EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

1921-1966

DEDICATED

TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

CHANDRAKALA SHUKLA

EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

1921-1966

BY

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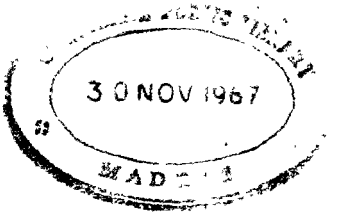

FOREWORD

HISTORY as a discipline provides the background and perspective for an understanding of the present and a clue to its unfolding in future. *Education of Women in India 1921-1966* deals with an important aspect of the history of Indian education during an eventful period and throws abundant light on an outstanding educational problem.

At the dawn of Indian history women possessed a high social status and some of them were widely reputed for their learning. But the social, economic and political changes of later years lowered their position and gradually denied them their right of education too. The social code for women, their early marriage and seclusion restricted their life to home by the end of the eighteenth century. But the Indian renaissance in the following period increasingly touched all aspects and problems of national life, position of women not excepted, till finally under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi it assumed the form of political struggle and social reforms in which women joined freely and shared equally with men the burdens and honours. With the coming of independence the Constitution provided them equality of status and opportunity and once more they regained their pristine glory.

When the subject of education passed into the hands of the Indian ministers in the provincial governments, educational activities got a fillip and popular issues like women's education received greater attention. It is at this point of the history of Indian education that the book takes up the thread and gives a fascinating account of the sometimes slow and sometimes rapid march of events in the realm of women's education under the care of provincial and state governments. The roles of various agencies namely government, local bodies, missionaries and other private individuals in the evolving drama have been brought out fairly well by the author.

The first three chapters provide a comprehensive background of conditions and forces influencing the education of women before 1921, and the next five chapters give a detailed survey

of the progress during diarchy, provincial autonomy and the first three Five Year Plans. Enough care seems to have been taken to make the account adequate, authentic and accurate, and the assessment of the contemporary forces moulding women's education is objective and convincing. In the last chapter the modern problems of women's education have been thrashed out. By focussing attention on the causes of disparity between men's and women's education and suggesting the remedies to remove the imbalances, the author has contributed towards a fuller understanding of a persistent problem which has loomed large in discussions on educational reconstruction in recent times.

The book contains a store of information collected from various sources which has been critically analysed and plausibly interpreted offering some valuable inferences. The author deserves thanks for enriching the treasure of educational literature of our country in this important aspect. The book, I am sure, will be immensely helpful to the students of education and history, as well as to all those who are interested in the cause of Indian education in general and women's education in particular.

Bhopal
12 November 1966.

ATMANAND MISRA, D. LITT.,
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PREFACE

India is determined to plan her progress in all fields, and education is undoubtedly one of the most important spheres. All the initial three Five Year Year Plans, the first of which was drawn up in 1951, emphasise the importance of education and, in particular, the education of women.

The history of the education of women in India can be said to have begun in Vedic times, but the purpose of my research, of which this book is the product, was to study in particular the period from 1921 to 1966. During this period India has known many political, economic and social changes. All of these changes have influenced the lives, status and education of Indian women. I have also attempted to analyse the problems which surround the education of women in India today and put forward constructive suggestions as to how these problems might be solved.

The period begins after the Government of India Act of 1919. This Act introduced the 'diarchy' system, in which responsibility for the administration of education was transferred from central to provincial government level; a responsibility which the provincial legislatures took seriously, energetically developing the education of both men and women. Administration of the provinces became autonomous upon the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935 and continued to be so until Independence in 1947. The period ends in the year of publication. This is not accidental — it is the last year of the India's Third Five Year Plan (1961-6).

I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the following : Dr. M. P. Sharma, D. Litt., Vice Chancellor, University of Saugar; Mrs. Muriel Wasi, Officer on Special Duty, National Council of Educational Research and Training; Dr. A. Misra, D. Litt., Director of Public Instruction, Government of Madhya Pradesh for kindly writing the foreword to this book; Dr. V. E. Moray, Ph.D., Education Officer, the High Commission of India, London and Dr. S. B. Adaval, D. Phil., of the Central Institute of Education, Delhi, for their valuable suggestions and advice.

PLATES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education in its many forms is the process by which a nation transforms itself from what it is, into what it aspires to be. As such, it is perhaps the most important aspect of the evolution and maintenance of a nation. Education is the backbone of social development and the essence of civilisation.

Education satisfies the needs of society by developing human material and drafting this material into the nation's service. The extent and shape of development is determined by social and cultural patterns. In primitive communities social and cultural patterns were of a simple nature and the factors influencing the shape of education were few and clearly defined. But in more sophisticated communities the factors are numerous and complex. It is possible, however, to group these factors under five main headings so that we may more closely inspect them in the context of education of women in India: religious, social, economic, political and external.

Religious. Almost invariably it has been religion which has provided initially the facilities and motivation for education. In ancient India the birth of education can be said to have taken place in Vedic times, during which both men and women were required to learn the four Vedas[1] in order that they might offer Vedic prayers and take part in rituals and sacraments. Later, the Western missionaries devoted considerable energy to teaching the masses, and it was the missionaries, who, despite their primary aim, were the real founders of a more utilitarian education.

Social. The demand for, and therefore the standard of women's education in India, has been closely related to the status that society has accorded them. Great social awakening of women in the twentieth century resulted in the freedom of women and a status of equality with men. This has increased demand for education consequently.

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1. Names of the four celebrated works: the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda*, and the *Atharvaveda*.

Economic. During the depressions created in India by the two world wars, prices rose so rapidly that they overtook the incomes of the male members of the family. To make ends meet, many women came out of their homes to find work; eventually, India's economy became geared to the availability of women for employment. The educational system was affected by the number of women who wanted to increase their earning capacity, since the system was now adapted to provide them with the facilities to do so.

Political. As we concluded earlier, the shape of an educational system is governed by the requirements of the community. These requirements are determined by the social and cultural patterns within that community. Since education in India is a state responsibility, it is the task of the state legislature to fulfil the needs of its people as far as education is concerned. Naturally, political sentiments may affect curricula. For example, on a national scale, politically independent countries provide an educational system suited to national aspirations, whether these aspirations be territorial conquest, industrial advancement, political docility or some other aim. An example nearer home is the task of a democratic country such as India to provide a general education for all its people, since a democracy cannot be said to be functioning properly until all its members are literate.

External. The development of rapid world-wide communication, together with the new spirit of co-operation between specialists, which over-rides political barriers, has resulted in sharing of ideas, not least among educationists. The Westernisation of education in modern India is proof of this.

The Development of Women's Education

We have already concluded that the early history of the education of women in India was influenced chiefly by religious and social factors. Since in Vedic times Upanayana[2] was to be performed for all children and they had to recite Vedic Mantras and rituals later on, both girls and boys required instruction. Generally, this was provided by the elders of the family; the pupils who excelled being sent to hermitages. This tradition continued into the later Vedic period, but began to decline as

2. Ceremony of initiation into Vedic religion.

girls contracted marriage at an increasingly early age. The status of women was at its lowest during Moslem rule, when, shut within the four walls of their homes, few women received an education of any value.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when British rule was established in India, a survey of the educational system was undertaken. Few of the survey reports made any mention of female scholars attending school. In fact, as William Adam pointed out, a strong feeling existed amongst the people in Bengal that education was contrary to the modesty of women and that a girl taught to read and write would after marriage become a widow. Missionaries from the West worked to break down this prejudice and opened the first of many schools for girls in 1818 at Chinsura. The Government were quick to give the missionaries support, but it was not until 1849 that the first girls' school independent of missionaries was established at Calcutta by J. E. D. Bethune.

It was at this time that Raja Ram Mohan Roy took up the cause of the emancipation of India's women. He was perhaps the first influential Indian to do so; the efforts of those pressing for the expansion of education of women could only have been frustrated without such men.

A start had been made: but it was a late start and subsequent progress was slow, despite the observation in Wood's Despatch that 'the importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated', the recommendations of the Hunter Commission and Lord Curzon's interest in the education of women, all of which we shall be reviewing in detail later. Failure to convert theory into practice is an old and sad tale; as H. M. Jones puts it, 'the weakness of educational reform is that too much of it is verbal only, as any publisher of textbooks will, in his confidential moments, admit. Men alter words and think they have changed things'.[3]

Not until the turn of the century did Indian women really awaken to their situation. Once they had done so, the campaigns for emancipation and for the improvement of educational faci-

3. H. M. Jones, *Education and World Tragedy*, (Cambridge/Harvard University Press, 1946), p. 77.

lities gained impetus through national movements. Mahatma Gandhi became one of the foremost champions of women's emancipation. While in 1901 the Census recorded a literacy rate amongst women of one in 144, by 1921 the rate was 1.8 per cent, and educational institutions for girls grew rapidly in number and size.

Diarchy, with the consequent transfer of responsibility for the Education Department to an Indian minister in 1921, was a landmark in the history of Indian education. The movement for political citizenship for women grew in strength and effectiveness, and for the first time women were granted electoral enfranchisement by the provincial legislatures. These events so influenced the trend of feeling on the subject that unprecedented progress was made in the nineteen twenties.

Upon the advent of autonomous provincial government in 1937 (Government of India Act, 1935), women had achieved such a degree of emancipation that soon they were to hold important ministerial posts; a woman was appointed to the post of Speaker. Naturally, considerable attention was now being paid to education; firstly, because the ambitions of intelligent women knew no bounds, but, more particularly, because those who held responsible posts were acutely aware of the inadequacy of the educational system and were bringing their influence to bear upon its improvement and extension.

Two new educational schemes were launched: the first was known as 'Basic Education', the object of which was to lay more emphasis on practice and less on mere theory during primary education; the second was the establishment of adult education schemes, and ambitious literacy campaigns were launched in most provinces during Congress rule. Unfortunately the resignation of the Congress ministries and the outbreak of the World War Two were temporarily to thwart this progress.

Perhaps the most crucial landmark in the history of education in India, and in fact in the modern history of India as a nation, was Independence; 1947 was a time for thinking on a large scale. The emancipation of women completed, schools could not extend fast enough to keep pace with the growing number of women aware of their new opportunities and eager to grasp them.

The literacy rate for women in 1961 was 12.8 per cent. This figure may appear insignificant when we remember that India is the cradle of a civilisation as old as that of Egypt or Babylonia, but, if we compare it with the literacy rate for women in previous years, it is clearly a staggering achievement: 1901 - 0.9 per cent, 1911 - 1.1 per cent, 1921 - 1.8 per cent, 1931 - 2.9 per cent, 1941 - 3.4 per cent, 1951 - 7.9 per cent.

The Importance of the Education of Women in Modern India

India now recognises in her women an invaluable natural resource, the development of which is an investment in her future. The contemporary Indian woman is both a citizen and a homemaker, and in order that she may perform both of these functions efficiently and responsibly, she must be provided with at least a general education and, where intelligence and particular aptitudes are revealed, a professional and vocational education. Even where exceptional ability is not revealed, a good general education should be provided, for as A. Mayhew has said, 'A scheme of education which ignores or assigns an inferior position to women may be effective politically and professionally, but will have no enduring effect on personality as a whole or on racial characteristics'.[4]

In granting her women enfranchisement, India has shouldered the responsibility of providing them with the equipment to function as members of a democracy; namely, the ability to understand political policies and cast their votes with discrimination.

K. Natarajan once said that, 'If a person who died a hundred years ago came to life today, the first and foremost important change that would strike him is the revolution in the position of women'.[5] But despite this 'revolution', the literacy rate for women is depressingly low. We might perhaps indicate at this stage a few of the factors responsible for this, which are best illustrated by drawing the following comparisons. Educational institutions for men and boys outnumber those for girls and women by twelve to one. During 1960-1, whereas 28.6 million boys were enrolled at the elementary stage (6- 14 years), only 13.03 million girls

4. Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India*, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1934), p. 205.
5. *Indian Social Reformer*, Sept. 25th., 1937.

were enrolled. At the end of the third Five Year Plan (1965-6), while the enrolment of boys at the same stage is likely to rise to 40.02 millions (75 per cent of boys in the age group), that of girls is likely to be only 22.88 millions (47 per cent of girls in the age group). In addition, there is a scarcity of women teachers and a general lack of understanding concerning the special needs of girls.

Objects

This is the first systematic study of the development of women's education in India published since 1918. Those books which are available either do not include World War Two and after or study developments in one particular region of India only. However, I will list the important works for the reader's reference: Priscilla Chapman's *Hindoo Female Education* (1839); Minna G. Cowan's *The Education of the Women of India* (1912), the first published study of the education of women throughout India and the background to its development; K. Raya's *The Education of Our Women* (1918), a similar study; Jyotiprova Dasgupta's *Girls' Education in India* (1938) is confined to secondary and collegiate education in 1935-6; and *The Education of Women in Modern India* published by the All-India Women's Conference, which deals with only a few of the many aspects of the subject.

The objects of my research were as follows:

1. To study the history of women in India in the context of their status and education.
2. To survey and objectively analyse the education of women in India from 1921 to the end of the Third Five Year Plan (1961-6), with particular reference to: the factors hindering progress, the nature and extent of wastage and stagnation, the educational facilities available to contemporary Indian women, and co-education.
3. Lastly, in the light of my findings, I sought to formulate constructive suggestions for the future.

Research Sources

All the sources from which I have drawn data for this book are authoritative. They include historical records, Quinquennial

Reviews of the Progress of Education in India, Annual Reports, Census Reports and the reports of various committees and commissions. Perhaps those to which particular reference was made should be listed: *The Wood's Education Despatch (1854), The Hunter Commission's Report (1883), The Calcutta University Commission's Report (1919), The Hartog Committee Report (1929), The Post-War Educational Development in India (The Sargent Report, 1944), The Radhakrishnan Commission's Report (1950), The Secondary Education Commission's Report (1953), and The Report of the National Committee on Women's Education (1959).*

CHAPTER 2

STATUS AND EDUCATION

Having determined that the status accorded to women considerably influences the opportunities and facilities for their education, it is important for us to study the history of their social role in India, and attempt to relate it to the development of their education. To bring the period under review into perspective, it would be expedient to extend that study right back to the earliest times known to us. In studying the history of the education of women in this context, we shall in effect be studying India's cultural growth, for surely the cultural heritage of a nation is transmitted from one generation to another through education. The well-known French utopian socialist Charles Fourier (1772-1837) who developed a system of ethical socialism once said, 'One can judge the degree of civilization of a nation by the social and political position of its women'.

Ancient India : Status

Early Vedic Period : 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C.

For this period we have to rely upon religious literature for reference. This is reliable, though somewhat inadequate.

Social Status. Women enjoyed comparatively high status during this period. In this respect, India surpassed her contemporary civilizations, Greece and Rome : for the status of Greek and Roman women was no more than servile.

References in the religious literature of the time to the importance of boys as opposed to girls make interesting, if somewhat inconclusive reading. Some works insisted that a daughter should be considered less valuable than a son. In the Indo-Iranian era the birth of a son was particularly a joyous event, and appears to have been regarded as such through much of this period. The *Atharvaveda* provided rituals[1] supposed to ensure the birth of a son; but, on the other hand, the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* pro-

1. *Atharvaveda*, III, 23; VI, 11.

vided a ritual[2] supposed to ensure the birth of a scholarly daughter, and the *Samyutta Nikaya* stated that a talented daughter was of greater value than a son[3]. Additional evidence shows that the education of a talented daughter was exactly the same as that of a son, which is a proof that such a daughter was regarded by her family as a source of pride.

Marital Status. The institution of marriage was apparently well established; although not yet compulsory, it was considered a social and religious duty, and was generally undertaken at an advanced age. The *Avesta*[4] laid down that oblations offered to gods or ancestors by unmarried men and women would not be found acceptable, and one Vedic hymn describes the unmarried state as unholy. Intelligent and therefore well-educated girls do not appear to have been the exception : they not only had an effective voice in the selection of a husband, but could remain single if they so wished—the unmarried scholars Apala, Atreyi and Ghosha may be cited in evidence of this. Unmarried girls also enjoyed some property rights. Incidentally, the *Yajurveda*[5] advised fathers of scholarly girls to give their daughters in marriage to suitably learned men.

At this time the husband and wife were regarded as the joint owners of the household and the property. The Rigvedic marriage-rituals did not enjoin the obedience of a wife to her husband. The *Rigveda* describes a wife as an ornament,[6] the epitome of home,[7] and the true friend of her husband. Widows were permitted to remarry

Religious Status. Women enjoyed a religious status comparable to that of men : they had similar privileges in Vedic initiation and studies, and their co-operation in post-marital ceremonies was essential. Should circumstances necessitate a woman's husband being absent, it was acceptable for her to offer sacrifices alone.

A comparatively liberal view was taken with regard to moral lapses on the part of women.

2. *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, VI, 4, 18.
3. *Samyutta Nikaya*, III, 2, 6.
4. *Avesta*, English Translation by Bleek, Hertfort, 1864.
5. One of the important Vedas, some of its parts are most ancient.
6. *Rigveda*, I, 66, 3.
7. *Rigveda*, III, 53, 4.

Political Status. It was at this time that the Aryans were engaged in the arduous task of political expansion. Their women, like those of Homeric Greece, were regarded as useful and productive members of society whose co-operation was valued in securing victory in war and prosperity in peace.

Later Vedic, Sutra and Epic Period: 1000 B.C. to 200 B.C.

Social Status. Married at an early age, women rarely received more than an elementary education. As marriage became obligatory by the end of this period, they were deprived of the opportunity to devote their lives to study. Ceasing to be productive members of society, women suffered a consequent loss in status, further reduced by the withdrawal of their religious rites.[8]

The *Atharvaveda* considered that daughters were less valuable to family and community than sons; in fact the *Aitareya Brahmana* described the birth of a daughter as cause for misery.[9]

At the end of this period, although women were not confined to the house, their movements were restricted to prevent their appearance in public.

Marital Status. The Aryans gradually lost their sturdy, ambitious characteristics in a search for pleasure. Both sexes took to emphasising their physical beauty and preserving their purity. The marriageable age of both sexes began to be lowered, so that eventually marriage before puberty became the general rule during the time of the Smritis[10] and Puranas.[11] Infant marriages and polygamy were not unknown. The tender age at which a girl became a potential bride and her consequent limited education prevented her, regardless of her intelligence, from having an effective voice in the selection of a husband. For the same reasons she received little respect from her husband. She therefore had no influence in household management and often suffered from her husband's tyranny. Manu stated that a man should enjoy unquestioned supremacy over his wife.[12]

Religious Status. The pattern of women's lives did not allow them an adequate religious training: that is to say, their knowledge of

8. See *Religious Status.*
9. *Aitareya Brahmana,* VII, 13.
10. *Manu Smriti,* IX, 90.
11. *Brahma Purana,* 165, 8.
12. *Manu Smriti,* V, 152.

the Vedas became so limited that they were regarded as unfit to perform sacrifies and various religious Samaskaras;[13] wives became silent partners in religious ceremonies. In the course of time, women were declared unfit to recite or even listen to Vedic hymns, and the authors of the Smritis withdrew women's religious rights altogether; the author of the Purva Mimansa wrote, 'Women can stand no comparision with men. The sacrificer is learned, his wife is ignorant.'

The late Professor A. S. Altekar put forward two additional reasons for the deterioration of religious status of women: the introduction of ill-educated non-Aryan wives into Aryan households, and the growing complexity of Vedic sacrifices. Women turned to the practice of the Puranic religion,[14] and in so doing replaced the Vedic sacrifices with Vratas.[15]

200 B.C. to A.D. 1200

During this period India was subjected to a virtually continuous series of foreign invasions and occupations, which seriously affected the morale of her people.

Social Status. There was a growing tendency to regard women as fragile and morally weak. As in the preceding period, compulsory and early marriage deprived them of all but a very elementary education. Ill-educated and unfamiliar with the realities of the world outside their homes, their status remained very low. However, in the wealthy and learned sections of society, they did receive sufficient education to enable them to manage household affairs: but, even in such cases, there was no increase in status. Another exception was in *kshatriya* families, where girls were cared for and given honourable positions in the household: but, with the advent of Moslem rule, such examples became less.

Religious Status. Initially, Buddhism and Jainism were indifferent towards women and the Buddha was reluctant to admit women into his Faith. In the course of time, however, women were admitted to both Buddhism and Jainism, and nunneries were established. Perhaps one of the greatest attractions of becoming a nun was that a woman had the opportunity to study, teach and preach.

13. Sacraments.
14. Non-sacrificial religious rites.
15. Religious fasts.

At the other end of the scale, Jaina nunneries in particular were a source of relief for poor and distressed women. Married and widowed women were admitted as well as the unmarried. Some Buddhist nuns excelled in studying and teaching, and a few attained the highest goal, Nirvana.

At first, the nuns, especially the Buddhists, were subjected to rigorous discipline, sterner than that demanded of their monastic counterparts. But, tragically, discipline eventually was abandoned, and both Buddhist and Jaina nunneries became centres of moral deterioration. It has been suggested that this deterioration was to some extent responsible for the subsequent unpopularity of these religions. Hinduism, having witnessed the distressing results of emancipation in Buddhism and Jainism, declared women ineligible for renunciation, maintaining that the only and most sacred duty of women was the discharge of their family responsibilities.

EDUCATION

Early Vedic Period : 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. and Later Vedic, Sutra and Epic Period : 1000 B.C. to 200 B.C.

The pattern of education in ancient India was generally instruction from the holy preceptor in the Vedas and other religious literature. It was regarded as a valuable privilege, and until the advent of the Christian era was allowed to both sexes. There is evidence that women and girls enjoyed unlimited access to this instruction, for women-rishis[16] are recorded as having composed some Vedic hymns and performed sacrifies.

Until about 200 B.C. girls were permitted to remain unmarried up to the age of sixteen. This allowed them sufficient time to acquire an adequate basic education : the fact that women were admitted to religious rites is sufficient evidence of this. The proper pursuit of the religious studies which followed *Upanayana* was considered a prerequisite for marriage : according to the *Atharvaveda*, a girl would succeed in marriage only if she had first succeeded in her *Brahmacharya*.[17]

16. Women-sages.
17. Religious studentship.

In his Smriti,[18] Harita defines the two types of women students: the Brahmavadinis, or women sages, were lifetime students who studied theology, philosophy and Vedic literature. Many composed hymns, some of which were included in the Vedic Samhitas;[19] the Sadyodvahas merely studied and committed to memory the Vedic hymns and rituals employed in daily and periodic worship. With regard to the composition of hymns we may refer to Professor Altekar: 'Lopamudra, Visvavara, Sikata, Nivavari and Ghosha, the authors of Rigveda I, 179; V, 28; VIII, 91; IX, 81; II, 20; and X, 39 and 40 respectively, were women in flesh and blood, who once lived in Hindu society'.[20] Many specialised in the Purva-Mimansa,[21] and these were known as Kasakritsnas, the coining of a particular name denotes that they were not small in number. Yet others studied the Apara-Vidya[22] and the Para-Vidya[23] and participated in intellectual debates. Women students of Katha[24] and Bahvricha-schools[25] were known respectively as Kathi and Bahvrichi. Some scholars remained unmarried throughout their lives in order that they might continue their studies and spiritual experiments. Careers in religious teaching attracted many women, who, when qualified, were konwn as *Upadhyayas*.

During early childhood, education took place within the family: children studied under the guidance of family elders. Girls generally were taught all that was necessary for them to know, so that they might properly discharge their domestic duties; those who showed a natural aptitude were also taught dancing and singing for ceremonial occasions.[26] It was generally necessary for those who wished to specialise or further their studies to leave home in order to receive instruction from established teachers,

18. *Smriti*, XX, 123.
19. A collection and selection of Vedic hymns.
20. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, (Motilal Banarsidas, Banares, 1956), p. 10.
21. A philosophy of ritualism showing the place and justification for each particular rite by the method of mimansa, *i.e.*, investigation.
22. The knowledge comprising the four *Vedas* and the six Vedangas or ancillary subjects of Phonetics, Ritualistic Knowledge, Grammar, Exegetics, Metrics and Astronomy.
23. The supreme or the highest knowledge through which the Ultimate reality is known, *i.e.*, the real subject matter of the *Upanishads*.
24. The Yoga discipline.
25. Study of *Rigvedic* hymns.
26. *Taittiriya Samhita*, VI, 1, 6, 5;
Maitrayini Samhita, III, 7, 3;
Rigveda, 9, 66, 8.

sometimes having to journey considerable distances : 'the Kaushitaki Brahmana[27] tells of an Aryan lady, Pathyasvasti proceeding to the north for study and obtaining the title of Vak, i.e., Sarasvati, by her learning.[28] It is probable that, where women teachers were available, girls studied under them.

In the later Vedic period conditions were little altered. Hemadri states that unmarried girls should be taught Vidya[29] and Dharmniti;[30] an educated Kumari,[31] he continues, brings good luck to the families of both her husband and her father, so she should be married to a Manishi.[32] Some of the Sutra works furnish evidence of the study of a few secular subjects other than Brahmanical subjects. It appears that these particular subjects could be studied by any woman, regardless of caste.

Women continued to receive education in the time of Panini : women students of the Vedic Sakhas[33] are referred to in his writings.[34]

Some women were even given military training : the evidence lies within the meaning of Saktiki,[35] to which Patanjali refers; and in the hymns ascribed to Ghosha, where we find mention of two women warriors who took part in a battle.[36] In this connection R. K. Mookerji refers to 'the Amazonian bodyguard of armed women which Magasthenes noticed in the palace of the emperor, Chandragupta Maurya'.[37]

The *Ramayana* refers to some women ascetics. From the *Uttararmacharita* of Bhavabhuti[38] we learn that Atreyi lived in the hermitage of Valmiki with Lava and Kusa, and studied

27. *Kaushitaki Brahmana*, VII, 6.
28. R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960), p. 105.
29. The philosophical systems of Nyaya, Mimansa, etc.
30. Religious conduct.
31. Unmarried girl.
32. Learned man.
33. The term used with reference to the different traditionary texts of each of the four *Vedas*.
34. Grammatical *Sutras* of Panini, IV, 1, 63.
35. Saktiki, a female spear-bearer.
36. *Rigveda*, 10, 39, 40.
37. R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960), p. 245.
38. Act II.

Vedic literature with them. Sita is also described as performing the Sandhya.[39]

200 B.C. to A.D. 1200

After 200 B.C. early marriage, often at the age of ten or eleven, deprived girls of education. Upanayana was no longer obligatory. The *Manu Smriti*, which was composed at about 200 B.C., declared that girls' Upanayana should be performed without the recitations of Vedic Mantras : that is to say, it became a mere formality, and was not followed by religious instruction. Later, girls' Upanayana was done away with altogether, and women were classed with the Sudras[40] as being unfit to recite Vedic Mantras or even the hymns of daily worship. Although the names of some women philosophers, poets and doctors are to be found, their numbers were very few and it seems probable that they came from wealthy families.

By A.D. 800 higher education was limited to women of royal, high-ranking and other wealthy families. Girls from these families enjoyed a good literary education and also received domestic, administrative and, surprisingly, military instruction from special tutors. It is an established fact that the Rajput princesses were skilled with sword and spear. During the Chalukya administration, A.D. 980 to 1160, there are records of a number of women officers, and queens who were governors.

The philosophy of Buddhism discounted women, and it was only after advice from his foster-mother, Mahapajapati, and his disciple, Ananda, that the Buddha, with considerable reluctance, agreed to admit women into his religion, on condition that they renounced their household rights.[41] Buddhist nuns were subjected to rigorous discipline, and their status was one of subordination to the monks. Despite this, many women joined the order. Several women become disciples of the Buddha and were known as Theris. The Buddha made special mention of thirteen Theris, among them were Mahapajapati, Gotami, Khema, Patachara and Ambapali. The collection of verses in the Pali, known as the *Theri-Gatha*, is believed to have been composed in the Buddha's

39. Evening prayers.
40. Depressed classes.
41. *Chullavagga*, X, 1.

lifetime by women who were amongst the first to join the order; in the verse they express joy at having attained Nirvana, the highest goal. The Theris devoted tremendous energy to social and missionary work, and became famous as teachers and scholars.

Jaina Fathers were more sympathetic toward women. Although Jaina nuns were subordinate to their monastic brothers, the instruction they received in philosophy and theology was sound. So intensive was the instruction, that the *Kalpasutra* refers to many thousands of Jaina nuns having become first-class scholars. One Jaina nun, Yakini Mahattara, is said to have performed so well in an argument with a Brahmin scholar, Hari Bhadrasuri, that she converted him to the Jaina faith.

Mediaeval India : Status

With the advent of Moslem rule, women's status was further lowered. The Moslem prophets regarded women as untrustworthy : 'even if women belong to a trustworthy and good family, yet they themselves do not belong to that class which characterises a trustworthy person'.[42] They were considered mentally weak, and wicked by nature. It is perhaps a little surprising that Hindu society subscribed to the same way.

From birth to death, a woman's position was a lowly one. 'Religion and other ameliorating spiritual movements gave her all the consolation they could in reconciling her to her fate, but they too, carefully excluded her from every position of power, even from a place in their hierarchy'.[43] Dr. Altekar wrote, 'Women were ill-fitted to fight for their earlier freedom on account of their inexperience and ignorance and submitted to the new order'.[44]

The chief function of a woman both in Hindu and Moslem society was to bear and rear children; otherwise, her sole purpose was to please her husband. As girls, wives and widows, women were no more than subordinates and dependents.

A foreigner travelling in India in the seventeenth century A.D. observed that, 'purda was strictly observed even by the meanest

42. *Bahristan*, I, 344.
43. M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, (Oxford University Press, (1909), Vol. VI, p. 353.
44. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, (Motilal Banarsidass, Banares, 1962), p. 177.

amongst Moslems, but middle-class women could move out of doors with little or no restrictions, and enjoy the open air'.[45] Later, purdah was observed by women of virtually all clasess. In this respect India was not alone : even in 500 B.C. the women of Athenia could not leave their homes without guards;[46] in Assyria and Persia, women did not mix freely with men. Early Christian Fathers encouraged the seclusion of women. Women of nobility in India were fortunate in that they lived in spacious houses; the high walls of the grounds enclosed such luxuries as gardens and pools : but even a princess could not leave her home without her king's permission.

With regard to property rights, Mohammedan women enjoyed a rather more fortunate position than their Hindu sisters : they were entitled to a share of legacies and had the right to do with that share as they pleased. The Hindu women, besides the so called *Stridhana*[47] were entitled only to maintenance expenses.

Early and obligatory marriage continued. We learn from Alberuni that during the eleventh century A.D. the normal age at which a Brahmin girl married was twelve; later it was reduced to six or seven. There was no question of choice of husband; the size of the dowry which she carried was in most cases the deciding factor.

In the lower and middle classes monogamy was observed, but polygamy became a privilege of the nobility. The *Quran* permitted a Mohammedan four wives. In Hindu society polygamy was confined to the upper classes, and in practice to royalty. Hindu society regarded adultery as the sole justification for divorce. In Moslem society, as a natural consequence of polygamy, much domestic unhappiness was created by wives competing for their husband's favour. Where monogamy was practised, women regarded their state an honourable one, although they were subordinate to their husbands; both man and wife were careful to preserve their domestic happiness.

45. J. Fryer and Sir Thomas Roe, *Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century*, (Trubner and Co., London, 1873), p. 182.
46. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. (T and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1960), Vol. 5, p. 735.
47. Property over which women are allowed to have their own more or less absolute control.

As a young daughter-in-law, a girl was expected to perform all the domestic duties under the direction of the senior members of the household.

EDUCATION

Young girls received their earliest lessons from their parents. As separate schools for girls were a rarity, they continued their education at boys' schools, Moslem girls studying the *Quran*, and Hindu girls studying the literature of their own religion.) Ibn Batuta recorded the existence of twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls at the town of Hinnaur, where every Musalman woman knew the *Quran*;[48] no evidence can be found to substantiate the theory that any other separate girls' schools existed. Education for older girls and women in mediaeval India was limited to the upper classes and royalty.

Majumdar records, 'Female education of some sort existed during the Mughal period. The daughters of the imperial household, and of rich nobles, were given tuition in their houses, and we may assume that the daughters of the middle class people among the Hindus received primary education along with boys in the schools and some of them were conversant with religious literature.'[49] N. N. Law writes, 'No doubt the education of females was greatly restricted by the purdah system, which stood in the way of females beyond a certain age being sent to schools, but there were no such obstacle so far as the young girls were concerned.[50]

Daughters of the Rajput chiefs were generally taught reading, writing, and often the art of warfare. Learned and accomplished women who knew Persian were employed as tutors to the Mughal princesses in the imperial harem. It is recorded that Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa (1469-1500) had fifteen thousand women at his palace, 'among these were : school mistresses, musicians, prayer-readers, and persons of all professions and trade'.[51] Some interesting specimens of letters written by Mughal princesses are still in existence. In his palace at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar set apart

48. *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, (Samuel Lee, London, 1929), pp. 165-6.
49. R. C. Majumdar; H. C. Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India* (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 579.
50. N. N. Law, *The Promotion of Learning during Mohammadan Rule*, (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1916), p. 200.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 201, (Ferishta, Vol. 4, p. 236).

some chambers as a school for the education of the ladies of the royal household.

Middle-class women generally acquired some knowledge of Hindi, Persian or a native language in order that they might read the literature of their religion. To quote Professor Altekar, 'The percentage of literacy among Hindu women went further down with a great rapidity. Rich and cultured families were, as a rule, ruined by the new political revolution; they were no longer in a position to make special arrangements for the education of their daughters.'[52]

Early marriage still hindered the education of girls. Other than members of wealthy families, only concubines and their like attached to wealthy households received an education, and the masses therefore came to associate the education of women with concubinage. It is difficult to understand such an attitude, but nevertheless the education of women came to be considered inadvisable as a result of this association.

In spite of difficulties, sufficiently determined women did succeed in acquiring some education. We know of many distinguished authoresses and poetesses of the time, for example: Gulbadan Begum, the author of *Humayunnama;* Jahanara; Mira Bai; and Sahajobai. During Moslem rule a few women administrators also distinguished themselves: Abu-l Fazal recorded his admiration of Rani Durgawati, the Chandella princess of Gondwana —her country was said to be better administered and more prosperous than that of Akbar the Great;[53] Chand Bibi, who defended the fort of Ahmednagar against Akbar's mighty army, administered her country like the Queen Nurjahan.

Modern India

The Eighteenth Century

'Whatever may have been the strength and weaknesses of the Mughal administration in its most flourishing time, there can be no question that the collapse of the administration brought with

52. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization,* pp. 23-4.
53. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mughal,* (Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 69-70.

it moral chaos and the ruin of learning'.[54] Women and children became saleable commodities: as Sir William Jones remarked to a Calcutta jury in 1785, 'Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child either purchased at a trifling price or saved for a life that seldom fails of being miserable'.[55]

Another common practice of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly amongst the Rajputs, was female infanticide, the motive of such crimes was desire to shun the disgrace which must ensue from failure to provide daughters with adequate marriage settlements.[56] Approximately twenty thousand female infanticides were committed annually. In one taluka,[57] not one female child was to be found among four hundred families.[58] Central government efforts to stamp out this practice did not succeed until legislative action was taken in 1870.

The Nineteenth Century

Women's status was still inferior in the nineteenth century. Early marriage and sati continued to prevent emancipation. A survey undertaken by the Serampur Missionaries revealed that within a radius of ten miles of Calcutta 300 *satis* had taken place within six months.[59] 'In 1807 Lord Minto observed that widow-burning was extremely prevalent, especially in the neighbourhood of Calcutta'[60] British officialdom, by then established in India, was at first reluctant to interfere with religious customs, but during the early part of the century eventually imposed certain restrictions. In 1818, when a group of Hindus petitioned against the orders of the British Government, Raja Ram Mohan Roy produced a counter-petition; staunchly he opposed the custom, at no little risk to himself. Fortunately, William Bentinck,[61] a reformer by

54. H.R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India*, 1797-1910, (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1911), p. 6.
55. L. S. S. O'Malley, *History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British Rule*, 1925, p. 359.
56. H. H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of India*, 1858-1918. (University Press, Cambridge, 1932), Vol. 6, p. 129.
57. A political division of a district larger than a tahsil. A tahsil itself is a political division comprising several villages.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
59. J. C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, 1864, p. 99.
60. H. H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 6, p. 135.
61. Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, 1828-1835.

temperament, became Governor-General in 1828. He declared *sati* illegal in Bengal Presidency on 4 December 1829.

Women of upper classes suffered from the custom of enforced widowhood and the prohibition of divorce. Amongst the lower classes the 'devdasi'[62] custom was practised.

A few women did however overcome their social poverty to reach positions of distinction. Among them were Toru Datta, Pandita Ramabai, Swarna Kumari Devi, Kamini Roy and Sarojini Naidu. Born in 1856, Toru Datta became a literary celebrity. Pandita Ramabai founded the movement for the education of Hindu women. Born in 1879, Sarojini Naidu was a poet and an idealistic politician; she became President of the Indian National Congress in 1928, and later, the first woman provincial governor.

In 1828, Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Bramho Samaj, the purpose of which was to promote reform of the conditions which women endured. Following this example, other similar missions were established: the Ram Krishna Mission in Bengal, the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay, and the Arya Samaj in the Punjab (1875). Although all these missions had their conception in religious idealism and in particular a desire to purge Hinduism of its superstitions, they played a major role in the revivalist movements of such organisations as the Deccan Education Society in Poona and the Indian National Congress in Bombay, both of which were founded in 1885. Gopal Krishna Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society in 1905, and the Poona Seva Sadan Society; the latter being devoted specially to women's emancipation. Professor D. K. Karve deserves special mention: he opened widow-homes for the destitute, and established the first and only university for women at Poona.

Despite these attempts at progress, women did not have the opportunities of Western education, which were later to lead to the awakening of social and political consciousness in India. There was still opposition to women's education and the government hesistated to encourage the movement. When the Governor-General's Council proposed to take control of Bethune Girls' School, J. H. Littler, a member of the Council, wrote, 'The scheme of female education is doubtless unpopular and looked upon by the mass

62. Temple dancing girl.

with fear and dread, whether Hindus or Mohammedans. Will it not involve a dereliction of the principle of neutrality to which the Government is pledged in like cases'?[63] The proposal was quashed.

The Twentieth Century

The first quarter of the twentieth century witnessed rapid progress in breaking down prejudice against the education of women. The liberation of women from ignominy and suffering became an ever increasingly popular mission: Minna G. Cowan wrote in 1912, 'One of the most interesting features in India today is the number of women's societies which are springing up, partly in conjunction with European ladies and partly by entirely spontaneous effort'.[64] The Bharat Stri Mahamandal was founded in the United Provinces and Bengal; the aim was to establish a centre where women of every race, creed and political colour could work side by side for emancipation. In Bombay, the Gujarati Stri Mandal devoted considerable energy to the abolition of purdah in order that women might associate with one another; it also drew up an ambitious programme of education. The Seva Sadan Society, established in Bombay in 1909, did much philanthropic and educational work. The National Indian Association, though administered from London, had many Indian women as secretaries and committee members at its Indian branches. Perhaps one of its most effective activities was the organisation of lectures and meetings to persuade women of the disadvantages of purdah and the advantages of education. But for all who were actively concerned with these movements, the task was a difficult one, especially as the strongest opposition came from the women themselves: G. K. Gokhale remarked in 1879 that a combination of enforced ignorance and overdone religion had not only made women in India willing victims of customs, unjust and hurtful in the highest degree, but it also made them the most formidable and most effective opponents of all change or innovation.

Until the First World War, the reforming bodies were successful in bringing emancipation only to their own members. But

63. J. A. Richey, *Selections from Educational Records*, 1840-1859, (Government Printing, Calcutta, 1922), Vol. 2, p. 57.
64. M. G. Cowan, *The Education of the Women of India*, (Oliphant. Anderson and Ferrier, London, 1912), p. 16.

the outbreak of war gave the movement impetus : hardly a congress or debating society existed which failed to give the problem its attention, hardly an Indian newspaper or journal failed to air the subject. Mrs. Annie Besant, who entered politics in 1914, delivered a memorable series of public lectures in Madras entitled 'Wake up, India', in which she emphasised the need to abolish child marriages and to give every woman the opportunity of literacy. Later, in 1927, she inspired the foundation and shared with Mrs. M. Cousins the leadership of the Women's Indian Association.

The first venture of the Women's Indian Association was to demand the enfranchisement of women. Later, the provincial governments granted women enfranchisement, and subsequently permitted them to enter the legislatures : in March, 1921 the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution which allowed women to be enrolled on the electoral register, and by 1926 every other provincial legislature had done likewise. Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi was the first woman returned to a legislature, and also the first to be elected as the Vice-President of the Madras Legislative Council (1926-30).

Out of social revolution came political revolution. The All-India Women's Conference entered the political arena in 1928 by pledging its support to the cause for independence, and by calling for equal rights for women, so that they might add their votes to the cause. Mahatma Gandhi encouraged women by saying, 'I am uncompromising in the matters of women's rights. In my opinion she should labour under no legal disability not suffered by man. I should treat daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality.'[65]

During the Second World War, the conscription of men into the military services and the rise in the cost of living made it necessary for women to leave their homes to replace or supplement their men as breadwinners. Shocked into a consciousness of social and political reality, they became once again productive members of society. Many entered the women's military services or contributed in other ways to the war effort.

When India attained Independence in 1947, women came into their own. The principle of equality was incorporated into the

65. M. K. Gandhi, *Women and Social Injustice*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, (1953), pp. III - IV.

Objective Resolution of Free India. Later, articles fourteen and fifteen of the section of the Constitution concerning fundamental rights, guaranteed this equality : 'equality before law', and 'equality in matters of public employment'.

The major parties encouraged women to participate in politics by securing for them representation in the central and state legislatures. Many women now occupy seats in the state legislatures and in both Houses of Parliament.

Though the last chapters of the history of the social evolution of women in India have yet to be written, the adoption by Parliament of the main sections of the Hindu Code Bill indicates that their completion is within sight.

Employment

Since 1947, measures, legislative and others, have been taken to protect women employees. For example : working hours were fixed by the Factory Act of 1947, and working underground was prohibited by the Mine Act of 1951. Welfare schemes, including maternity benefit, have also been provided.

Teaching was the first and for some time, the only profession open to middle-class women. Training facilities are still inadequate in so far they cannot provide the large number of women teachers so badly needed. In 1960-1, only 20 per cent of elementary school teachers, 21 per cent of secondary school teachers and 12 per cent of university and college staffs were women.

The medical profession, at one time regarded as a dishonourable profession for women, now actively encourages the recruitment of women. The Government sponsors a programme for the development of training facilities for women doctors, nurses and midwives.

Women have found employment in many fields, architecture, engineering, navigation, aviation, journalism, broadcasting and the social services. Some are successful industrialists; one navigation company has a woman director. Many are employed in the Indian Administrative Service.

Educational opportunities for women still cannot keep up with the demand.

The 1960-1 Educational Survey indicated that disparity between the sexes is less pronounced than it was, but there is still a need for more educational facilities for women. There is no question that the importance of educating our women is fully and universally understood; the Constitution confers upon them an equal right of access to all educational opportunities, but those opportunities are as yet limited. With all the opportunities that lie before a woman today, it is important that we do not neglect her education in the sphere of the home. Women's education must not be merely an imitation of the education available in men's colleges and institutions. It is vitally necessary that a woman's special aptitudes should be fostered and developed, so that she may bring skill and trained intelligence to the creation of her home and the care of her family. An extract from the *Report of the University Education Commission,* 1948-9 (Radhakrishnan Commission), sums up the need: 'There cannot be an educated people without educated women. If general education had to be limited to men or to women, that opportunity should be given to women, for then it would most surely be passed on to the next generation'.[66]

66. *Report of the University Education Commission,* 1948-9, (Manager of Publications, Delhi), 1950, Vol. I, p. 393.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION OF WOMEN FROM 1700 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE DIARCHY, 1921

A deterioration of moral discipline accompanied the collapse of Moslem rule after the death in 1707 of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughal emperors. With regard to education H. R. James writes, 'That science and learning, both *Hindu* and Mahomedan, had fallen into a miserable state of decay is plain most of all from the absence of all notice of them in the history of those times'.[1] Women's education was no exception and the same state of affairs continued even during the British rule till 1854.

BEFORE THE WOOD'S DESPATCH (1700 TO 1853)

Government Policy

In 1793 Charles Grant (1746-1823), M. P., a director of the East India Company influenced William Wilberforce (1759-1833), M. P., to put the following resolution to the House of Commons: 'It is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.[2] Although the resolution was not passed by the House of Commons there is no doubt that the British legislature was deeply conscious of the gross inadequacy of education in India: but it was felt to be unjust to interfere in what was considered at this time to be basically a social and religious problem.

