. It must be checked in time. Otherwise, we shall be faced with the same problem as the Western countries when industrialization started therein in right earnest. In order to improve our standards of living, we must be self-sufficient. New industries must therefore be started to stop import of such goods as can be manufactured by ourselves with the raw materials in hand.

The villager is forced to go to the nearest town as he has no employment for about seven months of the year and whatever he earns by the sale of the crops grown by him on land is not sufficient to maintain himself throughout the year. Cottage industries must therefore be started in villages so as to provide work for the villager when he is unemployed. The location of heavy industries and other industries should be very carefully selected to suit the economic development of the country on the whole. They will naturally be in close proximity of the areas where raw materials are available. It is suggested in this connection, that suitable sites should also be selected for the manufacture of C. I. pipes, steel tubes, galvanized iron pipes, Salt-glazed hardware pipes, D. D. T., chlorine, alum and sanitary fittings as large quantities thereof would be required for pushing through the programme of evironmental hygiene. If these materials are not manufactured in this country, it will not be possible to execute the schemes to the scheduled time for want of materials even when funds are available.

The main obstacle in the implementation of the environmental hygiene programme will be the 'finance'. The duty of providing sanitary services falling under the category of environmental hygiene is by legislation thrown on Local Bodies which come under Local Self-Government. A majority of them have not the necessary funds at their disposal to execute such schemes. Some sort of aid either from the Centre or from the province will be necessary. If capital expenditure is made available, Local Bodies may be able to raise taxes to meet the recurring expenditure on schemes after they are executed. It would also be necessary to lay down that certain percentage of the total income of the Local Bodies including grants-in-aid would be spent on sanitary services. It is found that the expenditure incurred at present by these Bodies is very much less in proportion to their income and the total expenditure incurred on other services. Madras Government has taken a lead in this matter. They have legislated that in the case of major municipalities at least 30 percent of the income from all sources other than government grants and 15 percent in the case of smaller municipalities and Panchayats shall be expended on the advancement of public health. It is seen that the expenditure so far incurred by them on public health activities has been on an average 5% of the total provincial expenditure and on this basis, the cost per capita per annum for health services both preventive and curative works out to 3.4 to 6.2 annas. These figures are very low as compared with those spent in other countries on this account. Great Britain has been spending more than 20% of her total expenditure on health services. For U. S. A. this figure is over 15 percent.

The Health Survey and Development Committee has recommended an expenditure of atleast Rs. 1-4-0 per capita per annum for the next five years and Rs. 2-7-0 per capita for the subsequent five years. According to them, these figures will not bear comparison with the expenditure incurred by other countries even after taking into consideration the low national income of our country.

It is roughly estimated that the cost of providing sanitary services like water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal and collection and disposal of house refuse would on an average amount to Rs. 120 to Rs. 150 per capita depending upon local conditions. The cost of maintenance of the services including interest and sinking fund on the loans raised would roughly amount to an average of Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 per capita per annum. If the Local Bodies have to carry the burden of raising loans for capital expenditure and also for maintaining them after they are executed, they must tax the rate-payers to the extent of Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 per capita yer annum. The actual annual revenue per capita varies between Rs. 3 to Rs. 5. Ways and means must be found out how this revenue can be increased and to what extent.

It is gratifying to note that the Central Ministry of Health has recently set up a committee known as Local Finance Enquiry Committee with the following terms of reference:-

"To enquire into the question of the finances of Local Bodies and to make recommendations for the improvement of local finances and for that purpose (i) to examine whether the existing resources are adequate for the performance of the functions assigned to the Local Bodies and to consider whether and if so what other sources of revenue should be provided; (ii) to examine the methods of Government assistance to Local Bodies and (iii) to examine the existing machinery and methods of assessment and collection of taxes. It is certain that unless finances of Local Bodies are increased, there is no likelihood of any schemes of water supply, sewerage, collection and disposal of refuse being taken in hand by them."

Thus, it may be seen that Environmental Hygiene will considerably mprove public health both of mind and body andany amount of money spent thereon will react very favourably on the country. People will learn what sanitation is and how it affects their well being and how far industry is benefitted to the advantage of the country. A life free from disease and in enjoyment of healthy, happy environment is worth living and much will depend upon people who co-operate with Government and

the Local Bodies to achieve this laudable object Without their active co-operation, it would not be possible for any Government to succeed in implementing environmental hygiene and sanitary works.

What is required is awakening of the civic sense of an individual and when that awakening comes, Government would naturally be compelled to to spend a legitimate share of its revenue on these services. Before closing, I believe that this talk has given some food for the consideration of those present and they would apply their minds to devise ways and means for speedy execution of works pertaining to Environmental Hygiene.

C. P. & BERAR
Municipal Presidents' Conference

A Report & the Presidential address by the Hon'ble, Mr. D. P. Mishra.

"Today the local autonomy of the Municipal Committees of this province was less restricted than the Provincial autonomy enjoyed by the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, but the Provincial Government has never resented the restrictions imposed upon it by the Government of India, as we felt that they were necessary for the larger interests of the country. If the country is to progress harmoniously and planned development is to be achieved, co-ordination of efforts is inevitable which would necessarily involve imposition of restrictions on subordinate agencies", observed Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra, Minister for Local Self-Government, Central Provinces and Berar while inaugurating the second session of the C. P. & Berar Municipal Presidents' Conference at Betul on Saturday November 19, 1949. Municipal Presidents and delegates from all over the province besides a large local audience attended the conference which is being held in a specially built and tastefully decorated shamiana. Pandit R. S. Mishra, Advocate, Nagpur, presided. Prominent among those present were Pt. G. S. Agnihotri, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister and Shri Beharilal Patel, M. L. A.

On behalf of the conference the Hon'ble Minister was welcomed by Dr. Nigam, Chairman of the Reception Committee after which Dr. Rai, President of the Bilaspur Municipal Committee read the Secretary's report. Proceeding Pt. Mishra said, "the municipalities and other Local Self-Government bodies can be real training ground for our future administrators. There is really speaking a dearth of able and trained men in our country. Today if Swaraj must run successfully we shall need good administrators. In democracy the great educative value of the Local Self-Government bodies to the people, cannot be too much emphasised. They give a training in properly casting their votes, and to the representatives, in responsible and constructive thinking-besides a practical training in managing one's

own affairs. Even Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were once presidents of Allahabad and Ahmedabad Municipalities respectively".

Adult Franchise First Introduced in C. P.

Pandit Mishra further set out the various forms reaching reforms introduced in the Municipalities Act during the two Congress Ministries. It was in this province only he said that Adult Franchise was for the first time introduced which example had been followed now by U. P. also.

Another reform was the relaxation in the rigidity of wards thus enabling a candidate from one ward to stand from another. During the second Ministry they had gone ahead with their Municipal reforms and were today almost leading the whole country. Most of the recommendations by 'Local Self Government' Special Committee appointed in 1935 had also been accepted. Provision was made for the election-disputes now to go before the Civil Courts instead of before the Revenue officials. A summary procedure for such disputes was also evolved and provisions for revisions before High Court made. The Municipal President's powers had been increased considerably-such as in matters of appointments, building applications, encroachments, sanitary measures etc. To increase the efficiency of employees, the recruitment through Public Service Commission was being introduced and provision from transfer from one Municipality to another was being made. A Local Self-Government Diploma Course had been started at Nagpur and already 64 students had joined it. Pandit Mishra made an appeal to the Municipalities to give all possible facilities to their employees to join the course which was bound to raise up the whole tone of Municipal administration.

He explained how the ban imposed on Municipal Employees from participating into politics was necessary in the interest of impartiality and neutrality of the services. He further outlined many other important reforms, such as elimination of beggary in certain cities, conversion of notified area committees into Municipalities, encouragement of compost preparation by Municipalities, etc. The Government were already giving grants for waterworks, sewage etc. and advising on town-planning.

Deplores Persistence of Agitational Habits

Referring to certain criticisms made in the speech of the Secretary, Pandit Mishra deplored the merely agitational habits still persisting even after the British had gone. He said that exception was taken to certain restrictions imposed on Municipalities by the Government. But it was forgotten that no longer there were the restrictions imposed by an alien

and autocratic Government. Even the Provincial Government had to put up with restrictions imposed by the centre. They did not only not resent but welcomed them in the larger interest of the country. Unfortunately behind most of the present day criticism Pandit Mishra pointed out, there was a psychology to-lay emphasis more on rights than on duties. The structure of Indian civilisation was essentially based on the concept of duty and in the Sanskrit language there was no word for right.

No Real Conflict Between Janapada and Municipalities

Referring to the supposed conflict between Janapada Sabha and Municipal Committee, Pandit Mishra said that the fear was more imaginary than real. It, however, represented the typical towns-man's attitude towards his village brother. The village man was going to be the master of India's future destiny and could not be talked of patronisingly or lightly. Pandit Mishra also corrected the view that secondary education was Government's responsibility. All over the world, he said, all education excepting the Primary education was managed by the public bodies. Government's responsibility was in respect of primary education alone. In fact, Government were now determined to return to the villages. The maximum of what they took from them and in case of a conflict between the primary and higher education they would throw their whole weight in favour of former.

Economic Crisis All Pervading

Referring to the question of the Municipalities' financial conditions he said that the problem was almost an universal one. The whole country was passing through an economic crisis and the Central and Provincial Governments and Municipalities were all equally passing through a critical period.

No Cause for Despair

He, however, hoped that the Municipalities would not give way to despair and would make the best of what they had. Government were, however not blind to their difficulties and were appointing a committee to investigate ways and means whereby the Municipalities could increase their income. Concluding Pandit Mishra said that there was no conflict or ground for conflict between the Provincial Government and the Municipalities. He assured them that such of the restrictions as fettered their growth would of course be removed when brought to their notice. He also invited them to place their genuine grievances and other difficulties before the Government. He called upon them to work in co-operation and in a constructive spirit in order to build a happy province.

FINANCIAL POSITION OF INDORE MUNICIPALITY

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CHAPTER II

GENERAL

9 From the statements of the different heads of Revenue and Expenditure of the Indore Municipality for the last few years, many interesting conclusions can be drawn.

10. The most remarkable part of the statement is that House Tax, which should form the principal basis of the revenue of any Municipality, for the year 1949/50 is expected to give only 1/10th of the total income. The question is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

11. About 45% of the the total income comes from the Octroi Duty. The place held by it as the source of the highest revenue is unusual. Reliance on Octroi Duty is not too good as the duty will be reduced when prices fall and also when the volume of trade shrinks.

12. With regard to water, the following statement speaks for itself:—

Period	Realisation from all sources	Expenditure in respect of payments to Govt., Establishment and small works etc.	Loss incurred
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1947—48	2,28,255	3,00,666	72,411
1948—49	2,43,482	3,35,627	92,145

(Report dated 29-7-49) The chapter I is introductory and has been omitted in in this article. Ed.

13. This means that the Municipality is incurring a loss of about one lac per year in the matter of water supply, making a free gift to the citizens of Indore. It is a principle of local finance that the service in respect of water, which has very great effect on public health of a city, should not be made more costly and used as a source of substantial revenue. But it is altogether contrary to the principles not merely of finance and bussiness but also of local self-government that a Municipality should make a loss on the supply of water. In a later chapter this problem has been dealt with.

14. Other striking feature of the statement is the very heavy sum spent on Public Health. The figures for 1947-48 are Rs. 4,13,378/. In 1949-50, this figure will be Rs. 6,56,631/—. If this expenditure is supposed to be incurred from the House Tax, then it falls short of House Tax realisation by Rs. 2,06,325/ If it is supposed to be made up from Conservancy Tax, then the Conservancy Tax is only yielding Rs. 7,754/. In other words, here is again a free gift to the citizens of Indore by the Municipality. This is unbusinesslike. In a later chapter, number four, this problem has been dealt with.

15. The Takhat Tax is a peculiarity of Indore. It brings in a of Rs. 14,000/- but it has involved the encroachment of either the street or the foot-path in a city which is a city of narrow streets.

16. The performance and entertainment taxes altogether yielded a sum of Rs. 2,20,432/—in the year 1947-48 and it has increased in the subsequent year to 2,57,000/—. This is a source of revenue which I regard with some misgivings for the future as in the Provinces of India, this is ear-marked for the Provincial Governments who are extremely jealous. The Performance Tax may be continued in the hands of the Municipality but as and when conditions in Madhya Bhrat are equalised with conditions prevailing in other Provinces, I fear that Entertainment Tax would have to be dropped in favour of the Government of Madhya Bharat. The fact that Government before they make any major changes would give some time to the Municipality to adjust, would give some alternative source of tax and would give increased grant from Provincial Grants, is not helpful. Foresight demands that this matter should be kept in mind from now and suitable adjustments thought of.

17 The Indore Municipality is lucky in having property and in deriving a revenue of Rs. 1,73,265/—in 1947-48 and Rs.1,68,750/-in 1948-49, which may be regarded as a return to the capital engaged rather than in the nature of tax. This is a source of strength to the Municipality. Attempt should be made to see whether the revenue so derived could not be increased. Under the scheme proposed in Chapter Nine, if more lands are placed

at the disposal of the Municipality, this source of revenue should substantially increase.

18 On the expenditure side, the cost of general administration has not merely increased but the obligations for pension and gratuity and the special allowance has brought up the total cost of direct administration to Rs. 4½ lacs for 1947-48. The Municipal Councillors should seriously consider whether there is scope for retrenchment in this field. As prices go down, it is possible that the 'dearness allowance' now given may be reduced but that position is still far off.

19. On the expenditure side will be noticed a head of expenditure which has been called 'Loan Account'. Under this, a provision of Rs. 24,000 appears for repayment of Municipal loan of Rs. 4 lacs. Under this head, very heavy and substantial payments will have to be made in future. This topic is dealt with in Chapter Ten.

20. The opening balance of the Municipality for last ten years has been as follows:—

YEAR	AMOUNT
1-10-1939	Rs. 94,901
1-10-1940	" 1,00,339
1-10-1941	" 1,50,735
1-10-1942	" 2,92,504
1-10-1943	" 5,51,516
1-10-1944	" 6,65,101
1-10-1945	" 7,15,215
1-10-1946	" 8,37,643
1-10-1947	" 8,43,462
1-10-1948	" 7,06,313
1-10-1949	" 7,90,254

21. This is slightly on the excess side. I recommend that the Municipality should make arrangements with the Imperial Bank, which will give them an over draft of 3 to 4 lacs of rupees, to meet emergency expenditure during those periods when tax collection is slack and there is an immediate need of funds to meet the current expenses. After this is done the current balance carried may be safely reduced to the requirement for one month instead of three months as at present. The present understanding that one-fourth of the total revenue must be carried as cash (in some years it has been more than this) should be set aside and arrangements made as indicated above. This will save the Municipality interest charges on four to five lacs, at present unnecessarily incurred.

22. With regards to arrears, the position will be seen from the following table:—

Heads	Arrears on 1-10-1948	Arrears on 1-4-1949
1	2	3
	Rs.	Rs.
House Tax	61,870	57,820
Water Tax	4,374	12,177
Conservancy Tax	4,240	4,226
Takhat Tax	3,699	2,834
Motor Tax	6,021	8,205
Rent of Municipal Buildings	5,556	7,651
Ground Rent	47,443	59,410
Rent of Siyaganj Patdi	728	1,861
Rent of Huts	846	2,256
Rent of Municipal Gumtees and Sheds.	6,237	1,947
Total	Rs. 1,41,014	Rs. 1,58,387

23. Owing to change of Financial Year the arrears appear to be heavy so far as House Tax is concerned but I am assured that it will be less in future.

24. The Municipality is maintaining and should continue to maintain a record of owners of property who are liable for Municipal taxes. If a man sells his property, it would be in his own interest to have the change recorded in the Municipal book. In any case, when a new owner comes with the documents to have his name inscribed in the Municipal books, it should be done only if there are no arrears of Municipal taxes due in respect of that property. Similarly and more particularly on new houses, water connections should not be given unless evidence is produced of all outstanding Municipal dues having been paid.

25. Municipal Taxes are payable strictly in advance at the beginning of the new year. Such advance payments are assisted by grants of rebates by the Municipality. The process of enforcing recovery of arrears was described to me and it appears satisfactory. The amount of arrears in the light of these remarks must not be regarded as unduly high.

26. Ground Rents, which are strictly speaking not taxes, must be made payble in advance, in the case of future leases—whether temporary or permanent—in respect of the period for which the rents are demanded. In the case of existing leases, Municipal rights of re-entry in the of case non-payment should be examined and should be strictly enforced.

CHAPTER III.

HOUSE TAX

27. As a general rule, the House Tax should form the backbone of a Municipality's income, but that is not so in Indore, where the House Tax yields only Rs. 3 lacs out of a total income of Rs. 30 lacs.

28. According to Section 21 (i), the House Tax is leviable as follows:—

> "A tax on houses, buildings or lands situated within the limits of the Municipality, not exceeding twelve and a half per centum of the gross annual letting value of the houses, buildings or lands."

29. In Indore, the assessment is generally on the basis of actual rent received. This is necessarily low on account of the Rent Control Order. Even properties occupied by owners are assessed on the basis of the actual low rent prevailing in the locality.

30. I may point out that the Act permits the Municipality to base the tax payable on "*the amount at which a property may be reasonably expected to be let.*" (Section 22 (b)). In other words, the Act has deliberately created as the basis of tax an *estimated* amount and not the *actual* amount.

31. As in other places in India, the Municipal Authorities in Indore have been under the impression that they could not revise the assessment of any property except after the passage of five years but on a close examination, I do not find that this is the case. House Tax Bye-law No. 16 which is relevant in this connection reads as under:

> "16: Subject to such amendments as may thereafter be duly made, the tax so assessed and confirmed shall be deemed to be payable from the 1st of October 1914, and the assessment shall remain in force for a period of five years from the 1st of October 1914. At the end of that period, the Municipality may either prolong the assessment for further period or make a fresh assessment."

32. In my opinion, the above Bye-law contemplates a five year period only at the beginning, namely, from 1914 to 1919 and thereafter gives the Municipality the power to make fresh assessment. This power is free and unfettered. As a matter of fact, the unsuccessful attempt of the Municipal

Commissioner, to get the following rule revised, would show that Government authorities have also erred in assuming that the five year period was binding on the Municipality after 1919 (vide General Minister's Office Notification No. 128, Mpl., dated 13th January 1930).

