CHAPTER -2

Development of Education in India

At the global level, over fifty two years ago, the UNESCO’s Constitution identified ‘Education for All’ (EFA) as a key aspiration for all the countries. In 1990 an International Conference was held at Jomtien to review the achievement of EFA. This conference initiated a decade of intense activity, at both global and national levels, to promote the development of basic education. Moreover, education came to be seen not only as an instrument of social and economic development but also as a basic human right. Another World Conference was held in Dakar in 2000. The Dakar Forum was more deliberate in setting out quantitative goals, precise deadlines and a detailed strategy for achieving Education for All. UNESCO was asked to be the coordinator and catalyst of an international effort. Though the Dakar Forum set global targets but the action to achieve them must take place at the national and grass roots levels. 53

Despite these global pressures and his efforts of Indian Government towards Education for all, still, India has one of the lowest female literacy rates in Asia. Further, gender disparity in education has still been continuing as a serious problem. Therefore the place of women lies at the bottom of the socio-economic structures of the economy. Global pressures and the efforts of Indian Government towards Education for all, has not much yielded results, as still, India has one of the lowest female literacy rates in Asia. Further, gender disparity in education has still been continuing as a serious problem. Any progress in education of women indicates the achievement of progress in entire society. The three perennial objectives of education have been described as: (a) pursuit of to know himself and the universe and to relate himself with the social world as effectively as possible; (b) building bridges between the past and the future, i.e., transmission of the accumulated results of the past to the growing generation so as to enable it to carry forward cultural heritage and to build the future; and (c) accelerating, as far as possible, the process of human progress. Apart from these objectives, education is also believed to have three other objectives.

These are (a) integral growth of personality traits, like intelligence, skill, will-power, character, attitudes and so forth; (b) development in terms of man’s condition of life, i.e., development of both individual and society the development of society refers not only to economic growth but also to social, political, and cultural growth. In individual development, education helps in creating ‘rationalistic and idealistic mind’ and (c) generating and strengthening harmony and peace.

‘Peace’ here is not conceived negatively as ‘absence of war’ but positively as undertaking harmonious activities aimed at pursuit of international understanding and cooperation. It implies respect for all people, their cultures, civilizations, values, and ways of life. According to the report of the International Commission on the Development of Education, established by the UNESCO in 1971, the central demand of education is ‘to know, to possess and to be’. Here, the idea of ‘to be’ refers to the idea of ‘personality and its development’. At simple level of understanding, it may be averred that the objective of education at primary level is learning of the three R’s, at secondary level is character building, at higher secondary level is understanding society, and at college/university level is skill training.

2.1. Definitional concepts

Education is a recovery, as well as, life building process. From the times immemorial, since the inception of society, the human beings have been educating and bringing up their offspring. Not only human beings but animals have also been doing this activity since their emergence. More passing of information can never be education. Educating is done through familial ways, as well as, through school education. Because of ‘Unity in bio-diversity’ as, the girls are to be married and go with their husbands, so, it is necessary that they should be partly educated in familial ways to live a happy married life. So educational process should always develop attitudes for sincerity, integrity, devotion and erudition for learning and towards life situations.

It is necessary to understand the world ‘education’ etymologically. The English word ‘education’ is a derivation of Latin words ‘educe’, ‘education’ and ‘educare’, meaning to our human innate potentialities and developing various intellectual, social, physical, behavioural, aesthetical, mental as well as manual faculties of which they are unaware. Likewise, the ‘Sanskrit’ word ‘Vidya’ has emerged from Sanskrit word ‘Vidh’ meaning rising. The word ‘Siksha’ has come out
from the Sanskrit root ‘Sikhs’ meaning bringing up from within. Also the Arabic word ‘Talim’ = Ta + alim means self learning from within. As such, education does not mean teaching. Teaching is a process of educating, for which specific methods of teaching are used.

From the above description it can be interred that ‘Education’ is bringing out the hidden potentialities of person and leading him or her on a correct path in his/her life.

Durkheim defined education as ‘the action exercised by the elder generations upon those who are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to awaken and develops in the child those physical, intellectual and moral states which are required of him both by his society as a whole and by the milieu for which he is specially destined’54. The action, the socialization of new generations, necessarily takes place in all societies, but it assumes many different forms in respect of the social groups and institutions involved, and in respect of as own diversity and complexity.

Education is imparted both by formal and informal means. It is significant means of socialization. Though, it has been emphasized upon and resorted to by all societies, yet there have been differences in emphasis and variation in mechanism of importing it from society to society. The western dictum has been “those who can, do, those who cannot, teach”. Education thus did not thrive for long in Europe. In the Indian social milieu, education has been traditionally given significant importance. The educated was the Dvija, the twice born, first the physical birth, which one owes to one’s parents are second, that one owes to the guru and the Savitri, which represents the quickening power of the sun.

The Supreme Court in Aruna Roy vs. Union of India 55 while emphasizing on the value of education held that education should not be for the purpose of raising a child meaty literate and intelligent. The real education is one in which a child gradually realizes that he is made up not only of body and mind but also some inner elemental qualities.

The importance of education was also considered by the Supreme Court in T.M.A. Pai Foundation vs. State of Karnataka 56 the apex court held that “All education is expected to be liberal. It should free us from the shackles of ignorance,

55 AIR 2002 SC 3176.
56 AIR 2003 SC 355.
prejudice and unfounded belief. If we are incapable of achieving the good life, it is due to faults in our inward being, to the darkness in us. The process of education is the slow conquering of darkness. To lead us darkness to light, to free us from every kind of domination except that of reason, is the aim of education.”

In a landmark judgment in Mohini Jain vs. State of Karnataka, popularly known as the “Capitation Fee case” the Supreme Court has held that the right to education is a fundamental right under Article 21 of the Constitutions which cannot be denied to a citizen by charging higher fee known as the capitation fee. The right to education flows directly from right to life. The right to life under Article 21 and the dignity of an individual cannot be assumed unless it is accompanied by the right to education. The two Judge Division Bench consisting of Justice Kuldip Singh and R.N. Sahai, held that the right to education at all level is a fundamental right of a citizens under Article 21 of the Constitution and charging capitation fee for demission to education institutions is illegal and amounted to denial of citizens right to education and also violative of Article 14 being arbitrary, unfair, and unjust.

In Bapuji Education Association vs. State, Justice Rama Joais, of the Karnataka High Court found right to education to be essential attribute of personal liberty. He observed that “the right of an individual to have and or to impart education is one of the most valuable and sacred right”.

According to Oxford dictionary, the term “Education” is defined as the process of education or being educated, and the theory and practice of teaching also gives information about or training in a particular subject or informal an enlightening experience. According to Mitra’s Legal and Commercial Dictionary the term Education is defined as:

“The action or process of education or of being educated; a stage of such process; the knowledge and development resulting from an educational process (a man of little); the field of study that deals mainly with method of teaching and learning in schools”.

57 (1992)3SCC666.
58 No person shall be deprived of his life and or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 AIR 1986 Kant. 119.
Amartya Sen also explores the importance of the basic education in economic development. According to him without compulsory education, no economic development is possible. The dynamic process of education remains one of the most important issues for the upliftment of humanity.

Literacy is identified as one of the important requirements for attaining qualitative change in the life of any individual. It is a basic human right. No society can move forward without literate population. The Human Development Index, which has been developed by UNDP in 1990 to measure the qualitative change in the lives of people, identifies literacy as one of its three dimensions to measure human development? India is committed towards the goal of universal and free basic education since Independence with the Indian Constitution stating, “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 14 years”\textsuperscript{64}.

2.2 Education and the Constitution of India

In January 1950, the country adopted a Constitution which lays down, among other things, the division of responsibilities and duties relating to Education between the Centre and the States, ours being a quasi federal Constitution. The Seventh and Eighth Schedules are of special importance to us. The Seventh Schedule lists out the division of responsibilities in all matters including ‘Education’. Education is now in the Concurrent List. It was originally a State subject\textsuperscript{65}. With the 42\textsuperscript{nd} Constitutional Amendment Act of 1976, this entry in List II was deleted and ‘Education’ was placed in the Concurrent List as Entry 25 which reads as follows:

“Education, including technical education, medical education and universities, subject to the provision of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I; vocational and technical training of labour”.

As a result, no part of the subject of ‘Education’ belongs to the State List.

Education in the centrally administered territories and centrally administered areas is the responsibility of the Government of India. A clause 63-66 of

\textsuperscript{64} Article 45 of Constitution of India, before recasting.

\textsuperscript{65} Entry 11 of List II in the list of State functions.
List I, as well as the original clause 25 in List III of Concurrent responsibilities states such functions.\(^{66}\)

Since, from the adaptations of our present Constitution our right to education undergoes many changes. From the status of Directives under part IV of Indian Constitution, now it has already got the status of Fundamental Rights taking place in part III of the Constitution. In order to show the development of status of education rights in sequence under Indian Constitution, it has been divided into two parts i.e.:
(a) Constitutional provisions before Constitution (Eighty-Sixth Amendment) Act 2002; and
(b) A change brought by Constitution (Eighty-Sixth Amendment) Act, 2002.

2.2.1 Constitutional provisions before Constitution (Eighty-Sixth Amendment) Act, 2002

Since from the very beginning of the existence of the present Constitution of India, it incorporates various provisions, which either expressly or impliedly speaks of education rights of its citizens. These words of Constitution which obliges State to render education to its citizens or their Fundamental right are contained in preamble, part III of the Constitution relating to Fundamental Rights and in part IV of the Constitution i.e. Directive Principle of State Policy. In addition to this we may draw certain rights to education by construing the provisions of the Fundamental Duties of

\(^{66}\) List I. 63. The institution known at the commencement of this Constitution as the Benaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University, and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.

64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

65. Union agencies and institutions for:
   (a) Professional, vocational or technical training including the training of police officers; or
   (b) The promotion of special studies or research; or
   (c) Scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions. List III 25. Vocational and technical training of labour (now substituted).
citizens contained in part IV A of the Constitution. The various provisions are as follows:

**Preamble:** The Preamble of our Constitution speaks to constitute India in to SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR. DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens: JUSTICE, Social economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, Faith and worship; EQUALITY of Status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individuals and the unity and integrity of the Nation.

From the language of the preamble itself, it is very clear that until and unless the citizens of India have been fully access to education it is not possible to protect and develop the Constitutional culture and values. It is very difficult to imagine retaining the Constitutional character of our country as sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic and republic without being making our human resource of equality. The sole bedrock of justice, liberty and equality is also an education. Education is the sole weapons to eradicate the evils of communal feeling and social dogmas and catalyst to promote Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation. So in order to preserve and promote the values of all the words contained in preamble of our Constitution it is the duty of government to provide education to its citizens so that they can understand our Constitutional culture and is the co-related right of our citizens to get education.

2.2.2 Fundamental Rights

Under the chapter of Fundamental Rights in our Constitution before coming of the Constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002, no express provisions were found which directly dealt with the Fundamental Rights to education of the citizens. But the various article used by the citizens as well as by court to draw the inferences of education right are as follows:

(a) Equality before law: The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within territory of India.

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67 This amendment Act has added a new Art. 21- A which makes the right of education of children of the age of 6 to 14 years a fundamental right. It also substitutes Article 45 which is as follows: “The State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years.” It has also added a new fundamental duty to Part IV of the Constitution, vide Article 51A (K).

68 Article 14, of the Constitution of India.
(b) Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, etc; all citizens shall have the right to Freedom of speech and expression\(^{69}\).

(c) Protection of life and personal liberty: No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law\(^{70}\).

2.2.3 Directives Principles of State Policy

(a) State to secure a social order of the promotion of welfare of the people: The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institution of the nation's life\(^{71}\).

(b) The state shall, in particular, strive to minimize the inequalities in income, and endeavor to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocation\(^{72}\).

(c) Right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases:

The state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provisions for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of underserved want\(^{73}\).

(d) Provision for free and compulsory education for children: The State shall endeavor 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\(^{74}\).

(e) Promotion of education and economic interest of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker section:

The State shall promote with special care the education and economic interest of the weaker section sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Caste and the Schedule Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation\(^{75}\).

\(^{69}\) Article 19 (1) (a) of the Constitution of India.

\(^{70}\) Article 21 of the Constitution of India.

\(^{71}\) Article 38 (1) of the Constitution of India.

\(^{72}\) Article 38 (2) of the Constitution of India.

\(^{73}\) Article 41 of the Constitution of India.

\(^{74}\) Substituted by the Constitutional (Eighty-Sixth Amendment) Act, 2002 by newly amendment Article 45 which says that: “the state shall endeavor to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years”.

\(^{75}\) Article 46 of the Constitution of India.
2.2.4 Education Right and Fundamental Duties

Under Article 51-A, the Constitution includes a number of 'Fundamental Duties' relate to the type of education to be imparted in the educational institution to the citizens by the efforts of the state so as they understand their duties as:

(a) To abide by the Constitution and respect its ideal and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
(b) To cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
(c) To render social service when called upon to do so;
(d) To promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood among all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional and sectional diversities, and to denounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.
(e) To value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
(f) To develop scientific temper, humanism, and the spirit of enquiry and reform.
(g) To safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
(h) To strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to levels of endeavour and achievement.
(i) Who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

The unfortunate aspect of Fundamental duties is that they cannot be enforced by writs. They can be promoted only by Constitutional methods. It would be for the educational institutions to impress on the minds of the children the significance of these fundamental duties so that later in life they may behave in the manner consistent with these duties.

