

CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

	Page
4.0 Introduction	45
4.1.1 Kerala – 1956 and after – an overview of political scene	46
4.1.2 Kerala legislative assemblies - a profile	52
4.1.3 The field needs expressed by the government and legislators	72
4.2 Kinds of educational proposals tabled	75
4.3 The various alternatives, extent of participation by members in the House and decisions arrived at on education	83
4.3.1 Field needs surfaced in the House which are taken care of	100
4.3.2 Decisions arrived at – an overview	103
4.4 Continuity of emphasis given to the issues	104
4.5 Extent of sensitivity of political decision making to the educational field operations	116
4.6 Objective – II – Trends in political decision making on education in Kerala.	123
4.7 Trends in Decision making – Before and after the Constitutional amendment – 1976	134

CHAPTER IV ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

An educational decision, like any other decision at political level, before it comes to its logical end in the form of an Act, has to undergo certain processes which is engulfed in the terms “Political decision making process”. In theory, it can be said that the political decision making process attains its magnitude when the educational needs in the society are perceived by the peoples’ representatives, presented in the legislature, sought various alternatives and select the best alternative as a solution or decision. But, here it is an attempt to analyse this process in the real perspective of history i.e. during the three and half decades of the post re-organization period of Kerala through Objectives I and II. Objective-I is quoted below for reference:

“A study of Nature of political decision making process on education across successive governments” in terms of

- a) - Kinds of educational proposals tabled in the legislature
- Extent of participation by different political parties in evolution of major decisions
- Kinds of alternatives generated for adoption
- Kinds of educational decisions arrived at
- b) - Continuity of emphasis given to the educational issues
- c) - Extent of sensitivity of political decisions making to the educational operations

A Criteria Table (Table No. 4.1) had to be prepared to know which are the areas of education i.e. School education, college education (general) or technical education which could get emphasis across the governments of Kerala in the legislatures in terms of

- (i) Suggestions
- (ii) Proposals
- (iii) Decisions

regarding these areas. Though all the political parties in the legislative House have their contributions in bringing in suggestions, the role of the political party or the political front which rules the state is very significant. Hence, an understanding of the political scene of the state will be helpful since it may throw a little light about the context in which the state was born and the succeeding elected governments were formed.

What is followed now is a little briefing on the state in terms of its re-organization, its eight general elections, the political fronts which came into power during the post re-organization period of three and half decades. The various documents and records dealing with the successive governments of Kerala State, which were available in the legislative library and public libraries provided the source to give this briefing.

4.1.1 Kerala – 1956 and after – An overview of the Political Scene

Even before Independence, there was a demand for reorganization of States on the basis of language. The Indian National Congress had supported such a demand. After Independence this demand gained strength, specially in South India. Fearing for the separatist and parochial implications of this demand, the central leadership resisted it. In 1953, following the fast to death of Potti Sri Ramalu, a supporter of this demand, there was large-scale violence in Madras State. The Government of India bowed to the popular demand and a separate state for the Telegu speaking people was carved out of Madras State. The Government also appointed a three member Commission (States Re-organization Commission) to study the larger question. Largely based on its report, States were re-organized in India on the basis of language in 1956.

The wishes of People of Cochin, Travancore and Malabar for an 'Aikya Kerala', also, had its accomplishment on 1st November 1956 when a United Kerala State was formed incorporating Cochin, Travancore and Malabar. While Cochin and Travancore were already merged by the initiative of Sardar Patel in 1949, Malabar was continuing under the Presidency of the Madras State. The first ministry of the people of Kerala took its reign in the month of April in 1957.

Eight general elections took place during the three and half decades of the post re-organization period. All throughout the period, the arena was influenced by two different political fronts, the left front led by the Marxist Communist Party of India and the other, the right wing led by the Congress. The Communist Movement, inspired by the political revolutions of China and learning lessons from the political rebellions of the Czarist Russia, though rooted in the state quite earlier to India's Independence, started their major political operations in the forties of the 20th Century. The Party held and still holds, its power among the poor labourers of agriculture, fishermen and workers in the factories who were totally unorganized in those days. The demands of the organized labour sector, hitherto unorganized and hesitant to demand the rights, shook the state, especially the rich and the political power-wielding masters. The demands like 'land for the agriculture labourers' and 'increase wages' were unheard of so far. This period saw a number of labour unions coming up and the red flag, the flag the Communists hold world over. The State was seeing the emergence of a strong political party, the Communist Party of India with mass bases.

On Congress Party: The people of princely States of Kerala were aware of the ripples caused by the Indian National Congress on the mighty British power. Mass support was forming slowly in these States in support of the Congress Party. The first Malabar District Political Conference was held at Palghat in 1916 under the chairmanship of Dr. Annie Beasant. There after almost every year such political conferences were held. In Travancore, a branch of the Indian National Congress was formed at Trivandrum in 1919 on the initiative of leaders like

A.K.Pillai, V. Achuta Menon and others. As early as 1928, the political movement was active in the Cochin State. The State People's conference held at Ernakulum in 1928 demanded the formation of "Akiya Kerala" (a United Kerala State incorporating Cochin, Calicut and Malabar). The Kerala Provincial Congress formed in 1946 under K.P. Kesava Menon, was active in the State's Politics. Thus, congress was formed in 1946 under K.P Kesava Menon and became active in the State's politics. Congress had deeper roots in history compared to the communist movement in the state.

Kerala's name recorded in the world's history when the first ever Communist Government in the world came to power through a democratic election in 1957. The Communist party later got split in to two – The Communist Party of India- Marxist (CPI-M) and Communist Party of India (CPI). Though remained opponents for a short period, they remained together in most of the elections with some of the like minded allies like Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and often with a fraction of a political wing of Muslims. The Left Front again came to power during the elections of 1967 (Third Assembly), 1977 (Fifth Assembly), 1980 (Sixth Assembly) and in 1987 (Eighth Assembly).

It seems that the people of Kerala kept on experimenting with the two fronts by bringing them in to power at alternative elections. Either Congress alone or its front – Often it consists of Kerala Congress and another fraction of the Political Wing of Muslims – came to power during the elections of 1960 (Second assembly), 1970 (Fourth Assembly), 1982 (Seventh Assembly). The political turmoils during these periods also witnessed opponents shaking hands to keep themselves at the political helm. The Political support given by Congress to Achuta Menon (Table No. 4.3) during the Third and Fourth Assembly and the support given by the left to A. K. Anthony (Table No. 4.3) stand as examples.

Table 1.2 The Criteria Table - Graphical Representation (sensitivity scale graph)

Levels of Education	Assemblies								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
School Education	22	17	13	41	29	11	24	18	175
College Education (general)	3	9	7	14	6	7	8	5	59
Technical Education	2	8	1	6	2	3	5	9	36

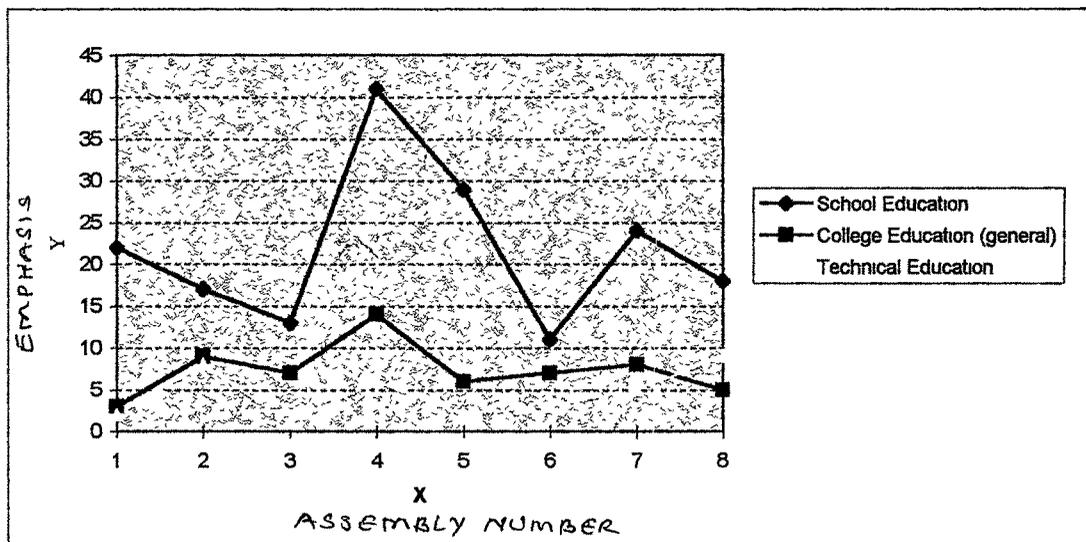




TABLE No. 4.3

KERALA LEGISLATURE – ITS TERMS AND CHIEF MINISTERS

Sr No.	Legislative Assembly No	Term	No of Sessions	No. of Sittings	Chief Ministers	Term
1.	I	5-4-1957 to 3-7-1959	7	175	Mr. E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad	5-4-1957 to 3-7-1959
2.	II	22-21-1960 to 10-9-1964	12	300	1. Mr Pattam A. Thanu Pillai 2. Mr. R. Sankar	22-2-1960 to 26-9-1962 26-9-1962 to 10-9-1964
3.	III	6-3-1967 to 3-8-1970	7	211	1. Mr. E M. Sankaran Namboodiripad 2. Mr. Achuta Menon	6-3-1964 to 1-11-1969 1-11-1969 to 3-8-1970
4.	IV	4-10-1970 to 25-3-1977	16	32	Mr. Achuta Menon	4-10-1970 to 25-3-1977
5	V	25-3-1977 to 1-2-1979	6	143	1. Mr P. K. Vasudevan Nair 2. Mr. A. K. Antony 3. Mr P. K. Vasudevan Nair 4. Mr. C. H Mohammed Koya	25-3-1977 to 25-4-1977 27-4-1977 to 27-10-1978 29-10-1978 to 7-10-1979 12-10-1979 to 1-12-1979
6.	VI	25-1-1980 to 17-3-1982	7	112	1. Mr E. K. Nayanar 2. Mr K Karunakaran	25-1-1980 to 20-10-1981 28-12-1981 to 17-3-1982
7.	VII	24-5-1982 to 25-3-1987	14	249	Mr K. Karunakaran	24-5-1982 to 25-3-1987
8.	VIII	26-3-1987 to	11	282 as on 26-7-90	Mr. E. K Nayanar	26-3-1987 to ...

Have the political afflictions of these fronts made any impact on the political decision making process when they were in power or out of power? A pondering over the criteria table of the various governments during the post re-organization period will give an insight into the above question.

The educational criteria table formulated initially with the first few assemblies revealed that the successive governments, all along, emphasised two areas of education i.e. School education and College education (general). These two areas had the thrust in the questions, answers and explanations of the honourable members and ministers of the successive governments in the assembly deliberations. The fully formulated criteria table (Table No. 4.1) prepared on the basis of the various proposals / suggestions and decisions on educational matters of all legislative assemblies, further strengthened the fact that School education and college education got the maximum emphasis and technical education received a back seat. This made the investigator to concentrate on these two areas of prominence in order to find the various aspects of these areas which invited the concern of the legislative Houses. This needed a scrutiny of the various matters which came up in the various sittings of the legislative House during the tenure of each and every government.

What is followed now is a narration of the various aspects of school education and college education i.e. a profile of the eight legislative assemblies of the State after the year 1956.

4.1.2 Kerala Legislative Assemblies – a profile

An analysis of (Table No. 4.1 and Table No. 4.2) prepared on the basis of Assembly proceedings of 35 years of post re – organization period show that, numerically and in terms of emphasis, two areas of education continues to remain prominent i.e. school education and University education. A cross examination across the successive assemblies during this period, commencing from the first assembly, is narrated here enlisting the prominence the said two areas had. The composition of these assemblies were not the same. They had in power leaders of different political ideologies.

Chief Minister

FIRST ASSEMBLY 5-4-1957
 to Mr. E.M. Sankaran Namboodiripad
 3-7-1959

First Kerala Assembly had 7 sessions with a total of 175 sittings.

Important matters of school education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly.

- (i) On a phased programme, taking the responsibility of the entire elementary education.
- (ii) To standardise the salary of all the teachers to eliminate discrimination.
- (iii) To set up 30 High Schools in Malabar during 1957-58.
- (iv) To re-organize Travancore University to Kerala University and to bring all the institutions of Collegiate education under its guidance and control.
- (v) The Kerala Education Bill – in all its dimensions.

Government's decisions / accomplishments on School education and University education.

- (i) All the 3 years High School period are to be converted in 4 years higher secondary.
- (ii) The duration of the school courses is fixed at 12 years. Of these Standard I to VIII is to be called primary, stage of free education upto the age of 14, the initial five being lower primary and the latter upper primary. Standard IX - XII formed the Secondary Grade.
- (iii) The curriculum was re-oriented on the All India pattern set by the Secondary Education Commission so as to transform all the existing Secondary Schools in to the multipurpose type through diversification of the courses.

- (iv) Four directorates were created for better educational administration – (1) Directorate of Collegiate education. (2) Directorate of technical education. (3) Directorate of public instruction and (4) The directorate of Text books and Examinations. Additional Director of public Instruction was made incharge of primary education.
- (v) The whole State was divided into 119 sub districts, with a view to have effective and proper control over the development of primary education and an Assistant Education Officer was appointed to each sub-district and they were in direct charge of all Primary Schools including Upper Primary Schools in their Jurisdiction.
- (vi) With effect from 1-10-57, the salary of all the teachers including the Head Masters in private Lower Primary Schools in the State were granted aid, and in private Upper Primary, Secondary and training Schools in the Malabar and Kasargode areas admitted to aid was ordered to be disbursed through the Head masters of the respective Schools.
- (vii) An attempt was made to bring in a uniform system of education among the Primary and Upper Primary Schools in the Travancore – Cochin areas as well in the Malabar and Kasargode areas by the adoption of a common syllabus in all the school of the State.
- (viii) Free education up to standard VII was implemented throughout the State.
- (ix) Primary education was reduced from 8 to 7yrs and 11 years pattern of education was brought in to force.
- (x) Kerala Education Bill was passed in to an act (to analyse in detail later).
- (xi) The Secondary Education commission recommended a more comprehensive course which included both general and vocational subjects. Steps have been taken in this direction by converting High Schools into multipurpose Schools with diversified and technical courses of Study. The Secondary and Higher Secondary Courses were made 3 and 4 years duration respectively.
- (xii) The various colleges in the State were transferred to the control of the Director of Collegiate education with effect from 11-9-1957

- (xiii) The post of the Director of Collegiate Education was abolished and the Director of public Instruction was given additional charge of the collegiate Education.

<u>Terms of Two Chief Ministers</u>		
<u>SECOND ASSEMBLY</u>	22-2- 60	Mr. Pattam .A. Thanupillai
	to	22-2-60 to 26-9-62
	10-9-64	Mr. R. Shankar
		26-9-62 to 10-9-64

The Second assembly had 12 sessions with a total of 300 sittings.

Important matters of School education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly.