The attitude of the British legislature in India towards the development of education of women, can be known from the 'orders' of Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856: 'It appears to the Governor General in Council that it

1. H. R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India*, 1797 to 1910, 2nd Edition, (Longmans, London and Calcutta, 1917), p. 14.
2. H. Sharp (Ed.), *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, Calcutta, p. 17.

is quite possible to establish female schools in which precautions may be adopted for as close seclusion of the girls as the customs of the country may require'; referring to the Bethune Girls' School, he continues, 'great work has been done in the first successful introduction of native female education in India on a sound and solid foundation . . . . the Government ought to give to it its frank and cordial support. The Governor-General in Council requests that the Council of Education may be informed that it is henceforth to consider its functions as comprising the superintendence of native female education, and that wherever any disposition is shown by the natives to establish female schools it will be its duty to give them all possible encouragement and further their plans in every way that is not inconsistent with the efficiency of the institutions already under their management'.[3]

Missionary Activities in Education

Little indigenous effort was made in the field of education until the close of this period, and most of the credit for what was achieved was due to the British, American, German and Danish missionary organisations active in India, handicapped though they were in the early part of this period by restrictions imposed by the British legislature under its 'non-interference' policy.

Some of the more prominent missionary organisations working in India at that time were as follows: the Church Missionary Society of England, the Church of Scotland Mission, the American Missionary Board, the American Baptist Union, the American Presbyterian Mission Board North, the Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society (German), the Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient (German), and the Basel Mission Society (German).

When the 'non-interference' restrictions were finally raised in 1813, there followed half a century of intense missionary activity in the field of education: they opened many schools, including day and boarding schools for girls, and extended *zenana* education.[4]

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3. J. A. Richey (Ed.), *Selections from Educational Records*, part II, 1840-1859 (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 59-60.

4. *Zenana* education - Domestic instruction to girls and women in the families of middle and higher classes by Christian governesses, Hindu and Brahmo associations, carried on especially in Calcutta.

Before the Charter Act of 1833 the missionary societies limited their work to the elementary level; thereafter they devoted the greater portion of their energy and resources to secondary and collegiate education.

It would be remiss not to review briefly the most significant specific work attempted by the missionary societies in the field of women's education during this period. In 1818 the Reverend Robert May of the London Missionary Society opened at Chinsura (Bengal) the first native girls' school. In 1824 the American Missionary Society opened Bombay's first girls' school, and 'by the year 1829 no fewer than 400 female pupils were receiving instruction in their schools'.[5] The Church Missionary Society opened at Tinnevelly the first of Madras' boarding schools in 1821. By 1823 the same society controlled no less than twenty-three girls' schools in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, attended by about five hundred pupils. In 1840, with the assistance of the Reverend Issac Wilson and his wife, the Scottish Church Society opened six schools for Hindu girls in Madras with a total of two hundred pupils. By 1854 'there were probably 7,000 girls at schools conducted by missionary societies; and, although the bulk of these were native Christians, there was also a considerable proportion of Hindus belonging to the higher castes'.[6]

The Calcutta Female Juvenile Society. Established in 1819, the Calcutta Juvenile Society opened a number of girls' schools in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. The maintenance and development of the Society's Central School, founded at Calcutta on 18 May 1826, was energetically undertaken by Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Issac Wilson) of the Church Missionary Society. The Calcutta Juvenile Society later came to be known as the Ladies Society for Native Female Education. Ladies of the most respectable caste in Society sent their daughters, and in some instances expressed anxiety to obtain instruction in these schools. Due to her own efforts, Miss Cooke had thirty schools under her superintendence in 1836, which were attended by six hundred pupils. The curriculum of these schools consisted of reading, writing, spelling, geography and needlework.

5. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1883, (Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883), p. 14.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

At the time of the Despatch of 1854, the extent of missionary activities can be judged from the following table[7] for the year 1851, showing day-schools, boarding schools, and pupils attending them in British India.

GIRLS' INSTITUTIONS AND ENROLMENT 1851

	Bombay	Bengal	N-W Province	Punjab	Central India	Madras	Total
Day-schools for girls	31	26	8	...	3	217	285
Pupils in day-schools for girls	1,186	690	213	...	62	6,768	8,919
Boarding-schools for girls	8	27	9	2	1	39	86
Pupils in boarding-schools for girls	139	797	173	35	20	1,110	2,274
Total number of girl pupils	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,193

The East India Company and Education

Some prominent officers of the East India Company, which by then had assumed power of Diwani, opened as private ventures the Calcutta Madrassah (1781), the Benares Hindu Sanskrit College (1791) and other institutions.

In 1813, when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed by the East India Company Act, the following clause was incorporated into section forty-three: 'A sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabintants of the British territories in India'. None of this grant was spent on women's education. It was not until 1854, that the Government recognised schools and colleges for women under the State educational system.

7. S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India*, 2nd. Edition, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1951), p. 178. The above statistics are for Protestant Missions only.

In the early eighteen twenties the Court of Directors of the East India Company instructed the provincial governors to undertake educational surveys within their respective provinces. These surveys were conducted in Madras and Bombay during 1922-9. In Madras Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras found: 'a primary school in every village'; 'of a total pupil population of 188,650, 4,540 were girls'; and that the women of Rajbundah and some other Hindu tribes received some sort of education. In Bengal, William Ward one of the founders of Serampur Mission (1793) found that 'almost all villages possessed schools for teaching, reading, writing and elementary arithmetic'. In Bombay the existence of schools was reported by Mountstuart Elphinstone the Governor of Bombay (1819-27). In general, the surveys found that, although a number of formal schools existed, a system of instruction within the home still prevailed.

William Adam's Survey, 1835 to 1838

The Survey conducted by William Adam in Bengal during 1835-8 deserves special mention. A native of Scotland, William Adam came to India as a missionary in 1818. He became a Unitarian in 1821 and was the first Unitarian minister of Calcutta. He played an active part in the public life of Bengal. At his own request he was asked in 1835 by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India (1828-35) to undertake a detailed survey of education in Bengal. His survey was not only exhaustive but also very much reliable. Adam completed his work in 1838. The following extracts from his report are relevant to our study: 'Indigenous Elementary Schools: By this description are meant those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated and which have been originated and are supported by the natives themselves'; '.... there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar.... there will appear to be an indigenous elementary school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys'; with regard to women, 'the state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for, with a very few individual exceptions, there is no instruction at all....Zemindars[8] ...in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge, although it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the

8. Landholders.

fact'. Adam found four girls' schools in the distinct of Burdwan attended by 175 pupils, 'of the total number of scholars, one is a Mussalman girl, thirty-six are the daughters of native Christian parents or orphans . . . , and 138 are the daughters of Hindu parents' .

Private Ventures in Education

John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune (1801-1851) the Indian Legislator and Counsel to home office and legislative member of the Supreme Council of India, (1848), in his private capacity opened a secular school for Indian girls at Calcutta in May 1849 endowing the school with all the property he possessed in that city. The venture was a great success.

Among the Indians who took special interest in the education of women may be mentioned the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). On retiring from government service in 1814 he settled in Calcutta and devoted himself to the cause of social, religious and educational reforms. He carried on intensive campaigns for women's rights, which gave considerable impetus to women's education.

In 1845 the first girls' school under partial native management was opened in Madras. In Bombay the Students' Literary and Scientific Society organised a number of girls' schools, which continued to do a most important work in female education. The Parsi and business communities of Gujarat began to take an interest in women's education. 'In 1851 an endowment fund of Rs. 20,000 was created by Mr. Maganbhai Karamchand of Ahmedabad for the foundation of two girls' schools in that city; the institutions have flourished without interruption, and still occupy a high position amongst the numerous schools for girls in the Division of Gujarat."[9]

From Wood's Despatch To The Indian Education Commission 1854 to 1882

During this period social prejudice against female education dwindled from hostility to indifference. Purdah and child marriage still severely limited the number of girls permitted to receive more than an elementary formal education.

9. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1883, p. 14.

The Education Despatch of 1854

It is also known as Wood's Education Despatch after the name of Sir Charles Wood (1800-1885), a liberal statesman, Chancellor of the Exchequer (1846-52), Secretary of State for India (1859-66) and at that time President of the Board of Control, East India Company. This celebrated educational Despatch gave a great impulse to education in India. S. N. Mukerji wrote, 'It began a new era of organised educational administration, defined the aim of Indian education, determined the Government's attitude towards religion, stressed mass education, and recognised the need for technical and women's education'.[10] The Wood's Despatch was the first authoritative native-wide declaration on education in India. It contains a detailed plan of a recommended system of secular education for India, employing the basic principles of the British and other Western educational systems. Lord Dalhousie described the Despatch as, 'a scheme of education for all-India, far wider and more comprehensive than the local or the Supreme Government could have ever ventured to suggest'.

With regard to women's education the Despatch observes, 'The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated, and we have observed ... an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men.'[11] The Despatch recommended that the British Government give its open support to women's education, and also that individual grants should be made to established private schools and to those, native or otherwise, intending to open new schools. The British Government welcomed this last recommendation : by issuing 'grants-in-aid', it might assist the growth of girls' schools in India, without interfering in their administration.

As the Despatch of 1859 remarked, no active measures had been taken by the Department of Education for this purpose. As a result it was but natural that the development of women's education remained a very slow and somewhat difficult process in

10. S. N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, (Acharya Book Depot, Baroda, 1957), p. 130.
11. J. A. Richey, *Selections from Educational Records*, Pt. II, 1840-1859 Despatch of 1854, p. 388.

this country. The indifference towards education was equally shared by the hesitation of the Government on one hand and conservatism on the part of the people themselves on the other. Apart from that the system of purdah, child-marriage, distrust in the western system of education, financial pressure on the middle classes, lack of women teachers and girls' schools, absence of a suitable curriculum for girls and lack of material consideration, which formed contributing factor in boy's education, only added to the problems of women's education. But owing to the efforts of some enthusiastic educational inspectors like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Gopal Singh, a number of girls' schools were established in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). In the same way due to individual efforts, such schools were opened in many parts of the country.

Later on the Department of Education constituted under the new Government of the Crown also began to pay special attention to the problem and started special girls' schools wherever possible. The result was the expansion of education among women, as is clear from the following table[12] for 1882, showing the number of institutions of girls by stages.

GIRLS' INSTITUTIONS AND ENROLMENT 1882

	Govt.	*Aided*	*Unaided but inspected*	*Unaided and not inspected*	*Total number of scholars*
Collegiate schools	1	...	...	...	6
Secondary schools	6	50	25	...	2,054
Primary schools	605	1,591	398	6	82,420
Mixed (Primary) schools	...	...	...	...	42,071
Normal schools	4	11	...	...	515
Total	616	1,652	423	6	127,066

Primary Education

The above table shows that in 1882, 97.6 per cent of the 127,066 female pupils were attending primary schools, at which they generally learned reading, writing, some grammar, geography, history

12. S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India*, p. 388.

and arithmetic. Their academic standard was comparable to that of boys at primary school.

Secondary Education

The education of girls beyond primary level was still regarded with suspicion. Opportunities for employment were so rare that most girls could not have regarded financial independence as an incentive to continue their education. For most, early marriage was still a barrier to secondary education. Only the daughters of Anglo-Indian, Christian and Parsi families, attended secondary schools.

The demand for separate curriculum for girls was also raised. In Madras, Central Provinces and Bombay, needlework and music were introduced as optional subjects, but in general the curriculum remained the same for both boys and girls as shown by the provincial syllabuses followed for girls' education.

Co-education

Co-education was still restricted. In 1882 only 42,071 girls attended mixed schools.

School Staff

Because of the serious shortage of female teachers and the fact that the teaching of girls by young men was unacceptable, the teaching staffs of girls' schools consisted mainly of older and elderly men. Consequently, the standard of teaching was low, and the special needs of girls were not catered for in the curricula.

University Education

Initially, Indian universities were reluctant to admit women. In 1875 the Syndicate of Calcutta University declared, 'The question of the admission of females to the University is an abstract question. No female has applied or is expected to apply.'[13] However, the Syndicate did eventually admit women in 1878, and in 1883, Bombay University followed suit.

13. The Proceedings of the Calcutta University Syndicate, June 26, 1875.

Finance

Grants-in-aid were liberally distributed : between 1858 and 1881 the total value of grants to girls' schools in Madras was Rs. 27,271; the sum of Rs. 5,000 was distributed in grants to girls' schools in Bengal; in the Punjab 99 girls' schools were aided at a total cost of Rs. 23,410 in 1865-6. The Government wholly financed the maintenance of two exceptionally good girls' schools : Bethune School, Calcutta; and Eden School, Dacca.

The following table[14] shows the state of education in different provinces.

GIRLS' INSTITUTIONS, ENROLMENT AND EXPENDITURE 1882

Provinces	*Institutions*	*Scholars*	*Expenditure in Rs.*	*Percentage of scholars to total female population of school-going age*
Madras	557	35,042	226,169	1.50
Bombay	343	26,766	178,707	1.50
Bengal	1,015	41,349	233,768	0.80
North Western Provinces and Oudh	308	8,883	79,082	0.28
Punjab	311	9,353	104,928	0.72
Central Provinces	79	3,225	25,959	0.44
Assam	71	1,677	5,604	0.47
Coorg	1	333	230	2.86
Haiderabad and Assigned Districts	12	438	3,524	0.22
Total	2,697	127,006	847,971	0.85

The Indian Department of Education

The Department became increasingly active. In addition to determining the allocation of grant-in-aid, its inspectors and inspectresses gave school managers much valuable assistance and advice.

14. Compiled from the tables given in the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1883, pp. 523-30.

Teacher Training

Despite Wood's Despatch recommending that the Government sponsor a programme to open many more teacher training colleges, no immediate action was taken.

Once again credit goes to the Western missionary societies, who established a number of training institutions. 515 women were studying in them in 1882. As Bible-teaching was a compulsory subject in the missionary colleges and schools, Hindu and Moslem women could not, or rather, would not attend them.

Miss Mary Carpenter (1807-1877), a philanthropist, trained as teacher worked very hard to establish a number of teacher training schools. She visited India four times during the sixties and the seventies of the nineteenth century. Aided by a Government grant and the generosity of certain Maratha chiefs and leading Parsis, she opened training schools in Bombay, Poona and Ahmedabad in 1868. In the beginning few young women applied to her schools for admission. There was therefore no question of choosing the students and every one who applied was admitted. Nevertheless, by 1882 her schools had produced thirty-four trained teachers.

Missionary Activities in Education

Western missionary societies continued to be very active in the field of education. Minna G. Cowan writes that they had at their command the one essential asset: 'Western women who were willing to give themselves, heart and soul, to the work.'[15] Eight new women's societies, American and British, began work in India between 1860 and 1870.

The missionary societies' work in schools and *Zenana* education was their most effective means of establishing contact with the people. The Christian girls were not forced into early marriage, thus it was possible for them to continue their education beyond primary school. Having opened teacher training colleges to provide their schools with teachers, the missionary societies opened secondary schools. In 1870 the Isabella Thoburn School was opened in Lucknow, and in 1880, the Sarah Tucker School in Palamcottah.

15. Minna G. Cowan, *The Education of the Women of India*, (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, London, 1912), pp. 44-5.

Private Ventures in Education

A considerable amount of work was done in the field of education by private individuals and secular organisations. Bramho Samaj a theistic sect of Bengal founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828 published periodicals, the purpose of which was to promote women's education. In 1877 Sasipada Banerji started a Hindu, 'Widows' Home where widows could find shelter and relief and be trained in teaching, a cottage industry or domestic science. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) and D. K. Karve opened Sarda Sadan and a Hindu Widows' Home respectively at Poona. The Parsi community in Bombay established a number of schools; by 1913 they were running eight of the ten high schools in Bombay.

The Indian Education Commission To Lord Curzon's Educational Reforms, 1882 to 1904

The Indian Education Commission of 1882

To review development in Indian education since 1854, and to ascertain what policy revisions were necessary, on 3 February 1882, the British Government set up a commission, appointing W. W. Hunter (1840-1900), an additional member of the Governor-General's Council (1881-7), its president. This commission was The Indian Education Commission which become known as the Hunter's Commission. The Commission was thorough: understanding that conditions varied from region to region, it appointed provincial committees of local experts to prepare preliminary reports.

Having reviewed developments since Wood's Despatch and outlined the current state of education in India, the Commission put forward policy recommendations to the legislature. Extracts from the recommendations most relevant to our study are given below:

Finance. 'Public funds of all kinds, local, municipal and provincial, should be chargeable in an equitable proportion for the support of girls' schools as well as boys' schools; and that the former being in an earlier stage of development, should receive even something more than what might appear to be a strictly impartial share of encouragement.'

'There are so many obstacles to the progress of female education, that we think the conditions on which aid is granted to it should be made as easy as possible, ... lest they defeat their own object.'

Curricula and Textbooks. 'In purely literary subjects, girls need not go so far as boys, and there are subjects of a practical kind to which girls might at least be introduced during their school course. It does not appear that much attention has hitherto been given to the production of books suitable for girls, and in some cases the books used have not been selected with sufficient care.'

Fees and Scholarships. 'We approve of the principle that education to some extent be paid for by the recipient. But the desire for girls' education has at present to be fostered, and in many parts of the country it has yet to be created. Hence, we would not make the taking of fees an essential condition of obtaining grants..... To extend the period given to the education of girls is obviously desirable, and we think that one important means of attaining this object will be to offer scholarships.'

Secondary Education. 'We propose that opportunities for such instruction should be judiciously extended, but only where private effort indicates that the desire for it exists.'

Boarding. 'There are many difficulties in the way of young women attending a school at any distance from their homes. For this reason we think that in special cases, it might be well to encourage school managers to make provision for boarders.'

School Administration by Local Governments. 'It may perhaps be found that Municipal and Local Boards are not in all cases prepared to undertake the management of girls' schools: to force it upon unwilling persons would not be likely to lead to satisfactory results. But, where a Board does undertake the management we think its authority ought to be real and effective.'

Women Teachers. 'We have seen that one of the principal obstacles to the extension of female education is the difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers .... While we would not altogether exclude male teachers from girls' schools, we believe that female teachers should be gradually and cautiously substituted for them. In order to include girls to look forward to teaching as a profession it seems desirable to encourage pupil-teachers wherever

the system is practicable..... In some places the wives of school masters are almost the only class available as schoolmistresses, and it is expedient to attract as many of them as possible to the work.'

Zenana Teaching. 'In the existing circumstances of the women of India, mere establishment of schools will be by no means sufficient to bring about the general spread of education among them. .... Some plan is needed for conveying instruction to those who cannot leave their homes to seek for it.... Agencies for *zenana* teaching are conducting this work with considerable success... We see no reason why the secular instruction, imparted under the supervision of ladies worthy of confidence, should not be recognised and assisted, so far as it can be tested by a proper inspecting agency.'

Women Inspectors. 'Associations have arisen in some places, aiming at the extension and improvement of female education. These also might be encouraged as far as they produce secular results. In order that these results may be fairly estimated, it seems necessary that the services of sympathetic and well qualified inspectresses should be more largely made use of.'

School Managements. 'With respect to the management also of girls' schools, it seems most desirable to obtain the help, wherever possible, of ladies who take an interest in the subject, whether native or European. Nor is the object likely to be attained unless interest is promoted among native gentlemen, by giving them a share in the supervision of the schools.'[16]

In principle the recommendations of the Commission were sound; but they did not propose any dramatically new action; nor did they propose that the British Government adopt any direct control of schools, individually or as a whole: but rather that Government agencies should intervene in the administration of private schools in cases of absolute necessity. In effect, it recommended the continuation of the cheap, uncontrolled venture schools which helped general lowering of standards of education, particularly in Bengal. Although the report was thorough and accurate, it did little to bring about improvement in the standard or expansion of women's education, except for the appointment

16. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1883, pp. 545-8.

of more school inspectresses and the creating of a few women teachers' training colleges.

During this period 3,470 girls' schools were opened, and the number of female pupils rose by 250 per cent from 127,066 in 1882 to 444,470 in 1902.

Primary and Secondary Education

Primary education was becoming less of a target for prejudice, and might even be said to have been becoming popular. Mixed schools were also more acceptable. The number of girls' secondary schools rose from eighty-one in 1882 to 461 in 1902, and the number of secondary female pupils from 2,054 to 9,810. In 1902 one girl in forty-six, eligible for school, was attending a primary or secondary school as against 56 in 1891-2.

School Curricula

Until now, little attention had been given in the preparation of school curricula to the special requirements of girls. There are indications in 1897-1901 *Quinquennial Review* that attempts were being made to remedy this: in some middle schools, domestic economy and needlework were optional subjects, i.e., they might be studied instead of classical language, algebra and geometry; this was particularly so in some districts of Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab. At the primary level, although it was generally accepted that curricula for girls should differ from those of boys (i.e., sewing, drawing and needlework should be substituted for arithmetic, geography and history, *etc.*), in practice little differentiation was made: many girls attended what were essentially boys' schools, and the elderly male teachers in girls' schools were not equipped to teach girls' subjects even had they wished to do so.

Finance

During this period expenditure on female educational institutions rose by more than 400 per cent, i.e., Rs. 2.25 million. Of the total expenditure in 1902 of Rs. 3.4 million, 1.78 was spent on secondary schools, 1.33 million on primary schools, and the remaining i.e., 0.29 million on colleges, training schools and special schools.

Senior Educational Institutions

As yet these were not particularly popular among women and in society, except for teacher training schools. The number of women in teacher training schools rose from 515 in 1882 to 1,412 in 1901; 69 per cent of their students were Indian Christians. The number of female students in other senior educational institutions rose from only six in 1882 to 264 in 1902, of which 175 were in arts colleges, seventy-eight in medical colleges, and eleven in teacher training colleges.

The Hindu and Moslem society disliked the idea of women embarking on careers, so that daughters of such families found it almost impossible to undertake professional training. For the first time women entered universities during 1882-1901. Kadambini and Chandramukhi Bose had the honour of being the first women graduates (1883).

On the whole the percentage of girls in public schools to the total female population of school-going age had risen from 1.8 in 1886-7 to 2.49 only in 1901-2. According to the Census of 1901 only 0.9 per cent of women aged ten years and over were literate. If we take only Hindu and Moslem girls into consideration the percentage goes much lower.

To sum up, what little progress was made during this period gave encouragement to whom and to those actively engaged in furthering their interests. The inhuman *sati* custom and infanticide were no more, and the remarriage of widows had been legalised.

Several women had completed higher education and professional training by the close of the period and were enjoying the freedom of financial independence. The community profitted from their services as nurses, midwives and teachers, etc. 'Initial inertia had been overcome, the foundations of the modern educational edifice had been laid and the stage set for a rapid expansion of the women in all directions.'[17]

17. S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India during the British Period*, 2nd. Edition, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1951), p. 404.

1901 to 1921

During this period basic problems in the development of women's education were remnants of social prejudice, an acute shortage of qualified women teachers and the use of unsuitable curricula; but more serious than these was the gross inadequacy of public funds allocated to women's education. Local governments found it difficult enough to finance boys' schools from their imperial grants, let alone girls' schools. Too often the shortage of qualified women teachers and the unsuitable curricula were cited as excuses for the poor rate of progress.

In 1910 only 4.6 per cent of the females of school-age were attending school; the comparative percentages for previous years were as follows :

1886, 1.8 per cent; 1896, 2.1 per cent; 1901, 2.4 per cent; and 1907, 3.6 per cent.

Wealthy and high-ranking families had become anxious to secure a good education for their daughters, primarily to increase their marriage prospects. In Bengal, where this incentive was particularly strong, female education expanded at an unprecedented rate : the percentage of literate females rose from 0.9 in 1901 to 1.1 in 1912, new high schools were opened, and higher classes were introduced in established schools.

Lord Curzon (1859-1925)

At the turn of the century Lord Curzon was Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. He took a great interest in Indian education. He organised increased educational grants from public funds and helped to raise the standard of teaching at all levels.

Lord Curzon quoted the *Fourth Quinquennial Review* (1897-1902) in describing women's education as 'the most conspicuous blot on the educational system of India'; he continued in his own words, 'Only one girl attends (school) for every ten of the male sex; . . . ; and the total expenditure upon female education in primary and secondary schools from all public funds was only eleven lakhs, as compared with eighty lakhs on boys.'[18]

18. *Lord Curzon in India*, Selections from His Speeches, (ed., T. Raleigh, 1906) Vol. 2, pp. 53-4.

1904 Resolution on Educational Policy

Issued by Lord Curzon, on 11 March 1904, this Resolution stated that the allocation of public funds to education would be increased; a large number of model girls' primary schools would be opened by the government; women's teacher training colleges would be opened; more school inspectresses would be employed; and local authorities would be encouraged to develop primary education with government aid. When Lord Curzon left India in 1905, despite the reversal of many of his policies, the educational policy he established, held its course.

1913 Resolution on Educational Policy

The 1913 Resolution endorsed the views expressed and the actions proposed by Lord Curzon in regard to women's education. It observed that girls' education might be encouraged by the availability of scholarships; *zenana* education was of considerable value; increasing the number of inspectresses was desirable; and stressed the importance of prompt action in increasing training facilities for women teachers.

The Resolution also recommended the following principles for general consideration : 'The education of girls should be practical with reference to the position which they will fill in social life; it should not seek to imitate the education suitable for boys, nor should it be dominated by examinations; special attention should be paid to hygiene and the surroundings of school life; the services of women should be more freely enlisted for instruction and inspection; and, continuity in inspection and control should be especially aimed at.'[19]

The Resolution also proposed that new measures be taken in the campaign to eliminate social prejudice; it observed that the nature of this prejudice varied to such an extent geographically that the nation-wide plan hitherto employed should be adapted to local conditions.

The First World War, 1914 to 1918

India was not at war, but, because her fortunes were closely linked with those of Britain at this time, the First World War did

19. *Indian Educational Policy*, 1913, (Superintendent, Government Printing Calcutta, 1913), pp. 15-6.

affect India's internal affairs, including her educational system. The economic depression which followed the outbreak of war necessitated the postponement of many important schemes for the development of education. For two years no imperial grants were issued to local governments, which were further instructed not to draw upon the unspent balances of grants already allocated. Many officers of the Department of Public Instruction and others who were employed within India's educational system temporarily left their posts for military service or other wartime duties.

Swadeshi Movement

Lord Curzon's reforms did not satisfy most of the educated Indians who had become conscious of the inadequacy of the existing system of education, which did not fully meet the needs of the country. In addition, the partition of Bengal in 1905, led to a country-wide agitation. The extremists in the Congress party took recourse to boycott of foreign goods and all recognised institutions. Although it did not last very long the movement affected the progress of education.

Primary Education

It might have been better to attempt to improve conditions for the girls already attending school, but, at this time popular opinion obviously held that as many girls as possible should receive an education, whatever the standard. Accordingly, in Bengal and the United Provinces, financial rewards were offered to teachers to persuade girls to attend school, provided the pupils they introduced into their schools attended regularly. In Bengal this reward was Rs. 2.50 P. for every twenty regularly attending girl pupils.

As formal secular education became established as part of the basic pattern of life in India, Indians themselves began to realise how vital a role it was playing in the country's development, in enhancing their standard of living and security. It was now widely understood that illiteracy was a major obstacle to progress. The extension of education on a voluntary basis was too slow and uncertain; legislation making attendance for at least primary education compulsory was the next essential step.

Between 1910 and 1913, G. K. Gokhale[20] (1866-1915) made gallant efforts to persuade the Government to introduce such legislation, but the initiative was not to come from the Central Legislature. It was not until 1918 that compulsory primary education was finally introduced by the first of the major provinces. Due to the efforts of Vithalbhai Patel,[21] the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act of 1918 was passed. Under certain conditions municipalities could introduce compulsory education within their areas. Before the close of 1920, six other provinces had followed the example. The Punjab Primary Education Act, the Bengal Primary Education Act, the United Provinces Primary Education Act and the Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act were passed in 1919. In 1920 the Central Provinces Primary Education Act and the Madras Elementary Education Act were also passed.

The number of primary schools had risen from 5,628 in 1901-2 to 22,579 in 1921-2. Similarly the enrolment increased from 380,200 to 1,195,967 during this period. Most of these schools were aided.

Among the provinces, Eastern Bengal and Assam had the largest number of primary schools - about one-third of the total in India. Except for the model schools, girls' primary schools in general were ill-equipped. Girls' primary schools in Eastern Bengal and Assam were particularly badly equipped. This was no fault of the managers: the funds allocated to these primary schools were wretchedly small and teachers' pay was so inadequate that efficient, well trained teachers were not attracted to primary schools. Consequently, academic standards were low.

The problem of differentiating girls' school curriculum from those of boys' schools was not an urgent consideration at this stage, although at some schools girls could take special subjects such as health, house management and needlework. Realising that by far the greater proportion of formal secular instruction enjoyed by Indians was primary education, Lord Curzon had sanctioned a

20. Elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1902, Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of the greatest Congress politicians, social reformer and educationist. For the first time Elementary Education Bill was introduced by him in the Council in 1910 and 1911. He also founded the Servants of India Society in 1905.

21. A prominent member of the Swaraj Party and President (Speaker) of the Central Legislative Assembly, 1925-30.

'permanent annual grant of over £230,000 in aid of primary education, in addition to a still large special grant in 1902;[22] ..... By 1907 the annual expenditure by the Government on primary education was Rs. 4.4 million.

Secondary Education

Secondary education for girls had not yet achieved popularity. As was observed in the *Fifth Quinquennial Review* (1902-7), so few girls were pursuing secondary education that some of the Review reports from provincial directors of education made no mention of it whatsoever. Mr. H. Sharp, Director of Education for Eastern Bengal and Assam, explained, 'The people at large encourage or tolerate the education of their girls only up to an age and up to a standard at which it can do little good, or according to their point of view, little harm'.[23] By and large those girls' secondary schools which did exist were good : almost all of them had a well qualified headmistress, were well staffed with trained teachers, did not suffer from overcrowding, and achieved a reasonable academic standard.

Among the provinces, Bombay had the largest number of girls' secondary schools. Madras girls' secondary schools were better housed and equipped than its boys' secondary schools. All of the twenty-four girls' English secondary schools in Bengal were privately managed, most of them by missionaries. Many of those in the Punjab also had a hostel attached to the school.

Curricula

Attempts were made to execute the 1913 Resolution recommendations with regard to curricula : domestic science, sociology and music were introduced in some schools as optional or compulsory subjects in almost all provinces. However there were obstacles to overcome : there were insufficient teachers qualified in these subjects, and many parents were opposed to the introduction of subjects which would not help their daughters in obtaining a matriculation certificate. Physical training classes were

22. Lovat Fraser, *India Under Curzon and After*, (William Heinemann, London, 1911), p. 198.
23. *Progress of Education in India, Fifth Quinquennial Review*, 1902-7, (Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta, 1909), Vol. I, p. 256.

introduced in some schools, and in 1914 a training course for teachers was established near Bombay.

Co-education

In rural areas co-education was the cheapest and in small villages the only practical means of providing girls with an education. It was not unusual for a number of places in a co-educational school to be allocated to girls. In Madras the larger portion of girls under instruction were attending co-educational schools: but in the Punjab co-education hardly gained a foothold and in the United Provinces girls were permitted to attend co-educational schools only up to the age of ten. The percentages of the total number of girl pupils who attended co-educational schools between 1891 and 1922 were as follows: 1891, 42.1; 1896, 43.4; 1901, 44.7; 1906, 41.9; 1911, 42.8; 1916, 41.4; 1921, 37.7.

Missionary Activities

Missionary work in the field of girls' education covered an increasingly wide area. Missionary primary schools were greatly improved through the introduction of modern educational methods under the direction of trained English managers. According to the *Fifth Quinquennial Review* (1902-1907), the greater part of female secondary education was provided by missionaries. It is interesting to note that about 10,000 of the 17,000 missionary middle and high school pupils were non-Christians. Of the forty-three girls' high schools functioning in 1907, only five were Government-owned.

Special Schools

Appproximately, 3,000 girls were studying in industrial schools between 1907 and 1912, almost all of whom were European, Indian Christian or Parsi. In these institutions pupils learned such crafts as lace-making, weaving knitting, needlework and dress-making. Most of the industrial schools were managed by missionaries and and were Government aided. Bihar and Orissa was the only province in which girls might study agriculture; at this time seventy-nine girls were taking this course. In 1921-2, 11,885 women were attending vocational and special schools.

Other Senior Educational Institutions

Apart from the conventional schools, there were certain other privately-managed institutions which provided training in commercial crafts, nursing, midwifery, music *etc.*, in addition to vernacular and English teaching. In Bombay there were Professor Karve's Widow's Home, Mahila Vidyalaya, Seva Sadan, Pandita Ramabai's Sadan, and Vanita Vishram; and in Bengal. Mahakali Pathshala. The Seva Sadan Society,[24] Poona had by 1921 over a thousand women and girls studying crafts and other subjects in its various departments. The Society's aim was to encourage women to be usefully employed in social welfare.

University Education

Between 1907 and 1912 the Universities of Allahabad, Calcutta, Madras and Punjab admitted external female candidates to their examinations. But the syndics of Bombay University still insisted that female examinees should have attended University classes regularly.

One of the most important landmarks in the history of women's education in India was the opening of a university at Poona exclusively for women by Professor D. K. Karve in 1916. The University's basic aims may be extracted from its constitution as follows: 'to make provision for the higher education of women through modern Indian language (mother tongue) as the media of instruction'; 'to make provision for the training of women teachers for primary and secondary schools'; 'to regulate pre-university education'; 'to start, aid, maintain and affiliate institutions for such education'; 'to formulate courses of studies specially suited to the needs and requirements of women'; and 'to institute and confer such degrees, and grant diplomas, titles, certificates and marks of honour in respect of degrees and examinations as may be prescribed by the regulations'.

The University maintained a college of some thirty women, and by 1922 had produced fifteen graduates. Instruction throughout was in vernacular. Sanskrit was the only classical language taught and comparative religion was an optional subject for

24. Established in 1909, its aim was social and educational uplift of women. The Society conducted primary education classes for grown up women, first aid, and special English classes.

degree studies. Despite Government recognition, which was valuable, the University maintained its independence with regard to the structure of courses and the conduct of examinations.

By 1922 the number of women's colleges in India had risen to nineteen, of which four were aided and two unaided. They were well staffed, and high academic standards were achieved in all. Facilities in established colleges were improved.

Excluding European students, there were 881 female university students in 1921-2; the number had doubled in only ten years.

Professional Training

At this time medicine and teaching were the only two professions which attracted women in large numbers. In 1912 there were 282 women medical students. By 1921 their number had risen to 539, which, although small, was surprisingly creditable in view of the prevailing social conditions.

The Lady Hardinge Medical College, which was opened in 1916, was, and still is the only medical college exclusively for women. Its opening further encouraged women to enter the medical profession. The College also maintained a training school for nurses. From its very beginning the College was liberally subsidised by the Government, and further aided by general private donations.

Teaching was rather more popular. With the opening of so many girls' schools, the demand for women teachers grew fast.

WOMEN'S TEACHERS TRAINING INSTITUTIONS AND ENROLMENT
1881-2 to 1921-2

Year	*Training colleges for women*	*PUPILS*		*Training schools*	*PUPILS*	
		In women's colleges	*In men's colleges*		*In women's schools*	*In men's schools*
1881-2	...	...	...	15		515
1901-2	...	...	...	81		1,383
1906-7	...	...	...	63		1,278
1911-2	...	...	...	85		1,508
1916-7	3	49	7	111	2,651	106
1921-2	3	57	10	138	4,152	239

Plate I shows the general trend of increase in the number of girls in all institutions of different provinces during 1887 to 1922.

Zenana Education

Zenana teaching was flourishing in Bengal, Assam and the Punjab. A smattering of education cultivated a desire among *zenana* pupils to ensure that their daughters also received an education. Unfortunately, as was observed in the 1922 Bengal Report, the results achieved by *zenana* education were not commensurate with its cost, very largely because the house to house system was inefficient: that is to say, it was so time consuming that too few women could be offered too little instruction. The academic standard achieved by the average pupil was very low.

The increase in the number of girls' institutions in all provinces during this period was due to two major factors: the efforts of social reformers, and the Government's liberal grant-in-aid policy.

Finance

The total expenditure of public funds in 1901 on recognised girls' institutions was Rs. 3.4 million; by 1912 it had risen by more than 76 per cent to Rs. 6.07 million, and by 1921 was Rs. 16.31 million. However, impressive these are, it should be remembered that the total expenditure in 1922 upon recognised girls' institutions was but one-sixth of the expenditure upon recognised boys' schools. During that year Rs. 7.56 million, 46.4 per cent of the total expenditure upon recognised girls' schools, was spent upon girls' primary schools; the expenditure upon recognised girls' primary and secondary schools together was 86 per cent. Plate II gives a clear picture of the pattern of the increase in expenditure since 1892, showing the percentage of the total spent on different types of recognised girls' institutions.

Between 1907 and 1912 the average cost of educating an Indian girl at primary or secondary school was Rs. 4.36, as compared with Rs. 14.06 in 1891 (primary, Rs. 3.25; secondary, Rs. 24.25). By 1922 the cost had risen to Rs. 10 for a girl primary school pupil, and Rs. 110 for a girl high school pupil: rather higher than the average cost of educating a male pupil.

MEETING THE COST OF EDUCATION - IN RUPEES

	1901-2	1911-2	1921-2
Government Funds	496,000	1,148,000	4,222,000
Education Boards' Funds	353,000	957,000	2,943,000
Fees	181,000	336,000	797,000
Others	969,000	1,430,000	2,429,000
Total	1,999,000	3,871,000	11,391,000

The period between 1901-21 shows unprecedented increase in expenditure on girls' education. Ten times as much as was Government and Board funds spent in 1921 as was spent in 1901. This is to some extent an indicator to the growing interest which was being taken in girls' education, particularly after the First World War.

Thus the period under review witnessed tremendous changes in the social and educational fields of women. The strict seclusion of women up to the late nineties had been swept aside, and there was open participation in the national movements active throughout the country.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION OF WOMEN DURING THE PERIOD 1921-1937

An extract from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report[1] (1918) reflects the opinion of the day of the educated Indian public: 'In India social customs have greatly multiplied the difficulties in the way of female education. Upon this question opinion is slowly but surely changing, and educated young men of the middle classes are beginning to look for literate wives. But so long as education is practically confined to one sex, the social complexion of the country must react upon and retard political progress; and for this reason we regard the great gulf between men and women in respect of education as one of the most serious problems which has to be faced in India'.[2]

1919 Government of India Act

Although passed by the British Parliament in 1919, this Government of India Act was actually instrumented in 1921, an appropriate date at which to divide this history.

The Act reshaped the Constitution of India to introduce diarchial government. This was an intermediate step towards independent government. Provincial government responsibilities were divided into two categories - 'reserved' and 'transferred'. In practice, the British provincial governors continued to administer the transferred responsibilities, but took advice in their regard from Indian ministers of democratically elected provincial legislatures, who became accountable for transferred responsibilities to their respective elected Indian provincial legislatures. Thus some aspects of government became democratic at a provincial level, while British administrative experts continued to assist the newly

1. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India (1917-22), announced on 20 August 1917, the policy of the British Government of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. Mr. Montagu toured India in 1917-8 and published the report with Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy in India (1916-21) in April 1918. This Report became a historic state paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms and became known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Also known as Montford Report.

2. Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918), Part II, p. 91, para 184.

democratically elected Indian provincial ministers with their transferred responsibilities.

Education was a transferred responsibility. Each provincial governor selected a Minister of Education from the members of the provincial legislature to administer the educational system of the province, with the assistance of a senior education officer. He was a permanent non-elected Director of Public Instruction who was selected for his educational experience. The administration of European and Anglo-Indian education, Benares Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University, chief's colleges, and one or two other specific educational institutions was reserved by the British Government.

The democratically elected provincial legislatures were somewhat restricted in their activities by the fact that the control of public funds was retained by the British Government. Much of these public funds were spent in meeting the cost of maintaining law and order throughout politically disturbed India.

Social Awakening of Women

Through various educational organisations and other advisory bodies, women were endeavouring to focus public interest on to the sphere of women's education . It was hoped that the barriers of prejudice and social customs would be surmounted, so that the education of girls in India could at least be brought up to the level which had been reached in the education of boys. By educating public opinion, women in corporate bodies all over India made the country realise that the education of women was one of the greatest essentials in the future well-being of the country.

Women's Associations

Women's Indian Association. The first feminist organisation in India was the Women's Indian Association. It was formed in 1917 with Mrs. Annie Besant as its president. At first its primary concern was education, and in the 'twenties' it had eighty-seven branches giving instruction. In time its members realised that in order to effectively promote the diffusion of education among women, the status of women had to be raised, so that the legislatures, provincial and central, would give greater attention to

women's education. In addition to education, the Association therefore became actively engaged in social reform and the cause for women suffrage.

The Federation of University Women. Formed in 1920, the purpose of this Federation was to affiliate women graduates' associations in order to more effectively advance the status of women, promote social reform, and increase international understanding.

The National Council of Women. Founded in 1925, the purpose of this Council was to federate the increasing number of provincial women's councils and other women's organisations, whose aims were sympathetic with its basic policy of furthering women's education and advancing social reforms.

Among the organisations which became members of the National Council were: the Seva Sadan, Bombay and Poona; the Saroj Nalini Mahila Samitis; the Bharat Stri Mahamandal, Bengal; the Arya Samaj, the Punjab and the United Provinces; and the Mahila Seva Samaj, Mysore.

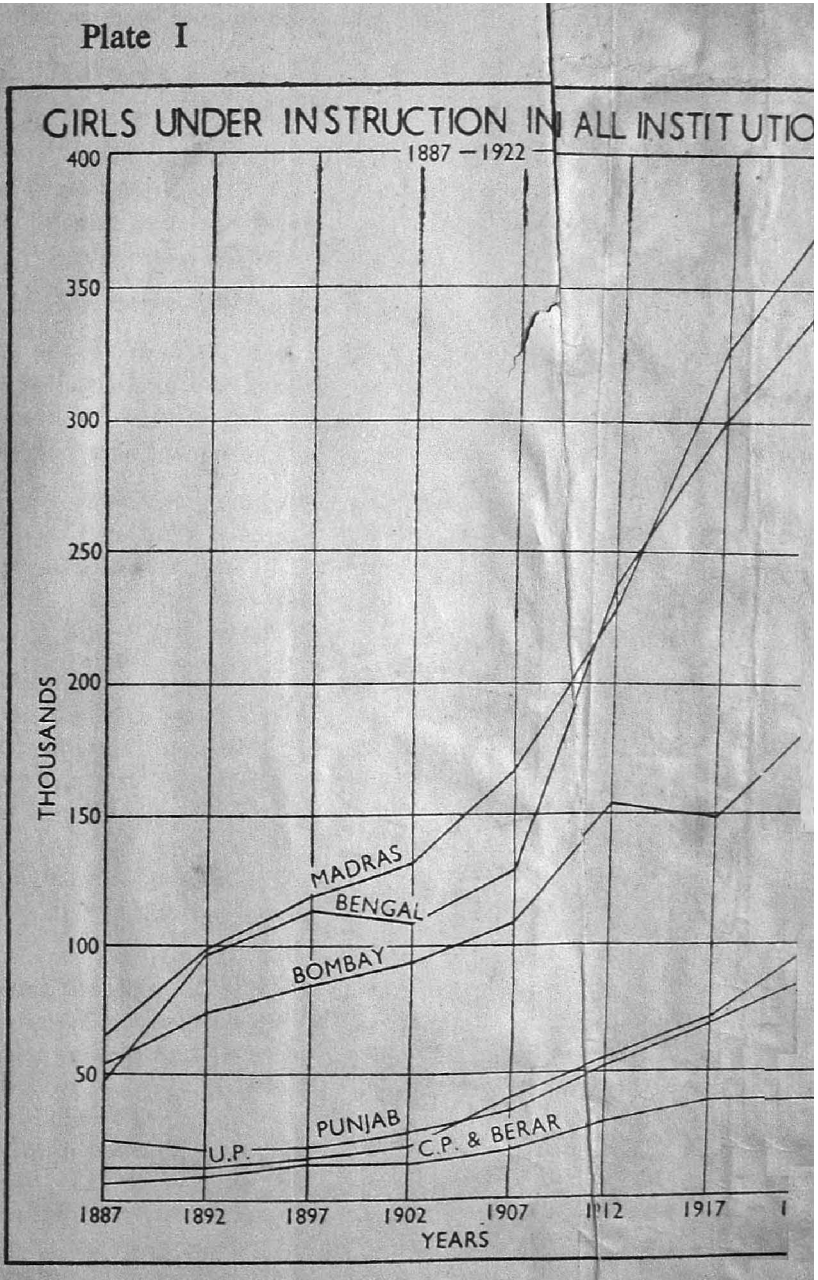
All-India Women's Educational and Social Conference. The All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform was first held in 1927. It was a basis on which the various educational women's organisations could build constructive policies by learning from others, while contributing their own ideas and views.

At the third Conference in 1929 it was decided that social problems were so closely inter-related with the advancement of education that it was necessary to tackle both as one. The Conference therefore renamed itself the All-India Women's Educational and Social Conference.

The Conference elected standing committees from within its ranks and assigned them specific tasks within the aims of the Conference. These were as follows:

1. To increase the provision of girls' primary and secondary education.
2. To increase and improve facilities for training women teachers.
3. To improve the standard and availability of text books.
4. To improve girls' school curricula, adding physical education.