2.2.5 Constitutional provisions after (Eighty-Sixth Amendment) Act, 2002

(a) Right to education made fundamental right.

The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine.\(^{76}\)

(b) Fundamental duty to parent or guardian

Who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.\(^{77}\)

\(^{76}\) Article 21A of Constitution of India.
(c) Provision for early childhood care education.
The State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years.\(^78\)

2.3 Meaning of Equality

The concept of equality is sometimes confused with words like identical, same, similar and equitable, but in political terms, equality as a concept is different from all of them and it is very difficult to define it as an abstract concept. Laski writes, "No idea is more difficult in the whole realm of political science than equality". J.F. Stephen observes, "Equality is a word and vague as to be by itself almost unmeaning".\(^79\)

There was a true when the concept of equality was interpreted in a narrow sense, but with the widening horizon of democracy, the concept of equality has assumed new dimension. According to Lord Bryee, there are four types of equality viz, civil equality, political equality, social equality and natural equality. Barker deals with two equalities: legal and social.

2.3.1 Legal Equality

In the eighteenth century, the demand for legal equality was raised to abolish aristocratic legal privileges and feudal obligations. It meant equality before law and equal protection of law. Equality meant that equals before law should be treated equally by law. Law does not make distinction between rich and poor and in the eyes of law, they are equal. Equality before law does not mean equal laws for each and every one. The law has to make rational discrimination legal equality means equal laws for equal and unequal laws for unequal, but the basis of discrimination should be rational. Legal equality does not merely mean equal laws. It also means equal opportunities to get justice from the courts.

Equality before law\(^80\): - The state not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

The equality clause enslaved in Article 14 is of wide impart. It guarantees equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. The restriction imposed by reason of a statute, however, can be upheld in the court it

\(^{77}\) Article 51A (k) Ibid.
\(^{78}\) Article 451bid.
\(^{79}\) J.F. Stephen; Liberty, Equality, Fratauly, at 20.
\(^{80}\) See Article 14 of Constitution of India.
be held that the person to whom the same applies, forms a separate and distinct class and such classification is a reasonable one based on intelligible differentia having nexus with the object sought to be achieved. Unequals are not only permitted to be treated inequality but also they have to be so treated. The equal treatment to unequal is nothing but inequality. To put both categories tainted and the rest at par is wholly unjustified, arbitrary, unconstitutional being violative of Article 14 of the constitution.

Parliament and the legislative in the country cannot transgress the basic feature of the constitution, mainly the principle of equality enshrined in Article 14 of which Article 16 (1) is a facet.

The concept of equality does not mean absolute equality among human beings which is physically not possible to achieve. It is a concept implying absence of any special privilege by reason of birth, creed or the like in favour of any individual and also the equal subject of all individuals and classes to the ordinary law of the land. As Dr. Jennings puts it: “Equality before the law means that among that like should be treated alike. The right to sue and sued, prosecute and be prosecuted for the same kind of action should be same for all citizens of full age and understanding without distinctions of race, religion, wealth, social status or political influence.”

2.3.2 Political Equality

The demand for political equality was raised during the nineteenth century and it had a limited meaning viz., equal right to vote or adult franchise. Every individual should have the right to vote, right to contest elections, equal right to public services, and no distinction should be made on the basis of caste, colour, sex religion and language. It meant “one man, one vote”. In practice, the ideal of political equality has centred on universal suffrage and representative government. Each and every citizen, with the exception of insolvents and idiots, over the age of 18 years has a right to role in England and the United States and the fact of property, tax-paying, education and sex are not taken into consideration. Adult franchise is an important step towards

81 John Vallamattom vs. Union of India, AIR 2003 SC 2902.
82 St. Stephen’s College vs. University of Delhi, AIR 1992 SC. 1630.
83 Onkar Lal Bajaj vs. Union of India, AIR 2003 SC 2562.
84 India Savnney vs. Union of India, AIR 2000 SC 498.
85 Jennings, Law of the Constitution, at 49, 3rd Ed.
political equality but it is not sufficient. The right to vote was granted in the nineteenth century due to the political movements of the working class and their demand for the right to vote could not be resisted. In the twentieth century, women have won the right to vote through their movements.

2.3.3 Social Equality

Social equality means that every citizen must have equality of opportunity for the development of his personality, irrespective of his social status, caste, colour sex, race, language, education and age. There may be rational distinctions in a society with regard occupations and professions, but the feeling of inferiority and superiority should not be attached with them. The social status or prestige of a man should not be determined by aristocratic birth.

2.3.4 Economic Equality

It is rightly said that political, social and legal equality have no meaning without economic equality. To quote Laski, “Political equality, therefore, is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, therefore, is bound to be the hand-made of economic power”. However, economic equality does not demand the equal distribution of wealth. What is demanded is that there should be equality regarding the primary needs of life and economic inequality can be allowed beyond that point. Absolute economic equality is not possible in the world and hence it is absurd to make such a claim. Economic equality can exist when all people have reasonable economic wages, and other economic rights create economic equality.

2.3.5 Marxist View of Equality

It is surprising that neither Marx nor Engels gave adequate attenuation to the idea of equality. Marx branded the bourgeois conception of equality as formal. He called the capitalist state a class state whose laws are in the interests of rich only. Wherever there are clauses in the Marxian sense, there must be inequality. Accordingly to Engels, the real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of clauses. Marx goes beyond the capitalist society and envisages the higher phase of community society with the motto of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. “The Marxian view is that inequalities emerged with the emergence of private property and there will be no inequality after the abolition of private property. The relation between property and

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86 Laski, H. J; A Grammar of Politics, 1925 at p 162.
equality was accepted by Rousseau. Marxism analyses the whole issue of equality and property and associates it with the abolition of classes and establishment of a classless society. To quote Lenin, “We want to abolish classes and in this sense we are for equality”.

2.3.6 Natural Equality

About natural equality, Plato wrote, “All men are by nature equal, made of the same earth and by one work man and however we deceive ourselves, as dear unto God as the poor peasant as the mighty prince”. Similar views were exposed by Rousseau. In spite of that, human beings are not equal and they differ from one another in many respects; Cole says, they are radically unlike in strength and physical prowess, in rental ability and creative quality, in both capacity and.

2.3.7 Gender Equality

Gender equality is also known as gender equity, gender egalitarianism or sexual equality is the goal of the equality of the genders or the sexes, stemming from a belief in the justice of myriad forms of gender inequality. World bodies have defined gender equality as related to human rights, especially women’s rights and economic development. UNICEF defines gender equality as “leveling the playing field for girls and women by ensuring that all children have equal opportunity to develop their talents”. The United Nations Population Fund declared gender equality first and foremost, a human right.87

Gender issues must therefore be mainstreamed throughout educational planning from infrastructure planning to material development to pedagogical process. The full and equal engagement of women is crucial to ensuring a sustainable future.

2.4 Informal Education in Primitive societies

It may be consider, first, the extent to which education is a specialized social activity. In the simplest societies, where there is in any case little specialization of function, education is not organized as a separate activity, it is provided by the family, the kin group and the society as a whole through participation in their everyday routines of living. But in many primitive societies above the simplest level formal instruction is given at puberty, before initiation as an adult member of the society. In

87http://in.wpipedia.org/wiki/gender equality visited on 19.09.08
addition to mass instruction, each boy or girls is tutored by some close relatives who has noted defects in the pupil’s character and now takes pains to correct them.

In the relationship between man and woman, it is an individual with a powerful personality who acquires a position of dominance. Generally, it is a man who commands power over a woman, though in a few cases, a woman also might exercise control over a man. In Indian culture, since the very early periods, woman as a group have been dominated by man and their status has been low in the family and society. In the 1930s and 1940s, the commitment of the socio-political leaders to equality influenced the Indian women’s movement to turn to liberal egalitarian values.

2.5 Education of women in India-A Historical Review

2.5.1 Women in Ancient India

There are two schools of thought regarding the status of women in ancient India. One school has described women as “the equals of men”, while the other schools holds that women were held not only in disrespect but even in positive hatred. Both schools refer to several passages from religious literature to prove their point. Apastamba had prescribed: “All must make a way for a woman when she is treading a path”. Since we behave in this way for those whom we respect, it indicates the high esteem in which women were held. Manu had said: “Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes, but where they are not unhappy, the family ever prospers”. At another place, Manu had said: “Where women are honoured, the gods are pleased but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields any reward”. Yahnavalkya had said: “Women are the embodiment of all divine virtues on earth. Soma has bestowed all his purity on them, Gandharva has given them sweetness of speech and fire has showered all his brilliance to make them most attractive”. Such lofty ideals about them have been repeated in the Ramayana and Mahabharata also. In the Mahabharata, women were held not only as centres of domestic life but also as pivots of entire social organization. Man was required to bend his will before that of his wife and to serve her and to adore her.

This is one side of the picture. There is other side too. Women were held to be weak-minded and unworthy of being trusted. They were regarded as means of satisfying the physical desires of men, to serve them and to secure those progeny. At one place, it is said in the Mahabharata: “There is nothing that is more sinful than woman. Woman is the root of all evils. There is no creature more sinful than woman.
Woman is a burning fire. She is the illusion that Daitya Maya created. She is the sharp edge of a razor. She is fire\textsuperscript{88}. In the Ramayana, it is said: “The faces of women are like flowers; their words are like the drops of honey but their hearts are like sharp razor; the interior of them no one can know”. The way Manu had wanted men to consider women as things of possession and the way Drupadi was pawned by Yudhistra in the game of dice undoubtedly goes to prove that in the early stages of civilization, women were regarded no better than chattels and slaves.

However, the quotations referred from different religious scriptures cannot be relied upon for giving the true position of women in the society. They were ‘contextual’, that is, these statements were giving in some context. If Bhishma had said: “Husband should regard his wife as an acquisition” or if lord Rama had said: “I can give away all my royal inheritance and even my wife and all that I value to Bharat of my own free accord”, it was only in some context or in some situation. The real status of women could be judged by analyzing the social, economic, educational, political and religious rights they enjoyed.

\textbf{2.5.2 Women in the Vedic and the Post-Vedic Periods}

The social status of women in the Vedic and the Post-Vedic periods can be ascertained from the extent of freedom they enjoyed or the restrictions imposed on them. Women never observed purdah in the Vedic and the Epic periods. They enjoyed freedom in selecting their mates. They could educate themselves. Widows were permitted to remarry. Divorce was, however, not permissible to them. But then it was not permissible to men either. In the household, they enjoyed complete freedom and were treated as Ardhangnis (better halves). In the Mahabharata, it was mentioned: “The sweet-speeched wives are their husband’s friends on the occasion of joy; they are as their husband’s fathers on occasions of religious acts; and they are as mothers in hours of illness and woe”. In domestic life, women used to be supreme. Thus, in the social field, woman’s position was not one of complete disability but one dictated by justice and fairness.

\textbf{2.5.3 Women in the Pauranic Period}

The status of women was lowered in the Pauranic period. The chronological order of religious scriptures of Hindu society is: Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads, Griha-sutras, Dharmashastras, Smritis, Epics, and Puranas. In the social field, pre-

puberty marriages came to be practiced, widow remarriage was prohibited, husband was given the status of god for a woman, education was totally denied to women, custom of sati became increasingly prevalent, purdah (veil) system came into vogue, and practice of polygamy came to be tolerated. In the economic field, a woman was totally denied a share in her husband's property by maintaining that "a wife and a slave cannot own property." In the religious field, she was forbidden to offer sacrifices and prayers, practice penances, and undertake pilgrimages. Reasons for low status of women in the Pauranic period are identified. These reasons are: imposition of Brahmanical austerities on the entire society, rigid restrictions imposed by the caste system and the joint family system, lack of educational facilities for women, introduction of the non-Aryan wife into the Aryan household, and foreign invasion like Alexander, etc. of India.

2.5.4 Women in the Buddhist Period

The origin of Buddhism has been treated as reaction to Hinduism. Many unjustifiable social rigours, like introducing the practice of pre-puberty marriages and denying right to education, right to mate selection, right to participate in the religious discourses, etc., were imposed on women during the periods of Brahmanas and Puranas. In the Buddhist period, the status of women improved a little, though there was no tremendous change. In the religious field, women came to occupy a distinctly superior place. They had their own sangha, called Bhikshuni Sangh, which was guided by the same rules and regulations as those of the monks. The sangh opened to them avenues of cultural activities and social service and ample opportunities for public life. In the social field, they had an honoured place according to the traditions of Brahmanical religion. Their political and economic status, however, remained unchanged.