- (i) Demand to intensify the study of Hindi.
- (ii) Free education (total remission of fees from standard I to VIII).
- (iii) Emphasis on NCC, ACC and Airwing of NCC in Schools and should cover all eligible male students.
- (iv) Imposing free-noon-day meal scheme in primary section.
- (v) Re-organization of Educational Department.
- (vi) Introduction of yogic system of physical education.
- (vii) Providing free education for children of service personnel in standard IX and X in all aided schools and free education for all children of service personnel who were killed or disabled.
- (viii) Introduction of National Discipline Scheme in Primary Schools and physical education to High school students.
- (ix) A grant-in-aid code for private teaching –non-teaching staff of colleges affiliated to Kerala University.
- (x) Providing UGC scale to teaching and non-teaching staff of colleges.
- (xi) Grant of D.A to teacher - non-teaching staff of colleges.

- (xii) To raise the one year Pre-Degree course to 2 years.
- (xiii) To revise the Kerala University Act 1957.
- (xiv) Establishment of a new medical College at Allepey and Kottayam.
- (xv) Kerala Education Act – (Amendment).
- (xvi) S.S.L.C examination.
- (xvii) Wastage in education.

Government's decisions / accomplishments on School and University Education

- (i) Free education (total remission of fees) is extended from standard I to VIII.
- (ii) Decision to re-impose free noon-day meal scheme to primary students and successively re-implemented.
- (iii) Education Department was re-organized by dividing the State in to 3 zones each in charge of a Regional Deputy Director.
- (iv) UGC scale will be given to the private teaching and non-teaching college staff.
- (v) Kottayam medical college opened and sanction given for a medical college at Allepey.
- (vi) Steps are initiated to revise the Kerala University Act, 1957.
- (vii) Some of the sections of Kerala Education Act amended.
- (viii) Hindi was made compulsory from standard V onwards.
- (ix) The Government wanted to maintain the 182 welfare schools intended primarily for the benefit of the Harijan Students.
- (x) The Government took steps to implement the recommendations of 'The Bureau of Education Research', a Government body, to improve the quality of education by devising sound curricula, helping the production of good books, evolving effective methods of teaching, guiding pupils and evaluating their attainment.
- (xi) The State Education Advisory Board, formed according to the Kerala Education Act was inaugurated on 5-5-1961 by the chief minister . Its

recommendations on the code of conduct of pupils and teachers were accepted and implemented by the Government.

- (xii) The Grant-in-aid Scheme for the college Staff was introduced by the Government with effect from 1-4-1962.
- (xiii) The rules on maintenance grant and provident fund regarding the aided schools were implemented.
- (xiv) The scheme of S.S.L.C examination got changed. All subjects except Hindi will have two papers now.

Presidents rule in 11-9-'64 to 5-3-'67

Terms of two Chief Ministers

<u>THIRD ASSEMBLY</u>	6-3-'67 to 1-11-'69	}	Mr. E.M. Sankaran Numboothripad
	1-11-'69 to 3-8-'70	}	Mr. Achuta Menon

The third assembly had 7 sessions with a total of 211 sittings.

Important matters of school education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly.

- (i) To make a transition as early as possible from English to Malayalam in administration and academic life.
- (ii) Construction of new school buildings
- (iii) Tuition fees of standard IX and X which give difficulties to the poorer sections of the society.
- (iv) Programmes to replace the temporary school sheds by permanent school buildings

- (v) Establishing a University at Calicut
- (vi) To develop the University centre at Ernakulam to a University.
- (vii) Setting up a language Institution to help the introduction of Malayalam as the medium of instruction in higher education.
- (viii) Steps to improve girls education
- (ix) Education of the handicapped.
- (x) Enrolment of students in the school and the related problems.
- (xi) Proposal to set up a University at Trikkakara to cater to the needs of greater Cochin.

Government's decisions / accomplishments in School Education and University Education

- (i) 400 new school buildings have been constructed and another thousand is under construction.
- (ii) Tuition fees of 9th and 10th standards abolished, thereby opportunities for the poorer sections to get education brightened.
- (iii) Programmes are set to replace the temporary school sheds by permanent school buildings.
- (iv) University of Calicut is established.
- (v) A language institute is set up to help the introduction of Malayalam as the medium of instruction in higher education
- (vi) Special provision for teaching subjects like needle work, tailoring etc. for girls were introduced.
- (vii) Education of the handicapped gets prime importance.
- (viii) Government decided to give more importance to the private sector for setting up of schools.
- (ix) The Government takes in account the wastage in education and decided to take measures to rectify it.

- (x) Measures like shift system to cope with the increase in enrollment in the General education is given high importance. Kerala achieves the 100% enrollment in Schools in the 6-11 age group.
- (xi) Work experience programme is being introduced to give training to about 25000 boys and girls studying in the VIII standard in selected schools.
- (xii) The Hindi Advisory Board was reconstituted for the Hindi education in the State.

		<u>Chief Minister</u>
<u>FOURTH ASSEMBLY</u>	4-10-'70	} Mr. Achuta Menon
	To	
	25-3-'77	

The fourth assembly had 16 sessions with a total of 322 sittings.

Important matters of School Education and University Education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly.

- (i) Delegating functions of the education department to local bodies.
- (ii) On the re-organization of the education department.
- (iii) Creation of education districts and sub-districts for the better administration of education.
- (iv) To revise and upgrade curriculum in schools.
- (v) To start an institute of primary and basic education to improve primary education.
- (vi) Programme to increase the number of school buildings.
- (vii) To introduce a reformed script from 15/4/71 to simplify the malayalam alphabets.
- (viii) On improvement of science teaching in Primary and Secondary Schools.
- (ix) On demand of minority communities to run the educational institutions at their choice.

- (x) Starting of a number of private Schools along with government Schools.
- (xi) Supply of text books to students at reasonable rates.
- (xii) Establishing book banks in schools to provide text books to SC/ST students
- (xiii) On protection to private college teachers.
- (xiv) Setting up of Cochin University and an agricultural University.
- (xv) PG Courses in Ayurveda college.
- (xvi) On direct payment of salaries to college staff.
- (xvii) On bringing certain amount of order in admission, appointment, security and fees paid by the college students.
- (xviii) On retirement benefits to the college staff.
- (xix) Setting up of new junior colleges.
- (xx) Setting up of co-operative stores to provide books/stationaries in colleges.
- (xxi) On setting up books-banks in colleges to provide text books to SC/ST students.

Government's decisions / accomplishments on School and University Education.

- (i) A programme is decided to revise and upgrade curriculum in Schools.
- (ii) Measures like curriculum development are to improve science teaching in Primary and Secondary Schools.
- (iii) Work experience programme implemented in 13 high schools and 130 Upper Primary Schools and to implement in more schools.
- (iv) Decision taken to sanction private schools with the condition of (1) Needs of the locality and (2) Suitability of the agency.
- (v) A number of government schools to be started.
- (vi) Text books will be supplied to the School students at reasonable rates.
- (vii) Decided to establish book-banks in Schools to provide textbooks to SC/ST students.
- (viii) Decided to provide essential commodities at reasonable rates to the hostel students.

- (ix) Decided to set up the Cochin University and the agricultural University at the earliest.
- (x) PG courses in Ayurveda College, Trivandrum will be started.
- (xi) Decided to give direct payment of salaries to private college for teachers, to bring certain amount of order in admission, appointment, security and fees paid by the students.
- (xii) Six new junior colleges started.
- (xiii) Several college and co-operative stores and book-banks to be set up.
- (xiv) The education department was re-organized to have a director and 3 regional deputy directors. Totally now, there are 27 educational districts and 147 sub districts.
- (xv) The government sanctioned Rs. 25000 to the 'Teachers Welfare Foundation', formed for the betterment of teachers
- (xvi) For the better health of students, the Government prepared a pilot scheme. They selected one Lower Primary school (L.P) and Upper Primary (U.P) school each from each district to monitor the health condition of the students.
- (xvii) The State Government incurred a heavy expenditure of Rs. 72,38,924.30 to support CARE i.e. to provide free meals to the primary children. The Government supported a programme of CARE to :
 - (1) Construct 100 kitchens in 100 Government L.P Schools
Construct drinking water wells in 100 Government or Panchayat L.P Schools.
 - (2) Government accorded a sanction for the implementation of a project for the development of an indigenous food to replace food particles now used for the School feeding programme.
- (xviii) The Government distributed books only through the headmasters/headmistresses.
- (xix) The Government expressed concern about the wastage in education.
- (xx) Steps have been taken to rationalize the system of examinations by introducing the system of "GROUP MINIMUM".

- (xxi) The Government gave the salaries of the staff of private colleges directly.
- (xxii) Took measures to cope up with the increase in enrolment in colleges.

The terms of the 3 Chief Ministers

<u>FIFTH ASSEMBLY</u>	25-3-77	25-3-77	}	Mr. P.K.Vasudevan Nair
	to	25-4-77		
	1-12-79	27-4-77	}	Mr. A.K.Antony
		27-10-78		
		29-10-78	}	Mr. P.K.Vasudevan Nair
		7-10-79		
		12-10-79	}	Mr. C.H. Mohammed Koya
		1-12-79		

The fifth assembly had 6 sessions with a total of 143 sittings.

Important matters of School education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly.

- (i) Hostel facilities to Harijan students.
- (ii) The higher price of text books which cause difficulties to the poorer sections of the society.
- (iii) Sports school for the talented students.
- (iv) Need to vocationalise the higher secondary education.
- (v) Girl's education.
- (vi) Concern on the high expenditure of education.
- (vii) Need to expand the facilities for higher education.

27-4-77
to
27-10-78

} Mr. A. K. Antony

- (viii) Necessity of special schools for talented children in sports
- (ix) Universalisation of primary education.
- (x) Text book press at Trikkakara

29-10-78
to
7-10-79

} Mr. P.K Vasudevan Nair

12-10-79
to
1-12-79

} Mr. C.H. Mohammed Koya

- (xi) Necessity of more educational institutions in remote areas.
- (xii) Upliftment of school employees.
- (xiii) Vocationalisation of educational at pre-degree level.

Government decisions / accomplishments on School and University education

- (i) Selling price of text books reduced.
- (ii) Steps taken so that all schools will have a book bank each and books given to the students of the deprived sections of the society.
- (iii) A scheme of students welfare fund started and Rs. 30 lakhs collected. The State Government appointed a committee to study about vocationalisation of Higher Secondary education.
- (iv) A text book printing press was established at Cochin.
- (vi) 6 sports hostels started attached to 6 schools at different regions.

24-7-77 }
to } Mr. A. K. Antony
27-10-78 }

- (vii) Decided to keep additional marks for sportsmen of merit in the recruitment through PSC.
- (viii) Decided to start a special school for girls and to start more sports divisions in schools.
- (ix) For Universalisation of primary education, measures like incentives to weaker sections, free supply of text books, enrolment drive and remedial teaching are being implemented.
- (x) Decided that school drop-outs will have a re-entry.

29-10-78 }
to }
7-10-79 }
& } Mr. C. H. Mohammed Koya
12-10-79 }
to }
1-12-79 }

- (xi) Action taken to open about 300 new schools especially in rural and remote areas.
- (xii) Scheme evolved to avail bank loan to employees and teachers of private schools.
- (xiii) 21 L.P schools sanctioned in tribal concentrated areas.
- (xiv) Steps taken to cope with heavy rush for higher studies in colleges.
- (xv) Assessed the ever increasing expenditure on education.

Terms of the Chief Ministers

<u>SIXTH ASSEMBLY</u>	25-1-80	22-1-80	}	Mr. E. K. Nayanar
	to	to		
	17-3-82	20-10-81	}	Mr. K. Karunakaran
		28-12-81		
	to			
		17-3-82		

The sixth assembly had 7 sessions with a total of 112 sittings .

Important matters of School education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly

- (i) Opening of new schools in the backward areas.
- (ii) Corruption in appointment of teachers
- (iii) Outside assistance for the school buildings
- (iv) The plight of weak tribal students.
- (v) Need to associate people in the running of schools
- (vi) Irregularities in the conduct of examinations in Kerala and Calicut Universities
- (vii) Concern about the disparities in allocation of colleges in different districts.
- (viii) Problems arising out of the heavy rush for admission in colleges

28-12-81	}	Mr K. Karunakaran
to		
17-3-82		

- (ix) Need of upgrading the curriculum in schools.
- (x) Quality of science education
- (xi) Need to have more sports schools.
- (xii) Opening of new colleges.

Government decisions / accomplishments on School and Universities

25-1-80
to
20-10-81 } Mr. E.K Nayanar

- (i) Decisions to open new schools in socially and economically backward areas. Preferences will be given to public sector.
- (ii) Decided to eradicate corruptions in admissions and appointments of teachers
- (iii) Decided to form an organisation for the promotion of school buildings to avail institutional finance for it.
- (iv) Decided to take corrective measures in General Education system and allied matters.
- (v) Decided to help S.S.L.C failed tribal students by sending them to reputed tutorials.
- (vi) Decision to have a high school in every Panchayat. The Government also chalked out a programme to integrate the schools with the community.
- (vii) The Government appointed a committee to enquire about irregularities in examinations of Kerala and Calicut University examinations and suggest on improving the functioning.
- (viii) In order to meet the requirements of additional enrollment at the University level and to reduce the inter district disparity in providing facilities, 3 new colleges have been started and shift system was introduced in most of the colleges.
- (ix) The Government decided to unify the curriculum and for the skill upgradation of teachers through teachers' training and co-ordination of agencies.
- (x) Decided to improve the quality of Secondary education by the revision of curriculum, syllabus, text books, teaching methods and through discussion with experts.

- (xi) Decided to start sports schools at Kottayam, Kottakal and in the central regions of the state.
- (xii) Decided to set up a committee to look in to the drawbacks of examination system and to improve discipline and efficiency of Universities.
- (xiii) A medical college at Trichur inaugurated and new courses in Science and Arts in college started.
- (xiv) To cope up with the increase in enrolment in higher education, the Government sanctioned more-colleges and more seats in them.

Chief Minister

<u>SEVENTH ASSEMBLY</u>	24-5-'82'	}	Mr. K. Karunakaran
	to		
	25-3-'87		

The seventh assembly had 14 sessions and a total of 249 sittings.

Important matters of School education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly

- (i) Quality of education in schools.
- (ii) Spreading of vocationalisation in secondary schools.
- (iii) Necessity of promoting sports in schools and colleges
- (iv) Vocational high schools and their facilities.
- (v) School curriculum
- (vi) Work oriented programmes in schools
- (vii) Salary of teachers
- (viii) Vocationalisation in higher secondary courses.
- (ix) Upgrading of Cochin University.
- (x) Concern on the increasing demand for facilities in higher education and its lacking.

Government decisions / accomplishments on School and University education

- (i) Decided to give emphasis on quality in school education, having achieved the universal enrolment in the 5-9 age group and the substantial improvement in the other age groups.
- (ii) Decided to start a full-fledged sports school in Cannanore for the young talented students.
- (iii) Decided to strengthen the facilities in 71 vocational high schools and to start new ones.
- (iv) Curriculum and books revision in schools started.
- (v) Socially Useful and Productive Work (SUPW) programme to be extended to all high schools of the State.
- (vi) Noon-meal scheme introduced in lower-primary schools in 8 districts replacing CARE.
- (vii) Revision of pay scales and allowances implemented for teachers.
- (viii) By 1985-86, vocationalisation was introduced in 54 high schools and 19 technical high schools. The course covers about 28 different vocations covering various fields of engineering technology, agriculture, fisheries, veterinary, sports, para-medical and agro industries.
- (ix) Decisions to upgrade Cochin University to an institution of higher learning in special branches of technology.
- (x) Mahatma Gandhi University was set up on 2-10-1983 with its head quarters at Kottayam.
- (xi) Decisions to provide more funds for setting book-banks in colleges.