33. The original Bye-law stood as :

"17 : If, during the currency of the assessment any new house or building is constructed or any alteration or improvement is made to any house or building or land which may enhance the annual letting value of the same, the Municipality may cause such house, building or land to be valued or revalued as the case may be and such valuation shall remain in force, and the tax shall be assessed according to it, until the expiry of the period of assessment or until within that period another substantial alteration or improvement is made in which case the building or land may be valued again."

34. The Commissioner suggested in 1943 an amendment to the above as follows :

"If during the currency of the assessment, any new house or building is constructed or any alteration or improvement is made to any house or building or land which may enhance the letting value of the same, *or if the present valuation of any house or building or land appears to be low to the Municipal Commissioner, or if it is found that any house or building or land has been erroneously assessed through accident or fraud or mistake or mis-representation*, the Municipality may cause such house or building or land to be valued or re-valued as the case may be and such valuation shall remain in force and the tax shall be assessed according to it, until the expiry of the period of assessment or *until within that period the annual letting value of that house or building or land further increase or* another substantial alteration or improvement is made in which case the house or building or land may be valued again."

35. The modification which Government accepted then was :

"If during the currency of the assessment any new house or building is constructed or any alteration or improvement is made to any house or building or land which may enhance the annual letting value of the same or in cases where assessment has been obtained through fraud, accident or mistake, the Municipality may cause such houses, buildings or land to be valued or re-valued as the case may be and such valuation shall remain in force and the tax shall be assessed according to it, until the expiry of the period of assessment or until within that period another substantial alteration or improvement is made in which case the building or land may be valued again, provided that no such alteration in the assessment shall be made unless one month's notice is given to the person affected thereby".

36. It is to be regretted that Government did not give sanction to a revision of assessment, whenever the increased rent justified it. This decision is unfavourable to the Municipality in financial matters and should be revoked at the earliest opportunity. In my opinion already expressed, the idea of a fixed five year period was not provided in the House Tax Bye-law No. 16. A fixed period of assessment is in any case a notion borrowed from Land Revenue Practice. In modern Municipal finance the power of the Municipality to collect House Tax according to the Act under which the Municipality functions is not restricted in the manner in which it has been restricted in Indore, involving a loss of very large sum of money to the Municipality for the last eight years.

37. As the original Bye-law No. 16 did not contemplate a fixed period of revision, the Municipal Council has the power of making a revision at any time and not merely on some of the grounds given above. In Bombay, even in the middle of the year, if enhanced rent is realised by a owner, enhanced taxes have to be paid by him. Revision every five years is a convenience but it is not a necessity. The requirements of finance demand that those on whom the burden of Municipal taxes should justly fall, should not be able to evade it on the plea that it is not yet time for a re-assessment. I recommend that the law should be altered accordingly if in the opinion of Government's Legal Advisers the alteration is necessary. I do not think it is necessary. I think the Municipal Council can with the knowledge and approval of Government proceed to re-assess every property immediately and then re-assess at any time and for any reason there is an enhancement in the actual rent.

38. I would go further and say that Municipality is competent in the process of re-assessment in taking as the basis not the actual rent but "the amount at which the property may be reasonably expected to be let".

39. An indication of such an amount is available from the letting value of new properties (or even sub-letting rents in old properties). Some reduction could be given in such letting value for the immediate urgency and scarcity of space but the basis of assessment on the footing of 'expected to let' cannot be in most cases less than 50% over the actual rent.

40. The Municipal Council ought to be very jealous of the powers given to it by the Act. The Act gives the power of levying Municipal dues not merely on the actual rents but on "the amount at which the property may be reasonably expected to be let". Such an estimated amount would enhance the House Tax in Indore to something unexpectedly high. I have, therefore, suggested that as a basis of re-assessment, the Municipality should take 50% more than the actual rent and then keep to the five year period.

41. If this alternative does not appeal to the Municipality and to the Government of Madhya Bharat, I suggest that the five year rule should be abandoned in practice and Bye-law No. 17 of House Tax Bye-laws should be modified as already stated in paragraph 37 above, so as to give the Municipal Commissioner the power to enhance the assessment of a property up to the actual rent, no matter for what reason the rent may have increased.

42. In this case the increased basis of assessment need not be 50% over the actual rent. It can be only the actual rent subject to correction and increase at any time, even in the middle of the year.

43. One useful indication of what the rent at which the property can be reasonably expected to be let can be the sub-letting value. Whenever a property is sub-let, the Municipal Authorities should revise the assessment on the basis of the sub-let value as that is the figure at which the property has been actually let though the money does not fall into the hands of the owner of the property. While the Rent Act lasts, if all extra taxation is passed on to the tenant, this will not be unfair to any party but would help to build up House Tax as the most important source of revenue to the Municipality.

44. The Municipality should immediately approach the Government for directions whether the re-assessment should be on the basis of actual rents with a change in By-law No. 17 permitting the Municipality to revise assessment any time or whether it should be on the basis of estimated letting value (which would in practice be much more than actual) with a restriction that the assessment should remain for five years. I recommend the first alternative because it will not put heavy burden on property owners immediately as the rents have been artificially kept down by the Rent Act since 1943.

45. The Indore House Rent Control Order, 1943, as amended upto 10th May1948, provides under Section 5:

> "The Controller while fixing the fair rent under Clause 4 in relation to a house used for residential purposes shall not permit any landlord to charge a rate of rent which exceeds:

> (i) by more than 35% the rental value as entered or that should have been entered in the current house tax assessment tax-book of the local Municipality".

46. The above clause has been framed without due regard to the Indore Municipal Act, Section 21 (i) which empowers the Municipal Council to impose "A tax on houses, buildings or lands situated within the limits of the Municipality, not exceeding twelve and a half per centum of the gross annual letting value of the houses, buildings or lands". Section 22 defines the 'gross annual letting value at which it may reasonably be expected to let'. But for the intervention of the Rent Control Order, all properties in Indore would be reasonably expected to let at a much higher figure than the 35% provided in the Rent Control Order. The Municipality has a right to re-assess all properties at their reasonable letting value and increasing the taxes, even if the rent is kept down by the Rent Control Order. Even on this 35% increase permitted by Rent Control Order, the Municipality has not been able to collect assessment, because of the wrong idea about five year period of re-assessment.

47. I was told that the main reason why the re-assessment could not take place in 1945 was the interpretation of the Rent Control Order and the wording used therein with reference to the rental value. Whatever the reason may be, the Municipality has lost several lacs of rupees and would have a moral claim against Government for compensation in the form of an increased rent.

48. If Government wish to give relief to the tenants not merely against an increase of rent by the owner of the property but also against an increase of Municipal charges, Government would have to increase the grant given to the Municipality severalfold. Such an action would, however, be not in keeping with the action of Governments in other Provinces in India. I suggest that an increase of Municipal charges be permitted by re-assessment to today's letting value (at which it could be expected to let) and also by an increase of Rs. 2-15-6% in the rate of House Tax, making it 10% instead of Rs. 7-0-6%.

49. The House Tax revenue of Indore is as follows:—

1938-39 —	Rs. 1,18,421	Actuals
1939-40 —	,, 2,08,904	
1940-41 —	,, 1,67,967	
1941-42 —	,, 1,67,069	
1942-43 —	,, 1,84,532	
1943-44 —	,, 1,85,165	
1944-45 —	,, 2,06,162	
1945-46 —	,, 2,01,375	
1946-47 —	,, 2,05,607	
1947-48 —	,, 2,07,053	
1948-49 —	,, 2,40,000	(Based on estimates of six months)
1949-50 —	,, 3,10,000	(Estimated)

50. The revision of assessment was made in 1940 and it is reflected in the figures of 1941. A further increase occurred in June 1948 when the House Tax was raised from Rs. 4-11-0% to Rs. 7-0-6%. The effect of this could be seen in the figures of 1948-49 and 1949-50.

51. I recommend that the re-assessment which had been postponed through a mistaken idea that there could be no revision for five years should be undertaken at once.

52. I recommend that Government should give the loan to the Indore City Municipality of a Senior Officer who will be independent of all local considerations for the purpose of doing the re-assessment of the city and more specifically of the Mills and factories as well as vacant lands. This is of very great importance as experience everywhere shows that the local and permanent Municipal staff are unable to resist pressure and influence from local parties and more specifically from Councillors.

53. For the same reasons and without going specifically into detail, I recommend that the system of appeals against assessments being heard by a Committee of the Municipal Council is unsatisfactory. Public interest often suffers in such a system. The citizen should have some remedy against arbitrary assessment. An appeal against arbitrary assessment should lie in the Civil Court. Any Committee which the Municipal Council appoints for going into assessments should have the power to enhance the assessment in favour of the Municipality but not *vice-versa*.

54. If as recommended by me, the assessment follows actual rent and is revised every year, there would be little scope for appeal on assessment except in owner-occupied houses or in places which are sub-let at a heavier rent than that which the owner declares.

55. Many rents were increased before the Rent Control Order was imposed and many others have been increased subsequently by mutual agreement between the landlord and tenant so that while the owners of property are getting more rent, they are not paying adequately to the Municipality even according to the scale fixed in 1948.

56. I was told by the then President of the Municipality and others that the reassessment would increase the amount of House Tax yield from Rs. 3 lacs to Rs. 6 lacs.

57. Knowing my feeling that the House Tax should be the foundation of revenue of any Municipality and that it was particularly low in Indore many people approached me and requested that any other tax should be

levied but the House Tax should not be increased. I appreciate the reasons behind this request because any increase in House Tax affects capital value of the property.

58. Owners of property have had to suffer one way or the other. Capital invested in any other form was left free by Government but Capital invested in property came in for strict control as to the rents which could be received.

Rent Control

59. The object of the Government in instituting the Rent Control Order was creditable in so far as they wished to help the population against an immediate and heavy increase of rents. But in several provisions of this Order, the tenant whom it was intended to help is not really helped because the conditions favourable for building houses have been destroyed. If it is the intention of the Government to let the savings of people and their capital flow into house building, they should do everything to encourage housing. Inspite of a large amount of paper talk and paper programmes on the subject, hardly the Government of any province has been able to create new houses at any significant rate of output. This is because Government tried to regulate the rents of new buildings. Having faced all difficulties which a builder has got in these days, the owner of the property should be left free to negotiate with a tenant and to give it to him at whatever price he can get. In some cases, new properties are pounced upon by Government who are requisitioning instead of building properties required for their offices and the accommodation of their officers and others. Government have the money, the land and the engineers and they should immediately start on a building scheme or programme atleast to accommodate their own offices and men.

60. Government have not yet regulated the reward for enterprises and investments in hundreds of trading and manufacturing activities but they have been ill-advised to go out of their way to select house-building (which they profess to encourage) for the purpose of severe restrictions as to the reward which the owner will get. This respect for slogans has let Government into attempting the fixing the return in some places in India. According to the Rent Bill now before the Select Committee, Clause 3 (3) (3), it is provided that the return shall be 1/20th or 5%. When it is borne in mind that Government of India themselves have not been able to borrow adequately for their capital requirements at 3% during the last two years (when they have withheld from raising big loans in the market), it would be realised that Government could not have adopted any measure more

effectively discouraging the coming into existence of new houses than this! There are numerous difficulties which a man wishing to build has to face today. There are many kinds of uncertainties and all types of materials are not freely available. A house is also not a permanent property and deteriorates in value. To declare that the builders of new houses should be content with 5% maximum regardless of other circumstances and without *any* provision for depreciation, is likely to prevent building efforts altogether or to drive the builders of new houses into dishonest cooking of accounts.

61. In passing the Rent Acts, Government have taken a step which is fatal to the normal expansion of Municipal revenues. Governmet have not even a workable plan or programme as to when they propose to terminate the Rent Acts. In other words, they have destroyed the enthusiasm and the spring of enterprise which led to the construction of residential houses.

62. The least they could do in Madhya Bharat is to permit free letting out of new property and to let forces of supply and demand to balance themselves no matter how high the rents are. This will induce others who want to earn equally high rents to build new houses. Sometime in due course when the number of houses increases, rents will automatically come down.

Recovery From Tenants ?

63. In any case, the Municipal requirements of finance, which involves an increase in House Tax cannot be put on the owners of existing properties, who under the Rent Control Order are in some cases receiving very inadequate return. I, therefore, recommend that the extra tax payable to the Municipality by an increase of Rs. 2-15-6% should be recoverable from the tenant as had been done in Bombay. This is not an injustice to the tenant either. On a Rs. 100/- rent, the Municipality was getting Rs. 7/-. If the Municipality has to get Rs. 10/- or Rs. 12½ the rent should be increased to the extent of Rs. 103/- to Rs. 105½ but it continues to be controlled at that point against the owner of the property. The tenant should not therefore have any grievance and the owners of the property ought to be reconciled to the increased levy recommended. This is not unusual, as in some Western Countries, all Municipal charges are payable by the tenant.

64. I recommend an increase of Rs. 2-15-6% in the House Tax. I suggest that the increase should be Rs. 2-15-6% to eliminate the present awkward figure of Rs. 7-0-6% and to bring the levy to a round sum easy for purposes of calculation. This will more or less bring the Indore

Municipality in respect of House Tax in line with many other Municipalities of like size in India.

65. According to old assessment, it would only bring Rs. 1½ lacs. According to new assessment, it may be expected to bring Rs. 3 lacs.

66. But this increase should not be brought into effect until after the reassessment has taken place.

67. It is necessary to see how much extra the re-assessment yields. Unless re-assessment is done by an independent officer, I doubt whether the re-assessment would bring in Rs. 3 lacs more, as was indicated to me by some prominent Indore citizens. The Rs. 2-15-6% additional levy is recommended but it need not be put on till after the re-assessment has been made. It will be imperative in due course because Sinking Fund and Interest on Loan accounts and contributions and other obligations will mature and the Municipality will have to find the money for them.

Tax on Vacant Lands

68. Section 21 (i) specifically mentions:—

"A tax on.....lands situated within the limits of the Municipality not exceeding twelve and a half per centum of the gross annual letting value of.....lands".

Section 22 (a) says "In the case of land, the gross annual income at which it may reasonably be expected to let, from year to year".

69. The population of Indore city has been increasing. Large funds have been spent by the Municipality, the Improvement Trust and Government on works which have added to the amenities of the city and have attracted the additional population. As a result of this values of land in and around city have gone up considerably. Of this rise of land values no part at present reaches the Municipality through whose efforts mainly these values have risen. While I do not favour proposals involving confiscation of whole of such rise by a public authority, I recommend that a tax at the full rate of the House Tax should be levied on all vacant lands within the city limits. This will be in the nature of an incentive for more building. It will fall mainly on people who own substantial property in the newly developed areas and on factories and mills, who have impounded an enormous reserve of land intended for expansion. It will also fall on the owners of those agricultural lands, who have under a recent order been permitted to put up buildings on such lands. Those who benefit in this manner ought not to grumble in making legitimate contribution to Munici-

pal revenue. I expect that vigilant collection and assessment at today's value would bring the Municipality a very substantial sum.

70. Where a rule of local authority involves that a man has to keep so much land vacant, that land will not be liable to this tax unless it exceeds the amount which is compulsorily directed to remain vacant. In all other cases, excluding the area on which the building stands, land would be measured and its value estimated and the impost collected as suggested above. There is full legislative authority for this purpose.

71. I wish to see the amount of House Tax reach the figure of Rs. 10 lacs as early as possible with the increase levied on land and the re-assessment of factories on a scheme more just to the Municipality than the basis which has been in vogue so far. I expect the figure of Rs. 10 lacs reached perhaps before it is found necessary to increase the rate from 7-6-0% to 10%.

72. Even then, Indore Municipality will be remarkable for the fact that the House Tax bears a relatively small percentage of the total than in any other Municipality of like size in India.

73. I have recommended a diminution in Octroi Duty and I am foreseeing a further diminution as and when conditions arrive until the octroi duty is only collected from articles reaching Indore City by rail. This lightening of the burden of taxation ought to reconcile the people of Indore to an increased House Tax. As a centre of trade, Indore will always hold its own in Madhya Bharat and in the interests of the city, it is better to put the direct levy on property than to rely upon an indirect tax which has the effect of diverting trade from Indore into neighbouring market-towns.

New Taxes

74. The cost of Municipal service has gone up. Important public works have to be undertaken with borrowed capital for which interest, depreciation and sinking fund have to be provided. The Rent Act has the inevitable effect of restricting the expansion of Municipal revenue. I have no alternative but to suggest the following new taxes:—

75. Sections 21 (ii) and (iii) read as follows:

Section 21 (ii): A tax on *persons occupying house, buildings* or lands within the limits of the Municipality according to their circumstances and property within those limits.

Section 21 (iii): A tax on *persons* exercising any *profession* or art or carrying on any *trade* or calling, within the limits of the Municipality.

76. These sections have not hitherto been utilised by the Municipality. Before an appeal is made to Government to help the Municipality financially, it is necessary for the Municipal Council to raise what they can by using the powers which are already given to them.

77. To correct the disadvantages arising out of imposition of Rent Act on Municipal finance, is also one of the objectives of the tax which I recommend hereunder:—

1. Every company, firm or individual engaged in business or trade in Indore, will pay in respect of his business Rs. 100/- per year. (under 21 (iii))

2. Every shop used by business men and professional men will pay to the Municipality Rs. 50/- a year. (under 21 (ii))

3. Every shop where goods are sold will pay Rs. 50/- per year to the Municipality. (under 21 (ii))

NOTE:—A party exposing goods in the weekly 'Hat' is not a shop.

4. All shops in Bada Sarafa and Chhota Sarafa and such other streets as the Municipality may determine will however pay Rs. 100/- per year to the Municipality. [under 21 (ii)].

Provided that the Municipal Commissioner may reduce this sum only to Rs. 12/- in the case of petty shops at his discretion.

Provided further that all big shops will have to pay Rs. 100/- per year. The standard to determine which is a big shop willl be what the Municipal Council fixes, such as, the frontage of more than 9 ft. or any other suitable stand.