Plate I


GIRLS UNDER INSTRUCTION IN ALL INSTITUTIO
1887 – 1922
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
THOUSANDS
MADRAS
BENGAL
BOMBAY
PUNJAB
U.P.
C.P. & BERAR
1887
1892
1897
1902
1907
1912
1917
YEARS

5. To promote the appointment of women to educational administrative bodies.

6. To bring about the abolition of purdah, child marriage, polygamy, prostitution, inequality of status between husband and wife, inequality in inheritance rights, the systems of devadasis and enforced widowhood.

7. To secure suffrage for women.

Social and Political Reforms. As we already know, the British Government felt it morally just to maintain its social and religious neutrality. Hence, in 1921 the administration of social and religious matters was transferred, to become subject to Indian legislation.

The various social reform pressure groups obtained their first success in 1929, in which year the Sarda Act[3] fixed the minimum marriageable age for girls at fourteen years. The Act was not vigorously enforced, but it certainly discouraged the taking of brides of less than fourteen years of age.

During 1921 and 1926, women achieved voting rights in elections to the local bodies in different provinces and could also be elected as representatives to them. By the Legal Practitioners' (Women) Act of 1923, women in the legal profession were freed from their disabilities of not being able to practice as pleaders or advocates. The development of social reforms which affected the rights of women produced many women who took a keen interest in the social, political and economic problems of the country.

Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) was a champion of the equality of women with men, and the freeing of women from the wrongs done them in the name of tradition and religion. He once wrote, 'Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering; her advent to the public life should, therefore, result in purifying it, in restraining unbridled ambition and accumulation of property. Let them know that millions of men have no property to transmit to posterity. Let us learn from them that it is better for the few to have no ancestral property at all. The real property that a parent can transmit to all equally is his or her character and

3. The object of the Act was to discourage the solemnisation of marriages between boys of under eighteen or girls of under fourteen years.

educational facilities'.[4] He believed that education was the most potent instrument for the regeneration of women, and used his influence to help emancipate Indian women.

A Burst of Enthusiasm. The continuous and increasing pressure of Indian social reformist's campaigns, directed at the public's conscience, produced a measure of voluntary reform. This together with the excitement of newly established Indian legislative bodies at receiving the right to administer transferred responsibilities fired a vigorous indigenous drive behind social development. Education, the prime instrument of regeneration became very popular. The *Ninth Quinquennial Review* (1922-7) recorded an exceptionally large increase in the number of pupils and schools. According to the *Tenth Quinquennial Review* (1927-32), 'A burst of enthusiasm swept children into schools with unparalleled rapidity; ... ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated which were calculated to fulfill the dreams of a literate India; : ..... enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old time prejudice against the education of Indian girls; Government, with the full concurrence of Legislative Councils, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously.'[5]

Economic Distress and Political Unrest. In the late 'twenties', India plunged into an economic depression far worse than that of the post-war years. Drastic reductions in the expenditure of public funds only served to intensify political unrest in the country. Education suffered a severe blow, as did every other front of development. It was impossible to extend compulsory primary education, while the number and capacities of schools were insufficient to provide an education for all who were eligible to receive it.

Removal of Social Barriers. In spite of financial difficulties due to the depression, the number of girls enrolled in schools increased. This showed that the prejudices, which for many years had hindered the growth of education for women, were disappearing. The Sarda Act had already made child marriage illegal, and there had

4. Tendulkar, D.G., *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, (Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri and D. G. Tendulkar, Bombay, 1951), Vol. II (1920-9), p. 483.

5. *Progress of Education in India, Tenth Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, (Delhi, 1934), Vol. I, p. 3.

been some relaxation of the purdah system also. It was evident that many parents had now begun to regard the education of their daughters as a matter of paramount importance.

The United Provinces Report states that, 'The encouraging feature..... is that public opinion in regard to girls' education has changed, and in many places and among many communities indifference has been succeeded by appreciation.... It is to be regretted that at this juncture progress should be hampered by lack of funds. The progress that has been achieved, however, is doubly valuable because its path has been difficult.'[6]

Many other provinces held the same view. The Bengal Report states that, 'Not only has the pace quickened, but some of the social obstacles to women's education are crumbling. Instead of being generally hostile, men are now generally friendly to the education of their women folk;.... But even more significant is the interest now taken by educated women themselves in the uplifting of their sisters. The influence of the Women's Educational Conference already reaches out in different directions.'[7]

The years 1932 to 1937 were years of great encouragement to those interested in the progress of the education of women and girls. Regardless of the fact that drastic reductions had been made in the expenditure of funds for education, the education of girls had steadily made progress, not only quantitatively but qualitatively.

Both Punjab and Bombay reported that the desire to educate women was becoming widespread and it was realised that the education of girls, particularly older girls, should not be an imitation of the education of boys. Consequently, both the Government and the public paid more attention to the establishment of girls' schools.

Progress of Women's Education

Throughout this period, the number of institutions and the number of girls under instruction increased steadily.

The number of all types of institutions for girls rose from 26,144 in 1921-2 to 38,262 in 1936-7, i.e., by 46.3 per cent, during

6. *Ibid.*, p. 164, (U. P. Report, p. 70).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 164, (Bengal Report, p. 66).

this period. Likewise, the enrolment of girls in all the institutions increased from 1.42 million to 3.14 or by 121.1 per cent. Although the actual number of primary schools and enrolments in primary schools increased by larger amounts than the higher institutions, the percentage increase was markedly higher in the higher institutions. This shows that more women were now achieving a higher education than before this period.

Total Enrolment Increases from 1921 to 1937. The first five years of this period recorded unprecedented increase in enrolment in all institutions, i.e., from 1.42 million in 1921-2 to 1.84 million in 1926-7, i.e., by 29.9 per cent. In the later part of the period, i.e., 1931-2 and 1936-7 even though the institutions suffered drawbacks due to the financial difficulties of the economic depression, the increase in the enrolment accelerated slightly. During 1932 to 1937, it increased by 25.9 per cent, as opposed to a 29.9 per cent increase during 1921-2 to 1926-7.

Institutions and Enrolment by Provinces

The growth in the number of institutions and enrolment of girls during 1921 to 1937 are shown on the graphs in Plate IV. Each graph line represents the number of recognised institutions (A) and the number of girls enrolled in all institutions (B) in each province.

The total number of recognised institutions for girls in British India rose from 23,778 in 1921-2 to 34,232 in 1936-7, while unrecognised institutions showed an increase of from 2,366 to 4,030 during this period.

All provinces showed an increase of recognised institutions, but in particular, Bengal. Between 1921 and 1937, the increase in Bengal amounted to 43.2 per cent. The number of institutions during this time rose from 12,334 to 17,665 (Plate IV-B). The reason behind this outstanding increase in Bengal lies in the fact that, due to the purdah system, co-education was practically non-existent. To cope with the demand for the education of girls, many one-teacher schools appeared. These were really of little use educationally, for they were badly equipped and the teaching was poor. Of the total institutions for girls in British India, more than half were in Bengal, but many of them were inefficient.

The Punjab showed a marked increase in unrecognised institutions. In 1937, the Punjab had 3,118 such institutions out of a total of 4,030.

The total enrolment in recognised institutions rose from 1.32 millions in 1921-2 to 2.98 millions in 1936-7, or by 125.7 per cent. Although all the provinces showed some increase, Madras showed the largest increase as Plate IV-B shows. The enrolment was 920,000 in 1936-7 as opposed to 380,000 in 1921-2. This was an increase of 142.1 per cent. Bengal had 108.6 per cent increase during that period, while Bombay had 73.7 per cent growth.

In spite of the large increase during this period, the number of institutions was not sufficient to provide educational facilities to all the girls of school-going age, as is shown in the following table.

STATISTICS FOR GIRLS (1927)

Provinces	*No. of females served by one school (recognised)*	*Female population of school-going age*	*Female scholars in recognised institutions*	*Percentage of column 3 to 2*
	1	2	3	4
Madras	5,993	3,002,753	525,697	17.2
Bombay	5,599	1,283,975	215,401	16.8
Bengal	1,525	3,156,204	416,415	13.2
United Provinces	11,701	3,022,326	119,215	3.9
Punjab	6,757	1,313,026	89,517	6.8
Burma	8,287	903,731	166,193	18.4
Bihar and Orissa	6,053	2,413,514	115,785	4.8
Central Provinces	17,231	974,591	42,363	4.3
Assam	8,100	510,317	34,691	6.8
Total	...	16,580,437	1,725,277	10.4

It can be seen from the table that the female population of school-going age was 16.58 millions in nine major provinces in 1926-7, but the total number of girls enrolled in recognised institutions of these provinces was only 1.72 millions. This represents 10.4 per cent of the total number, as opposed to 49.4 per cent of all boys enrolled at institutions.

In 1926-7 there were only 26,500 primary schools in these provinces. Thus there was only one girl's primary school for every 625 girls of school-going age. The corresponding figure for boys' primary schools was one school for every 109 boys of school-going age.

Scheme of School Classes. Plate V shows how the different schemes of school classes varied between provinces. In some provinces, the primary stage consisted of four classes, or in others five. In the United Provinces, the four lower classes were detached from Government High Schools and formed preparatory or primary schools. The situation was similar in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Central Provinces.

There was no departmental rule determining in which class a pupil might begin to study English. Plate V shows when each province began to teach English.

Primary Education

During 1936-7 there were 32,380 primary schools for girls in British India. This shows the increase of 9,740 since 1922. The majority of these, 17,400 were situated in Bengal as the Plate VI-A shows. Apart from the influence of the purdah system, the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, 1882, of the policy of non-interference by the Government and liberal grant-in-aids, were responsible for this superfluous growth of primary schools in Bengal.

The following provinces are arranged in order from the highest to the lowest number of primary institutions: Madras (4810), Bihar (2020), United Provinces (1,700), and Bombay (1,480). In Bihar and Orissa, and Burma, most of the girls' schools were under direct Government control. In the remaining provinces, local boards and municipalities controlled the majority of girls' schools.

The total enrolment in primary schools rose from 1,198,550 in 1921-2 to 2,611,580 in 1936-7. In other words, the enrolment more than doubled during this period. Plate VI-B shows the enrolment of girls in girls' institutions. It can be seen from this Plate that the largest number of girls enrolled in girls' primary schools was in Bengal. Madras shows a smaller increase in

number because many girls studied in co-educational institutions. But the total enrolment in Madras rose from 354,500 in 1921-2 to 867,900 in 1936-7 or about 147.4 per cent, the highest in India. Next were Bengal, United Provinces and Bombay with 102.3 per cent, 76.3 per cent and 73.0 per cent total increases respectively. Bombay like Madras had many girls enrolled in co-educational institutions. Delhi had also shown an appreciable increase in enrolment, but other provinces showed very little. The total increase in enrolment was 117.9 per cent in British India, but in view of the period of fifteen years, when attitudes towards women's education were changing, progress should have been more rapid. Absence of compulsory attendance for girls in primary schools was another reason for their meagre attendance. There was also wide discrepency between the average number of girls enrolled and the average attendance.

Wastage and Stagnation. In 1929 the Hartog Committee pointed out that The wastage, immense in boys' schools, is still greater in girls' schools, and the girls' schools produce a much smaller proportion of literates. The reasons for this appear to be the earlier withdrawal of girls from schools, the absence of women teachers and the greater inefficiency of many of the schools.[8] The Committee also remarked that if all the girls of class one continued in school until class V there would be one-third of the total female population of school-going age at school at the end of five years.

Out of the total enrolment in class I only 10 per cent reached class IV and 6 per cent reached class V during 1922-7. Bombay appears to be much in advance of the other provinces. This shows the actual desire on the part of the parents and girls in that province to make use of the advantages provided by an education, while the enrolment in classes I and II, which was higher in other provinces also, was the result of the wish of parents to get rid of the children at least for some time. Central Provinces and Burma follow Bombay with reasonable percentages. It is

8. The Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission of 1927 (Simon Commission) to report on the educational system of India under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog.

9. *Interim Report of Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Indian Statutory Commission,* Sept., 1929, Chairman, Philip Hartog, (Central Publications Branch, Calcutta, 1929), p. 167.

pitiable that in Bengal only 2 per cent of girls reached class IV, particularly as Bengal encouraged education and a large number of schools were created.

The following figures show the wastage during 1922-7 and 1932-7 in different provinces.

WASTAGE DURING 1922-7 AND 1932-7

Provinces	*Percentage of girls who remain until class IV*	
	1922-7	1932-7
Madras	16.0	18.4
Bombay	31.0	29.5
Bengal	2.0	4.0
United Provinces	8.0	12.0
Punjab	16.0	19.2
Burma	18.0	9.6
Bihar and Orissa	3.0	21.0
Central Provinces	23.0	22.0
Assam	9.0	27.3
British India	10.0	14.3

Some improvement was made during 1932-7 in all the provinces except Burma, but while 27.7 per cent of boys reached class IV, only 14.3 per cent of girls reached the same standard. With regard to women's education, Madras and Bombay were far more advanced than other provinces. However, in spite of widespread adherence to adverse social customs, the position of primary education in Punjab was noteworthy. In 1932-7, 19.2 per cent of girls reached class IV as against 16.0 per cent in 1922-7. It is probable that the rapid development of government secondary schools for girls had contributed towards this promising result.

Another problem to be solved at this stage was that of stagnation. Girls remained in the same class for more time than was usual or often necessary. The causes of stagnation were almost the same: the large number of single-teacher schools, inefficiency of teaching, and the teachers' lack of interest. But the causes for this deplorable state of affairs varied in different provinces. The Bombay report ascribed the wastage and stagnation to the apathy of parents, and to the fact that girls were more

useful in the homes than boys. The Sind report attributed it among other reasons, to the purdah system, and to the inefficiency of girls' schools in general. According to the Delhi report, wastage was partly due to poor attendance, but mostly to uninteresting methods in the lower classes, where children did not receive individual attention.

The conditions of primary schools varied considerably from province to province. Madras showed an appreciable advance in the staffing of elementary schools for girls; there was increased employment of teachers with higher qualifications. There was also a marked improvement in the accommodation of elementary schools. Many new buildings were constructed by municipalities, local boards, missions, and non-mission agencies. In some schools equipment also improved. In Punjab also, buildings and trained staff of some schools improved, but others remained as unsatisfactory as they were previously. Another difficulty was experienced in Punjab. Parents often demanded that even a very small school should be duplicated and even triplicated in order to cater for the different vernaculars used by the girls. The standard of work in almost all of the girls' schools showed marked progress. This was due to the employment of a larger number of trained teachers.

The policy in the United Provinces was not to open more primary schools in rural areas, but to develop existing schools. In rural areas, girls' education was confined only to primary classes. So the spread of co-education lessened the necessity of opening separate schools for these girls. Of course, in urban areas more primary schools had been opened, but their condition was almost the same as previously. Management of schools by district and municipal boards was frequently defective. As a rule mission schools were better equipped.

In Bengal, girls' primary schools were more inefficient than boys' schools, and their condition was most unsatisfactory. Little progress in the conditions of the schools was visible in the Central Provinces. The policy of placing local bodies in charges of girls' primary schools did not prove successful. In North-West Frontier Province, Municipal Committees did not realise the importance of having trained teachers for very young children. The only thing they considered was the cost involved. Delhi also com-

plained that rural areas received 'step-motherly treatment' with regard to women's education. The rural areas formed 31 per cent of the total population of the province, but they received only 1.6 per cent of the total amount of money spent on girls' education in the province. Social customs, poverty, disease and absence of communication, were undoubtedly some of the obstacles in the way, but there were also difficulties connected with the administration and organisation of the girls' primary schools. In most villages the attendance of girls at school was so insignificant that only a single-teacher school could be provided. The result was that the schooling, though often costly in comparison to that of boys, was of little value and did not appeal to parents.

Recommended Improvements. All provincial reports agreed that future progress depended largely on the employment of a far greater number of well-trained and qualified school-mistresses in village schools. But it was very difficult to make suitable arrangements for the living accommodation of women teachers in villages. As a result, many suitably trained girls were reluctant to accept positions in remote villages far from their surroundings. This difficulty could be solved by attaching training classes to some of the better and stronger schools suitated in rural areas. In these classes promising girls from the locality could be trained.

In short, girls' education was mostly neglected by the local bodies which were generally responsible for the primary education. In 1936 the Women's Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education considered that the control of the local bodies over girls' education had been unsatisfactory in some provinces, not only with regard to the provision of funds, but also with regard to general interest and enthusiasm. They recommended that methods to improve this control should be investigated, and that provincial girls' schools should consider the necessity of insisting that local bodies should spend an adequate proportion of their educational funds on the primary education of girls. The attention of the provincial governments was also directed to this recommendation.

However, in spite of the apathy of parents, the lack of interest in local bodies for girls' education and the overall lack of money, girls' primary schools increased from 22,640 in 1921-2 to 32,380 in 1936-7 in the whole of British India. The number of pupils in

these schools also increased. The total figures of girls' enrolment in girls' and boys' schools in 1921-2, i.e., 1,198,550 rose to 2,611,580 in 1936-7. It is just possible that this growth does not give an accurate picture of the true situation. According to the Hartog Committee Report of 1929, primary education in urban areas was extensive, but in rural areas it was generally limited and inefficient. But growing interest in the education of women and girls is apparent during the period, and this augurs well for future progress in this direction.

Secondary Education

Although the educational ladder varied in different provinces, secondary education was generally comprised of both the middle school and the high school classes. There were 626 girls' middle schools in British India during 1921-2, with an enrolment of 65,400. This number rose to 1,030 with 164,100 students on roll during 1936-7. The total number of girls under instruction in the middle schools for girls and boys both increased from 92,700 in 1921-2 to 223,220 in 1936-7 or by 140.8 per cent.

United Provinces and Burma had taken the lead with regard to the number of middle schools in 1921-2 which United Provinces maintained up to 1936-7. In 1921-2 United Provinces had 116 schools and the number increased to 322 in 1936-7 while Burma had 141 during 1921-2 and the number declined to 79 during 1936-7. During 1922 and 1937, middle schools in Punjab increased from 77 to 195 and in Bengal from 71 to 104. The reason for the large increase in middle schools in United Provinces and Punjab was that these provinces retained their prejudice against co-education. However, all the provinces except Burma had shown some increase in the number of middle schools. So far as the number of pupils was concerned in 1936-7 Burma, Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal had 50,500, 49,500, 48,800 and 15,500 girls in middle schools for girls and boys.

From 1921-2 to 1936-7 the number of girls' high schools rose from 208 to 410. The number of pupils in them rose three times during this period and was 110,100 in 1936-7. The total enrolment of girls in high schools for girls and boys was 132,290 in 1936-7 against 36,700 in 1921-2. Bengal had shown the greatest

increase of all the provinces in the number of high schools, and also of the number of pupils. It had 85 high schools in 1936-7 against 25 in 1921-2. Madras had the next greatest increase. Other provinces had shown some increase but the advance of high schools was very low. This indicates that higher education was not yet popular among girls.

In 1937, the total number of girls attending secondary schools (middle and high schools) rose to 357,510 against 129,460 in 1921-2. There had been a striking advance in the number of girl candidates for Matriculation. 8,563 girls appeared for the High School final examination in 1937 and 5,083 proved successful.

In Madras, the progress of secondary education was rather slow. In 1936-7 the number of secondary schools for girls was 116 as against 93 in 1921-2. Similarly enrolment in them rose from 14,900 to 28,100, while the total enrolment was 36,000 in 1936-7. There was a marked improvement in the accommodation and equipment of schools. But the same progress had not been made in the use of modern methods of teaching, except that an attempt had been made in a few schools to introduce the Dalton Plan.[10]

In Bombay, facilities for the secondary education of girls were provided mostly by private agencies with the assistance of grant-in-aid. In 1936-7, out of 65 high schools, 60 were aided, and out of 39 middle schools, 33 were aided. During 1921 and 1937 there had been a general qualitative as well as a quantitative advance in the girls' secondary schools. Girls' enrolment rose from 8,230 to 25,800. Where it had been possible to secure a good headmistress and some good assistant women teachers, the tone of work improved considerably.

In Bengal, the number of secondary schools and their enrolment continued to increase. Within this period, there was an increase of 93 schools as the number increased from 96 to 189 and enrolment from 13,800 in 1921-2 to 38,200 in 1936-7. But the advance was negligible when compared with that of boys' schools. It was reported that these schools were financially less

10. The Dalton Plan provides a most systematic break-away from the class teaching unit. It was first tried out in the town High School of Dalton, Massachusetts by Miss Helen Parkhurst. It was projected in 1919. The Plan consists in throwing a large amount of responsibility upon the pupils.

stable than the ordinary boys' schools. The true aims of secondary education were not completely realised in the majority of girls' schools. The author of the Bengal Report correctly observed that 'unless girls' schools ceased to be mere imitations of the boys' schools and the education given in them ceased to be mainly, if not solely, intended to get the girls over the not very difficult hurdle of the Matriculation Examination, the increase in the number of schools and girls in these schools need raise no great hopes for the future'.[11]

In United Provinces there was an increase of 214 secondary schools, i.e., the number of schools increased from 142 in 1921-2 to 356 in 1936-7. The number of girls in middle and high schools increased by 44,000, the increase being shared mainly by Indian Christians and Hindus. During this period the total enrolment increased from 13,900 in 1921-2 to 57,900 in 1936-7. Prominence was given to vernacular middle schools for girls, and efforts had been made to improve the staffing of these schools. United Provinces had the largest number (322) of middle schools of all the provinces.

The Punjab showed marked progress in the secondary schools for girls. Its report stated 'the work of these Government schools is very good, as shown by the examination results, by the influx of the girls and by the anxiety of the parents to secure admission for their children'.[12] Improvement in teaching was also visible as the outcome of the introduction of newer and more enlightened methods in most schools.

Very little progress was recorded in Bihar and Orissa. In Central Provinces, the number of secondary schools was 86 in 1937 with an enrolment of 9,000, the total enrolment being 14,700 in girls' and boys' schools while in 1921-2 there were 61 schools with 4,500 pupils on roll. In Assam, in spite of the generally backward state of women's education, distinct progress had been made. The number of high schools had risen rapidly, and there was demand for more than one school in larger towns.

11. *Progress of Education in India, Eleventh Quinquennial Review,* 1932-7, (Delhi, 1940), Vol. I, p. 173, (Bengal Report, p. 97).
12. *Progress of Education in India, Tenth Quinquennial Review,* 1927-32 (Delhi, 1934), Vol. I, p. 186, (Punjab Report, p. 93).

In Delhi, the number of high schools also increased. With the exception of M.B. Girls' High School, New Delhi, all the other five high schools were under private management in 1937. Each had its own point of view, aimed at meeting the educational demand of a particular type of home. In the opinion of the Hartog Committee in 1929, 'while secondary education for girls has, in several provinces, been successfully developed in urban areas, the opportunities for higher education afforded to the girls in the smaller towns and rural areas are extremely limited'.[13]

Collegiate Education

The number of general and professional colleges rose from 19 in 1921-2 to 40 in 1936-7, and women reading in them increased from 1,110 in 1922 to 3,330 in 1937. The total number of girls in collegiate stage rose from 1,530 to 7,000. Up to 1932, there were no separate colleges for women in Bombay and Burma, but a large number of girls were reading in boys' colleges.

GIRLS UNDER INSTRUCTION IN ARTS COLLEGES

Provinces	1921-2	1936-7
Madras	380	1,123
Bengal	200	1,600
Bombay	180	1,059
United Provinces	73	600
Punjab	36	800
Bihar and Orissa	12	50
Central Provinces and Berar	2	158

In Madras two new arts colleges for women were opened in Trichinopoly, and St. Theresa's College and the Maharaja's College for Women in Trivandrum were raised to the status of degree colleges. In 1937, there were nine arts colleges for women, with a total enrolment of about 710. There were also 413 girls reading in arts colleges for men.

In Bengal, the number of arts colleges for women remained unchanged in the beginning of the period from 1922 to 1937, but the number of students increased at these colleges. In Bethune

13. *Hartog Committee Report*, (1929), p. 165.

College it was reported that for the first time the Hindus outnumbered the other communities. In Vidyasagar College, Calcutta, a women's section was opened with 110 women on roll. Other men's colleges also made special arrangements to attract women students. In 1937, there were ten women's colleges, two of which were intermediate colleges whose total enrolment was 1,130. There were also 511 girls in men's colleges and university classes. Out of these forty-one were in professional colleges.

In Bombay, the number of women studying in men's colleges was 382 in 1927 and rose to 1,059 in 1937. There were no separate colleges for women. There was, however, an Indian Women's University in the province, which was established in Poona in 1916, mainly on the initiative of Professor D. K. Karve of the Hindu Widow's Home Association. The object of this University was to provide facilities for education in the vernacular up to a University standard, which were suited to the special needs and requirements of women. There were three colleges, fifteen schools and one training institution affiliated with it. The number of women who graduated in 1937 was twelve as against eight in 1922. The University was a private institution, and in order to enable it to retain its own ideals and courses, it abstained from applying for the recognition of its degrees. As the degrees of the University were not recognised, this detracted from its popularity. During 1932-7, this University was transferred from Poona to Bombay. The total enrolment in its four affiliated colleges was 210 in 1937 as against 107 in 1932 and forty in 1927. External candidates were admitted to the University. During 1932 and 1937, the courses of study were revised with a view to giving students greater opportunity for more advanced work in those subjects for which they felt themselves particularly suited.

In United Provinces, a women's department had been opened in Benares and Aligarh Universities. Science teaching at Isabella Thoburn College improved. This was the only women's college which prepared girls for the university degrees. Other women's colleges were intermediate colleges.

In Punjab, it was reported that, due to lack of accommodation, not all the girls who desired admission could be admitted. During 1932 and 1937, three more colleges were opened, and the

total number of girls receiving collegiate education including professional education was about 1,000.

The separation of Orissa in 1936 deprived the province of Bihar of the only intermediate college for girls which was at Cuttack.

For the first time in Assam, four girls attended intermediate classes at Muravichand College, Sylhet and two graduate ladies joined the law college at Gauhati during 1922 and 1937. During 1932-7, Lady Keene College was founded in Shillong.

In Central Provinces, one more college for women was established during 1932-7. The two colleges had sixty-two women on roll in 1937. In addition, ninety-six women were reading in men's colleges. In Delhi, the Indraprastha Girls' Intermediate College was raised to the status of a degree college in 1937.

General Advances in Colleges. The most important feature of this period was the general increase in the number of women students in arts colleges for men. Sind report observed that, 'The old conservatism which will not permit girls to study even in schools beyond a certain age is dying out, and many parents in urban areas send their girls to receive education in men's colleges irrespective of consideration of age'.[14] Similar reports were received from Bihar and Assam also.

There was also a large increase in the number of women graduates during 1932 and 1937. In 1932, 385 girls appeared for B.A. or B.Sc. examinations, while their number rose to 798 in 1937. Bombay and Madras had the largest number of girls in degree classes. However, according to the Hartog Committee Report, 'The total number of women reading in arts colleges is still very small, and consists very largely of Indian Christians .... it is probable that the establishment of separate colleges would stimulate an even greater advance.'[15]

In some universities provision was being made to appoint qualified women teachers and to find ways to look after the needs of girl students. During 1932 and 1937, two lady teachers were appointed in the Dacca University, one in English and the other

14. *Progress of Education in India, Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, 1932-7, (1940), Vol. I, p. 180 (Sind Report, p. 19).
15. *Hartog Committee Report*, (1929), p. 162.

in the History department. The Allahabad University established a Women's Advisory Board to advice in regard to matters affecting the higher education of women and the supervision of the women's hostel.

Curriculum and Training

Special needs of girls were now receiving consideration. In primary schools certain optionals such as health, household management, needlework, cooking or drawing were common together with the three R's. In secondary schools such courses were less common. However, domestic science, music, dancing or embroidery were being taught in some schools in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Delhi and Burma, in addition to some history, geography, Hindi and English. The teaching methods of primary and secondary schools were based upon long and continuous drill and rote memory. Little was done to provide alternative courses in the universities, except at the Women's University, Poona.

Physical training had improved considerably, assisted by the Girl Guide movement. In British India as a whole, there were nearly 600 companies and flocks with an enrolment of 10,000 Guides and Blue Birds.

With regard to school buildings and play grounds, the condition of the schools was not satisfactory. The reason was due to lack of funds.

Professional and Special Education

The growth of vocational education was substantial during 1922 to 1937. In all, 955 women were in special colleges in 1936-7. Women were now studying law. The Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, established in 1916, specially for women medical students, had 140 students on roll in 1936-7. While the total number of girls in medical colleges had now reached 475, colleges for education were equally popular with 448 girls. Commerce colleges now had attracted two women. There were twenty women in law colleges.

The number of girls enrolled in 1936-7 in special schools had doubled since 1921-2. As before, normal and training schools and technical and industrial schools were still the most popular

choice for girls. More than half of the total number of girls in vocational and special education were in such schools. The reason for this was that careers in other fields were not open to them. As general education was growing, the demand for teachers, especially women teachers, was growing. In the same way lace-making etc., learnt in industrial schools or the special crafts schools, could help in earning a livelihood. Next in importance were the medical schools. But the nursing and midwifery professions were considered less dignified than other professions, so enrolment in these schools was much less than enrolment in training and normal schools.

In all, there were 24,410 girls in vocational and special institutions by 1936-7. Madras had the largest number of pupils, 6,850, in such schools during 1936-7. Bengal, however, had made rapid progress since 1926-7. From 2,180 pupils in 1926-7 the figure rose to 5,310 in 1936-7. Advancement of these schools was also rapid in Punjab, and to a lesser extent in Central Provinces and Berar. Other provinces had also shown an increase, but it was very slow.

Women Teachers

Primary School Teachers. In 1926-7, the total number of women teachers in British India was about 34,800, of whom about 17,200 were classified as trained. Out of these about 900 possessed a degree. Teachers in European girls' schools were included in these figures. In Indian girls' schools the total number of teachers was about 32,000, which meant that there was only 1.2 women teachers for every girls' institution and one woman teacher for approximately 50 girls under instruction. If only trained women were taken, there was only one teacher for every 100 girls under instruction.

The Hartog Committee (1929) reported that, in the absence of the requisite number of women teachers, the opening of a large number of separate primary schools for girls had not in most provinces materially advanced the education of girls. However, attempts were made to increase the number of trained teachers. During 1922 to 1937, the number of women under instruction in training colleges and training schools had increased from 4,214 to 7,680. This figure did not fulfil the total demand for teachers, but

if we compare it to the situation twenty-five years before this period when only eleven women were in training colleges and 1,412 were in normal and training schools, this figure gives a very favourable impression.

As before, the social customs were partly responsible for the dearth of women teachers; but something was done in this direction by educating Hindu child widows and training them as teachers. The work done by such organisations as the Seva Sadan Society, Poona and the Industrial Widow's Home in Indore was commendable. The shortage of women teachers was lessened to some extent by male teachers. Previously only male teachers taught both boys and girls. Their actual number was not given in the records, but most provinces reported that the majority of girls' schools were staffed either by untrained women teachers or by old men.

In Madras, there were 32 per cent male teachers in primary schools for girls. In United Provinces a very large number of men were reported to be teaching in girls' schools. In the Assam Valley District of Assam, out of 154 girls' schools, only fifty-nine were staffed by women teachers.

The dearth of women teachers was especially great in Bengal, Bihar and to a lesser extent in the United Provinces and Assam. But almost all the provincial reports complained of an inadequate supply of women teachers for primary schools. However, the increase in the number of women teachers in the whole of British India, from 33,500 in 1932 to 40,200 in 1937, was gratifying. In the same way, the advance of trained women teachers from 49 per cent in 1927 to 51 per cent in 1932 and 58 per cent in 1937 was not discouraging. But much more was still to be done.

There were other factors also which were responsible for the lesser employment of women teachers. In Bengal, 'nearly all girls' schools have men teachers; they are employed because they are cheap; nearly all of them are teachers in boys' schools and are willing enough to undertake this additional work for exceedingly small allowances'.[16] In Bihar, teachers employed in girls' schools were old, lazy, uncertified men who had proved

16. *Progress of Education in India, Eleventh Quinquennial Review,* 1932-7, (Delhi, 1940), Vol. I, p. 165 (Bengal Report, p. 93).

unfit for boys' schools. According to the Bombay report, local authorities preferred to employ men teachers even when women were available.

A very genuine difficulty with the women teachers was that they did not want to go to places which were far from their homes. Parents also did not allow this freedom to their daughters. Social customs and public opinion indicated that the home was the proper place for a woman. Under such circumstances, adequate facilities for the training of women teachers and provision for safe comfortable lodging was needed.

The number of training schools rose from 146 in 1921-2 to 217 in 1936-7. The number of women under instruction in such schools in British India was 7,380 in 1937. Out of these as many as 3,543 were enrolled in Madras. Bombay had the next largest enrolment with 927 women under training. In Bengal, the facilities for training of women were very meagre in proportion to the demand by its schools. In Bihar, there was an increasing demand for trained women teachers, while in Assam, the only institutions for this purpose were Mission Schools at Silchar and Nowgong. In many provinces adequate facilities were not available for training of women.

Secondary School Teachers. During this period from 1921 to 1937, there was also great demand for secondary school teachers. The provisions of only eight training colleges for secondary school teachers in India was most inadequate, particularly as seven were located in only three provinces. Equally depressing was the enrolment of only 301 students in these colleges in 1937.

The total number of women teachers in secondary schools rose to 14,800 in 1937. The percentage of trained women teachers to the total number of women teachers rose to 6.9 in 1937. But this increase in the number of women teachers was not enough to compete with the rapid expansion of girls' education. The number of training colleges rose from three in 1921-2 to eight in 1936-7. The number of students also rose from fifty-seven in 1921-2 to 301 in 1936-7. These colleges were located in Madras, Bengal, Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar.

TREND TOWARDS CO-EDUCATION

Reasons for Co-education. A few arguments are put forward in favour of co-education. First, it provides in the school an atmosphere of the home where boys and girls work and play together. Second, it prepares boys and girls for their future life by giving them a useful and timely knowledge of each other. Third, economic factor also favours co-education.

In a country such as India, co-education is an economic way of making education possible for a large number of girls in places where separate education for girls is not possible. Here the preference was to be given, not between co-education or seperate school education, but co-education or no education. As a result, as far back as the beginning of the twentieth century, co-education was more in practice than in later years. In 1902, about 44.7 per cent of the girls were in boy's schools. In the year 1921-2 this percentage was 37.7, but it rose to about 43.9 in the year 1936-7. The increase in this period may be ascribed mainly to the trend of girl students to be admitted to technical and vocational institutions in larger numbers. The decline in the percentage in 1921-2 was due to the establishment of many separate schools for girls.

In the Punjab, prejudice against mixed schools still prevailed. During 1921-2 to 1936-7 there had been an increase of 5.3 only in percentage of girls reading in boys' institutions. Coorg[17] and Orissa had the highest percentages, i.e., 71.5 and 72 in 1936-7. Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, Central Provinces and Berar, and Assam had also shown increases in the number of girls reading in boys' institutions. In Bengal however, only 24.7 per cent of girls were reading in boys' institutions. This was due to the presence of a large number of separate institutions for girls. The Punjab, with 10.7 per cent girls in boys' institutions, showed the general backwardness of women's education in the province. Moreover, the low percentage was partly accountable as many girls' schools had also been opened

17. Coorg was a princely state, annexed by the East India Company in 1834. It became chief-commissioner's province by the Government of India Act of 1935. In 1956, Coorg was merged with Mysore State as a district.

there. Rigidity of social customs was responsible in part for the lower percentage of girls in boys' institutions.

The figures of Madras were noteworthy in the sense that there were about 200,000 girls in boys' institutions in 1921-2 and this number increased to 550,000 in 1936-7. The percentage therefore, increased from 52.1 in 1921-2 to 59.8 in 1936-7. In most of the provinces where there was an increase, the main cause was the lack of funds for separate institutions for girls. Plate VII shows the growth of co-education in different provinces.

The *Tenth Quinquennial Review* states that, 'A Government which was compelled in 1927-32 to reduce its total educational expenditure by as much as Rs. 24 lakhs could scarcely be expected to open a number of separate girls' schools. .... The alternative no longer lies between co-education and separate girls' schools but rather between co-education and no school provision whatever.'[18] The Director of Public Instruction of Bihar pointed out that a poor province had no other alternative than to extend co-education. The Hartog Committee also pointed out that 'unless the separate primary girls' schools in the provinces where they are inefficient, can be re-modelled, co-educational schools, in spite of the obvious difficulties, are preferable'.[19] The reports of Bombay and Burma recorded co-education favourably, but pointed out that in practice there was no proper system of co-education, that girls were admitted in boys' schools merely as a concession and convenience. There was no special arrangement for physical education, sewing, music, etc. Sometimes there were no sanitary arrangements.

The Women's Education Committee (1937) of the Central Advisory Board of Education, which examined the question of co-education in the context of girls' education in India, was of the view that co-education at the primary stage should be the ultimate aim in all small areas. However, where there was a large number of children, separate schools for girls were desirable. This Committee also emphasised the need of appointing women teachers in mixed schools.

18. *Progress of Education in India, Tenth Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 172.
19. *Hartog Committee Report*, (1929), p. 171.

Whatever mismanagement there might have been, almost all the provinces reported an increasing measure of progress in co-education as Plate VII shows. Of the different provinces, Coorg seems to have had a high percentage of co-education from the very beginning. In Madras and Bombay, the trend appears to have been towards an increase in co-education by 1937. A similar trend is seen in Bengal. The Punjab showed least interest in this direction.

Statistics of Women's Education

Percentage of Girl Pupils to Total Female Population. The percentage of girl pupils to the total female population rose from 1.2 in 1921 to 2.4 in 1937, which is not a very satisfactory increase. Despite 121.1 per cent growth in enrolment during this period, the reason for such a small percentage of girls' enrolment to total female population, lies in the fact that population had grown with more speed than the growth of schools and enrolment. The corresponding increase for boys was 8.0 per cent in 1937 as against 4.5 per cent in 1921.

Of the different provinces the percentage of girl pupils to total female population of school-going age was highest (18.4) in Burma. Madras closely followed it with 17.5 per cent. Bombay had a similar situation with 16.8 per cent. In spite of having the largest number of schools, Bengal had only 13.2 per cent of girls under instruction to total female population of school-going age. The lowest percentage was 3.9 of United Provinces.

Literacy Among Women. Literacy was defined as the ability to write a letter and to read the answer to it. According to this standard, there were 1.17 million women literate (including those under instruction) in the whole of British India in 1931.[20] The female literacy percentage therefore was 2.9 as against 1.8 in 1921, while that of men was 16.1 in 1921 and 17.4 in 1931. Literacy was more prevalent in towns than in the country, as both the need and opportunity for acquiring it were greater there. Literacy was highest in Travancore-Cochin. Cochin State had more than one female literate to every two male literates. Travancore and Coorg were the next literate provinces with very high percentages

20. *Census of India*, Report by J. H. Hutton, (Manager of Publications, Delhi 1933), Vol. I, part I, p. 327.

of female to male literates. In Bihar and Orissa there was one female literate to every fifteen literate males.

Expenditure on Women's Education

Difficulties of State Financing of Education. Finance is the key to the existence and progress of any scheme. Education is no exception to that rule. All educational schemes and institutions run smoothly when there is ample money to support them. Undoubtedly, adequate planning is equally important, but without money all planning is ineffective. After the Government of India took the responsibility of education, many schemes were prepared, many commissions were appointed to recommend the ways and means of spreading education and improving it, but lack of funds was the main hurdle in implementing almost all the schemes. The grant of Rs. 100,000 in 1813 and its subsequent increase to one million rupees two decades later, was certainly a significant move towards any systematic state financing of education. But as the Act of 1833 legally empowered the Governor-General in Council to have complete financial control over the whole of British India, provincial Governments were mostly dependent on sums allotted to them by the Central Government. As Mr. J. R. Strachey pointed out, 'The local governments which practically carried on the whole administration of the country, were left with almost no powers of financial control over the affairs of their respective provinces.'[21]

As mentioned earlier, the Government of India Act of 1919 introduced important educational changes. Under diarchial government, the Indians first gained control of education. But this education was partly all-India, partly transferred with limitation and partly transferred without limitation. The same condition prevailed as regards the financing of education. Freedom given to provincial legislatures was very limited, because the Governor was authorised to control the actions of the ministers. In addition, this period between 1921 to 1937 had also been a time of two economic depressions. One was the after-effect of the First World War of 1914-8, which continued up to 1924. The expenditure on defence rose to three times that of the pre-war expenditure. Increase in prices and the increased expenditure

21. J. R. Strachey, *Finance and Public Works in India*, (Government Printing, Calcutta, 1882), p. 134.

it involved on the establishment and salaries, led to the rise in civil expenditure also. Due to rise in prices, large numbers of pupils were withdrawn from the schools. The funds available for expansion of education were diverted to increase in salaries of the staff.

The second depression was felt in 1929, when the whole world was plunged into an economic slump. Indian trade and finance were no exception. This produced an adverse effect on education. In Bombay, a substantial cut was made in all allotments of education. In United Provinces, consolidation rather than extension was the watch word. In Madras, a cut of 3.5 per cent in all educational grants was imposed. Due to the slump, the expenditure figures on institutions for girls show that increased financial support was not forthcoming in almost all provinces. Certainly it was unreasonable to expect necessary funds during a period of general financial stringency. Even so, whatever funds were available were not distributed equally among boys' and girls' institutions. The total expenditure on different types of institutions for women was Rs. 21.99 million in 1927, but it was Rs. 163.3 million on those for men. During 1937 the figures of expenditure were Rs. 31.22 million on institutions for girls and Rs. 200.3 million for boys. According to the *Tenth Quinquennial Review*, 'Little effort has been made to correct the disproportion in expenditure between sexes.'[22] Except in Madras, where this disproportion was not so marked, nearly all the provinces seem to be prejudiced against girls' education. Bombay however, had always been liberal in this direction. Hence its Rs. 5.62 million expenditure on girls' education compared very well to that of Rs. 7.39 million of Madras in 1937.

It is not possible to state the exact amount spent on the education of girls, since a large number of girls were reading in boys' schools and expenditure on their education was debited to boys' schools. However, the tendency to allot larger proportions of the additional funds for the education of boys was clearly marked, even during 1922-37. The Punjab and United Provinces were the only provinces which spent a larger proportion of their additional funds on girls' education during this period. In other

22. *Progress of Education in India, Tenth Quinquennial Review*, 1927-32, Vol. I, p. 167.

provinces, no serious efforts were made to increase the amount for girls' education. Madras Government's contribution to girls' education increased from Rs. 2.01 million in 1921-2 to 3.09 million in 1926-7 or by Rs. 1.08 million. But during 1932-7 it increased from 4.47 million to Rs. 4.76 million or by 0.29 million only. In Bengal, the government contribution increased from Rs. 1.13 million in 1921-2 to Rs. 1.82 million in 1926-7 and then decreased to Rs. 1.77 million in 1936-7. It can be concluded that unless more funds were available, the standard of education of girls could not be brought to the level of that of boys.

The total expenditure on institutions for women excluding that on Anglo-Indian and European institutions had increased from Rs. 13.13 million in 1922 to Rs. 18.03 million in 1927; Rs. 23.94 million in 1932 to 26.9 million in 1937. During 1936-7, out of the total expenditure on girls' institutions, 44.8 per cent was spent on primary schools as against 46.4 per cent in 1921-2 as shown in Plate VIII. The expenditure on secondary schools had almost remained the same, while it had decreased in the case of training schools. The 3.5 per cent expenditure on colleges in 1921-2 had risen to 4.2 per cent in 1936-7.

Increase in the government funds was only Rs. 1.84 million during 1921-2 as compared to Rs. 2.74 million during 1927-32, and was only Rs. 1.02 million during 1932-7. Other funds from board funds and other sources also decreased. Only funds from fees increased.

It is surprising that in spite of financial stringency and economic depressions, the expenditure had increased, while government contribution decreased. But, as we have seen earlier, this was the period of great awakening for education. The private enterprise in education considerably improved and ministers took keen interest in the educational development. As a result, new schemes were financed by as large an amount as could be available. The local bodies increased their contribution because the primary education was now their responsibility. Increase from private sources went on increasing even in the period of financial stringency. Had it not been a period of financial crisis and economic depression, this period of diarchy would have been a landmark in the history of girls' education. In the words of Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, 'Proba-

bly at no period in India's history has there been a livelier interest in and concern for the future of education than at the present moment'.[23]

When we study the provincial distribution of educational expenditure on girls' recognised institutions, we find that Madras spent the largest amount of Rs. 7.39 million during 1936-7. Next came Bombay with an expenditure of Rs. 5.62 million, Bengal which spent Rs. 4.10 million, Punjab Rs. 3.52 million, while United Provinces spent only Rs. 3.93 million. All the provinces increased their educational expenditure in 1936-7 over that of 1921-2 in spite of the economic depression. During this period the expenditure on recognised institutions increased from Rs. 16.35 million to Rs. 31.22 million, i.e., an increase of 91.4 per cent in 1936-7 from the 1921-2 figures. The public funds met more than half the cost in all provinces except Bengal and Bangalore, where the percentages of private funds were the highest. The provinces which were faced with the greatest financial difficulties in regard to educational development were Bihar, Bengal, Assam and United Provinces. The percentage of total government expenditure allotted to girls' education was lowest in these provinces.