Chief Minister

EIGHTH ASSEMBLY 26-3-'87
 to
 As on 26-7-'90 } Mr. E.K. Nayanar

The eighth assembly, as on 26-7-90 had 11 sessions with total of 282 sittings.

Important matters of school education and University education which generated wide scale discussion across the political parties in the assembly.

- (i) Quality of school education
- (ii) Salary revision for teachers
- (iii) Operation Black Board and (OB) and District Institute of Education and Training (DIETs)
- (iv) Vocational education and science education in schools.
- (v) Needs to speed up the education of SC/ST students.
- (vi) Noon-meal scheme for primary students.
- (vii) Need for more school buildings.
- (viii) Need of a Sanskrit University
- (ix) Problems arising out of uneconomic schools

Government decisions / accomplishments in School education and University education

- (i) Government's decision to improve the quality of education to mould the students to a well motivated and forward looking younger generation.
- (ii) Operation Black Board is being implemented in a phased manner.
- (iii) DIET has already started in 3 districts and to start in 3 more districts.
- (iv) Vocation^{al} higher secondary education implemented 100 schools and will be implemented in more schools.
- (v) A pay commission got appointed for Government employees and teachers. A special scheme is drawn up for Houses for teachers.
- (vi) Decided to upgrade science kits to U.P Schools, to upgrade labs in high schools, to supply library books to high schools and to train teachers of U.P schools and high schools.

- (vii) Decided to frame a time bound programme to remove the educational backwardness of SC/ST students.
- (viii) Expansion of programmes taken up in medical colleges.
- (ix) Decided to set up a Sanskrit University in Kalady.
- (x) 30 Government junior colleges promoted to degree colleges was implemented in 157 schools covering 7850 students.
- (xi) Vocational higher Secondary education at plus 2 level was implemented in 157 schools covering 7850 students.

An analysis of the profile of the 8 successive legislatures give a convincing picture of how extensively the Houses are concerned about School education and University education and how the Government responded. The manifestoes of the various political parties, though not often, also indicate that their priorities are school education and higher education. This arouses a few questions:

- (i) Are those who raise questions or showing concern on various issues of education, aware of the field needs?
- (ii) How far the successive governments who bring in educational proposals or arrive at decisions on various issues of education, are aware of the field needs?
- (iii) To what extent the various political parties participated in the evolution of major educational decisions?
- (iv) What are the various alternatives that emerge in the decision making process?
- (v) Is the decision making sensitive to the field operations?

Here is an attempt to dwell on these questions:

An educational need or problem existing in the society when perceived by the representatives of the people may reach its proper place for presentation i.e. the legislative House in order to find a solution for it. He may voice the need whether

he is really concerned or not but he may do it due to his political compulsions. More over, an elected representative is bound to do it. Many such issues are being raised in the legislature by the members of ruling and opposition political parties. When the ruling party perceive such problems, which need attention in a wider perspective or which necessitate the changing of existing rules, they may present it in the form of a proposal i.e. a bill. A bill has to encompass all the aspects of the problems and their solutions. It has to specify its objectives in the form of the preamble, to be clear about the 'space' it is going to envelop and its ramifications. Every government knows that any bill presented in the House which is not in the larger interest of the people may not have a long life. Either the bill itself will become non functional or its anti-people provisions will find an exit. A number of educational bills are presented in the Kerala Assembly by various governments.

The various educational bills presented in the Kerala assembly were

1. The Kerala Education Bill, 1957
2. The Kerala University Bill, 1957
3. The Cochin University Bill, 1968
4. The Calicut University Bill, 1971
5. The Kerala Agricultural University Bill, 1971
6. The Mahatma Gandhi University Bill, 1984
7. The Cochin University of Science and Technology Bill, 1986

A number of amendment Bills too are presented in the Kerala assembly. The presentation of every bill and their enactments have their own importance in respect of their need, time and advantages. But such a presentation will consume volumes and will be going beyond the scope of this study. What is important is the thorough analysis of any meaningful Bill, not every bill to explain its articulation. Hence the presentation and enactment of a very important Bill, The Kerala Education Bill, 1957 is dealt in detail here. This is done because it is considered a

major event in the educational history of the State due to some unique reasons. They are:

(1) The time of presentation of the Bill

The State was only one year old when the Bill was presented. The Unlimited problems of educational management were awaiting solutions. The centre was ruled by a different party. The State was just re-organized hence organizational problems were still existing. The world was watching the functioning of the first ever democratically elected communist government of the world.

(2) The Scope of the Bill

The Kerala Education Bill, 1957 encompassed most of the aspects of school education in its purview. It dealt in details about the students, parents, teachers, management and the government's role. It was clear about the supporting bodies of education the State would like to form. It was very vocal about the role of the community to facilitate the education.

4.1.3 The field needs expressed by the Government and legislators

The Kerala Education Bill - 1957

1. Need of a Uniformity in Educational Administration:

Travancore, Malabar and Cochin had their own administrative set up for the conduct of school education, especially primary education, governed by various Acts. They were 'The Travancore Primary Education Act, 1121', 'The Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Act, XI of 1123' and "The Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920' (Malabar was under the Madras Presidency

before the re-organization of the State.) There was a necessity of bringing in a uniformity in the educational administration, not only for a better administration but for a uniform educational growth in all the regions. While the princely States of Travancore and Cochin were far ahead in elementary education, certain areas of Malabar, especially Malappuram and Palghat were far behind in it. Only a Government sensitive to the needs of all the regions and an Act which specify the rules, was able to bring in a uniformity and growth. All the regional Acts had to be repeated for that purpose.

2. Need to have a control on the schools in the private sector

By 1956-57, an envious number of schools were under the private sector owned and managed by religious institutions like churches, casteist bodies like Nair Service Society (NSS), Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP) and some Islamic bodies as well as many individuals. Every educational agency had their own specific objectives – may be religious, regional or local. There was no parity existing in their policy to enrol students, fees to be charged, preference in appointments of teachers, their salaries, other allowances etc. Some of the educational agencies enjoyed the direct or indirect patronage of some of the political parties also. All these irregularities came in the way of a uniform development of education.

3. Need to provide free education to the students

Free education was prevalent only in some of the areas of the princely states. A vast majority of poor in the State, especially in the Malabar region was finding difficult to pay fees, buy books and fulfilling other necessities of their children. Sensing this, it was the intention of the government to provide free education to these children. But many elected representatives in the assembly felt that free education should be there for the entire State. They were of the opinion that only free primary education will not be sufficient enough to satisfy the poor.

They also insisted the government to provide free meals for these poor children. It was widely hoped that this kind of mere amnesty would compel the parents or guardians to send their wards to the school. There was no other source, but the state funding which could accomplish this necessity.

4. Need of involvement of local people to facilitate Primary Education

A good number of children between the age group of 6-14 were remaining out of school in the early 1950's. They were either school dropouts or who were never enrolled in the school at all. There were many reasons for their being out of school. But their main compulsion was poverty. They had no means to go to school- no fees, no books and no proper dress to wear. Some of them had to attend to their work-either farming or fishing or any other occupation -to run their families. Some of the children had become bonded labourers since their parents were bonded to the land owner's to work in the farm. It was difficult to get these children back to the school without the help of somebody who knew them and can convince them. The service of well known and influential locals are the most appropriate persons to persuade the children as well as the parents about enrolling in the schools. This was the idea behind the suggestion of forming local education committee attached to each school. Many members had felt the need of such an active participation of the local people which has worked out well in many western countries.

5. Need of an advisory body to advise the Government on education

The Government felt the need of forming an Advisory Board to advise it on matters pertaining to educational policy and administration of the educational department. Such nodal bodies were doing well at Union government's level. They were to engage the service of educational experts who had enormous experience with educational field. Many members of the House too had their opinions to

supplement the idea. They felt the need to include educational experts from technical, Social and Science education.

The educational bill of Kerala too represents the goal directions, the preferred emphasis and priorities it pertains to the entire organizational set up. It is a bill for the macro structure. What exactly is incorporated in the Kerala Education Bill – 1957, whether the needs of the people are taken care of, to what extent the members participated in the discussion when it was put across the table of the House and the different alternatives that were generated on the various aspects of the Bill, are dealt in the following paragraphs beginning with the various aspects of the bill.

4.2 Kinds of Educational Proposals Tabled : In Kerala Education Bill-1957

What is followed here is a summary of the bill incorporating all relevant provisions in the bill. The only difference is that the typical language of the bill is put in the simple language of the investigator.

1. Preamble:- The preamble of the Bill says that the bill is to provide for the development and better organization of educational institutions in the State providing a varied and comprehensive educational service throughout the State.
2. Period of Implementation:- The Bill will come in to force on such a date the State Government would notify it in the Gazette.
3. On Establishment of Schools and registration of Institutions:- The government, for the purpose of providing general education or special education, may establish and maintain aided schools or recognise any school run by any agency. All existing schools deem to be under this Act and the government may regulate the primary and other stages of education and courses of instructions in schools.

4. State Education Advisory Board:- For the purpose of advising the government on matters pertaining to educational policy and administration of the Department of Education, the government may constitute a State Education Advisory Board consisting of 19 official members. The government may prescribe their qualification, the procedure to be followed in the meetings and other ancillary matters.
5. Manager of the Educational Agency to send list of properties:- Within three months of the commencement of this Act or the period notified later, the manager of every educational agency has to submit a statement containing a list of all movable and immovable properties attached or appurtenant to the school. Who ever defaults in furnishing the statements, on conviction will be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs.200 and if the default continues for more than one month after conviction the fine may extend to Rs.100 every week during which the default continues.
6. Restriction of an Educational Agency or Manager on alienation of School:- No sale, mortgage, lease, pledge charge or transfer of possession in respect of any property attached or appurtenant to an aided school shall be created or made, except with the previous permission in writing of the Government authority. Any aggrieved person may appeal to the government. The order of the government on such appeal shall be final. Any transaction made in contravention of the above will be null and void. Any person who acts in contravention of the clause, on conviction will be liable for imprisonment for a term which may extend to 6 months or a fine which may extend to Rs. 1000 or both.
7. Managers of Schools: Any educational agency may appoint a manager of its choice and is responsible for the conduct of the School in accordance with this act and any order or direction which may come from time to time from the government. The manager is responsible for the good condition of the property of

the school and the maintenance of its records and liable for the inspection of the government authority. No manager shall close down the School except in the manner prescribed by the government. In the event of the School being closed, the manager shall hand over all the records and accounts of the School to the Government's authority. If any manager contravenes this provision and close down the school, on conviction, he may be liable to a fine which may extend to Rs.200 and in case the contravention continues for more than one month, the fine may extend to Rs. 100 for every week. No court shall take cognisance of an offence punishable under this clause except with the previous sanction in writing of or a complaint of the Government authority.

8. Recovery of amounts due from the Managers:- Any amount due at the commencement of this Act to the government from the manager of unaided school pursuant to any agreement, scheme or other arrangement pertaining to any aid given or grant paid by the government may also be recovered as an arrear of land revenue under the provisions of the Revenue Recovery Act for the time being in force. This includes (1) Any salary or arrears of salary is payable by the Managers to a teacher of the concerned aided school. (2) All fees and other dues collected from the students in an aided school after the commencement of this Act.

9. Grants to aided schools: (i) The government shall pay the salary of all teachers in aided schools direct or in such manner as may be prescribed. (ii) The government may pay to the manager a maintenance grant at such rates as may be fixed from time to time. (iii) The government may make grants –in-aid for the purchase, improvement and repairs of any land, building or equipment of an aided school.

10. State Register of Teachers and their appointment in Schools:- The government shall maintain a State Register in which the names of such persons who are eligible for appointment as teachers shall be registered. All existing teachers are deemed to be in the State Register. The Government will fix up all the

qualification of a teacher and no person who is not registered and deemed to be registered shall be eligible for appointment either in Government or aided schools. Managers of schools can appoint teachers only from such a panel of names given to them by the government.

11. Pension and other benefits to aided school teachers:- Aided school teachers will have the same scheme relating to pension, provident fund and insurance applicable to Government School teachers subject to such conditions and with such modifications as may be deemed fit. The management shall not be liable to contribute any amount towards such schemes.

12. Absorption of teachers on retrenchment:- In case of retrenchment of an aided school teacher on orders of the government relating to the course of studies, or scheme of teaching or of such other matters the prescribed government authority may direct the Manager of any other aided school to appoint such teachers in suitable vacancies occurring in the school and the Manager shall be bound to comply with such directions.

13. Taking over Management of School:- When a manager of an aided school neglects to perform any of the duties imposed by the Act and that in the public interest, the government may take over the management of the school after giving the manager a reasonable opportunity for showing cause against the proposed action and after considering the cause satisfied that such an action is necessary for a period not exceeding 5 years. In cases of emergency, where the government is satisfied that such a course is necessary, it may do the taking over after publication of a notification to that effect in the gazette.

Where any school is taken over under this section, the government shall pay to the person or persons interested, such rent as may be fixed by the collector, having regard to the rates of rent prevailing in the locality for similar properties provided the collector would take in to account of any amount the school has

received to construct or acquire or to maintain such a property. Any aggrieved person can appeal to the respective District court within 60 days of the order.

14. Power to acquire any category of schools:- If the government is satisfied that for standardising general education in the State, or for improving the level of literacy in any area or for more effectively managing the aided educational institutions in any area or for bringing education of any category under their direct control, in the public interest it is necessary to do so, they may, by notification in the gazette, take over with effect from any day specified there in any category of aided schools in any specified area or areas; and such schools shall vest in the government absolute from the day specified .

It will be compensated to the person concerned on the basis of the market value prevailing after deducting the amount payable to the government paid by it in terms of aid given to it for purchase, acquire or improve or maintain the said property. The compensation will be determined by the District collector and any aggrieved person may appeal to the respective District court within 60 days of the order and the decision of the judge shall be final.

15. Creation of local Education Authorities:- For the purpose of associating people with the administration of education and to preserve and stimulate local interest in educational affairs, the government may by notification in the gazette establish Local Educational Authorities in the state exercising jurisdiction in any local area or areas to be specified in such notification. The Local Educational Authorities may carry on the administration of the schools while inspection, control and supervision of schools lie with the education department. The constitution of this Local Authority shall not affect or prejudice the rights, privileges, liabilities and obligations of teachers in schools in that area.

Functions of these local bodies:- It shall be the duty of the local education committee to enforce the provision of this Act in regard to attendance at schools

and to ensure that the employment, if any, of children do not interfere with their attendance in schools. The sub-committee which may be formed under the local committees shall conform to any instruction that may be given by the local committee.

16. Obligation on guardian to send children to school:- If a guardian causes a child to attend a government or private school, the child shall be compelled to complete the full course of primary education or the child shall be compelled to attend school till it reaches the age of fourteen. A child may be exempted for a specified period or periods from compulsory attendance at school under this Act (i) By the government on religious grounds or on social customs (ii) If the child receives instruction in any other school (iii) If the child receives an education, sufficient according to the local education committee. (iv) Due to illness, injury as approved by the Local Education Committee (v) Where there is no government or private school within a distance of one mile measured along the nearest road from the child residence.