2.5.5 Women in the Medieval Period

The first invasion of India by the Muslims took place in the eighth century the period in which Sankracharya lived. The Hindu society was engaged in evolving, under the leadership of Sankracharya, a technique to face the expanding Buddhism. Sankracharya re-emphasized the supremacy of Vedas to counter the spread of Buddhism, and the Vedas had given a status of equality to women. India experienced

89 Mukheijee, Prabhati Man in India, July-September 1964 at 267.
a second Muslim invasion in the eleventh century when Mohammad Ghazni conquered India. From this period onwards till the middle of the eighteenth century, when the British authority was established in the country, that is, during nearly 700 years, the breakdown of social institutions, the upsetting of traditional political structures, the vast migration of people, and the economic depression in the country all these contributed to a general depression of social life, specially among women. The purdah system came to be followed to such an extent that rigorous seclusion of women became the rule. The facilities of education totally vanished. However, during the fifteenth century, the situation had undergone some change. Ramanujacharya organized the first Bhakti movement during this period, which introduced new trends in the social and the religious life of women in India. The bhaktas (saints) like Chaitanya, Nanak, Meera, Kabir, Ramdas, Tulsi and Turkaram, stood for the right of women to religious worship. Though their (bhaktas) total conception of women’s status was not quite free from the then prevailing attitude to womanhood, yet this movement unlocked the gate of religious freedom to women. As a result of this freedom, they secured certain social freedom also. The purdah system was abolished. Attending kathas and kirtans (religious prayers) freed women from the circumscribed domestic life. The ‘Grihastashram’ emphasized upon in the Bhakti movement, did not permit saints to take to sanyas without the consent of wife. This implied giving an important right to women. This Bhakti movement had other effect also. Since the time of Manu, women were debarred from education. The saints encouraged women to read religious books and to educate themselves. Thus, the Bhakti movement gave a new life to women. However, since this movement did not bring any change in the economic structure, so women continued to hold low status in the society. Their status later on improved due to the effects of the British rule.

2.5.6 Changes in the British Period Affecting Women’s Status

The British remained the rulers of India in the eighteenth, the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. During the British rule, a number of changes were made in the economic and the social structures of our society. While progress in improving the quality of life of women during the British rule of 200 years appeared to have invisibility, yet some substantial progress was achieved in eliminating
inequalities between men and women in education, employment, social rights, and so forth.  

2.6 Spread of Women Education

The idea of imparting education to women emerged in the British period. Earlier, it was almost universally held that since women had not to earn their livelihood, there was no need of education for them. After the Bhakti movement, the Christian Missionaries took interest in the education of girls. A girl’s school was started for the first time in Bombay in 1824. Lord Dalhousie also declared that no single change in the habit of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their family children. The Hunter Commission too emphasized on the need for female education in 1882. The Calcutta, Bombay and Madras universities did not permit admission to girls up to 1875. It was only after 1882 that girls were allowed to go for higher education. Since then, there has been a continuous progress in the extent of education among females. The literacy percentage among females in India increased from 0.6 per cent in 1901 to 2.93 per cent in 1931, 7.30 per cent in 1941, 12.95 per cent in 1961, 18.69 per cent in 1971, 24.88 per cent in 1981, 39.42 per cent in 1991 and 54.16 in 2001. The number of literate women in the rural areas is much lower than in the urban areas. In 1981, as against 17.99 per cent in the rural areas, there were 47.65 per cent literate women in the urban areas. Further, in 1979-80, of the 78.9 million students studying in the primary classes (I to V standard), only 38.45 per cent were girls; of the 18.7 million students in the middle classes (VI to VIII standard), 32.90 per cent were girls; of the 7.51 million students studying in high school (IX and X standards), 29.24 per cent were girls; and of the 1.19 million students studying in XI and XII classes, 32.35 per cent were girls. This shows that broadly speaking, at the school level; the ratio of boys to girls is 3: 1. The percentage of girls undertaking higher education and those receiving professional education medicine, engineering, law, teaching, etc. is extremely low.

While out of every 100 girls in schools, sixty-two study at the primary level, twenty-six study at the middle level, and twelve at the high school level, it may be said that though the number of girls studying at various levels is low, yet there has

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91 Ibid at 95-96.
93 Ibid at 92-94.
been a marked increase in the number of female students at every level from 1941 onwards.

2.7 Women in the Post-Independence Period

The low status of women in India up to late 1940s had mainly stemmed from illiteracy, economic dependence, religious prohibitions, caste restrictions, lack of female leadership, and apathetic and callous attitude of males. It has been identified five specific factors responsible for the low status of women in India and also for female seclusion in our culture. These are: Hindu religion, caste system, joint family system, Islamic rule, and British colonialism. The values of Hinduism held that males were superior to females and that male and females should perform different roles. Whereas women were supposed to concentrate on their roles as mother and householder, men were to be concerned with economics and politics. Hindu scriptures prescribed a dependent position for a woman throughout her lifetime. The caste system imposed many restrictions on the involvement of women in public affairs. On the one hand, it prescribed an early marriage for girls; and on the other, it prohibited widow remarriage and prescribed the practice of sati. The patrilineal joint family system curbed women’s freedom and contributed to their low status in the family by assigning status based on age, sex and kinship. The status of women further deteriorated during the Muslim period. Under the socio-political impact of the Islamic rule, Hindus adopted the Muslim custom of female seclusion, that is, purdah, which implied a complementary division of labour by sex. Child marriages became very common to protect girls from the evil eyes of Muslim nawabs and jagirdars. Though the British rulers initially decided not to interfere with the social laws of Hindus but in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century, when some male social reformers talked of reforms for women and their efforts provided incentive to women’s movements, the British Government agreed to abolish/change some social customs through legislative measures.

2.8 The Policy’s Vision of Social Engineering

Both the NPE\textsuperscript{94} and POA\textsuperscript{95} insisted that NPE was designed in order to fulfill the overriding ‘NPE can result in provision of education comparable in quality with formal schooling’. It is indeed ironical that the policy first creates a layer of lower

\textsuperscript{94} National Policy on Education, 1986 at 25.9.
\textsuperscript{95} Programme of Action on National Policy of Education, 1986: Chapter II, at 25.
quality below the formal school, mainly for poor girls and child labour, and then claims to design features in it to make it 'comparable with formal schooling'. It prefers not to take any radical measures to transform the social and pedagogic character of the mainstream formal school system such that it will be able to attract child labour as well as children from remote habitations, particularly girls, while ensuring that they enjoy learning and receive education that is relevant to their lives along with the rest of the children in their neighborhood. Policy makers offer the following lame excuse for not taking radical measures for transforming the formal school system:

"Given the present condition of the schools in general, the challenge before the school system are many e.g., enrolling and retaining children who cannot afford to attend school regularly; a harmonious interaction with the community around; improving infrastructure, quality and learning environment; and ensuring that every student acquires minimum levels of learning. These challenges are daunting enough and it does not seem desirable to overload the school system with yet another formidable challenge of meeting the educational needs of children with severe para educational constraints."\(^{96}\)

Three contradictions need to be noted in the statement. One, policy makers do not regard the ‘daunting challenges’ to be the central task of the formal school system, if not the very raison d’être for its existence. Two, these ‘daunting challenges’ do not seem to constitute ‘the educational needs of children with severe para educational constraints’. One wonders what will. Also, the policy erroneously assumes that it is the child, rather than the school system, that is handicapped by ‘severe educational constraints’. Is this excuse offered because of the lack of policy makers’ interest in either abolishing child labour or changing the role of girls from poor families in domestic chores and sibling care?\(^{97}\) This is obvious since the timings of NFE centres were adjusted to evenings for child labour and afternoons for girls, instead of ensuring that they come to a regular daytime formal school, thereby challenging the socio-


cultural constraints operating on their lives, as has been successfully demonstrated by MV Foundation in Andhra Pradesh. The fact is that the policy conceived of a parallel stream like NFE, which, instead of helping eliminate the practice of child labour and resist patriarchy, ended up adjusting with and legitimizing it.

The policy makers were determined to institutionalize the newly emerging principle of social engineering through parallel layers of so-called educational facilities not schools. The National Policy on Education Review Committee’s (NPERC) recommendation, therefore, to transform the infrastructural, social and pedagogic character of the formal school system did not find favour with the CABE Committee on Policy, which reiterated the same flawed logic critiqued earlier. The NPE 1986 accordingly retained the parallel NFE stream for millions of working children two-thirds of them being girls, without providing a feasible design in the modified POA, 1992 for radically transforming or improving the formal school system. Extending this spurious logic, it was only natural, for the CABE Committee on Policy to also reject the NPERC’s recommendation for building a common school system. This retrogressive stand of the CABE Committee on Policy with regard to NFE and the common school system at least followed an internally consistent logic and thus enabled the state to clear the path, as we shall see later, for the structural adjustment programme being then imposed on the Indian economy by the IMF and World Bank.

2.9 Post-Jomtien Phase of Indian Education

The Jomtien Conference was jointly convened by the UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank. These international agencies continued to hold follow-up conferences at both regional and global levels during the 1990s. The decadal follow-up of the Jomtien Conference was held at Dakar, Senegal, in April 2000, wherein the progress made by the various nations to achieve EFA goals as set out by the Jomtien Declaration was reviewed. Just as the Jomtien Declaration guided

98 Sinha, Shantha. ‘Child Labour and Education’ the Gender gap in Basic Education: NGOs as change Agent. Sage Publication, 2000, New Delhi.
100 As modified in 1992.
educational planning throughout the 1990s, the Dakar Framework of Action\textsuperscript{102} has now become the new policy-level international guide post for the first 15 years of the 21st century.

The Jomtien Conference proved to be a turning point in the history of education in India. The Government of India gave a hasty concurrence to the Jomtien Declaration\textsuperscript{103}, without even consulting Parliament on its major Constitutional and policy implications. This marked the beginning of a phase of steady erosion of Parliament's role in policy formulation in education as well as of the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Human Resource Development in formulating the agenda of Indian education and setting its priorities. As provided for in the Jomtien Declaration\textsuperscript{104} and Jomtien Framework\textsuperscript{105}, external aid from a host of international funding agencies, operating under the World Bank umbrella, was systematically allowed in the primary education sector as a matter of policy for the first time in post-independence India. This policy departure coincided with the beginning of the New Economic Policy in July 1991 in India. With this, it became necessary for the government to accept the IMF-World Bank's structural adjustment programme. The launching of the first World Bank-sponsored comprehensive District Primary Education Programme DPEP in 1993-94 was part of this requirement and its attendant Social Safety Net provided under the IMF World Bank design\textsuperscript{106}. The serious implication of this new situation was recognized by the government. The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) at its 46th meeting in March 1991 formulated a set of guidelines for externally aided projects, which were reiterated at the 47th meeting in May 1992. These guidelines sought to ensure that 'external assistance does not lead to a dependency syndrome' and remains 'an additionally to the national resources for education' while being in 'total conformity with the national policies, strategies and programmes'.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{102} World Education Forum 2000.\textit{The Dakar Framework for Action} (adopted at World Education Forum's conference on 'Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments') Dakar, Senegal, 26-28 April.
\textsuperscript{104} See Article 10 of Jomtien Declaration.
\textsuperscript{105} See Jomtien Framework at 3.
\textsuperscript{106} See Article 10 of Jomtien Declaration.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid. at 89.
Yet a series of policy-related documents were issued during the following years, each having impacts upon the policy in a significant manner. This includes Education for All, Education Guarantee Scheme, Para Teachers Scheme, Ambani-Birla Report, National Curriculum Framework for School Education, and Education Guarantee Scheme, and Alternative and Innovative Education. The minimum norms for school infrastructure and strength of teachers in a primary school, as specified in Operation Blackboard of NPE, 1986, were diluted for the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and EFA-National Plan of Action. Similarly, the policy relating to women’s education stands diluted from empowering women to merely enrolling girls in school registers in line with the Jomtien and Dakar Frameworks, as also reinforced by the monitoring parameters for example, the gender parity index, an index based on enrolment ratios formulated by UNESCO. For none of these was it considered necessary to take the approval of Parliament, even when they contradicted elements of the education policy approved by Parliament. During the post-Jomtien phase, the Indian education policy was diluted in the following significant ways, whether directly as part of the externally aided projects for example, the DPEP or otherwise for example, the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan:

2.9.1. Trivialisation of Educational Aims

Education being made synonymous with literacy; competency- based market-oriented narrow framework of minimum levels of learning (MLL) imposed on curricular planning and assessment; education of girls viewed in terms of only reducing their fertility rates,

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112 National Council of Education and Research and Training, New Delhi: 2000
slowing population growth or increasing their productivity\textsuperscript{117}; and basically education being viewed in a behavioral paradigm.

2.9.2. Fragmentation of knowledge

The ‘world of work’ separated from the ‘world of knowledge’, thereby reinforcing the Brahminical-cum-colonial character of Indian education; cognitive domain viewed in isolation of the affective domain and psychomotor skills for example, in MLL; primary education delinked from upper primary stage, ignoring the concept of integrated elementary education of eight years\textsuperscript{118}

2.9.3. Withdrawal from policy commitment to build a common school system

As discussed earlier, the issue of improvement of quality and relevance of the formal school system in order to build a common school system for all children was gradually defocused after NPE, 1986, particularly during the post-Jomtien phase. Instead, institutionalization of multiple or parallel tracks of low-quality ‘educational’ facilities replaced the common School policy as the strategy for providing so-called education to millions of out-of-schoolchildren belonging to Dalit and tribal sections of society several segments of other backward classes, cultural and linguistic minorities, and physically and mentally disabled.