Average Annual Cost of Educating a Girl

The cost of educating a girl was more than that of educating a boy in all types of institutions. In 1936-7, the average cost of educating a girl compared to that of a boy was 1.6 times as much in arts colleges, 1.2 times in professional colleges, 1.5 times in secondary schools and 1.3 times in primary schools. The average cost in professional or technical institutions was comparatively higher than that in equivalent institutions for general education. The average cost of educating girls decreased in 1931-2 in all institutions except arts colleges for the first time since 1926-7. Then it decreased again in 1936-7 in all institutions. The annual cost of educating a girl in arts college was Rs. 327.37P. as against Rs. 466.19P. in 1926-7. In high school it was Rs. 79.50P., in middle school Rs. 27.81P. and in primary school Rs. 9.31P. as against Rs. 107.94P., Rs. 37.94P. and Rs. 10.62P. respectively in 1926-7.

23. *Progress of Education in India, Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, 1932-7, Vol. I, p. 3.

During 1921-2, out of Rs. 183.75 million expenditure on education only Rs. 16.35 million or 8.9 per cent were spent on girls' education. Later due to a general awakening, this amount almost doubled and the proportion of expenditure increased. During 1936-7, out of Rs. 222.24 million of total expenditure Rs. 31.22 million were spent on women's institutions. This constituted 14.05 per cent of the total expenditure. The vast disparity between the expenditure on boys' and girls' institutions still remained although it had slightly improved. The tendency to allot a larger proportion to the girls' institutions was noticed in the Punjab and Delhi. Other provinces had also increased their amounts. The figures of Madras were specially noteworthy.

The Hartog Committee on Education for Women

According to the Government of India Act of 1919, a Royal Commission was to be appointed in 1929 to evaluate the constitutional reforms. But the growing dissatisfaction among the people of India against the reforms led to the appointment of the Commission in 1927 under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon. Under section 84-A(3) of the Government of India Act of 1919, this Commission was also to report on the growth of education in British India. It was authorised to appoint, if necessary, an auxiliary committee for this purpose. As such, a committee was appointed, presided over by Sir Philip Hartog to look into the matter regarding education and to make recommendations. Hence this Committee is known as the Hartog Committee. Some of its observations on various branches and aspects of education have already been mentioned before. Its report is considered as one of the most important documents of the period.

Importance of Girls' Education. The Hartog Committee fully realised the need and importance of girls' and women's education. It stated that, 'the importance of the education of the girls and women in India at the present moment cannot be overrated. It affects vitally the range and efficiency of all education. The education of the girls is the education of the mother, and through her of her children. The middle and high classes of India have long suffered from the dualism of an educated manhood and an ignorant womanhood - a dualism that lowers the whole level of the home and domestic life and has its reaction on personal and

national character.' It further states that 'The education of women, especially in the higher stages, will make available to the country a wealth of capacity that is now largely wasted through lack of opportunity. It is only through education that Indian women will be able to contribute in increasing measure to the culture, the ideals and the activities of the country.'[24] It also observed that 'The largely increased enrolment in primary schools indicates that the old time apathy of the masses is breaking down. There has been a social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform. ..... On all sides there has been a desire on the part of the leaders of public opinion to understand and to grapple with the complex and difficult problems of education; and large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers and willingly voted by the Legislative Council.'[25]

This was not all. There were shortcomings also. 'Throughout the whole educational system, there is waste and ineffectiveness. In the primary system, ... the waste is appalling ..... the vast increase in the numbers of primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, ...The wastage in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of the boys. The disparity in education and literacy between women and men so far from decreasing by the effort made is actually increasing.

The Committee found that secondary education was considered only as a step towards university examinations; vocational and industrial training had little contact with the educational system and was, therefore, not very fruitful. There was some improvement in the university system, but obtaining the degree appeared to be the sole aim of students. 'At almost every point that organisation (of education) needs reconsideration and strengthening; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organisation of education need readjustment.'[27]

Obstacles. As usual the Hartog Committee had also mentioned the obstacles in the way of progress, such as conservatism, purdah and early marriage. According to the Census of 1921, 2.23 million

24. *Hartog Committee Report*, 1929, p. 151.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
27. *Hartog Committee Report*, (1929), p. 346.

girls were married under the age of ten, and 8.5 million girls under the age of fifteen. In addition to these hindrances, various provinces had their own problems. Generally, conditions in Madras and Bombay was somewhat favourable, but with some exceptions in urban areas, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar and Central Provinces presented a distressing picture.

Organisation and Control. According to the Hartog Report in the majority of provinces, the advice of a woman officer was not available. If an extension of a girl's education was to be effective, it was essential that in all provinces, the Director of Public Instruction should be assisted and advised by competent women officers, in matters of policy as well as of administration. The Committee expressed regret at the inadequate representation of women in the administrative bodies of education. Similarly, the lack of inspecting staff and specially of inspectresses was regrettable. The Committee suggested that in addition to the inspectresses, a full-time woman officer of public standing and experience was necessary in the headquarters office to prepare plans and programmes for the expansion of girls' education.

Signs of Progress. The Committee felt that there were also some signs of general awakening to which the women themselves were contributing in no small measure. There had been a keen desire for education and knowledge on the part of the women even in provinces where purdah was still strong. The attitude of the public and parents had also changed considerably, and the age of marriage was rising. Legislation to that effect was also under consideration. Almost all the provinces reported that the stages of ridicule, apathy and indifference were giving way to positive approval and encouragement.

The Committee recognised the excellent work done for the welfare of women by the Indian Women's University and organisations such as Seva Sadan. The All-India Women's Conference added fresh impetus to this work.

According to the Hartog Committee, 'Deliberate and unremitting efforts to overcome the obstacles, the formulation of policy with careful adjustment of means to ends, and a generous provision of money, institutions and personnel to make up for lost time - these are clearly indicated as the main tasks of imme-

diate future'.[28] Closer association and co-operation of women themselves were equally necessary.

The Committee concluded its Report by emphasing that 'The whole case for women's education rests on the claim that education is not the privilege of one sex, but equally the right of both, and that neither one sex nor the other can advance by itself without a strain on the social and national system and injury to itself. The time has come to redress the balance, and we believe that the difficluties in the way of women's education are beginning to lose their force and the opportunity has arrived for a great new advance. We are definitely of the opinion that, in the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion.'[29]

The Report was thoroughly criticised among non-officials, because it criticised the work done by Indian ministers, in particular, the expansion. While the public was of the opinion that expansion was needed more than consolidation, the Hartog Committee's emphasis on qualitative improvement was taken as hindering the growth of education.

There was a difference of opinion as regards the aims of education. While the lowering of the standard of English was considered by the Hartog Committee as qualitative degradation, Indian view thought it superfluous. Secondly, whatever was done or proposed by the Government, was taken as something against their interest. Political consciousness had grown among the people. As such, the recommendations of the Committee, though very sound as regards women's education were not judged so by the people in general. The political considerations and financial stringency caused by the world economic depression, led to the postponement of the recommendations of the Committee.

Evaluation of Efforts made During the Period

As we have seen, the period had started with the establishment of an Indian Minister, in charge of education in the provinces. Expectations were high as regards the progress of education during the period. Undoubtedly, the first few years saw a burst

28. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

of enthusiasm in the public and in the provincial governments, much more could have been done, if there were not certain difficulties.

Firstly, there were inherent difficulties brought about by diarchial form of government. Indian ministers had no free hand to discharge their duties, or to allot as much money they thought proper. Secondly, they had neither the support of the government nor that of the Indian National Congress, the most influential party of the country. On the other hand, non-co-operation movements attracted the attention of the public more to political problems than to those of education. Thirdly, the world economic depression led to cuts in expenditure.

Under the circumstances, whatever efforts could be made by popular ministers, were laudable. Apart from that, the fact that they were in the government led to a growth of feeling among people that education was their own responsibility, and they themselves should spread it.

Therefore, in spite of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee for consolidation, expansion continued at all levels of education. All types of women's recognised institutions rose from 23,778 to 34,232 during 1922 and 1937. Unrecognised institutions also rose from 2,366 to 4,030 during this period. The number of pupils enrolled showed an increase from 1,340,700 in 1922 to 2,999,520 in 1937 in recognised institutions and from 77,500 to 138,800 in unrecognised institutions in the same years. Out of this, 1.36 million girls were reading in boys' institutions in 1936-7. If we compare these figures to the figures of increase of male institutions and enrolment, the increase appears very small. While there were only 38,262 of all types of institutions for girls during 1936-7, the figure for boys was 205,240. In other words, it was about five and a half times more than for girls. Similarly, the enrolment was 11.63 millions for boys and 3.14 millions for girls. While the percentage for male pupils in all institutions to total population had risen from 4.5 in 1922 to 8 in 1937, the percentage for female pupils came to 2.4 in 1937 as against 1.2 in 1922. It is clear that the percentage increase for girl pupils was higher than for boys, but the situation was far from promising.

The literacy percentage of women was only 3 per cent in 1937. Great disparity existed between the education of boys and girls. In 1937, while 50 per cent of the boys between the ages of six and seven years were attending schools, only 16 per cent of girls (of that age group) were doing so. In some provinces, such as, United Provinces and Bihar, this figure was only 6 per cent. Despite these low figures, one important feature of the period during 1922 to 1937 was that some modifications were made in the curricula to make them more suitable to the girls and to the local conditions and people. In a number of elementary schools in Madras, provision was made for vocational instruction such as weaving, spinning, basket-making, lace-making and embroidery. In Bombay, instruction in hygiene, first aid, cooking, household management, sewing, laundering and gardening was given to girls in elementary and training schools. Vocal and instrumental music was introduced in all the schools in Bengal.

The important feature in this period was not the actual figures of the girl pupils and institutions, but the change of atmosphere towards the education of women. As the Rani Saheb of Sangli said in her address at the first All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reforms at Poona in 1927, 'There was a time when the education of girls had not only no supporters but open enemies in India. Female education has by now gone through all the stages - total apathy and indifference, ridicule, criticism and acceptance. It may now be safely stated that everywhere in India the need of education for girls as much as for boys is recognised as a cardinal need of progress a *sine qua non* of national advancement.'[30] Actually, this was the achievement of the period. The progress that had actually been made led people to think more on the subject of education of women. 'In short, it was felt that a stage had at least been reached when a planned, comprehensive and large-scale drive for the education of women could be successfully made'.[31]

There were many problems that were presented by women's education—

(i) It was not properly planned.

30. *Progress of Education in India, Ninth Quinquennial Review*, 1922-7, p. 171.

31. Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in India*, (Macmillan and Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1951), p. 715.

(ii) It was merely an imitation of boys' education.

(iii) Resources for the education of women were ridiculously small. More arts, training and professional colleges were needed.

(iv) Co-educational institutions were co-educational in name only, as the interests of girls were not properly looked after. The staff consisted almost of male teachers.

(v) Courses of instruction had no direct bearing on the lives, surroundings and needs of the girls.

(vi) Physical education was not imparted.

(vii) Moral education which is important for character building and which is the essence of Indian life was completely ignored.

(viii) As regards expenditure, whatever money was sanctioned for education, was not properly divided between girls' and boys' education.

(ix) As it was in a backward condition, women's education needed more financial assistance.

CHAPTER 5

EDUCATION OF WOMEN DURING THE PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY 1937-1947

The period between 1937 and 1947, generally known as the period of Provincial Autonomy, was one of the most eventful in the recent history of India. With its end began an era of freedom and independence. It is marked by many innovations. These ten years witnessed the administration of Congress ministries, then a Caretaker Government, and finally the Interim Government.

This period began with another Act, this time the Government of India Act of 1935. The principal changes it proposed were (i) the establishment of an All-India Federation, (ii) the introduction of 'diarchy' in the Central Government and (iii) autonomy and responsible government in the provinces.

It proposed autonomy for the provinces and federation at the centre, incorporating British India and the States.

The provincial part of the Act came into force in April 1937, after the elections for the new provincial legislatures under the new franchise. The provinces became self-governing, that is, governed by ministries responsible to the provincial legislatures and the electorate. The new Act put an end to the distinction between reserved and transferred departments, a handicap under which ministers had had to work under the diarchy system. Education, which until then had been a transferred subject, with some reservations, in the hands of Indian ministers, was now the sole responsibility of the provincial ministers.

However, the responsibilities of the federal government still included education at the Benares Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University and education in the centrally administered areas.

Ministers had a free hand in matters of educational policy in the provinces. The general world economic depression, together with the serious financial state, which forced cuts in all kinds of expenditure, was now in the past. There was not much difficulty in obtaining money. Since Congress was the largest and most

influential political party in the country, its ministries had popular support. These factors raised high hopes as regards the development of education. Though these ministers held office only for a short time, from July 1937 to October 1939, the Congress in office immediately attempted to carry out some of its programmes for the expansion of education. In 1946, however, the Education Department of the Central Government came under nationalist control for the first time, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed his Interim Cabinet.

The period immediately preceding the division of India was marked by frantic political activity and unrest. This political activity and national movement, though aimed at political freedom, had immense side-effects on the position of women. The practice of purdah the main obstacle to the growth of education for women, was almost completely stopped; women who took part in the political struggle became the champions of social awakening. The World War had already made them come out from behind their four walls. The need to educate women was universally acknowledged. Women began to be attracted by the idea of a career. Moreover, the economic aspect encouraged them to seek employment. Although this period was dominated by political problems, the installation of Congress ministries and the general awakening among the people led to the expansion of education.

Progress of Women's Education

In general, while the total enrolment of girls in all institutions had increased, there had not been a proportional increase in the number of institutions, as can be seen from Plate IV. Since 1937-8 there had been a downward trend in the number of institutions for girls. The number of recognised institutions decreased from 32,875 to 24,852, and unrecognised institutions from 3,999 to 3,344 in 1946-7. The reason for this being first, that this period was one of political unrest; second, the Congress ministries inaugurated new schemes; third, the decrease in the number of primary institutions was mainly due to the elimination of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools. It was the main cause of the enormous decrease in the number of institutions, in Bengal especially. Bombay, Punjab and Assam were, however, exceptions to the general rule.

The decrease in the number of institutions was no indication of decrease all round. As usual the number of girls under instruction in all types of institutions had increased between 1937 and 1947. The total number of girls under instruction which was 3.01 million during 1937-8 rose to 4.30 million during 1946-7. Madras, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, and Punjab were some of the provinces which received setbacks during 1943-4. The position however improved and the figures of enrolment for 1946-7 indicated a substantial increase, i.e., 42.8 per cent above that of 1937-8. All the provinces showed an increase, as Plate IV indicates. The gap between the number of boys and girls receiving education still remained at all levels of education, but it was not as wide as before. While in 1937-8 the number of boys enrolled was four and a half times more than that of girls, it was less than three times more that of girls in 1946-7.

Among the different provinces, Madras (936,358) and Bengal (747,455) had half the number of the total girl population under instruction, i.e., 3.01 million during 1937-8. These provinces had maintained their leading position up to 1946-7.[1] Whereas in Madras this growth was real and substantial, Bengal's growth was not significant for most of the girls were reading in primary schools.

As regards the figures of 1946-7 they are not really comparable with those of 1937-8. Because of partition an actual assessment could not be made, so the figures are estimated only.

Primary Education

The administration of primary education was in the hands of three different authorities - (i) the provincial government, (ii) local bodies—district and municipal boards, and (iii) private agencies. In 1945-6, 54.5 per cent of the schools for boys and girls were managed by local bodies, 43.6 per cent by private agencies and only 1.9 per cent by provincial governments. But the inspection of all the schools was in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction.

As mentioned earlier, there had been a drop in the number of institutions between 1937-8 and 1946-7. Mostly it was due

1. *Progress of Education in India, Decennial Review, 1937-47* (Central Bureau of Education, Ministry of Education, Delhi, 1952), Vol. ii, p. 356.

to the economic conditions imposed by the Second World War: this decrease was most noticeable in the number of primary schools. The number of girls' primary schools, went down to 21,479 in 1946-7 from 31,000 during 1937-8. Most of the provinces showed the downward tendency. Bengal presented the most distressing picture, (Plate VI). Its primary schools which had been increasing in number yearly since the beginning of the twentieth century, were now decreasing with the same speed. Within ten years, their number went down from 16,720 to 6,430, as shown in Plate IV. However there was another side to the picture. In fact, the decrease in numbers improved efficiency in the existing schools. The smaller the number of schools, the more efficient they would be, because more attention could be paid to them. Second, it seems that the recommendation of the Hartog Committee that there should be consolidation rather than expansion had affected the situation in Bengal. It was better that inefficient schools should be eliminated . But efforts could have been made to improve, rather than eliminate them. With the enlarged population and the growing demand for education, it was disappointing that the number of primary schools should have decreased. Madras Bihar and Orissa had shown the same decrease, probably for the same reasons. But in spite of the adverse conditions, Bombay, Assam, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province showed a marked increase. On the whole, Bengal still had the largest number of schools both for boys and girls. The disparity in the number of girls' and boys' schools increased during this decade.

Enrolment in primary schools had shown a slight increase: from an enrolment of 2.54 million girls in 1937-8 the number increased to 3.48 million in 1946-7. Madras had the largest number of girls under instruction, i.e., 1.33 million in 1946-7. Bengal, though next in order, saw little increase in the number of girl pupils during this period : from 680,000 the enrolment increased only to 757,000. Orissa also showed very little increase. The percentage of girls in primary institutions compared with the total number of girls under instruction showed a downward tendency (Plate IX) from 1927. On the whole, the increase in the enrolment of girls had been very slow as compared with that of boys. The number of boys' enrolling was three times more than that of girls.

Compulsory Primary Education. Compulsory primary education was introduced in Delhi and in several areas, both rural and urban in all the provinces except Assam. In Madras, a comprehensive scheme was launched to extend compulsory education in rural areas for boys and girls of all communities up to standard V in the first instance, and up to standard VII ultimately. During 1946-7, in Madras seven towns and 1,082 villages had introduced compulsory education for both boys and girls of the age-group 6-14. Similarly, Bombay had compulsory education in nine towns and 319 villages for the age-group 6-11. In United Provinces, a few wards of three municipal towns and three villages had compulsory education for the children of the 6-11 age-group. Sind also introduced compulsory education in one town only. Many provinces introduced compulsory primary education for boys only. This was a move of the Congress ministries towards eradicating illiteracy.

Basic Education. In the field of primary education, one of the most important contributions of the new Congress ministries was the introduction of the scheme of basic education. It was the result of Gandhiji's experiments on education. According to Smt. Hansa Mehta, ex-Vice Chancellor of Baroda University, basic education actually emerged because of Gandhiji's desire to solve the problem that confronted the Congress on this front when it took office for the first time in 1937. The problem was to improve the existing system and make it universal. There was a general discontent with the then existing system of primary education. The teachers were badly paid and badly equipped for teaching. Education was wholly academic, it had no bearing on the daily life of the children, with the result that it never held the children's interest, they forgot what they had learnt in school as soon as they left it. This was a tremendous wastage of time and energy.

There were two main problems to be solved: first how to make primary education reflect life to a greater degree, and second, as had been promised, to find ways and means of making it universal. The basic education scheme which foresook mere academic learning, aimed at an all-round education for every child to enable him to be a useful member of society. It was education

of hand, heart and head. The training of the hand was to be done in learning a craft.

It was by emphasising the productive side of an activity that there was a solution to another great problem in making education universal — the lack of money. Gandhiji felt that because of his own philosophy unless some of the expense of education was met through money earned by a productive activity, it would be difficult to make education universal. Furthermore, this craft or productive activity would be useful to the child after he left school. Gandhiji's philosophy that everyone should be self-sufficient and not dependent on others for his or her daily needs was also responsible for this stand. According to him, non-productive creative activity, though educationally sound, was not useful.

The basic education scheme, which was also known as the Wardha Scheme, was primarily concerned with the education of children between seven and fourteen years of age. Gandhiji said 'By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education, nor even the beginning. It is one of the means whereby men and women can be educated. Literacy in itself is not education'.[2]

Gandhiji's scheme was examined by the Zakir Hussain Committee, which worked out a detailed syllabus and made valuable suggestions. It proved that the scheme was sound not only from the educational point of view, but also from the psychological, social and economic point of view. Psychologically, it balanced the intellectual and practical elements of experience. Socially, it aimed to breakdown the barriers between intellectual and manual workers. Economically, it proposed ways to increase productive capacity. But the report of this committee emphasised its educational aspect more than its self-supporting aspect. This scheme, as reported by the Zakir Hussain Committee, was approved and recommended by the Haripura Congress in 1938, and forthwith adopted in several provinces where there were Congress ministries. According to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh reports, the scheme was welcomed enthusiastically in the first year of its introduction. One training school for basic education was opened in the

2. *Harijan*, 31 July, 1937.

same year at Wardha. Other schools and training schools were opened in other provinces. Some existing primary schools were converted to basic schools. By the end of the first year, ten training centres were opened in United Provinces besides seven refresher training centres. The second year also showed steady progress. New training centres and basic schools were opened. But the outbreak of war in 1939, and with that the resignation of the Congress ministries, affected this scheme adversely between 1940-5.

With the formation of Congress ministries in 1946, the basic education scheme received a fresh impetus. This scheme was now introduced as a part of the official programme of post-war educational reconstruction. The scope and area of it was extended. Though all its details were not properly worked out, by 1947 the basic education scheme had come to stay. It had acquired a particular form which promised much in the future.

Among other experiments made by the Congress ministries in the field of primary education, was the Vidya Mandir Scheme undertaken by Central Provinces. It was planned by the then Education Minister of the province, the late R. S. Shukla, with the object of providing primary education in small villages at a nominal cost. After a great deal of propangada, about 80 Vidya Mandirs came into being. With the resignation of the ministry its progress was stopped.

Another such scheme was promulgated by the Bombay Government, known as the 'Scheme of Voluntary Schools.' Its aim was to encourage private efforts in this field, and thus reduce the cost of education and help to provide schools in small villages. After the return of the Congress ministry the scheme was again revived.

The other measures which Congress ministries adopted to expand primary education included : (i) the opening of schools in those places where there were no schools, (ii) additional grants to local bodies, (iii) additional girls' schools where necessary, and (iv) additional teaching staff in existing schools.

It was only because of these efforts that in spite of the war and political unrest during almost the whole of this period, the number of girls increased at the primary stage.

Wastage and Stagnation. Wastage, though slightly reduced persisted. In 1936-7 the wastage rate amongst girls at the primary stage was 85 per cent, while it was 72 per cent amongst boys. The percentage of girls reaching class IV rose from 15 per cent to 27 per cent over the decade. Amongst the provinces, the wastage rate amongst girls during 1946-7 was highest in Bengal and United Provinces at 87 per cent and 80 per cent respectively; and lowest in Coorg, at 45 per cent. Madras and the Central Provinces recorded moderate wastage rates.[3]

The causes were the same as have been already mentioned, namely, the withdrawal of girls from schools at an early age, as soon as they were useful in the household, the inadequate supply of teachers, inefficient teaching and supervision, admissions to schools throughout the year, irregular attendance and faulty administration by local bodies. Except withdrawal from the schools all the other causes were also responsible for the stagnation in different classes.

Provincial governments made efforts to counteract these problems. There was compulsory education in some areas, and in others children were placed under a voluntary obligation to complete primary education. In some areas, laws making primary education compulsory was passed. Officers were appointed to induce children to attend school. But because of economic difficulties results were not good. The poorer classes needed the children to work in the fields or homes.

As for equipment, almost all provincial reports stated that it continued to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. However, North West Frontier Province and Madras showed improvement in the matter of teaching appliances and equipments.

Secondary Education

Middle Schools. There was no new development in this field, although increase in numbers had been recorded at this stage also. Middle schools were of two types: Vernacular Middle Schools and English or Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools. The number of anglo-vernacular middle schools for boys and girls both showed a considerable increase during 1937-47. While the

3. *Progress of Education in India, Decennial Review, 1937-47,* (Delhi, 1952), Vol. i., p. 61.

number of anglo-vernacular middle schools increased from 4,563 to 6,932 i.e., by 51 per cent,[4] enrolment of girls had shown a substantial increase. Amongst the provinces, Bengal had the largest number of anglo-vernacular middle schools, i.e., 1,968 and recorded the highest enrolment of 16,204 girls during 1937-8, a lead which it maintained throughout the decade. Its enrolment of girls was 55,636 during 1946-7. Bihar and United Provinces enjoyed second and third place in the enrolment league. As regards vernacular middle schools the Punjab had the largest number, i.e., 3,015 in 1937-8. The number of girls in the vernacular middle schools in Punjab increased from 45,516 to 65,250 during the decade. In United Provinces also vernacular middle schools were more popular. The number of girls under instruction increased sufficiently in this province. It was 66,687 in 1946-7 as against 42,119 in 1937-8. Thus the total number of girls in middle schools in British India rose from 185,638 to 321,508 or by 73.5 per cent during this period.

High Schools. Like primary and middle schools, high schools were managed by provincial governments, local bodies or private agencies but while the majority of primary and middle schools were managed by municipal and local bodies, most of the high schools for boys and girls were under private management, the percentage being 82.6 in 1946-7 as against 80.3 in 1937-8. The rest were divided between the government and the local bodies.

High schools for girls increased in number from 398 in 1937-8 to 725 in 1946-7, i.e., by 82.1 per cent. As compared to those of boys they were very few in number, but the rate of increase in their number was faster than that of boys. Bengal led in this field also, with 91 high schools in 1937-8. By 1946-7 it had 141 girls' high schools. The number of high schools in Madras also showed a steady rise : the number doubled, from 74 to 148. The number of institutions in Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Orissa, the Punjab, Sind and United Provinces had doubled.

As far as enrolment was concerned, as usual Madras had the largest number of girls under instruction, i.e., 74,000 during 1946-7. The rate of progress had been higher in other provinces also. During the decennium, C. P. and Berar, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab had almost trebled their enrolment

4. Separate figures for girls' middle schools are not available.

numbers. The total number of girls in high schools was 280,700 during 1946-7 as against 121,800 ten years previously. Here also as compared to the number of boys enrolled the rate of progress had been much higher, i.e., 131.4 per cent, probably because the war had opened up many fields of employment. The tendency among women to seek some sort of career made them study up to higher standards.

Collegiate Education

Arts and Science Colleges. The number of arts and science colleges for women increased from thirty-two in 1937-8 to fifty-nine in 1946-7, while the number of colleges for boys rose from 240 to 361 (Plate X-B). The reason for the smaller number of girls' colleges was that boys' colleges were generally co-educational. The only provinces where there were large numbers of girls' colleges were those where purdah was still observed, or where conservatism as regards girls' education still prevailed. In 1937-8 United Provinces had the largest number of arts and science colleges for girls and boys and this had more than doubled by 1946-7. Bengal had shown slow progress in this respect. In Madras there had been an increase of only two in the number of women's colleges during the decennium, nor had there been much increase in the number of boys' institutions.

During the war, the number of employed in the country increased considerably, and larger numbers of women were employed in government offices, business concerns, schools, *etc.* The tendency among educated women to seek a career and economic independence became more noticeable at this time. Moreover the economic pressure on the middle classes because of the rise in the cost of living contributed to some extent to this tendency. Indian society, on the other hand, began to tolerate, if not exactly to respect, a career-woman, and the concept that the home was the only field for a woman's activities began to change, although very slowly.

This accounts for the development of higher education among women during the period under review. Their enrolment in all women's colleges rose from 3,810 in 1937-8 to 10,315 in 1946-7 as shown in Plate X-A. As far as the number of institutions was concerned, United Provinces had taken the lead with twenty-four

colleges in 1946-7. The largest number of girls under instruction in women's colleges was in Bengal, i.e., 2,607 in that year. Punjab had shown an unprecedented increase both in the number of institutions and in enrolment, the latter being second only to Bengal. In Madras, although all types of women's colleges had increased from nine to fourteen during the decennium, the enrolment was 1,894 in 1946-7 as against 753 in 1937-8. The total number of girls enrolled in colleges for general education both for men and women rose from 6,782 in 1937-8 to 20,304 in 1946-7, more than half of the girls were in men's institutions. Bombay and Bengal had almost an equal number of girls in colleges for general education, i.e., 4,616 and 4,142 respectively. Then came Madras (3,351), Punjab (2,550) and United Provinces (2,458). These figures also included the girls who were in teaching universities.

University education in India had been progressing steadily since the middle of the nineteenth century. The number of universities had risen from three in 1857 to twenty-one at the end of this period. In addition, there was one women's university.

A comparative idea of men's and women's enrolment in universities can be obtained from Plate X-C.

Professional and Special Education

There were very few professional colleges for women. But women were studying in different professional colleges and schools meant for men. The following table shows the enrolment of girls and women in different institutions for professional and other special education.

	1937-8	1946-7
Colleges		
Law	25	59
Commerce	10	77
Agriculture	1	3
Engineering and Technology		6
Schools		
Arts	107	151
Technical and Industrial ...	7,089	11,004
Commerce	366	933
Agriculture	53	47
For defectives	382	427
Others	7,321	22,255

The growth of unemployment among the educated led the people and the government to think more about the problem of practical and vocational education. At the beginning of the period under review, Abbott and Wood surveyed the general position of vocational education in India and in their report suggested certain modifications at all stages of education. Because of the War and other reasons, like the lack of training facilities, their implementation was delayed. However, impetus was given to certain lines of technical training. But the number of women taking advantage of them was almost negligible. The professions, such as teaching and medicine, were more popular among women.

Teaching. During the decennium, the provision for the training of teachers was quite inadequate. The number of untrained teachers was still larger in India than in other progressive countries. Moreover, there was great shortage of women teachers for girls' schools as well as for the primary departments of boys' schools.

The institutions for the training of women increased in number to about 248 by 1941-2. After that, they started decreasing and in 1946-7 they numbered about 224. It would seem that this was the result of the dislocation caused by the 1942 movement and the Second World War. The number of girls in training colleges rose from 345 in 1937-8 to 1,024 in 1946-7, in both men's and women's institutions. Similarly, the number of girls in normal and training schools rose from 7,289 in 1937-8 to 11,125 in 1946-7.

Training colleges for women were set up mostly in towns, and their need was keenly felt in rural areas. The national government took special measures to hasten the supply of trained teachers. In Central Provinces and Berar two new normal schools for women were opened in 1946-7, guaranteeing a supply of 150 women teachers per year. A Department of Training in Basic Education was established at Prantiya Shikshan Mahavidyalaya, Jabalpur, with a view to staffing normal schools. To meet the demand for middle school teachers, one diploma training institution was opened in Central Provinces in 1946-7 ensuring a supply of seventy-eight women teachers every year. In Assam, two training centres for women were opened. In Madras, an emergency secondary grade training course of one year was started in 1946-7 in order to train a large number of teachers within a short period. In

Punjab a high grade training for middle stage teachers was provided in all the three women's colleges.

There already existed one training college for women in Sind, two training schools for women in Ajmer-Merwara and one training college in the United Provinces. In Madras, two mission training colleges for women were opened.

Medicine and Public Health. The All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, was established in 1932 to provide facilities for training public health workers. During the decade under review, 245 women obtained diplomas in public health and four in maternity and child welfare. Degree courses in nursing were established at the College of Nursing, Delhi, and Christian Medical College, Vellore. In 1946-7, thirty-two girls were sent to Britain to receive basic training in nursing. Ten nurses took advanced courses in public health at Toronto and London between 1945 and 1947.

The enrolment in medical schools had risen up to 1940. Due to political movements the enrolment decreased afterwards. Moreover the general tendency had been to abolish the lower grade medical education and to replace it by a higher grade. Some medical schools were either closed or converted into medical colleges.

ENROLMENT OF WOMEN IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS[5] DURING 1937-47

Provinces	1937-8	1939-40	1944-5	1946-7
Assam ...	—	—	—	—
Bengal ...	46	82	119	124
Bihar ...	1	13	21	17
Bombay ...	121	89	130	171
C. P. and Berar ...	38	26	15	17
Madras ...	176	161	53	41
Orissa ...	20	15	1	—
Sind ...	11	7	22	13
Punjab ...	417	522	—	—
United Provinces ...	68	44	—	—
Delhi ...	—	—	15	15
Minor Administrations	11	20	27	36
Total ...	909	979	403	434

5. *Progress of Education in India, Decennial Review, 1937-47,* (Delhi, 1952), Vol. ii, pp. 317-20.

In Punjab, the Licentiate Course was abolished in 1938 and in 1942 the Medical School, Amritsar, was converted into Glancy Medical College, Amritsar. In United Provinces, the Agra Medical School was converted into a Medical College in 1939. Consequently, United Provinces and Punjab show no enrolment after 1939-40 in the above table. Up to 1940, Madras, Punjab and United Provinces had each, one female medical institution. After 1944, Delhi had one medical school for women.

WOMEN IN MEDICAL AND VETERINARY COLLEGES DURING 1937 - 1947

Provinces	1937-8	1939-40	1944-5	1946-7
Bengal	28	38	65	82
Bihar	3	10	19	35
Madras	114	168	412	508
Bombay	158	169	252	360
Punjab	47	52	450	462
Orissa	—	—	—	11
United Provinces	3	6	68	84
Delhi	—	139	297	187
Total	353	582	1,563	1,729

After 1944-5, all the institutions were for men, except in Madras, Punjab and Delhi which had one institution each for women only. In United Provinces, up to 1939-40, women used to study medicine in the various teaching universities. The Lady Hardinge Medical College in Delhi was one of the premier institutions in the country and it provided medical education for women only. The above table shows that there had been considerable progress in the field.

In virtually every province music was introduced into the school curricula. In Bengal it was accorded the status of a major subject, so that it could be taken for matriculation. This province had many music schools. The Bihar Government sanctioned a grant of Rs. 10,000 for opening a college of music during this period. In the Punjab, music was provided in a large number of girls' schools as an extra-curricular subject and was reported to be popular. The Allahabad University introduced it as one of the subjects for the special B.Sc. course for women. The United Provinces had

Plate VI

GROWTH OF PRIMA

A. INSTITUTIONS

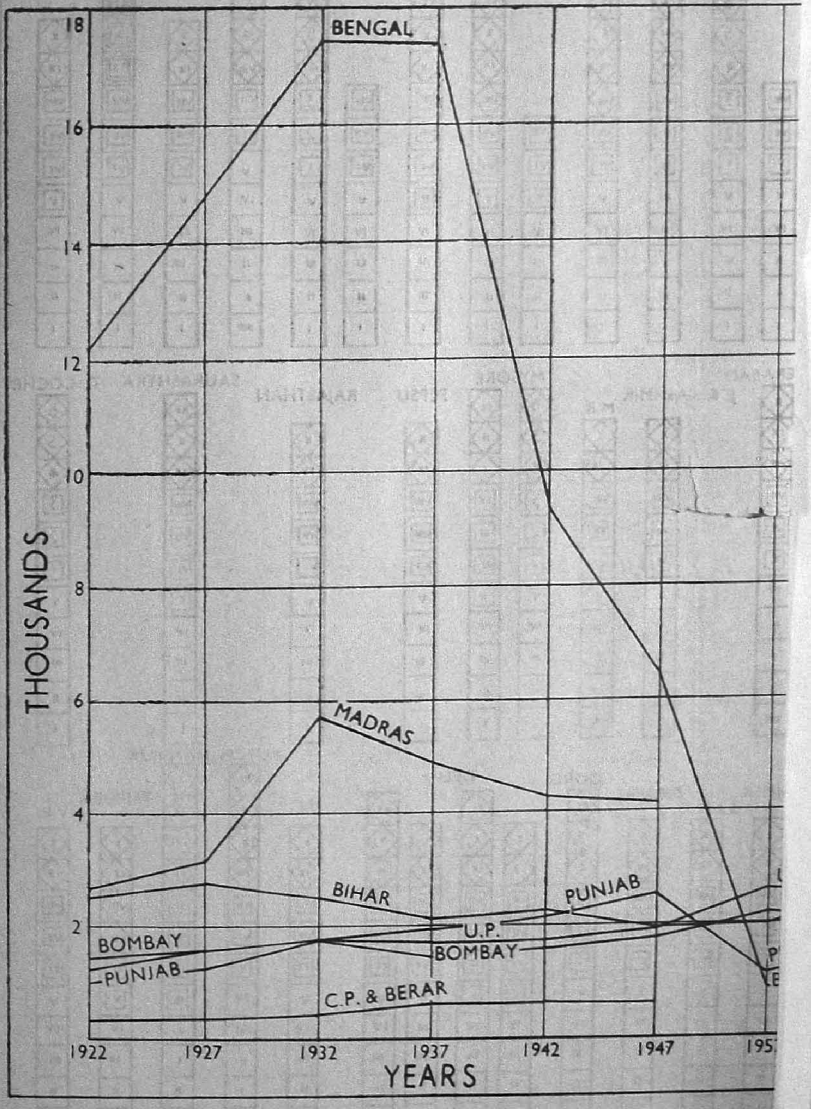
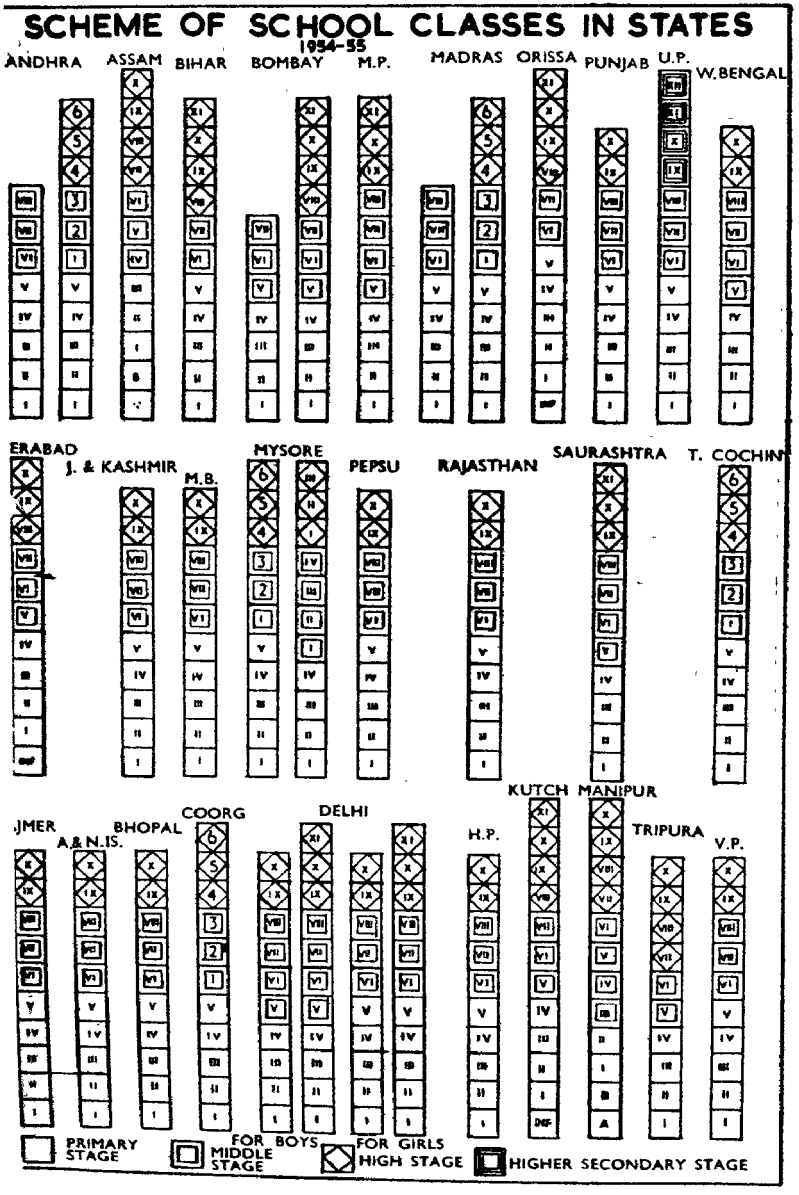


Plate XI


SCHEME OF SCHOOL CLASSES IN STATES
1954-55
ANDHRA
ASSAM
BIHAR
BOMBAY
M.P.
MADRAS
ORISSA
PUNJAB
U.P.
W.BENGAL
ERABAD
J. & KASHMIR
M.B.
MYSORE
PEPSU
RAJASTHAN
SAURASHTRA
T. COCHIN
KUTCH
MANIPUR
JMER
A & N.IS.
BHOPAL
COORG
DELHI
H.P.
TRIPURA
V.P.
PRIMARY STAGE
MIDDLE STAGE
FOR BOYS
FOR GIRLS
HIGH STAGE
HIGHER SECONDARY STAGE

two music colleges: the Bhatkhande (Marris) College of Hindustani Music at Lucknow and the Prayag Sangit Samiti at Allahabad. In Delhi, about twelve girls' schools had arrangements for music, which was an optional subject for high school. Dancing was taught in Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Ajmer and Delhi in secondary schools for girls. But only a few provinces, like Bengal and Madras, provided facilities for specialised study for dancing.

Women Teachers

Primary School Teachers. There were 39,670 women teachers in primary schools in 1937-8 of which 23,000 were trained. The largest number of teachers, i.e., 16,000 belonged to Madras and most of them, i.e., 14,000 were trained. Next was Bombay with 5,800 teachers, of whom 3,000 were trained. Bengal had almost the same number of teachers, but only 800 of them were trained. Among the other provinces, the Punjab had the largest number of trained teachers. Whereas the percentage of the trained men teachers rose by 15.2 during the decennium, the percentage of trained women teachers rose by 66.2 per cent in the whole of India. On the whole, as compared to men teachers, the proportion of untrained women teachers was larger in girls' schools. Their total number was also very small as the *Decennial Review* explains it, 'In the first place, a sufficient number of trained women teachers is not available and, secondly, social customs which prevent them from taking service in places distant from their homes limit their supply.'[6] Poor conditions of service, the low salary and status were responsible for the shortage of teachers in primary schools.

Middle School Teachers. The total number of women teachers rose from 7,012 in 1937-8 to 10,626 in 1946-7, while the number of men teachers was 61,792 at that time as against 48,904 in 1937-8. The number of trained women teachers rose from 4,493 to 6,746, i.e., 50.1 per cent, while that of trained men teachers rose only 10.7 per cent, during the decennium. The Punjab and the United Provinces had the largest number of trained and untrained women teachers. On the whole, the average of trained teachers

6. *Progress of Education in India, Decennial Review, 1937-47, (Delhi,* 1952), Vol. i, p. 71.

had slightly increased. Here also the conditions of service were no better than those in primary schools.

High School Teachers. There were 6,183 women teachers in all the high schools during 1937-8. The number rose to 11,643 in 1946-7. The number of trained women teachers almost doubled, but that of men teachers rose only 57.1 per cent. The disparity between the numbers of men and women teachers had lessened during the period. The posts of teachers in government schools were pensionable but the condition of teachers in private schools continued to be unsatisfactory.

Literacy Drive Among Women

The basic education scheme has already been mentioned as an idea of the Congress ministers. The second scheme in importance was one for the promotion of adult education or the literacy drive. It was felt that adult education was the foundation on which the social, economic and political progress of the country could be based. As long as the masses remained illiterate and ignorant, national progress would remain an unfulfilled dream. For this reason all the provinces and many princely states took up the problem as soon as the autonomous government took office in 1937-8. Their mission could not be completed because they had to resign in 1939. The work could be restarted only when the popular ministries came into office again in 1946.

As regards adult education for women, the period under review had been one of record progress. The total number of adult schools rose from fifteen in 1937-8 to 371 in 1946-7. Enrolment rose from 983 in 1937-8 to 7,719 in 1946-7 and expenditure only three and a half times during this period. The total expenditure was Rs. 73,600 as against Rs. 20,000 in 1937-8.

Before this period, facilities for adult education had been limited to a few night schools, some libraries and reading rooms. National Government took a prominent part in furthering this campaign. The concept of adult education was also changing. The Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board in 1938 emphasised that 'Literacy was not the end of Adult Education but only the beginning of it, leading to further education'.[7]

7. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Adult education aimed at teaching the illiterate adult the three R's and tried to impart knowledge closely related to his working life and give him a grounding in citizenship. Special committees were appointed in many provinces : their powers and duties were more or less like those of the following committee which was appointed in Bombay :

(a) To submit for the approval of Government a programme for the spread of Adult Education in the Province.

(b) To conduct propaganda for the removal of illiteracy and other forms of ignorance.

(c) To encourage and supervise the publication of suitable literature for adults.

(d) To consider the schemes referred to it by Government or submitting by private bodies for the spread of adult education.

(e) To advise Government as to the best manner of aiding the existing Adult Education classes and organising the work of such classes on a voluntary basis.

(f) To advise Government as to the best methods of harnessing the enthusiasm and spirit for national service among the educated youths of the Province for the drive against mass illiteracy.