17. Warning for failure to discharge obligation and for interference:-

(i) When a local Education Committee has reason to believe that a guardian of any child of any other person interferes with the attendance of the child at a government or private school, it shall warn him in writing that within one week of the receipt of the warning he shall cause the child to attend school or shall refrain from utilizing services of the child as aforesaid.

(ii) When a Local Education Committee is satisfied that a guardian or any person fail to cause the child to attend the school, the Local Education Committee shall lodge a complaint against such guardian or other person with the magistrate having local jurisdiction.

(iii) If the magistrate is satisfied that the complaint is well-founded, he shall pass an order directing the guardian or the other person to cause the child concerned to attend school regularly. If the guardian or the other person fails to comply with such order, he shall on conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 5 for the first offence and Rs.20 for every subsequent offence.

(iv) Any person other than the guardian who shall utilise the time or services of a child in connection with any employment whether for remuneration or not, in such a manner as to interfere with the attendance of the child at a government or private school inspite of a warning given under section 26, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs 15 for the first offence and not exceeding Rs 30 for each subsequent offence.

18. No fee to be charged and free books, etc; to be provided in certain cases:-

(i) No fee shall be payable by any pupil for any tuition in the primary classes in any government or private school.

(ii) In cases where guardians are too poor to provide meals or to buy books and writing materials, the government may, if the Local Education Committee so recommends, provide children of such guardians with free noon-day meals on the days on which the children attend school and necessary books, and writing materials free of cost.

19. Indemnity :- No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against the government or any other authority or any officer for anything done under this Act in good faith or for any damage caused by any action taken in good faith in carrying out the provisions of this Act or the rules under. No court shall grant any permanent or temporary injunction or make any interim order restraining any proceedings which is being or about to be taken under this Act.

20. Power to make rules:- The government may make rules for the purpose of carrying in to effect the provisions of this Act.

21. Rules to be laid before Legislative Assembly:- All rules made under this Act shall be laid for not less than seven days before the Legislative Assembly as soon as possible after they are made and shall be subject to such modifications as the Legislative Assembly may make during the session in which they are so laid.

22. Repeal:- The Travancore Primary Education Act, 1121, the Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Act, XI of 1123 and the Madras Elementary Education, 1920 as in force in the Malabar District referred to in sub-section (2) of section 5 of the states Re-organization Act, 1956 (Central Act 37 of 1956), are hereby repealed.

The Bill which was published in the Gazette Extraordinary on 7th July 1957 was introduced in the legislative Assembly on 13th July and left open to the House for a debate. The importance of such a bill and its far reaching consequences echoed in the House. The House felt the need of referring it to a select committee of experts including Shri C.H. Mohammed Koya, Shri E. Paulose, Shri M.A. Anthony, Shri K.A. Narayanan, Shri P.T. Chacko, Shri Tanu Pillai, Shri Kunhi Raman Nambiar and Smt. Leela Damodara Menon. The Assembly on a motion permitted the select committee to submit the report by 24th August 1957. The committee had 11 sittings of which 3 were at Alwaye and the rest at Trivandrum. The 3 sittings at Alwaye and 2 sittings at Trivandrum were entirely devoted to the taking of evidence from representatives of educational organizations, institutions and individuals interested.

The committee did not agree exactly with many of the provisions in the Bill. It incorporated in its Final Report many alternatives which were generated in its exchange it had with famous educationalists and educational experts. The Bill, as reported by the select committee, when tabled in the House underwent a

detailed debate. The members across the various political parties brought in a number of alternatives in the form of amendments. This reflected their enthusiasm in participating in the discussion of such a historic bill. The amendments they were proposing were infact the reflection of the field needs they had absorbed, in terms of the region or society or community they belong to. There were totally 310 amendments that came up in the discussion. What is followed, now is an analysis on the extent of participation by the members across the political parties in the evolution of the major decisions on education and the kinds of alternatives generated for adoption. The educational decisions arrived at are narrated after the alternatives.

4.3 The various alternatives, the extent of participation by members in the House and the decisions arrived at on education.

The recommendations of the Select Committee on various educational provisions of the bill is followed by the alternatives proposed in the assembly by the various members across the political parties here. The decision arrived at, as in the Act, are also put across after the alternatives.

1. On Period of Implementation:-

The Select Committee proposed that the entire act cannot be implemented on the same date and hence implement the various provisions of the Bill on different dates.

9 legislative members demanded in their amendments that the bill should be circulated to elicit public opinion.

Decisions arrived at: The Act except a few subsections on conditions of service of aided school teachers, taking over of management of aided schools, establishment of local Educational Authorities and their functions, on free compulsory education,

on obligation of the guardian to send the ward to school. warning against any interference against compulsory education came in to force on 1st June, 1959.

2. On the State Education Advisory Board

The select committee proposed that (i) The Board shall consist of a chairman and more than 15 members including the chairman. The Vice Chancellor of the University of Kerala, the Director of Public Instruction and the Director of Health Services shall be ex-office members of the Board. The other members of the Board shall be appointed by the government. Appointment of non-official members shall be from persons who are distinguished educationists or who have rendered eminent service to education, or who have had experience in the administration of education. (ii) The government shall appoint one of the members to be the chairman of the Board. (iii) The term of office of the members of the Board, other than the ex-office members, shall be 3 years. (iv) The Board shall present annually to the government a report as to the advice tendered to the Government on matters coming before them and the Government may present it before the assembly. The Government should explain the reasons why it could not act on the advice of the Board.

15 members across the parties submitted their alternatives in the form of amendments in the assembly. The alternatives were :

- (i) Reduce the members of the committee to 7 instead of 15 (By Mr. A. Thanu Pillai, Mr. E.P. Eapen)
- (ii) Substitute the 'Director of Public Instructions' with 'The Director of Technical Education' (Mr. M. Narayana Kurup)
- (iii) Include Director of Social Education, Director of Physical Education, Principal, School of Arts, TVM, Director, Small Scale Industries in the Board (Mr. Gopinathan Pillai)

- (iv) Four members should be elected from among the heads of the recognised high schools, four members should be elected from among themselves by the managers of Private High Schools and Four Official members should be appointed by the Government. Their qualification should be (a) Atleast graduation and (b) Should have atleast 10 years experience either as teacher or manager of a private school or teacher in any school. (Mr. M.C.Abraham)
 - (v) Appoint Vice Chancellor as Chairman (Mr. M.M. Mathai).
 - (vi) The Chairman should be elected from among themselves from the Board (Mr. M.C.Abraham)
- The other amendments were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at

The Decisions of the government in the form of the Act was same as that of the proposal of the select committee.

3. On the Manager of the Educational Agency in sending the list of properties to the Government.

The members of the select committee did not agree with the provision in the Bill to fine or imprison the manager of an Aided School if he default in furnishing the statement on properties. It said that the manager should furnish the details of the school's properties on 1st of April every year, but if it defaults the government should withhold the grant or aid to the school.

23 members of the House put forward their alternatives in the form of amendments The alternatives were :

- (i) 7 members demanded the deletion of this clause of making it mandatory on the manager to send the list of properties to the Government.

- (ii) If the statement on properties is false or incorrect, the government may, after previous notice to the manager, withhold any grant or aid to the school. (Mr. E.P. Paulose)
- (iii) If the manager commits a default in keeping the registers of properties or the register is false or incorrect, the Director of Public Instruction may appoint a new manager in consultation with the Educational Agency. (Mr. Thomas John)
- (iv) If the Manager furnishes a false or incorrect statement the government may take over the management of the School. (Mr. K. Vishwanathan)
- (v) Instead of withholding any grant or aid to the School, penalise the management with a fine which may extend to Rs.200. (Mr. M. Kalyana Krishnan Nair)
- (vi) Even after withholding the grant or aid, the school shall continue to be an Aided School. (K. Chandrasetharan Nair)
- (vii) On a default, the government should not withhold any Grant or Aid, but on conviction, the school shall be liable to a fine upto Rs.200 and in not furnishing the statement even after one month, penalise with Rs.100 every further week. (P. Govinda Pillai)

The rest of the Amendments were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at

The Act was same as that of the proposal of the select Committee. All the provisions of fine or imprisonment were not mentioned in the Act.

4. On restriction on an Educational Agency or Manager on alienation of a school.

The Select Committee did not agree ⁱⁿ the provisions of the clause of prohibiting the alienation of properties of an aided school without the permission

of an Authority of the government. The Committee proposed that permission should be granted ordinarily unless it adversely affects the working of the school. Any aggrieved person can apply to the government. The Committee was against imposing fine and imprisonment to the defaulter in this case. Instead, the Committee proposed withholding of Aids or Grants to the school.

16 members of the House proposed alternatives in the form of amendments to this clause. The alternatives were :

- (i) Delete the Clause (Mr. O.T. Bava, Mr.K.C.Abraham)
- (ii) The order of the government should be final on appeals made by the manager or management. (Mr. C.A. Mathew)
- (iii) In the event of contravention of the clause, the government may take over the management of the school. (MR. K.K. Vishwanathan)
- (iv) Instead of withholding the Grant or Aid, the Manager or the Educational Agency, as the case may be, shall on conviction should pay a fine which may extend to Rs.100. (Mr. P. Govida Pillai)
- (v) The fine, if convicted, should extend to Rs 500. (Mr. A.M. Kalyana Krishnan Nair)
- (vi) In such an offence, the school shall continue to be unaided. (Mr. Chandrasekharan Nair)

The other amendments were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at

The Act consists of what is proposed in the proposal of the Select Committee. It did not have any provision for fine or imprisonment to be imposed on the defaulter.

5. On Managers of Schools

The Select Committee had its disagreement with the provisions in the clause which prohibits a manager from closing a school except in the manner prescribed. The committee felt that provision should be made to enable the manager to close down the school, provided he gives one year's notice of his intention before doing so. The committee did not comply with the above provisions. Instead, the committee proposed that the Government should verify whether the manager made the default wilfully or not. If he wilfully contravenes the provisions, he should be fined and the fine may extend to Rs.200.

The legislators had put in their alternatives in the form of amendments. These alternatives were :

- (i) The Head Master should maintain the records of the school correctly and properly under the direction of the manager (Mr. K.M.George)
- (ii) Reduce the notice period (for the intention to close down the school) from 1 year to 6 months (Mr. M C. Abraham)
- (iii) Punish the manager who contravenes the clause by imposing a fine up to Rs.200. (Mr. E.P. Paulose)
- (iv) The manager shall have the right to appeal to a court of law against any action taken according to the provisions. (Mr. K.M.George)

The other amendments were not significant.

Decisions arrived at

While the Act incorporated all the provisions in the proposal of the Select Committee, it also had an incorporation in that "No Manager Shall Close Down any School unless one year's notice, expiring with the 31st May of any year". Similarly, though on conviction a manager may be fined up to Rs. 200, the Act is

silent about the action if the contravention continues. The decision did not respond to the reduction of the Notice Period or on the handing over of duties of the manager on the upkeep of records, to the Head master.

6. On Recovery of amounts due from the manager.

The Select Committee disagreed with certain provisions in the Bill regarding the recovery under the Revenue Recovery Act, of amounts from the managers of Aided Schools under certain agreements, schemes or arrangements pertaining to any aid or grant paid by the government. The Committee agreed with the mode of recovery from the manager the dues he has to pay to any teacher. The Committee proposed that this kind of recovery should be applicable only if such amounts are found due after an enquiry by the DEO. They also proposed that there should be a provision for an appeal against the decision of the government.

6 legislators brought in alternatives in the form of amendments to the above clauses. These alternatives were:

- (i) The amount due to the government or teacher by the manager should be found by a competent court. (MR. K.M.George)
- (ii) If the manager satisfies the government that the amount is already paid to the teachers of the school, then the government should recover the money from the teachers, from their pay. (Mr. K.C.Abraham)
- (iii) The office of the government may also recover such amount by setting it off against any sum due to the manager by the government (Mr. Narayana Kurup)
- (iv) The manager should deposit all tuition fees to the government after retaining for the purpose of maintenance, an amount equal to 15% of the aggregate of the salaries of the teachers of the school payable for the month. (Mr. K.M.George)

- (v) Any amount due at the Commencement of this section to the manager from the government shall be paid to the manager within one month of the commencement of this section. (Mr. C.A. Mathew)

The rest of the amendments were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at

The Act incorporated all the provisions given by the selection committee. The Act did not incorporate the amendment that the amount due to the government or teacher by the manager should be found by a competent court. All the other amendments also did not find a place in the Act.

7. On salary of teachers, non – teaching staff and grants to aided schools.

The select committee proposed that the provision should be made for the payment of salary of the non-teaching staff of Aided Schools by the Government. It proposed the government to fix the number of vacancies of non-teaching staff in each school, their qualifications and other conditions of service. The government shall prescribe the qualifications to be possessed by person for appointment as teachers in government and private schools.

20 legislators had brought in their alternatives in the form of amendments. These alternatives were :

- (i) The School manager shall draw the salary of the teaching and non-teaching staff from the Government treasury and deposit the same in a scheduled bank and pay the salaries of teachers by means of cheques. (Mr. Thomas John)
- (ii) The salary of the non teaching staff of Aided School shall be at par with those of the government schools and shall be paid in the same way as to teachers in Aided Schools. (Mr. Joseph George)

- (iii) In case of proved mismanagement or misappropriation on the part of the management, the government may pay the salary of the teachers direct or through the headmaster of the school. (Mr. T.O Bava)
- (iv) The Government should ascertain the correctness of the statement of appointment, service conditions and records of the non-teaching staff or may make such further enquiry as government deem necessary. (Mr. Govinda Pillai)
- (v) The Government may extend any scheme relating to pension and allowances applicable to the non-teaching staff under the government (K.K.Vishwanathan)
- (vi) In cases where there are no fee collections, the government shall pay to the manager an actual maintenance grant calculated at 15% of the aggregate of the salaries payable to the teachers. (K. M. George)

The rest of the amendments were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at

The Act incorporated all the provisions given in the proposal of the Select Committee report and made provisions for the payment of salary to the non-teaching staff also. While the provisions specified that the Government will prescribe the number of persons to be appointed in the non-teaching establishment of Aided Schools, their Salaries, qualifications and conditions of Service, it did not specify whether these would be at par with the same of the Government School non-teaching Staff or not.

8. On Appointment of Teachers in Aided Schools

The select committee did not agree with the provisions pertaining to the maintenance of a state register of teachers containing the names of all persons eligible for appointment as teachers. Instead it suggested to prescribe the necessary

qualifications one should hold to become a teacher. The committee also did not agree with the system of selecting the teachers from a panel of names given by the educational authorities to the manager. Instead, it suggested that the public service commission should select the teachers to be appointed as the teachers and the school manager can appoint anyone from the selection list of the commission.