Two-thirds of each of these sections, facing educational discrimination, comprised girl children. Apart from continuing with NFE during the post-Jomtien phase, the following multiple tracks or parallel streams were introduced: accommodating the 9 to 14 age group in adult literacy classes\textsuperscript{119}, 18 alternative schools\textsuperscript{120}, Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) centres\textsuperscript{121}, multi-grade multi-level teaching\textsuperscript{122}, bridge courses and back-to-school camps\textsuperscript{123}, and correspondence courses for the 6 to 14 age group\textsuperscript{124}.

\textsuperscript{117} Primary Education in India. 1997, Washington, DC: World Bank, and New Delhi at 1, 39, 53
\textsuperscript{118} See supra note 65 at 110-111.

53
Four sets of observations will be made here to reveal the ruthlessness with which the State has pursued its agenda of promoting and institutionalizing inequality in education: (a) The EGS has no provision whatsoever for any infrastructure not even for a tent or thatched roof; its supposedly chief beneficiaries, namely, Dalit or tribal communities are expected, as per the EGS design, to arrange for some space for the centre\textsuperscript{125}!

(b) In externally aided DPEP, multi-grade/multi-level teaching has meant nothing other than one/two teacher(s) being trained to teach five classes simultaneously out of sheer necessity. In spite of the confused rhetoric by DPEP authorities, it is not designed to be the progressive pedagogy of 'grade-less teaching', as is the case at Digantar experimental schools practicing grade-less teaching near Jaipur, Rajasthan. The DPEP has thus violated the Operation Blackboard norms of NPE 1986\textsuperscript{126} for providing at least three teachers and three classrooms to every primary school. The DPEP policy can be analysed aptly:\textsuperscript{127}

"The need and rationale for multi-grade teaching is either sociopolitical or managerial; and pedagogical considerations are only grafted on to it. The real solution to the problem is to appoint more teachers. But appointing more teachers costs money. Since most children in these schools belong to the weaker sections of society easier and less expensive solutions are sought. Therefore, a pedagogical solution for this socio-economic problem is devised in the name of multi-grade teaching strategies As the [conventional] grade was used to manage children, now in a changed situation the idea of multi-grade is used for the same purpose...claiming that [it] is an effort for quality improvement, is nothing more than making a virtue out of an ugly necessity

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\textsuperscript{124} Ibid at 3.4.18.


\textsuperscript{126} As modified in 1992.

\textsuperscript{127} Dhankar, Rohit; "Seeking Quality Education: In the Arena of Fun and Rhetoric". In Seeking Quality Education for All: Experiences from the District Primary Education Programme. New Delhi: The European Commission, 2002 at 8-9.
ugly because the children who bear the brunt belong to the weaker sections of the society."

The policy\textsuperscript{128} had stated that ‘Operation Blackboard will be enlarged to provide \textit{three reasonably large rooms} that are usable in all weather and a range of teaching aids’ and ‘at least \textit{three teachers} should work in every school, the \textit{number increasing, as early as possible, to one teacher per class} ... at least 50 per cent of teachers recruited in future should be women’. To be sure, these norms were approved by Parliament in May 1992. Through multi-grade/multi-level teaching, the DPEP has cynically attempted to justify the single-teacher and two-teacher schools almost two-thirds of all primary schools, instead of building up political pressure or legislative action, or catalyzing community demand for the fulfillment of Operation Blackboard commitments. This violation during the late 1990s touted as an interim strategy apparently opened the doors at the beginning of this century for institutionalizing the dilution of Operation Blackboard norms from three teachers/three classrooms per primary school to two teachers/two classrooms per primary school in the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Tenth Five-Year Plan, 2002-07 and EFA National Plan of Action, 2003. ‘This dilution is now the basis of financial allocations\textsuperscript{129}. It also explains, at least partly, how the government managed to reduce. The Tapas Majumdar Committee’s estimates by 30 per cent for the Financial Memorandum attached to the 86th Amendment Bill.

\textit{(c) The NCERT\textsuperscript{130} recommended correspondence courses euphemized as open schooling or open learning system for the 6 to 14 age group without any basis in educational research or experience whatsoever. Again, this proposal is in violation of NPE, 1986 (as modified in 1992), which had restricted the role of the so-called ‘open learning system’ to secondary and higher education\textsuperscript{131}. Yet, such a farcical pedagogic notion is already a part of the 10th Five Year Plan\textsuperscript{132} and EFA-National Plan of Action\textsuperscript{133}, and will be shortly presented to Parliament for legitimisation\textsuperscript{134}. Apart

\textsuperscript{128} DPEP policy at Section 5.7
\textsuperscript{129} Education for All: National Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India at 92.
\textsuperscript{130} NCERT, 2000 at 22-23.
\textsuperscript{131} National Policy on Education, 1986 (as modified in 1992) at 5.37.
\textsuperscript{133} Supra Note 35 at 44.
from legitimising child labour, the introduction of correspondence courses for the 6 to 14 age group, most of them being first-generation learners, implies that the girl child will be officially denied the relatively more liberating atmosphere offered by school than what she is likely to get at home, bound by patriarchal traditions.

(d) Whenever faced with criticism throughout the 1990s, policy makers claimed that these multiple tracks or parallel streams are merely interim or transitional arrangements in order to eventually mainstream all children to reach regular formal schools. This is precisely what the nation was told about non-Formal education in the wake of NPE, 1986 and in the years following NPE, 1986, as modified in 1992, which promised that the NFE scheme ‘will be strengthened and enlarged’. The EFA again assured that many measures are being adopted to further strengthen this scheme.

In 1995, the externally aided DPEP asserted that it would ‘strive for the development of an effective NFE system which can meet the diverse educational needs of children’. In 1998, the DPEP declared that ‘every state is deciding to set up different forms of alternative schools to ensure participation of working children, street children, children of migrating communities, drop-outs etc.’ To be sure, all the categories of out-of-school children mentioned in the DPEP of 1998 are same as those mentioned in NFE scheme of the 1986 policy. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan informs that:

"Studies on the Non-Formal Education scheme have pointed out the lack of flexibility which impedes effective implementation across different States. Efforts to provide for a diversity of interventions have been made in the revised scheme that has been approved recently such as setting up of

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135 Sadgopal, Anil, 'Education For Too Few 'Frontline, 5 December, 2003 at 97-100.
We should be prepared for yet another revision of the scheme in the near future since the target of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan of ‘providing universal enrolment by the year 2003 is far from being met. This policy analysis shows that these multiple tracks or parallel streams are there to stay with us for as long as the policy makers refuse to: (a) focus on transforming the mainstream formal school system; (b) build a common school system; and (c) reprioritise the national economy to ensure adequate resources for this central nation-building task. Otherwise, the promise of making these multiple tracks into transitional schools’ the latest name for the range of NFE schemes will remain an elusive dream.

2.9.4 Erosion of women’s education policy

The National Policy on Education, 1986, as modified in 1992 provides for a sharp perspective on ‘Education for Women’s Equality’ as follows:

“Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values.”

The entire credit for this progressive stance must go to India’s own women’s movement, which persuaded even the policy makers to move away from conventional notions. The only programme that was designed to reflect this policy insight was the Mahila Samakhya. Its objective was to enhance the self-esteem and self-confidence of women; build their positive image by recognizing their contribution to society, polity and the economy; develop their ability to think critically; enable them to make informed choices in areas like education, employment and health, especially reproductive health; and ensure equal participation in developmental processes. However, the Mahila Samakhya remained marginal throughout the 1990s. For every Rs. 100 allocated for elementary education in the Union Budget, hardly 25 paisa was

142 Programme of Action, 1992 at Chapter 1, Section 1.5.1.
given to it. In due course of time, even this miniscule programme lost its basic direction.

The Jomtien-Dakar Framework does not even refer to patriarchy as an issue and essentially reduces girls' education to merely enrolling them in school registers and giving them literacy skills. This is exactly what happened when the World Bank sponsored DPEP adopted Mahila Samakhya. The focus on collective reflection and socio-cultural action by organized women’s groups, as advocated by the policy, was abandoned. It became a mere girl child enrolment programme. Critical issues such as girls’ participation in schools, gender sensitization of learning material, and teacher education and holistic educational aims were ignored. Unfortunately, the notion of gender parity ratio of enrolment of girls and boys in the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003-04 also reinforces this confusion. Further, the World Bank diluted the goal of women’s education to just raising their literacy levels and productivity rather than educating or empowering them, and turning them into mere transmitters of fertility control, health or nutritional messages. The Dakar Framework has now added the ambiguous notion of life skills that seems to be yet another mechanism for social manipulation and market control of the adolescent mindset, particularly girls. India unfortunately gave up its progressive policy on women’s education in favour of the international framework that was guided more by considerations of the market than by women’s socio-cultural and political rights.

2.9.5 Increasing Abdication by the State

We will only briefly touch upon this alarming post-Jomtien trend here since it has been referred to elsewhere as well as reflected in the various aspects of policy dilution listed earlier. What is needed is recognition of the relationship between these trends and the IMF World Bank’s structural adjustment programme that is accelerating Indian education towards privatization and commercialization, as proposed by the Ambani-Birla report. However, we need to advance our understanding beyond the Ambani-Birla formulations, which gave the false impression that it called for privatization only in higher education and partly in

secondary education the report seemed to be saying that elementary education must be entirely a state responsibility. The post-Jomtien policy measures adopted by Indian policy makers have evidently enabled the state to rapidly withdraw even from the elementary education sector. This is reflected in the ever-reducing financial commitment for this sector, as discussed in detail later in the context of the 93rd (now called 86th) Amendment. There is mounting evidence that the state is not ready to re-priorities the national economy in favour of education of the deprived sections of society, and has become dependent on external aid as it seems to be refusing to provide for even the diluted policy measures and for the much reduced financial requirement. This official stance is in clear violation of the CABE guidelines against ‘dependency syndrome’ and policy dilutions in relation to external aid.\(^{146}\)

### 2.10 Literacy Scenario in India\(^ {147}\)

LITERACY RATE 1951-2001 – INDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>18.33</td>
<td>27.16</td>
<td>8.86</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>28.30</td>
<td>40.40</td>
<td>15.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>34.45</td>
<td>45.96</td>
<td>21.97</td>
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<td>1981</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>64.84</td>
<td>75.26</td>
<td>53.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.11 TAMPERING WITH THE CONSTITUTION

Back to the 93rd (now called 86th) Amendment debate in Lok Sabha, the Bill suffered from the following four major lacunae:

(a) The Bill sought to exclude almost 170 million children up to 6 years of age, from the provision of the fundamental right to free early childhood care and pre-

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\(^{147}\)As per 2001 Census.
school education. This was in contravention of NPE, 1986 (as modified in 1992), which considered this support during childhood as being crucial for child development and preparation for elementary education\textsuperscript{148}. The implication was clear: early childhood care and pre-school education will be denied to not less than 40 per cent of the children in this age group, two-thirds of them being girls, whose parents barely manage to earn minimum wages. This will also prevent girls in the 6 to 14 age group belonging to the same sections of society from receiving elementary education as they will be engaged in sibling care.

(b) The Bill made the provision of fundamental right to education even for the 6 to 14 age group children conditional by introducing the phrase 'as the State may, by law, determine' in the new Article 21A\textsuperscript{149}. The implications of this phrase are discussed below.

(c) The Bill shifted the Constitutional obligation towards free and compulsory education' from the state to the parents or guardians by making it a fundamental duty of the latter under Article 51A (k)\textsuperscript{150} to 'provide opportunities for education' to their children in the 6 to 14 age group. This purpose is now sought to be achieved by promoting and legitimising community participation' in raising resources for elementary education\textsuperscript{151}, yet another measure of abdication by the state.

(d) The Financial Memorandum attached to the Bill provided for only Rs. 98 billion per annum\textsuperscript{152} over a 10-year period for implementing the provisions under the Bill. This commitment was far from being adequate, as it was 30 per cent less than what was estimated by the Tapas Majumdar Committee in 1999 to provide elementary education to all out-of-school children through regular format schools. This lower estimate was made possible by depending on low-quality parallel tracks of education and lowering several other critically important infrastructural and pedagogic norms for deprived sections of society.

\textsuperscript{148} National Policy on Education, 1986 (as modified in 1992) at 5.1 -5.4.

\textsuperscript{149} The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.

\textsuperscript{150}Who is a parent or Guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.


\textsuperscript{152} Tilak, J.B.G. 'A Study on Financing on Education in India with a Focus on Elementary Education.' Ministerial Level Meeting of the South Asia EFA Forum, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2003, 21-23 May.
Detailed critiques of the 93rd Amendment Bill contended that the lacunae were deliberate rather than being a result of an oversight. The amendment was being made, these writings sought to establish, not to make elementary education a fundamental right, but to fulfill the dictates of the IMF World Bank's structural adjustment programme that demanded reduction in public expenditure on the social sector. The lack of guarantee of free early childhood care and pre-school education will not only result in underdevelopment of deprived children during childhood, but will also adversely affect their learning capacity during school education.

In particular the critiques focused upon the implications of the phrase 'as the State may, by law, determine'. No such conditionality existed in the original Article 45. It is contended that the phrase was introduced in order to legitimise the low-budget low-quality multiple and parallel tracks of so called educational facilities for poor children as well as other forms of policy dilutions discussed. This phrase also legitimises the increasing abdication by the state of its Constitutional obligation towards ensuring elementary education of equitable quality for all children.