(g) To suggest means for co-ordinating adult education among villages with other forms of rural reconstruction.

(h) To advise Government on the question of implementing various recommendations made by the Adult Education Committee and,

(i) To collect funds'.[8]

In Assam, the campaign was launched by the government in 1940. The number of female adult schools rose to 100 in 1942-3 as against twenty-six in 1940. Due to war time difficulties, the number decreased to only forty-five but enrolment went on increasing. During 1940-7, enrolment rose from 540 to 903. In Bihar, a literacy campaign was started with great enthusiasm by voluntary workers, primary school teachers and students. Its success induced the government to grant it aid which continued later.

8. S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *History of Education in India*, (Macmillan and Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1951), p. 817.

Literacy work among women was carried out by district Inspectresses of schools. The organisers were mostly women. There were ladies' committee in various centres. An experiment made among the semi-aboriginal Tharu tribe proved quite successful. In Bombay the number of adult female schools, their enrolment and expenditure were the largest in India. Its thirteen institutions with an enrolment of 608 in 1937-8 rose to 281 with 5,601 women on the roll. Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 73,500 in the six provinces in 1946-7, Bombay spent the largest amount, i.e., Rs. 54,900 on female adult education. In order to prevent new literates from relapsing into illiteracy, a scheme for the establishment of village libraries and reading rooms was sanctioned by the government in 1941. Post-literacy classes were also maintained by the Bombay Adult Education Committee and the Bombay City Adult Education Committee.

In Central Provinces there were two female adult schools with an enrolment of 375 in 1937-8. Although its expenditure went on increasing, by 1946-7 only one institution remained with 200 women on the roll. In Madras no attention was given to the adult education scheme. The main emphasis there was on the promotion of primary school education. In Punjab, the scheme suggested by Dr. F. C. Laubach of 'Each one teach one' was first tried then the government inaugurated the five year programme to fight illiteracy in 1939-40. The government sanctioned money liberally. But women's education did not make much progress. In United Provinces, the scheme was launched in 1939. The Education Expansion Department was set up with a class 1 officer; teachers were recruited, private schools were aided by grants, voluntary workers were awarded bonuses and educated people were requested to take literacy pledges, i.e., either to make one person literate or to pay Rs. 2.00 a year to the government as penalty. As a result of this campaign, the number of female adult institutions rose from thirty-five to sixty within two years. Due to war time difficulties the number decreased to forty-one in 1946-7, though the number of pupils and the expenditure went on increasing. Other provinces also did some work in this direction on the lines indicated above.

Trend Towards Co-education

The percentage of girls who were in boys' institutions was 40.8 in 1937-8. The percentage went on increasing as the demand for education continued to increase. While in 1941-2 the percentage was 49.5 it rose to 50.4 during 1946-7. The number of girls entering boys' technical and vocational institutions also increased, because separate technical or vocational schools could not be established for such a comparatively small number. Moreover, because of a change in the general social outlook, the prejudice against co-educational institutions was also dying out.

Among the major provinces Madras had the highest percentage of girls in boys' institutions. But in the whole of India, Coorg had the highest percentage. During 1941-2, the percentage of girls in boys' institutions was 90.4, in Coorg as shown in Plate VII. The lowest percentage, 2.9, was that of Delhi. During 1946-7, Orissa came next to Coorg with a percentage of 83.5. Then came Madras, Bengal and Assam with the percentages of 64.9, 56.5, and 54.6 respectively. Among the provinces which had lower percentages, the names of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Delhi can be mentioned.

Expenditure on Women's Education

Plate VIII shows the increase in expenditure on recognised institutions of girls since 1922 and 1937, and the percentage of total expenditure on different institutions. During 1946-7 while the percentage expenditure on secondary schools had slightly decreased, expenditure on primary schools had slightly increased. The total expenditure rose from Rs. 31.05 million in 1937-8 to Rs. 66.6 million in 1946-7, i.e., it more than doubled. The expenditure on girls' primary schools had risen from Rs. 14 million in 1937-8 to Rs. 30.09 million in 1946-7. While expenditure on girls' primary schools was up by 114.3 per cent that on boys' schools was up by 123.5 per cent. So the disparity between them had rather increased. As against 40.7 per cent during 1937-8, the government had borne 43.0 per cent of girls' schools expenditure during 1946-7. Primary education was free where compulsory education had been introduced. In government and municipal schools generally no fees were charged.

There was also a liberal system of free tuition for children of backward classes, children of soldiers and poor parents.

Among the different provinces, Madras spent the largest amount, i.e., Rs. 4.27 million on girls' primary schools during 1937-8 which rose to Rs. 8.95 million in 1946-7. Bombay, United Provinces and Bengal each spent lesser amounts. But in 1946-7 an exceptional increase had been shown by Bombay, Punjab, Sind, C. P. and Berar. In Bombay, the expenditure on primary schools for girls rose from Rs. 3.52 million to Rs. 9.09 million, much more than in the other provinces.

The expenditure on middle schools rose from Rs. 4.44 million to Rs. 8.49 million during the decennium. Bombay, Madras and Sind had no vernacular middle schools. The largest amount was spent by Punjab on middle schools of both types while Bengal spent a great deal on English middle schools.

The average annual fee also rose during the period from Rs. 1.1, in 1937-8 to Rs. 1.7 in 1946-7. In Bengal and Ajmer-Merwara, it almost doubled. Fees varied from province to province. It was somewhat higher in girls' schools. In non-government schools for boys and girls the rate never exceeded that in government schools.

The expenditure on girls' high schools had risen from Rs. 8.5 million to Rs. 19.16 million, i.e., by 124.7 per cent, during the decade. While that on boys' schools rose by 116.1 per cent. During 1937-8 Bengal spent the largest amount on girls' high schools, i.e., Rs. 2.15 million. But in 1946-7 the expenditure of Bengal, Bombay and Madras was almost the same. Madras had made good progress. Its expenditure on girls' high schools rose from Rs. 1.44 million in 1937-8 to Rs. 3.71 million in 1946-7. The total expenditure on girls' secondary schools in British India rose from Rs. 12.94 million in 1937-8 to Rs. 27.65 million in 1946-7 or by 114 per cent. The major portion of the expenditure was met from fees. It varied from province to province and between boys' and girls' institutions.

The rise in expenditure for professional colleges for girls was much more than in any previous period. The amount rose from Rs. 353,000 to Rs. 1.21 million during the decennium. Similarly, an exceptional increase could be noticed in the expenditure on

arts and science colleges. While the expenditure on collegiate education rose from Rs. 820,000 to Rs. 996,050 only during 1927-37, it rose from Rs. 996,050 to Rs. 3.2 million during 1937-47. In other words, while the increase in the previous decade was 21.4 per cent, it more than doubled in this decade. The expenditure was mainly shared by Madras, United Provinces, Punjab, Delhi and Bengal. The total expenditure on normal and training schools was Rs. 2.81 million during 1946-7, as against Rs. 1.63 mollion in 1937-8, i.e., it rose by 72.4 per cent.

As many vocational and professional colleges and schools, and colleges for general education were co-educational and the expenditure on direction, inspection, building, furniture and other things cannot be divided between that on boys' and girls' education in co-educational institutions, it is difficult to assess the expenditure on women's education as a percentage of the total expenditure. Similarly, the direct and indirect expenditure on education cannot be divided, except in a very limited way, between boys' and girls' institutions. However, direct expenditure on recognised institutions for girls rose from 13.5 per cent of the total expenditure in 1936-7 to 14.7 per cent during 1946-7. Out of the total expenditure on education, i.e., Rs. 450.2 million during 1946-7, Rs. 66.59 million were spent on recognised institutions for girls and women.

Average Annual Cost of Educating a Girl

The cost of educating a girl was more than that of educating a boy, the ratio between the average cost in all institutions for a boy and girl being 1 : 1.4. The lower teacher-pupil ratio in girls' schools compared to that in boys' schools was mainly responsible for the higher cost of educating a girl. Compared to the cost for boys, the average cost per girl decreased in all institutions except professional colleges and primary schools, during this period. The total average annual cost per girl rose from Rs. 9.25 P. in 1937-8 to Rs. 18.44 P. in 1946-7 at primary level. It rose from Rs. 20.31 P. to Rs. 27 at the middle stage during the same period. There were wide variations in the average cost of educating a girl in different provinces. It was highest in Madhya Pradesh, i.e., Rs. 339 for a boy and Rs. 365 for a girl.

Plans for Post-War Educational Development

Apart from the actual progress of education during these years, this period was important because much more future planning was done for a system of national education. Never before had so much time and energy been spent in preparing the plans for educational reconstruction. A sub-committee of the National Planning Committee, constituted in 1938 under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, reported on general education, and another under Dr. M. N. Saha reported about technical education and the development of research. Both these reports were published in 1948. But they gave only the outline of the plan. Another skeleton scheme was also prepared by the All-India Educational Conference.

The Sargent Report

The Central Advisory Board of Education had been examining the different aspects of Indian education since 1935. When an official drive was made to prepare plans for post-war development, it submitted a detailed report on post-war educational development in India, generally known as the Sargent Report. When it was published in 1944 it attracted the attention of everyone who was concerned with education. The scheme was significant partly for its comprehensive outlook.

The object of the Plan was to create in India in a period of not less than 40 years the same standard as already existed in the developed countries. It also pointed out that: 'While the Board have aimed at a standard comparable with that already attained in Great Britain and other Western countries before the war, they have been careful not to adopt western ideas or to copy western methods without being fully satisfied that they are those best suited to India.'[9] The Board also realised that conditions varied in different parts of the country. They indicated the main lines in which development should have taken. The Report did not allot a separate chapter to women's education, not because it did not recognise the importance of the issue, for it was considered of even more importance than the problem of men's education. In the words of the Report: 'It is, therefore, assum-

9. *Post-War Educational Development in India, Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education, The Sargent Report, 1944,* (Manager of Publications, Delhi, Fifth Edition, 1947), p. 1.

ed in the following pages that whatever is needed for boys and men, not less will be required for girls and women. This may even apply to Technical Education not many years hence.[10]

Basic (Primary and Middle) and Pre-Primary Education. According to the Board '(a) A system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen should be introduced as speedily as possible though in view of the practical difficulty of recruiting the requisite supply of trained teachers it may not be possible to complete it in less than forty years.

(b) The character of the instruction to be provided should follow the general lines laid down in the reports of the Central Advisory Board's two Committees on Basic Education."[11] The basic education, 'embodies many of the educational ideas contained in the original Wardha scheme, though it differs from it in certain important particulars. The main principle of "learning through activity" has been endorsed by educationists all over the world. At the lower stages the activity will take many forms, leading gradually up to a basic craft or crafts suited to local conditions. So far as possible the whole of the curriculum will be harmonised with this general conception. The three R's by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship. The Board, however, are unable to endorse the view that education at any stage and particularly in the lowest stages can or should be expected to pay for itself through the sale of articles produced by pupils. The most which can be expected in this respect is that sales should cover the cost of the additional materials and equipment required for practical work."[12]

'(c) Nursery schools and classes should invariably be staffed with women teachers who have received special training for this work.

(d) Pre-Primary education should in all cases be free. While it may not be feasible to make attendance compulsory, no efforts should be spared to persuade parents to send their children to schools voluntarily.....

10. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

(e) The main object of education at this stage is to give young children social experience rather than formal instruction.

(f) On the basic of a normal age-range of three to six-years provision has been made for 10,00,000 places in Nursery Schools and classes.

(g) The total estimated net cost of the proposals set out in this chapter when in full operation is Rs. 3,18,40,000.[13]

High School Education. '(a) The high school course should cover six years and the normal age of admission should be about eleven.

(b) Entry to High Schools should be on a selective basis; only those pupils should be admitted who show promise of taking full advantage of the education provided. .....

(c) In accordance with the general principle set out in (b) above, places in High Schools should be provided for at least one child in every five of the appropriate age-group.

(d) In order to secure the right children, the methods of selection to be employed will require most careful consideration...

(e) High Schools should be of two main types (a) Academic (b) Technical. The objective of both should be to provide a good all-round education combined with some preparation in the later stages for the careers which pupils will enter on leaving school.

(f) The curriculum in all cases should be as varied as circumstances permit and should not be unduly restricted by the requirements of the Universities or examining bodies.

(g) In order that no poor child of ability may be excluded, liberal assistance in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends should be available throughout the course.

(h) In order to secure teachers of the right type, the salaries paid in all recognised schools, whether maintained by the State or by private bodies, should not be less than those prescribed by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

(i) The estimated minimum net annual cost of the High School system outlined in this chapter, when in full operation is Rs. 50 crores.'[14]

13. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

University Education. '(a) Indian Universities, as they exist today, despite many admirable features do not fully satisfy the requirements of a national system of education.

(b) In order to raise standards all round, the conditions for admission must be revised with the object of ensuring that all students are capable of taking full advantages of a University Course. The proposed reorganisation of the High School System will facilitate this. Adequate financial assistance must be provided for poor students.

(c) The present Intermediate course should be abolished. Ultimately the whole of this course should be covered in the High School, but as an intermediate step the first year of the course should be transferred to High Schools and the second to Universities.

(d) The minimum length of a University degree course should be three years.

(e) The tutorial system should be widely extended and closer personal contacts established between teachers and students.

(f) The importance of establishing a high standard in post-graduate studies and particularly in pure and applied research should be emphasised.

(g) Steps should be taken to improve the conditions of service, including remunerations, of University and College teachers where those now in operation are not attracting men and women of the requisite calibre.

(h) An Indian University Grants Committee should be constituted.....

(i) To provide for the increased number of able and well-prepared students which a national system of High Schools may be expected to produce, approximately 2,40,000 places, or double the existing number, should be available in Universities.

(j) The estimated total net annual cost of the scheme for University Education.....when in full operation is Rs. 6,72 lakhs.'[15]

Technical, Commercial and Art Education. '(a) In view of the prospective needs of post-war industry and commerce for skilled technicians, and in order to cater for the aptitudes of those who

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

will derive greater benefit from a practical course, the establishment of an efficient system of Technical Education at all stages, on the lines set out in the report of the Technical Education Committee, is a matter of great urgency.

(b) Due regard should be had to the recommendations of the Abbott-Wood Report in respect of the scope and content of Technical instruction.

(c) The estimated gross annual cost of the proposals .... will be approximately Rs. 10 crores and the net cost Rs. 8 crores."[16]

Adult Education. '(a) Comprehensive arrangements on the general lines set out in the Adult Education Committee's Report should form an integral part of any national system of education. These are particularly important in India today in view of the very high percentage of illiterates.

(b) Literacy is a means, not an end in itself. Although the main emphasis in the beginning may be placed on the liquidation of illiteracy, adult education in the full sense must be provided for those already literate. The amount of this should progressively increase as illiteracy disappears.

(c) It is estimated that even with the introduction of a universal system of Basic education there will be over 9 crores of illiterates (age 10-40) to be dealt with. Plans should be made to solve this problem by a campaign spread over twenty years. Before this campaign opens, five years should be devoted to the necessary preparations, including the recruitment and training of the staff of teachers required.

(d) In this, as in all branches of education, the quality of the teacher is of supreme importance. The difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of teachers of the right type, particularly women, must on no account be under-estimated.

(e) The responsibility for adult education must rest with the State but every effort should be made to enlist the aid of suitable voluntary organisations wherever available.

(f) The estimated total annual cost of the proposals .... is Rs. 3 crores. At the height of the literacy campaigns this may be exceeded by Rs. 25-30 lakhs, but the average annual cost for the twenty years will be a little less than Rs. 3 crores'.[17]

16. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.

Training of Teachers. '(a) The proposals for the recruitment and training of teachers as set out in the Report approved by the Central Advisory Board in January 1943 should be generally adopted.

(b) The existing training institutions are barely sufficient to meet wastage among existing teachers and to train those hitherto untrained.

(c) New Training Colleges (including University Education Departments) must be provided to supply the additional teachers whom a national system will require.....

(d) Arrangements should be made to pick out suitable boys and girls towards the end of the High School course. This is particularly important in Girls' High Schools in view of the vast increase in the number of women teachers required.

(e) The courses provided should be essentially practical and should be specially related to the needs of the schools in which the trainees will subsequently serve.

(f) No fees should be charged in Training Colleges : liberal assistance should be available for the maintenance of poor students.

(g) Refresher courses are of the utmost importance and should be provided for all types of teachers but particularly for those in remote rural areas. Facilities should be provided for research and selected teachers should be encouraged to study educational methods in foreign countries."[18]

In addition to these proposals, the Sargent Report made certain recommendations regarding the health of the school child, education of the handicapped, recreative and social activities, employment bureaux, administration, and so on.

As estimated by the Report the annual cost of a national system of education would amount to Rs. 2,770 million approximately. The period in which all these proposals could materialise would not be less than forty years.

In favour of the Report it can be said that it was the first truly comprehensive report of its kind, dealing with every branch of education in detail. Second, the whole scheme was designed to offer equality of opportunity to everyone. At every stage

18. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

provision was made for the poor students. Third, it emphasised the need for improving the quality of the teaching staff. This was really the most important suggestion, for the tone of education can be improved only when there are enough competent teachers.

The scheme had also some drawbacks. It was felt that a period of forty years was too long for the implementation of the plan. India needed a plan which could be worked in much less time.

The estimated cost was too high for a country like India to bear. The ideals were high and the educational standards set were those of Britain, but the conditions in India were different and these standards could not be applied. Special problems of girls' and women's education were also not taken into consideration.

For some time the recommendations of the Report could not be implemented. However, many of its recommendations later came into effect on the matters of the expansion of basic education, technical education and overseas scholarship schemes.

Evaluation of Efforts

With the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1935, and the establishment of Provincial Autonomy, hopes again rose high as to the possibility of devepopment in all directions including the field of education. The Indian minister in charge of education had no longer to depend on the Executive Councillor in charge of finance. The days of financial stringency had gone. Unlike the ministers of the previous period, these new ministries had the full support of the Indian National Congress and the public in general. The first two years of the period were full of plans and programmes. Schemes of basic education and adult education were the main programmes of the period which were introduced by the autonomous ministry.

The Second World War broke out in 1939, and the ministries in the provinces went out of office. Programmes of educational reconstruction were held up. However, whatever had begun continued to progress.

This period was of intense political activity. Hence the schemes of educational reconstruction came to a standstill after 1940. The two years of Congress rule were also rather variable

because of the special powers of the government. The years between 1940-5 witnessed the War and its after-effects. On the one hand the Caretaker Government was just marking time, on the other, war time difficulties prevented smooth running. Again, when the National ministry took office in 1946, preparations started for the ending of the British rule and the partition of the country. From the point of view of educational development these two years 1946-7 were also unfavourable.

In spite of these difficulties, it was surprising that neither the number of institutions for girls nor the number of pupils in them decreased. Indeed in the field of higher education an exceptional progress was recorded. The figures for primary schools had shown a decrease in this period, but according to the *Decennial Review* this was mainly due to the elimination of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools and also financial difficulties. A slight increase was shown by girls' middle schools specially by English middle schools. The number of girls' high schools also rose by 82.1 per cent. Girls' colleges for general and professional education increased by 12.5 per cent. Thus it was a period marked by the growth of higher education. The total number of girls under instruction rose by 42.8 per cent during 1937-8 and 1946-7.

Among the contributions of the Congress ministries, the basic education scheme fulfilled the long-felt want of changing the existing system of primary education, which had previously only had the result of improving linguistic ability. The new education aimed at an all-round development of the individual. Children learned not only through creative activity but through joyful and creative work. This scheme was also aimed at solving the financial problem to some extent. The first two years of its introduction showed steady progress. Many training institutions were opened and many primary schools were converted into basic schools. But the resignation of Congress ministries on the one hand and war time difficulties on the other, obstructed the full implementation of this scheme. This was the first time that Indian people had taken a serious interest in a scheme of education. In fact, it was fitting that they should formulate this plan, as they were familiar with the conditions, traditions and actual needs of the country. This scheme could be, and was, suitable for Indian conditions.

Apart from that, the Congress ministries introduced compulsory education in all their provinces. For girls, this compulsory education was introduced in only 110 towns and 5,100 villages of Bombay, twelve towns and 1,607 villages of Madras and three villages and three towns of United Provinces. But progress did not come up to expectation. With an aim of expanding primary education, new girls' schools were also opened where necessary.

Another important feature of this period was the drive against illiteracy. Every province and a few princely states took up the problem with enthusiasm. Like basic education it could not be fully implemented. However, from fifteen women's schools with 983 women on the roll the number rose to 371 with an enrolment of 73,593 during this period.

The problems of women's education were almost the same as mentioned in the previous chapter. Due to war time difficulties and national movements, it was not possible to amend those defects. However, efforts were made to open more schools in school-less villages. With the growing population, this increase in the number of girls under instruction could not materially affect the whole picture, rather the number of illiterates was greater in 1941 than in 1931. Hence, it was necessary to increase the rate of growth of literacy to keep pace with the growth of population.

A few attempts were made to provide some optional subjects suited especially to the needs of girls, but no serious or successful effort was made to differentiate the carricula for rural or girls' schools. Actually, the main problem of education in general, and specially of women's education, was that it had grown at random. It neither aimed at definite results, nor produced them.

No doubt the British Government instituted inquiries with a view to improving the existing conditions many times. The Education Despatch of 1854, The Hunter Commission of 1882, The Calcutta University Commission 1917-8, The Indian Statutory Commission 1927 and finally in 1944, the Central Advisory Board of Education - all these made thorough inquiries into the problems and made important recommendations, but financial restrictions and social customs always came in the way and somehow few of these recommendations could be brought into effect.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION OF WOMEN FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE FIRST PLAN PERIOD 1947-1956

Perhaps no date in the history of modern India is of greater significance in the emancipation and education of Indian women than the date of our political freedom. India attained independence on 15 August 1947. Its constitution was inaugurated on 26 January 1950, declaring India a sovereign democratic republic and securing for all its citizens justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. This led to a general quickening of political and social consciousness. But of all the changes in social life, the revolutionary change in the status of women was, no doubt, the greatest. Although the movement for the emancipation goes back to the beginning of the present century and even earlier, it gained tremendous impetus at this particular stage. A specially important feature of emancipation at the time of independence was the emergence of middle class women from the shelter of their homes. We find, since independence, outstanding women in the very forefront of public life. Women have since occupied some of the highest offices in India and abroad. 'Had any one ventured to predict twenty years ago that in 1953 an Indian woman —the first woman of any nationality — would be elected President of the United Nations, the suggestion would have been regarded as impossible as absurd',[1] wrote Lady Hartog of Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur served as Health Minister in the Union Cabinet from 1947 to 1957 and was elected President of the World Health Organisation in 1950. Many other women came into the forefront. Some of those who played an important part during this time and even after were Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty, Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, Mrs. Renuka Ray, Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Mrs. Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya. When the Constituent Assembly first met on 9 December 1946 to frame the constitution of the Indian Republic, there were, out of the total membership of 308,

1. Lady Mabel Hartog, *India New Pattern*, (Allen and Unwin, London, 1955), p. 79.

eleven women members. In 1952 when the first general elections were held on the basis of adult franchise,[2] women as well as men equally exercised their new rights. With new rights, there came also an increasing awareness of new responsibilities, and several women stood for election to the two Houses of Parliament and to the various State Legislatures. On the eve of the second general election[3] in 1957 there were 43 women members in Parliament — 22 in Lok Sabha, 21 in the Rajya Sabha and 102 women members in the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

Now there were not only paid women magistrates but also paid women police. There were women in government service, in all departments of broadcasting and in films. Women became air hostesses, telephone operators and engineers. Many women entered industry and the administrative services. A woman qualified as a paratrooper in the Indian Air Force. In fact, no profession remained closed to women.

There were several results of the wide emancipation which followed in the wake of independence. A general decline in orthodoxy and religious observance was apparent among the younger educated people. As a result of wider opportunities for social life and for travel, there was a definite increase in inter-marriage. Caste restrictions were no longer so binding. The joint family structure had already begun to break down. The cost of living rose to a high level. Economic pressures forced the women, specially middle-class women, to work outside the home to supplement the family income. It was estimated in 1950 that in Bombay about 60 per cent women were working as clerks, as saleswomen etc.

Towards the end of 1953, the Central Social Welfare Board set up by the Government of India decided to organise centres to provide part-time employment for middle-class women of the low income group. The purdah system among Hindu women, except in villages, was quickly disappearing, and the average marriage age was also higher than it had been before independence.

2. Article 236 of the Constitution confers the right of vote on every person who is a citizen of India and who is not less than twenty-one years of age and is not otherwise disqualified under the Constitution.

3. The second general elections were confined—except for a few remote areas where special problems existed —to a period of three weeks, from Feb. 24 to March 14, 1957.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

The new constitution of 1950 gave to women all fundamental rights. It stated that '14. The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

15.(1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

16(1). There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State."[4]

The right to freedom was bestowed on women as well as men. '19. (1) All citizens shall have the right — (a) to freedom of speech and expression; ..... (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."[5]

'The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."[6] The provision of free and compulsory education for girls as well as boys was a revolutionary development in outlook.

After 1947, this country was faced with the task of remodelling the system of education. The *Quinquennial Review* (1947-52) observed that 'the achievement of independence set before the people new objectives and imposed on them new responsibilities. The fact that India decided to be a Republic only served to underline the importance of education in the changed context."[7]

4. *Constitution of India*, Articles 14, 15 and 16.
5. *Ibid.*, Article 19.
6. *Ibid.*, Article 45.
7. *Progress of Education in India, 1947-1952, Quinquennial Review*, (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1954), Publication No. 143. p. 1.

The facilities for the education of women and girls were further expanded. We have already noted the rise in the enrolment of young women in colleges and universities. The other notable feature of post-independence period was the growth in the number of educational centres for adult women. Whenever suitable opportunities were offered, women took full advantage of such programmes. However, after partition and the changes that followed, it was impossible to assess the actual number of institutions and pupils. Many institutions closed, many pupils moved from India to Pakistan or Pakistan to India. Now while a portion of India was transferred to Pakistan, some Indian territory, i.e., princely states which did not come under direct British rule (and which we have until now not included in this work) also came under the Indian Union. Complete figures of these newly formed states during 1947-52 are not available. However, from the literacy percentage of 1951 the precise state of affairs throughout the country can be determined. Literacy percentage had risen to 7.9 for women from 3.4 in 1941. Here also the literacy percentage of Travancore-Cochin[8] the highest in India must have added substantially to the total literacy percentage, while many princely states might have lowered it because the education of women was not, as a rule, actively encouraged by many rulers.

Progress of Women's Education

During 1951-2 there were 23,600 recognised and 650 unrecognised institutions for women in India. Compared to the

8. In Travancore modern education may be said to have started in 1817 with the declaration of Rani Parvathi Bai, which gave support to indigenous schools. Although the missionaries had started English schools even earlier, a proclamation of the Maharaja of Travancore issued in 1844 gave preference to persons with English education in the matter of recruitment to public service. Consequently modern education in English began to spread rapidly. Sir T. Madhav Rao, the Dewan of the State from 1858 to 1872 also helped in the progress of education. During this period, a Vernacular Education Department was created, an arts college and scores of vernacular and English schools were established and girls schools were opened. This lead was maintained throughout and Travancore soon became the most advanced state in India in education.

In Cochin, the origin of modern education may be traced to the administration of Colonel Munro. In 1818 Government established thirty-three vernacular schools, the first State schools in Cochin. In 1868, candidates were first presented to the Matriculation examination of the Madras University. Education made a very rapid progress in Cochin also.

total figure of institutions for men, which was 273,400 a total of 24,250 institutions of women was not very encouraging. At this time there was a fall in the number of unrecognised institutions. The main reason was that private enterprises were hit by the war-time conditions and political movements. Public financial support had decreased considerably and the government was trying to take over control of more and more private schools.

As regards the number of girl students, it had shown steady progress. The total number of girls under instruction in the whole of India rose from 6.01 million in 1949-50 to 6.7 millions in 1951-2. While the number of girls receiving formal education increased considerably during this period, in 1951-2 there were still three times as many boy pupils as girls.

The increase in the number of girls under instruction in professional and special schools is of special interest. The total rose from 72,900 in 1948-9 to 242,100 in 1951-2.

Primary Education

The total number of primary schools including junior basic schools decreased from 13,698 to 10,111 during 1947-52 among Part-A States,[9] excluding Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, the number of girl pupils rose from 2.59 millions to 4.13 millions, i.e., 59 per cent, while the number of boys rose by 53.6 per cent in these States. The decrease in the number of girls institutions was due to the fact that in Madras in 1948 all girls' primary schools became co-educational, and in Bengal and Punab because of partition and other disturbances, the number of institutions suddenly went down. This is shown in Plate VI-A.

Secondary Education

Middle Schools (including senior basic schools). The number of middle schools had also decreased slightly. From 1,049 schools in 1946-7 the number fell to 657 schools in 1951-2 among Part-A States excluding Madhya Pradesh.[10] The number of girl pupils had risen from 181,363 to 227,150 or by 25.4 per cent while that of boys rose from 766,753 to 1,037,289 or by 41.9 per cent. But

9. Part—A States — Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.
10. Data for Madhya Pradesh not available.

these percentages cannot be taken as definitive as statistics were not available from many newly formed States.

High Schools. As in the period, 1937-47, the period under review also witnessed the increase in the number of high schools. Within five years the number more than doubled. From 518 in 1947 it rose to 1,287 in 1952, i.e., by 148 per cent among Part-A States excluding Madhya Pradesh, while the number of boys' schools only doubled, the number of girl pupils rose from 213,690 to 404,474 or by 89.2 per cent as compared to 74.2 per cent of boys.

Collegiate Education

In the colleges for general education the number of girl pupils was 45,262 in 1951-2 while in colleges for professional and special education it was 12,400. At the university stage the number of women students rose from 18,200 to 31,940 or by 76.2 per cent during 1947-52. The men students increased in number by only 62 per cent.

Progress in State Schools

In Bombay the increase in the number of girls under instruction was especially marked during 1947-52, as Plate IV-B shows. The union of various princely states in Bombay was one of the reasons for this increase but Bombay has already been noted as progressive in its attitude to education.

Government expenditure on girls' institutions rose to 49.6 per cent in 1951-2 from 40 per cent in 1946-7.

The number of primary schools increased from 1,804 to 2,069 and the number of pupils from 49,000 to 1.2 million during 1947-52. Although the number of secondary schools decreased there were actually more pupils in the existing schools by the end of the period under review. The number of girls at the secondary stage increased from 62,629 in 1946-7 to 96,134 in 1951-2 or by about 46 per cent. The number of girls receiving higher education was 9,167 in 1951-2 as against 5,177 in 1946-7. In 1951-2 there were in Bombay six girls' colleges but the majority of the girls attended co-educational institutions.

The S.N.D.T. Women's University, the only University exclusively for women, was given statutory recognition by Bombay

Government in 1951. It received the grants from the central government as well as from the state. Four of the six women's colleges of Bombay were affiliated to the University.

In Bombay, the number of women's training institutions for primary school teachers rose to 32 in 1951-2 against 26 in 1946-7 and the number of students also rose to 2,062 in 1951-2 from 1,650 in 1946-7. In 1951-2 there were 115 special schools for women, which gave professional training in different crafts, such as needle-work, embroidery, painting etc.

In Coorg, girls usually studied in boys' schools but there were also two girls' schools during 1947-52. In Himachal Pradesh there were four high schools, five middle schools, three lower middle schools and twenty-nine primary schools for girls in 1951-2, the total number of girls under instruction being 1,913. Hyderabad had thirty-seven schools, thirty-seven middle schools, 1,074 primary schools, 8 professional and 31 schools for special education in 1951-2. The total number of girls increased to 1,187 in 1951-2 as against 1,112 in 1947-8.

The Madhya Bharat Government sanctioned liberal grants for girls' education. Education was free for girls at primary level. There were 357 primary schools in 1951-2 compared with 257 in 1948-9. Along with the basic subjects, the primary schools also taught physical education, which was compulsory for all pupils. The number of high schools rose from 8 in 1947-8 to 12 in 1952. The total number of girls under instruction was 51,138. Of this number 180 were in B.A. classes. To help women become self-reliant, a craft school for teaching cottage industries, weaving and spinning, was begun at Gwalior. Madhya Bharat Government gave liberal grants to some private institutions in Ujjain and Indore and these also trained students in cottage industries and useful crafts.

Manipur had only one high school, 3 middle and about 24 primary schools for girls. The total number of girl students was 8,800 in 1951-2 as against 2,500 in 1947-8. To encourage education among girls, tuition fees for girls, were lowered in all Government schools.

Madras State showed good progress. It had the largest number of girls, i.e., 1.65 million, under instruction in 1951-2, see

Plate IV-B. A decrease in the number of girls' institutions was due to the State's change-over to co-educational education, particularly at the primary level. The number of women teachers in elementary schools rose from 14,676 in 1946-7 to 34,622 in 1951-2.

The total number of secondary schools for girls was 266 in 1951-2 as against 216 in 1946-7. The number of teachers in secondary schools also increased, from 3,376 in 1946-7 to 4,757 in 1951-2. The number of students in Women's Colleges showed a definite increase. From 3,276 in 1946-7 it rose to 5,130 in 1951-2. Of the 12 colleges for general education for women, one college offered an Honours course. The Women's Christian College, Madras offered an M.Sc. course in Home Science. The number of training schools rose from 82 in 1947 to 92 in 1951-2 and the number of students in these schools also increased. There were 5 professional colleges for women, with 407 students on the roll in 1951-2.

West Bengal had shown a substantial decrease in the number of girls' institutions as well as in number of pupils during 1947-52, (see Plate IV-A and B.). The main reason was the partition of the province in 1947. The trend towards co-education was responsible to some extent for the decrease in the number of girls' institutions.

In Orissa the number of girls receiving instruction in all types of institutions rose from 99,000 in 1946-7 to 133,400 in 1951-2. Women were allowed to join all institutions and facilities were provided for them in boys' schools. Girls' education was free at the primary and middle stages. For girls of scheduled castes and hill tribes education was free at higher stages also. The Orissa Government sponsored one first grade college, 9 high schools, 35 middle schools and 4 elementary training schools for women. All the primary schools in the State were co-educational.

Definite progress in women's education was reported in Punjab. The number of primary schools rose from 998 in 1946-7 to 1,073 in 1951-2 and middle schools from 78 to 105. At all levels the number of schools rose, but the total enrolment showed a substantial decline, owing to partition in 1947 (see Plate IV-B).

In Rajasthan, women's education had been greatly neglected in previous years, but now this State also showed progress. Girls

were accepted in all institutions and every facility was provided for them. In colleges they were exempted from fees.

There was appreciable progress in Saurashtra. The total number of girls under instruction was 65,219 in 1951-2, as against 47,442 in 1949. In the larger towns there were separate schools for girls; elsewhere girls studied in boys' schools. There was also one Government Training College for women primary school teachers. Here spinning and weaving were taught. About 250 women attended non-government special schools, in which domestic crafts were taught.

In Travancore-Cochin there were 217 schools specially for girls in 1951-2. The number of girls in high schools was 90,926, in middle schools 49,600, in primary schools 551,900 and in special schools 5,544. Thus the total number of girls under instruction was 697,970 in 1951-2.

In Tripura, girls' education was free in primary and middle schools. There was one girls' high school in the capital of Tripura where secondary education was free for girls. In 1951-2 there were 3,620 girls in primary, 990 in middle schools and 1,362 in high schools.

After independence, Uttar Pradesh (Plate IV-B) made steady progress in the field of women's education. The total number of girls in girls' schools and colleges rose from 204,000 in 1947-8 to 349,000 in 1951-2. The number of girls studying in boys' institutions rose from 111,866 to 1,178,572 in the same period. All possible facilities were provided for the development of girls' education. Grants were given for building, equipment and buses to transport the pupils to schools.

The number of primary schools almost doubled and the enrolment increased by more than 100,000. Expenditure was also increased by three times the 1948 figure. The Government provided a lump-sum to establish 250 primary schools every year in rural areas. Compulsory primary education was introduced in 10 municipalities. There were four Government Training Colleges for women at Bareilly, Lucknow, Allahabad and Agra. The Government College of Home Science was established in July 1948.

When the State of Vindhya Pradesh was formed in 1947-8, there was practically no provision for the education of girls. In 1951-2 there were 125 primary schools, 17 Anglo-vernacular middle schools and five high schools exclusively for girls.

The position was much the same in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, with no provision for the separate education of girls. However a scheme was under consideration, and for the time being girls and boys studied in the same schools.

There were three girls' colleges in Assam, with an enrolment of 447 in 1952 as against four colleges with 336 students on roll in 1947. The total number of girls in all types of institutions was 252,500 in 1952, while it was 165,500 in 1947. Similarly, the total expenditure on these institutions rose from Rs. 1.23 million in 1947 to Rs. 1.48 million in 1952. The figures of 1947 belong to pre-partitioned Assam while those of 1952 belong to reconstituted Assam, hence the figures are not comparable.

In Bhopal, facilities for the education of girls showed a considerable improvement from year to year. In 1952 the records show one high school, two middle schools, and 34 primary schools for girls. These schools provided an all round general education.

In Bihar the total number of girls under instruction rose from 83,800 in 1947-8 to 115,000 in 1951-2. The number of recognised institutions for girls also increased. These were six arts colleges, one professional college, 36 high schools, 131 middle schools and senior basic schools, 2,187 primary and junior basic schools, one nursery school, 25 schools for professional education and 56 schools for special education. The number of trained women teachers also increased from 40.9 per cent in 1947-8 to 43.9 per cent in 1951-2.

Special attempts were made by Bilaspur State to advance women's education. By means of propaganda, the offering of scholarships and the opening of such new careers as teaching, medicine, social work and nursing, women were encouraged to seek educational opportunities.

In 1947-8 Ajmer State had 99 recognised institutions for girls, consisting of two intermediate arts colleges, six high schools, 11 middle schools, 78 primary schools and two special schools. In 1951-2 the total rose to 113, including 20 centres for adult edu-

cation. One intermediate college was raised to the standard of a degree college. Enrolment and expenditure both doubled. In 1951-2, the total enrolment was 14,000 and expenditure was Rs. 1.19 million. Since there was no separate training school, women received their training with men in the Government Basic Teachers Training Institute.

Trend Towards Co-Education

In almost all the states, education at the primary level in rural and urban areas was co-educational. In urban areas secondary schools were also co-educational and at university level, men and women studied in the same colleges, both in rural and urban areas.

In Madras, separate primary schools for girls were abolished by the Government in 1948. In Punjab it was decided in 1951 that all primary schools should be co-educational with a woman as head of each institution. In Bombay the majority of the girls at collegiate stage attended co-educational institutions. In United Provinces there were separate schools for boys and girls at the secondary level. Primary schools were co-educational. Plate VII shows the percentage of girls in boys' institutions.

During 1947-52 Coorg led the figures of co-education with 90.4 per cent girls in boys' schools and colleges. Then came Madras State, which had always been the main advocate of co-education with 76.8 per cent. Bombay had 62.9 per cent girls studying in boys' schools in 1951-2 as against 36.4 per cent in 1921-2 and 46.1 per cent in 1946-7.

Bengal too made exceptional progress in this direction. Its percentage rose from 16.5 in 1921-2 to 56.6 per cent in 1946-7 and reached 67.3 in 1951-2. United Provinces had only 34.7 per cent girls in boys' institutions in 1951-2. Its percentage had decreased somewhat since 1921-2 when it was 36 per cent. Among the major provinces the lowest percentage, 13.2 per cent was that of Punjab, although the figure showed an improvement from the 1921-2 figure of 5.4 per cent and the 1946-7 figure of 8 per cent (see Plate VII). On the whole co-educational institutions were becoming more popular except at the secondary stage.

Special Scholarships and Courses for Girls

In Bhopal primary education was free for both girls and boys and scholarships and free books were given to poor and scheduled caste students. Transport facilities were provided for girls at a nominal cost.

In Bihar primary education was free. At the secondary stage, free tuition, scholarships and stipends were granted to needy and meritorious students. To encourage the education of women in backward classes,[11] the State Government awarded many scholarships, stipends, book grants *etc.* In Bombay, after the completion of secondary school such professions as nursing, medicine and teaching were open to girls. The number of women qualifying for the medical profession rose from 171 to 961 during 1947-52. Needlework and housecraft were introduced as optional subjects at the primary stage. Physical education formed an integral part of general education.

In Coorg a 10 per cent reduction in fees was granted to all pupils. Some scholarships for encouragement were also reserved for girls. Himachal Pradesh offered many scholarships for girls.

In Madhya Bharat government expenditure on scholarships for girls rose from Rs. 3,761 in 1949-50 to Rs. 23,507 in 1951-2. Madras reserved many special scholarships for girls in secondary and elementary schools. In Orissa, girls were awarded scholarships at all stages in their education and in girls' schools elementary sewing and knitting were taught.

Punjab also provided scholarships for girls. Here girls' schools instituted special courses, including domestic economy, sewing, needlework, cooking and music.

In Rajasthan scholarships were awarded on a competitive basis. No special courses existed for girls. In Uttar Pradesh there were scholarships and separate courses for boys and girls to suit different aptitudes and vocations.

Social Education (Adult Education)

The main development of the post-independent period was the new concept of social education, which replaced the earlier idea

11. The Constitution guarantees certain privileges to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes which form the weaker sections of society at present and which need some protection for a few years to come.

of adult education. Social education goes much beyond literacy and tries to adjust the adult to the new society in which he has to live. It covers literacy, education in citizenship and health, understanding of science applied to everyday life, acquisition of information and skill that will improve vocational efficiency, development of hobbies and organisation of cultural and recreational programmes.

Complete figures for social education in 1947 are not available. In 1952, there were 43,463 social education centres with 902,660 men and 158,620 women on roll and out of these 420,149 men and 68,986 women were made literate. All Part A States made considerable progress during 1947-52.

In Ajmer fifty social education centres were started, of which ten were for women with an enrolment of 301 in 1952. The age-group covered was 12-45. Post literacy classes included subjects like health, sanitation and civics. The old Mass Literacy Campaign in Assam gave place to the new Social Education Scheme in 1949-50. Social education centre for women rose from forty-five to fifty-three during 1947-52. Enrolment increased from 903 to 2,118.

In 1948, a small beginning was made in Delhi. Besides literacy work, trained social education organisers encouraged games, organised dramas and religious songs. Educational Caravan Units with modern visual aids were also organised to tour from village to village to organise literacy compaigns, games, exhibitions and cinema shows. A Janata College (Alipore) was established near Delhi to train village leaders. In Madras a comprehensive scheme of social education was sanctioned by the government in 1948-9. The main features of the scheme were the opening of adult literacy schools and rural colleges for further education, organising training camps for social workers and visual education. Up to 1950-1, ten rural colleges had been established of which three were for women with sixty-four women on roll.

In Punjab five training camps including one for women were organised. At the beginning of 1950, 134 social education centres including twenty-six for women were opened.

During 1947-52 literacy classes and community centres were organised in Rajasthan. Training courses were arranged for

teachers and libraries and reading rooms were established for neo-literates. The total number of literacy centres was 220 including seventy for women.

In Travancore Cochin, the government sanctioned a research and training centre to adult education workers. Up to 1950-1 there were forty-eight training centres, of which seven were for women.

In Uttar Pradesh, a new scheme of social education was launched in 1950, under which new part time adult schools were opened, the syllabus of social education was revised, and more superintendents and organisers were appointed. The total number of women literates during 1950-1 was 4,023 as against 2,336 in 1947-8.

In Bilaspur, Coorg, Hyderabad, Orissa, Saurashtra, Vindhya Pradesh and Tripura also, the schemes of social education were launched during this period.

Report of the University Education Commission

After independence the first Commission set up to enquire into education was the University Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. It had to report on Indian university education and suggest improvements and extensions to suit the country's present and future requirements.

On the importance of women's education the report observed that 'There cannot be an educated people without educated women. If general education had to be limited to men or to women, that opportunity should be given to women, for then it would most surely be passed on to the next generation.'[12]

The Commission remarked that 'General education for interesting and intelligent living and for citizenship in large part can be the same for men and women..... Women should share with men the life and thought and interests of the times. They are fitted to carry the same academic work as men, with no less thoroughness and quality. The distribution of general ability among women is approximately the same as among men.'[13] Yet it did not follow that men's and women's education should be

12. *The Report of the University Education Commission, 1948-9,* (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1950), Vol. i, p. 393.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

identical. Until now little thought had been given to the education of women as women. But this was the most essential part of a woman's education.

The Commission further suggested in respect of women's education that 'Her education as a woman should include practical "laboratory" experience in the care of a home and family. Equipment for a girl's education might well include :

1. A baby home.
2. A nursery school, which incidently would relieve nearby mothers during a part of the day.
3. A club for school children and adolescents.
4. A little home for convalescents.
5. A small home for old people.
6. A home setting where students may have experience in home maintenance and operation, and where they may act as hostesses."[14]

In short a girl should learn to cope with all types of problems that she might have to face after marriage.

The report added that 'There is need that the theory of equality of opportunity, but not necessarily identity of opportunity, shall find increasing expression in practice'.[15]

The Commission suggested that certain courses for women should be prescribed in colleges and universities.