38 Legislatures brought in the alternatives in the form of amendments to this provision. These alternatives were :

- (i) The schools should make the appointments from the selection prepared by the Public Service Commission (PSC) on or before 31st May every year. (Mr. K. R. Narayanan)
- (ii) While making appointments in schools, those communities which got less appointments in private schools should have more representation in the appointments of government schools. (Mr. R.R. Narayanan)
- (iii) The selection list by PSC of teachers should be a State list. (Mr. R. R. Narayanan)
- (iv) In case of communities which do not have any reservations, appointments in private schools shall be on merit. (Mr. A A. Rahim)
- (v) Nothing shall prejudice the claim of backward communities for adequate representation in the selection of candidates for appointment. (Mr. E. P. Poulouse)
- (vi) The manager of school appoint teachers only from those persons who have the prescribed qualifications. But in making such appointments, the manager shall give fair representation to all important communities in the localities. (Mr. T.O. Bava)
- (vii) Before the 31st of May of each year, the PSC shall publish a list of not less than double the number of candidates required for the vacancies existing in the state. If that number is not available, the list must contain the names of

all the candidates available and the appointment should be made from it.
(Mr. Mohammed Koya)

- (viii) Teachers of aided schools shall be appointed by the manager from a person possessing prescribed qualification. (Mr. M. C. Abraham)
- (ix) The selected Public Service Commission (PSC) list of teachers must be published in the Gazette. (Mr. K. C. Abraham)
- (x) When PSC prepares the list, the list should contain the names of those who were in the preceding years. (Mr. Kunhiraman Nambiar)
- (xi) In appointment of teachers, provision should be there for representation of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. (Mr. Thanu Pillai)

The other Amendments were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at :

The Act on this aspect made the matter very clear when it said that “appointment of teachers in government and aided schools-the public service commission shall, as empowered by this Act, select candidates for appointments as teachers in government and aided schools. Before the 31st May of each year, the Public Service Commission shall select the candidates with due regard to the probable number of vacancies of teachers that may arise in the course of the year. The candidate shall be selected for each district separately and the list of candidates so selected shall be published in the Gazette. Teachers of aided schools shall be appointed by the manager only from the candidates so selected for the district in which the school is located, provided that the managers may, for sufficient reason, with the permission of the Public Service Commission, appoint teachers selected for any other district. Appointment of teachers in government schools shall also be made from the list of candidates so published.”

The Act did not incorporate the other amendments.

9. On conditions of service of aided school teachers.

The select committee proposed the need of bringing in parity of the teachers of the aided schools with the government school teachers. It emphasized the job security of the private aided school teachers saying that the teachers of aided schools shall not be dismissed, reduced in rank or suspended without the permission of the officer authorised by the government on that behalf. The committee also proposed that the retrenched teachers should be appointed in the aided schools or government schools as and when the vacancies arise notwithstanding the fact that the names of such teachers are not included in the list of candidates selected by the Public Service Commission.

6 alternatives were proposed in the form of amendments with only one significant alternative i.e.

'No' teacher of an aided school shall be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank by the manager without the previous sanction of the Government's authorized officer. In urgent cases, the manager may suspend a teacher and get the approval from the authority. (Mr. T. O. Bava.)

Decisions arrived at

The decisions in the form Act specify that :

- (i) The conditions of the Service of teachers in aided schools, including conditions relating to pay, pension, provident fund, insurance and age of retirement, shall be such as may be prescribed by the government.
- (ii) No teacher of an aided school shall be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank by the manager without the previous sanction of the officer authorized by the government in this behalf, or placed under suspension by the manager for a continuous period exceeding 15 days without such previous sanction.

- (iii) The government or such officer not below the rank of D.E.O as may be authorized by the government in this behalf, shall have the power to take disciplinary proceedings against a teacher of an aided school and to impose upon him all or any of the penalties specified in the Act.
- (iv) The government may intimate the manager regarding the circumstances requiring disciplinary action against the teacher concerned and give the manager a reasonable opportunity of taking disciplinary action.
- (v) If the manager fails to take appropriate action it shall be open to the government or the authorized officer to take appropriate disciplinary action against the teacher concerned.

The Act incorporated the provision of the select committee regarding the absorption of teachers who were retrenched.

10. On taking over management of schools.

The select committee felt that taking over of a school should be done only when such a course is necessary in the interests of the pupils of the school. The committee consider that the power to take over any categories of aided school in specified areas should be exercised only when the proposal is supported by the legislative assembly by a resolution. Further it may be clear that, in such a take over, compensation shall be paid to the persons entitled there to on the basis of the market value thereof as on the date of notification. In the case of movable properties, the compensation payable shall be the market value thereof on the date of notification of the actual cost thereof less the depreciation, whichever is lower. It felt that in taking over of a school, any immovable property which is intended and is being used for religious purpose of which on account of its proximity to any place or religious worship should be exempted, should not be taken over or acquired and no rent or compensation, as the case may be, shall be payable in respect of such property.

42 legislators registered their alternatives in the form of amendments.

These alternatives were :

- (i) The government should take over the management of a school only after giving a reasonable opportunity to the community or locality interested in the school to substitute another manager for the school or to make other suitable arrangements for its management. (Mr. C.H. Mohammed Koya)
- (ii) The government may take over the management for a period not exceeding one year. The manager shall have the right to appeal to a District Court against such an action. (Mr. K.M. George)
- (iii) The government should take over the management only after giving a notice to the manager or the education agency showing the cause for taking over school and after hearing him what he has to say. (Mr. P.M. Joseph)
- (iv) While taking over a minority school, the government must keep in mind the objective with which the school was established and without denying the minority the special facilities which it was enjoying in the school. (Mr. C.H. Mohammed)
- (v) Any take over of a school in the public interest should be notified in the gazette and such school shall vest in the government absolutely with effect from the day specified in such notification (Mr. P.T. Chacko)
- (vi) No notification of taking over of a school should be issued unless the proposal for the taking over is supported by a resolution of the legislative assembly (K.K. Viswanathan)
- (vii) Any compensation ~~done~~ by the government to any educational agency or managers of a school while taking over a school or its property, should be used for some educational purpose like scholarships, prizes in schools or boarding charges for students. The said amount shall be held by the educational agency or manager by way of Trust for that purpose.

The other alternatives were insignificant.

Decisions arrived at

The decisions arrived at in the form of Act comprise all the provisions proposed by the select committee and the rest of the provisions of the original clause of the Bill. It also added that “Where any school has been taken over, the educational agency or the manager of the school within 3 months of the publication of the notification, may apply to the government for the restoration of the school showing the cause there for, and where the government are satisfied of the cause so shown, they shall restore the school”. While the Act incorporated the alternatives 3, 4 and 5, it did not encompass the 1st, 2nd, 6th and 7th alternatives.

11. On Free Compulsory Education of Children.

The select committee proposed that exemption of fees in primary classes should be applicable throughout the state instead of certain areas as proposed in the Bill. The committee felt that the government should spell out the age of children instead of saying “between the ages of six and fourteen” and substitute it for “between such ages ----- as may be prescribed”, who are to be compelled to attend school. It also spelt out that the government should provide for compulsory education of children throughout the state within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Act. The committee specified that it should be the duty of the government to see that noon-day meals, clothing, books, etc. are provided for poor pupils free of cost.

An amendment specified that it should be ‘compulsory education for all children’ instead of ‘compulsory education of children’ (Mr. T.A Thomas)

Decisions arrived at

The Act says that the government shall provide for free and compulsory education of children throughout the State within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Act. It also says that it shall be the duty of the government

to see that noon-day meals, clothing, books and writing materials are provided for pupils free of cost.

12. On Establishment of Local Educational Authorities (LEAs).

The Select Committee ~~was in~~ for the specification of composition of the local bodies. On composition it specified that :

- (a) The DEO in the area should be the ex-officio member.
- (b) One member elected from the managers.
- (c) One graduate teacher of the area elected from among themselves.
- (d) One non-graduate teacher of the area elected among from themselves.
- (e) One elected member of the Panchayat or the other local body.
- (f) Two government nominees having experience in education.
- (g) The government shall nominate one of the members to be the President of the Local Educational Authority (LEA).

With regard to term, the committee specified that the term of each member other than the ex-officio member will be 3 years. The manner of election of the Local Education Authority shall be prescribed later.

On function of the Local Education Authority, the committee proposed that it shall be the duty of the Local Education Committee to implement the provisions of the Act in regard to attendance at schools and to ensure that the employment, if any, of children does not interfere with their attendance in government or private Schools. The LEA shall assess the educational needs of the local area and prepare each year schemes for the development of education and submit to the government. Promote the various schemes of education and supervise them.

24 legislators brought in alternatives in the form of amendments. These alternatives were :

- (i) 18 members proposed the deletion of this clause from the Bill i.e. The formation of Local Education Authority.
- (ii) It should be a District Education Authority instead of Local Educational Authorities (Mr. K.Chandrasekharan)
- (iii) The president of the Local Education Authority will be nominated from among themselves by the members of the Local Education Authority. (Mr. M. C. Abraham)
- (iv) The election of the Local Education Authority should be before the expiry of the third year of its tenure (Mr. Raghava Menon)
- (v) No person shall be its member if he is (a) below 25 years. (b) unsound mind, deaf, mute or suffering from contagious leprosy. (c) Convicted by a law of court for an offence of moral delinquency. (Mr. T. A. Thomman)

The other amendements were insignificant .

Decisions arrived at :

The Act imbibed the provisions of the Select Committee but did not incorporate the amendements (i to v) listed above.

13. On intervention of Courts

The Select Committee felt it necessary to make it clear about the intervention of courts in the implementation of provisions of the Act. It proposed that (not with standing anything contained in the code of civil procedure, 1908, or in any other law for the time being in force) no court shall grant any permanent or temporary injunction or make any interim order restraining any proceedings which is being or about to be taken under this Act.

A brief examination is done in the next few pages to find whether

- (i) The field needs were taken care of during the decision making process.

- (ii) There was an active participation of the legislators of various political parties.
- (iii) There was a generation of good number of alternative solutions to bring in best decision on various education matters.

4.3.1 Field needs surfaced in the House which are taken care of :-

The various alternatives put up by the legislators reveal that a good number of field needs were taken care of in the House. To quote a few :

- (i) The House was sensitive to the children of downtrodden and their inability to send their wards to the school due to poverty.
- (ii) The members voiced about the inhibitions these kids would face in attending schools due to their employment.
- (iii) Many members raised the cause of teachers. The teachers were finding difficulty to get a better pay in the schools of the private agencies. The wide ranging discrepancies in the pay and the other service conditions existed during the period forced the members and the government to take up their matter seriously.

Fortunately, there were many legislators who were either serving teachers or had a good teaching experience.

- (iv) The issue of taking over of management of schools also arose in the deteriorating situations of many schools. Private schools had a free hand in clearing the matters of teachers appointment, their qualification, their emoluments, their suspension, dismissal etc. Very often the matters related to the management's actions reached courts. There had to be an end to the difficulties the teachers faced in these institutions.
- (v) Another burning issue was the plight of non-teaching staff. Many of them were better educated, some of them equal to that of the teaching staff but,

they hardly had a better deal from private managements compared to that of government schools. They were taken in and thrown out without much resistance from any quarters by the authorities. A decision at the highest level was necessary for these forgotten people.



- (vi) An expert body of education – a nodal body which can study about the problems of the State in education, propose ways to solve them, make schemes for its betterment, give directions to the government – was the need of the period. The State Educations Advisory Board was set up on 5-5-1961 with this intentions. It was the first statutory body of its kind to be set up in India with a view to advise the government on matters pertaining to educational policy and administrations.
- (vii) The increasing trend of wastage in School education was causing a real concern for the state and its legislators. The high rate of dropouts at the lower primary stage and high school stage was the main problem. The main solution lay in convincing the parents. This was not possible without the active involvement of the local people. The decision about the formation of the “Local Education Committees” was taken up in this back drop.
- (viii) A government, which always faced financial constraints, cannot bear its money and efforts going waste. No wastage in education can be permitted by any government. This concern made the government and its legislators stressing the need for compulsory primary education.

It can be seen that the field needs perceived and expressed by the people’s representatives are very significant in the decision making process. The various decisions taken on education by the government reflect the field needs and aired by the legislators. An examination on the extent of participation by the legislators of various political parties and the educational proposals made by them, also, seem to be very relevant here.

The Kerala Education Act, before it was passed, faced 310 amendments. While many of them were insignificant, since they were ascribing mainly to 'word' changes, some were viable alternatives e.g. (iii) , (iv) and (vi) alternatives on "On the State Education Advisory Board" while alternative (vi) would ensure the unnecessary involvement of any one in the appointment of the Board Chairman, alternative (iv) ensures the involvement of people who are really concerned.

The amendments, though not incorporated in Act, were very vocal about the punitive action to be taken against the manager in the case of not sending the statement of school properties or any default in it. Amendments (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vii) support this view. A very conciliatory alternative is reflected in the (vi) amendment when it says that "even after withholding the grant or Aid, the school shall continue to be an aided school".

On 'restriction on alienation of school' also, very interesting alternatives can be found. When there are some extreme amendments like "Impose the fine up to Rs. 500" and "The School shall continue to be unaided (amendment no. (vi)), a conciliatory note like "instead of withholding the grant or aid, the manager or the educational agency, as the case may be, shall on conviction pay a fine which may extend to Rs 100 (amendment no. (iv)) – can also be seen here.

On "on salary of teachers, etc. and grants to aided schools", when amendment No. (i) is to cause the minimum possible inconvenience to the teachers when it says that " The school manager shall draw the salary of the teaching and the non-teaching staff from the Government treasury and deposit the same in a scheduled bank and pay the salaries of teachers by means of. cheques", amendment No. (ii) is to ensure that the deprived sector i.e. the private school teachers should get the pay at par with the government school staff.

It was on " On Appointment of teachers in Aided School" which attracted a good number of alternatives (38). There were voices pleading for minority communities (amendments v, xi). There were a few for merit as the criteria

(amendment no iv). An important alternative was in the suggestion (amendment no. ix) of publishing the selection list in the gazette.

Major alternatives came up in the issue of “On taking over management of Schools”, Amendment no (vi) did not have an easy go for the government while taking over a management when it proposed that “no notification of taking over of a school should be issued unless the proposal for the taking over is supported by a resolution of the legislative assembly. Similarly amendment no (iv) was an eye opener to the government while taking over schools run by minority communities. When it proposed that “While taking over a minority school, the government must keep in mind the objective with which the school was established and without denying the minority the special facilities which it was enjoying in the school”.

Mention is needed when some of the clauses in the Bill were totally rejected by many. They were (i) “Manager to send the list of properties to the Government” (demanded deletion by 7 members), (ii) “Restriction on educational agency or manager on alienation of a school” (demanded by 2 members) (iii) “On establishment of local education authorities” (demanded by 18 members). A composite and consistent report of the select committee also invites a special mention here.

4.3.2 Decisions arrived at – an overview

The decisions arrived at the policy level was mainly directional and operational. The directives in-corporated the major aspects of school education. For e.g.

- (i) On enrollment of students.
- (ii) On supporting bodies to ensure a better education i.e. State Education Advisory Board and Local Education Committes.
- (iii) Ensuring better pay, other benefits and job safety of teaching and non-teaching staff.

- (iv) Disciplinary actions on erring teachers and managements
- (v) Security and impunity against court etc.

A decision making process comes to its accomplishment when a decision is made. At the legislative level, this happens when an Act is made and passed.