No individual shall be liable to pay both the above imposts, except in Bada and Chhota Sarafa, if he is the sole owner of the place of business as well as the shop. But in the case of Joint Stock Companies and Partnerships payments would have to be made in respect of both the shop and the place of business.

If business is carried on from residential houses, it will also be liable to the levy of the shop tax.

5. Every Chamber of Commerce, business association, exchange or association of merchants or professional men should pay Rs. 150/- per year to the Municipality.

6. All men engaged in a profession, a list of which will be included in a schedule will be liable to pay a sum of Rs. 50/- per year to Municipality under 21(iii). This schedule would include doctors, lawyers, dentists, architects, licenced brokers, etc., but not public employees.

7. The Municipality may also institute a second schedule in which the parties should be called upon to pay Rs. 25/- per year to the Municipality which would include nurses, actors, barbers, washermen, etc.

8. Every association or club, by whatever name they are called, such as Samaj, Society, etc. whose object is not commercial, will pay Rs. 100/- per year to the Municipality, but the Municipal Commissioner may put smaller establishments of this kind in a lower schedule of Rs. 25/- only per year.

78. In the case of sweet-shops, restaurants and hotels, charges have been increased in 1948 and I do not therefore suggest any additional charges as such, except that they would be liable to business, trade or shop taxes in addition to the increased charges levied on them in 1948. The licence system in their case should be carefully re-examined with a view to compose conditions of cleanliness in the interest of public health and periodical inspection should be made. In the case of a levy on hotels and sweet-shops, the principle idea is not to raise money but should be to guard public health.

Suggestions Turned Down

79. Several members of the Municipality had ideas about increasing taxes other than House-tax which they seemed to be reluctant, and they made suggestions which I had to definitely reject as being constitutionally improper. It was suggested that a small levy should be made on the output of Indore mills cloth. This would be Excise Duty which under the Indian Constitution is reserved to the Central Government alone. Similarly, it was suggested that a small Sales Tax should be imposed by the Municipality. This also could not be done as Sales Tax is reserved for Provincial Governments, and in the case of Indore for the Madhya Bharat Government. It was put forward that the Terminal Tax was better than Octroi Duty. Since the Act of 1935, Terminal Tax is no longer available far levy by local bodies. It is continued only in the case of some Municipalities who were levying it before 1935.

Takhat Tax

80. The 'Takhat Tax' should be abolished. The open drain should covered at foot-path level and the space used for foot path. This ould improve the width of the road, reduce crowding and would be good om the traffic points of view. The projections are ugly. The amount alised by tax is ridiculously low.

CHAPTER IV

CONSERVANCY AND PUBLIC HEALTH

81. Indore Municipality is spending Rs. 5½ lacs on this important subject per year and is receiving by way of conservancy tax only a sum of Rs. 8,000/- ! This small levy is on the basis of charges fixed in 1926, since which date the cost of services has gone up enormously!

82. Section 21 (ix) permits of a Conservancy Tax to be taken having regard to the services given :

> Section 21 (ix) :—A latrine or *conservancy tax upon private latrines* or cesspools or upon premises or compounds cleansed by Municipal servants, or a tax for the maintenance of public latrines.

83. In 1909, when the Municipal Act was passed, the question of elaborate and expensive underground drains did not arise. Since then the drainage scheme has already been undertaken. Some sections are already operating. More and more part of the city will be served by the drain in due course. Sinking Fund and interest charges have become payable and the amount will increase as time goes on. To meet the extra cost which is likely to fall hereafter on the Municipality as well as to (partially) cover the deficiency in the present cut lay on public health, it is necessary for the Municipality to levy a Conservancy Tax as indicated below. I have kept in mind the limitations provided in Section 23 in fixing the amount of the levy.

84. The expenditure after conservancy and public health work which the Municipality is incurring at present (1449-50) is Rs, 6,56,000/-. The annual contribution of Rs. 2 lacs towards the underground drainage work will start during the year payable for 10 years. After this the Municipality will have to further provide for Rs. 2 lacs a year towards the repayment of an amount of Rs. 20 lacs which the Government will be advancing to the Municipality. Interest charges which are estimated at an average of Rs. 20,000/- per year will be also payable from this year. As against the total of Rs. 8,76,000/- a year which the Municipality will be earmarking for conservancy and public health, the conservancy tax recommended by me will be bringing in a sum of Rs. 3 lacs only.

85. I, therefore, suggest a special levy of 4% as Conservancy charges on all properties (i. e. Houses and lands) in Indore. The rate has been kept

specially low, in order to avoid a sudden and heavy increase of local taxes, but after 12 months, the position may be re-considered. It is necessary that the Conservancy Tax should ultimately bring the total amount spent for the purpose by the Municipality.

Jagirdari System

86. This tax will involve a direct nexus between the Municipality and the owners of properties. Having become liable to pay the Conservancy Tax, they will be entitled to conservancy service wherever the drainage connection has not yet been given. Municipality must prepare to give such service, if and when called upon by the owner of a property.

87. Having become entitled to conservancy service from Municipality, the owners would naturally resent the continuation of what is known as the 'Jagirdari' system.

88. In several places in Rajputana and U. P., a similar system is reported to exist but otherwise this is a local, social and psychological problem. The solution of it solely on economic grounds and by pure administration methods would create irritation and discontent which must be avoided.

89. I have every sympathy for the hereditary workers and sweepers who are doing a class of work where they are not easily replaceable. I recommend that nothing should be done to reduce their earnings individually, that is to say, nobody should earn less than what is Municipality giving for this kind of work but the present system cannot be tolerated any longer. It is against the interest of society. It is opposed to the fundamental notion of a Municipality by which conservancy and public health becomes a collective affair. It would be as absurd as the suggestion that everybody should repair the road in front of his house and put light on the street. Similarly no property owner can be left to get his cleaning up done by himself.

90. In practice, it was reported to me that there are not enough adequate men employed by Jagirdars. They are employing little children ! The cleaning is not thorough and foul material is sometimes being emptied in the open still-water drains. This is a state of affair which cannot be continued any longer without grave danger to the health of the city. The fact that no serious epidemics have hitherto broken out may be due to Indore being on high altitude or some other advantageous circumstances. But there is no guarantee that, if these conditions are continued, a serious outbreak cannot take place. In fact, members of the Medical Association

who saw me emphasised that the cleaning up of the city and the conservancy was very defective.

91. While all property owners should therefore be liable to Conservancy Tax, the issue between them, Jagirdars and the Municipality can be settled by negotiations. if the Minister for Public Health would invite representatives to a conference and sift the issues. The principal aim should be to get all the workers of the Jagirdari system engaged in the Municipality on the usual Municipal terms.

92. The monopoly right to clean certain streets or certain properties passing in a hereditary manner is as objectionable as the other monopoly rights. That such privileges have become the subject matter of transfer, sale and mortgage offers a peculiar but sad commentary on a social policy, which has failed to adjust itself to modern conditions. I have every sympathy for the poor, particularly because speaking for India as a whole, this kind of service has been hopelessly underpaid in the past. The abolition of the system which I am recommending is not on financial grounds or with any desire to save money. In the final adjustment, if the Municipality has to spend a little more money, to get contented and competent workers, let them do so. But this work must be done in future by people, who are under the control of and the employment of the Muuicipality. In modern urban life, conservancy is a collective affair to be handled by the Municipality.

93. I was told that the abolition of the Jagirdari system would place upon the Municipality the liability for financial compensation. This is absurd because the Municipality is only going to do the function for which it has been created in law and carrying out obligations with which it has been charged, namely, to attend to conservancy and public health of Indore. The levy of the Conservancy Tax is entirely within the province of the Municipality and is necessary to meet the increased cost of service as well as anticipated heavy payments on loan account. If the owners of property find that they have to pay to the Municipality in any case, they will seek to discontinue the existing arrangement known as the Jagirdari system. Legally, there will be no obligation on the Municipality for compensation but morally I recommend that every adult sweeper at present, who can show that he has been working in Indore for three years, should be guaranteed employment by the Municipality on the usual Municipal scale for full time work, for a period of two years.

94. I have limited the obligation to two years deliberately because with an increasing number of houses connected to the drainage, need for

personal service will be less and less, though for street cleaning and for open drains and for many other purposes a large number of employees will still be required.

95. With the levy of 4% of Conservancy Tax on every property the existing charge of Rs. 2/- per Bungalow per month bringing Rs. 8000/- a year will be eliminated. It may be noted in passing that in my opinion Rs 2/- per Bungalow per month did not cover the direct cost of service incurred by the Municipality.

96. As a justification for the proposal for a 4% charge on house property in respect of conservancy, it is expected to yield something like Rs. 3,00,000/-, which is still substantially lower than the present cost incurred in conservancy and public health not to mention increased demand on loan account as more and more capital is spent on the drainage scheme.

97. The present outlay of Rs. 6½ lacs per year on public health is likely to increase, if full effect is given to the measure suggested above. Some of the Jagirdar sweepers are already in Municipal employ, but quite a large number would be added, if the compromise reached involves the employment by the Municipality of every adult sweeper at present functioning under the Jagirdari system. It is difficult to estimate the additional burden, but it would be of the order of Rs. 1 lac. As the drainage scheme makes progress, there would be a gradual reduction in the total outlay on public health of about 1 lac of Rupees because of elimination of personal service and cartage of night soil. There would be an immediate saving as soon as the public latrines are connected to the drainage. With the increase of City limits, the additional men (if any are left after the normal reduction through death or retirement) will be absorbed in useful Municipal work.

CHAPTER V

WATER

98. Indore is very lucky in having the Gambhir Water Works well-planned and well executed. At present the supply of filtered water is available to the extent of 7,000,000 gallons daily, adequate roughly speaking, for a population of 400,000 provided there was sufficient power for pumping. The subsidiary water works in charge of the Municipality are also of material help but I recommend that a fresh estimate should be made of the requirement of the city for 500,000 people and some kind of tentative scheme should be in hand for the additional supply.

99. I have a suspicion that the water-works is running at a loss to Government because the full supply required by the public cannot be given to them. This position should be put right as soon as possible.

100. In order to meet the demand and to make the budget of the Water Works less unfavourable than it is now, I also put forward the suggestion that a special diesel plant should be installed to enable the pumps to send more water to Indore. The cost would be recovered in a short time and the convenience to the public would increase very greatly. Adequate supply of water is a definite pre-requisite of public health of the city.

101. The position of the Municipality in the matter of water is very unsatisfactory as the figures will show on the next page:—

102. At six annas for a 1000 gallon, the rate of supply is relatively cheap. In Bombay, the Mills have to pay Rs. 1-4-0 for a 1000 gaillon. It is undesirable that Municipality should continue to make a free gift of water to the people generally and more specifically to the factories and industries. I, therefore, recommend that the rate should be raised to nine annas per 1000 gallon with immediate effect.

103. Use of filtered water for cleaning is wasteful. Supplementary Water Works should be created on the South side of the city, to that the water will come by gravitation and the unfiltered water from them should be used for cleaning purposes. The duplication of the mains for supply of this water is inevitable in order to conserve the filtered water and to supplement the supply more particularly to suburbs in South and East

Table showing the collection of Water Tax by the Indore City Municipality and the cost incurred by them for the supply:—

Year	Receipt of water tax (through all sources).	Cost incurred on contribution to Government, Establishment charges and Maintenance of the other two sources of water supply, viz, Bilaoli and Sirpur,	Loss sustaind by the Indore Municipality in the supply of Gambbir Water works. since 1939.
1933-34	63,405	11,480	...
1934-35	64,802	13,435	...
1935-36	63,638	11,022	...
1936-37	73,343	11,911	...
1937-38	68,616	10,827	...
1938-39	70,356	10,769	...
1939-40	1,47,552	2 31,356	86,804
1940-41	1,37,111	2,43,025	1,05,914
1941-42	1,75,206	2,46,277	71,071
1942-43	2,01,293	2,55,022	53,729
1943-44	1,86,123	2,61,864	75,681
1944-45	2,18,020	2,66,346	48,326
1945-46	1,98,224	2,69,815	71,591
1946-47	2,16,321	2,44,614	27,293
1947-48	2,28,255	3,00,666	72,411
1948-49 (based on actuals of 6 months)	2,43,482	3,35,627	92,145

and to Mills. In anticipation of the growth of population Municipality should have survey made as to how much more they can get from Sirpur and Bilaoli, after overhaul and improvement and from the two reservoirs suggested in Chapter Eight.

104. I understand that the unmetered connections are being abolished as soon as more of the meters are available. Its rapid abolition is recommended, because it leads to wasteful use of water.

105. The increase of three annas suggested above, bring in ultimately in due course about Rs. 75,008/. It will still leave the Municipality short on account of the water service provided to the city. The position will be still unsatisfactory, because, while it is undesirable to earn something from providing a service so useful as water, it is equally unsound to leave the total outlay uncovered by the revenue derived in respect of this service.

106. I, therefore, recommend that certain categaries of users, who can bear the extra charge should be singled out for an *additional 33% surcharge*

on the water bill at the rate of nine annas. Amongst these should be factories and industrial establishments, hotels clubs, and boarding houses.

107 The raising of the charges from 6 annas to 9 annas per 1000 gallons will only affect about one-fourth of the connections and will not bring in a substantial sum in the beginning. It is for this reason that the installation of new meters must be expendited.

108. The meter rent fixed by the Indore Municipality is on the law side. It is the only fixed charge which the owner of a property pays in respect of water.

109. I have worked on the assumption that 9 annas per 1000 gallons would bring to the Municipality a substantial increase in revenue from water so as to cover the loss indicated in the statement above. But, if on more close calculation, it is found that the loss will not be fully covered I would recommend a fresh upward revision of this rate until the Municipality balances its outgoings with the incomings in respect of water.

110. The practice of giving water connections directly by the Public Works Department on behalf of Government to mills and industrial concerns should be forthwith discontinued. All water connections within the Municipal limits must be from the Municipality just as even Government and public buildings are at present supplied with water by the Municipality. It is not merely a question of the loss of Municipal revenue on water but on principle also, no consumer of water should get an indirect connection which really belongs to the Municipality whose water service is at present running at a very great loss.

CHAPTER VI

OCTROI

111. There was considerable discontent with the Octroi Duties. The complaint was that they were too high and they were diverting the trade of Indore to competing mandies in Ujjain and Dhar.

112. Octroi Duty as a source of revenue was legitimate and useful in the old days but the tendency of modern thought is to do away with all impediments to free communications and commerce. There is also another aspect that instead of indirect taxes, people should be gradually accumstomed to direct taxes, so that they may have a more vivid realisation of their duties and obligations as citizens.

113. Under the present condition of Indore Municipality's finance it is not possible to recommend the abolition of the Octroi Duty, but the aim should, be in due course, to eliminate it at least on material which comes by road and to confine the duty to a few articles arriving by rail.

114. The object is also to reduce the cost of collection and more specifically to make smuggling difficult, if not impossible. At present, there was a suggestion from many quarters that evasion of Octroi Duty was taking place by organised gangs who were engaged by unscrupulous merchants. Immediately, I would suggest the following modifications in which I have kept in mind the desirability of reducing the duty on those things, which can be easily smuggled and in which diversion of trade from Indore was complained of.

115. The duties at present are indiscriminate, not only for articles which enter the city for local consumption but on articles which are received at Indore and distributed over a wide area. From the internal evidence of the amounts collected, it is obvious that the full amount of duty is not falling in the hands of the Municipality. For example, I find in vegetable ghee the duty collected from October to March for 6 months at Rs 3/- per maund is only Rs. 2,035-9-3 (Item 28). Having regard to the size of Indore and consumption of this article mainly for the preparation of 'mithais' the quantity indicated from this collection is very low.

116. I had heard from many sources that there is a considerable evasion of the octroi levy. There are numerous means of entering the

city and of avoiding the 28 nakas where the octroi is collected. But the evil is definitely on the increase and I was informed that there are organised gangs who undertake to smuggle goods and who sometimes threaten the Municipal employees at the nakas. This is an intolerable state of affairs. The Municipality ought to see that they receive special assistance from police, both in uniform and in plain clothes, and the organised gangs must be broken up. I was also told that the employees of the Municipality in the octroi nakas should be given more powers. I do not approve of that suggestion but heavy and exemplary punishment when smugglers are caught would meet with the requirements of the situation.

117. In the case of octroi, the point to bear in mind is that the rate of duty should not be high with regard to any article. The 6¼%is in my opinion too high as an octroi. An attempt should be made to work down this rate as and when Municipal finances permit. The other point of convenience is not to levy the duty on all articles and even on many articles. The Indore Schedule of Octroi practically covers everything. It is also undesirable to put the duty on articles of great value which can go in small bulk. Illustration of this is the duty on silver and silver, articles (yield in 6 months Rs. 513-3-9) and gold and gold articles (yield in 6 months Rs. 462-0-3). Having regard to the position of Indore as a great distributing centre for gold and silver, I recommend that duty on gold and silver and gold and silver articles (items 34 and 35) should be removed.

118. The duty on item 10 cigars, cigarettes and snuff, should be reduced from Rs. 6-4-0% to Rs. 3-2-0 %. Similary the duty on item 13 photographic cameras, plates, films etc., medical appliances and seientific instruments, should be reduced to Rs. 3-2-0%. On items 18 and 19, unmanufactured brass, copper, iron, tin, zinc, aluminium and all kinds of metallic scrap, old news paper, wrapping papers and boards, the duty should be removed altogether.

119 It has been claimed by the Mills that they are contributing heavily to the octroi collection in Indore. They mention numerous items which they are using and claim that they are contributing about Rs. 3 lacs indirectly on coal and other stores used by them. Having regard to the fact that their contribution to the Municipality in other ways is extremely low, there is no reason to complain. The amenities and facilities offered by Indore, which have been created at public expense, are being used by them and on the whole the burden of tax on Indore mills has been very low. In order to compensate for the loss at revenue to the Municipality by the changes suggested above, I recommend that the duty on coal and coke

which is at present 7½ pies per maund should be raised to 12 pies per maund.

120. I find that item 22 opium, ganja, bhang, charas, etc, & other intoxicating drugs, has not yielded anything. This is very curious?