These courses could include :

(i) Home economics. A thorough knowledge of this subject would be useful both to the home maker and to the woman who is to practise a profession outside the home.

(ii) Nursing. India was in need of a large expansion of this service. It should be developed as quickly as possible with the maintenance of high standards.

(iii) Teaching. With the expansion of education in democratic India, the need for well-educated and well trained teachers in elementary and secondary schools would probably far exceed the supply.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

(iv) Fine Arts. Some measure of appreciation of fine arts and music was also considered necessary after the completion of general education.

Regarding co-education, the Commission expressed the view that at the age of entry to degree colleges, education might be co-educational. Separate institutions at this level would mean an unjustified increase in expense. As far as possible co-educational institutions should be encouraged at degree level.

On women's education the Commission made the following recommendations :

'1. that the ordinary amenities and decencies of life should be provided for women in colleges originally planned for men, but to which women are being admitted in increasing numbers;

2. that there should be no curtailment in educational opportunities for women, but rather a great increase;

3. that there should be intelligent educational guidance, by qualified men and women, to help women to get a clearer view of their real educational interests, to the end that they shall not try to imitate men, but shall desire as good education as women as men get as men. Women's and men's education should have many elements in common, but should not in general be identical in all respects, as is usually the case today;

4. that women students in general should be helped to see their normal place in a normal society, both as citizens and as women, and to prepare for it, and college programmes should be so designed that it will be possible for them to do so;

5. that through educational counsel and by example the prevailing prejudice against study of home economics and home management should be overcome;

6. that standards of courtesy and social responsibility should be emphasised on the part of men in mixed colleges;

7. that where new colleges are established to serve both men and women students, they should be truly co-educational institutions, with as much thought and consideration given to the life needs of women as to those of men. Except as

such colleges come into existence there are no valid criteria for comparing segregated education with co-education;

8. that women teachers should be paid the same salaries as men teachers for equal work."[16]

The Education Commission's recommendations on women's education at collegiate level were important and useful. Moreover, this Commission had a further advantage over the earlier commissions, that it was constituted in independent India with more Indian members, and thus its surveys and recommendations were more consistent with the conditions and needs of the country. However, the provision of institutions for practical work suggested in the report, was not possible, except in isolated cases. Like many previous reports the recommendations of this Commission could not be implemented in full.

Report of the Secondary Education Commission

The second important report of the post-independence period was that of the Secondary Education Commission. Under the Chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar this Commission was appointed to examine the prevailing system of secondary education in India and suggest measures for its reorganisation and improvement.

The defects of the then existing system of secondary education were many :

1. The system did not take into account the needs of everyday life.
2. It was narrow and one-sided and failed to develop the whole personality of the student.
3. It laid too much stress on the English language.
4. Teaching methods were mechanical.
5. Too much stress on examinations had stereotyped the curriculum.
6. The special needs of girls were not taken into consideration.

The Commission recommended the following :

1. After four or five years of Primary or Junior Basic education

16. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

there should be a Middle and Junior Secondary or Senior Basic stage covering a period of three years.

2. There should be a higher secondary stage covering a period of four years. There should be continuity of curricula in these three stages so that the course forms an integrated and complete whole.
3. In the transitional stage there should be high schools of the present kind and the higher secondary schools which provide an additional year's training and prepare the students for advanced stage.
4. There should be a gradual change in intermediate colleges to fit in with the proposed scheme of higher secondary education of four years, followed by a three-year degree course, with a pre-university course of one year. The object of this pre-university year was to prepare the students for a three-year degree course or for a professional course. The introduction of diversified courses was one of the important suggestions the report made. The Commission also suggested that certain steps be taken to establish the proposed pattern of secondary education.

As regards women's education the Commission felt 'at the present stage of our social evolution, there is no special justification to deal with women's education separately. Every type of education open to men should also be open to women.'[17] Already women had been admitted to various institutions and universities which were considered unsuitable for them a generation ago. The Indian Constitution had also laid down that women should have equality of opportunity in all respects.

There were two divergent views regarding women's education, as expressed by different women's organisations. One was that education should prepare women for home life and as such, women's education should be different from that of men. The other view was that education should make a woman fit for public life, hence it should be the same as the education of men.

There was general agreement that both for boys and girls 'education needs to be more closely connected with the home and

17. *Report of the Secondary Education Commission, 1952-3*, (Manager of Publications, Delhi, Fourth Reprint, 1958), p. 53.

the community. ..... It should do much more to prepare them for the part they will have to play later as parents and citizens, *i.e.*, the claims of family life should be considered as important as those of public life. For this reason, it was urged that the teaching of Home Science in Girls' Schools (and wherever possible, for girls attending boys' schools) should be radically improved, not necessarily with the idea that a woman's place is restricted to the home, but because it is essential that she should be educated to fulfil a two-fold duty to family and society."[18]

Co-education. There was no objection to it at the primary and university stages, rather was it favoured. But in view of the limited financial resources available it was suggested that insistence on separate schools at secondary stage would handicap the education of girls, however desirable separate schools might be.

Thus the Commission made the following recommendations:

'23. While no distinction need be made between education imparted to boys and girls, special facilities for the study of home science should be made available in all girls' schools and in co-educational or mixed schools.

24. Efforts should be made by State Governments to open separate schools for girls wherever there is demand for them.

25. Definite conditions should be laid down in regard to co-educational or mixed schools to satisfy the special needs of girl students and women members of the teaching staff."[19]

Educational Provisions in the First Five Year Plan

We have seen that the number of girl pupils was increasing rapidly in all states but as the Planning Commission itself observed, considering the size of the population, the overall provision of educational facilities was very inadequate. Educational facilities were provided for only 40 per cent (figures provisional) of the children of the 6-11 age-group, 10 per cent the 11-17 age-group and 0.9 per cent of the age-group 17-23. In view of this and many other social and economic problems, the Government of India set up a Planning Commission in March 1950 to '(1) make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country, including technical personnel and investigate the

18. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

possibilities of augmenting such of these resources as are found to be deficient in relation to the nation's requirements; (2) formulate a Plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources."[20]

As regards education it made certain observations which were as follows:

(1) Overall provision of education was very inadequate.

(2) The overall structure of the educational system was defective. There were grave disparities between different states in provision of educational facilities, also between urban and rural areas. Of special concern was the neglect of women's education. Whereas women constituted nearly half of the population, the girl pupils in the primary, middle and high school stages in 1949-50 were only 28 per cent, 18 per cent and 13 per cent respectively of the total number of pupils. At the same period the percentage of women students in universities and colleges represented 10.4 per cent of the total enrolment.

(3) Large wastage occurred at different stages of education. Of the total number of students entering schools in 1945-6 only 40.0 per cent reached class IV in 1948-9.

(4) The position in regard to teachers' qualifications was highly unsatisfactory. About 40 per cent teachers were untrained. There was also a great dearth of women teachers.

(5) The high cost of education, especially at university level, prevented many intelligent students from proceeding to advanced studies.

(6) The undue stress on examination and memory work in the existing system of education was not conducive to the development of originality or to a spirit of research.

Targets

The Planning Commission fixed certain targets which were to be reached on the completion of the First Five Year Plan (1951-6).

"(1) At the conclusion of the Five Year Plan, educational facilities should be provided for at least 60 per cent of all the

20. *First Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Government of India, (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1953), p. 1.

children of the school-going age within the age-group 6-11, and these should develop, as early as possible, so as to bring children up to the age of 14 into schools in order to cover the age-group 6-14, which should be regarded as an integral whole for the purpose of providing basic education. The percentage of girls of the school-going age (6-11) attending schools should go up from 23.3 per cent in 1950-51 to 40 per cent in 1955-56.

(2) At the secondary stage,[21] the target should be to bring 15 per cent of the children of the relevant age-group into educational institutions. The percentage of girls of this age-group attending schools should go up to 10 per cent.

(3) In the field of social education, we should envisage that at least 30 per cent of the people (and 10 per cent of women) within the age-group of 14 to 40 receive the benefit of social education in the wider sense of the term'.[22]

Regarding women's education in particular, the Planning Commission realised that though the general purpose and objective of education were the same for both men and women, there were particular spheres of life in which women had a distinctive role and in which they could make a special contribution. The Commission stated that, having consideration for women's special aptitudes such as household management and the field of social service, women must have the same opportunities as men for taking up all kinds of work. Within the sphere of women's education particular attention was to be paid to the needs of different age-groups, of both married and unmarried girls preparing for a profession.

To arouse parents to the need to educate their daughters, the Commission suggested certain steps. They advised that parent-teacher associations could be very useful, and that Bharat Sewak Samaj[23] could undertake propaganda work in this connection.

The Planning Commission also considered the needs of those girls who could not continue their studies owing to social and

21. The 1950-1 provision for the age-group 11-17 was roughly 11 per cent.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 531-2.
23. It is a nation-wide non-political, non-partisan voluntary social worker's organisation. Its objects are the development and coordination of the existing voluntary services, and thus to act as potential instrument for organising public co-operation on a nation-wide basis.

economic conditions. For them special facilities should be provided so that they could take the examinations privately. Scope should be given to voluntary organisations who held their own examinations and issued diplomas. Wherever possible, the Government should recognise such diplomas.

The Commission recommended the practice of admitting private candidates for university examinations. In this connection part-time schools and colleges should be set up and extension lectures arranged, the courses based on a combination of theory and practice.

The Commission suggested that arrangements be made to allow women to resume their studies at a time when they had leisure and opportunity to do so. Social service organisations should conduct short term courses in general education as well as in crafts.

Women should be taught all those things which would enable them to discharge their household duties. At the secondary and even at the university stage education should be based on vocational and occupational needs as far as possible, so that women might be equipped to take up employment.

The Girl Guide movement should widen its scope to include girls from rural as well as urban areas.

All other states should follow the example of Madras Government in setting up a separate women's welfare department and administering a comprehensive programme in urban and rural areas with the help of trained social workers.

This Plan suggested schemes for every stage of education.

(1) *Basic and Primary Education.* Complete units of basic education from pre-basic school to the post-basic school and a training college should be set up, at least one in each state. Research into methods and curricula with a view to improvement should be one of the special functions of these units. The training college of these units should train teachers for junior schools and senior basic schools.

(2) *Social Education.* Janata colleges should be established, at least one in each state for experimental purpose. The initial object of these colleges shall be to train social education workers,

community organisers and administrators. After they had served this need they should be adopted to rural colleges. Janata colleges should be opened in association with units of basic education.

(3) *Secondary Education.* At least one multilateral high school should be opened as a pilot institution in each state. These schools should have not only sections for liberal arts and science but also sections for technical education, commerce and agriculture. Occupational schools, particularly for children between the ages of 14 to 18, should also be established where possible for experimental purposes. Research bureaux devoted to the study of problems of secondary education should be established at secondary training colleges. Merit scholarship should be provided in existing public schools to enable deserving but poor students to obtain the benefit of these institutions.

(4) *Audio-visual Aids.* Production of these should be encouraged by the establishment of a unit at the Central Institute of Education, which will coordinate the efforts of research workers in this field all over the country.

The total allocation for educational development proposed in the First Five Year Plan was Rs. 1516.6 million, including the additional revenue that the local bodies might raise for the purpose. This worked out at an annual expenditure of Rs. 303.3 million.

Progress of Women's Education during 1955-6

By 1955-6, with the stabilization of the political situation and completion of the First Five Year Plan, the educational facilities had generally improved. Though independent India had to face many problems and grave calamities, it had reached a stage of confidence. In the words of Professor Humayun Kabir, then Educational Adviser to the Government of India, seven years of freedom had been seven years of endeavour and expansion in Indian education. Within seven years many difficulties had been overcome and the foundation laid for constructing the truly national system of education needed for resurgent India.

1955-6 marked the end of the First Five Year Plan. It was a time of great activity in almost all fields of education. Significant measures were taken to expand and improve education at

various levels. The Central and State Governments, together with private enterprise, made united efforts and the result was a substantial improvement in all spheres of education. A large number of new institutions were founded and the standard of existing ones improved. New subjects and courses were introduced, attempts were made for diversification of education and facilities for teachers' training were expanded.

In the field of elementary education there was progress. New primary schools were opened, other primary schools were converted into basic schools, the curriculum was revised and the teaching of crafts was introduced. The National Institute of Basic Education was set up by the Government of India in 1956 and financial assistance was given from the Central Government.

The All-India Council for Secondary Education was set up to advise Central and State Governments on secondary education. Plans to open multi-purpose schools in place of secondary schools continued. The Central Government sanctioned liberal grants to state governments to improve existing facilities in science teaching, school libraries, the introduction of craft teaching, the organisation of seminars and refresher courses, and training of teachers.

Social education was also developed under the First Five Year Plan. To encourage the production of useful literature at moderate prices, the Union Ministry decided to set up a National Fundamental Education Centre and National Book Trust. The Government assisted financially voluntary organisations doing useful work in the field of basic and social education.

The Government of India also offered scholarships to students, particularly for higher education. A large number of scholarships were awarded to Indian students by foreign governments and international organisations.

For the encouragement of the study of Hindi, scholarships were awarded to the students speaking other Indian languages.

Almost all states reported an expansion in the field of basic education. Modified syllabuses were introduced in primary schools. Teachers were trained in large numbers for basic schools. Diversified courses were introduced at the secondary level in many states. Many secondary schools were converted into multi-

purpose schools to give pupils every chance to find their special aptitudes in all-round education.

In Delhi, compulsory education was enforced for girls also in the areas under the jurisdiction of Delhi Municipal Committee.

Girls' Institutions and Enrolment

The total number of institutions for girls was 25,255 in 1955-6 as against 25,490 during 1950-1, while the number of pupils rose from 6.47 million in that school year to 9.23 million or by 42.6 per cent, during the session 1955-6. The number of primary schools rose from 13,901 in 1950-1 to 15,230 in 1955-6 and the number of middle schools from 1,674 to 2,337. Pre-primary schools doubled their number. The total number of girls' schools for general education was 19,361 in 1955-6 as against 16,720 in 1950-1, i.e., it increased by about 15.8 per cent as against 36.3 per cent increase in the institution of boys. The number of arts and science colleges for girls rose from 69 in 1951 to 104 in 1956 while those of boys increased from 429 to 608.

The enrolment of girls in institutions for general education rose from 6.13 millions to 8.94 millions during the Plan period or by 45.8 per cent, while the increase in the enrolment of boys was only 30 per cent. There was still a difference in the numbers enrolled. Boys' enrolment in institutions for general education was two and a half times that of girls.'

Only seven new colleges for the professional education of girls were founded during 1951-6, while boys' institutions increased by 131. Out of 24 girls' professional colleges, 21 were training colleges. Men's professional colleges included all types, the greater number being medical colleges. Girls' colleges for special education increased in number by seven as against an increase of 13 men's colleges. Enrolment of girls in professional colleges rose from 4,668 in 1950-1 to 9,218 in 1955-6 or by 97.4 per cent as against 63.6 per cent increase in that of boys. 3,294 girls were enrolled in colleges for special education as against 1,767 in 1950-1 i.e., an increase of 86.4 per cent as compared to 54.5 per cent, of boys. Out of the total enrolment, 4,318 girls were studying in teachers' training colleges, 3,987 in medical colleges and about 1,000 in other types of colleges, while the number of boys in

such colleges was 139,200. On the whole the total enrolment of boys was fifteen times more than that of girls.

There were 689 vocational and technical schools for girls. They had increased by 229 during the Plan period while number of these schools for boys rose by 506. Enrolment of girls increased in them from 40,888 in 1951 to 62,938 in 1956 or by 53.9 per cent. Boys' increase was about 43 per cent.

Girls' schools for special education decreased in number from 7,555 in 1951 to 4,680 in 1956. It was mainly due to the decrease in the number of schools for social education. Otherwise all the other institutions such as those for teaching music, dancing, fine arts and oriental studies, showed an increase.

The number of unrecognised institutions also fell. But the total number of recognised and unrecognised institutions showed an increase of about 15 per cent (excluding school for adult education) as against about 34 per cent increase in boys' institutions. While the increase in the total enrolment of girls (excluding adult schools) was 45 per cent, it was only 30 per cent in boys' schools.

The reason, the number of institutions for girls did not show an increase was that all boys' institutions were now open to girls. Owing to the disappearance of purdah and conservatism, co-education was on the increase, as we shall see later. 70.7 per cent girls were studying in boys' institutions. Girls preferred on the whole to study in boys' institutions, as they were better equipped. From the numbers enrolled, it would appear that more girls than boys were entering the schools. But this increase only slightly lessened the difference in the enrolment figures. The number of boys under instruction was still about two and a half times the number of girls.

Primary Education

The agencies responsible for the administration and control of primary schools were (a) state governments (b) local boards and (c) private bodies, most of which were aided. Except Andhra, Bihar and Orissa States, all Part A States[24] had a majority of primary schools administered by local and district boards in

24. Part A States — Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

rural areas and municipal boards in urban areas. In Part B and C States,[25] except for Delhi, government schools were in a majority.

The basic education had been accepted as the national system of education. But it had not been possible to provide basic school education for every child within the time proposed by the Constitution. However, the number of primary schools for girls had increased by about 25 per cent. Plate XI shows the scheme of school classes in different states in 1954-5.

Of all the states Uttar Pradesh and Bihar had the largest number of primary schools for girls including junior basic schools, i.e., 2,700 primary schools each out of a total of 15,230 schools. Andhra, Madras and Travancore-Cochin had no separate schools for girls. Among Part B States, Hyderabad and Mysore had the largest number of girls' primary schools. All the states had shown an increase from 1951 figures.

As regards enrolment, Bombay and Madras had the largest enrolment, i.e., 1.30 million and 1.19 million respectively. Then came Andhra and West Bengal each with 710,000 enrolled pupils. Among Part B States, Travancore-Cochin had the largest number of girls enrolled in schools, i.e., 700,000. The total number of girls in primary schools rose by about 40 per cent during the Plan period. But the difference between the numbers of boys and girls continued as before. The figure for the enrolment of boys was 2.4 times the number of girls.

Wastage and stagnation[26] at the primary stage continued to be alarming, especially in the case of girls. Single teacher primary schools contributed a good deal to this problem. The country's socio-economic structure, in which child labour had a place, was another important factor. In addition, schools were ill-equipped, poorly housed and mostly dull and depressing in environment; the school background could not exercise an effective influence.

25. Part B States —Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Pepsu, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin.
Part C States — Ajmer, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Bhopal, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura, Vindhya Pradesh.

26. Wastage — premature withdrawal of children from schools at any stage before the completion of primary course.
Stagnation — the retention in any class of a child for a period of more than one year.

The number of girls receiving primary education in co-educational schools was 79.2 per cent of the total enrolment of girls at the primary stage. Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and North-East Frontier Agency had only co-educational schools at the primary stage. The lowest percentage were at Jammu and Kashmir and Delhi.

Compulsory education was in force to a certain extent in all Part A States and in some of the States of Part B and C. The state governments took the necessary measures to enforce the Compulsory Education Acts passed mainly during 1918-30. Among primary school teachers 16.9 per cent were women. Out of 117,067 total number of women teachers, 86,262 were trained in 1955-6.

Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 537 million on recognised primary schools, only Rs. 47 million was spent on institutions for girls in 1955-6. Among all the states, Bombay spent the largest amount on girls' primary schools i.e., Rs. 13.7 million. Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Punjab spent Rs. 4.91, Rs. 4.45 and Rs. 4.09 million respectively during 1955-6.

Secondary Education

Secondary schools continued to be managed by government, local bodies and private agencies. In most states, the majority of high schools were managed by private bodies. So far as middle schools were concerned, these were mostly managed by local boards and private bodies in Part A States and by the government in Part B and C States.

The year 1955-6 witnessed considerable development and expansion in the field of secondary education. Attempts were made to reconstruct education at this stage by diversifying it. In addition to languages, social studies, general science and one compulsory craft, girls could select one subject such as fine arts, Home Science, Humanities, Commerce or Science. Schools where such provision was made were known as multi-purpose schools. This scheme was put into practice in 1954-5.

The secondary schools were subdivided into middle and high schools. The level of division of secondary classes varied from state to state. Plate XI shows the scheme of school classes in different

states. The middle stage consisted of two classes in most of the states and two or four in others. The high school or higher secondary stage consisted of two classes in majority of the states, while in others it was extended over three or four classes.

Middle Schools. The number of middle schools in 1955-6 was 2,337 out of which Uttar Pradesh had the largest number, 512 schools. Then came Bombay and Punjab with totals of 335 and 204 respectively. Among B States, Rajasthan and Mysore had 130 and 118 schools respectively. The total number of middle schools for girls was one-eighth of the number of boys' schools.

The total number of girls in middle stage was 992,500 in 1955-6 as against 603,700 in 1951. Bombay had the largest number of girls in middle stage, i.e., 180,500. Then came Madras (159,600), Travancore-Cochin (136,700) and West Bengal (107,000). Uttar Pradesh and Punjab had respectively 68,300 and 34,000 girls in middle stage. The largest enrolment among Part B States was in Mysore (53,000) and among Part C States, Delhi (23,300) had the largest enrolment. But the total enrolment of girls was about one fourth of boys.

High Schools. The number of high schools for girls was 1,583 in 1955-6 as against 9,225 high schools for boys. While the rate of increase in the number of high schools was 51 per cent among boys it was only 14 per cent for girls, compared to the figure in 1951. Among A States, Bengal had the largest number of high schools for girls, i.e., 183. Uttar Pradesh, Madras and Bombay had respectively 221, 191 and 161 high schools. Travancore-Cochin had 115 high schools, the largest number among Part B States. Delhi had always been leading among Part C States, as regards girls' institutions and enrolment. The total number of girls in high schools was 347,500 in 1955-6 as against 206,400 in 1950-1. Bombay had the largest number of girls, i.e., 77,900. Then came Madras (49,000), Uttar Pradesh (20,100) and Bengal (24,100) among Part A States. Travancore-Cochin led the B States in the high schools figures, with 75,100 girls and Delhi had 8,500 girls enrolled at this time.

There were 58,929 women teachers in secondary schools. Bombay had the largest number of women teachers, (9,365) while North-East Frontier Agency had only three teachers.

Out of Rs. 530 million expenditure on secondary education, Rs. 82.6 million were spent on secondary schools of girls in 1955-6 as against Rs. 47 million in 1950-1. Uttar Pradesh spent the largest amount, Rs. 13.8 million on secondary schools for girls. In 1955-6 out of the total direct expenditure of Rs. 155.5 million on girls' institutions, the largest amount was spent on secondary schools for girls. The percentages of expenditure on different types of girls' institutions are shown in Plate XII. The reason for the large proportion of expenditure on secondary schools was that co-education at secondary level was not favoured, and certainly girls' secondary schools were more expensive compared with primary schools.

Collegiate Education

There was further expansion in advanced level education. Of the colleges exclusively for women there were 104 for arts and science, 24 for professional and technical education and 14 for special education. These constituted 13.8 per cent of the total number of colleges. The majority of the colleges were managed by privately aided bodies and the government.

The total number of girls receiving general education at higher stages was 84,092 in 1955-6 as against 40,318 in 1950-1. Similarly 9,218 girls received professional education as against 6,435 in 1951. The total number of girls receiving education at a higher level was therefore 96,660 in 1955-6. Uttar Pradesh had the largest number of girls, 17,968. The number of boys enrolled at this stage was 639,520 about six times the number of girls.

Of the total expenditure on higher institutions, Rs. 14.0 million, i.e., 5.1 per cent was spent on higher institutions for girls.

The total number of women teachers at this stage was 3,958 in 1955-6 as against 2,390 in 1950-1. Madras had the largest number (777). Bombay had 466, West Bengal 419, Travancore-Cochin 365 and Uttar Pradesh 370.

Training of Teachers

Perhaps the training of teachers is the single most important factor in the reconstruction and expansion of school education.

Attempts had been made in this direction during the Plan period. A number of training schools and colleges were opened. Some of the states received assistance from the Central Government for this purpose. There were 252 teachers' training schools for women in 1955-6 as against 215 in 1950-1. Out of these Madras had 75 schools, the highest number among states. Enrolment in training schools rose from 17,994 in 1950-1 to 25,881 in 1955-6. Madras had an enrolment of 8,051 students. Next was Bombay with 5,173 on roll. India's fourteen women's teachers' training colleges in 1950-1 rose to twenty-one in 1955-6 with an enrolment of 4,318. Punjab had the largest enrolment of 1,089.

Expenditure

The total expenditure on women's educational institutions was Rs. 121.9 million in 1950-1. This was 9.3 per cent of the total expenditure on education. During 1955-6 the total direct and indirect expenditure on women's educational institutions rose to Rs. 193.4 million, i.e., an increase of 58.6 per cent since 1950-1. But it represented only 9 per cent of the total expenditure on education.

In short, efforts to improve the quality and scope of women's education showed a marked impetus after the completion of the First Five Year Plan. The position in different states can be seen in Plate XIII, showing girls' institutions, enrolment and expenditure during 1955-6 in the States of the Indian Union.

During 1955-6, out of the total of 9.23 million girl pupils in India, Bombay had the largest number of girl pupils, i.e., 1.81 million or 19.6 per cent. Then came Madras and Travancore-Cochin. Owing to the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Madras lost its high position in the table of enrolment figures. Plate XIII shows that while Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Andhra State had few institutions compared with Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar but they compared well in enrolment figures. The reason is that in these states primary schools were 100 per cent co-educational, and this fact mostly accounts for the large number of institutions in other states. Co-educational institutions have not been added to the bars showing the number of institutions in Plate XIII. Moreover in Madras, Andhra and Travancore-Cochin people were not prejudiced against co-education at later stages.

This is also the reason for a lower level expenditure on girls' institutions in these states, as shown on Plate XIII.

On the whole, all states showed improvement from the previous figures.

Thus we find that during the First Five Year Plan period there was steady progress in all spheres of girls' education. But in view of the fact that girls and boys were of almost equal number, there was great disparity in the provisions made for their education. The standards of girls' education lagged far behind that of boys'. The people and the government had now come to realise that this would impede the rapid progress of the country.

Evaluation of Efforts

Reform is a continuous process. There never comes a stage in any field when further change is not needed. Education is no exception to this rule. But at times reform becomes a matter of urgency. This urgency was felt in India on the eve of Independence. The formation of a National Government gave a fresh impetus to all movements for reform. Large scale reconstruction in education had taken place since 1947. Already we have noted the process of development at all levels of instruction.

The major feature of the period under review was the formulation of the First Five Year Plan which consolidated all previous reforms. 1. It aimed to adapt educational schemes to the requirements of national planning. 2. Education had to develop the full personality of the individual. 3. Education must be reorientated. 4. Equality of opportunity should be available for all.

But everything could not be done overnight by waving a magic wand. These were the main objects of the Plan. It had also set certain targets to be reached by the end of this period . The rate of progress, however, could not match the hopes and the expectations. Though at the end of the First Plan, the target figure for the girls of the age-group, 6-11, was set as 40 per cent at primary stage, it could reach only 33. In the elementary stage only 5 per cent increase was made while the corresponding increase for boys was 11 per cent. The rate of wastage was greater in the case of girls mainly due to child marriage, household work,

poverty and indifferent attitude of men towards it. During 1955-6 women teachers represented only 18 per cent of the total number of teachers employed in primary and secondary schools.

However, the foundation for the change to basic education had been laid. Measures were taken to improve the quality of ordinary primary schools and bring them nearer to a basic pattern. Owing to financial limitations, of course, the Central Government's approach towards education was selective.

Great expansion and development had taken place since 1947. In the field of secondary education, a number of schemes had been initiated to improve the quality and scope of teaching. Facilities for training of teachers had been further improved. Merit scholarships were introduced in special residential schools. Grants were given to voluntary organisations for improving school buildings, libraries, equipment and laboratories .Steps were taken to improve the standard of text books and develop facilities for vocational and educational guidance. After consultation with universities, boards and state governments, far-reaching decisions were taken for the re-orientation of the secondary education. Similar efforts were made in the fields of social education, in universities and in technical education.

In 1950-1, girls accounted for 26.7 per cent of the total number of pupils in primary and middle classes, for 13.9 per cent in high and higher secondary classes and for 12.4 per cent in colleges and universities. By 1955-6 this proportion had risen to 28, 16.2 and 13.6 per cent respectively. During the period, the total number of girls in educational institutions increased from about 640,000 to 920,000. However, the main trend of this period was the diversification of courses, which on one hand were adapted to suit the needs of the country, and on the other hand tried to check the overpopulation of the universities and consequently to some extent, the problem of unemployment of the highly-educated.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION OF WOMEN DURING THE SECOND PLAN PERIOD 1956-1961

Educational Provisions in the Second Five Year Plan

The Second Five Year Plan gave a larger emphasis to basic education, expansion of elementary education, diversification of secondary education, improvement in the standards of college and university education, expansion of facilities for technical and vocational education, provision for larger opportunities for girls and women, and implementation of social education and cultural development programmes.

Elementary Education. There were two problems at this stage; (1) the expansion of existing facilities, and (2) the reorientation of the system of education on basic lines.

The following table shows the progress made in the First Plan and the targets set for the Second Plan.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION DURING THE FIRST AND THE SECOND PLAN PERIODS[1]

Stage	*Number of pupils as percentage of the number of children in the corresponding age-group*								
	1950-1			1955-6			1960-1		
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
				Estimates			*Targets*		
Primary (6-11)	59	25	42	69	33	51	86	40	63
Middle (11-14)	22	5	14	30	8	19	36	10	23
Elementary (6-14)	46	17	32	57	23	40	70	28	49

The directive of the Constitution was that the State should endeavour, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years. In

1. *Second Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Government of India, (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1956), p. 503.

view of this, the figures of the above table show that the goal had not been reached. In all the age groups, the education of girls had lagged behind. Wastage was greater in the case of girls. Although the problems of different states varied, only broad lines could be suggested to improve the situation.

To prevent wastage, the Second Plan suggested that introduction of compulsory education was essential. In rural areas efforts should be made to give a practical bias to education as far as possible. The principal remedy for stagnation, i.e., a pupil continuing in the same class for more than the normal period, lay in improving the quality of teachers and teaching techniques.

The Second Plan observed that: 'A most urgent problem is that of girls' education. .... Special efforts at educating parents, combined with efforts to make education more closely related to the needs of girls, are needed. The situation in each area will need to be studied separately. Where there are difficulties in the acceptance of co-education, other methods will need to be explored.'[2] This meant that there could be provided either separate schools or a shift system for making more effective use of available buildings and other facilities.

The main obstacle in the way of promoting girls' education was the shortage of women teachers. In 1953-4 women teachers accounted for about 17 per cent of the total number of teachers employed in primary and secondary schools. The task of training women teachers had to be approached as a matter of urgency. The provision for better housing facilities for women teachers in villages could be an important step to take. Opportunities for part-time employment might draw educated married women into the teaching profession.

With regards to building, the shift system was recommended by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1956. Moreover, for the time being, austere standards could be adopted. To achieve rapid expansion, government resources must be supplemented in increasing measure by local community efforts.

Though the basic education programmes had been implemented effectively in the First Plan period (1951-6), much had

2. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

still to be done when it is considered that the whole of the elementary education had to be oriented on basic lines.

Secondary Education. The recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission have already been mentioned. It had proposed a greater diversity and comprehensiveness in educational courses which would include both general and vocational subjects. The Commission also recommended the establishment of multi-purpose schools and technical schools. These had provision for courses in language, general science, social studies and craft. The Second Five Year Plan adopted the recommendations as its basis. With regard to girls' education it observed, 'At the secondary stage, the education of girls lags seriously behind. At present, out of the total population of 12 million girls in the age-group 14-17 years, about 3 per cent are attending schools. Plans of states do not provide in sufficient measure for the education of girls, for, the number of high schools for girls is expected to increase from 1,500 to 1,700 only by the end of the Second Plan. To enable girls to take up careers for which openings exist or are likely to increase (such as *gram-sevikas,* nurses, health visitors, teachers *etc.)* special scholarship schemes are recommended.'[3] The Second Plan stated that girls' education at this stage required special encouragement.

University Education. By the end of the First Plan, the total enrolment in universities had risen, but it had affected the standard of education. To improve the quality of university and college education and to lessen the amount of wastage and stagnation, the University Grants Commission[4] took a number of measures. These included the institution of the three year degree course, organisation of tutorials and seminars, improvement of buildings, laboratories and libraries, provision for hostel facilities, stipends for meritorious students, scholarships for research, and increase in the salaries of university teachers. Seven more universities were also proposed for the Second Plan.

3. *Ibid.,* pp. 510-1.

4. In accordance with the recommendation of the University Education Commission (1948-9) a University Grants Commission was established by the Government of India in November 1953 for the purpose of allocation and disbursement of grants to the universities and colleges. Its primary function is the co-ordination and determination of standards in the universities. This Commission was given statutory recognition in 1956.

The total provision was Rs. 570 million for university education in the Second Plan. The greater part of this amount was to be spent on consolidation and increased provision for technical and scientific education in universities. In the field of technical education long term planning was proposed, though significant progress had been made in the First Plan. The Central Government gave substantial grants to individual institutions. A number of scholarships were also instituted.

Social Education. According to the Census of 1951, only 16.6 per cent of the population was literate. Excluding children below the age of ten this proportion was only 20 per cent. There was a great disparity between the literacy of men and women. While men were 24.9 per cent literate, women had only a 7.9 percentage of literacy. There was disparity also between the urban and rural population literacy percentages.

The total allotment in the Plan for social education was Rs. 150 million. The Ministry of Education proposed to establish a fundamental education centre for training social education organisers, and for continuing study and research in problems relating to social and basic education. Already the national extension and community development programmes, sponsored by the government agencies in co-operation with the people and programmes of voluntary organisations such as Bharat Sewak Samaj, were making efforts towards social education and rural development. Besides literacy, their programmes included health, recreation and citizenship training etc. The Ministry of Education proposed to establish ten rural institutes with the provision of Rs. 20 million for the Second Plan .

Teachers. Though the number of trained teachers increased in the First Plan period, the Second Plan provided Rs. 170 million for increasing facilities for training. The Second Plan proposed to establish 231 training schools and 30 training colleges. The number of basic training colleges and schools was also to be increased. A National Institute for Basic Education was to be established as a research centre.

The responsibility for improvement in the salaries of the teachers belongs to state governments, but temporarily, the Central Government had, however, agreed to assist states to the extent

of 50 per cent of additional expenditure. This might be utilised in raising salary scales of primary teachers suitably consistent with local conditions. On the other hand, state governments were advised to reduce expenditure on the construction of buildings, and to levy special educational tax for meeting this new expenditure.

It was recommended that with references to conditions of service each state might consider bringing elementary school teachers in the state into its own service in appropriate cadres. This could enable state governments to extend to teachers adequate benefits of security, pension, provident fund contribution and promotion.

To provide greater equality in educational opportunities to deserving candidates, about Rs. 120 million were provided for scholarships in different fields of study and at different stages of instruction.

Progress of Women's Education

Elementary Education

For several socio-economic reasons, it was not possible to implement the programme of free and compulsory education to all children up to fourteen years by 1960 as mentioned in Article 45 of the Constitution of India. Therefore the Panel of Education appointed by the Planning Commission suggested in 1957 that an intensive effort should be made to provide by 1965-6 universal education for children in the 6-11 age group. This was accepted by the Government of India and continuous efforts were made to this end. The implementation of this programme was divided into two stages. In the first stage, spread over the last three years of the Second Plan, three centrally sponsored schemes were undertaken. An attempt was to be made, (1) to expand enrolment in the 6-11 age group, (2) to adopt preliminary measures for increasing the enrolment of girls, and (3) to expand the facilities for teacher training. In the second stage an attempt was to be made to provide universal education in the 6-11 age group.

So far as the first stage was concerned, the results, achieved in all the three programmes were satisfactory. Under the scheme of 'Relief to Educated Unemployment and Extension of Primary

Education' on an aggregate 60,000 teachers, 1,119 inspecting officers and 5,490 quarters for women teachers were sanctioned to different state governments on 100 per cent basis, during the last three years of the Second Plan period.

Scheme of Expansion of Girls' Education. As the education of girls still lagged far behind that of the boys', it was decided in 1957-8 to introduce a centrally sponsored scheme to accelerate the enrolment of girls in primary schools and to increase the number of women teachers, especially in rural areas. Under this scheme, assistance was given to state governments to the extent of 75 per cent of the approved expenditure, but it was open to the state governments to contribute their quota of 25 per cent or not. They could choose one or more of the following nine approved schemes in accordance with local conditions.

(1) Free accommodation for women teachers in rural areas;
(2) Appointment of 'school' mothers;
(3) Condensed courses for adult women;
(4) Stipends for women teachers for teachers' training;
(5) Refresher courses;
(6) Stipends for high school students to take up teaching;
(7) Attendance scholarships;
(8) Exemption from tuition fees; and
(9) The construction of hostels for secondary schools for girls.

Grants sanctioned under the scheme totalled Rs. 93,000 in 1957-8, Rs. 3.08 million in 1958-9, and Rs. 7.04 million in 1959-60. During the year 1960-1, administrative approval totalling Rs. 6.75 million had been issued.[5]

As a result, the total enrolment of girls in classes I to V of primary schools rose from 7.64 millions in 1955-6 to 11.4 millions in 1960-1, while that of boys rose from 17.53 millions to 23.6 millions during the same period.[6] The increase in the enrolment of boys was 2.31 millions more than that of girls. Out of the

5. *Annual Report*, 1960-1, Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1961, p. 131.
6. *The Third Plan: Mid-Term Appraisal*, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1963, p. 154.

total enrolment in 1960-1 of 6.71 millions of children in the 11-14 age group, girls accounted for 1.63 millions. It is gratifying to note that the figures of increase during the Second Plan period exceeded the estimated target for 1960-1. The estimated figures for girls being 10.96 and 1.47 millions for the 6-11 and 11-14 age-groups respectively. The actual percentage of girls under instruction in the 6-11 age group rose to 42 and that in the 11-14 age group to 11.7. At the pre-primary stage the enrolment of girls rose from 30,631 in 1955-6 to 82,122 in 1960-1, while that of boys rose from 44,864 to 96,520 during this period.

Although co-education was adopted as a general policy at the primary stage, the number of primary schools for girls rose from 15,230 in 1955-6 to 19,829 in 1960-1. Similarly, the number of middle schools rose from 2,337 to 4,666 during this period.

Scheme for Expansion of Training Facilities for Primary Teachers. Since trained primary teachers are essential for qualitative improvement of education, the Central Government decided to assist the state governments to expand training facilities for primary teachers during the Second Plan. During 1959-60 and 1960-1, assistance on a hundred per cent basis was given to state governments, (1) to expand the available accommodation in existing institutions, and (2) to establish new institutions where needed.

In accordance with the programme, 267 new training institutions were established and 27,570 additional seats were provided in the training colleges.

During 1956 and 1961, the number of women primary school teachers had risen from 117,067 or 16.94 per cent to 126,788 or 17.07 per cent of the total primary school teachers. In middle schools, the number of women teachers rose from 23,844 or 16.07 per cent to 83,532 or 24.2 per cent of the total strength.

Remuneration of Primary School Teachers. Three proposals were made at the beginning of the Second Plan. These were : (1) that the minimum basic salary of an untrained primary teacher should be Rs. 40 : 00 P. and that of a trained teacher should be Rs. 50 : 00 P.; (2) that the same dearness allowance[7] should be paid to a primary teacher as was being paid to a government servant drawing the same salary : and (3) that the old-age provision for primary

7. Along with the salary, an additional amount of money given to an employee, in view of the rising cost of living.

teachers should include a pension, such as was the case with government servants.

State governments which undertook programmes to implement these proposals were to be assisted on a 50 per cent basis. Considerable progress was made in this direction. The first of these recommendations had been accepted by almost all state governments. Many state governments already did not make any discrimination between the dearness allowance of government servants and school teachers, so the second proposal was already being carried out. With regard to the third proposal, the Madras Government introduced a system of pension, provident fund-cum-insurance. Other states were also considering the matter. In addition to these advancements, the salaries of teachers improved during the Second Plan period.

Basic Education. At the end of the First Plan (1956), junior basic and senior basic schools were 3.05 and 8.3 per cent of the total number of primary and middle schools in the country. By the end of the Second Plan this number was expected to increase to 10.3 per cent and 20.1 per cent respectively. In order to assist in the programme of basic education, the Government of India established the National Institute of Basic Education. Since its foundation in 1956, it has made considerable progress. For the last few years, Union and state governments have been celebrating 'Basic Education Week.' This served a useful purpose in creating greater awareness and appreciation of the aims and objectives of basic education.

Secondary Education

A number of programmes for diversification and qualitative improvement of secondary schools had been pursued. Almost all the programmes were included in the state sector. Assistance was given to state governments on a basis which varied from 50 per cent to 60 per cent according to the nature of the scheme. A number of schemes were also implemented through the Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education which was established in April 1959. One of the programmes of the Directorate was the establishment of Extension Service Departments in fifty-four selected training colleges in the country. Through seminars, workshops and allied services, these Depart-

ments have been carrying on a very useful programme of in-service training for secondary school teachers. The programme of examination reforms was also launched during the Second Plan period.

Secondary education expanded very rapidly in all parts of the country. The number of high schools and higher secondary schools for girls was 2,521 during 1960-1, compared to 1,583 during 1955-6. The number of the same schools for boys rose from 9,255 to 14,736 during this period. The enrolment of girls in classes IX to XI (14-17 age group) rose from 317,000 in 1955-6 to 540,690 in 1960-1. The corresponding figures for boys' enrolment were 1.54 millions to 2.33 millions. The increase in the enrolment of girls was 70.6 per cent as against 51.4 per cent increase of boys, but the total increase in the enrolment of boys was about three and a half times more than that of girls. The enrolment of girls at this stage also exceeded the original target for 1960-1.

The main items for the reorganisation and reform of secondary education were as follows:

(1) *Conversion of high schools into higher secondary schools.* By the end of the Second Plan (1961), about 10 per cent of the 1,500 schools were estimated to be of the higher secondary pattern.

(2) *Establishment of multi-purpose schools.* During the First Plan, 374 multi-purpose schools were established and their number was estimated to be 1,800 by the end of the Second Plan in 1960-1. Paucity of trained teachers, specially in the practical subjects, had been one of the main causes for its slow progress. In the Third Plan it was proposed to consolidate the scheme.

(3) *Teaching of science in secondary schools.* Through the Directorate of Extension Programme for Secondary Education, steps were taken to improve its teaching. During 1960-1, Rs. 120,800 were sanctioned to the state governments for the establishment of 115 science clubs. Five central science clubs were also established.

(4) *Training and Remuneration of teachers.* The percentage of men and women trained teachers to the total number of teachers was 64.1 compared to 59.7 in 1955-6. The number of training

colleges had also increased from fifty-three in 1950-1 to 107 in 1955-6 and 478 at the end of the Second Plan. Almost all the states revised the salary scale of teachers with the assistance of the Central Government on a 50 per cent basis during the Second Plan. The total number of secondary school women teachers was 62,347 or 21.04 per cent of the total secondary school teachers during 1960-1, compared to 35,085 or 18.49 per cent during 1955-6.

(5) *Provision of educational and vocational guidance.* The Central Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance had so far been the main Central agency in the implementation of the programme. In the Third Plan (1961-6), a teacher counsellor or a full time counsellor was to be provided in every multi-purpose school.

(6) *Examination reforms.* The programme for reform was launched by the Ministry of Education in 1958. It sought to improve the examination system in the context of the total educational development, including curriculum, text books, teaching aids, techniques of presentation and testing devices. The task of implementing this reform was entrusted to the Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education, which evolved both intensive and extensive programmes for the purpose.

Higher Education

In the field of higher education a number of important development projects had been taken up with external assistance. These included Home Science Education and Research, the Public Administration Centre at Lucknow University, the introduction of the General Education Programme in selected Indian universities, the Australian gift of reference books under the Colombo Plan, the Indo-United States Agreement for financing an educational exchange programme, and the India Wheat Loan Educational Exchange Programme.

The project for assistance to Home Science Education and Research under the Indo-United States Technical Co-operation Programme continued to progress during 1960-1. Nine American technicians took up assignments in the institutions selected as regional demonstration centres under the project. Four Indian home science administrators were selected for a three month

observation tour of training facilities in the U.S.A. Similarly, four home science teachers for higher studies were trained for twelve months in the U.S.A.

A Home Science Conference was held in New Delhi in April 1960 to review and evaluate the accomplishments under the programme, to plan for the most effective use of the remaining period of the programme, and to consider the future development of home science in India.

The Second Plan target of setting up seven universities had been achieved by the end of 1958-9. The University Grants Commission continued directing and assisting improvement and development programmes of the universities. Progress in this field was hampered, however, due to the shortage of foreign exchange resources, and the inability of universities or state governments to provide the matching funds. By 1960-1, twenty-three universities had introduced the scheme of the three year degree course. The entire work relating to the implementation of the scheme of the three year degree course had been transferred to the University Grants Commission with effect from April 1, 1959.