To the agitated MPs from various political parties who criticised the Bill in both Houses of Parliament, an assurance was repeatedly given by the minister that the lacunae in the Bill will be taken care of by enacting a new law. How would a law take care of the lacunae introduced in the Constitution through an amendment? If the government intended to rectify the lacunae later through a law, why was it bent upon introducing these in the Constitution in the first place? The leadership of various political parties neither raised nor pursued such uncomfortable questions in Parliament. The assurance of a law to be enacted later seemed to have led to a curious consensus on what is now termed the 86th Amendment, in spite of its unambiguous bias against millions of children, girl children in particular belonging to various deprived sections of society and violations of several provisions in the Constitution relating to Parts III 153 and IV. 154

153 Fundamental Rights, Articles 12 to 35, Constitution of India.
154 Directive Principles of State Policy, Articles 36 to 51, Constitution of India.
2.12 Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Bill, 2009

Both the Houses of the Indian Parliament have passed the Bill for providing free and compulsory education for children in the age-group of 6 to 14. There have been extensive debates on the extent to which this Bill will help in implementing the right to education as provided in Article 21-A of the Indian Constitution. What has been ignored in these discussions is that the Bill as adopted misses the excellent opportunity provided to the nation for bringing about a radical transformation of the school education system in India.

While discussing the problems of school education in India, a few issues are repeatedly raised: absence of teachers from schools, lack of interest on the part of the parents or guardians, deficiencies in curriculum and syllabus, wrong methods of teaching etc. But these problems cannot be viewed in isolation and in a fragmented fashion. For, their roots are spread deep in the entire system. Therefore, if one wants to solve these problems, then it would be necessary to transform the entire education system. What are the systemic and fundamental problems of the Indian school education system?

Firstly, there is the problem of access. School education is simply unavailable to the vast number of children in the country. During the last few decades, there has been some progress in improving enrolment. The gross enrolment ratio (GER) from Classes I to VIII was 94.9 per cent and from Classes I to XII, 77 per cent. The government primarily relies on the GER to bolster its claim for progress made in expanding school education in India. But enrolment is a very unreliable basis for assessing the degree of access to school education. Firstly, enrolment figures are generally rigged and exaggerated for various administrative and political purposes.

The Right to Education Bill perpetuates the multi-layer discriminating school system in India. It legalizes the currently operating four categories of schools in India (a) government schools, (b) aided private schools, (c) special category schools and (d) non-aided private schools. According to the Bill, the government schools will provide compulsory and free education to all children in the age-group of 6-14 years admitted

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156 The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.
therein, and the aided private schools will provide such education in such proportion of children admitted therein as its annual recurring aid or grant bears to its recurring annual expenses, subject to a minimum of 25 per cent. The special category schools and non-aided private schools shall admit in Class I, to the extent of at least 25 per cent of the strength of that class, children belonging to the weaker sections or disadvantaged groups in the neighbourhood and provide free and compulsory elementary education till its completion. These last two categories of schools will be reimbursed expenditure so incurred by them to the extent of per child expenditure incurred by the state, or the actual amount charged from the child, whichever is less. These provisions, as already stated, perpetuate the present multi-layer system of schools. In addition, they are in violation of Article 21A\textsuperscript{158} which calls for the provision of free and compulsory education to all children in the 6 to 14 age-group. As many as 75 per cent of the children in this age-group in aided private schools will not be provided free and compulsory education. In the last two categories of schools, children in the age-group admitted therein, not belonging to disadvantaged or weaker groups will not be provided free and compulsory education and for these groups also, only 25 per cent of the children will be provided free and compulsory education in these schools. This also is a violation of Article 21A\textsuperscript{159}.

Another systemic malady which has afflicted school education in India is the transformation of the very nature and meaning of school education, brought about by the forces of globalisation and liberalisation in which international agencies have played no small a role. In most developing countries including India, education has to a large extent been replaced by literacy for which it is strictly not necessary to go to schools. According to the new paradigm, education is defined in functional terms, which are, making the recipient qualified for the marketplace. In this sense the educational system as a whole has been commodified. Today, the purpose of school education is merely imparting skills of literacy and numeracy. The basic philosophical purpose of education is to enhance the capacity of the children to comprehend, to discern, to contest what, according to them, is wrong, and to develop the urge to transform what is wrong and unjust. These philosophical goals have been set aside and replaced by the functional goal of meeting the demand of the market. Under the

\textsuperscript{158} The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.
globalisation/liberalisation paradigm, schools have to a large extent been replaced by literacy and informal centres, trained teachers have been replaced by para-teachers, and the system of at least one teacher for every class and for every important subject has been replaced by multi-grade teaching. Training is no longer regarded as essential for teaching. The Government of Bihar officially notified in 1991 that training was no longer necessary as a qualification for appointment as a teacher. This whole process of distortion of the meaning and purpose of education started systematically since the mid-1980s and has by now been completed.

This transformation of the nature of education has seriously affected its quality and has relegated to the background the concept of schooling as a means of socialisation, nation building and formation of social capital, which has been practised for centuries by important developed countries. It has also been used to rationalise non-universalisation of school education and it’s under funding. The Right to Education Bill does not make any provision for reversing the process of the distortion of the meaning and purpose of education.

The Right to Education Bill should have covered the entire school education system including one or two years of pre-primary education, elementary education that is, the 6 to 14 age-group which is its present coverage and secondary education. The distinction between pre-primary, elementary and secondary education may be valid from the pedagogic point of view, but this distinction becomes arbitrary when it comes to guaranteeing right of education, universalising school education, and ensuring its quality. There are strong reasons for providing free and compulsory education preferably for two years and at least for one year at the pre-primary level, and also for universalising secondary education. A Group of Experts which met at UNESCO Headquarters at the end of 2007 arrived at the consensus that "basic education should consist of at least nine years after pre-primary and ideally it should extend to 12 years". In most of the advanced developing countries, like China, Mexico, South Africa, Brazil, Thailand, Indonesia etc., the task of universalising elementary education was accomplished a long time ago and the current preoccupation of the educational planners and policy-makers is for universalising quality secondary education.

Depriving the children in the age-group, say, 4 to 6, of free and compulsory education, as the Right to Education Bill does, is totally arbitrary and a flagrant denial of human rights. Article 45 of the Indian Constitution directed the state to provide free
and compulsory education up to the age of 14, which included children at the pre-
primary level of education. The famous Unnikrishnan judgement160, which regarded
right to education as a part of right to life, also covered children up to the age of 14.

However, when the 86th Amendment to the Indian Constitution was
enacted in the form of Article 21-A161, the government arbitrarily almost by a sleight
of hand excluded children in the age-group of 0 to 6 from the ambit of the
amendment. Thus, some 170 million children were deprived of the right to free and
compulsory education. However, this right still exists because the amended version of
Article 45 states:

"The State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all
children until they complete the age of 6 years."163

If this is read with Article 21164, as was done in the Unnikrishnan judgment,
then the children in age group of 0-6 also enjoy the fundamental right to free and
compulsory education.

Finally, the Bill should have created a mechanism vested with the overall
responsibility of overseeing progress in the restructuring of school education, bringing
about improvements, through research and public discussion, in the norms and
standards included in the Bill, adjudicating disputes where called upon to do so, and
being the Court of Last Appeal so far as the implementation of the Act is concerned.
This should have been possible only by establishing a fully empowered judicial or
quasi-judicial Commission. The government seems to be very keen to set up such a
Commission for higher education, which is perhaps needed and for which there is
considerable public support. However, such a Commission is needed equally, if not
more importantly, for school education. In lieu of this, the Bill provides for the
establishment of a Central as well as State Advisory Councils. This is hardly likely to
serve the purpose. Such Advisory Councils are vested with very limited power. Their

160 AIR 1997 SC2178.
161 This amendment Act has added a new Art. 21-A which makes the right of education of children of
the age of 6 to 14 years a fundamental right. It also substitutes Article 45 which is as follows: "The
State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete
the age of six years." It has also added a new fundamental duty to Part IV of the Constitution, vide
Article 51A (K).
162 The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen
years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.
163 Article 45.
164 No person shall be deprived of his life and or personal liberty except according to procedure
established by law.
membership is in the nature of patronage or favour bestowed by political leaders, and in most cases, their advice is seldom sought or sought only as a public relations and politically motivated exercise.

2.13 Colonialism and Women’s Education in India

Though right from 1813, and even prior to that, women’s education had increased but the progress during colonial rule was very nominal in comparison to the total population and population of females to that of boy’s education. Women’s education had been a sort of ritual without meaning or purpose. We know that education is the most important factor in achieving a rapid socio-economic development and technological progress. But during the colonial rule its potential role in nation-building and development got only lip service. And it was articulated at a low key. The reasons are: (a) The British colonialists after the sepoy mutiny of 1857 did not take much interest in women’s education and ‘socio-economic reform; (b) they did not take much initiative to recognize educational reform demanded by the society; and (c) recommendations of Wood’s despatch, Indian Education Commission of 1882, and other commissions appointed from time to time, in the wake of various socio-political movements, were not implemented in true spirit by the Colonial Government. Thus education had become unresponsive to the social, political and economic aspirations of women in particular and the people in general.

During the Vedic period women enjoyed high social status and educational opportunities along with men. They had a fair deal of freedom and equality. They enjoyed the same social rights as their husbands. Widow remarriages were the rule and not the exception. Boys and girls had similar education and both were to pass through the period of Brahmacarya, celibate life. The Upanayana ceremony which marked the introduction of a child into the study of the Vedas was performed by girls and boys as well. They had access to all branches of knowledge and took part in religious and philosophical discourses irrespective of sex. Several of them namely Vaishaknaur Gargi, Maitreyi, Roma, Urvashi, Kamayani, Yami Apala, Ghosha, Shraddha, Lopamudra and others are still household names because of their great distinctions in theology and philosophy. Moreover many sacred hymns composed by women had position in the Vedas, the sacred book of Hinduism.
When the British colonialists establish political suzerainty over India, the social status of women had fallen to a new low. Much has to be said and discussed about the colonial period because it has a great bearing on women’s education. This period opens quite a new chapter in Indian educational history. It was the period when there came a gradual decline in women’s social status. On the other hand, it was the period when various social and political movements started by the stalwarts like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ranade, Vidya sa gar, Mehrotra, Veerasalingam, et al. They encouraged women’s education and assiduously mobilized them to fight the injustice heaped on women both by the traditional system and the colonial rulers and preached restoration of the former high status of women in society. In the face of this onslaught the colonial rulers took a ritualistic attempt in women’s education. Their interest was political and economic. Thus it was the missionaries and the private voluntary bodies, both Christians and Indians, as votaries of education, which took increasing interest in the promotion of women’s education in the country. They took greater effort to set up schools and colleges in various parts of the country and bore the financial burden of women’s education.

2.13.1 Period from 1757 to 1812

The colonialists introduced formal primary education in big cities. In Calcutta half-a-dozen primary schools for women were established during this period. The curriculum of these schools consisted of learning three R’s, needle work, lace-making and so on. Some schools taught French and dancing. Most of the girls admitted were from the Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian communities.165 In this period the British colonialists did not show any active interest in women’s education. When the missionaries, such as, the Portuguese, Danish, Protestants, Baptists and Germans intruded into India at the end of the sixteenth century they established several educational institutions in different parts of India. Their aim, however, was to proselytize and infuse Christian religion. The colonialists did encourage these missionaries until the absolute consolidation of British colonial power in Indian soil. After 1757 it adopted a policy of religious neutrality so that it might not lose the political and commercial foothold. In the beginning the missionaries were dissuaded not to engage in missionary activities in areas under colonial rule up to 1813. Thus the effort of starting formal education by them came to

a halt during this period. A few English people became interested to propagate English education. A few educated Indians in contact with English people also became interested in it with the sole aim to be absorbed in the job market. Thus, both groups opened English schools in Calcutta and showed interest in women's formal education. In Madras, Lady Campbell, the Governor's wife founded the Female Orphan Asylum in 1757 exclusively for the children of European officers and soldiers.

2.13.2 Period from 1813-1853

It was during this period of colonial consolidation with the renewal of the Company's Charter Act of 1813, that the colonialists were directly concerned with the expansion of English education in India. The missionaries were given an upper hand and ample opportunities to promote English education with religious fervour. Huge funds were set aside for this purpose. The Baptist Missionary Society of U.S., the Church Missionary Society of England, the Vestleyam Mission, the Scottish Missionary Society, etc., were forced to spread their activities by opening women's institutions.

At the beginning of this period, women's education was almost non-existent, as it was in Britain; due to the age-old prejudice of the Britishers against women. It was in response to various movements by women in India and all over the world that the colonialists were forced to encourage the missionaries to spread women's education. They started girls' day schools, orphans domestic establishments. The Calcutta Juvenile Society and the Serampore Female Society made notable contributions in this field mainly in large cities. The Ladies Society for Native Female Education was formed in 1824 under the Patronage of Lady Amherst which managed more than thirty women's schools. Both indigenous aid missionaries' efforts were welcomed by the women. The curriculum of women's schools consisted of three R's, geography, needle work, etc. In addition, religion was taught predominantly in missionary schools. The majority of women hailed from the Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian and Parsee Communities.