4.4 Continuity of emphasis given to the issues

The criteria table (Table No. 1) indicates that, the two broad areas, school education and college (general) education had constant emphasis in the proceedings of successive legislators. This is in terms of the educational matters that came up for discussion, proposals came in from the successive governments and decisions on educational matters made by the governments. In terms of number, the matters pertaining to school education had emphasis 22 times in the First Assembly, 17 times in the Second Assembly, 13 times in the Third Assembly, 41 times in the Fourth Assembly, 29 times in the Fifth Assembly, 11 times in Sixth Assembly, 24 times in the Seventh Assembly and 18 times (till 26-7-90) in the Eight Assembly. While in terms of number, the college education in general studies had emphasis 3 times in the First Assembly, 9 times in the Second Assembly, 7 times in the Third Assembly, 14 times in the Fourth Assembly, 6 times in the Fifth Assembly, 7 times in the Sixth Assembly, 8 times in the Seventh Assembly and 5 times in Eighth Assembly, while technical education picked up in momentum in the eighth assembly, it drew very less emphasis in many assemblies.

A screening of the profile of the eight legislative assemblies give a more clear picture. It not only substantiates the areas of emphasis, but also gives a picture of some of the aspects which are constantly discussed and thought of. The prime aspects of education are picked up here for analysis. They are :

- (i) Strengthening of primary education in the state.
- (ii) Education of the weaker sections.
- (iii) Strengthening the University (general) education in the state.

They were in fact the issues in education owing to the concern these aspects used to hold in each assembly.

To what extent these issues are taken seriously in terms of proposals made and decisions taken across the various governments are dealt in detail in objective no II under “Trends in Decision making”. The prime importance given here is the emphasis in terms of resources availed by the State to facilitate education for the primary education, for the weaker sections and college education during the three and half decades of post re – organization period.

- (i) Strengthening of primary education in the state.

“Investment in the human factor may well have a higher return in terms of increased out put than does any other out put”, ‘Economic Report’ of Kerala, 1963, quotes this sentence in order to show the importance the state lays in the area of education. Right from beginning of the State, Primary Education enjoyed a larger share of resources for the education. As Table No. 4.4 shows, in 1960-61 government spent 1088.31 lakhs rupees for primary education, the corresponding expenditure for the secondary school and University education were 292.64 lakhs and 86.39 lakhs respectively. The expenditure on primary education grew to 1781.75 lakhs in 1970-71 and 2717.13 lakhs in 1980-81. This shows an increase of 63.7% in 10 years and 149.7% in 20 years.

TABLE - 4.4

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY LEVELS OF EDUCATION IN
KERALA STATE

(at constant prices)

(Rupees in lakhs)

Year	University	Secondary	Primary
1960-61	86.39	292.64	1088.31
1961-62	114.30	291.69	1079.80
1962-63	111.40	336.61	1130.72
1963-64	118.03	472.32	1130.57
1964-65	80.70	356.25	1074.89
1965-66	81.41	381.97	1179.01
1966-67	75.55	446.19	1341.94
1967-68	139.69	516.69	1468.00
1968-69	137.20	567.09	1655.86
1969-70	148.35	628.14	1773.65
1970-71	216.83	650.10	1781.75
1971-72	255.20	741.31	1991.80
1972-73	375.90	693.90	1872.65
1973-74	387.33	648.56	1709.20
1974-75	374.59	886.15	1979.96
1975-76	510.02	1039.79	2396.11
1976-77	486.16	1067.37	2415.71
1977-78	475.00	1070.50	2377.65
1978-79	476.94	1148.93	2409.61
1979-80	475.16	1249.28	2501.61
1980-81	530.01	1414.80	2717.13

A thorough look at Table No. 4.5 on cost per pupil per year in the primary stage reveal that the expenses the state had to bear due to its policies had a phenomenal increase during the years. When the cost per pupil was Rs. 49.30 in 1965-66, it was Rs.85.91 in 1970-71, Rs.170.02 in 1975-76, Rs. 265.24 in 1980-81 and Rs479.23 in 1985-86 showing an increase of 872% during the 2 decades.

A few quotings from the “Economic Reports” of Kerala throw a little more light on the primacy, the primary education received in the matter of allocation of resources.

Economic Report, 1973, says “Primary education accounts for as much as 66.8% of the total expenditure. The expenditures on general education rose from 62.64 crores during 1972-73 to 69.32 crores during 1973-74. Out of the total expenditure on primary education, 62% is spent on private schools”.

Economic Reports, 1974, says “The expenditure on general school education rose from Rs.65.47 crores in 1973-74 to Rs.74.14 crores in 1974-75. Out of the total expenditure on education, 82% is set apart for school education. Primary education accounts for as much as 68% of the total expenditure on school education. Cost per pupil on primary education was Rs.49.30 during 1965-66 which increased to Rs.102.64 by 1973-74”.

Economic Report, 1980, says “Out of the total expenditure on education, primary education shares 57%, secondary education shares 26%, University education shares 10% and technical education 4%.

TABLE – 4.5

COST PER PUPIL PER YEAR IN THE PRIMARY STAGE

(Amount in Rupees.)

Year	Primary stage
1965 – 66	49.30
1966 – 67	54.17
1967 – 68	65.07
1968 – 69	73.23
1969 – 70	82.38
1970 – 71	<u>85.91</u>
1971 – 72	89.26
1972 – 73	94.51
1973 – 74	102.24
1974 – 75	117.52
1975 – 76	<u>170.02</u>
1976 – 77	186.16
1977 – 78	193.61
1978 – 79	206.21
1979 – 80	238.27
1980 – 81	<u>265.24</u>
1981 – 82	298.18
1982 – 83	326.13
1983 – 84	385.44
1984 – 85	414.43
1985 – 86	<u>479.23</u>
1986 – 87	577.61

Economic Report, 1986, says "Of the total expenditure, 53.4% was spent on Primary education, 26.69% on Secondary education, 13.38% on University and other areas of higher education, 4.2% on technical education and remaining on others including special education."

So, these reports substantiate the point that Primary education always drew a larger share of resources in the state, which was kept aside for the education and education as a whole too had a bigger share out of the total expenditure of the state.

When the state decided to bear the entire cost of primary education, it seems to have had a positive impact in the enrolment of students in this section. A glance over Table No. 4.6 shows when the state had an enrolment of 2939408 students in 1960-61, the corresponding in 1965-66 was 3552693, in 1970-71 it was 4074808, in 1975-76 it was 4377461 and in 1980-81 it was 4283995 (the less number during this period is presumed to be due to the low birth rate). When Economic Report, 1969, says that, "Kerala has already achieved the target of cent percent enrolment in the schools in the age group 6-11 years", Economic Report, 1981 also says that "The enrolment ratio in the age group 6-11 has almost attained 100%.

TABLE – 4.6

PROGRESS IN ENROLMENT OF LOWER PRIMARY (I-IV)

EDUCATION IN KERALA.

Year	Enrolment
1960-61	2939408
1961-62	3041388
1962-63	3131503
1963-64	3263617
1964-65	3424765
1965-66	3552693
1966-67	3688679
1967-68	3784864
1968-69	3912830
1969-70	3989363
1970-71	4074808
1971-72	4229533
1972-73	4375389
1973-74	4404716
1974-75	4423247
1975-76	4377461
1976-77	4350016
1977-78	4405592
1978-79	4340629
1979-80	4318198
1980-81	4283995
1981-82	4333302
1982-83	4330937

The emphasis the successive government laid in providing Schools to meet the challenge of increasing enrolment in Primary Schools also need to be noted here. Table No. 4.7 gives a fair idea about this aspect. When the number of Lower Primary Schools in 1961-62 in the State was 6745, it increased to 6954 in 1965-66, an increase of 3.09%. Though the number declined to 6895 in 1970-71 due to the up gradation of many Primary Schools, the number of Primary Schools increased to 6975 in 1975-76. The number of schools showed a decline since the number of schools came down to 6861 in 1980-81. The government chalked out the shift system to accommodate the excess number of students. A report of the "Economic Report 1968" says that, "with the increase in population, the demand for schools is also on the increase. Shift system is in force in many of the schools of the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin area in std I,II and III. During the year 1967-68, nearly 49% of the students in the first three standards were receiving instructions under the shift system. Among the states of the Indian Union, Kerala is the only state which successfully implemented shift system in the lower classes which is likely to be emulated by the other states in the near future".

The Saturating Primary education did not demand for more schools to be set up for Primary education in the end of seventies and during eighties. The demands for the facilities were getting added on secondary education.

TABLE NO. 4.7

PROGRESS IN NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS -
LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Year	Government Schools	Private Schools	Total	Private Schools %
1961 - 62	2835	3910	6745	58%
1962 - 63	2985	3919	6904	
1963 - 64	2928	3991	6919	
1964 - 65	2898	4032	6930	
1965 - 66	2904	4050	6954	
1966 - 67	2801	4072	6933	58.7%
1967 - 68	2864	4076	6940	
1968 - 69	2805	4112	6917	
1969 - 70	2805	4123	6928	
1970 - 71	2804	4091	6895	59.3%
1971 - 72	2804	4091	6895	
1972 - 73	2798	4089	6887	
1973 - 74	2807	4097	6904	
1974 - 75	2900	4075	6975	
1975 - 76	2910	4065	6975	58.3%
1976 - 77	2883	4109	6992	
1977 - 78	2849	4120	6969	
1978 - 79	2846	4124	6970	
1979 - 80	2846	4124	6970	59.2%

(ii) Education of weaker sections

The concern echoed in the legislative assemblies was not just limited to words. Many of these words came in to practice during the successive governments. The free education, free noon-day meal and free text books for the students of weaker sections are nothing but the fulfillment of the educational proposals of the earlier governments and the succeeding ones. A report on the government regarding the facilities it provided to backward classes in 1967 in education indicates that education is the most important item of work taken up by government for the uplift of backward classes. All students belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were exempted from payment of all kinds of fees at all stages of education for two years in each class without any restriction to the income of their parents. These students were also given lumpsum grant ranging from Rs. 3 to Rs.40 in pre-matric classes and from Rs. 60 to Rs. 200 in post matric classes. All these benefits were given to other eligible communities also. For the benefit of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes students, 29 welfare hostels, 6 cosmopolitan hostels, 18 subsidised hostels and 39 residential basic schools were running during the year.

According to the governmental reports of 1971, the various developmental programmes undertaken for the uplift of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes were mainly confined to education and economic uplift. The educational concessions provided by the Harijans Welfare Department comprise mainly lumpsum grants, scholarships and for boarding and lodging. Lumpsum grants were given at the enhanced rates ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 90 per month for the post matriculation studies.

There were 56 welfare hostels (52 for scheduled castes and 4 for scheduled tribes) out of which 16 were for girls. One welfare hostel for boys (tribes) was started during 1973-74. The rate of grant per student per month had been raised from Rs. 45 to Rs.55.

“Economic Reports”, 1986 states that during 1985-86, pre-matric scholarships were given to 6,08, 026 students of scheduled castes students, for which the expenditure incurred was Rs. 386.32 lakhs. Similarly boarding facility was also provided by the government to 589 students. Other welfare measures offered by the government included distribution of clothes to 4548 students, hostel accomodation to 3331 students. As regard to scheduled tribes, scholarships and lumpsum payments were given to 51064 students of pre-matric level and 1160 post matric students. 62 GRB hostels and 41 tribal hostels were also maintained, besides giving special coaching facilities to the scheduled tribe students.

A department was solely formed for the purpose of the upliftment of the backward classes. The Harijan Welfare Department always maintained the hard work to bring up the students of the backward classes. The recurring concern echoed in the assembly House had their reflections in the schemes formulated by the department for the students. Apart from the various scholarships it instituted to bring in the momentum of education, it was responsible for running many welfare hostels for the backward students. So the recurring emphasis laid down by the government and people representatives seems to have brought in a decisive progress in educatin of the weaker sections. The achievement of Universalisation of Primary education, irrespective of any caste, creed or social class is just one indicator to this respect.

(iii) Strengthening the college (general) education.

Apart from the primary education and secondary education, the other area of education, which drew the attention of the various legislative houses was University education. In this also, it was general education which expanded at such a speed later that it could far exceed the primary education in enrollment as well as number of institutes in respect of the rate of growth. Though the government spent much less amount to spread higher education compared to primary education the amount was consistently increasing. As mentioned, the amount spent on University education had a major portion utilised for general education. When the government

spent Rs. 1.04 crores in University education (general) during the year 1962-63, the cost it incurred in 1973-74 was 10.80 crores while that of 1976-77 was 16.68 crores and 64.22 crores in 1986-87, a ten fold increase in 10 years, a 16 fold increase in 14 years and 62 fold increases in 24 years. The growth in number of Arts and Science colleges in the State is also significant. When the number of colleges was 59 in 1961-62, it was 100 in 1966-67, 119 in 1971-72, 130 in 1976-77 and 157 in 1981-82 resulting in a 69% increase by in 5 years, 102% increase in 10 years, 120% increase in 15 years and 166% increase in 20 years. The government had to face a heavy rush of students seeking higher education in colleges due to its various policies as can be seen in the profile and in "Trends in decision making" of objective II. When the enrolment in 1960-61 was 0.36 lakhs, it was 1.05 lakhs in 1965-66, in 1970-71 it was 1.53 lakhs, 1.66 lakhs in 1975-76, 2.42 lakhs in 1980-81 and 2.92 lakhs in 1983-84 showing 325% increase in 10 years and 572% increase in 20 years.

The ever increasing demand for higher education made the government to open more and more new colleges, increasing seats and starting shift system in many colleges. The "Economic Report", 1980 points out that "The existing facilities for higher education in Kerala are inadequate, considering the annual output of Secondary education and the heavy rush of matriculates coming out annually. In order to meet the requirements of additional enrolments at the University level and to reduce the inter-district disparity in providing facilities, 3 new colleges have been started and shift system was introduced in most of the colleges. But reports point out that these actions were not enough to meet the challenge of demand for more admissions. The students turned towards the mushrooming parallel Colleges to get enrolled so that they can appear in the university examination as privately enrolled students. Still it was always the endeavour of the government in power and the people's representative to be sensitive to the demands of the people. The setting up of Mahatma Gandhi University was another step to smoothen the higher education in the state.

An analysis on emphasis to the 3 issues received in terms of the States' resources reveal that the state did not lack in its will to promote education whether it is School or College education. The various economic reports indicate that a major portion of its income was always spent to promote education in the state. Collection of Information, collating these information, understanding the need for which one has to act, seeking probable solutions, choosing the best solution, evolving the course of action and allocating resources to accomplish actions – these are all engulfed in the process of decision making. So, basically, the information has to come from the field where the decisions are in operation. What follows now is to explore how much sensitive was the political decision making to the educational field operations.

4.5 Extend of sensitivity of political decision making to the educational field operations.

A key area of education i.e. Primary education, is analysed here to see this aspect of decision making.

It is in fact the primary education which drew a major portion of the resources kept aside by the state for education. This substantial share kept on increasing during the years as was seen in this chapter. A question may arise here from the field : “was this benefit of primary education enjoyed by the entire state?” It needs a thorough scrutiny in to the statistics. Clause 27-2(d) of Kerala Education Act 1958 says that, “A child may be exempted for a specific period of periods from compulsory attendance at school under this Act-

(2) by the Local Education Committee

(d) Where there is no Government or private school within a distance of one mile measured along the nearest road from the residence of the child which the child can attend.