The total enrolment in institutions of higher education was 1.08 million during 1960-1. Of that number, there were about 176,000 women enrolled. Arts and science colleges accounted for 149,891 women in 1960-1 as compared to 84,092 in 1955-6. The increase in the enrolment of women was 78.3 per cent as compared to 34 per cent of the men during the Second Five Year Plan period.

Professional and Special Education

The large scale expansion and development of professional, vocational and special education is one of the important features of post-independent India. The following table shows the colleges and schools for professional, technical and special education in India.

The increase in the enrolment of women in professional and technical colleges was 265.6 per cent as against 162.5 per cent of men during the Second Plan period. In professional colleges, women's enrolment was only 11.6 per cent of the total, whereas it was about 20 per cent of the total enrolment in vocational and technical schools in 1960-1.

ENROLMENT IN INSTITUTIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

Institutions	1955-6 *Number of pupils*		1960-1 *Number of pupils*	
	Women	*Total*	*Women*	*Total*
Colleges for professional Education				
Agricultural colleges	37	5,877	149	15,848
Colleges of Commerce	422	58,918	864	78,312
Engineering colleges	12	16,971	333	43,161
Law colleges	347	20,268	805	27,141
Medical colleges	3,987	25,072	8,238	40,402
Colleges for Physical Education	48	490	159	904
Teachers' Training colleges	4,318	14,280	15,202	46,808
Colleges of Technology	26	2,887	41	4,675
Veterinary Science colleges	13	3,649	47	5,454
Colleges for Special Education	3,294	11,883	7,355	21,855
Total	12,504	160,289	33,193	284,653
Vocational and Technical schools				
Agricultural schools	14	5,230	74	7,736
Commerce schools	10,326	79,567	17,034	112,824
Engineering schools	20	27,512	438	86,302
Technical and Industrial schools	26,863	66,105	29,110	75,694
Teachers training schools	25,881	90,914	31,552	112,682
Schools for Physical Education	372	2,243	515	3,444
Total	63,476	271,571	78,732	398,682

Teachers. There were 5,345 women teachers in colleges for general education, 1,865 in colleges for professional education and 322 in colleges for special education during 1960-1 compared to 2,929; 666; and 156 respectively during 1955-6.

Plate XIV shows the total number of different types of institutions for girls, their enrolment and expenditure in different states.

Social Education

Intensive literacy campaigns were organised in India, soon after independence. On an average 50,000 adult classes were run

every year. One of the important programmes of social education was that of producing literature for neo-literates. The Workers' Social Education Institute established at Indore in 1960 aims at developing a programme of social education for industrial workers. In 1960-1, there were 301,077 women and 1.19 million men on roll in adult centres as against 135,901 women and 1.14 million men in 1955-6. The increase in the enrolment of women was 121.5 per cent as against 4.3 per cent of men.

Other Programmes

The Ministry of Education conducted several programmes for the promotion and development of the Hindi language. The Government of India also administered a large number of scholarships in different fields. A number of important Central schemes were implemented by the Ministry of Education in the field of physical education, games, sports and youth welfare. In the field of social education, pilot projects were conducted.

National Committee on Women's Education

One of the chief features of this period was the enquiry into the special problems of girls' and women's education. The National Committee on Women's Education was set up by the Government of India on 19 May 1958 under the chairmanship of Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh to suggest special measures necessary to make an advance in women's education. The members of the Committee and its Chairman visited many states and studied the problems of women's education in general. In particular they were concerned with the individual problems of the states. After painstaking efforts and detailed study, the Committee submitted its report in January 1959. The Committee made valuable suggestions and recommendations.

Recommendations of the Committee

The Committee discussed the problems of women's education of different age groups. They were also concerned with such matters as wastage and stagnation, curricula and syllabi, training and employment of women teachers, professional and vocational education, special educational facilities for adult women, the role of voluntary organisations, administrative organisations,

finance, and some other special problems. The following are the main recommendations :

'1. The education of women should be regarded as a major and a special problem in Education for a good many years to come and a bold and determined effort should be made to face its difficulties and magnitude and to close the existing gap between the education of men and women in as short a time as possible.

2. The highest priority should be given to schemes prepared from this point of view and the funds required for the purpose should be considered to be the first charge on the sums set aside for the development of education. .....

4. Steps should be taken to constitute as early as possible, a National Council for the Education of girls and women. .....

5. The problem of the education of women is so vital and of such great national significance that it is absolutely necessary for the Centre to assume more responsibility for its rapid development. .....

6. There should be a senior officer of the rank of Joint Educational Adviser at the Centre to took after the education of girls and women.

7. It would be necessary to create a separate unit in the Ministry of Education to deal with the problems. .....

8. The State Governments should establish State Councils for the education of girls and women. .....

9. In each state, a woman should be appointed as Joint Director ..... responsible for the planning, organising and execution of all the programmes pertaining to their education.'[8]

The Committee sought the cooperation of the government, non-official organisations, local bodies, voluntary organisations, teachers' organisations and members of the public in the promotion of women's education at all stages.

'15. Every State should be required to prepare comprehensive development plans. .....

16. The system of matching grant should be done away with in so far as the development of the education of girls and women

8. *Report of the National Committee on Women's Education.* (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1959), pp. 192-4.

is concerned and the entire financial responsibility for this programme should be that of the Government of India."[9]

The Committee proposed the allocation of Rs. 10 million for the remaining period of the Second Plan and Rs. 1,000 million during the Third Plan period for the special development programme of women's education.

'19. The Planning Commission should set up a permanent machinery to estimate, as accurately as possible, the woman power requirements of the Plans from time to time and make the results of its studies available to the Government and the public.

20. Government should set up, as early as possible a high-power Committee to examine the so-called wastage in the medical and professional education of women."[10]

Primary Education (6-11 age group)

'21. School mothers should be appointed in all schools where there are no women teachers on the staff. .....

23. Concessions in kind (not in cash) should be given to all girls, whether from rural or urban areas, of parents below a certain income level. Such concessions should cover the cost of books and stationery, school uniforms or clothing and other such necessary educational equipment. .....

26. Graded attendance allowances to teachers on the basis of average attendance of girls, in their classes, may be introduced in rural areas. .....

29. The Government should recognise the great importance of creating a strong public opinion in the country in favour of the education of girls and women and take all possible measures for the purpose."[11]

Middle and Secondary Education (11-17 age group)

'31. (a) At the middle school stage, more and more co-educational institutions should be started, subject to the conditions that adequate attention is paid to meet the special needs and requirements of the girls; .....

9. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

32. (a) All girls (and all boys also) of parents below a prescribed income level should be given free education up to the middle stage .....

(b) In the secondary stage free education has not been recommended but in so far as girls are concerned, liberal exemptions - full and partial - from tuition and other fees should be granted to them."[12]

The Committee also recommended suitable hostel facilities. free and subsidised transport and effective guidance services in schools.

Curriculum and Syllabi

'43. There should be identical curriculum for boys and girls at the primary stage with the proviso that, even at this stage, subjects like music, painting, sewing, needlework, simple handwork, and cooking (in the last two years of the primary stage) should be introduced to make the courses more suitable for girls.

44. At the middle school stage, and more especially at the secondary stage, there is need for differentiation of curricula for boys and girls ..... by inclusion of subjects more useful for girls, ...

45. At the middle school stage, steps should be taken to provide a number of electives, so that girls may choose subjects according to individual tastes and aptitudes and in keeping with the career which they wish to take up later on in life. ..

48. Educational activities in schools should include programmes that will help in developing the moral sense of the students."[13]

Training and Employment of Women Teachers.

'52. The State Governments should be requested to take vigorous measures to increase the output of women teachers and to employ them in increasing numbers .....

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-9.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-2.

53. Immediate steps should be taken to set up additional training institutions for women teachers in all such areas of the country where a shortage exists at present. .....

56. A determined effort should be made to locate the training institutions for women primary teachers in rural areas.[14]

Provision of hostels and arrangement of crèches for the care of the children of the trainees, could add incentive to this training. Wherever possible part-time courses for preparation of women teachers could be organised.

The Committee also suggested many measures designed to induce women from urban areas to accept jobs in rural schools, and to increase the supply of women teachers from rural areas. It further proposed the relaxation of maximum age limit for entry into service in the case of women teachers. The Education Department should maintain a demand and supply list of women teachers. In order to enable women to manage their household duties and do some teaching work also, the Committee suggested more part-time employment of women teachers.

In view of the rising cost of living the existing scales of pay of teachers should be revised and the triple benefit scheme called the pension-cum-provident fund-cum insurance scheme should be made applicable to the permanent women employees in all institutions.

Professional and Vocational Education

'80. A thorough study of the vocational training needs and of the employment opportunities for women should be undertaken immediately by the Government. .....

82. Government should formulate a number of "Small Scale Industries Schemes" calculated to meet the needs of women, in consultation with the departments concerned. .....

84. Government should take immediate action by providing additional seats for women in existing training institutions and/or starting new Training Centres in vocations suitable to women. ...

94. Vocational guidance services should be organised on a wider scale. .....'[15]

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-8.

Special Educational Facilities for Adult Women

According to the *National Committee Report* special educational facilities for adult women should be provided for three valid reasons : on humanitarian grounds; as an act of pure social justice; and because of the need of women workers a number of Five Year Plan projects.

'112. Provision should also be made for condensed courses, which train women for suitable vocations after completion of necessary continuation education. .....

119. As many institutions providing special educational facilities for adult women as possible should be located in rural areas.'[16]

Role of Voluntary Organisations

'130. The existing grant-in-aid codes of the States need a thorough revision, ...

131. (a) A scheme similar to the Central Government scheme to assist voluntary organisations doing some experimental or valuable work in education should be prepared for girls' institutions only, and special funds allocated for it. .....

134. Women's Welfare Organisations should be encouraged to take up educational schemes for which aid should be given from the special fund proposed to be created for the development of the education of girls and women.'[17]

The Committee also discussed some special problems concerned with the university education of women, the pre-primary stage, and special and professional education. They made certain recommendations for financial assistance, and scholarships to them.

Organisation, Administration and Finance

'150. The existing proportion of women officers in the Education Departments should be substantially increased.

151. At the primary and middle stages, an increasing number of women inspecting officers should be employed and all new vacancies should be filled by women as far as possible.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-1.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-5.

152. At the secondary stage, girls' schools should be ordinarily inspected by women officers'.[18]

In addition, the National Committee recommended certain measures which concerned the education of both girls and boys. They can be summed up as follows. Wherever primary education is not free, immediate steps should be taken to make it so. Wherever new schools are started, preference should be given to the rural regions. Co-education should be adopted at the primary stage as a general policy. The shift system should be adopted as a temporary device, and under special conditions of emergency. The conditions in primary schools need much improvement in respect of staff, building, equipment, educational activities, and content and subjects actually taught, as well as methods of teaching employed. New patterns of cheap, healthy and convenient school buildings should be devised. Night schools should be started for those who cannot attend day schools. Inducement through the provision of mid-day meals should be offered to influence parents to send their children to schools. It was suggested that the heads of schools should convene periodical meetings with the guardians or parents in order to establish contacts.

The Committee suggested certain steps to be taken to reduce the extent of wastage and stagnation at different stages. According to the Committee wastage is mostly due to economic reasons, and in the case of girls, to early marriages. It is also the symptom of a number of other evils. Wastage can be eliminated if the extent of stagnation is reduced, the quality of education improved, the provision of free books and educational equipment and even clothing in the case of girls is made, incomplete schools are eliminated, and the law for the prevention of child marriages is rigorously enforced. School hours should be adjusted to the needs of the situation, and steps should be taken to adjust the vacations to suit local needs. Educative propaganda and a rigorous enforcement of the compulsory education law are also needed.

These are some of the important recommendations made by the National Committee on Women's Education. This was the first Committee ever appointed to examine in detail the problem of women's education. This Committee of educationists made such

18. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

a thorough study of the problem that there cannot be two opinions as to the appropriateness of the recommendations. Each and every detail had been taken into consideration. But the financial resources that these call for are not very easy to obtain. This was not the first time that such suggestions had been given. Many of these recommendations had been made in the Hunter Commission Report of 1882. Since then all the important reports had emphasised the importance of educating girls. it is surprising that, in spite of that, girls' education had lagged behind that of the boys'. People had been conservative in this matter, but also the lack of funds at the government level and at the level of the average person, was another important hurdle. The significant feature of this Report of the National Committee on Women's Education is that equal attention has been paid to the development of women's education in rural areas.

The National Council for Women's Education

As suggested by the National Committee on Women's Education, the National Council for Women's Education was set up by the Government of India in 1959. State Councils were also established in different states. The National Council was set up to advise the Government on the problem of girls' and women's education at all levels and stages. The Council made certain proposals at its first and second meetings held during 1959-60. Some of these were included in the Third Five Year Plan (1961-6). Although the recommendation of the Council was to regard the special programme for increasing the enrolment of girls as a centrally sponsored scheme, it was decided that it should be located in the state sector.

At its third meeting held in May 1961 the following major recommendations were made:

(a) The special programme for the education of girls as a centrally sponsored scheme in the Third Five Year Plan should not be discontinued. Urgent steps should be taken to revise the scheme by finding necessary funds in the supplementary budget.

(b) To continue to fix physical targets for boys and girls separately in respect of the schemes for each in the General Development Programme, the Council recommended to the Ministry

of Education of the Government of India to take immediate steps in this matter.

(c) To provide funds for the special programme for the education of girls in the Third Five Year Plan, the Chairman was requested to take up the matter with the Chairman of the National Development Council for allocation of more funds for the special programme.

Although no significant changes could be made in the decisions already taken in this respect, the Third Plan took note of the problems. The Union Education Minister also assured the House of Parliament that women's education would not be allowed to suffer from lack of funds.

Government's Action on the Council's Recommendations

The Central Government took the following action with regard to the recommendations of the National Council for Women's Education.

The Central Education Ministry was unable to implement the recommendation of locating the special programme in the centrally sponsored sector, but it promised to keep a close watch on the progress of the schemes in the state sector. The state governments were requested to give special emphasis to the education of girls in the general programme for 1962-3. The States were also advised to indicate separately the physical targets for girls and boys. They were to make separate financial provisions for each of them.

All the state administrations were requested to send a note on the measures taken by them in the Third Plan to increase the number of women teachers and also to indicate separately the additional number of women teachers to be appointed in each year of the Plan period. Many states had been asked to train or to employ as primary teachers, candidates from rural areas who had passed the condensed courses of the Central Social Welfare Board.

The Ministry of Education had requested that state governments should provide funds for the organisation of special enrolment drives for girls' and women's education weeks. They also asked for assistance from State Councils for intensive propoganda.

The Ministry proposed the production of one documentary film on girls' education in the next few years.

The Government had approved the proposal of seminars on girls' education and accordingly twenty-two seminars were to be organised during 1961-2. Such seminars had already been organised in Manipur, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore.

The Indira Gandhi Committee appointed by the National Council recommended the establishment of two institutions. These were to train women for high level executive jobs in selected fields where they were badly needed. The Government accepted the proposals in principle and preparatory steps to set up one such institute were taken.

The Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs finalised the details of the scheme of polytechnics for girls. Four polytechnics had been established by 1961.

On the recommendations of the Council, the Director General of Employment and Training in the Ministry of Labour requested the state governments to consider the admission of women trainees in the industrial centres in such trades as would increase their employment opportunities.

With the help of the Planning Commission, a preliminary study of the distribution of the women's working force in industry in 1961 had been made. It showed that 41.78 million women were employed. Of these women 80.3 per cent were engaged in agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting and 10 per cent in manufacturing. The next important profession was medical and health services.

Thus we find that, together with liberal concessions and assistance provided for their education at all stages, a general programme for women's social and economic betterment had also been launched.

CHAPTER 8

EDUCATION OF WOMEN DURING THE THIRD PLAN PERIOD 1961-1966

Educational Provisions in the Third Five Year Plan

The Third Five Year Plan was aimed mainly at expanding and intensifying the efforts to improve education and to bring every home within its influence. In the field of general education, the main emphasis was to be on the provision of facilities for the education of all children in the age-group six to eleven, the extension and improvement of science teaching at the secondary and university stages and the development of vocational and technical education at all levels. The Third Plan provided for the expansion and improvement of facilities for the training of teachers at every stage of education, and an increase in the number of scholarships. freeships and other assistance to pupils. The most important of all the provisions was the special emphasis given to the education of girls. The aim was to reduce substantially the existing disparity in the level of educational development of boys and girls. It was proposed to orient all elementary schools into the basic pattern. The expansion and improvement of facilities for post-graduate studies and further research was another objective of the Plan. The reorganisation of university education along the lines of the three year degree course was to be completed. At all stages, the Plan aimed at developing both skill and knowledge and a creative outlook as well as a feeling of national unity and understanding of common interests.

Pre-School Education. In the past, only voluntary organisations had been working to promote this. The need for pre-school education had been stressed in recent years, and the enrolment of children was 178,642 during 1960-1 in the Second Plan, from having been 28,646 in 1950-1 and 75,495 in 1955-6. The enrolment of girls was 82,122 in 1960-1 as against 30,631 in 1955-6 and 13,307 in 1950-1. The Third Plan provided for the setting up of six training centres for *'bal sevikas'*.[1] In the education programme

1. Child welfare women workers.

Rs. 30 million had been allotted for child welfare and allied schemes at the Centre, and about Rs. 10 million in the states, in addition to the resources available under the community development and social welfare programmes. The schemes for child welfare being formulated by the Ministry of Education, included the improvement of existing *'balwadis'*[2] and the opening of new *'balwadis'*, the expansion of training programmes for *'bal sevikas'*, and a number of pilot projects for child welfare in which education and the health and welfare services were to be organised in an integrated manner.

Elementary Education. Although the Constitution envisaged the provision of free, universal and compulsory education for all children up to the age of fourteen, it was agreed early in the Second Plan because of the immensity of the task, to create initially facilities for the education of all children in the age group six to eleven. This was one of the chief aims of the Third Plan, to be followed by the extension of education for the entire eleven to fourteen age group during the Fourth and Fifth Plans.

The authors of the Third Plan had in mind the fact that a very large gap still existed between the proportion of boys and girls attending school. While 80.5 per cent of boys in the six to eleven age group attended schools, the percentage of girls in this age group attending school was only 40.4 in 1960-1. Among the different states the proportion was below average in Rajasthan (15 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (20 per cent), Jammu and Kashmir (21 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (19 per cent), Bihar (27 per cent), Orissa (24 per cent) and Punjab (36 per cent).

The recommendations of the National Council for Women's Education have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. To some extent, proposals on these lines had been embodied in the plans of the states. The Third Plan proposed to review the various provisions which had been made in these plans at an early date, and from the second year of the Plan to take additional steps to expand especially those facilities which aimed at enlarging the supply of women teachers and attracting them to services in rural areas.

2. Centres which combine child welfare activities with pre-school education.

In backward areas, educational institutions were to be so located that almost every child could go to a school within easy walking distance from her home.

To overcome the problem of wastage and stagnation at this level, the Third Plan proposed the introduction of compulsory education, the appointment of trained and qualified teachers, improvements in the methods of teaching, promotion of greater understanding on the part of parents of the desirability of letting their children remain at school, and the planning of school holidays so that they coincided with the harvesting and sowing seasons.

In view of the importance of the programme for extending education to all children in the age group six to eleven, it was made plain in the Third Plan that financial considerations should not stand in the way of its execution in any state. But taking other factors into account, for example, the slow response of the backward and poorer sections of the population, the lack of sufficient teachers and so on, it was estimated that by the end of the Third Plan, about 90 per cent of the boys and 62 per cent of the girls would be at school, an overall percentage of 76.4 for the age group six to eleven. It was expected that about 15.3 million additional children would come into school of whom 8.6 million were likely to be girls as seen in the following table.[3]

PUPILS IN AGE GROUP 6-11

Year	*Enrolment in classes I-V* (in million)			*Percentage of population in age group* 6-11		
	Boys.	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1950-1	13.77	5.38	19.15	59.8	24.6	42.6
1955-6	17.53	7.64	25.17	70.3	32.4	52.9
1960-1	23.38	10.96	34.34	80.5	40.4	61.1
1965-6	30.12	19.52	49.64	90.4	61.6	76.4

Although the difference in the level of development between states would be narrowed to some extent, it would still be quite considerable.

3. *Third Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Government of India, (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1961), p. 580.

Middle School Education, (11-14 years). During the First and Second Plan period, the number of children in the age group eleven to fourteen doubled, while the number of girls increased nearly three times. However, at the end of the Second Plan in 1961 only 10.8 per cent of the girls were at school as compared with 34.3 per cent of the boys. The Third Plan fixed the enrolment target in classes VI - VIII at 28.6 per cent of the total population of the age group eleven to fourteen. But the proportion of girls enrolled was likely to be less than 17 per cent, against 39.9 per cent for the boys as shown in the following table.[4]

PUPILS IN AGE GROUP 11-14

Year	Enrolment in classes VI-VIII (in million)			Percentage of population in age group 11-14		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-1	2.59	0.53	3.12	20.7	4.5	12.7
1955-6	3.42	0.87	4.29	25.5	6.9	16.5
1960-1	4.82	1.47	6.29	34.3	10.8	22.8
1965-6	7.00	2.75	9.75	39.9	16.5	28.6

According to the Third Plan, in the more backward areas it was necessary to concentrate on the expansion of primary education. Only after that could rapid development of middle school education take place.

The question of providing facilities for training in suitable vocations on a part-time basis was under consideration. The Third Plan proposed the organisation of such courses to an increased extent at middle schools, basic schools, junior technical schools and other centres. The possibility of organising vocational training on a full-time basis for this age group was also to be studied.

In considering the expansion of facilities for girls' education, the Third Plan studied the various recommendations of the National Council for Women's Education.

In the entire age group of six to fourteen the number of children at school had gone up from 22.3 million to 40.6 million. The proportion of the total population, in the age group rose from 32 per cent to 48 per cent. While the proportion of boys

4. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

enrolled had risen from 46 per cent to 65 per cent, that of girls rose from 18 per cent to 31 per cent during the period 1950-1 to 1960-1. The Third Plan postulated an increase in enrolment in this age group about equal to that achieved during the preceding decade. For girls, the proportion of the age group enrolled was estimated to rise to about 46 per cent, and for boys to about 73 per cent, the overall proportion increasing to about 59.5 per cent.

Basic Education. The reorganisation of school education along basic lines had been a key part of the programme since the First Plan. During the Third Plan it was proposed to convert about 57,760 schools into basic schools, to orient the remaining schools to this basic pattern and to remodel all training institutions along basic lines. The Third Plan suggested the establishment of such schools in urban areas and the linking up of basic education with the development activities of each local community. Progress in this direction could not be very fast since the majority of the teachers had yet to be trained in the techniques of basic education. In order to complete the process of orientation during the earlier phase of the Third Plan, it was proposed that the schools should be given the simple equipment needed for the purpose, and teachers who had not been trained in basic education should be given short orientation courses.

Towards the end of the Second Plan, 276 new training institutions were set up in preparation for the introduction of universal primary education during the Third Plan. The state schemes provided for equipment, buildings and other facilities for these and other institutions.

The Third Plan emphasised the need for the introduction of local community efforts as supplementary to the provisions made in the states' plans. Community efforts might be in the form of the organisation of enrolment drives, persuading parents to send girls to schools, the construction of school buildings and provision of additional equipment and furniture for schools, and midday meals and free clothing for the poorer children. It was suggested that the state government should endeavour to provide for community efforts, at any rate wherever local communities came forward to take their due share in them.

Secondary Education. The expansion of secondary education had encouraged a larger range of abilities and aptitudes in pupils. Hence secondary schools had to be so reorganised that they would provide a diversified educational service to pupils according to their several needs. The programme for the reorganisation and improvement of secondary education, which was started following the report of the Secondary Education Commission, had developed along several lines and was designed both to enlarge the content of secondary education and to make it a separate and distinct part of the educational process. The measures taken were: the conversion of high schools into higher secondary schools, the development of multi-purpose schools with provision for a number of elective subjects along with, and in addition to, the academic course, the expansion and improvement of facilities for the teaching of science and the provision of vocational and educational guidance. The other steps in this direction were the improvement of the examination and evaluation system, the extension of facilities for the education of girls and backward classes and the encouragement of merit by means of scholarships.

All these changes involved a major revision of the secondary school curriculum and the introduction of new techniques and procedures. Secondary school teachers had also to be thoroughly prepared to handle the new subjects efficiently. The consolidation and improvement of quality in all aspects of secondary education reorganisation was, therefore, especially emphasised in the Third Plan.

Although the number of girls in classes IX to XI increased from 200,000 to 520,000 during the two Plan periods, girls constituted less than one-fifth of the total number attending secondary schools. As is clear from the following table, at the end of the Second Plan only about 4.2 per cent of the girls took advantage of high school education, as compared with about 18.4 per cent of the boys in the age group fourteen to seventeen. The disparity between the enrolment of girls and boys was very serious for it affected the number of women teachers, nurses, village level workers, social workers and others. The Third Plan postulated about 100 per cent increase in the number of girls in schools but their proportion in the age group as a whole would be 6.9 per

cent, as compared to 23.7 per cent of boys as shown in the table[5] given below.

PUPILS IN AGE GROUP 14-17

Year	Enrolment in classes IX-XI (in million)			Percentage of population in age group 14-17		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-1	1.02	0.20	1.22	8.7	1.8	5.3
1955-6	1.58	0.30	1.88	12.8	2.6	7.8
1960-1	2.39	0.52	2.91	18.4	4.2	11.5
1965-6	3.57	0.99	4.56	23.7	6.9	15.6

Science Education. The Second Plan emphasised the expansion and improvement of science education at the secondary stage. By the end of the Plan a programme for the teaching of general or elementary science had been introduced in almost all secondary schools. In the Third Plan, in addition to providing for general science tuition in all secondary schools as a compulsory subject, more than 9,500 out of 21,800 secondary schools were also to have science of an elective standard. A number of supporting measures were also proposed to improve and strengthen the teaching of science. The shortage of teachers was also to be overcome as much as possible by increasing facilities for science education at the university stage, and by providing various types of in-service training in content and methodology for the existing science teachers.

Multi-purpose Schools. During the first two Plans, 2,115 multi-purpose schools were established. These offered one or more practical courses in technology, agriculture, commerce, home science and fine arts in addition to the humanities and science. But the lack of teachers, insufficient teaching material, especially text books and hand books, the limited range of elective courses and inadequacy of educational and vocational guidance facilities, were some of the difficulties in its proper implementation. During the Third Plan it was proposed to concentrate on the consolidation of the scheme by strengthening the institutions already established. An integrated teacher-training programme for the multi-purpose schools was suggested and for this purpose

5. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

the establishment of four regional training colleges was proposed by the Planning Commission in the Third Five Year Plan to prepare teachers through in-service and pre-service training programmes both in the practical and the scientific subjects.

Educational and Vocational Guidance. During the Second Plan, in addition to setting up a Central Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance, State Bureaux of Educational and Vocational Guidance were established in twelve states. These bureaux had been carrying out a programme of training of career masters and counsellors, test construction and guidance services to schools, but this guidance movement had not made a significant impact on secondary schools. It was proposed in the Third Plan to strengthen the State Bureaux so as to help them to carry the guidance programme far into the field, and also to ensure a minimum programme of career information service in as many secondary schools as possible.

Training of Teachers. The number of training colleges had risen from fifty-three in 1950-1 to 236 in 1960-1. In the Third Plan this number was expected to increase to 312. The Plan sought to expand and reorganise the existing training colleges to increase the supply of trained teachers, and to align them with the current needs of secondary schools. Pre-service training of teachers in science and social studies, the introduction of new techniques of evaluation, the provision of a number of special subjects, such as guidance and audio-visual education, and the organisation of research were especially emphasised by the Third Plan. To provide in-service training facilities, extension centres were established during the Second Plan at fifty-four selected training colleges. These centres had been carrying out a comprehensive programme of in-service training, including seminars, workshops and conferences, audio-visual, library and guidance services, and publications. It was proposed by the Planning Commission to extend the scheme to a larger number of training colleges during the Third Plan with the ultimate object of making the extension service an integral part of the work of every training college.

University Education. The number of universities had increased from twenty-seven in 1950-1 to thirty-two in 1955-6 and to forty-six in 1960-1 and about a dozen more universities were likely

to be added during the Third Plan. The number of colleges exclusive of intermediate colleges rose from 772 in 1955-6 to 1,050 in 1960-1. During the Third Plan the addition of about seventy to eighty colleges every year was suggested. For diverting students to vocational and technological education larger facilities were provided. In addition, proposals for evening colleges, correspondence course and the award of external degrees were under consideration. A large number of scholarships were provided to the best science students.

Three-Year Degree Course. The three-year degree course also included an improvment in the teacher-pupil ratio, the introduction of the tutorial system, general education, improvement of laboratories and instructional buildings. Periodical conferences, seminars, summer schools and refresher courses were to be organised as in the Second Plan for teachers in different subjects. Teachers could obtain special grants for visiting centres of research for short periods. Among additional amenities for students were the provision of hostels, hobby workshops, non-resident students centres, health centres, counselling and student aid funds. These were to be continued in the Third Plan.

Women's Education. The Plan considered the need for increasing the proportion of women students in colleges and universities to take up different occupations. The proportion of women students to the total enrolment in Indian universities was about 13 per cent in 1955-6, about 17 per cent in 1960-1 and was expected to be about 21 per cent in 1965-6. Apart from providing facilities for the increasing number of women students during the Second Plan, courses of special interest to women were initiated such as home science, music, drawing, painting, nursing and so on. These facilities were further expanded. During the Second Plan, the University Grants Commission provided liberal assistance for women's colleges and women's hostels. The Third Plan sought to continue it. In order to encourage women students, special scholarships were further provided. A proposal for setting up an institute for training women in organisation, administration and management was under examination.

Girls' Education. While the additional number of boys enrolled in schools was 13.2 millions, the additional enrolment of girls was only 6.8 millions during the period 1950-1 to 1960-1. The census

of 1961 had also shown that, as against a literacy rate of 34 per cent for men, only 12.8 per cent of the women were literate. Hence the most important objective during the Third Plan was to expand facilities for the education of girls at various stages. According to the programme, taking the age group six to fourteen, the proportion of girls at school should have increased to 46 per cent compared to 73 per cent for boys. Out of about 20.4 million additional children to be enrolled in schools during the Third Plan in the various age groups, about 10.3 millions were expected to be girls, their proportion in the lowest age group being 56 per cent. Even to achieve the above mentioned estimates, a massive effort was needed throughout the country.

Of the resources available under the Plan for the development of education, about Rs. 1,759 million were earmarked for girls' education, of which Rs. 1,140 million were for education at the primary and middle school stages. Some provision had also been made for special schemes intended to support the general programme of girls' education. The Third Plan suggested that in implementing the various provisions in their plans, states ought to keep in view detailed recommendations contained in the Report of the National Committee on Women's Education. Special emphasis was laid on creating suitable conditions for encouraging parents to send their daughters to schools, educating public opinion, increasing the number of women from rural areas who could take up teaching, and inducing women from urban areas to accept posts as teachers in rural schools. It was proposed to evaluate carefully from year to year the progress made in implementing the programme for girls' education and to take such further measures as might be needed for realising the targets set for the Third Plan. In this field, the Plan considered it necessary to study closely such successful methods as might be evolved in different parts of the country and to make such experience generally available. In drawing up annual plans also, care was to be taken to see that the programme was not held back for lack of financial resources and that the social and organisational limitations which impeded progress were eliminated as early as possible.

It was also suggested that scholarships should be awarded to promising students in need of assistance, and to continue the aid

to the higher stages in education. To help overcome the inadequate supply of science and women teachers, it was proposed to select promising students at the post-matriculation stage and assist them with scholarships and stipends through the entire period of training. They were to be given the prospect of assured employment and in return to be under an obligation to serve for a prescribed period.

Teachers' Salary Scales and Conditions of Service. This problem received special attention towards the end of the First Plan. During the Second Plan considerable progress was made, and Rs. 300 million were estimated to be incurred on increasing the salaries of school teachers. In the Third Plan also, some states made provision for improving teachers' salaries and allowances. Attempts were made to improve the economic and social status of teachers. The Plan also provided for merit scholarships for the children of elementary and secondary school teachers.

Educational Research and Training. It was proposed to establish a National Institute of Educational Research and Training which sought to merge the existing Central Institute of Education and other central institutes. This autonomous organisation would cover different areas of educational research, including elementary, secondary, social and audio-visual education, also the training of key personnel in these and other fields.

The Third Plan also made suggestions about the problems of teaching crafts, school libraries, post-graduate studies and research, rural institutes, text books, examination reforms, development of Hindi and Sanskrit, education of the handicapped, physical education, sports and youth welfare activities, social education and adult literacy, libraries, cultural programmes and national integration.

Progress of Women's Education

A steady rate of expansion continued in education during the Third Five Year Plan. It is estimated that the target of bringing 9.84 million more girls of the six to fourteen age group to schools may have exceeded by the end of the Plan.[6] Greater demand for facilities at the middle schools, and high and higher

6. Complete figures of 1965-6 are not yet available.

secondary schools had been made. Similar extensions had taken place at the college and the university stage. The programmes for the improvement of education at all stages were implemented as regards science education, the provision of qualified teachers, equipment and library facilities. The number of scholarships and fellowships had been increased.

Elementary Education

The following table[7] shows the enrolment (in millions) at the elementary (primary and middle) stage of education.

Enrolment in classes	1960-1 *Positions*	1961-6 *Target*	1961-6 *Estimated*	1965-6 *Positions* (2 + 4)
1	2	3	4	5
I to V				
Total	34.99	15.30	16.98	51.97
Girls	11.40	8.56	8.47	19.87
VI to VIII				
Total	6.71	3.46	4.22	10.93
Girls	1.63	1.28	1.38	3.01

Since sufficient additional buildings and trained teachers could not be provided to cope with the increased enrolment, there had been a rise in the teacher-pupil ratio, overcrowding of classes and the introduction of double shifts.

The scheme of midday meals for children in primary schools made progress during this period. With the assistance given by international and foreign agencies about 10 million children were covered under the scheme by 1965-6 as against 4 million in 1960-1. The Central Government assisted the scheme at the rate of one-third of the expenditure.

The enrolment of girls in classes I to V during 1960-1 and the estimated state-wise figures for 1965-6 can be seen in the following table.[8]

7. *The Third Plan, Mid-Term Appraisal*, Government of India, Planning Commission (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1963), p. 154.
8. *The Indian Year Book of Education, 1961, First Year Book, 1947-61*, (National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1965), p. 347.

ENROLMENT OF GIRLS IN THE AGE GROUP 6-11 (1960-1 & 1965-6)

State	Enrolment in classes I-V		Percentage of population in the age group 6-11 (estimated)	
	1960-1	1965-6	1960-1	1965-6
	(in millions)			
Andhra Pradesh	1.135	1.880	52.2	72.7
Assam	0.415	0.609	50.4	66.9
Bihar	0.739	1.800	24.1	54.7
Gujarat	0.723	1.101	52.9	71.9
Jammu & Kashmir	0.045	0.078	20.7	34.2
Kerala	1.110	1.233	100.0	99.7
Madras	1.280	2.200	65.9	93.1
Madhya Pradesh	0.449	1.000	22.4	43.8
Maharashtra	1.452	2.170	58.4	75.3
Mysore	0.807	1.536	55.3	88.1
Orissa	0.440	0.550	39.0	44.3
Punjab	0.463	0.786	34.7	55.2
Rajasthan	0.215	0.710	16.3	48.4
Uttar Pradesh	0.868	2.150	19.5	41.9
West Bengal	1.021	1.352	45.9	60.7
Others	0.239	0.364	—	—
Total	11.401	19.519	41.4	61.6

The above figures are self-explanatory. The education of girls at the primary stage needed special encouragement in Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

Similar wide variations were also found in the education of girls at the middle stage. At one end was Kerala, and at the other Orissa. The following table[9] shows the positions of different states.

Besides these regional disparities, urban areas in all parts of the country showed a rapid advance and there was a small gap between the number of girls and boys receiving elementary education, but in rural areas prejudice against girls' education and general poverty had impeded the progress. The case was similar among the poorer sections of the society. Only 61.6

9. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

ENROLMENT OF GIRLS IN THE AGE GROUP 11-14 (1960-1 & 1965-6)

State	*Enrolment in classes VI - VIII*		*Percentage of population in the age group 11-14 (estimated)*	
	1960-1	1965-6	1960-1	1965-6
Andhra	92,000	145,000	7.6	10.4
Assam	61,000	105,000	14.6	24.5
Bihar	56,000	185,000	3.7	10.7
Gujarat	108,000	221,000	15.2	27.6
Jammu & Kashmir	11,000	16,000	9.5	13.0
Kerala	297,000	258,000	49.1	37.3
Madhya Pradesh	49,000	80,000	5.4	6.7
Madras	210,000	279,000	19.1	21.5
Maharashtra	196,000	325,000	15.3	21.2
Mysore	101,000	198,000	12.5	21.2
Orissa	12,000	34,000	2.0	5.2
Punjab	89,000	201,000	12.6	26.4
Rajasthan	28,000	75,000	4.1	9.8
Uttar Pradesh	122,000	160,000	5.1	5.9
West Bengal	134,000	372,000	11.5	29.4
Others	65,000	94,000	—	—
Total	1,631,000	2,748,000	11.3	16.5

per cent of the girls in the six to eleven age group and 16.5 per cent of the girls in the eleven to fourteen age group were expected to be under instruction in India after the completion of the Third Five Year Plan. The disparity in levels of educational development between girls and boys was slightly reduced. Nearly 28.8 per cent more boys were under instruction in the age group six to eleven in 1965-6 as compared to about 40.1 per cent in 1960-1.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The target of additional enrolment for the age group fourteen to seventeen was 1.7 millions but in fact it was likely to be 2.3 millions. The following table[10] showing the enrolment (in millions) makes the position clear.

10. *The Third Plan Mid-Term Appraisal*, New Delhi, 1963, p. 155.

Year	Enrolment in classes IX - XI (in millions)		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1960-1	2.407	0.540	2.955
1961-2	2.782	0.643	3.425
1962-3	3.182	0.753	3.935
1963-4	3.552	0.863	4.415
1965-6 (target)	3.570	0.990	4.560
1965-6 (estimated)	4.146	1.116	5.262

It was estimated that the enrolment of girls would exceed the target by 126,000 by 1965-6 and that of boys by 576,000. Because of the shortage of staff, lack of equipment and materials in certain states, high schools could not be converted into higher secondary schools. The scheme for the expansion of science education in secondary schools as an elective subject could not progress much, due to shortage of teachers.

The scheme of educational and vocational guidance was started in 1952-3 and it continued as a centrally-sponsored scheme in 1965-6. Educational and vocational guidance bureaux were set up in almost all the states.

The following table[11] shows the enrolment of girls in this age group among different states. At this stage also Kerala led the figures, while Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan still had far to go.

Training of Teachers. Training facilities could not keep pace with the expansion requirements. The difficulty in making financial provisions for the teacher training programme had to be overcome. Four regional colleges of education were set up to train teachers for diversified courses and in other subjects like science and mathematics. Some programmes to improve the qualifications of existing teachers through part-time and correspondence courses were considered. To raise the standard of teaching it was thought necessary to raise the salaries of teachers. Attempts were made in this direction. Grades of primary and secondary teachers were revised during the Third Plan period.

11. *The Indian Year Book of Education, 1961*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 354.

ENROLMENT OF GIRLS IN THE AGE GROUP 14-17 (1960-1 & 1965-6)

State	*Enrolment in classes IX-XI, XII*		*Percentage of population in the age group 14-17 (estimated)*	
	1960-1	1965-6	1960-1	1965-6
Andhra Pradesh	31,000	42,000	2.7	3.5
Assam	26,000	40,000	7.0	11.5
Bihar	21,000	60,000	1.6	4.2
Gujarat	40,000	73,000	6.2	10.6
Jammu & Kashmir	5,000	4,000	4.7	3.7
Kerala	71,000	115,000	12.6	18.7
Madhya Pradesh	18,000	15,000	2.0	1.5
Madras	67,000	126,000	6.3	11.0
Maharashtra	78,000	119,000	6.7	9.0
Mysore	37,000	61,000	4.8	7.5
Orissa	4,000	13,000	0.7	2.4
Punjab	30,000	43,000	4.7	6.6
Rajasthan	7,000	20,000	1.1	3.1
West Bengal	45,000	130,000	4.3	11.5
Uttar Pradesh	38,000	80,000	1.8	3.5
Others	23,000	44,000	—	—
Total	541,000	985,000	4.1	6.9

HIGHER EDUCATION

The number of universities increased to sixty-two in 1965-6. Science education facilities could not be improved due to lack of library facilities, building, equipment and teaching personnel. However, certain measures had been initiated to develop post-graduate departments, to improve libraries, to expand science education facilities, to provide senior and junior fellowships and to develop affiliated colleges. Correspondence courses were started at the University of Delhi on an experimental basis. During the first two years of the Plan about 4,000 scholarships were awarded to new entrants to degree and diploma courses.

The number of arts, science, professional and technical institutions also rose. Similarly, their enrolment considerably increased. The total number of girls in such institutions was 186,000 during 1960-1. It was estimated to rise to 310,000 by the end of the Third Five Year Plan period, whereas the number of boys was

expected to go up to 1,370,000, more than four times that of girls, against 912,000 during 1960-1. But while boys' enrolment rose by 40 per cent, that of girls' rose by 67 per cent.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training was set up in September 1961 as an autonomous organisation under the Government of India, Ministry of Education. Its objectives were to promote, organise and foster research in all branches of education, to organise advanced level training, to disseminate knowledge of improved educational techniques and practice in the school system and to act as a clearing house, and with this object undertake special studies, surveys and investigations.

Other Schemes. The scheme of assistance to voluntary organisations working in the field of women's education was started during 1962-3 and continued in operation since then. Under this scheme financial assistance was given for projects of experimental or educationally significant nature, laboratories and libraries in girls' secondary schools and training institutions and hostels attached to them.

In view of the importance of educating public opinion on the need and importance of girls' education, a film on girls' education entitled 'Who Seek the Light' was produced by the Films Division, sponsored by the Ministry of Education.

The scheme of condensed courses for adult women was implemented by the Central Social Welfare Board. During the Third Plan period more than 600 courses were sanctioned for the instruction of adult women. Seminars on women's education were organised in different parts of the country. Central assistance was sanctioned for them. The target of establishing twenty-four polytechnics for women could not be fully attained.

A pilot survey on the attitude of women towards part-time employment was completed by the Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay during the Third Plan period.

The Education Commission of 1964

The post-independence period in India witnessed a tremendous expansion in the field of education at almost all levels. How-

ever, qualitative improvements could not keep pace with the quantitative expansion. There had been a general feeling that the approach to educational reconstruction in the post-war period had been piecemeal. Two commissions as well as several committees were appointed during this period. The reports of these committees and commissions, though useful in their way, could not produce a clear and comprehensive picture of the national system of education. In a democratic country like India, a planned integrated and flexible system of education was badly needed.

The Government of India therefore appointed an Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari on 14 July 1964, to consider the development of the entire educational system and to formulate a national system of education. The Resolution of the Government of India setting up the Education Commission pointed out: 'In view of the important role of education in the economic and social development of the country, in the building of a truly democratic society, in the promotion of national integration and unity, and above all, for the transformation of the individual in the endless pursuit of excellence and perfection, it is now considered imperative to survey and examine the entire field of education in order to realise within the shortest possible period a well-balanced, integrated and adequate system of national education capable of making a powerful contribution to all spheres of national life."[12]

This Education Commission was the sixth to be appointed since the Wood's Education Despatch of 1854. The Indian Education Commission of 1882, under the Chairmanship of Sir William Hunter, was the first to be appointed. It made a significant contribution in regard to the education of girls, amongst other things. University and technical education were not amongst its subjects of study. The second, the Indian Universities Commission, was appointed under the Chairmanship of Mr. Raleigh in 1902. On the basis of the recommendations of this Commission, the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed, and this helped in raising standards. The Calcutta University Commission appointed in 1917 under the chairmanship of an eminent educationist, Sir Michael Sadler, greatly influenced the develop-

12. *Education Commission Questionnaire*, Ministry of Education, Government of India, Delhi, 1965, p. i.

ment of higher education in India in the ninteen-twenties and thirties. The fourth Commission, and the first to be appointed after independence, was the University Education Commission of 1948 under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The entire development of higher education in the post-independence period was greatly benefitted by the recommendations of this Commission. The Secondary Education Commission of 1952, appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, was another milestone in India's educational history. The programme of higher secondary and multi-purpose schools is the direct result of the recommendations of this Commission.

The Education Commission of 1964 was unique in the sense that it had comprehensive terms of reference. In addition, the approach of the Commission was truly international. Some eminent scientists and educationists from U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France and Japan were also associated with it. This Commission had to advise the Government of India on the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all its aspects. The Commission submitted its final report on 29 June 1966.