121. Item No. 2, foreign liquor (including liquors, wine, beer, rum, whisky and all alcoholic drinks containing more than 2% proof spirit), country liquor (including tadi) has yielded only Rs 16,866/— inspite of the high rates of levy. This definitely points to the existence of heavy smuggling. I may remark that in due course, small as the yield is, this item will disappear.

122. The increase of the limits of the city would involve several changes in the octroi collection administration. I think it would also make smuggling more easy and increase the cost of collection. I also think that the continuation of the internal customs duty in Madhya Bharat cannot go on very long and, in due course, Madhya Bharat customs would be abolished. In anticipation of such abolition, the trade of Indore would get a check for some time as merchants would defer getting goods from outside. This is also going to affect the collection of octroi by the Municipality.

123. It is for this reason that I have suggested in due course and ultimately to continue the collection of octroi at a low rate to articles coming by rail. In the meanwhile, duty should be reduced on articles capable of being smuggled and it should be increased on articles which are brought in gross bulk, which will be noticed when they are being brought in.

Warehouses at Siyagunj

124. With the abolition of free 'gunj' the position of Indore trade has become more difficult. This would also affect indirectly the octroi revenue.

125. Instead of the present system of refund on goods which are going outside, what was at one time Holkar's territory, the system should be re-cast to give a refund when goods are going out of Indore city.

126. As an additional facility to merchants, I recommend that warehouses should be instituted by the Municipality in Siyagunj area, where goods brought in by merchants could be stored. The full cost of such storage should be recovered from merchants. Full octroi duty should be collected in the first instance but on a declaration that the goods are being sent out of Indore, the octroi duty should be refunded. Such proof as the Municipality likes to get that the goods were actually sent out of the

city and not diverted into the city by another route should be forth-coming and there should be heavy penalty for wrongful declarations. This will enable numerous items which are not intended for local consumption to be brought in and to be distributed in the surrounding areas from these warehouses. Municipality can also derive some revenue from the warehouses in fixing the scale of charges. This is a step which will help the mercantile community considerably.

127. Complaint was made by the Chamber of Commerce and business associations that the Octroi authorities levy the duty not merely on the invoice but on all the other expenditure incurred by the parties including heavy freight sometimes by lorries. It is true that strictly the octroi is leviable on the total cost of the article. On the other hand, it is both convenient and proper that octroi should be charged on the invoice value. The reason is that the levy and collection should be smooth. There should be as few questions between the Municipal authorities and the assessee as possible. There should not be any controvercy. I, therefore, recommend that where the invoice is in order and there are no circumstances arousing any doubt, the octroi duty should be collected on the invoice value.

128. I do not claim to have gone into the relative position of articles on which octroi is levied and collected in Indore. Since I regard this source of revenue as one which will progressively diminish in importance by one reason or the other, I have not considered it necessary to overhaul the whole schedule. I have thought it desirable to recommend that collection of octroi should be confined to a few articles arriving by rail.

129. I must mention that the conception of octroi duty in Indore is materially different to that which obtains elsewhere both in India and abroad. Octroi is supposed to be a levy on the consumption of the local population and generally, the items of such consumption are food materials including grain, sugar and oil, which I find are altogether excluded from the schedule in Indore. This is through a wrong idea of taking duty on "Luxury articles". Even the poorer use some of the things now taxed, but the evasion of duty becomes easy articles of small bulk with relatively larger value.

130. From the point of view of pure collection and avoiding difficulties of evasion, I would recommend an octroi duty on raw cotton entering Indore at a very low figure. So powerful were the mill interests, that the Municipality's original proposal of 8 annas on a bale and 4 annas on a bori was reduced to 4 annas and 2 annas respectively. It is regrettable that Government refused to give their sanction even to this. I now recommend that a duty should be levied at Re. 1/- per bale and /8/ annas per bori. This

would enable the Municipality to eliminate octroi duty on several heads in the octroi schedule. In due course, I suggest the appointment of a small committee to consider this question not merely in relation to the finance of the Municipality but to the trade of Indore city and the general position of customs in Madhya Bharat.

131. Inspite of the fact that octroi duty on cotton and increased octroi duty on coal will bring to the Municipality about Rs. 2,50,000/-(two lacs and fifty thousand rupees). I still think it necessary to write down the octroi yield within the next ten years by an average of Rs. 2 lacs per year. I expect this fall in the yield because prices will fall and there will be a trade depression, which will reduce the imports and the consumption. Rival trade centres might also take away some of the trade. My general recommendation is that on those articles on which yield is very low, duty should be removed. This matter may be considered by a Committee of the Municipal Council who may reduce the octroi duty levied and revise the schedule.

CHAPTER VII

CITY LIMITS AND OTHER PROBLEMS

City Limits

132. In order to look ahead a few years and to provide for the inevitable growth of Indore, I think it is desirable to extend the city limits to a radius of 5 miles from the Palace. This should throw additional obligations on the Municipality but it will control and prevent haphazard development.

133. Even outside this Municipal limit, if there are any areas where buidings go up, such as Jayarampura and Gandhinagar, it is desirable to include these in the Municipal areas so that building may take place according to Building Rules and on sound lines and also health conditions may be maintained. If an epidemic breaks out in the mill area, it would be a menace to the whole city. Besides the new areas would not have the vision to plan and the engineering skill. If any service is given to them they should be liable to full Municipal taxes.

134. In view of the fact that Government of Madhya Bharat will not have big money for many years to give to the Municipality for various necessary developments, the least they can do without any immediate financial outlay is to give to the Municipality all lands belonging to Government in the new city limits. This applies more specifically to the areas hitherto in the occupation of the military.

135. The Municipality has to provide in due course for public parks, botanical gardens, zoo, museum, maternity homes, infectious diseases and isolation hospitals and many other public amenities. Some of the land would be let out by them in order to attract more capital and house building. I suggest that such lands, as and when required, should be let out on the basis of 99 years rental of 5% on the present market value.

136. The tendency to crowd in cities has got an enormous impetus by recent political and social changes. Many centres of interest in the moffusil have come to an end. Now the Princes, Jagirdars and others are settling down in cities. Indore offers a unique attraction through its equable climate for about 10 months in the year, being 1800 ft. above sea-level.

Many acadamics, medical colleges and other institutions might also be attracted to Indore if suitable and developed lands were available, with the drainage and water supply laid and the possibility of getting electric power.

City Improvement Trust Board

137. The improvement Trust of Indore has done useful work as could be seen from the following tables:

Statemente of the schemes under execution

Name of the scheme and Number	Probable expenditure	Probable realisation	Remarks
	Rs.	Rs.	
Palasia II C	2,65,190	3,32,050	Excess scheme
Pagnis Paga VIII	80,000	1,00,750	—do—
Sukhlia III-3	78,626	48,626	Deficit scheme
Harsiddi V A	51,177	19,579	—do—
Rajmohalla IX	3,07,175	2,96,384	—do—
Traffic Route No. 1			
Scheme No. X	2,04,000	1,35,565	deficit scheme
Traffic Route No. II			
Scheme No. IX	18,52,600	11,75,401	—do—
Extension to Prince			
Yeshwant Road, XV	1,15,000	1,10,000	—do—
Traffic Route No. V			
Scheme No. XXV	3,42,900	3,38,470	
Siyagunj Extension on II,			Govt. sanction
Scheme No. XVII	12,61,110	12,61,110	awaited
Total Rs. ...	45,57,778	38,17,935	

Actual Expenditure uptodate	Rs. 21,40,562.
Actual realisation uptodate	Rs. 23,12,635.

Statement of Schemes Completed.

Name of scheme and number	Probable expenditure	Probable realisation	Remarks
Manoramagunj & its extension.	30,555	1,60,423	Excess scheme. Transferred to the Municipality. Large excess due to extraordinary price offered by Sir Seth Hukumchand for one plot.
Palasia II.	13,437	38,134	Excess scheme.
Palasia IIA.	305	15,520	-do-
Palasia IIB.	9,696	29,650	-do-
Shehalatagunj IV	67,321	99,577	-do- Transferred to the City Municipality.
Prince Yeshwant. Road V.	1,09,326	1,77,825	-do- -do-
Neutral Zone	11,793	50,886	-do- -do-
North Tukogunj & its extension.	33,470	54,756	-do- -do-
Harijan Colony. No. I.	79,415	79,445	-do- These schemes were executed by donation from the privy purse of H. H. Maharaja Yeshwantrao Holkar.
-do- No. II.	51,692	51,950	-do-
-do- No. III.	47,266	52,446	-do-
Siyagunj Extension, Scheme No. 1	52,070	92,587	-do-
Modernising Mal Godown Road.	79,385	51,650	Deficit scheme. Deficit was made good by Municipal contribution, Transferred to the City Municipality.
Biscoe Park.	29,620	25,720	Deficit scheme.
Total Rs. ...	6,15,375	9,80,569	

138. Its work is still continuing in several schemes which would have long ago completed but for the interruption of the War and the difficulties of getting building material.

Agricultural lands made eligible for building

139 Agricultural lands inside city limits, belonging to Jagirdars and Inamdars have suddenly been declared as eligible for building purposes In the light of previous recommendations to tax vacant lands which could be built upon but which remained vacant, the owners must be made to pay House Tax on the greatly enhanced value which these lands now bear.

140. While the availability of new plots for building purposes must be welcomed because it would be an inducement for more housing to be put up, I must remark that there is a risk of haphazard development or lack of development on account of this order. The Improvement Trust has been laying out schemes and making plots available. The rapidity of sale of these plots is bound to be affected, but the Improvement Trust has been making roads and provision for all amenitities, whereas private persons are reported to be selling plots on paper before making the necessary provisions for roads, water, drainage and other amenities. I therefore suggest that no private scheme be permitted by the Housing Commissioner untill he is satisfied that the scheme is sound also the private party has deposited with the Municipality enough funds for making the roads as provided in the plan. The estimates etc., should be secured by prior consultation with Municipal Engineers. If this is done, the danger is that the roads may be made too 'kutcha' and therefore not lasting. There is a further danger that promotors of such schemes may use up the funds realised for other purposes and may ultimately repudiate their liability for making the nesessary roads.

141. Developement of land by making plots requires skill in planning which all private persons do not possess and it is the interest of the city which should be safe-guarded in the manner indicated above and no bonafide scheme should be retarded. The erection of a house must be sanctioned where a building is being put up by the owner of the land bonafide for his own use, provided he has set aside a proper appoach to the house from existing Municipal road.

142. I fear the work of the Improvement Trust will suffer on account of the recent permission to agricultural lands in the city limits to put forward their own schemes. Thus private Inam and Jagir lands have appreciated enormously in value through public expenditure and improvements and the whole of the increase of this value is being given away as a free gift to these private individuals. Many private schemes for land disposals for enterprises have proved weak, haphazard and unsuccessful

There is no harm in any Inamdar or Jagirdar building a house for himself but if he is making roads, laying out plots and selling them to the public, all these should be on lines which the Improvment Trust has been doing. The specification of the roads should be the specification of the Municipal roads. It is also necessary that the rate of disposal, both in quantity and in price, should not be such as to hurt similar schemes undertaken by the public bodies like the Improvement Trust. It may be noted in passing that all the lands which were agricultural and which have now become eligible for building should be liable from the date of that order to the Municipal Tax at the rate of Rs. 7-0-6% on 5% of the estimated market value of these lands which has gone up enormously (as shown in Chapter Three). The municipality should collect these dues immediately from all lands within their limits from which bulding restrictions have been removed. Municipal records would have to be maintained in respect of these lands and transfers should not be entertained until Municipal dues have been fully paid. Water supply and other facilities could only be laid when there is nothing due against the owner of these lands to the Municipality in respect of these taxes.

Minimum size of property and living room.

143. There are other suggesions not involving the question immediately of finance but bearing on the public health of the city which I should like to put forward for the consideration of the Municipal Council.

144. It is necessary to provide a larger minimum size for a household as well as for a living room. Many houses in the crowded part of the city appear to be small with a frontage of about 8 ft., probably due to subdivision under Hindu Law. Municipality should prevent the re-erection of such houses or even substantial repairs which would keep them going. They should envisage these small houses being absorbed or acquired by the neighbouring property so as to make a building of reasonable size, providing for suitable light aud air. The alternative would be acquisition by the Municipality of the land only at a maximum price to be fixed by law from now for this specific purposes. Property of this description will be marked by a special survey and the requisite notice under law of such acquisition should be given from now. The maximum price may vary according to the locality. Even if the building is used for business purposes or some storage, this rule should be enforced.

145. The Improvement Trust has in most cases in Indore only acquired ground required for the road purposes. In cutting through various routes, all the lands on the two sides of the newly constructed road

have got an extra fillip in value over and above the tendency of land value to rise in everywhere. In other words, the expenditure of public funds has involved a free gift of big value to the owners on the two sides.

Building line under Improvement Trust Roads and modifications as to height restrictions.

146. A free gift appears to have been made in the case of Route No. 2 to owners of property abetting on the magnificient new street which has been cut out at public expense. City lands were in any case rising in value but this extra-ordinary fillip which has been given has led to a rise in the values of the immediate surroundings of the new roads to 5 or 7 times of its original value. Of this no benefit reaches the public authority which has incurred the expenditure.

147. I, therefore, recommend that with the exception of buildings which are now already standing there or of buildings the construction of which has commenced, and in the case of all new buildings, a set back of at least 5 ft. should be imposed on both sides. On this area no building will be permitted but this area will continue to be the property of the owner who can use it at the ground level. This would form a reserve in the event of the road being further extended at any time by the Municipality.

148. The Municipality should further have the right (where necessary by change of rules of law) to permit one more storey on these lands on the payment to the Municipality of a sum representing 1/10th of the total value of the land on the date when the permission is sought. These values should be ascertained and noted down for the guidance of the public. The Municipality would thus get not only extra assessment on the letting value but a certain amount of capital as the building construction goes on. The extra height would not interfere with the city's amenities as the width of the road is already increased by the above provision by 10 ft.

149. The sanctioning of building on the new route roads by the Improvement Trust Board should be discontinued and as the Municipality is finally concerned, the plans should be submitted to and sanctioned by them and the Improvement Trust Board should be relieved of direct responsibility. I expect, however, the two authorities to act in close consulatation.

Building line and minimum size of improved streets.

150. Widening of streets in Indore is costly and therefore impossible beyond the Improvement Trust schemes now in hand. I, therefore suggest that in a certain number of streets at right-angles to Route Nos. 1 and 2 a building line should be imopsed from now making the street 20 to 26 ft. wide. The owners of properties on both sides should be informed of this building line and a notice should be given by the Municipality that they would acquire this strip of land for addition to the street as and when the old building is pulled down and new ones constructed in its place. Legal authorities should be consulted by the Municipality and if legal provision is required, Government ought to make the necessary legal provision by which the notice from the Municipality from now should rank for the purposes of acquisition as notice of acquisition and value to be paid by the Municipality would be the value of the day when the notice is given.

The two rivers.

151. The two rivers which are joining in the middle of Indore are dry for most part of the year and have pools of water which are insanitary. In some cases, the open drains of the city run into the river. The river area which is being used by various persons for other purposes is foul. Breeding of mosquitoes is taking place. Ignorant persons use the water for bathing and for washing clothes. It is necessary to prevent all these in the interest of the city health.

152. I may state that various ideas have occurred to Municipal authorities. In particular they have thought of the removal of the loops and straightening of the course. This is to my mind an imperfect scheme leaving consequent problems. I would like to suggest that a close examination of the whole question should be made so that even if the schemes are put off at the moment by reason of expense or other reasons, they should fall into a complete plan as and when final effect is given to them so that the city would materially improve and other amenities would be created.

153. I recommend that a special engineer should be detailed to map out the course of the two rivers as they pass through the city and for 3 miles outside. A possibility of diverting the two rivers wholly or partly before they enter the city should be explored. The possibility of having two new reservoirs outside the city where surplus water of these two rivers would be blocked and stored for use of the city should also be considered. For the Mills, suburban bungalows and new colonies, water for non-drinking

purposes would be supplied in this manner at relatively less cost as no pumping will be required and no expensive filtering will be done.

154. If and when this is done, a provision would have to be made for the river area inside the city to take away during the rains the storm water collected from the city on both sides of the river. This much would not require, as far as I can see, more than a channel of 8′x8′. On the one side of such a storm water drain, a wall of 2 to 3 ft. height should be made against which all the debris will collect and the gap will be filled up in due course. On the other side should be constructed a highway of 40 ft. in cement concrete. On the other side of road should be equally a wall of 3 ft. high against which the debris coming from the city drain would be collected and gradually there would be terraces on both sides. If there was a flood at any time, there would be a 48 ft. channel for the flood water to run away. It would not do any damage to the cement concrete road if its flow is unimpeded.

155. If this arrangement is made, the loops of the rivers should be eliminated.

156. The average space in the river is at no place less than 250 ft. In some places it is even much more.

157. The whole idea of the scheme should be to reclaim the rest of the land some of which would be extremely valuable building site. In other cases, some of the terraces could be turned into gardens, etc., for public use.

158. The success of the scheme would depend on careful calculations but mainly on the prevention of the water which has fallen outside the city area from entering into the city area except under controlled conditions, that is to say, from its diversion from the reservoirs. There is a North-Eastern nalla which is also flooded but which could be cleaned up and used for such diversion as it is near the city limits towards the way to the Water-works.

159. After the scheme has been reviewed and prepared and estimate have been brought out, the Municipality should consider the cost. The scheme could be given effect to in small sections and also so as to be finished as a complete whole in due course.

160. If the demand for lands and building sites persists, the scheme may balance itself. In any case, a valuable channel of traffic at a low level right across the city would be created which would help traffic

generally but more particularly through traffic. The most important consideration, however, is that one of the standing menaces to public health and the cause of mosquitoes would be eliminated.

Markets.

161. The income of the Indore Municipality from Markets is Rs 30,000/-. It is extremely limited. In other Municipalities, a larger income is made but correspondingly larger facilities are given for the public. I have suggested the institution of a large central market. The tendency of the modern age is for a man or a house-wife to get everything in one place. Not only vegetable and food items but all other items should therefore be catered for in that market and if that market is kept clean and if there is protection, the Municipal market ought to be more popular with buyers than shops located at some distance from each other in specialised centres which exist at present.