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166 Ibid, Ch. 2.
168 Ibid at 80-82.
At the same time, the colonialists started collecting information on the existing socioeconomic conditions of the people of India for the purpose of formulation of a sound educational policy to serve their purpose. Most of the schools were strictly confined to the education of boys. Of course the women from the affluent families came out to get education wherever the school system reached them. One of the most important factors why the women in this period could not see the light of education is the non-existence of women’s educational institutions in most parts of India. Even if the consciousness of the necessity of women’s education started with the activities of social reformers both Indian and Western. In fact, the colonialists did not pay any attention to promoting women’s formal education. So they restricted the education to men and did not spend a single pie out of the educational grant of 1813 for women’s education. Moreover they refused to grant any financial assistance to private schools established for girls. It was the policy of excuse that the colonialists implemented. They believed that “any attempt to educate women would create a very great commotion”. This fake believes boomeranged in course of time with the demand of women’s education. Thus, it was proved that the conservative tendency among the colonial rulers discouraged them to promote women’s education.

The colonial rulers did not pay heed even if social reformers like John Elliot Drim Kwater Bethune urged the government to take over a women’s school established by him in Calcutta in 1849. J.E.D. Bethune, the law member of the Executive Council of the Governor General and the president of the Council of Education, 1848-51 donated his entire pay about Rs. 10,000 to the school as the company did not give any financial aid. He was encouraged and assisted by the enlightened Indians. Land for the school was donated by the Zamindar, Dokshina Ranjan Mukheijee. Thus, it is stated that “the establishment of the Bethune School introduced a new era in the history of women’s education in this country”. It was supported and financed by a private education body for twenty years. The social-reform movements started by people like Raja Ram Mohan Roy with the cooperation of saner and progressive educationists compelled the colonialists to show some interest in women’s education.

171 Supra 89 at 14.
173 Supra 87 at 154.
174 Supra 92 at 111.
175 De, S.K., “Progress OF Women’s Education In India”, Education 38(7) July, 1959 at 15.
In 1854, it was for the first time that the colonial government was forced to pass the Woods Education Despatch and thereby officially announced their "frank and cordial support" for women's education in India. The overall progress was slow and the 1881 Census showed that there was just one woman under instruction for a population of 403 women in Madras. The ratio was 1:431 in Bombay, 1:976 Bengal; 1:2226 in Assam. Every now and then Indians too donated for the promotion of women's education. For example, Rs. 20,000 was donated by Raja Baidyanath of Calcutta. The missionaries were also very active in promoting English education. They opened schools in North India like Mirzapur, Howrah, and Khulna, Benares, Allahabad and Bareil. Boarding houses for orphans and destitute in some important cities were also set up. They were very particular to send Christian governesses to educate the upper class families. The Indian reformers did not like the way the Christian missionaries were infusing English education with religious overtones among the women in India. They started their own women's schools at different places like Uttarpara, Jessore, Nebudhia, Barasat and Sukhsagar Bengal, Poona, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras Presidency during the 19th century. Various private societies were managing women's schools on their own. To counter the Christian missionary schools the Indians sent their daughters to these schools. For example, by 1854, non-official efforts had led to the opening of 256 schools for women in Madras State, 288 in Bengal and 65 in Bombay. The government was apathetic in the promotion of women's education.

2.13.3 Period from 1854-1892

As mentioned, it was during this period that various social and political movements forced the colonial government to adopt a policy on women's education in India. Of course, the Woods Despatch of 1854 urged the British government to expand women's education, but it was greatly undermined by the latter. The uprising of 1857 which gave a blow to colonial government made them cautious and a policy of social and religious neutrality was declared by the Queen. The participation of large number of women including Laxmi Bai, Tara Bai, Sunder, and Moti Bai in the mutiny made the government a little more careful in the promotion of education.

Consequently not much was achieved with regard to women’s education till about 1870\(^\text{179}\). However, a considerable private and collective effort made by the Indians and Europeans had helped in shaping women’s education. For example, the Brahma Samaj started publishing journals to promote education and culture among the Indian women. The Arya Samaj Mahakanya Vidyalaya, the Arya Kanaya Schools, beyond the primary school level, was set up. The number of primary schools for women increased from 626 in 1854 to 2,600 in 1882. The enrolment of women students in primary schools substantially rose from 21,755 in 1854 to 82,420 in 1882. Enrolment of women students in the co-education schools also showed an increase but there was no universal education among women\(^\text{180}\). Thus the gap between the education of men and women was very wide. For every 1000 boys in school the number of girls was only 46 and while one adult boy out of 16 could read and write, only one adult girl in 434 could do so. The government policy, mainly concentrated on primary education. A department of education was created in 1882 to look into the problems of women’s education and expand primary schools for women. Municipalities, local fund committee or Boards were set up in rural areas for expansion of primary education. But progress was too feeble. However, most of the women’s schools including mixed primary schools were not supported financially by the colonial government. The non-official private societies and local bodies came forward and bore most of the financial burden to run these schools. The step motherly treatment had upset the spread of ‘women’s education. In fact, the reason was due to the policy and traditional attitudes, of some officials in the Department of Education\(^\text{181}\). A large number of progressive Indians who came in contact with western college education at home and abroad had broadened their outlook and they took up the task of promoting women’s education. For example, the Brahmos of Brahma Samaj in Bengal were championing the cause of women’s education so that the other half of the society could be uplifted for the over development of Indian society\(^\text{182}\). They firmly believed that with the betterment of the women’s lot, the general progress and development of society would be possible. The individual initiatives by the Indians under the influence of various social

\(^{179}\) Asthana, Pratima, Women’s Movement in India, Vikas Publishing House, 1974 at 133.


\(^{181}\) Ibid 9-12.

reform movements encouraged many to establish a number of women’s schools. For example, Pandit Ishwar Chand Vidyasagar set up more than 40 schools for women between 1855 and 1858. In 1857, a large number of women’s schools were opened in the districts of Agra, Mathura and Mainpuri of U.P. Other parts of India were not lagging behind. In Poona, Mahatma Tuba Gobindarao Phuley started private schools for women where he taught himself. It was during the time when the official trend was in the downward direction that Mahatma Phuley raised the slogan of compulsory education. He was the first person who started a private school for Harijans in 1852\textsuperscript{183}.

It was during this period that the secondary education for women made a humble beginning in different parts of the country due to the socio-political awakening. For example, 81 secondary schools for women were opened with a total enrolment of 2,054 women students in 1982. Of these, Madras had 46 schools with 389 women students; Bengal had 22 schools with 1051 women students; Bombay had a school with 538 pupils; Uttar Pradesh had 3 schools with 68 women students. Most of these women’s schools were concentrated in the urban areas only. Thus the women folk of rural areas were deprived of their right to education. However, the schools in the cities were drawing women students mainly from Anglo-Indian, European, and Indian Christian, Parsee and a few enlightened and well-to-do Hindu and Muslim families. Moreover, out of the total 81 secondary schools the colonial government financed fully only 6 secondary schools. Only 50 women schools out of 81 were run by their grants-in-aids. The missionaries were still preoccupied with primary education only. All this hindered the growth of secondary education of women and the little efforts made by local bodies in promoting secondary education among the women could not make much headway. Further more; the women students in the secondary schools were prescribed the same syllabus and subjects as boys instead of re-organizing the syllabus and subjects to suit the former. Although domestic science was introduced as an optional subject but necessary equipment to teach this subject was not provided. Thus it did not help the women students\textsuperscript{184}.

\textsuperscript{183} Supra 98 at 136.
\textsuperscript{184} Supra 97 at 277-78.
As mentioned, the Brahmos of Brahma Samaj pioneers in spreading women's education in various pockets of the country, started college education with the help of Indian Christians after 1878. Of course, very few women joined the college and most of them belonged to the enlightened elite among advanced communities like Indian Christians and the Brahmos of Bengal. For example, the Bethune College of Calcutta, the first institution of higher education for women, enrolled only six women students. Of course, the Sarah Tucher College at Palamcottah started in 1879. In the beginning, the colonialists refused to do anything regarding the promotion of higher education among women. In 1879, after 30 years of its coming into being, the Bethune School got the status of Bethune College, obtained financial support from the government and was finally affiliated to Calcutta University. In fact, the establishment of the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras University in January 1857 marked the beginning of modern higher education in India. But women were not allowed to take admission in the universities. For example, the Calcutta University Syndicate in June, 1875 took a decision not to give admission to women students. After much protest, only in 1877 the University allowed the female students to take the examinations. The University of London opened its gates to women for higher education only in 1878. With the spread of secondary and college education among the women in India, the need for women teachers' training institutions arose. The need for professional training was recognized for the first time in 1860. But the colonial government took very little care to train the lady teachers, even though the need for the training of teachers was proposed in the Woods Despatch in 1854. They did not open a single training institute for women teachers. The dearth of women teachers was a setback in the promotion of higher education for women. However, after a long time, it took up the full financial responsibility to run four out of the 15 training institutions viz, one in Madras, two in Bombay and one in the Central Provinces. Whereas the remaining eleven training institutions 3 in Madras, 2 in Bengal, 3 in U.P. and 3 in Punjab were given partial grant-in-aid. Of course, the efforts made by Christian missionaries and private individuals were notable with regard to training the women teachers. The objectives of the missionaries were two-fold "To train women teachers to serve in their own girls' schools and to train the

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185 Supra 95 at 5.
186 Supra 103 at 34-41.
187 Supra 104 at 138.
188 Supra 106 at 37.
converted girls for useful careers\textsuperscript{189}. That is why; the missionary training institutions for women teachers never attracted the Hindu and Muslim women teachers as they feared evangelization. The private effort in this regard was attempted first by pioneers like Miss Mary Carpenter of Britain. She planned to organize the training colleges for women teachers in India with the cooperation of government officials. She received help from the Brahmo leaders like Keshab Chandra Sen who started a normal school to train women teachers. In Poona, too, a women’s college was established in 1870 to train the women candidates\textsuperscript{190}.

It was at the time when the popular movements in favour of development of education particularly women’s education started gathering momentum that the colonial government in India had appointed the Indian Education Commission popularly known as Hunter Commission in 1882. The Commission tried to study the problems of women’s education in India in detail and proposed many reforms. They found that women’s education was still in a very backward condition; 98 per cent of female children of the school-going age were still outside schools and that out of the total female population of 997 million covered by its enquiries, 995 million were unable to read and write. Therefore, it suggested introducing the system of scholarship; establishing women’s hostels; extending the education to secondary level; and prescribing different curriculum for women. The Commission in its report pointed out the serious need to promote women’s education on equitable footing as it was in the case of boys’ education\textsuperscript{191}.

The Commission also supported private efforts to promote women’s education; larger and easier grants-in-aid from the government were prescribed. Fee concession, awards of prizes and scholarships for women over 12 years for the purpose of attracting them to education were also recommended. But the colonial government did not take all the recommendations of Hunter Commission in true spirit. Two decades following the Commission’s report were a period of financial stringency. The colonialists did tighten the allotment of funds and adequate grants

\textsuperscript{189} Supra 87 at 389.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid. 390.
\textsuperscript{191} Bhatt, B.D & Aggarwall, J.C., \textit{Educational Documents In India (1813-1968)}, Arya Book Depot, New Delhi, 1969 at 8.
thereby strangling women's education. Thus the progress on this front was slow and halting. Practically speaking, there was no women school in rural India.\(^{192}\)

Social reformers like Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, G.G. Agarkar, Justice M.G. Ranade and others played a major role in the promotion of secondary education among women in this period. One of the most significant achievements during this period was the entry of women in the universities. For example, two Indian women Kadambini Ganguly and E.C. Bose graduated from Bethune College, under Calcutta University in 1883; one woman each from Bombay and Madras Universities in 1891 became graduates\(^{193}\).

### 2.13.4 Period from 1892-1947

Various reports show that college education for women was restricted mainly to the affluent and advanced well-to-do communities. Women on the whole were still almost totally illiterate. Not even one among a hundred women was able to read and write, the percentage of female literacy being 0.69 in 1901. For example, of the 264 students in Arts and Science colleges in 1901-02 consisted of 148 Anglo-Indians, 49 were Indian Christians and 38 Parsees, 28 were Hindus and one belonged to 'other' group.

The important breakthrough in women's education during this period was the starting of separate colleges for women by private organizations. The number of separate colleges for women increased to 12 in 1881-82. The number of women students in colleges rose from 6 in 1881-82 to 264 in 1901-02. Only the Bethune College was financed by the colonial government. The others were financed and managed by private bodies and missionaries\(^{194}\). There was popular demand for women's education, particularly professional education, in this period especially among the women of India.

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\(^{194}\) De, S.K., "Progress of Women's Education In India", Education 38(7) July, 1959 at 7.
In 1902 there were 76 women in medical colleges and 166 in medical schools. Resides, there were a fairly large number of women undergoing training as nurses, mid-wives, etc.