It implies that it should be the endeavor of the government to achieve the target of providing primary education within the limit of every mile. The profile of

the successive government indicate that the various decisions taken by them on opening of new schools by the government and sanctioning new schools to the private agencies, are towards the direction of providing primary education at the nearest possible distance to the children. Table No. 4.8 gives an indication that government were keen to allocate schools either by the state itself or giving sanctions to the private agencies.

Reports indicate that the states were not far away from accomplishing this objective when 'Economic Report', 1978 states that "there is on an average, one school per square kilo meter in the state" and when another report says that "an analysis of the school infrastructure reveals that on an average, there exists one school for every 2400 population".

Another important decision regarding primary education needs to be analysed here is the provision in the Act to bring in compulsory primary education. It is doubtful whether the government was really aware of the operational difficulties in its implementation. This is true in the case of various provisions regarding the punishment to be imposed on those parents/guardians of any one who come in the way of the compulsory attendance of a child in the school. If those provisions were really implemented, they would have invited enormous number of cases, always putting the government in a fix, Since thousands of poor children had to give priority to both – supporting their parents as well as attending the school. Many such children were engaged in farming, fishing, coir making, etc. If these provisions could not be implemented in its letter and spirit the reason is nothing but the insensitivity with regard to this aspect.

TABLE NO. 4.8

**DISTRICT-WISE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS SANCTIONED DURING
1979-80 AND 1982-83**

		1979-80				1982-83			
		L. P. School		U. P. School		L. P. School		U. P. School	
	Districts	Govt.	Pvt.	Govt.	Pvt.	Govt.	Pvt.	Govt.	Pvt.
1.	Trivandrum		5	1	6		4	....	5
2.	Quilon		7	1	10		4	....	8
3.	Allepey		5	....	1		2	....	3
4.	Kottayam		2	1	6		1	....	5
5.	Idukki	1	18	2	17		5	....	3
6.	Ernakulum		2	....	5		4	....	6
7.	Trichur		6	1	6		....	....	4
8.	Palghat		8	....	6		1	....	1
9.	Mallapuram		20	....	20		7	....	9
10.	Kozhikode		7	3	13		1	....	6
11.	Wyanad	....	....	....	....	2	2	....	2
12.	Cannanore	1	10	4	13		9	....	20
	Total	2	90	13	103	2	40	....	72

The provision in the Act to form the Local Education Committee also needed an analysis here. Clause 24 of the Kerala Education Act 1958, says that, "The government shall appoint for each area of compulsion or for any portion of area of compulsion a Local Education Committee". Clause 25 says that, "It shall be the duty of the Local Education Committee to implement the provisions of this Act in regard to attendance at school and to ensure that the employment, if any, of the children do not interfere with their attendance in Government or Private School". The select committee had clearly specified its composition. Though there was wide protest in the House about such a clause, the government went ahead of it. The apprehension voiced by the members was that the Local Education Committee would be interfering in the administration of the school. Also, it is difficult to believe that such local bodies will be apolitical in a state like Kerala where political awareness is highly prevalent even at the school students' level. What will be the extent of role of the Local Education Committee and how effectively it can work in a school where there is a manager and a principal in the administration hierarchy? What kind of liason will be there between the teachers and Local Education Committee? What is the guarantee that this body would remain apolitical? The Government did not have had much sensitivity in its operational part. The Local Education Committees are not yet constituted.

To what extent the government was sensitive to the operational part of it when it included clauses on 'Taking over management of schools' and 'Power to acquire any category of schools' in the Act? A major portion of the schools in the State was always run by the private management's. As table No. 4.9 shows, the private educational agencies were running 70.2% of high school in 1961-62, 69.3% in 1966-67, 68.1% in 1970-71, 62.8% in 1975-76 and 64.5% in 1979-80. The case of lower primary schools also was not very different. The private educational agencies were holding 58% of the schools in 1961-62, 58.7% in 1966-67, 59.3% in 1970-71, 58.3% in 1975-76 and 59.2% in 1979-80. Where as, as table 4.10 shows, the private agencies were holding 71% of U.P. Schools in 1961-62, 68.2% in 1970-71, and 67.4% in 1979-80. Most of these private institutions were

run by either Christian, Hindu or Muslim religious bodies who had often their own priorities in running the educational institutions.

TABLE NO. 4.9

**PROGRESS IN NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS –
HIGH SCHOOLS (1962-80)**

Year	Government Schools	Private Schools	Total	Private Schools %
1961 – 62	276	653	929	70.2%
1962 – 63	312	703	1015	
1963 – 64	315	705	1020	
1964 - 65	345	801	1146	
1965 - 66	345	806	1151	
1966 - 67	391	884	1276	69.3%
1967 - 68	394	888	1292	
1968 - 69	440	941	1381	
1969 - 70	441	941	1382	
1970 - 71	442	942	1384	68.1%
1971 - 72	446	947	1393	
1972 - 73	448	951	1399	
1973 - 74	452	952	1404	
1974 - 75	536	952	1468	
1975 - 76	566	955	1521	62.8%
1976 - 77	590	1076	1666	
1977 - 78	594	1081	1675	
1978 - 79	597	1083	1680	
1979 - 80	597	1083	1680	64.5%

TABLE NO. 4.10

PROGRESS IN NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS – UPPER
PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Year	Government Schools	Private Schools	Total	Private Schools %
1961 – 62	576	1409	1985	71%
1962 - 63	711	1594	2285	
1963 - 64	705	1580	2285	
1964 - 65	758	1670	2428	
1965 - 66	761	1686	2447	
1966 - 67	778	1697	2475	68.6%
1967 - 68	782	1697	2479	
1968 - 69	797	1738	2535	
1969 - 70	797	1735	2532	
1970 - 71	809	1734	2543	68.2%
1971 - 72	811	1740	2551	
1972 - 73	811	1739	2550	
1973 - 74	809	1739	2548	
1974 - 75	857	1731	2588	
1975 - 76	880	1726	2606	66.2%
1976 - 77	883	1835	2718	
1977 - 78	888	1830	2718	
1978 - 79	893	1846	2739	
1979 - 80	893	1846	2739	67.4%

Governmental interventions were not always acceptable to these deep rooted educational bodies. leading to the clashes with the government, seeking court intervention and finally declaring that the mentioned clauses 14 and 15 are not applicable to minority schools. It is also not wise for the political parties to forget the interests of these educational agencies since the religious bodies which support these agencies also hold a good number of votes. Many political parties keep a close relation with some of these educational agencies.

Having analysed the various facets of decision making process in the first objective, an attempt is being done to fulfil the second objective of this research i.e. to analyse the trends in decision making.

It is needless to say that any political decision taken without going into various aspects of the field operational factors, may not make much headway. Often they culminate into non-existent rules, though they exist in a valid Act, deliberated and passed by the people's representatives.

The people across- including politicians, functionaries and educational experts the investigator met, also expressed the same view. The people of the State are sensitive to every issue arising in the area of education. The mishandling of any issue may lead, often, the people, students and teaching community to a conflict with the government. When every sensible act brings in applause, any misadventure or non-calculated move or action will attract strong criticism or even more than that.

4.6 Objective – II Trends in political decision making on Education in Kerala.

- a) Across successive elected governments
- b) Before and after 42nd constitutional amendment, 1976.

Introduction:-

As was seen in objective I, the two areas which got tremendous emphasis all throughout in the educational arena for three and half decades during the post re-organization period, was school education and university education (general). As part of objective II (a), here is an attempt to pick up those issues – which had consistent recurrence across assembly procedures – from these areas and to analyse how often these issues got emphasised. It also gives an account of the various educational decisions the successive governments took on these issues.

Issue No- 1 : Strengthening of Primary Education in the State

It was during the period of first ministry of 1957 to 1959, the government brought a strong proposal to take the responsibility of entire elementary education of the State. The government appointed an additional Director of Public Instruction to be the In-charge of primary education in the state. The whole state was divided into 119 sub districts, with a view to have effective and proper control over the development of primary education in the district. The government made an attempt to bring in a uniform system of education at the primary level and to implement free primary education.

During the term of the Second Assembly of term 22-2-1960 to 10-9-1964, a total remission of fees was proposed and accepted. A free noon-day meal for the primary students was proposed, accepted and implemented. The re-organization of the education department was proposed and implemented for a better education. Hindi was made compulsory from std V onwards. The Government took steps to

implement recommendations of the "Bureau of Education Research", a Government body to improve the quality of elementary education by devising sound curriculum, helping the production of good text books, evolving effective methods of teaching, guiding pupils and evaluating their attainment.

The Third Assembly during its term of 6-3-'67 to 3-8-'70 brought proposal for construction of a number of new buildings for school education. The Government succeeded in building 400 new school buildings and many were under construction. There were proposals to give emphasis on girls education in schools. The Government took measures to make provisions for teaching subjects like needle - work, tailoring etc. for them in schools. The Government gave due importance to the private sector for setting up of schools. The assembly considered seriously the problem of wastage in education and the government took measures for the maximum retention in schools. Free school education continued.

The Fourth Assembly, during its term of 4-10-'70 to 25-3-'77, had a wide discussion on delegating functions of the education department to local bodies. There were proposals for the re-organization of the education department. The education department was re-organized to have a director and three regional deputy directors. Totally now, there are 27 education districts and 147 sub districts. The government proposed a pilot scheme of selecting one L.P school and U.P. school from each district to monitor the health condition of the students. Free noon meal scheme was continued. The Government supported CARE, an American Aid Organization which helped in providing the free noon-day meal scheme for the primary students, to (i) construct 100 kitchens in 100 Government L.P schools (ii) construct drinking water wells in 100 Government panchayat L. P. schools. Free school education continued.

The Fifth Assembly during its term of 25-3-'77 to 1-12-'79 could see the rule of 3 different chief ministers. The assembly emphasised on universalisation of primary education. The Government announced measures for universalisation of primary education. They included incentives to weaker sections, free supply of text

books, enrollment drive and remedial teaching. For the concern of the house on girl education, the government announced the opening of new schools for girls. A proposal was put for the reentry of school dropouts. The government reduced the selling price of textbooks. For the concern of the house on inadequacy of schools in the remote areas, the government decided to open about 300 new schools, especially in rural and remote areas.

The Sixth Assembly during its two years term from 25-1-'80 to 17-3-'82 saw the rule of two chief ministers. There was a strong demand to open new schools in the backward areas in the assembly and the government expressed its willingness to open new schools in socially and economically backward areas, giving preference to open Government Schools. The government announced its decision to unify the curriculum and for the skill up gradation of teachers. There were proposals to avail institutional finance for the setting up of more schools and the Government decided for it. The involvement of community with the school education was an important proposal came up in the assembly and the Government chalked out a programme to implement the proposal.

The Seventh Assembly, with a five year term from 24-5-'82 to 25-3-'87 was fairly a long assembly. The quality of education in schools was one of the main concern in it. Having attained the universal enrolment, the government announced its decision to stress on the quality improvement. A proposal of revision of curriculum and textbooks was mooted in the assembly. Noon meal scheme was continued and CARE was replaced in 8 districts with indigenous nutritious meal.

For the purpose of this study the term of the Eighth Assembly is taken from 26-3-'87 to 26-7-'90. The quality of school education was again a concern in the assembly, operation Black Board (OB) and DIET's were on discussion. The Government announced that the operation Black Board is having implemented in a phased manner. It said that DIET has already started in 3 districts and will be started in 3 more districts. There were discussions on up gradation on science

education in Schools. Free Education in the entire School Education continued in the state.

Issue No.2 : Facilities including emoluments for the School Staff.

In the first ever assembly of the united Kerala, the standardisation of the Salary of School staff was a concern. The members wanted to eliminate the discrepancies existed among the pay of the school staff existed in the different part of the state. Kerala Education Act, 1958 took this concern in the consideration and made the required enactments. With effect from 1-10-'57, the salary of all the teachers including the Head Masters in Private Lower Primary Schools in the State admitted to aid, and in Private upper Primary, Secondary and training schools in the Malabar and Kasargode areas admitted to aid was ordered to be disbursed through the headmasters of the respective schools.

The Second Assembly took into consideration the Provided Fund aspect of the Kerala Education Act and the Government implemented the Provident Fund Rules during its term. The school staff continued getting its pay from the Government.

The Ministry during the period of the third Assembly continued paying the salary of the school staff.

The Fourth Assembly was also concerned about the welfare of the teachers. It was for their betterment, the government sanctioned Rs 25000 for the "Teachers Welfare Fund". Teachers were given special inservice training to improve science teaching as well as in basic education.

The Fifth Assembly too had emphasised the upliftment of the school teachers and the other staff. It was during its term, a scheme was evolved to avail bank loans to employees and teachers of private school for housing and other various needs.

It was during the Sixth Assembly, which saw two-chief ministers during its term, the corruption in the appointment of teachers in aided schools created heated discussions. The government came up with strong proposals to eradicate this evil. For the concern showed by the assembly regarding falling quality in school education, the government announced its endeavour for the skill upgradation of teachers through training and co-ordination of agencies.

The Seventh Assembly showed its concern to the low salary of the school staff and the high living cost in the state. The government took measures to revise the pay scales and allowance to the school staff. The teachers were given training as part of the vocationalisation of the schools.

During the Eighth Assembly, the government drew up a special scheme for the construction of houses for teachers. The pay revision was a concern here and the government took appropriate measures to solve their problems.

Issue No-3 : Education of weaker sections

The weaker sections include students of economically poor people, scheduled castes and tribes and physically handicapped people.

The First Assembly and its ministry were concerned about the weaker sections, especially those in the tribal areas of Malabar. In response to the demands and concern expressed by the members, the government made an attempt to bring in a uniform system of education in areas-including Malabar and Kasargode. The government took care of 182 welfare schools intended primarily for the benefit of the Harijan students. The free noon-day meal served to the primary students and free education was really an incentive for the poor younger ones.

The Second Assembly expressed the desire to extend the free education up to standard VIII instead on VII, the decision for it was taken in the previous

assembly. The government had acceded to the demand. The fee noon-day meal which was discontinued for a short period, was re-imposed. The government maintained the 182 welfare schools intended primarily for the benefit of the Harijan students.

The abolition of tuition fees for standard 9th and 10th in the third legislative assembly brightened the prospects of weaker sections continuing their education beyond primary level. The government decided to take measures for the education of the handicapped.

In response to the concern expressed in the Fourth Assembly, the government took various measures to uplift the weaker sections. The government decided to sanction many private schools and start government schools as per the needs of the locality especially the remote areas of weaker sections. They decided to set up many book banks in schools to provide text books to SC/ST students. The government decided to supply textbooks to the students at a reasonable rate so that the weaker sections will benefit from it. They even took steps to provide essential commodities at reasonable rates to the school hostel students. In response to the demands of the members in the assembly, the selling price of the textbook was reduced. The plight of the weaker sections echoed in the assembly often, which made the governments to initiate many steps in these directions. Steps were taken to benefit the students of weaker section from the book bank set up in each school. A scheme of "students" welfare Fund was started and Rs.30 lakhs were collected to help the needy ones. Special incentives were given to the weaker sections to enroll their children in the primary school as a part of the drive for universalization of primary education. The government took steps to open 300 new schools especially in rural and remote area including 21 L.P. schools in the tribal concentrated areas.