162. Not only should a central market be instituted, but two other markets shoud be put up for new localities which are growing up outside the old city, one towards the West and one towards the East. The design of the market should be particularly attended to so as to make maximum convenience available both for the stall holders as well as for the public. Care should be taken that not far from the market is the stand for public vehicles as well as the parking space. I should expect the Municipality to make in due course from the markets an increased net revenue of not less than Rs. 1,000/- per month.

CHAPTER VIII

MILLS AND FACTORIES

163. The following is the table of Payments made as House Tax by the Mills in Indore :

Name	Average No. of Persons employed daily	Whether worked by mechanical power or not			Municipal Assessment	
		Looms	Mechanical Power	Spindles	Assessed value per month	House Tax amount per year
					Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
The Indore Malwa United Mills Ltd.	Day 3539 Night 2526	1452	-Do-	53130	6407 1 9	5406 0 0
The Hukumchand Mills Ltd.	Day 3327 Night 2499	1493	-Do-	44388	6339 8 10	5349 0 0
The Kalyanmal Mills Ltd.	Day 2975 Night 3154	1144	-Do-	36412	4695 1 9	3961 8 0
The Rajkumar Mills Ltd.	Day 1736 Night 1235	704	-Do-	19728	2919 1 9	2463 0 0
The Nandlal Bhandari Mills Ltd.	Day 1836 Night 1417	789	-Do-	28548	4597 5 4	3879 0 0
The Swadeshi Cotton and Flour Mills Ltd.	Day 1035 Night 1318	389	-Do-	15332	2112 0 0	1782 0 0
The Rai Bahadur Kanhaiyalal Bhandari Mills Ltd.	Day 977 Night 548	351	-Do-	16084	1514 10 8	1278 0 0

164. These may be compared with the payments made by representative Mills in Bombay.

Name of Mill	Amount of tax (Demand for 1948/49)			No. of Spindles installed			No. of Looms installed
	General Tax	Halal-khor (Conservancy tax)	Water charges by meter measurement including Meter hire	Nule	Ring	Total	
Khatav Makanji Mill	52393 8	10656 4	100772 5	...	62932	62932	1417
Spring Mill.	74241 14	15100 0	17265 5	...	109008	109008	3224
Indu Mills.	82597 0	16799 6	33203 3	6160	90232	96392	2228
Century Mills.	85688 10	17428 4	115336 1	...	95536	95536	2684

165. The Mills claim that they are paying over Rs. 3/-lacs to the Municipality by way of octroi. This has not yet been checked by the Municipality.

166. Some of the Mills have enormous areas of land. Some of them contain bungalows and residences for members of staff and the Manager and others.

167. The method of collecting what the mills should pay was defective to start with. The rates on which the calculations were based have long ago been left behind. The charges have been levied hitherto only on building without any reference to land. I, therefore, suggest that the whole of the land minus that on which the building is standing should be assessed as permitted by the Act at present value and the letting value be determined at the rate of 5% thereon. This should be in addition to what is being taken on buildings including the land on which the buildings are standing.

168. From this change, I expect an additional burden on Mills of about Rs. 11,000/- which I think they are well able to bear.

169. So far as the buildings are concerned, I find that the big factory for vegetable ghee is going up in Indore. This gives the present day cost of buildings and I recommend that the actual figures of the cost per unit or cubic feet should be secured from them and fresh measurements should be made of all buildings of the Mills. The rates so secured should be able to give them the actual cost, subject to the rate of depreciation provided and fresh assessment should be made. The cost of land, on which the buildings stand, has not hitherto been taken into account but hereafter it should be added to the net assessment figure.

170. Owing to Municipal Authorities not having revised the assessment during the years, when prices went up very high, the Municipality has already lost heavily for the last 7 years the enhanced taxes, which would have come to them. I mention this in order to enable the Mills to be reconciled to the extra contribution which they would be called upon to make.

171. Industry has a stake and seeks continuation of peaceful and healthy conditions. The public health of Indore ought to be a matter of some concerns to them. If Municipal administration was slack and if an epidemic broke out in Indore, the population would run away and the Mills would have to be closed. The loss to the Mills would be inestimable. It is to ensure against the occurrence of any such calamity that the industry

established in Indore should contribute to the maintenance of robust Municipality.

172. The same remarks apply to other factories in Indore which is the most important industrial centre in Madhya Bharat Similar revision of assessment should be made on them immediately.

173 It must be remembered that Mills and factories everywhere create special public health problems for the Municipal Authorities While sharing on the one hand the desirability of keeping down any burden on industry in order to attract more industry, the direct and indirect services which factories and mills require must be taken into account in assessing the burden which they have to bear. They create heavy traffic on the Municipal roads. The disposal of their waste material gives work to the Municipality. No charge of any kind on the Mills and factories for the collection of their refuse is made by the Municipality. They are attracting to Indore city a large number of workers for whom there is no adequate housing provision. More than 200 latrines in the mill work-men quarters have been provided by the Municipality free of charge. And lastly, the Mills are definitely recouping from the ultimate consumer of their goods outside Indore all that they are called upon to spend by way of small and reasonable increase in the assessment charges borne by them.

174. By a reference to other parts of the report, it will be seen that Mill's will have to pay an increased charge in respect of water used by them and also increased amount in octroi in respect of cotton and coal used by them. Being influential and vocal, representatives of Millowners will raise an outcry, but during War years, many a mill has actually earned during one year over 100% that is to say, the entire capital. The normal burden of heavy income-tax which the factories in other parts of India have to bear, is not falling on the Indore mills and factories. It is therefore, reasonable that they should accept with good gtace the additional burden for the re-assessment on a proper basis, the levy of tax on vacant lands, the increased rate on water and the octroi on coal and cotton and what would be for them a very petty charge in respect of business and shop tax.

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPALITY

175. It was suggested from more than one quarter that the profits of the Power House should be given to the Municipality. I have not seen the balance sheet of the Power House but the distribution of electrical energy is an important function of Municipalities in many places of the world and there is no reason why the Indore Municipality should not, in due course, aspire to do this work.

176. When Indore was a separate State with the Ruler living in the capital, there may have been an issue of prestige. But since the Union has been established, there is no object any more in the Water-Works remaining the property of Government and being administered independently by Government, the Municipality being mainly a distributing body purchasing at 0-4-0 per 1000 gallons and upto 2½ million gallons and at Re. 0-3-0 above that and selling to the public at Re. 0-6-0 per 1000 gallons.

177. It will take some time for Government to take decision on this issue of giving the Water-Works as well as the Power-House to the Municipality. They will have to determine the conditions under which the Municipality will operate these plants. On the side of the Municipality, they will have to build up an administration capable of taking over these works and the personnel required to operate them.

178. When this question comes to the forefront, it will necessarily be a matter of intricate negotiations between the Government and the Municipality, but I hope the Madhya Bharat Government will encourage the biggest Municipality in the Union to assume responsibilities similar to those which larger Municipalities like Bombay and Calcutta carry.

179. In an absolute state, there is only one authority and one Government and the conception of a separate Municipal authority with powers and obligations in a limited field for urban areas was new in all Indian States. A town which happened to be the capital has some of its roads and other amenites provided because of the fortunate accident that it was the capital. The origin of Indore Municipality is something like this. Taxing powers entrusted to it were limited and reliance was necessarily placed upon Government grants and Government loans. This tradition survived to

some extent, but it should be the aim to put the biggest city in Madhya Bharat on a sound basis for Municipal purposes independent as far as possible of Government help.

180 This will take some years. In the meanwhile, there is a good case for a liberal grant being given to the Municipality. The present annual grant is Rs. 3 lacs, increased from the original grant of Rs. 1½ lacs. This hardly compensates the Municipality for the loss on State and Public Buildings and more particularly, for the Rent Act, which prevents a free contract and a balancing of a demand and supply in the charges available for accommodation on the basis of which Municipal Taxes have to be paid. Public vehicles are using the Municipal Roads and these were intensively used during the war period. The Municipality has not yet undertaken many important functions such as that of Primary Education. The cost of material and labour has gone up heavily against the Municipality. Until the finances are put on a sound basis, there is a case, therefore, for an increased grant. As an important centre of industry and trade, the biggest city in Madhya Bharat should be provided with a model Municipal Administration which would serve as an example for many a smaller townships.

181. Government have been generous with regard to the drainage proposal in which they have undertaken to spend Rs. 60 lacs. Indore Municipality has been lucky to have its loans on the basis of 2½ per cent Government have also increased the annual grant from Rs. 1,50,000/- to Rs. 3,00,000/- While appreciating this, I still recommend that the three lacs figure should continue for at least five years more. I think it would be gracious, if Government gives even a larger grant, if any proposal for increased revenue made in this report is disapproved of by them. I was told that in Madhya Bharat, the rate of Government grant to Gwalior Municipality worked out at Rs. 1/8/-per head and on this basis, Indore Municipality's present grant is certainly on the low side.

182. The Indore Municipality is indeed lucky in the sense that its old debt is negligible and its assets are valued at Rs. 50 lacs though all of them are not of a class, which could be disposed off and money realised for them. The present debt is Rs. 4 lacs incurred in the year 1942.

183. In connection with the drainage scheme, which is a 10 year programme, the Municipality is liable for forty percent or two-fifth of the total expenses, the sixty per cent or three-fifths being borne by Government. The total estimated cost is Rs. I crore.

184. Already an annual contribution of Rs. 24,000 is being borne by the Municipality. To this will have to be added further annual burden to cover

Sinking Fund and interest on the Rs. 20 lacs out of the Rs. 40 lacs, that is the share of the Municipality, in the total cost of prainage. The Municipality is also making a contribution of Rs. 22,000 per year to the City Improvement Trust Board towards by traffic route scheme no. II. Recently a lone of Rs. 15 lacs has been sanctioned by Government, which is going to be spent mainly upon modernization of city's roads, construction of new drains, lane payments etc. The terms of repayment of this loan are 2½ % rate of interest, the capital amount being repayable, by not later than 1960 in instaliments of not less than a lac of rupees at a time. This imposes an obligation of about Rs. 1,50,000 per year.

185. The Indore Municipality has still not got many things provided by other Municipalities. In particular, there is no Isolation Hospital or Infectious diseases hospital, which is in my opinion, a very urgent need. There is no Maternity home run by the Municipality. There are also lacking, at present, a General Hospital accommodation, public parks, botanical gardens, zoo, museums, and gymnasiums. There is the entire scheme of the improvement of the river area, whichever plan is adopted for, after due investigation.

186. It is impossible to achieve all these results suddenly and simultaneously. They could not be achieved merely by loans. All these things would have to be put off very long, if they have to be achieved by loans. While a moderate amount of increase in the grant made by Government may be confidently expected, it is impossible to expect heavy capital contribution from the Government of Madhya Bharat during the next two years. I, therefore, suggest for the serious consideration of Government that all Government lands within the newly expanded city limits should be given to the Municipality. This has been done in many cities in India and is a legitimate and proper form of encouragement to local authorities, who would never be able to find the capital to acquire these lands.

187: .Under this suggestion, all public lands in the residency area, as well as in the area at present in the occupation of the military would be so transferred.

188. The location of the military so near the city is no longer justified or necessary. It is neither good for the soldiers nor the city population. As Mhow is going to continue as a military centre, it would not be improper. if it was suggested that no land inside the new Municipal limits of five miles from the centre should be in the hands of and in use by the military.

189. Some of these lands could be turned into useful public institutions. For example, the Residency area on the river Khan, which is already laid out as a garden, should be maintained as a public garden in which more botanical specimens can be brought in every year and in which gradually a small zoo can be built up.

190. Indore can boast of a larger number of Millionaires than any other place in Madhya Bharat. With the munificence from these gentlemen, there is no reason why hospitals and museums should also not come into existence. Municipality should make available for such purposes plots from lands given to them by Government. The Municipality can also let out on 99 years' lease some lands so as to facilitate extension of housing as well as business buildings as the demand arises. This would give the Municipality an important source of income annually. There is no reason why, in due course, this should not be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 75,000 per year. The Municipality will also earn something by temporary letting out of other lands not in immediate use.

191 If the lands are given to the Municipality as suggested, the obligation of the Government to make a liberal contribution to Municipal finance would be, to some extent, fulfilled, but as will be shown in Chapter Ten, substantial assistance must be given by Government to the Indore Municipality during the next ten years in the manner in which this has been done elsewhere. Apart from a general grant, if the obligation for running primary education is given to the Municipality, Government must bear the whole cost thereof.

193 There is one more matter for the attention of the Madhaya Bharat Ministry. Under popular Government, Municipality must be enabled to use all the existing powers, and sanctions should not withheld or delayed. But where some of the recommendations involve a change of law or where legal opinion calls for an interpretation or a new section, Government must use their undoubted strength and majority in legislature for effecting such change as early as possible. For the Hon'ble Minister in in charge of the Local Self-Government, my earnest appeal would be to permit and encourage Indore Municipality to be built up on sound basis financially so toat it would be a model and a guide to other urban areas in Madhaya Bharat.

193. I would also invite reference to paragraph 52 in Chapter Three in which I have requested the Covernment to let the Indore Municipality have the services of a Senior Official for a short period for the purpose of re-assessment.

CHAPTER X

FUTURE REQUIREMENTS

194. It is quite impossible to estimate correctly on the side of revenue but a rough estimate has already been given. On the side of expenditure, it is still more difficult. The rate at which the progress is made in completing the dráinge scheme and in other improvements required for the city including renovation of roads and improvement in the city area, wil depend on many circumstances.

195. The other works which the Municipality may be reasonably expected to carry out would be the maintenance of public parks, botanical gardens, zoo and museum. Still other necessary direction is the hospital for infectious diseases and isolation hospital, maternity homes, beggars homes, reformatory schools for defective children. The Municipality will be called upon, in due course, to take over Primary Education. Capital expenditure will also be required to set up organised markets.

196. The debt position of the Indore Municipality will be seen from the following :

	Loan of Rs 4 lacs.	Drainage Rs. 40 lacs	Loan of Rs. 15 lacs.
Outstanding boance.	Rs. 2,15,000	Rs. Nil	Rs. Nil
Annual contribution.	24,000	2,00,000 for ten years 2,00,000 for repayment thereafter.	1,40,000
Interest. (estimated average)	10,000	50,000	20,000
Total Rs. ...	34,000	2,50,000	1,60,000

197. From the above table, it will be seen that the annual requirements of Indore Municipality, over and above what they are spending now towards this purpose, for capital expenditure or capital re-payment and for interest on outstanding loans would be between Rs. 4 and 5 lacs, for the next ten years. What new plans and projects during the next ten years will arise and called for still more money, it is difficult at this stage to say. But it would be safe to assume that an annual sum of Rs. 6 lacs should be in the hands of the Municipality to enable them to fulfil all their financial obligations in regard to interest and repayment and their own compulsory contribution.

198. I have suggested in the body of the report, apart from the House Tax, several new levies. The resulting position is summarised hereunder, taking the main heads only :

Estimated new revenue for the Municipality.

Increased yield from re-assessment	Rs. 3,00,000/—
Increase of Rs. 2-15-6% (to be imposed) next year after re-assessment is completed).	Rs. 2,50,000/—
Increase in water rate.	,, 75,000/—
Increase in House Tax wholly from the vacant lands and additional charge for extra open lands in factories and in house properties and open land now eligible for building.	Rs. 50,000/—
Conservancy tax at 4%	,, 3,00,000/—
Business firms and traders.	,, 1,00,000/—
Professional men.	,, 75,000/—
Tax on shops.	,, 75,000/—
Associations and Clubs.	,, 25,000/—
Extra income from markets.	,, 12,000/—
Octroi on Cotton and increase in Coal	,, 2,00,000/—
Income (ultimate and in due course) by letting out land given by Government	,, 75,000/—
	Rs. 15,37,000/—

199. From this would have to be deducted the loss of revenue arising from the changes recommended as follows :

Loss of revenue from existing conservancy levy.	Rs. 8,000/—
Takhat Tax	,, 14,000/—
Removal of octroi from gold and silver (items 34 & 35) and unmanufactured brass & copper etc., and old news papers, etc., (items 18 & 19), reduction in cigar, cigarettes (item 10) and photographic cameras etc. (item 13)	Rs. 17,500/—
Reduced yield from Octroi	,, 2,00,000/—
	Rs. 2,39,500/—

200. There will thus be roughly a nett addition of Rs. 12,97,500/- to the Indore Municipaltiy's revenue, as a result of the changes recommended by me, when all proposals are given effect to fully.

201. It will be seen that I am providing for increase of revenue not merely to cover the Rs. 6 lacs required by Municipaltiy debit and contrbution purposes but about Rs 7, 00, 000/- more. All this will not be realised immediately. Some of the suggestions put forward by me may be modified by the Municipal authorities or Government to suit local conditions or in deference of local opinion. New taxes when levied do not reach maximum realisation till the third year. I expect that the Municipal authorities will levy new imposts to yield beyond Rs. 6 lacs per year as the need arises and the whole process may easily take two or three years.

202. I have attempted to place the burden for additional taxes on the whole on people, who have hitherto not borne their share adequately. The progress of self-Government is to be measured by the capacity of the people to tax themselves and to administer the revenues in the interests of the public. Indore Municipality will, I hope, set the model for the rest of Madhya Bharat by going ahead with the taxes suggested. One part of the increase falls directly on owners of property and through them on the general public and this is in respect of house tax. So far as water and conservancy are concerned, the attempt is to enable the Municipality not to make a loss on the essential services. For the rest, it will be noticed that the burden is thrown on those who can bear it. The tax on shops,

professional men, business firms and traders has become necessary on account of imposition of Rent Act. It will be a relatively moderate levy on a section, which is not doing badly in the City of Indore. The collection of dues on vacant lands will also fall on heads of people who are well able to bear it. The additional income of Rs. 87,000/- from markets and from the rent of lands, which I have recommended the Government to let the Municipality have, will be in the nature of non-tax revenue. The appeal to avoid more taxes on the poor has been kept by me in the forefront and yet it must be remembered that the improvement in the public health of the City, in drainage and water supply and in the markets will benefit the poor more than those on whom most of the additional taxes are sought to be levied.