The total number of students studying in the training colleges increased from 515 in 1881-82 to 1412 in 1901-02. However, the Christian women students were having preponderance in these professional colleges. They formed 69 percent of the total female teachers

As most educated women preferred to study medicine, the Countess of Dufferin Fund was created in 1885 to promote medical education among women. A large amount collected through the Countess of Dufferin Fund was utilised to give scholarships to women medical students. Many women started entering into this profession to become physicians and surgeons. This was mainly owing to the awakening created by the freedom movement and the World War I. However, most of the women students in the medical colleges were drawn from the Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian and Parsee communities. The Hindu and Muslim women in the higher professional education were almost non-existent. They were not encouraged by the colonial government as the latter did not accept the recommendations of the Hunter Commission in true spirit. In 1911, Gokhale introduced a Bill for Universal Compulsory Primary education in India and it was defeated by the British and Government appointed members. In 1916, Patel introduced a similar Bill that was also defeated by the colonialists and their stooges. Thus most of the educational facilities for the Indian women in several parts of India were maintained and financed by private bodies and associations like the Indian National Congress. Arya Samaj, Mission etc. They worked untiringly to educate women in many parts of India. When Curzon came to India as colonial ruler, the situation of women’s education was astoundingly in low profile. Only 2.5 percent of the female population of school going age was in school and the total expenditure was 11 lakhs, as compared to 80 lakhs on boys’ education.

196 Smith, Vincent A ,The Oxford History of India, Oxford University, 1967 at 725
197 Durant, Wili, the Case for India, Simon & Schuster, N.Y, 1930 at 42.
199 Supra 116 at 493-494.
In 1913, the colonial government of India was forced to prepare a new educational policy for women. It recommended special curriculum of practical utility for women like needle work, music, etc. and maintained that “too much importance should not be attached to examination in the education of girls”. 200

Between 1907 and 1912 the universities of Allahabad, Calcutta, Madras and Punjab admitted external female candidates in their examinations.

In 1917, the Calcutta University Commission known as Sadler Commission was appointed. It authorized the Calcutta University to set up a ‘Special Board of Women Education’ and formulated a ‘special curriculum according to the needs of women’. The commission also recommended the segregation of universal education. That is two distinct types of education for Hindus and Muslims in accordance with their religious sentiments were recommended. This encouraged the religious value systems to mingle with women’s education. For example, it recommended organizing Purdah schools for Hindu and Muslim women based on Hinduism and Islam 201. Instead of changing the attitudes and conservative value systems through the universal secular women’s education, the colonial rulers encouraged and fostered the communal education system. In other words, when the women were ready to change the old values and attitudes in response to the various social reform movements and when they realized more and more the need for modern secular education based on rationality and scientific temper, the said recommendation had given a set-back to the promotion of secular universal education. Rather it helped in ‘educational balkanization’ with its emphasis on both modern and communal systems for men and women respectively. 202

In 1919 Abala Bose, wife of Jagdish Chandra Bose, a renowned scientist of India, launched the Nari Shiksha Samiti with the aim of spreading education among adult women in their own mother tongue so as to enable them to play a constructive role in uplifting their own society and earn their own livelihood with self respect in case of necessity. She also opened free primary schools for women students in the rural areas of Hooghly, Howrah, 24 Parganas, Birbhum, Midnapur and Burdwan in 203

200 Supra 112 at 3.
West Bengal, Patna in Bihar, as well as Dacca, Faridpur and other areas of the then East Bengal (now Bangladesh). They managed and financed their work totally out of their own resources.

As already mentioned, the secondary and college education were mainly concentrated in towns and cities only. For example, in Bengal out of nine, eight were in Calcutta and most of the enrolled women students were from affluent European and Indian families. It was also during this period that a suitable change in the curriculum for women students was made. Subjects like physiology, hygiene and domestic science were included as optional in School Leaving Certificate examination. In some schools subjects like embroidery, drawing, needle work, music etc., were introduced. But the changes in the curriculum for women were not effective as the allocation of finance was negligible. Shortage of trained women teachers was also one of the factors of unsuccessful implementation of this new curriculum.

The important development in this period in college education was the establishment of S.N.D.T. first Indian Women's University in Poona in 1901 by Maharishi Annasaheb Karve on the model of the Women's University of Japan. Women realized that they should strive for the promotion of a standard system of education in order to elevate their position in the society. Initially it was not recognized by the government and was managed by a private body. It was raised to the university status afterwards.

Although direct control of government on women's educational institutions had increased considerably yet the burden to running and financing these women institutions lay on missionaries and other private bodies. Only 4 out of 19 colleges in this period, 1921-22 were completely financed and controlled by the government. Out of 675 secondary schools both High and Middle, only 115 were under direct government control and 70 were controlled by local bodies. Of the 21956 primary schools, 16810 were aided and the remaining 5146 were only partially aided by the government. It was in this period that the control of education was transferred from

205 Dave, J.K., A Study of Evolution of Female Education in Gujarat till Independence, Sardar Patel University, 1971 (ICSSR) at 250.
State to the Central Indian Minister under the system of Diarchy in 1921. Provincial Autonomy was introduced in 1937 and the States began taking increasing interest in the promotion of women's education. It was a deviation from the earlier hesitant and over cautious policies of the colonial government towards women's education in India.

The mass socio-political movements forced the colonial government to enact various legislations and Acts during this period. This created as a coincidence, general interest in women's education. The Sarda Act in 1929 fixed the age of marriage of women in India at 14 years. This Act was not enforced much among the women in rural areas. The women obtained the right to vote in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1923 and the right to contest in election for Legislative Assembly was granted in 1931. These rights made them aware of their roles in the upliftment of our society. The contemporary women's movements in Europe and America influenced women in India to fight for their emancipation from the shackles of colonial rules and the socio-religious orthodoxy. A spirit of nationalism penetrated deep into the women's mind. Leadership, from the women, both urban and rural, started emerging and various organizations for women's cause surfaced to agitate for the improvement of their education and socio-economic position. In other world's, it was realized that freedom for women was an integral part of the national freedom. The earliest women organization born in the lap of the British rule was the women's Indian association founded in 1917 by Dr. Annie Besant and Mrs. Margaret Cousins. It was under the leadership of Dr. (Mrs.) Annie Besant that The Home Rule Movement gave shape to the people's urge for freedom. In 1925, the National Council of Women now affiliated to the International Council of Women was established. The All India Women's Conference (AIWC) came into being in 1926 and the first All India Women's Educational and Social Conference was held in 1927. Of course, these organizations of women remained middle-class organizations and were led only by the women of affluent and middle-class families. Simple peasant women like Matangini Hazra who boldly stood before the British bullets before she was shot

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down in Midnapore, West Bengal did not find any place in AIWC. The women from
the working class and peasantry did not find forum with the leaders of AIWC207.
Increasing participation of women in various socio-political movements widened their
interest and opened new vistas before them. For example, the Non-Cooperation
Movement in 1921, the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1931, the Quit India
Movement in 1942, etc. to oust the colonialists were some of them. The women were
enthusiastically involved in various social reform movements against prejudices and
ignorance. This had ultimately served as a background for a demand for free,
universal and compulsory women's education because the women's demand for the
latter became the symbol of women's improved position and status208.

The Hartog Committee, 1937 recommended the equality of educational
opportunities and the career of women. During this period, the Indian women
increasingly participated in various professions to cope up with the hard economic
situation during, World War II. More anti education women felt it necessary to join
women's educational institutions. But the absence of requisite number of women
teachers during this period made the promotion of women's education slow209.

The enrolment of women in special schools increased five times more than in the
previous period: In 1921-22 the enrolment was 10,836 while it was 56,090 in
1946-47. This figure indicates that more women started entering professional careers.
The movement for adult education for women was consolidated in this period.
Women institutions for professional, technical and special education increased to
4,288 in 1946-47210

2.13.5 National Planning Committee's pattern

Two attempts in this period may be just mentioned. For they only sketch out
modified versions of the existing pattern. The first such attempt was made by the
National Planning Committee set up by the Congress in 1938, as a part of their over-
all plan of national reconstruction. After Kindergarten, they recommended free and
compulsory primary education of 7 or 8 years, beginning at 7 years of age. The
subjects of study were the same as those in the Wardha Scheme with the addition of

209 Paul, M.C. Colonialism and women's education in India, Social Change: June 1989: Vol.19 No.2 at-
16.
210 Supra 127 at 26-28.
The medium of instruction was also to be the mother-tongue. Units of weights and measures were to be Indian. But the resemblance with the Wardha Scheme was superficial, as the essentials of the latter vocational education and correlated teaching was rejected. It appears that there had not been much contact of the Committee with Mahatma Gandhi. After the primary stage the vast majority of students would go to technical or vocational schools, which would be free and compulsory. These would be either wholly practical or would contain both theoretical and practical instruction. Students could also be apprenticed in factories, workshops or smaller establishments and could also receive some remuneration at a later stage in consequence. The theoretical portion would include both general and relevant scientific education. The courses would last for 3 to 5 years. Afterwards students would join factories, workshops and independent establishments. They could later come to appropriate institutions for refresher courses. After this industrial training and experience, some would go to Teachers' Training Schools for 2 to 3 years for equipping themselves as teachers in these Technical or Vocational Schools.

Other students, after the primary stage, could go to secondary schools, which would be free for the meritorious. Here there would be Arts and Science subjects, taught through the mother-tongue. A foreign language, preferably English, however, would also be taught. Instruction should also be given in physical training and gymnastics.

After the ordinary secondary schools, students should be able to go in for professional courses or to universities for pure arts and science courses for 3 or 4 years' duration, followed by post-graduate courses. The professional courses would be provided in Teachers Training Schools for 2 to 3 years; Law, Engineering and other professional schools with courses varying in duration from 3 to 5 years; and in engineering and technical institutions of Polytechnic standard 4-Year courses. From engineering and technical courses, students would join workshops and factories, with a provision of subsequent refresher courses. They could also go into post-graduate schools for Post Graduate Diplomas.

2.13.6 The All-India Education Conference plan

The plan of educational reconstruction adopted by the Conference held at Lucknow in December 1939, visualised education for the pre-school child in a variety of schools with varying nomenclatures.\textsuperscript{212} This was to be followed by free and compulsory education of 7 years from 6 to 13 or 7 to 14, introduced by stages. Education in standards I-IV was to be immediately compulsory, compulsion being extended up to standard VII as soon as circumstances permitted. The Conference was indifferent whether the education should be of the ordinary primary type or basic type. After standard VII continuation schools or classes, for the further education of those who entered life, were to be organized. The secondary stage of 4 years' duration would be a diversified one, providing a large number of alternative parallel courses, ending in a School Leaving Certificate of equal value. There was to be, however, as at the primary stage, no external examination. The certificate would be based on an Internal School Leaving Examination plus school records. The alternative courses would be: General Course with Practical work some craft work; General and Commercial Course; General and Industrial Course; General and Teachers' Training Course; General and Pre-Medical Course; General and Some Economics Course; and General and Art Course. Art was further diversified into various channels: Drawing and Painting, Music and Dancing, and Architecture.

The university course was to consist of a diversified under graduate course of 3 years 17 to 20 or 18 to 21 followed by a Post-Graduate course of varying duration. The Under-Graduate course was to consist of the following branches: Arts Course, Science Course, Commercial Course, Agricultural Courses, Technical Courses, Fine Arts Courses, Home Economics Courses, Medical Courses and Education Courses for Teachers.

2.13.7 The Sargeant Report

The most comprehensive attempt to formulate a plan of all-round educational reconstruction and development was made in the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-War Educational Development in India.\textsuperscript{213} The Central Advisory Board of Education ever since its revival in 1935 had been examining

\textsuperscript{212} Ibid. at 51.

\textsuperscript{213} Nayar, D.P. \textit{A National System of Education –Other Attempts}, Towards The Educational Scenario-A Bird’s Eye View, A National System of Education (Educational Development in India, 1937-1951), Mittal Publications New Delhi, 1989 at 52.
various aspects of education. This work reached a stage of completion by 1943 and was consolidated into a plan of Educational Development as a part of over-all plans for Indian reconstruction after the war. Being the result of such sustained work by eminent educationists and Provincial and State Governments under the leadership of an eminent British educationist like John Sargeant, the scheme is of considerable historical importance. It was the best draft so far prepared of a national system of education. Gandhiji’s system was still being worked out from the ground upwards and till then had not gone beyond the Basic stage. Further, his system was so radical and had such far-reaching implications that even though it was based on the bedrock of the Indian social reality, it could not be expected to be understood and acted upon by the average Indian intellectual, long accustomed to adore Western models. So it was not Gandhiji’s system but the Sargeant Report which became for long the bible of the Indian bureaucracy and the average Indian educationist. The Report, therefore, deserves a detailed mention.

The Report deprecated the present neglect of pre-primary education for children of 3-6 years and emphasized the necessity of making adequate provision for them in independent schools or in classes attached to primary schools, on a free but voluntary basis. The objective at this stage was to give the child “social experience rather than formal instruction”. The teachers should invariably be especially trained women.

Free and compulsory education of 8 years’ duration, broadly on basic lines, and broken into Junior and senior stages provided in different schools, was to be provided in 40 years to all children. The differences between basic educations as Gandhiji’s had conceived it and as it was accepted in the Report have vast economic and social implications which are discussed subsequently in detail. The Report lays rare emphasis on the training of and adequate salaries to teachers. As a matter of fact the main hurdle in the faster expansion of Basic Education was the dearth of adequately trained teachers. The number of women teachers was to be very considerably increased.