The Sixth Assembly also echoed the same sentiments about the plight of weak tribal students which made the government to take decision to start new

schools in socially and economically backward areas. The government was concerned about the difficulties of tribal students, who with great difficulty reach the 10th standard and fail to pass in it. Uncertainty about their future loomed in front of them when they failed. It was this concern expressed by the members which made the government to take initiative to help the S.S.L.C failed tribal students by sending them to reputed tutorials.

The Seventh Assembly lasting five years, maintained the free education to all the school students and the help being provided to the weaker sections. They took steps to provide the new indigenous nutritious food, replacing CARE, to the primary children in 8 districts.

The Eighth Assembly wanted to eliminate the discrepancies whatever, existing between the students of the weaker sections and others. It wanted the government to speed up the implementation of various plans for the education of the SC/ST students. It made the government to take a firm decision i.e. to frame a time bound programme to remove the educational backwardness of SC/ST students.

Issue No-4 : College Education in General Studies.

With the re-organization of the state, the re-organization of the institutions of higher studies was a major issue. The house of First assembly put up their suggestions to re-name Travancore University to Kerala University and to bring all the institutions of collegiate education under its purview and control. The government took measures in this direction. As part of the structural re-organization of the education system of the state in the beginning, the various colleges in the state were transferred to the control of the Director of Collegiate education with effect from 11-9-1957. But, later the post of Director of collegiate education was abolished and the Director of Public Instruction was given the additional charge of the collegiate education too. The Kerala University Act,

regulating the entire University and its colleges came in to effect during this period.

The Second Assembly saw to it that several measures were taken for the upliftment of the college staff. The government responded to the concern of the house by deciding to give UGC scale to private teaching and non-teaching staff. The government initiated steps to revise certain shortcomings, expressed by the house, of the Kerala University Act. The Grant-in-aid scheme for the college staff was implemented with effect from 1-4-1962.

The Third Assembly discussed the inadequacy of the single University which has to cover the entire state. The necessity of a University at Calicut was discussed in detail. The government took appropriate measures to set up the Calicut University, the planning of which was on anvil. The high enrolment and limited seats in colleges was a concern of the House. The idea of shift system was mooted in the assembly to cope with the situation.

The Fourth assembly had several matters on college education to discuss and decide. The irregularities in admissions and fees paid by the students was causing a major problem and called for an immediate attention, especially in case of private colleges. The government promised to bring in certain amount of order in both the matters. The appointment and security of teachers in private colleges was cause of concern of the house. The government announced its decision to give direct payment of salaries to private college staff and also to bring certain amount of order in the appointment and security of the college staff. In order to cope up with the heavy rush for higher education, six junior colleges were started in the state. The government decided to act on the long pending demands of the University at Cochin and for an Agricultural University. The condition of the students of the weaker section was voiced by the house. The government promised to set up several college co-operative stores and book banks. The issue of ever

increasing demand of enrolment in college education also came up in the assembly.

The heavy rush for the college education, was becoming a major point of discussion in the house of Fifth Assembly. The government had to find out the ways and means to solve this problem. One major option was to start the shift system in the colleges, especially in the junior colleges, along with allocation of more seats and opening of more colleges. The government introduced the shift system in 21 colleges during 1979.

In the Sixth Assembly, the government faced an array of questions from the members of the assembly in the house on the irregularities on examinations of Kerala University and Calicut University and the government's apathy in dealing with them. The government reacted by appointing a committee to look in to the matter and to suggest the ways of rectifying the situation. The non availability of higher education in certain areas was another problem raised by the members of the house. The government sanctioned 3 new colleges in such areas. The increase in demand for college education continued and government responded by introducing shift system in more colleges and allocating more seats.

The increase in number of colleges in the state resulted in its handling by just a few Universities in the state. It was a long pending demand by the members of the house to have another University to share the burden of Kerala and Calicut Universities. Thus a new University, Gandhi University was set up on 2-10-1983 with its head quarters at Kottayam during the Seventh Assembly. There was also a proposal to upgrade the Cochin University to an institution of higher learning in special branches of technology. Even though several book banks were existing in many colleges, the house demanded more funds to set up book banks in many more colleges.

The Eighth Assembly discussed and decided on another major subject in higher education i.e. Sanskrit University. The members voiced their concern about the diminishing standards of Sanskrit language, the parent of all Indian languages. The government decided to take measures to set up the University in Kalady the birth - place of Sankracharya who made Sanskrit easily learnable by all. The increasing demand for higher education resulted in the promotion of 30 government junior colleges to degree colleges.

A Few Observations

An analysis across 4.3 reveals that broadly two areas, school education and university education got emphasized throughout the three and half decades. The successive governments, irrespective of the political obligations they had, gave due importance to the various aspects or issues or proposals of these two areas. The members of the different political parties were not averse to the various problems, whatever and whenever arose, when they were the respected members of the assembly. In most of the cases, as can be seen, the government took initiatives to have wide discussions on those issues so that viable alternatives could be generated to solve the problems.

Another observation is the continuity of emphasis (certain issues received which really demanded the continuity). Elementary education was one such example. Elementary education had its prominence in the First assembly of itself under the Chief minister ship of E. M. Sankaran Namboodripaad. Totally free education of primary students of I to VII standards proposed and accepted in the Assembly would have been the first foot mark in the accomplishment, later, the total universalization of primary education in the state. Probably Kerala's people's representatives were following the foot steps of erstwhile rulers who emphasized the compulsory learning of the 3R's by the tiny ones in the Princely States. Historically speaking, the tradition of learning has been very strong and deep - rooted in Kerala. The emphasis was continued throughout. The successive

governments not only strengthened the elementary sector by encouraging enrolment, periodical revision of curriculum but also focussed on the teachers, the pivot of the system. The Kerala Education Act 1958, brought in a clear cut set of directions for them who were otherwise in the web of uncertainties regarding their job opportunities, job security and job remuneration etc. The state control on education through the act also ensured the balanced growth of education in the state resulting in the almost universal enrolment of age group 5-9 by the year 1986 (Economic Report – 1986) and the progress in the other age group was substantial.

The governments all along left no gaps to uplift the students of weaker sections. Whenever, there was a lapse, the members across the parties, made a hue and cry. Various measures like free education, free noon day meals, scholarships, free textbooks, admitting the school dropouts, setting up of schools in remote areas where the weaker sections live etc. were some of the measures which could bring them up. Concern for the weaker ones echoed all along in the houses. The fact that universalisation of primary education could be achieved in the state is more than an indicator of that the various governments and their policies could convince the poorer sections to send their wards to the schools. Not only in enrolment, in retention also Kerala was ahead among the states of the Union. That shows that the children of the poorer sections continued their education even in the face of bad time.

The state experienced a heavy rush for higher education right from the seventies. The concerns and the demands expressed by the members of different political parties across the government did not go in vain. The successive governments met the rush by opening new colleges, new courses, starting the shift system in colleges etc. The demands of the different regions were met by setting up of a number of Universities i.e. Calicut, Cochin, Trikkakara, Kottayam etc.

The trend analysis shows that the above mentioned issues of education had their prominence in discussion as major issues, as proposals and sometimes as Bills or Acts in the political decision making process in education of Kerala during

three and half decade of post re-organization period. The vibrations these issues generated in the legislative assemblies have their repercussions in the form of achievements and education development as reflected in the form of Universal enrolment in Primary education, highest retention in school education of SC/ST students etc.

4.7 Trends in Decision Making - Before and after the 42nd Constitutional Amendment 1976.

Introduction

The prevailing system of education in India had its origin in the beginning of the 19th century. Later the political changes and social changes forced the administrators to change the then existing systems in education. Changes in curriculum and administration were mooted by the rulers of the princely states. The social and political changes ensued after independence also had their repercussions in education. Various committees and commissions were appointed to go into the problems of education in the country. National policies were formulated for education on the basis of their recommendations. Constitutional provisions also had to be adjudged to bring in those policies in action.

Under the constitution as originally enacted, education was primarily a state subject. The relevant entry (ENTRY II) in state list read "Education including Universities subject to the provisions of entries 63,64, 65 and 66 of LIST - I and entry 25 of LIST – III." Thus, education was exclusively a responsibility of states, the Union Government being concerned directly with certain areas like co-ordination, determination of standards in technical and higher education etc. In 1976, by a constitutional amendment, education became the joint responsibility of the union and state governments. The constitution (Forty Second Amendment Act) omitted Entry II from the State list and amplified Entry 25 in the concurrent list. This entry specified that education, including technical and medical education will

be concern of both the central and state governments. To what extent this constitutional amendment affected the trends in decision making in the state is to be probed into. It needs an analysis of the various educational decisions taken before and after 1976 in the state.

The four key issues identified already are taken here to see the trend before and after 1976. Four assemblies had the tenure during 1957-76. Four different chief ministers ran the government of the state during the first four assemblies. They included the rule of the communist led governments ruling the state twice and the congress led governments ruling the state twice. What were the major decisions on the four key issues of “strengthening of primary (I to VII) education in the state”, “facilities including emoluments for the school staff”, “Education of students of weaker sections and “college education in general studies”, during the period form 1957 to 1976? Here is an attempt to put them in order :-

1. Decision to take up the total responsibility of entire elementary education in the state.
2. To re-organize the educational system with the state
3. To bring in a Uniform system of education at the primary level.
4. To implement free primary education.
5. To implement free noonday meals for the students of primary section.
6. Setting up of Bureau of educational research to improve the quality of education.
7. To construct a number of school building.
8. To implement works oriented programmes in schools.
9. To takes measures to ensure the maximum retention in schools.
10. To implement measures to improve the health conditions of students.
11. To enhance the activities of CARE to provide the noon day meals to the primary students.
12. To standardize the pay of government and private school teachers and to provide grant to the schools.
13. To implement the rule of provident fund to the school staff.

14. To implement various welfare programmes for the teachers including the "Teachers Welfare Fund".
15. To provide various inservice training programmes to the teachers.
16. To set up welfare hostels for the harijan students.
17. To extend free education up to std VIII
18. Abolition of tuition fees even to standard IX and X.
19. To set up many schools in areas where weaker sections live.
20. To set up book banks in schools to provide text books to SC/ST students
21. To sell text books at reasonable rates to help the poor students.
22. To re-organize Travancore University in to Kerala University to bring in all institutions of collegiate education under its control.
23. To provide UGC scale to the college staff.
24. To set up Calicut University to share the burden of Kerala University.
25. To introduce shift system in colleges to cope with the rush for higher education.
26. To pay directly the salary of teaching and non-teaching staff of colleges.
27. To set up co-operative stores and book banks in colleges to help the students of weaker sections.

The period between 1976 to 1990 also had four assemblies which saw the leadership of five chief ministers, some of them for more than one time, leading different political fronts. Since some of them came in to power more than one time, the above period witnessed the swearing in of eight governments. Four of the governments were led or supported by the congress party and the other four were led by the communists. The major decisions during this period on the four key issues were:

1. To implement the universalisation of primary education
2. To implement measures to provide incentives to weaker sections, free supply of textbooks, enrolment drive and remedial teaching for school students.

3. To check dropouts.
4. To open new schools for girls and to start schools in remote areas.
5. To upgrade curriculum for schools.
6. To avail institutional finance for setting up of schools.
7. In order to improve the quality of education, measures to be taken to improve curriculum.
8. To replace CARE with an indigenous nutritious meal.
9. To speedily implement OB (Operation Black Board) and DIET.
10. To prepare schemes to avail bank loans to employees and teachers of private schools for housing and other various needs.
11. To set measures to eradicate corruption in the appointment of teachers.
12. Measures for skill upgradation of teachers through teachers training and co-ordination of agencies.
13. To revise the pay of school staff.
14. To evolve special schemes to construct houses for teachers.
15. To set up a "Students Welfare Fund".
16. Special incentives to students of weaker sections.
17. New schools to be opened at rural areas.
18. To send the 10th class failed tribal students to the reputed tutorials.
19. To bring in a time bound programme to remove the educational backwardness of SC/ST students.
20. To allocate more colleges, more seats and to start shift system in more colleges to meet the challenges of increasing enrolment in higher education.
21. To stem out the irregularities in the examination systems in universities.
22. Setting up of new universities in the state i.e. Gandhiji University and Cochin University.
23. To promote the junior colleges to degree colleges.
24. To set up a Sanskrit University at Kalady.

Matters pertaining to primary education, education of weaker sections and plight of teaching and non-teaching staff always evinced great concern in the

legislative Houses whether it was before or after 1976. The various measures like implementing free primary education, free noon-day meals to the students of primary schools, setting up of new schools in needy areas, various beneficiary measures to improve education among the backward communities etc., have always found a prominent place in the decision making process of the state. This concern was more or less consistent whether the government was led by the front of congress or communists. But an area of education which can reflect on upward thrust during the period of 1976-90 is the University education. This trend is clearly visible in terms of the emphasis it derived in the discussions in the legislative Houses as well as the proposals and decisions of the various governments. The statistical figures in this area shows in terms of the increase in number of institutions and enrolments is also not insignificant when it showed an increase of 28% in terms of educational institutions in 6 years after 1976, it showed 76% increase in terms of enrolment in 7 years after 1976. The increase in demand of the higher education was so intense that even, after taking measures like opening up new colleges, allocating more seats and starting shift system in many colleges, the government could accommodate only 38% of the students.

One more area, though not among the key issues, which got key attention during later period of this study is the vocationalisation of school education. Education in the state always had a lop sided growth. When the state went ahead extensively in general education, technical education was lagging behind. This was true in the case of emphasis it got in the legislature proceedings as well as in the facilities the state provided. "Economic Report" 1960 says, "Education is the key stone of progress in a democracy. Education in any state should be directed to train people enter diverse fields of activity like the industrial, agricultural, commercial and scientific. Kerala's educational system does not have this quality because the progress achieved so far is only in one branch of education, namely general education".

Another report of 1962 echoes the same when it says that, “of topical interest to Kerala in the context of the enlargement of special services is the fact that a low content of technical education is definitely a limiting factor to industrialization”.

The expansion of general education added to the problem of unemployment in the state. “Economic Report, 1978’ report s “ The fast pace of educational development has aggravated the problem of educated unemployment. In spite of growing unemployment the demand for education is still on the rise. It would not be far from the truth, to say that education in Kerala is being used as “an alternative to remaining unemployed”. This is so because the private cost of education is low and there is no opportunity cost either”.

But in the year of eighties, there is a growing concern in the legislative House for the vocationalisation of education at the school level itself. This was also in tune with the various recommendations of the union government. The government proposed to spread vocationalisation in high schools and technical educational institutions in VII assembly. According to a government report, 1986, vocational courses were offered in 8 subjects in high schools for a total of 2080 students and in 18 subjects in technical high schools for a total of 760 students. In 1987, the vocational education has been under implementation in 73 schools - 54 high schools and 19 technical high school. The course covered about 28 different vocations covering various fields in engineering, technology, agriculture, fisheries, veterinary, sports, para-medical and agro-industries. According to a 1990 report, vocational higher secondary education at plus 2 level was implemented in 157 schools. The vocationalisation of school education was echoed several times during the deliberations of the Eighth Assembly.

Thus, it can be inferred that various aspects of primary education had a consistent emphasis in the decision making process whether it was before or after 1976. While, areas like higher education and vocationalisation of education showed a fast pace in emphasis they drew in the decision making process during the later period ie. after 1976. The people across, with whom the investigator had informal talk, too cherished this view.