203. The true test of Local Self-Government is the capacity to levy the necessary taxes, to see that they are properly collected without evasion and to see that they are properly spent. It is a matter of some pride for any city to achieve this result. There are always selfish and un-social persons, who wish to resist every kind of tax, no matter for what purpose it was levied. It is the zeal and keen sense of citizenship of a few individuals, which stimulates public opinion to achieve these results. Many a great leader in every country in the world has devoted years to the city, where he is spending his life, in building up Municipal administration, by not only giving his time but his moral support on occasions, when sectional interest and selfish persons oppose reforms and improvements.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

Change of names of Property-owners to be effected in the Municipal books only when all dues are paid. Similarly, water connections should be given only when all outstanding Municipal dues have been paid (paragraph 24).

Ground Rents must be made payable in advance wherever possible (paragraph 26).

Five year rule for purposes of assessment may be abandoned in practice and bye-law No. 17 of House Tax Bye-laws should be modified so as to give the Municipal Commissioner the power to enhance the assessment of a property upto the actual rent, no matter for what reason the rent may have increased (paragraph 41).

Extra tax payable to the Municipality by an increase of Rs. 2-15-6% should be recoverable from the tenants, as has been done in Bombay (paragraphs 43 & 63). In some Western Countries, all Municipal charges are payable by the tenants.

Re-assessment, which had been postponed through a mistaken idea that there could be no revision for five years, should be undertaken atonce (paragraph 51).

Government should give the loan to Indore Municipality of a Senior Officer who will be independent of all local considerations, for the purpose of doing the re-assessment work of the city and more specifically of the mills and factories, as well as vacant lands (paragraph 52).

System of appeals against assessments being heard by a Committee of the Municipal Council should be changed and these should be heard by the Civil Court (paragraph 53).

Government should permit free letting out of new property and to let the forces of supply and demand to balance themselves, no matter how high the rents may be (paragraph 62).

An increase of Rs. 2-15-6% should be made in the House Tax, with a view to have it at 10% in all (paragraph 64). This should be done after re-assessment is completed (paragraph 66).

A tax at the full rate of the House Tax should be levied on all vacant lands within the city limits. This will be in the nature of an incentive for more buildings (paragraph 69). Where a rule of local authority involves that a man has to keep so much land vacant, that land will not be liable to this tax (paragraph 70).

Every company, firm or individual engaged in business or trade in Indore will pay in respect of his business Rs. 100/- per year, under Section 21 (iii) (paragraph 77).

Every shop used by businessmen and professional men will pay to the Municipality Rs. 50/- a year, under Section 21 (ii) (paragraph 77).

Every shop where goods are sold will pay Rs. 50/- per year to the Municipality, under Section 21 (ii), (paragraph 77).

All shops in Bada Sarafa and Chhota Sarafa will however pay Rs. 100/- per year to the Municipality, under Section 21 (ii) (paragraph 77).

Every Chamber of Commerce, business association, exchange or association of merchants or professional men should pay Rs. 150/- per year to the Municipality (paragraph 77).

All men engaged in profession will be liable to pay a sum of Rs. 50/- per year to the Municipality, under Section 21 (iii). This will include doctors, lawyers, dentists, architects, licence brokers, etc., but not public employees (paragraph 77). Nurses, actors, barbers, washermen, etc., should pay Rs. 25/- per year (paragraph 77).

Every association or club, samaj, society, etc., whose object is not commercial, will pay Rs. 100/- per year to the Municipality (paragraph 77).

Hotels, restaurants and sweets shops will also be liable for business, trade or shop tax (paragraph 78).

Takhat Tax should be abolished (paragraph 80).

Special levy of 4% as Conservancy Charges on all properties should be imposed by way of Conservancy Tax, (paragraph 85). In consequence, the present levy of Rs. 2/- per bungalow per month should be abolished (paragraph 95).

The 'Jagirdari' system should be discontinued. The issue between the Jagirdars, the public and the Municipality should be settled by negotiations through a conference to be called by the Hon'ble Minister for Public Health (paragraph 91).

A fresh estimate should be made of requirements in respect of water of the city for 5,00,000 people and some kind of tentative scheme should be in hand for the additional sppply (paragraph 98).

In order to meet the demand and to make the budget of the Water-Works less unfavourable than it is now, a diesel plant should be installed to enable the pumps to send more water (paragraph 100).

Water rate on metered connections should be raised from 6 annas per 1000 gallons to 9 annas per 1000 gallons (paragraph 102) with a 33⅓% surcharge on the bill for water at 9 annas per 1000 gallons on factories and industrial establishments, Hotels, Clubs and boarding houses (paragraph 106). This rate may further be revised if deemed necessary (paragraph 109).

Supplementary Water-Works should be erected on the South side of the city and the unfiltered water from them may be used for cleaning purposes. Use of filtered water for cleaning is wasteful (paragraph 103).

All connections should be metered as early as possible (paragraph 104).

Practice of giving water connections directly by the P. W. D. on behalf of the Government to Mills and industrial concerns should be forthwith discontinued and all connections within the Municipal limits should be given by the Municipality (paragraph 110).

Octroi duty on gold and gold articles (item No. 34) and silver and silver articles (item No. 35) ; unmanufactured brass, copper, iron, tin, zinc, aluminium and all kinds of metallic scrap (item No. 18) ; old newspapers, wrapping papers and card-boards, etc. (item No. 19) should be removed (paragraph 117 and 118).

Octroi duty on cigars, cigarettes and snuff (item No. 10) and photographic cameras, plates, films etc., medical appliances and scientific instruments (item No. 13) should be reduced from 6¼% to 3-2-0% (paragraph 118).

Octroi duty on coal and coak (item No. 15 (a)) should be raised from 7½ pies per maund to 12 pies per maund (paragraph 119).

Octroi duty should be levied on Cotton at Re. 1/- per bale and Re. 0-8-0 per bori (paragraph 130).

The system of refund of octroi should be re-cast (paragraph 125).

Municipal warehouses should be provided in Sivagunj area for additional facility for refund (paragraph 126).

Normally, octroi duty should be collected on invoice value (paragraph 127).

A committee may be set up by the Municipal Council to re-cast the octroi schedule (paragraph 131).

The city limits should be extended to a radius of 5 miles from the Palace (paragraph 132). Even the outside areas like Jayarampura and Gandhinagar should also be liable to full Municipal taxes if any service is given to them by the Municipality (paragraph 132).

Government should give to the Municipality all lands belonging to them in the new city limits including the Residency area. This applies more specifically to the areas hitherto in the occupation of the military (paragraph 134).

No private scheme be permitted by the Housing Commissioner until he is satisfied that the scheme is sound and also the private party has deposited with the Municipality enough funds for making the roads as provided in the plan (paragraph 140).

It is necessary to provide a larger minimum size for a house-hold as well as for a living room. Municipality should prevent the re-erection of houses with small frontage (paragraph 144).

A set back of five feet at least on both sides should be imposed on all new buildings, the construction of which has yet to commence, in the case of Route No. 2 (paragraph 147).

Municipality should have the right in certain cases to give additional height to buildings along routes Nos. 1 and 2 (paragraph 148).

The sanctioning of buildings on the new route-roads by the City Improvement Trust should be discontinued and the plans should be submitted to and sanctioned by the Municipality (paragraph 149).

Certain improvements have been suggested in respect of the two rivers of which a survey should be taken with a view to establish two new reservoirs (paragraph 153).

The creation of a central market with two ancilliary markets is recommended (paragraph 162).

The buildings of mills and factories and other industrial establishments should be assessed on the basis of the actual cost incurred in Indore this year (paragraph 169).

The question of transferring the Power House and the Water-Works to the Municipality should be examined by the Government (paragraphs 177 & 178).

The annual grant of Rs. 3 lacs given by Government to the Municipality should be assured for at least five years. The grant should be increased in case any proposal for increased revenue made in this report is disapproved of by them (paragraph 181).

THE HOUSING PROBL

By

KEKI D. MISTRY*

At the outset I will thank you all for inviting me to speak on "The Housing Problem." The subject as you know is an old one and recently much has been said on this subject, but despite that very little has actually been carried out. That is how we stand today and it is a very miserable plight.

I am quite sure everyone will agree that it is logical to view the many complex problems which arise in different parts of the country in such a manner as to appreciate their true significance as part of a whole.

To plan is to arrange things in an orderly manner so that we obtain the best from our efforts in comfort, convenience, health, happiness and efficiency. Planning is not something that must be imposed upon people but it is a means of assisting life to be carried on in reasonable comfort and with efficiency. Those who resist planning because they misunderstand its true purpose and place, are barring the way to the improvement of national living and efficiency. Those who think that planning means regimentation of buildings and of lives are unaware of that freedom, charm and beauty that can be achieved by thought and care by those who wish to arrange things with sympathetic understanding.

Due to the war and the terrific devastations it has caused, housing is on the lips of everyone and is a top item of the agenda of most of the countries. The population of the Urban areas, especially Bombay, has grown enormously but unfortunately there has not been a corresponding increase in the number of new houses. The contributing causes are many, such as Control over building materials, very high prices of building materials, inflated land values, influx of refugees and so on; hence the housing problem needs to be tackled with intelligence and foresight.

Bombay, one of the largest cities in the world, has one of the worst housing records. According to official statistics, today about 60 per cent

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* A Summary of a talk given by Keki D. Mistry A.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I., A.I.I.A., before the Indian Town & Country Planning Association on 28th Sept. 1949.

of the total population of Bombay, *i. e.* about 17 lakhs, live miserably in one-room tenements (each room measuring only 150 Sq. Ft.), 5 lakhs live in two-room tenements, 3 lakhs in three-room flats and there is a lucky lot of about 1 lakh who live rather comfortably in four and more roomed tenements. This is as far as the population that is housed is concerned, but there is another lot unfortunately of about 6 lakhs who can be classed as "Homeless" who sleep on the footpaths. It is said that many of these unfortunates could afford to pay rents if houses were available. So this brings the total to 32 lakhs which is roughly the population of Bombay today.

Statistics show that the population of our city for the last ten years has been increasing at the rate of 500 persons per day. This increase is neither good nor healthy—rather a threat to society and a liability for the ruling authorities. Although the population has shot up in gigantic proportions housing very unfortunately has not kept pace with this increase and you would be surprised that new tenements have sprung up only to house 60 persons per day for the same period *i. e.* 10 years.

So this is the picture of Bombay that I have put before you and now I want to tell you how our city stands in comparison to other cities of the world. Reports show that while 97 per cent of our working class population live in one-room tenement, in England only 10 per cent of the people do so. Moreover, while in India majority of the workers live in one room, in France, Belgium and Russia he has two rooms, in Sweden and Holland three and in England and U. S. A. four rooms or even more. So, it is quite natural that due to such miserable and apalling living conditions of our workers their progress is checked, which ultimately tells on their health with the result that an average Indian unfortunately dies early. It is said that while an average Indian lives for 27 years, an Egyptian lives for 33 years, a Russian 45 years, an Englishman 53, an American 55, while the lucky New Zealander tops the list with a long life of 67 years!

From all this you will see and it is a notorious fact, that Bombay lacks a healthy and balanced Plan. It is good news that a Master Plan for Bombay has been prepared and that it is now before the Government and that it will be soon translated into reality. The Master Plan envisages the dispersal of industries which will ultimately decentralise the population. Dwellings very close to industrial areas have become so insanitary due to over-crowding that they have become veritable breeding places of germs of diseases like Malaria, Cholera and so on with the result that nowhere in the world, as here in India, is there such a high rate of infant mortality. Decentralisation of population by decentralising the industries is very

essential and the only solution. Development of other areas on scientific lines and providing modern amenities with cheap and quick transport to their works are necessary. In Welwyn Garden City, sponsured by Ebenezer Howard in England and built on scientific lines there have been very few cases of infant mortality. A scientific appoach to the problem under expert advice is never more imperative than it is to-day. The distribution of population over a wider area by spreading out the industries would minimise the destruction of people and property.

Our Government is very keen on the rapid industrialisation of India. Indian progress however, will be dependent largely on a healthy contented labour force and this can only result from better living conditions amongst them, including a higher standard of housing. It is no wonder that our labourers are known for low-level productivity because of their poor living conditions.

Proper housing is a social problem affecting and moulding the lives of generations. The necessity and importance of proper housing for a corporate and communal life is now universally accepted and in almost all the leading countries of the world, the problem of housing has gained a civic and national importance.

The Administration & Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay

(Excluding the City of Bombay)

CHAPTER I

Introductory

1. Administration and Finance of Primary Education in the Province of Bombay Prior to 1923:

For the purposes of this dissertation it is not necessary to go further back into the past, than 1923, when the Primary Education Act was passed, and to begain with, we may describe the system of administration and finance of primary education that prevailed in the Province prior to 1923.

(a) *Municipal Areas:* In 1884, every Municipality was autkorjsed under certain restrictions, to manage the primary education in its area. In other words, there was no distinction between one municipality and another, and all municipalities — irrespective of the modern sense of the term. This system continued to exist right up to 1923.

The powers of the municipalities over primary education were governed by rules made under Section 58 of the Bombay District Municipal Act of 1901. The Section runs as follows:—

"58. The management, control and administration of every public institution exclusively maintained out of municipal property and funds shall vest in the municipality by which it is maintained:

Provided that the extent of the independent authorithy of any municipality in respect of public education and their relations with the Educational Department of the Provincial Government shall from time to time be prescribed by the Provincial Governments".

Government published rules under this Section from time to time and the municipalities managed primary education in accordance with those rules. There was no special Act or rules for primary education.

The actual powers enjoyed by the municipalities over primary education were few. The budget of the schools was passed by the municipality. The municipality was also consulted in respect of the appointment and transfer of teachers. The inspection of primary schools was, however, exclusively done by government. In practice, therefore, government exercised far more powers over primary education than the municipalities themselves.

The government grant to the municipalities was fixed block-grant. In 1884, the grant was calculated at 33.1/3% of the total expenditure. In 1902, this percentage was raised to 50. The original idea was that government should revise these grants from time to time, but in practice the revision was not frequent. In several municipalities the expenditure increased very considerably but there was no corresponding increase in the government grant. Particularly during World War I, the cost of education rose very greatly and the municipalities found it more and more difficult to meet the increase in expenditure.

(b) *Rural areas:* In so far as the non-municipal areas are concerned, the local authorities were the district local boards. At this time, the Collector used to be the president of the district local board, and the people had very little real power in them.

In the case of local boards also, there was no special Act for primary education. There was one Section in the Local Boards Act of 1884, under which rules were made defining the authority of the local boards over primary education. In practice, these local boards had hardly any authority over primary education. They passed the budget of the schools, and made certain broad recommendations. All real power was exercised by the Education Department. Every district had a Deputy Educational Inspector who inspected schools, administered them, appointed teachers and controlled their services and did all the things necessary to carry on the administration of the schools.

Each district local board levied local fund cess at the rate of 1 anna in every rupee of land revenue and paid 4 pies out of it for primary education. All the extra amount required was paid for by government ever since 1913.

2. Changes introduced by the Primary Education Act of 1923 in the Administration and Finance of Primary Education :

The Primary Education Act of 1923 introduced fundamental changes in the administration and finance of primary education. These changes may be summarised as follows :—

(a) The Act distinguished between the smaller and the bigger municipalities. The bigger municipalities were authorized to manage primary education. They were, therefore, called *Local Authorities*. The smaller municipalities were called *Non-Local Authorities* and the education in their areas was to be managed by a district local board or a local authority municipality according to convenience. In the rural areas all the district local boards were made *Local Authorities*.

(b) Each Local Authority was to elect a School Board which consisted entirely of elected members. Seats were reserved for women, backward communities, Muslims and for persons experienced in education. There was no educational qualification prescribed for the members.

(c) Inspection was transferred to the Local Authorities. Prior to 1923, inspection of primary schools was done by government officers. It was now decided that it was the duty of Local Authorities to arrange for the inspection of all primary schools.

(d) Every school board was given an Administrative Officer who was to be appointed by Local Authority. He was the chief executive officer of the school board.

(e) The Local Authorities were given complete powers over primary education and government reserved to itself only a few broad powers of supervision and control.

(f) In the case of Local Authority Municipalities, Government decided to give 50% of the *approved expenditure* as grant-in-aid. The old system of fixed grants was, therefore, abandoned.

(g) In the case of non-Local Authority Municipalities, every municipality was required to pay one-third of the expenditure incurred

in its area during the preceding year. The remaining two-thirds was paid by Government.

(h) In the case of the district local boards, a complicated formulæ was devised. Government guaranteed that it, would continue to contribute that expenditure which was incurred by Government in the area of the local board concerned in the year prior to the transfer of control. In addition, government agreed to pay two-thirds of all the increase in expenditure approved by Government.

The actual formulæ for grant was the following:—

Datum-Year=	Year prior to the transfer of control.
Datum-Expenditure=	Expenditure on primary education in the Datum Year.
Datum-Assets=	Assets in the Datum-Year.
Datum-Grant=	Datum Expenditure—11/12 (Datum Assets) because I/12 of Datum-Assets were written off for imminent increase in expenditure.
Total grant payable in a year =	Datum grant-2/3 (approved expenditure in that year-Datum Expenditure.

For facility of calculations, the Department has evolved the concept of the *Datum-Constant* which is defined as being equal to one-third of the Detum-expenditure minus eleven-twelfth of the Datum-assets. The origin of the idea and the method of calculations may be explained as follows:—

We have,

Grant payble in a year =
Datum grant—2/3 (approved recurring expenditure in that year-Datum-expenditure)
—Datum-Expenditure - 11/12 Datum-Assets-2/3 (approved recurring expenditure in that year-Datum Expenditure.)
—2/3 approved recurring expenditure in that year-1/3 Datum-Expenditure
—11/12 Datum-Assets.
—2/3 approved recurring expenditure in that year-Datum Constant.