Report of the Education Commission 1964-6

The Report makes recommendations about various sectors and aspects of education. It has mainly emphasised the introduction of work experience and social service as integral parts of general education; moral education and inculcation of a sense of social responsibility; vocationalisation of secondary education; the strengthening of centres of advanced study and the setting up of a small number of major universities which would aim to achieve the highest international standards; the training and quality of teachers of schools; education for agriculture and development of quality or pace-setting institutions at all stages and in all sectors.

As regards the education of girls and women the Commission points out: 'The significance of the education of girls cannot be over-emphasised. For full development of our human resources, the improvement of homes, and for moulding the character of children during the most impressionable years of infancy, the education of women is of even greater importance than that of

men. ..... In the struggle for freedom, Indian women fought side by side with men. This equal partnership will have to continue in the fight against hunger, poverty, ignorance and ill-health."[13]

The Commission fully endorsed the recommendations of the National Committee on Women's Education (1958-9), on special programmes for women's education, educating public opinion, popularising mixed primary schools, providing free books *etc.* to girls, expansion of secondary education among girls, part-time and vocational education for girls, programme of scholarships and financial assistance, setting up of special machinery in the Central Government and the states to look after girls' and women's education and the employment of women teachers. The Commission paid special attention to the full-time employment of unmarried women, those women whose children reach school-going age, and part-time employment of educated housewives. Opportunities for such employments would have to be increased

On the issue of differentiation of curriculum for boys and girls, the Education Commission endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on Differentiation of Curricula between Boys and Girls, appointed by the National Council for Women's Education, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Hansa Mehta. According to this Committee in the democratic and socialistic pattern of society which we visualise, education will be related to individual capacities, aptitudes and interests which are not strictly related to sex. There would, therefore, be no need to differentiate the curricula on the basis of sex. In the present transitional phase some differentiation will have to be made, provided that values and aptitudes essential in the long run are increasingly built up in men and women and existing differences are not perpetuated.

In the view of the Commission, while courses on home science, music and fine arts should be provided at the secondary stage on a large scale, they should not be made compulsory for girls. Special efforts should be made to encourage girls to study mathematics or science at the secondary stage. At the higher stages women students should have free access to courses in arts, humanities, sciences and technology. However, there needs to be em-

13. *Report of the Education Commission, 1964-6, Education and National Development,* (The Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1966), p. 135.

phasis on technical and vocational element in such courses. Some of the professional fields where women's services are required are those of education, social work, nursing and a series of occupational fields such as nutrition, dietetics, institutional managements *etc.*, These courses should be expanded.

The Commission suggested that one or two universities should set up research units to deal especially with women's education. These should take up follow-up studies of educated women, consider women's education from the point of view of employment opportunities available to women and ensure proper planning of women's education particularly at the stage of higher education.

The Commission was also of the view that education of women should be regarded as a major programme in education for some years to come and a bold and determined effort should be made to face the difficulties involved and to close the existing gap between the education of men and women in as short a time as possible.

Thus we find that for the education of women in India, the Education Commission had little to suggest beyond the recommendations of the National Committee on Women's Education (1958-9), which have already been discussed earlier in this work. What is now needed is action on the part of the government and people in general.

CHAPTER 9

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Pre-Independence Period (1921-1947)

This study of women's education ends with the Third Five Year Plan period. Begininng with the Government of India Act of 1919 and the introduction of diarchial government, this period brought about many important advances in the field of women's education. There was a time when, as reported by the Hunter Commission in 1882, only one girl out of 849 was under instruction, and only one in 430 could read and write. The situation had taken a turn for the better by 1921, when the Indianisation of education took place. The period from 1921 to 1947 was one of intense political activities and an unprecedented progress in women's education.

The number of girls' institutions in British India rose from 26,144 in 1921-2 to about 38,262 in 1936-7. The decrease in number in later years was due to the Second World War, its financial implications, and later the partition of India. The divided India had only 17,500 girls' institutions during 1947-8. The special feature of this period had been the enormous increase in the number of special schools particularly those for adults. Girls' colleges and professional colleges also increased considerably.

Enrolment

There were 1.42 million girls under instruction in all types of institutions during 1921-2. During 1946-7 the number rose to about 4.3 millions. Out of these, 80 per cent of girls were at the primary stage. The ratio between girl and boy pupils was 1 : 4.5 in 1921-2. This figure rose to 1 : 3.2 in 1946-7.

Curriculum

As far back as 1882, the Hunter Commission had emphasised the need to differentiate the curriculum for girls. The first All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reforms, held at Poona in 1927, had recommended that alternative courses should

be started to suit the needs of the girls who did not intend to take up college education. These courses were to include the subjects of domestic science, fine arts, handicrafts and industries. Similar recommendations were made by different women's organisations. The Hartog Committee (1929) pointed out that girls' education should not be dominated by university requirements. The Sargent Report (1944) expressed similar views. The fact that recommendations were continuously being made for a separate curriculum for girls shows that the existing system did not allow for the particular needs of girls. The whole situation seems to have moved in a vicious circle. Properly trained teachers were not available to teach these subjects. However, this is understandable as there were inadequate facilities for the training of teachers. Some attempts were however made in this direction. During 1921-2, hygiene, first aid, cooking, household management, embroidery, and lace-making were introduced in some schools in Madras and Bombay Provinces. In Bengal, vocal and instrumental music was introduced in almost all the schools, and hygiene was a compulsory subject for girls. These subjects were also introduced in other provinces. But these alternative courses were limited to a very few schools. In general there was no difference between girls' and boys' school curriculum.

Expenditure

The total expenditure on the institutions for girls and women was Rs. 16.31 million during 1921-2. This was 8.8 per cent of the total expenditure on education. During 1946-7 it had increased to Rs. 66.59 million out of the total expenditure of Rs. 576.61 million spent on education. However, the percentage of expenditure on women's institutions was the same. Though the figures had risen four times from 1921-2, the conditions of schools had not shown marked improvement, mainly because of the Second World War and the resulting economic depression. This had led to a rise in the prices of all commodities, including the cost of building material and other equipment. The pay of school teachers had to be raised to keep up with the rising index of living. Therefore, although the expenditure had risen, the conditions in the schools themselves had only improved slightly.

Post-Independence Period (1947-1966)

Today, the picture of India's under-developed past is radically changing, although there is still more that can be achieved. The demand for education has been increasing very sharply, not only in urban areas but also in rural areas. Priority is being given to the education of women and other classes for whom schooling was once a rarity. Over the past few years, the rapid increase in the enrolment of children has involved, not only substantial expenditure, but problems of training teachers, building and equipping schools and colleges, and setting up new institutions for professional education. Since independence, India has made an equally strong effort to improve the quality of education. An attempt has been made to adapt the educational system as a whole to teach the new skills and outlook needed by an independent developing nation.

Before 1947 the Government of India had no direct and integrated programme of educational reconstruction. Since then, in the post-independent period, it has developed a large programme of educational expansion and improvement in almost every sector. The Central Government and the states participate equally in the preparation of educational plans. Similarly, the responsibility for primary education is shared by the local bodies as well as the state government, although the local bodies are mainly responsible for it. Voluntary organisations have always played an important part in the development of education in India. In recent years several efforts have been made to provide greater assistance and encouragement to voluntary organisations.

Elementary Education

In view of the directive of the Constitution of India, to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of fourteen years, rapid expansion has been the aim at the elementary stage of education in the post-independent India. Equal importance has been given to the qualitative improvement by way of improving the quality of the teachers, teaching methods and text books. Attempts have been made to provide midday meals, better buildings and equipment in the schools.

Basic education has been adopted as the national pattern of education at this stage. Some efforts have been made for the

universal provision of schools. The educational survey of 1958 and 1959 tried to ascertain the number of schools that would be needed to provide education that would be within walking distance from the home of every child. Efforts have been made for the last two decades to provide schools in almost all the villages.

In the field of girls' elementary education, considerable expansion took place. The following table[1] shows the enrolment of boys and girls in the 6-11 and 11-14 age groups in the post-independent period.

ENROLMENT IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION 1946-7 to 1955-6

Year	*Total enrolment in classes* I-V *(in millions)*	*Percentage of enrolment in classes* I-V *to total population in the age group* 6-11	*Total enrolment in classes* VI-VIII *(in millions)*	*Percentage of enrolment in classes* VI-VIII *to total population in the age group* 11-14
1946-7				
Boys	10.63	53.1	1.72	15.4
Girls	3.48	17.4	0.32	2.9
Total	14.11	35.0	2.04	9.0
1950-1				
Boys	13.77	59.8	2.59	20.7
Girls	5.38	24.6	0.53	4.5
Total	19.15	42.6	3.12	12.7
1955-6				
Boys	17.53	70.3	3.42	25.5
Girls	7.64	32.4	0.87	6.9
Total	25.17	52.9	4.29	16.5
1960-1				
Boys	23.59	82.6	5.08	33.2
Girls	11.40	41.4	1.63	11.3
Total	34.99	62.4	6.71	22.5
1965-6 (Plan Target)				
Boys	30.12	90.4	7.00	39.9
Girls	19.52	61.6	2.75	16.5
Total	49.64	76.4	9.75	28.6

1. *The Indian Year Book of Education*, 1961, First Year Book, Part I (National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1965) p. 226.

Plate IX

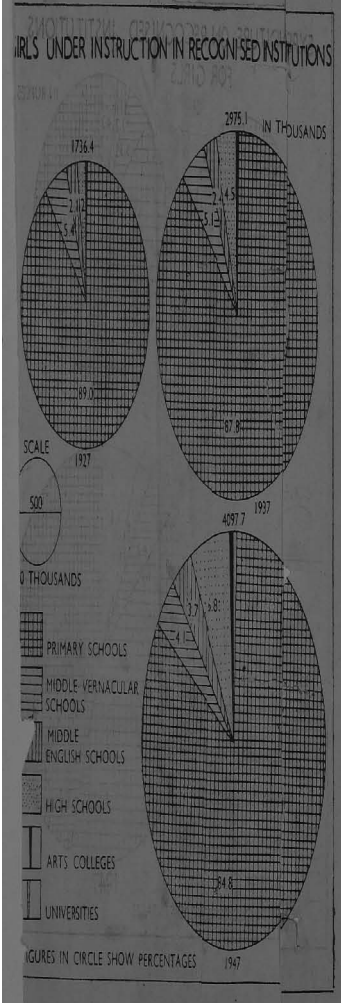
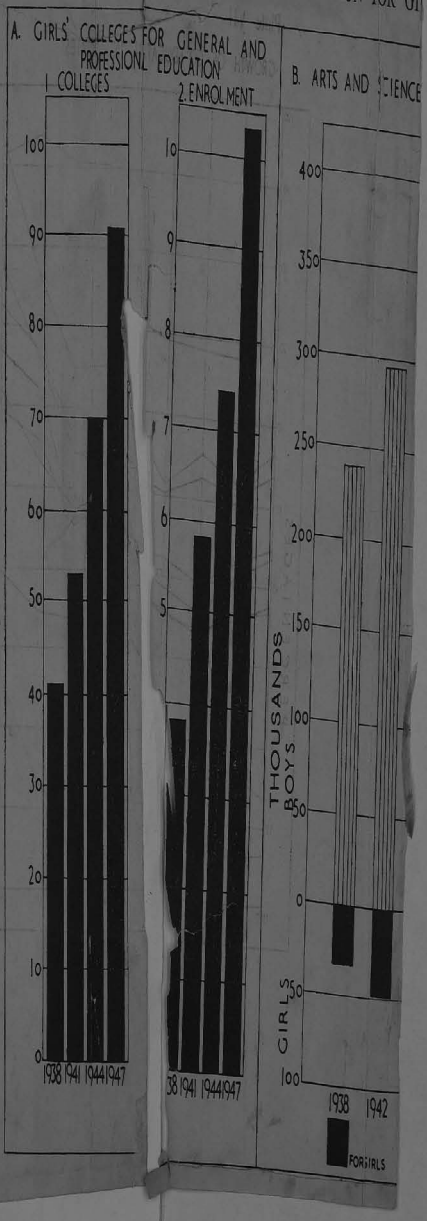


Plate X



The enrolment of girls in the 6-11 age group increased by 2.26 millions during the First Plan period, 3.76 millions during the Second Plan period and is likely to rise by 8.12 millions by the completion of the Third Plan period. The percentage of girls under instruction in this age group in 1946-7 was 17.4, and is likely to be 61.6 during 1965-6. Similarly in the 11-14 age group, the enrolment of girls is likely to rise by 2.22 millions during 1951-66, and the percentage of girls in this age group should rise from 4.5 to 16.5 during this period. While the enrolment of girls in classes I to V is expected to rise by about three and a half times, in the classes VI to VIII it should rise by about five times during the period 1951 to 1966.

Though this increase appears quite satisfactory, it is far from the target which India had fixed, i.e., the provision of free and compulsory education in the 6-14 age group. Educational facilities for 38.4 per cent of all girls in the 6-11 age group and 83.5 per cent of all girls in the 11-14 age group are yet to be provided.

Efforts have also been made to improve the quality of primary education. The minimum qualifications of the primary school teachers have been raised. Preference is given to women who have matriculated, although women are also accepted who have not matriculated. Professional training for primary school teachers has also improved. The average salaries for primary and middle school teachers, which were Rs. 479 and Rs. 570 a year respectively in 1949-50, rose to Rs. 873 and Rs. 1,057 respectively in 1960-1.

Curricula, text books and teaching methods have also shown improvement during these two decades. Almost all the states have revised and improved their curricula. An integrated curriculum which combines traditional and basic syllabuses is more common. The quality of text books has also improved. Many schools, though not yet converted to the basic pattern, put more emphasis on co-curricular activities. Another important feature is the provision of midday meals and milk in some of these schools, with the assistance of the CARE and the UNICEF. Physical education has also received much more attention in the post-independence period than at any time in the past. It is now an integral part of the primary and secondary school syllabuses.

Wastage and stagnation is slightly reduced, but it still remains a major problem. Only 35 per cent of children in class I reach class V. Similarly, 60 per cent of children in class VI reach class VIII. The wastage and stagnation is still greater among girls than boys. The main reason for this wastage is the premature withdrawal of girls, as they are more useful at home after eight or nine years of age. Other reasons for this wastage are the lack of women teachers, uninteresting methods of teaching, and lack of suitable curricula and text books. Hence along with the expansion, qualitative improvement is equally needed.

Secondary Education

The report of the Secondary Education Commission of 1952-3 has already been mentioned in an earlier chapter. Secondary education has progressed along these lines. The following table[2] shows the number of and enrolment in secondary schools.

PROGRESS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 1949-50 to 1965-6

	1949-50	1958-9	1960-1	1965-6
Number of secondary schools				
Boys	5,685	12,231	14,736	18,000
Girls	997	2,103	2,521	3,800
Total	6,682	14,334	17,257	21,800
Enrolment in classes IX to XII (in millions)				
Boys	0.941	2.043	2.331	3.570
Girls	0.142	0.435	0.541	0.970
Total	1.083	2.478	2.872	4.540
Percentage of enrolment at the secondary stage to the total population in the 14-17 age group				
Boys	8.5	15.1	16.6	23.7
Girls	1.3	3.2	4.1	6.9
Total	5.0	9.2	10.5	15.6

The secondary schools for girls are likely to rise by almost four times during 1949-50 to 1965-6. Similarly the enrolment is expected to be 970,000 or about seven times as much as the enrolment of 142,000 at the beginning of the period. The percent-

2. *Ibid.*, 233.

age of girls under instruction in this age group is likely to rise from 1.3 in 1949-50 to 6.9 in 1965-6. The percentage increase in girls' education is faster than the percentage increase for boys. However, although the rate of progress has been faster, much more is yet to be done to expand it even more.

The idea of secondary education being purely academic and merely a stepping stone to university education is being changed completely in the post-independence period. It is to be self-sufficient and diversified. According to the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission, 1952-3, all the secondary schools were to be converted into higher secondary schools. Secondly, multi-purpose schools were to be established to prepare children for different vocations and occupations. Progress has been made in both these attempts. In addition, educational and vocational guidance bureaux have been established in almost all of the states to train guidance personnel. The Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education is also conducting a number of programmes for qualitative improvement, and the teaching of science and English is also being improved. Improvement in the training of secondary school teachers is another step towards qualitative improvement in secondary education. Large scale in-service training programmes are being organised. A more liberal provision for building and equipment is being made. Courses of special interest to girls have been initiated. Such courses are in home science, music, drawing, painting, nursing and cooking. Apart from the subjects meant to prepare the girls for home making, the diversified courses are also to include pre-vocational education suited to girls. These are secretarial courses, courses pertaining to social work, courses teaching crafts, such as leather work and tailoring, and courses in education leading to the teaching profession, as was recommended by the National Committee on Women's Education.

Higher Education

Exceptional progress was made in the field of higher education. There were nineteen universities (for men and women) in 1947. By the end of the Third Five Year Plan the number of universities had risen to sixty-two. Similar expansion has taken place in other institutions of higher education. The following

table[3] shows the total enrolment from 1946-7 to the estimated target of 1965-6.

TOTAL ENROLMENT IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION 1946-7 to 1965-6

Year	*Enrolment in arts and science colleges (including intermediate colleges)*	*Enrolment in colleges of professional and technical education*	*Enrolment in colleges of special education*	*Total enrolment*
1946-7				
Men	192,000	41,000	—	233,000
Women	20,000	3,000	—	23,000
Total	212,000	44,000	—	256,000
1960-1				
Men	658,000	239,000	15,000	912,000
Women	150,000	26,000	10,000	186,000
Total	808,000	265,000	25,000	1,098,000
1965-6 (Targets)				
Men	970,000	370,000	30,000	1,370,000
Women	250,000	50,000	10,000	310,000
Total	1,220,000	420,000	40,000	1,680,000

The enrolment of women in institutions of higher education rose from 23,000 in 1946-7 to 186,000 in 1960-1, while 124,000 are likely to be added to this figure by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. During 1965-6 while the total enrolment of men in higher institutions is expected to rise by about six times, that of women should rise by more than thirteen times. Still, the total number of men in institutions of higher education will be four times more than that of women.

Since its establishment in 1953, the University Grants Commission has made valuable contributions to the development of higher education in India. It has provided improved facilities for teaching and research, has improved the standard of teaching, and has constructed libraries and laboratories. Post-graduate study and research facilities are now available in many scientific

3. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

industrial and technological subjects, while in the humanities and sciences, they have expanded considerably. A number of institutions had been set up for educational research which are now combined together under the National Council of Educational Research and Training. A large number of scholarships are also awarded for post-graduate study and research in all fields. The scheme for post-matriculation merit scholarships provides 200 awards a year. These are given strictly on merit. Similar scholarships have been instituted by the Central Government, different states and universities.

Other Programmes

As regards women's education the recommendations of the National Committee on Women's Education are being implemented. For the first time a National Council for Women's Education has been established, to advise on matters related to womens' education at all stages. A special unit has also been created in the Ministry of Education to deal with the problem of women's education. At the state level, councils for the education of girls have also been established, along with the appointments of special officers for this purpose.

In view of the directions of the Constitution of India to provide free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of fourteen years, state governments have taken action to provide free education as far as possible. In Jammu and Kashmir, and in the Union Territories of Laccadive, Maldive, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, education is free to all children at all stages. Primary education is now free throughout the country except for a few private schools. In Madhya Pradesh education is free to all children in the 6-14 age group. Several other states have also made education free up to middle or upper primary stage. Liberal concessions have also been provided in other states. In Rajasthan education is free to girls and women at all stages. Different states have also evolved a large programme of scholarships. Out of 4.02 million girls of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward communities, 271,058, or one in fifteen, was getting a scholarship or stipend during 1960-1. Adult literacy classes have been organised wherever conditions are favourable. Pre-primary education is being emphasised.

Other schemes which have been initiated include the National Discipline Scheme, the Youth Camps and the Campus Works Projects. After independence, India has developed close and direct relationship with other countries, which has opened new opportunities in the field of education. A large number of scholarships are being offered by several foreign countries to enable Indian students to study abroad. Some of these scholarships are being offered by the United States Educational Foundation in India, Technical Co-operation Mission of U.S.A., The Colombo Plan, the Commonwealth Co-operation Plan, the United Nation's Fellowship Programme, the UNESCO programme and the British Council. Many women have taken advantage of these scholarships and fellowships. India also offers many scholarships to the students of other countries to study in India.

Finance

After independence, the State assumed greater responsibilities with regard to education. The total expenditure on education increased from Rs. 576.6 million in 1946-7 to Rs. 3443.8 million in 1960-1. The total expenditure on the education of girls and women was Rs. 328.4 million during 1960-1, out of which, the Central Government and the states' funds accounted for Rs. 200.8 million. Revenue from fees was about Rs. 66.8 million. District Boards, Municipal Boards and other sources contributed the remainder. The total direct expenditure on institutions for girls rose from Rs. 66.5 million in 1946-7 to Rs. 263.0 million during 1960-1.

This increase appears quite large, but the total educational expenditure per head of population increased from Rs. 2.89 P. in 1949-50 to Rs. 7.87 P. in 1960-1. The proportion of national income devoted to educational expenditure increased from Rs. 1.14 to only Rs. 2.37 P. during this period.

The above figures concerning educational expenditure do not give a clear picture of the expenditure on the education of girls. In the pre-independence period, girls' and boys' educational institutions were almost separate. Due to conservatism, parents preferred girls' schools, though a reasonable number of girls used to study in boys' institutions. The expenditure on girls' institutions could, however, be shown separately.

In the post-independence period there are comparatively fewer institutions for girls only. At the primary and higher stages all institutions are co-educational, hence it is very difficult to find out the actual expenditure on girls' education. Adequate funds have, however, been provided in the Third Five Year Plan in the state sector for the expansion of girls' education at all stages. Most of the states have also provided funds for special programmes for girls' education. In the Third Five Year Plan a sum of Rs. 15 million has been allocated to expand the scheme of condensed courses for adult women. These courses are operated by the Central Social Welfare Board to prepare women for teaching.

PROSPECT

The recommendations of the National Committee on Women's Education, the provisions of the Third Five Year Plan, and suggestions made by the National and State Councils for Women's Education, cover every aspect of the problem. It is clear that the government is fully conscious of the problem and everything possible is being done on its part. The Union Education Ministry has emphasised many times that women's education will not be allowed to suffer for lack of funds.[4] The statistical figures of women's educational progress have also shown tremendous expansion in the post-independence period.

The progress which has been made is very gratifying. Let us pause for a minute and consider whether this expansion is really satisfactory. Firstly, the growth in the number of institutions and enrolment has been mainly quantitative. Quality of education has certainly suffered at the hands of quantity. Standards of teaching and learning both have slightly deteriorated. No objective evidence, however, is available. This is mainly the opinion of persons concerned with education. While the number of institutions has increased, many of them are not properly equipped. Paucity of funds is the common complaint of educational institutions. Secondly, in this wave of expansion, it has not been possible to provide enough qualified teachers. Though education to all is necessary

4. While inaugurating the Education Commission on 2 October 1964, the Union Minister of Education, Shri M. C. Chagla, also pointed out that, 'The influence of an educated woman is tremendous and her impact on society is great. We cannot, therefore, emphasise too much the importance and necessity of women's education.'

in a democracy, consolidation is needed before further expansion is completed. Expansion in education has also led to some problems. Overcrowding in the institutions is one of these. The teacher is unable to give individual attention to the pupils. Hence teaching and learning both suffer. It has also led to a lack of discipline, which is fortunately not common among girls. This is not in any way an effort to underrate the praiseworthy efforts of the government. Seemingly, the best way to deal with this problem would be to fix a certain limit as to the number of admissions according to the capacity. This is particularly important in institutions of higher education.

In some ways expansion has also not been effective as the population has grown at the same rate. To some extent it has neutralised the efforts of eradicating illiteracy. The literacy percentage for women rose from 7.9 in 1951 to 12.8 only in 1961. Under the circumstances, proper education to all becomes still more necessary and the combined efforts of all most imperative.

At this juncture, it will be appropriate to ascertain how far the problems that were present during the 1921-37 period (mentioned at the end of Chapter 4 of this book) have been solved.

(i) to promote proper planning, the Government of India appointed a National Committee on the Education of Women in 1958. Its recommendations are at present being implemented. The National Council for Women's Education has been established with state councils in different states to advise the Central Government on matters relating to women's education.

(ii) Education at the primary and the higher stages is still more or less, an imitation of boys' education. Though suggestions have continuously been made to differentiate the curriculum of the girls, they have not been implemented properly. Some changes in this direction have of course been noticed, but these changes are limited mainly to urban areas. More efforts could be made in this direction in rural areas.

(iii) Resources are not ridiculously small, but even so, the facilities for the education of 38.4 per cent of girls in the 6-11 age group, and 83.5 per cent of girls in the 11-14 age group will still be needed after the completion of the Third Five Year Plan. Similarly, in the 14-17 age group, only 6.9 per cent girls will be

getting an education. The enrolment of girls in vocational and special education of school standard was only twenty-five to every 100 boys during 1960-1. In the same way, only eleven girls to every 100 boys were enrolled in professional education of university standard. Though social and economical factors are also responsible to some extent for such a small enrolment, facilities for more general and professional education are also wanting.

(iv) Some facilities are being provided for girls in co-educational institutions, but 'The main weakness in the present system is that the existing mixed schools at the primary and middle stages are not properly organised. ..... If difficulties of this type could be overcome, if all mixed primary and middle schools were to have a mixed staff, and if steps were taken to see that the educational and emotional needs of girls attending mixed schools are properly taken care of, the demand for separate schools would be considerably reduced.'[5] Obviously more improvement is needed.

(v) Courses of instruction have been revised to some extent. Domestic science, home science, drawing, painting, music and nursing have been introduced in girls' schools and colleges. But their provision is very inadequate. The curriculum and text books are generally planned with predominant attention to the needs of boys, especially the boys of urban areas. Hence they do not interest the girls, particularly the girls of rural areas. Proper training for future home life is still very inadequate. Immediate steps should be taken to frame the courses of studies accordingly.

(vi) Much emphasis is now being laid on physical education. A national institution, the Lakshmibai College of Physical Education, has been established at Gwalior to train physical education teachers. Direct grant-in-aid is provided to the training institution for improving physical education, but it will still be a long time before all the schools will be able to provide this facility.

(vii) The recommendation of the National Committee on Women's Education, 1959, that educational activities in schools should include programmes that would help to develop the moral sense of the students is enough to show that moral education

5. *The Year Book of Education, 1964, Second Year Book*, (National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1964), p. 165.

is not being provided in the schools. This should be provided as early as possible.

(viii) To increase expenditure, the Central Government and the state governments are both providing funds for special programmes and schemes of women's education. Proper utilisation of funds is equally important.

(ix) As it was in a backward condition, women's education is being treated as a special problem and necessary steps are being taken to improve it. These should be continued for quite a long time.

In addition to the above points, there are some other problems which are to be tackled.

Disparity

There is great disparity between the education of boys and girls. This condition is likely to continue for some time. While 90.4 per cent of boys of the 6-11 age group are likely to be under instruction by 1965-6, only 61.6 per cent of girls will be under instruction. In the 11-14 age group, the percentage of boys and girls under instruction will be 39.9 and 16.5 respectively. Similarly in the 14-17 age group, 6.9 per cent of girls are expected to be in schools, compared to 23.7 per cent of boys. In institutions of higher education, 310,000 women are likely to be enrolled while there will be 1.37 million men enrolled. In some states, such as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan, the disparity between the education of boys and girls is still greater. This situation needs to be rectified immediately. No doubt measures are already being taken to minimise this disparity, but they have to be continued for quite some time.

Prejudice

The traditional prejudice against the education of girls and women still operates to a great extent in rural areas and in the lower and poorer classes of society. The parents consider the education of the girls as an unnecessary expensive luxury. This is because these girls will always be dependent on men in their capacities of daughters, wives and mothers. They also believe that education creates expensive habits among girls, especially

those of the lower groups of society. Some social practices, such as early marriage, the dowry system and the purdah system, still prevail in rural areas as well as some parts of urban areas. These practices stand in the way of girls' education. More efforts by society and extensive propaganda are needed to affect a change in these prejudices.

Economic Condition

The poor economic position of some parents forces them to seek the assistance of their daughters either in the family or for the family. Therefore unless the expansion of educational facilities takes into account the economic implications of bringing the girls into schools, much progress cannot be expected. It is equally necessary to provide incentives such as the provision of midday meals, exemption from fees, and free books and stationery for the girls.

Lack of Teachers

The dearth of women teachers was originally pointed out in the Report of the Hunter Commission of 1882. The number of women teachers is still very small. Primary school women teachers were only 17.07 per cent of the total strength in 1960-1. In middle schools their percentage was 24.2, and among high or higher secondary schools, they accounted for only 21.04 per cent. One reason for the small number is the lack of qualified women teachers. This condition is more acute in rural or less advanced areas. Lack of facilities for training and the lack of attraction towards the teaching profession are the main difficulties. While expanding and improving the facilities for training, especially in rural areas, it is desirable to provide suitable amenities to the village teachers. This includes safe and decent lodging, and medical assistance. The speed of training can be accelerated by starting short-term courses, as well as condensed and specialised courses. Instead of opening separate training schools, training classes can be attached to the girls' schools. This is especially useful in rural areas. Similarly, with some additional payment, the shift system can be introduced to combat a shortage of teachers.

On the whole there is need to raise the status of the teachers. In spite of its being the noblest of professions, teaching has not a

corresponding recognition in society. A change in the attitude of people in this respect is necessary. At the initial stage, the first thing to do should be to raise the scales of pay. Though some improvement has been made during recent years, this job of nation building is very poorly paid.

Enough has been said on paper about the above problems. What is now needed is the proper and immediate implementation of the recommendations of the National Committee on Women's Education. Paper versus practice has been an old sad story. Different recommendations, even if they are put into practice, often do not prove as effective as they are meant to be. The reason lies in the fact that the personnnel in charge of the implementation is neither trained in such work nor has interest or enthusiasm.

As a matter of fact, the administration personnel has very rarely been properly trained simply because there has been no high level training centre up till now. According to the recommendations of the National Council for Women's Education, a national institute for higher training of women in organisation, administration and management is being set up. As a result it is hoped that educational administrative machinery will be improved shortly.

Another point that needs consideration is the wastage of education among women. The government and the educationists have taken note of the wastage and stagnation at the primary and secondary stage and different reports have suggested measures to halt this wastage. But what can be done when women who have taken degrees or passed high school or intermediate examinations give up their work and settle down simply to housework at home? Educated minds without work might prove to be explosive material to the growing society. Although there is a great shortage of women teachers and workers, many such educated women are unable to do anything, not because they do not want to, but because they do not have the facilities. Some of the major problems are where to leave their little children during their hours of work, how to manage the necessary household affairs, and the difficulty of conveyance. These problems have prevented many women who want to work from doing so. Crèches or '*balwadis*' attached to schools and colleges, and busi-

ness concerns or offices where there are a sufficient number of women employees, may prove very useful. In the same way the arrangement of canteens or cafeterias at these places where lunch could be provided at a reasonable price, may add incentive to the working women. Such facilities would save these women from cooking at home at least during the day time. Finally, the salaries offered to women employees should be sufficient enough to attract them.

There are other considerations also. More research is needed in teaching methods appropriate to girls only. Little attention is given to the psychological needs of girls. Differences are very great in the needs of the two sexes in their mental reaction to different educational and social situations. Therefore, it would be better to develop a new distinctive philosophy of education and educational practice with the need of girls in mind as distinct from the needs of the boys.

The educational system must also seek the co-operation of the community as a whole. Employers and trade unions should have a closer link with the technical schools. Frequent meetings of teachers, administrators, employers, managers and parents may prove to be beneficial. Otherwise girls may choose a craft or subject without knowing its prospects. Similarly, one field may have many candidates and another very few. In the schools and colleges, technical and craft courses should be developed at a higher level which could appeal to the girls. There is already much to be done to provide different courses, such as catering, hotel, shop and office management. Special arrangements should be made for the married women to take up such courses, by opening midday schools or evening institutes. Short residential courses for adult women may also prove worthwhile. In vocational training, emphasis should be on short and intensive schemes.

For the proper development of education and the implementation of different schemes, greater appreciation of the responsibilities of the teaching profession is needed. Our society will not progress rapidly unless a good proportion of intelligent and diligent men and women are recruited in the teaching profession at all levels. The high esteem in which education must be held in society, will only be possible if the teaching profession itself is held in high esteem. The nation today stands or falls by

the character of all citizens, men and women. It is the teachers who are the cultivators and custodians of this quality. A new look at the staffing of education service is therefore essential.

The ideal education for girls and women includes, not only the best in the education of boys, but something more. If they are to play their full part in the economic, social and spiritual development of society, and be made more conscious of national and international political situations, they require an education which stimulates their imagination, and develops their intellectual, artistic and practical talents.

Education should also be moulded according to ideals of the society and the country. India is a democratic country and one of the greatest democracies in the world. Education has to work towards maintaining this democratic pattern. Being also a secular country, education has to develop the art of living together. National integration is another objective of our education, and a socialistic pattern of society is the goal set before us. Women's education should also be oriented on these lines.

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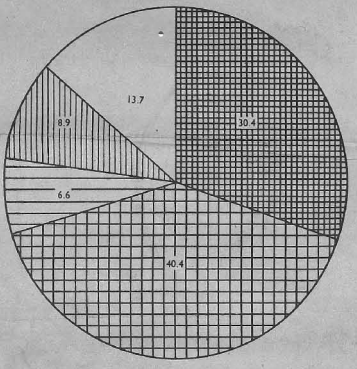
INDEX

EXPENDITURE ON RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS FOR GIRLS IN INDIA

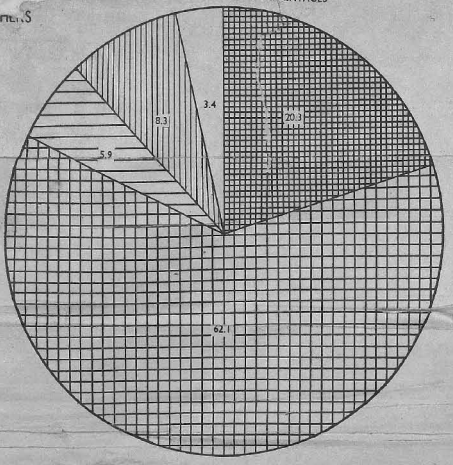


1955-56
TOTAL RS. 1556.9 LAKHS

PRIMARY SCHOOLS
SECONDARY SCHOOLS
SPECIAL SCHOOLS
OTHERS

SCALE
2000
RS. 40 LAKHS

IN CIRCLE SHOW PERCENTAGES



1960-61
TOTAL RS. 2623.7 LAKHS.

RLS AND BOYS

COLLEGES

Plate VII

GROWTH OF CO EDUCATION IN STATES

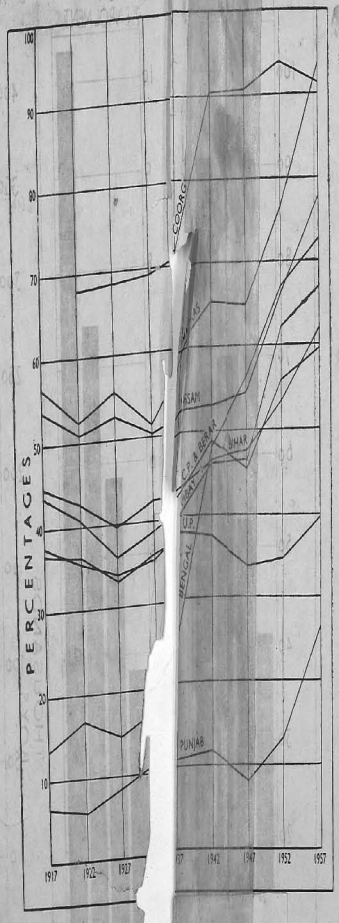


Plate VIII

EXPENDITURE ON RECOGNISED INSTITUTIONS FOR GIRLS

IN RUPEES

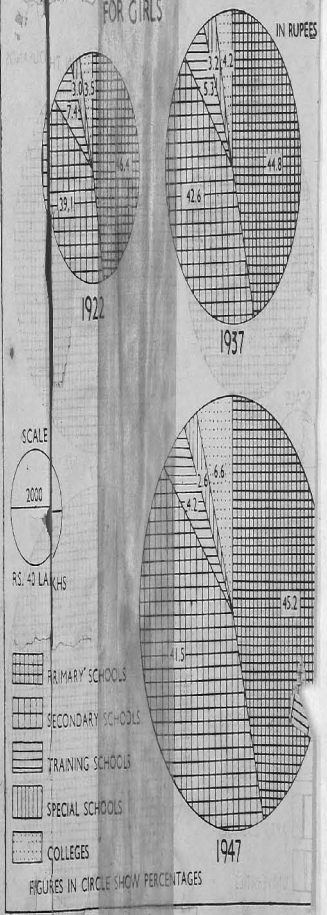


Plate XIV

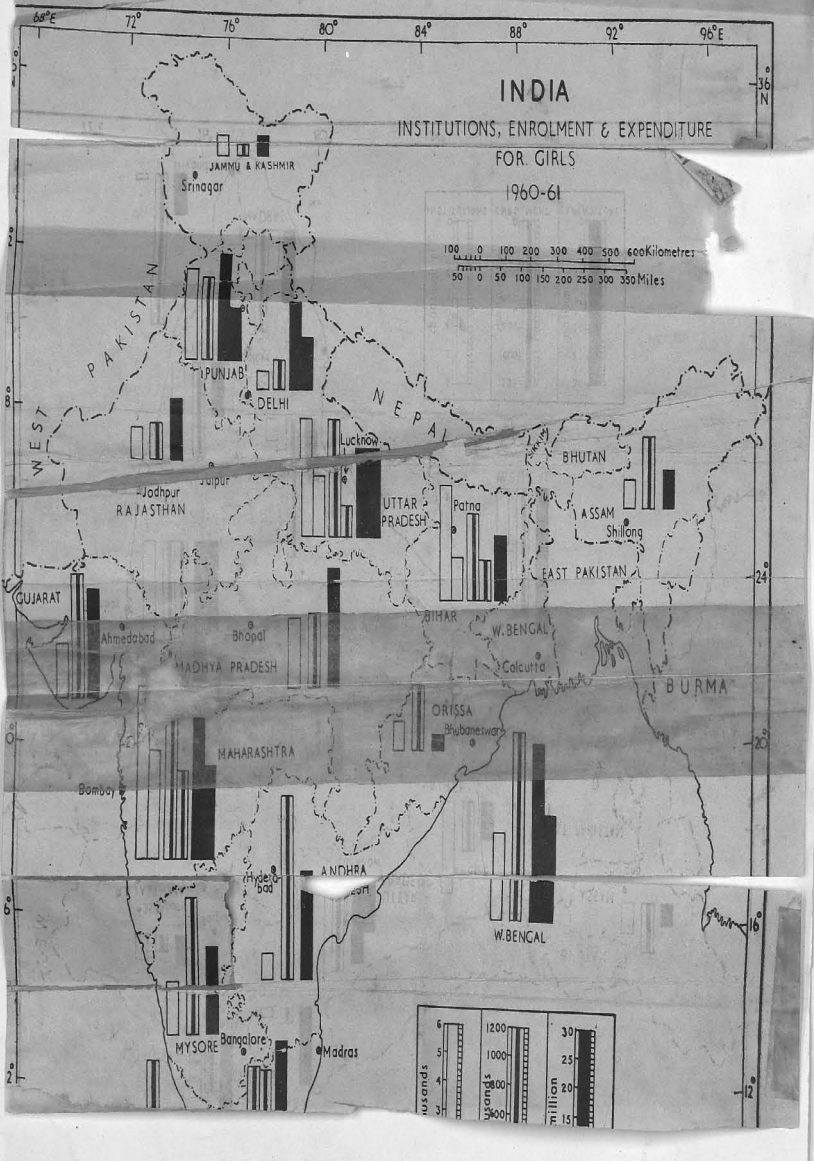
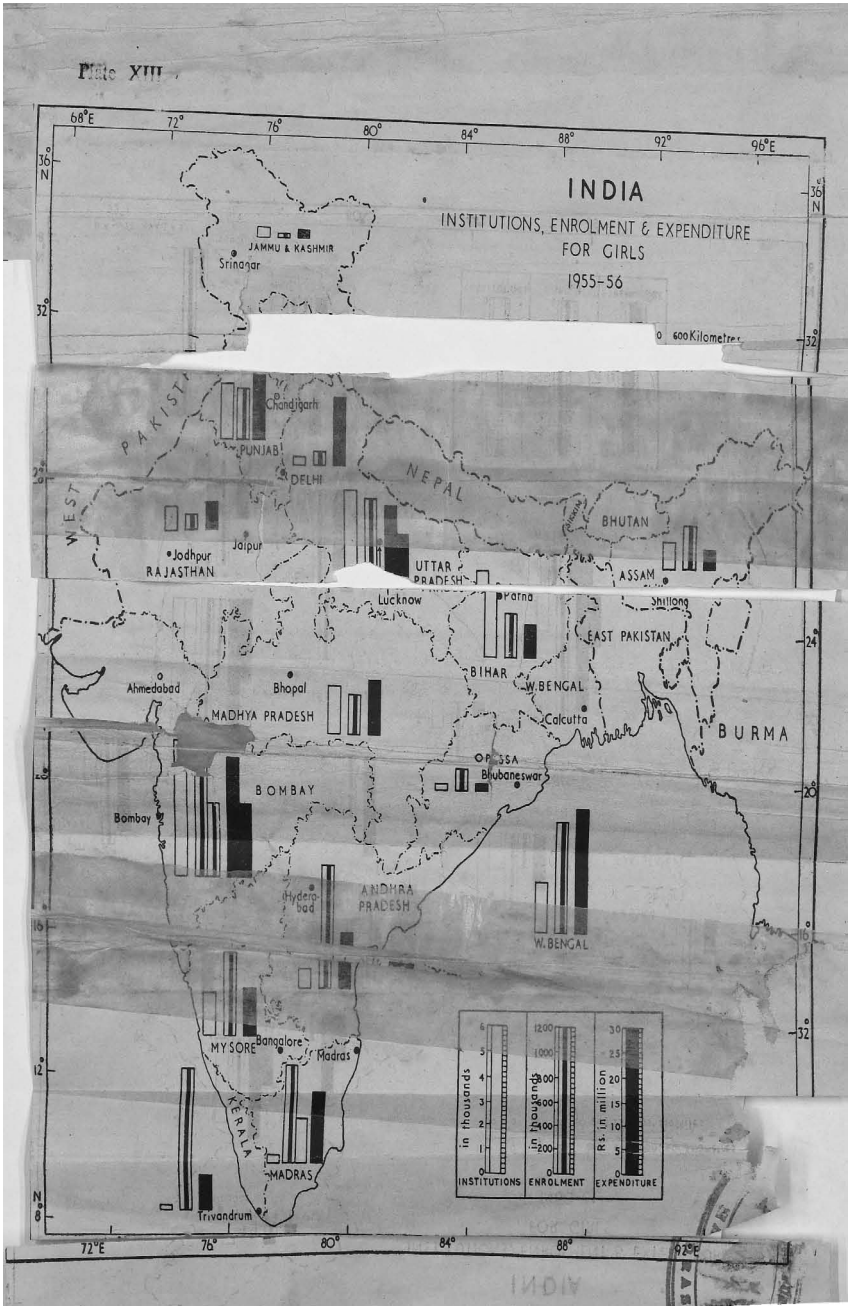

INDIA
INSTITUTIONS, ENROLMENT & EXPENDITURE
FOR GIRLS
1960-61
100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 Kilometres
50 0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 Miles
68°E
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°
96°E
36°N
JAMMU & KASHMIR
Srinagar
PUNJAB
DELHI
WEST PAKISTAN
NEPAL
Lucknow
Jodhpur
Jaipur
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
Patna
BHUTAN
ASSAM
Shillong
EAST PAKISTAN
GUJARAT
Ahmedabad
Bhopal
MADHYA PRADESH
BIHAR
W. BENGAL
Calcutta
BURMA
ORISSA
Bhubaneswar
MAHARASHTRA
Bombay
Hyderabad
ANDHRA
W. BENGAL
MYSORE
Bangalore
Madras
6
5
4
3
usands
1200
1000
800
600
usands
30
25
20
15
million

Plate XIII


INDIA
INSTITUTIONS, ENROLMENT & EXPENDITURE FOR GIRLS
1955-56
600 Kilometres
68°E
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°
96°E
36° N
32°
28°
24°
20°
16°
12°
8° N
JAMMU & KASHMIR
Srinagar
Chandigarh
PUNJAB
DELHI
PAKISTAN
WEST
NEPAL
BHUTAN
Jaipur
Jodhpur
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
Lucknow
Patna
ASSAM
Shillong
EAST PAKISTAN
BIHAR
W. BENGAL
Calcutta
BURMA
Ahmedabad
Bhopal
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
Bhubaneswar
BOMBAY
Bombay
Hydera-bad
ANDHRA PRADESH
W. BENGAL
MYSORE
Bangalore
Madras
KERALA
MADRAS
Trivandrum
72°E
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°E
in thousands
INSTITUTIONS
ENROLMENT
Rs. in million
EXPENDITURE