The Datum-constants are calculated once and for all for each district and consequently the grant payable to any district local board could be readily calculated on that basis. The following is the list of Datum grant per head of population:—

Serial No.	Name of the District	Population of the District excluding the Population of the L. M. Municipalities	Datum-line grant for Primary Education to the District	Grant per head of population
1	2	3	4	5
				as. ps.
1.	Bombay Suburban	1,38,875	22,992	2— 7
2.	Thana	8,36,625	2,25,572	4— 6
3.	Nasik	9,24,862	3,84,462	6— 7
4.	Ratnagiri	13,02,527	4,28,818	5— 3
5.	Kolaba	6,28,721	2,42,412	6— 2
6.	Ahmedabad	5,41,276	3,91,534	11—11
7.	Kaira	7,07,066	4,90,129	11— 1
8.	Broach	2,99,894	2,79,296	14—10
9.	Panch Mahals	4,54,526	1,92,633	6— 9
10.	Surat	5,30,403	4,81,155	14— 4
11.	Poona	9,89,776	4,65,104	7— 6
12.	Satara	11,55,685	4,78,148	6— 0
13.	East Khandesh	11,48,240	5,67,944	7—10
14.	West Khandesh	7,32,138	5,50,403	12— 0
15.	Ahmednagar	9,46,316	3,99,027	6— 8
16.	Sholapur	7,42,110	2,72,250	5—10
17.	Dharwar	9,32,439	5,99,324	10— 3
18.	Belgaum	10,76,701	4,47,052	6— 7
19.	Bijapur	8,29,467	4,22,347	8— 2
20.	North Kanara	4,17,835	2,51,215	9— 7

3. The working of the Primary Education Act of 1923.

The Primary Education Act of 1923 was in force for about fifteen years, and considerable experience of its working has, therefore, been obtained. On the whole, it may be said that it was a failure. To begin with, it may be pointed out that the main purpose of the Act was not fulfilled. The Chandavarkar Committee, on whose recommendations the Primary Education Act was passed had suggested that the number of

children in primary schools should be doubled in ten years. Sir R. P. Paranjpe who was responsible for passing the Primary Education Act wanted to double the number of children in six or seven years. But in fifteen years the actual statistics show that the number of children increased by 58.8% only as will be seen from the following table:—

Year	Schools			Pupils		
	On local Board Budget	Aided	Total	In Local Board Schools	In Aided Schools	Total
1921–22	7,638	963	8,601	4,46,290	33,701	4,79,991
1937–38	9,278	1,653	10,931	6,90,030	72,488	7,62,518
Net increase	1,640	690	2,330	2,43,740	38,787	2,82,527
Percentage of increase	21	73	27	54.4	115	58.8

Secondly, compulsory education was not sufficiently extended under the Act. The original idea was to introduce compulsory education in most parts of the Province, but actually it was introduced only in a few towns and villages. In 1937–38, the population of the towns and villages where compulsion was introduced was only 5% of the total population of the Province.

It must be admitted that these failures were due not so much to the Act as to the financial stringency that prevailed in the period 1927 to 1937. On account of financial difficulties government postponed the consideration of several schemes of compulsion and expansion which were prepared by the local authorities. It also refused to admit, for purposes of grants large amounts of legitimate expenditure incurred by the local authorities. In addition to all this, government also imposed emergency cuts on the grants due to the local authorities. The local authorities tried to save the situation by spending larger amounts from their own resources, but their revenues were meagre and therefore the financial difficulties could not be overcome. It is due to these difficulties rather than to any other cause that these failures of the Act are to be ascribed.

Thirdly, the administration of primary education suffered very greatly under the transfer to the Local Authorities. In his speech in the Assembly,

the Prime Minister Mr. B. G. Kher quoted the following passages from important reports to show how the school boards have failed in their duties :—

> "Complaints came from all Provinces of laxity in various details of administration and of frequent action on grounds other than educational. Teachers are transferred, dismissed or appointed for personal or communal reasons. Increments are not granted, payment of salary is often in arrears, departmental advice is ignored, relations with the Education Departments and their officers are strained, local bodies are apathetic and there is sufficient reason to show that generally the administration is lax in many ways."
>
> "There has been very little change in the administration of schools. Although as reported before, the transfer has brought the public into more intimate touch with education, public opinion is not sufficiently advanced to exercise a wholesome check on party and personal considerations which dominate the work of the school board and of local authority. In some districts transfers and promotions still continue to be made purely on personal and communal grounds."
>
> "Many of the Administrative Officers are glorified head clerks carrying out the orders of the Chairman in particular, of the school boards in general, while some have willingly surrendered their powers of appointments and transfers both to the chairman as well as to the school boards. Others have acquiesced more or less in the same conditions. There is so much interference with the day to day administration under the Administrative Officers, with the result that these officers are probably not taking as much active interests in their work as they ought to do."
>
> "Few members of the school boards are interested in education as such. Most of them are interested in the powers and patronage and in the prestige conferred upon them by membership of school boards".
>
> "School boards inspecting officers are completely under the boards and have really no voice even in educational matters. Their suggestions and reports are either not free and voluntary or they are ignored. In the ultimate resort, the teacher, who is also the electioneering and canvassing agent, is the dominant authority."*

* Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates, 1938 vol. III, pp. 1842 and 1843.

Fourthly, government felt powerless to bring about a radical reform in the administration of primary education because under the Primary Education Act of 1923, they had few powers of control and supervision.

Fifthly even in the few areas where compulsory education had been introduced, the local authorities did not enforce it vigorously. In most cases, compulsion was more or less on paper only.

Sixthly, the financial arrangements of the Primary Education Act of 1923 were far from satisfactory. For all local authority municipalities, government had prescribed a single uniform rate of grant-in-aid viz, 50 per cent of the approved expenditure. In practice, this meant that a small and poor municipality like that of Satara was treated on the same basis as a rich municipality like Ahmedabad. In the case of districts also there were great inequalities. The table given earlier in para 2 (b) shows that the Datum-grants to the districts were extremely unequal. For instance, the Datum-grants vary from 14 as. 10 ps. per head of the population in Broach to 2 as. 7 ps. in the Bombay Suburban District. In several cases the rich districts got more and the poor districts got less. These inequalities led to unequal expansion of education in rural areas. Moreover, it was argued that under the system of Datum-grants a backward district was placed under a handicap e. g. in a rich district there was already considerable expansion of education in 1923. The further expansion of primary education in order to introduce compulsion was small and the district had to pay one-third of this small amount. On the other hand, a backward district had comparatively few schools and teachers in 1923. The further expansion of education required in such a district was, therefore, much larger and the district was required to pay one-third of this greater cost, in spite of its poverty. The system was therefore, unfair to the poorer and backward districts.

On the whole, therefore, the general opinion among educationists of this period was that there was a necessity of a drastic revision of the existing machinery of administering primary education. The Congress party was of the view that such reorganisation must be carried out before programmes of expansion of primary education could be undertaken. In short, the view of the Congress party was that a good deal of the expenditure on primary education was wasted because the local bodies did not administer it properly and because government had no powers to rectify their mistakes of commission and omission. Any increase of educational expenditure, without improving the machinery of administration would lead, therefore, to a still greater waste of public funds. The Congress,

therefore, was of opinion that no programmes of expansion should be undertaken unless and until the powers of the local authorities were curtailed. It was with this object that government carried out the following resolution in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on 20th September 1937 :—

> "This Assembly recommends to government to introduce free compulsory elementary primary education all over the province as early as possible after taking steps to overhaul the present system in the manner already set out in the declaration of policy made by Government."*

It was in accordance with this resolution that the Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938 was passed when the first Congress Ministry came to office.

4. The Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938:—

The following were the main changes made by the Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938:

(i) The number of local authority municipalities was reduced still further and some small municipalities which had become local authorities under the Act of 1923, were now classed as non-local authorities.

(ii) The Act introduced the principle of prescribing educational qualifications for some members of school boards. Section 3 of the Act laid down that members other than women or representatives of minorities and backward communities must have a "requisite educational qualification". A person was deemed to possess this requisite educational qualification if he had passed the vernacular school final examination held by the Provincial government, or had passed the Anglo-Vernacular third standard or possessed any other equivalent or higher educational qualification which the Provincial government may prescribe in this behalf.

(iii) The Act transferred inspection from the local bodies to the government. In every district, an officer called the Deputy Educational Inspector was appointed. The supervisors (who were the inspecting officers under the local authorities) were transferred to the service of government and were placed under the Deputy Educational Inspector, as Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors. The Deputy Educational Inspector and his assistants

* Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates 1937 Vol. I, p 1223.

inspected all primary schools, while the duty of administering them was left to the local bodies.

(iv) The administrative officer of the school board was now made a servant of the government. This position gave him strength and he ceased to be merely a "glorified head clerk" of the school board. He now had the courage to exercise his own powers. The Rules under the Act made the Administrative officer fully responsible for the appointment, transfers etc. of primary teachers. In these matters he was to be subordinate to the Education Department and not to the school board.

(v) The Act did not make any financial changes. In fact it was not a financial measure at all. But the government issued the following two orders which changed the financial relations between government and the local authorities to some extent:—

(a) Government became more liberal towards the local authorities. The emergency cuts on grants were removed. In addition government sanctioned large grants either for the introduction of compulsion or for expansion;

(b) Under the old rules, all local authority municipalities were treated on one basis (they paid 50% of the expenditure) and all non-local authority municipalities were treated on another basis (they paid 33.1/3% of the expenditure). These flat rates were very simple to administer but they caused injustice to the poorer municipalities. Government now laid down a rule that there will be no such flat rates, that the case of municipalities would be considered on merits and that the richer municipalities would receive less grant-in-aid. On this basis, government decided that it would pay 25% of the expenditure to Ahmedabad, 33.1/3% to Poona, Surat and Sholapur and 50% to the other local authority municipalities. In the case of non-authority municipalities also, government made two divisions. In one case it paid 50% of the expenditure as grant-in-aid (this policy was adopted in the case of all those local authority municipalities which were made non-local authorities under this Act and in the other case it paid two-thirds of the total expenditure.

5. The Working of the Primary Education (Ammendment) Act of 1923:—

The Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938 did not work very satisfactorily. In the first place, it did not please any one. Those who

believed that the school boards should be abolished were not satisfied with the Act because it still continued several important powers with the local authorities. On the other hand, those persons who believed that the local authorities must be strong were dissatisfied because several important powers were taken away from them. The Act was essentially a compromise measure, and like most compromises it pleased none.

The school boards in particular did not like the idea that the Administrative officer should be a servant of government. This made him independent and he now began to exercise in reality his powers of appointing transferring and controlling teachers. These were questions in which the school boards were greatly interested and they felt that the changes made by the Act had deprived them completely of their substantial powers over the primary teachers.

The position of the Administrative Officer has generally been very unhappy. He had to serve two masters—the Department in matters of control over teachers and the school board in other cases. As the relations between government and the school boards were not very happy, his position became extremely awkward on several occasions.

The administrative procedure under the Act became very complicated and elaborate. The Administrative Officer had the executive authority and he had no assistant touring officers under him. He was in charge of all the primary schools in the districts but he could tour very little and could see only a few things by himself. In most cases he had to depend upon the reports of the Deputy Educational Inspector. On the other hand, the Deputy Educational Inspector had the necessary number of assistants and knew how the schools and teachers were working. But unfortunately he had no authority to pass orders and was only required to send repors to the Administrative Officer. Very often the Deputy Educational Inspector and the Administrative Officer did not aggree with each other and could not work in collaboeation. On the whole, therefore, the division of authority between the Administrative Officer and the Deputy Educational Inspector did not prove to be very happy in practice.

The local authority municipalities which were converted into non local authority municipalities under the Act were also dissatisfied. They lost all their former authority. They would have accepted this loss if it would have implied a lessening of their financial burden, but as things actually happened they lost all powers and had to pay for primary education at the same rate as in the past. There is no wonder that they did not like the Act.

An agitation was, therefore, started very soon after 1938, to the effect that a further change in the administration and finance of primary education was necessary. All agreed on one point only i. e. the Act of 1938 must go; but there were differences of opinion regarding the reforms required. Some suggested that the Province must go back to the Act of 1923, others were of the opinion that the Province should go one step further and abolish the school boards altogether. This controversy did not come to a crisis when the Section 93 Government was in power, mainly because that government refused to undertake any drastic legislation on the subject. But in 1945, when the Congress came to power again the matter soon came to a crisis. In the first place the question of amending the Primary Education Act was recked up again but a more important event was the financial collapse of most local authorities and particularly the district local boards. Owing to War and the rise in the cost of living, the teachers began to agitate for a higher wage. They even organized a strike for that purpose. The local authorities had no money with which to pay the increased salaries and allowances of primary teachers and government had, therefore to come forward with larger grants. In short, the whole financial stutctures of the Act of 1923 collapsed under the strain of the increased costs due to the World War II. It was therefore, felt inevitable to reconsider the whole position and to pass a new and a comprehensive Act for the administration and finance of primary education in the Province of Bombay.

C. The Primary Education Act of 1947:

The second Congress Ministry, therefore, repealed the Primary Education Act of 1923 (as amended by the Act of 1938) and passed a completely new Act which is known as the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1947.

The Second Congress Ministry, it will be recalled, came to power only in 1945 but it took nearly two years for the Ministry to pass the New Primary Education Act. This long delay was due to the fact that there were extreme differences of opinion with the Congress itself. One section believed that the school boards must be abolished and that government must make itself directly responsible for the administration and finance of primary education. The other section believed that a centralized form of administration was not good, that decentralization was a creed of the Congress and quite indispensable in the administration of primary education and that the school boards must exist and must have wide powers. It was very difficult to reconcile these extreme view points.

It took a long time to bring them together and ultimately a compromise on the following lines was evolved:—

(i) It was agreed that the school boards should be continued though their powers were to be reduced still further.

(ii) In the case of district school boards it was decided that government should go back to the position which prevailed before 1923, that is to say, the school boards should be more or less advisory bodies only. They should contribute a definite sum to the expenditure on primary education and all the deficit should be borne by government.

(iii) In case of the local authority municipalities, their powers were to continue unchanged, because they contributed atleast 50% of the expenditure on primary education.

(iv) The non-local authority municipalities were to be treated on the same basis as the district school boards.

These were the main lines of the compromise and the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1947 was passed principally on them. Its main provisions are the following :

(i) The Municipalities of the Province are now divided into two groups-Authorized and non-Authorised. These terms replace the old terms 'local authority' and 'non-local authority'.

(ii) Upto this time, all members of the school boards were elected. Under the Act of 1947 government have the power to nominate not less than two and not more than three members. One of these must be an officer of government and the other two would ordinarily be non-officials having experience of primary education.

(iii) As in the past seats are reserved for women, minorities and backward communities.

(iv) Higher educational qualifications for members of the board have been prescribed. For instance, persons representing the backward communities shall have passed at least the primary fourth standard examination. At least three members must have passed the Matriculation Examination or the second year Training examination. Other elected members must have passed the Primary School Certificate examination or shall possess such other equivalent or higher educational qualification as may be prescribed by government.

(v) Under the Act of 1923, it was the District Local Boards which were made the local authorities and the school boards exercised powers on primary education on behalf of the local boards. The Act of 1947 changes this position and makes the district school boards independent of the district local boards. But the position of the Municipal School Boards continues as before.

(vi) The district shoool boards have been deprived of most of their powers and are now made more or less advisory bodies only. Section 13(2) and (3) describe their powers in the following words:

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, and so far as its primary education fund will allow, the district school board shall perform the following duties and functions:—

(a) to provide for the welfare of the children attending primary schools;

(b) to maintain an adequate number of primary schools;

(c) to provide adequate accommodation and equipment for primary schools;

(d) to maintain an adequate staff of Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers, Clerks, teachers, inferior servants and other staff as may in the opinion of the Provincial Government be necessary;

(e) to maintain an adequate number of engineering staff required for the construction and maintenance of schools and other buildings;

(f) to determine, on the recommendation of the Administrative Officer, the distance measured according to the nearest road between an approved school and the residence of a child for purposes of clause (c) of section 33;

(g) to determine with the approval of the Educational Inspector the hours of instruction and the numder and duration of vacations;

(h) to determine the exact location of primary schools;

(i) to grant on the recommendation of the Administrative Officer exemptions from attending an approved school to a child who is receiving instruction otherwise than in an approved school;

(j) to sanction all tenders for the supply of forms, stationery, furniture or equipment;

(k) to suggest the opening of additional schools for the sanction of the Provincial Government.

(l) to recommend to the Director such modifications in the curriculum as may seem necessary to suit local requirements;

(m) to advise the Provincial Government generally in respect of primary education within the district;

(n) to carry on propaganda for the expansion of primary education;

(o) to perform such other duties and functions as may be prescribed.

(3) The district school board shall from time to time with the sanction of the Director make regulations not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder for–

(i) Laying down the days, the time and the periods on each day during which a child shall be present for instruction at an approved school;

(ii) Determining the constitution, powers and duties of the taluka advisory committees:

(iii) The supply of books, slates, educational requisites, milk, meals or clothes to children of any age receiving primary education, if provision for such supply is made.

(vii) The Act also provides for the famous 'suicide' clause. It was argued out that some of the boards may not like to accept such limited powers as described above and they would prefer extinction to continuance as advisory body. To meet this argument Section 14 provides that it shall be lawful for a district school board to relinquish its powers in favour of the Provincial Government, and that on such relinquishment, the district school board concerned would be abolished.

(viii) Prior to 1947, there were no Taluka Committees to advise the district school boards. It was argued that the district was too big a unit to be administered as a local area. In order to meet this argument Section 15 provides that a district school board may appoint Taluka Advisory Committees and delegate certain powers and duties to them.

(ix) The position of the Municipal School boards continues unchanged as before.

(x) The Administrative Officer continues to be a government servant but he is to be given assistants who would be called Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors and Attendance Officers.

(xi) The powers of inspection are continued with government as before.

(xii) Under the Act of 1938, the control over primary teachers was vested entirely in the Administrative Officer and there was an appeal in some cases to the Department. Under the Act of 1947, this position is considerably changed. The Act creates a Staff Selection Committee consisting of the Educational Inspector, the Administrative Officer and the Chairman of the School board. The Committee will select candidates for the posts of Assistant Administrative Officers, Supervisors, Attendance Officers and teachers. Moreover, any employee who is aggrieved by an order of the Administrative Officer has now a right of appeal, not to the Department but to a tribunal consisting of the Chairman of the school board concerned and the Educational Inspector of the division. If there is a difference of opinion in the tribunal an appeal is made to the Director whose decision is final (Sections 23 and 24).

(xiii) The Act makes far-reaching changes in the financial relations between government and the local authorities. In the case of the district local boards, each board "shall pay over annually to the district school board for the purpose of primary education such portion of its income from its revenue described in clauses (b) and (c) of Section 75 of the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923 as the Provincial government may from time to time fix in this behalf". Actually government has decided that every local board must raise its Local Fund Cess to 3 as. in a rupee and pay 15 pies out of that for primary education. The budget of the school board is to be sanctioned by government and all the deficit in the budget is also to be paid for by government.

(xiv) In the case of non-authorized municipalities the Act prescribes that "Every non authorized municipality shall pay over annually to the district school board or the authorized municipality, as the case may be, for the purposes of primary

education such proportion of the rateable value of properties in the area of the municipality as may from time to time be fixed in this behalf by the Provincial Government and the income accruing from any funds (including trust funds) held, and all moneys received by it for the said purpose". All the deficit in the case of non-authorized municipalities will also be paid by government. As yet, government have not fixed the percentages in the case of any non-authorized municipalities. It is not known, therefore, how and on what principles government is going to decide the question.

(xv) In the case of authorized municipalities the Act is not very happy. It is presumed that these municipalities will continue to get the same grants for primary education as they used to get before. That is to say, Ahmedabad will get 25%, Poona, Surat and Sholapur will get 33.1/3% and the others 50% of the approved expenditure. In future if they submit schemes of compulsion which are sanctioned by government the Provincial government shall bear half of the additional recurring and non-recurring annual cost of the scheme so sanctioned, but the liability of the Provincial government shall not exceed half of the said cost, as it was estimated by the authorized municipality.

7. Criticism of the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1947:

The Primary Education Act has come into force only on 1st April 1949. There is, therefore, no experience of the working of the Act. But even now there is a good deal of satisfaction about the Aet and several changes are being proposed. It is necessary to understand what the criticism against the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1947 is, so that the reforms required can be clearly understood.

The first and the most important point to be decided is whether the the local authorities should not exist. In other words, it is to be decided whether a decentralized form in which power and responsibility is shared between government and the local authorities is preferable.

If it is decided that it is not necessary to have a decentralized form of administration the problem becomes extremely simple. Questions like the size of the local authorities, the constitution of local authorities, the division of powers between government and local authorities and the financial relations between government and the local authorities do not arise at all. It is a question whether this simplicity is not obtained at too great a cost.

If, on the other hand, it is decided to continue the local authorities, the following problems will have to be faced and solved:

(a) What should be the size of a local authority ?

(b) What bodies can be conveniently regarded as local authorities ? Municipalities, Village Panchayats etc.

(c) How should powers over primary education be divided between government (both Federal and Provincial) and the local authorities; and

(d) How should the financial responsibility for primary education be divided between government and the local authorities.

Secondly, the problem of supervision of primary schools is also very difficult and remains unsolved so far. In this connection the following problems arise:

(a) At present, the district is the unit for administration and supervision of primary schools. Every school is independent of another, and all schools are directly subordinate to the Administrative Officer and the Deputy Educational Inspector. Is this system working satisfactorily ?

(b) If it is not working satisfactorily what alternative system should be devised; and

(c) Should the office of Administrative Officer and the Deputy Educational Officer be separate or be combined into one ?

Thirdly, it is necessary to find out how a compulsory primary education can be introduced throughout the Province and how it can be successfully enforced. In this connection the following points arise:

(a) What would be the total cost of a scheme of compulsory primary education for the Province as a whole ?

(b) Will the Federal and Provincial governments and the local authorities be able to bear this expenditure and

(c) If not, what measures can be suggested to make compulsory primary education a practicable programme ?

8. The Object of this Book is to suggest some solution to these problems in the light of a comparative study. The system of the administration and finance of primary education in Australia, Philippines, England, France, and U. S. A, will be studied and its application to the Province of Bombay will be discussed in the course of the following five chapters. The final chapter will be devoted to the discussion of the manner in which the above problems can be solved.

REFERENCES:

1. *J. P. Naik*— History of the Local Fund Cess in the Province of Bombay, 1943.
2. Report of the Provincial Board of Primary Education on the Financial Relations between Government and the Local Authorities, 1942.
3. The Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923 and Rules made thereunder.
4. The Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act, 1938 and Rules made thereunder.
5. The Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947 and Rules made thereunder.
6. Assembly Debates on the above Acts.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT, INSTITUTE

(Bombay Province.)

Twenty-second Annual Report for 1949 and Audited Statement of Accounts for the year 1948-49.

I have the pleasure to submit to the Provincial Council of the Institute the Twenty-second Annual Report for the year ending 31st December 1949 and the Statements of Accounts for the year 1948-49 audited by the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, and the Hony. Auditor of the Institute, Mr. R. N. Rajadnya.

The Executive Committee.

The Provincial Council at its Meeting dated the 5th March 1949 elected the following members to form the Executive Committee:—

1. L. M. Patil, Esq., B.A., LL.B., M.L.A., *President.*
2. G. D. Vartak, Esq., B.A., M.L.A., *Vice-President.*
3. S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc. (Edin), L.C.E., *Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.*
4. S. S. Pradhan, Esq., B.A. LL.B., *Jt. Hon. Secretary.*
5. R. V. Parulekar, Esq., M.A., M.Ed., T.D. (Lond).
6. Annasaheb G. Awate, Esq.
7. S. S. Matti, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
8. Haribhai Sarabhai Patel, Esq.
9. M. N. Wantmurimath, Esq.
10. W. G. Shetye, Esq., B.A. LL.B.
11. N. S. Patil, Esq.

Honorary Office-Bearers.

The following members were the Office-bearers during the year under report:—

1. *President:*—L. M. Patil, Esq., B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
2. *Vice-President:*—G. D. Vartak, Esq., B.A., M.L.A.

3. *Hon. Secretery & Treasurer:*—S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E.
4. *Jt. Hon. Secretary:*—S. S. Pradhan, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
5. *Hon. Auditor:*—R. N. Rajadnya, Esq.

I am much grieved to inform the Provincial Council that Mr. S. S. Pradhan, Jt. Honorary Secretary died of heart failure on 13th July 1949. You will all share my grief in as much as we have lost a sincere public worker amongst us, who directed every nerve of his for the uplift of this Institute. I have appointed Mr. R. V. Parulekar as Asstt. Honorary Secretary in his place. All of you know this veteran popular Co-worker.

Membership. Membership of the Institute is distributed as under:—Special Municipalities 4, Borough Municipalities 31, District Municipalities 111, District Local Boards 21, School Boards 6, Village Panchayats 97.

Activities of the Institute.

It was proposed to hold a Provincial Conference of Local Bodies during the year under Report along with the General Meeting of the Institute but it was decided by the Executive Committee to hold it later during April 1950 on account of merger of the new Local Bodies to the Province of Bombay.

Training Class. On account of recognition of the Diploma by the Corporation of Bombay last year, employees of the Bombay Municipality have been joining the Training Classes with the result that admission to some of them had to be refused for want of accommodation. I give below the number of students who passed during the last three years:—

Year	No. of students passed.
1946-47	37
1947-48	54
1948-49	88

Journals. The English Quarterly continued to be published in its former size during the year under report. As printing and paper difficulties are overcome to a certain extent it is proposed to revive publication of Quarterly Vernacular Journals before April 1950, if possible. Regional Editorial Boards for the purpose are being organised.

Publications. The following works have been published during the year under report:—

1. Local Self-Government in different Countries by G. Montagu Harris, M.A., O.B.E., Bar-at-law (Reprint).
2. Lighting Problems of Towns in India by S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E. (New Edition).
3. The Problems of Regulating Buildings in Towns and Cities by S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E. (New Edition).
4. Water Supply Part I by S. S. Naik, Esq., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E. (New Edition).

Research Scholars. This Institute's Library which is recognised by the University of Bombay for post-graduate studies is widely taken advantage of by Research Students. Four graduates studying for Ph. D. received training under my guidance and seven graduates for M. A. Degrees under that of Mr. Barfiwala, Director of the Institute.

Book-Depot. The services of this Institute's Book Depot continue to be widely utilised by a number of local Bodies and students.

Stores Purchase. Local Bodies have been receiving considerable assistance in the matter of purchase of large number of miscellaneous requirements at controlled rates. Numerous enquiries are being received from Local Bodies week after week and this Institute thereafter approaches the standard dealers of required materials and arranges delivery of the goods to the Local Body concerned economically and efficiently.

Paper Supply. For the last so many years, this Institute has been supplying papers to local bodies with the continued co-operation of the Government of India and Bombay. Local Bodies have saved hundreds of thousands of Rupees since the services commenced to be given by the Institute and they continue to save huge amounts every year. This is in addition to the avoiding of dangers which threatened the administrative machinery of local bodies for want of supply at certain stages.

Envelopes Supply.

As regards one of the sister activity of this Institute of supplying huge quantities of envelopes, a good number of Local Bodies commenced purchasing their envelopes requirements from this Institute with a great saving of money to them. The Institute has been getting prepared and supplying these envelopes in different sizes to local bodies, with or without printing as may be required.

Stationery.

Special arrangements have been made with Manufacturers of Carbon Papers, Ink and other stationery articles and found to be very useful to Local Bodies as greater and greater advantage of this service is being taken by Local Bodies.

Scrutiny of Forms required by Local Bodies.

This Institute has continued to scrutinise on behalf of Government the indents of local bodies to Government Yeravda Prison Press for numerous printed forms required by Local bodies and to advise the Prison Press for disposal of the same.

The following other activities are continued this year also:—

1. Maintaining an Employment Bureau for L. S. G. D. Diploma holders of the Institute; 2. Giving information and advice to Local Bodies on a variety of educational, administrative, legal and technical subjects.

The old retired veteran Chief Officer of the Ahmedabad Municipality, Mr. I. R. Bhagat, has been taking great pains to answer numerous complicated querries put up by many local bodies for replies. Mr. Jhinubhai Thakore, Dy. Secretary, Local Self-Government Dept., Government of Saurasthra, rendered good help in this direction. He has now been appointed Deputy Secretary, Local Self-Government Department, Saurashtra Government.

Institute's Printing Press.

This Institute's Printing Press has proved a great boon to Local Bodies in the matter of their printing requirements. I am very glad to note that the Provincial Council has already authorised me to invest to the extent of a lakh of rupees for the establishment and running of the Press. Over Rs. 85,000/- have been invested and the remaining amount sanctioned by the Provincial Council will be invested very shortly. The Press is daily being equipped with the urgent requisites. Enormous printing work is being rushed in from local bodies with the result that the

Printing Machines and the staff are kept very busy. Besides you will be much interested to know that Government of Bombay has entrusted to this Institute the printing of Municipal Account Code Forms in English and other regional languages. Besides the Government of Bombay have been pleased to provide under P. E Rule 55 that the School Boards are not required to resort to the procedure of inviting tenders etc. if orders for printing of forms and supply of stationery have been placed with this Institute. In addition to this, the Institute's Press has undertaken printing of *'Sanjivan'* in Gujarati, a monthly magazine issued by the Provincial Prohibition Board established by the Government of Bombay. The question of entrusting to this Institute's Press the printing of Forms and Registers under the Local Boards Account Code is also under the consideration of the Government. Moreover, number of Village Panchayat and School Board forms are being printed at this Institute's Press at the request of local bodies concerned. I am circulating a separate Progress Report on the Printing Press.

Medical stores.

Arrangements have already been made to contact the standard Manufacturers of medical stores in order that Local Bodies may secure best possible medicines through the agency of this Institute at rates which cannot be obtained by local bodies from whole sellers or retail merchants or from any other party. Local bodies have been requested to send their Indents of Medicines to this Institute. I am glad to note that some Local Boards and Municipalities have commenced taking advantage of the Institute's useful service. More Local Bodies will I am certain, realise the importance of this service in due course.

Proposed New Activities.

Cement & Steel Supply.

Negotiations are in progress with the Government Authorities regarding the supply of cement and steel to Local Bodies. Local bodies at present are much inconvenienced as they are unable to get sufficient supply of these essential materials in the market. The Institute has therefore proposed to tackle these materials at controlled rates and the required quantities.

Co-operation with other Institutes.

You are aware that you have already authorised the office of the Institute to work in close co-operation with other persons or Associations for establishing and maintaining Institutions devoted to any activity connected with any of the functions which may be of interest to local bodies. In pursuance of these directions the office of the Institute has been

rendering full co-operation to two Associations specially named by the Provincial Council *viz.* The Indian Town and Country Planning Association and the Indian Institute of Education, offices of both of which are located in the premises occupied by this Institute.

All-India Local Self-Government Institute.

The Provincial Council made provision for taking steps to establish in the Institute's office in Bombay the Headquarters of the All-India Local Self-Government Institute. The Council will be glad to note that active steps are being taken in the matter.

Shri. R. K. Sidhwa, M. L. A., who is the President of the All India Union of Local Authorities has nominated your Director, Mr. C. D. Barfivala as the General Secretary of the Union with the authority to take steps to revive the Union. Mr. Barfivala is taking further steps in the matter. He has already put himself in contact with highly placed persons in the Government of India and he hopes that in the near future, we may see a good All-India Institute growing up with the co-operation of our Institute.

Local Finance Enquiry Committee.

You are aware that Mr. Barfivala has been appointed as the non official representative of our Province on the Local Finance Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India.

Audit.

The audit note of Mr. R. N. Rajadnya, the Hon. Auditor on the accounts of the Institute for the year 1948-49 and two statements, of accounts one audited by him and the other by the Examiner, Local Fund Accounts, are reproduced hereunder.

Office of the Local Self-Government Institute,
11, Elphinstone Circle, Fort,
Bombay, Dated 28th June 1949.

I have examined the accounts of the Institute including Press accounts for the year ending 31st March 1949 and found them most satisfactorily maintained. The major portion of the activities of the Institute was in the direction of paper supply for the last five or six years and therefore, 1/3rds to 2/3rds of expenditure was incurred towards the support of that activity. It is only now that circumstances permit other activities to be revived and therefore expenditure towards this revival will be incurred in

greater proportion from year to year. I have no doubt Government will ultimately come to the aid of the Institute as it has done in case of other Departments. It is indeed surprising that a small staff of the Institute should form the foundation and the fountain source of such huge structure and flow of tremendously beneficial activities in the cause of Local Self-Government. All credit therefore goes to the staff whereof each member handles varying duties because strict division of labour cannot be made when the hands are so few and the activities so numerous.

I must emphasis that the able direction of Mr. Barfivala is responsible for these splendid results of which Local Bodies have by now become so very familiar,

Sd/. R. N. Rajadnya.
Hon. Auditor,
Local Self-Government Institute.

The Institute's Staff.

Regarding the Institute's staff I shall only repeat my remarks of the last year. They apply to the current year equally suitably.

Year after year, I have been putting on record the meritorious services of your capable, ever enthusiastic, energetic and self-sacrificing, Director, Mr. Barfivala, in whom Local Bodies have found a great supporter of Local Self-Government. He, with the help of hardworked, industrious and moderately paid staff has raised the Institute to an eminent position in the whole of India and placed it on a solid foundation of further progress. I am glad that the Provincial Council shares with me this appraisal of his services. The Provincial Council has created an additional post of a Personal Assistant to the Director and appointed Mr. S. V. Samant, Ex-Chief Officer of the Thana Municipality, to fill up the post. Mr. Samant brings with him wealth of experience and reputation for industry and integrity. I have no doubt that this appointment will help us to expand our activities still further.*

Mr. Gangoli, our Superintendent, whose charming manners every member and visitor of the Institute has been admiring, is the pivot on whom all Institute's activities hang. A more hardworking and honest man it would be difficult to find. The services of Mr. Ranadive, our Deputy Superintendent and Accountant, are complementary to Mr. Gangoli and exceptionally intelligent. Our audit Reports show his sterling capacity in accountancy.

* Mr. Samant has now been appointed Assistant Director-the new post having been sanctioned by the Provincial Council.

Mr. Patel, our young Press Manager, has shown competence and energy beyond my expectation and far above the average.

I have no doubt these Officers of the Institute can be relied upon for greater and greater progress.

S. S. Naik
Hon. Secretary.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE
(Bombay Province)
Statement of Accounts for the year 1948-49.

Particulars.		Receipts.	Expenditure.	Expenditure classified by sub-heads.			
				Establishment.	Stationery & Printing.	Postage.	Miscellaneous.
Opening Balance	Rs.						
Head Office	31,216- 9-11						
Branches	284- 3- 3	31,500-13- 2					
Subscription		10,135-14- 0					
Government Grant		3,000- 0- 0					
Government Grant for Library		2,000- 0- 0					
Public Education		5,785-11- 2	1,336- 2- 0				
General Administration			28,186- 3-10	20,628- 9- 4	1,215- 9- 3	1,153- 3- 6	5,188-13- 9
Library & Equipment			2,961- 3- 0				
Unpaid Bills		18,868- 4- 5					
Miscellaneous including Printing		68,275- 6- 6	97,258- 8- 9				
Training Classes		7,540- 0- 0	814-12- 0				
Deposits		90- 0- 0					
Receivable Bills			37,265- 3- 0				
Suspense Account		40,208-10-11					
Closing Balance							
Head Office	19,299 10-10						
Branches	283- 0- 9		19,582-11- 7				
		1,87,404-12- 2	1,87,404-12- 2				

The closing Balance of Rs. 19,582-11-7 includes Rs. 2,556-5-3 being deposits under Suspense Account and excludes the following investments:—

3% Conversion 1946/86 (Face Value).....Rs. 39,000- 0- 0
2½% Loan 1961 (Face Value).....Rs. 5,000- 0- 0
One Share of Poona Central Co-operative Bank...Rs. 50- 0- 0
Rs. 44,050- 0- 0

Verified & found correct
(Sd.)
Examiner L. F. Accounts,
(Bombay).

PRINTED AT LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT PRESS, ANDHERI.