At the age of 11, the brighter children from Senior Basic Schools should be selected by appropriately devised methods for High Schools of 6 years’ duration. Those not selected on the basis of merit could be admitted to a limited extent on payment of full cost of their education. Education of those selected on the basis of
merit would be liberally assisted financially in the form of freeships, scholarships etc., so that no poor but meritorious boy was held back from education. These schools would be mainly of Academic or Technical type. "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 leaving school."214 "The curriculum in all cases should be as varied as circumstances permit and should not be unduly restricted by the requirements of universities or examining bodies."215 To attract the right type of qualified and trained teacher's adequate salaries were necessary. The "salaries paid in all recognized schools, whether maintained by the State or by private bodies, should not be less than those prescribed by the Central Advisory Board of Education".216

In regard to universities the Report concludes: "Indian universities, as they exist today, despite many admirable features, do not fully satisfy the requirements of a national system of education"217. To raise standards, admission should be on a selective basis, supported by a generous system of financial assistance to the poor and meritorious. Structurally, the Report endorses, the Saddler Commission's recommendation of splitting the Intermediate course, with one year going to the School and one year to the University, giving the undergraduate degree the minimum required period of 3 years. The 11-year school thus recommended dominated the scene for quite a long time till replaced by the 10+2+3 system recommended by the Education Commission of 1964-66. This was, however, perhaps hinted at in the Sargeant Report when it said:

"The present Intermediate course should be abolished. Ultimately the whole of the 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."218

The tutorial system should be widely used and closer relations established between the teacher and the taught. High standards in Post-graduate and Research work should be emphasized. The most important recommendation of the CABE, however, was the setting up of a University Grants Committee, on the model of the

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215 Ibid.
216 Ibid.
217 Ibid at 32
218 Ibid.
U.K. Committee, to coordinate the work of the universities to prevent unhealthy competition between the universities and prevent unnecessary duplication in provision of facilities which leads to waste and makes the tying up of the needs of the community with the output from universities, difficult and leads to deterioration of the employment prospects of the products. It would also ensure the rationalization of the opening of new universities, relating it to effective demand. It should, however, be statutory to be able to discharge its duties. The existing Inter-University Board performed only advisory functions and had no power to discharge the functions for which the University Grants Committee was recommended. At the university stage also the Report emphasised the prime necessity of revising the conditions of service and salary scales of university and college teachers where the existing scales were not attracting the right kind of teachers.

To meet the need of post-war industrial development and to meet the needs of those who best learnt through practical subjects, the CABE emphasised the necessity of drawing up and maintaining an efficient nation-wide system of technical education at all stages and endorsed the recommendations of its Technical Committee in this regard. The committee had recommended that education should be given a more practical bias from the very beginning and technical education at all stages should be regarded as equal to academic education in status and prestige. Technical education should include commercial education and education in art in relation to industry. Agricultural education should be regarded as an essential branch of technical education and Senior Basic Schools and High Schools in rural areas should have an agricultural bias. The subject being of such fundamental importance to this country it should be considered by a special committee of experts.

The Committee recommended three types of institutions: Junior Technical or Industrial or High Schools, Technical High Schools and Senior Technical Institutions the first two providing only full time courses, while the last would provide part-time courses as well. Part-time courses should be organized in consultation with the employers and according to the needs of the locality. Part-time classes should be organized preferably in the day-time through a system of day-release by the employers. Whenever circumstances permit, polytechnics should be preferred to monotechnics. As regards the courses of studies to be provided, the committee recommended a two-year course to be provided in Junior Technical Schools for Senior Basic (Middle) School leavers at the age of about fourteen. Senior Technical
Schools should provide a six-year course for selected Junior Basic (Primary) School leavers at about the age of eleven. The first three years were to be mainly devoted to general subjects. A three-year full-time Diploma Course should be provided in Senior Technical Institutions after students have passed the Technical High School or an equivalent examination. After this, students can take up an Advanced Diploma Course of two years. These institutions would provide a part-time three year certificate course for those in employment or those who have passed the Technical High School or equivalent examination. These students can go in for a part-time two-year Advanced Certificate Course. Classes, recommended the Committee, should also be organized in individual arts, crafts and other subjects related to industry and commerce for which there might be a sufficient demand.

The Committee also made recommendations in regard to various classes of teachers both general and technical the Principal and Workshop or Laboratory Assistants. The Committee also emphasized the necessity of industrial experience by technical teachers. To encourage teachers of all subjects to remain in touch with the appropriate branch of industry or commerce, they should be permitted to do consultancy practice within such limits as does not interfere with their regular duties as teachers.

Other recommendations included the necessity of locating technical institutions in industrial and commercial areas but an equal access to students from all areas, for which purpose technical education should be organized on an All India basis. While Junior Technical, Industrial or Trade Schools and Technical High Schools should be controlled by the Provinces, all higher technical education should be controlled by the Central Government for which purpose it should set up a controlling body consisting of all concerned interests. The Committee was also of the view that technical education should be under the charge of the Education Departments of the Central and State Governments in close co-operation with other concerned departments. There should be a special inspection staff for these institutions.

In view of the vast problem in India of illiteracy the Report emphasizes the necessity of organizing a large programme in the form of literacy campaigns spread over 20 years to remove illiteracy. In this stupendous task everybody should be encouraged to help students, voluntary organizations etc. though the main
responsibility will remain that of the State. While in the beginning the emphasis would have to be on the liquidation of illiteracy, this would need to shift to providing adult education in its full sense. Plans should be drawn up for both these programmes and an adequate number of teachers of requisite qualifications and qualities should be recruited and trained before the plans were launched to ensure their success.

The pivot round which the whole plan of the CABE revolves is the recruitment and training of teachers. The latter is perhaps the most stupendous problem that will be faced by the plan. The Report estimates that the Plan would need additional 20,00,000 non-graduate and 1,80,000 graduate teachers who will need to be trained and provided refresher courses thereafter. The existing training facilities will hardly suffice to meet the training needs of teachers already in the system and so recommends the creation of large scale training facilities in new training colleges and Education Departments of the universities which will need to be established. The courses should be practical and strictly oriented towards the needs of schools where the trainees would have to teach after their training. "The total net cost", says the Report, "of training the additional teachers required for a national system will amount, including maintenance, where necessary, to Rs. 1,59,94,98,250 over a period of thirty-five years or an average of Rs. 4,56,99,950 a year."219

An elaborate plan for health and physical education has also been included as a part of the national system. "The cost of the School Medical Service, including provision of meals and special schools etc., has on the analogy of other countries, been estimated at 10 per cent of the total expenditure on the schools. Provision has been made in the estimates of the cost of the national system at the appropriate stages.220"

Provision has also been made for the education of the physically or mentally handicapped as an essential part of a national system. It has so far been mostly neglected by the State. Whatever has been done has been largely done by voluntary effort. As far as possible, recommends the Report, the handicapped should not be segregated and their special needs should be met in ordinary schools. The blind and the deaf requiring special equipment and specially trained teachers, however, would need special schools. It may be necessary to set up Central institutions for training the teachers required for them. It is essential to train the handicapped, wherever possible,

219 Ibid at 62.
220 Ibid at 73.
for training the handicapped in remunerative employment. In the absence of reliable
data, the Report has included 10 per cent of the total expenditure on Basic and High
School education on account of the services required for the handicapped.

To provide for recreative and social activities, which is an essential part of a
modern system of education, the Report has recommended the organization of a
Youth Movement for the age-group 14-20 on an all-India basis, under well-trained
leaders, who might be recruited from demobilized officers and NCOs. The provision
of recreative and social activities for the adults should be an essential part of any
Social Services Scheme. A provision of Rs. 1 crore has been included in the Plan on
an adhoc basis.

The Report has recommended the creation of Employment Bureaus, run by the
Education Departments, in co-operation with similar machinery set up by other
agencies, to enable the output of educational institutions to take full advantage of
available employment opportunities. About Rs. 84, 00,000 has been included for such
bureaus, excluding those by institutions of university rank.

In order to implement the Plan, the Sargeant Report recommended the
following administrative arrangements. Except university and higher technical
education requiring coordination at the All-India level, education should remain the
concern of the provinces. Where the Indian States take part in the national system, it
may be necessary to group the smaller States into a viable educational unit or attach
them to larger States or contiguous provinces. Much closer co-operation than existing
would also be required for the working of a national system of education. The
provinces may be well advised to take over the educational powers from the local
bodies, except where they are functioning very efficiently. To enlist local interest and
co-operation Managing Bodies, School Boards and District Education Committees
may be set up when sufficient people of the right type are available to serve on them.
An Education Advisory Board may be set up in each province for the province as a
whole. A strong Education Department may be set up at the Centre and the scope and
functions of the Central Advisory Board should be enlarged. The present deterioration
in the status and calibre of the educational administrative service should be checked
and it should be enabled to secure the services of able officers who can ensure
implementation of the national plan as visualised. Arrangements should be made for
the exchange of officers between provinces and between the provinces and the centre.
The Report also recommends the setting up of a senior educational administrative
service on an All-India basis. The Director of Public Instruction in a Province should be responsible for all education in the State except university and higher technical education; he should also act as the Secretary of Education, where such a post is considered essential. Five per cent of the total gross expenditure in any branch of education has been added as the expenditure required for administering that branch of education.

The importance of the Sargeant Report has already been underlined. Its main shortcoming is that in spite of professions to the contrary, the Report is not rooted in the Indian reality. We should have our own goals and adopt our own strategies in the light of our own resources and constraints. But that is a fault not only of this Report but of all our planning simply because we have no other model before us except that of the West. Our aspiration to "catch up with the developed countries" lands us in a very unenviable position, and ensures our eternal backwardness in spite of all our foaming at the mouth. We face tremendous problems and we need to dig our feet very firmly in the ground and think originally on our own problems, survey our resources with unblinkered eyes, dig deep into our past for our inner sources of strength, and only after having established our identity and having developed criteria for establishing the relevance or otherwise of ideas floating around the world adopt or adapt foreign models to our own needs. As it is our acceptance of foreign ideas is as uncritical as our rejection is of our own. Within this over-all limitation of our intellectuals, the Report did a distinct service to the cause of education by drawing up a Plan with all the limitations of available data with time targets and financial tags. Every aspect of education has been dealt with through current strategies. The ideas of equality and justice to all, the emphasis on the need for efficient organization and due preparation before launching the Plan are welcome features. The criticism against the Plan was internally inconsistent. On the one hand it was criticized for not being ambitious enough and 40 years set for the achievement of the goals was too long a period; on the other hand they criticized it for its heavy financial commitments, which were unrealistic in the context of Indian poverty. And yet they had no strategy to suggest by which the costs could be reduced without affecting efficiency. They pointed out to Russian and Chinese models without realising the difference of their social, economic and political setup. And yet they dismissed the essentials of the Gandhian strategy of self-reliance worked out in their own land as unrealistic. No
wonder that in spite of all those criticisms the Sargeant Report continued to guide bureaucratic action, though without making much dent on the situation.

The plans which the Central and State Governments drew up followed the Sargeant Plan in a broad general way, but on a very much modest scale, depending upon resource availability. The emphasis on different schemes also varied from Province to Province according to local Conditions.

2.14 Factors Affecting Development of Higher Education in India

The development of higher education has been affected by many factors. Some of these factors are:

2.14.1 Politicisation

Politicisation of higher education has posed a serious threat to the quality of higher education. The Gajendragadkar Committee was very much critical about the politicisation of the system and curb on autonomy of higher education institutions. It was pointed out that the politicisation and regionalism has even affected student and teacher selection. Appointments of Vice-Chancellors in many instances are being viewed politically. These posts are now-a-days considered to be political posts in many parts of the country. In many cases, the State Governments have superseded normal set up of the universities, senate, syndicate, etc. and appointed administrators in place of Vice-Chancellors. Such administrators might have certain amount of administrative abilities, but they are surely inferior in providing academic leadership to the teachers and students. The Challenge of Education document indicated that de-politicisation is not an early acceptable condition for the political parties of the country. The document says that in case of de-politicisation "political parties will lose their cadres, not knowing where to turn for their manpower required for contesting elections and participating in demonstrations, protest marches and procession,"

2.14.2 Poor Quality of Intake

Now a day's most of the universities are facing problems mostly due to poor quality of intakes. Mushroom growth of colleges has made colleges admit students without proper screening. In order to attract students for admission, the colleges go on awarding high grades/marks to undeserving candidates. The colleges/university

221 Ministry of Education, 1985 at 75.
departments admitting students on the basis of career marks get cheated in many situations and thus get poor quality of students.

2.14.3 Heterogeneity of Students Population

Expansion of higher education has given rise to varieties in levels of institutions and students. The qualities of students vary. The variation is becoming more and wider due to increasing gaps between the best and the worst college. Heterogeneity of student population is more prominent in case of colleges and university departments not taking recourse to admission tests. Reservations of seats for various categories of population also contribute to heterogeneity. Heterogeneity of student population poses more problems in present day classrooms than found earlier.

2.14.4 Gap of Communication

Communication Gap between Universities and Colleges

Because of increase in number of affiliated colleges, communication gaps have developed between universities and colleges. The universities often fail to intimate courses to the college in time. Their directives reach colleges late. The colleges fail to get feedback in time.

2.14.5 Unsystematic Growth

Unsystematic growth of higher education institutions have affected the quality of the programmes and have given rise to wastage in higher education. There have been colleges situated within a few kilometers affecting the student strength of the older institution. Politicisation of the education system is mainly responsible for this unsystematic growth.

2.14.6 Managerial inefficiency

The higher education institutions are suffering from managerial inefficiency. Generally, principals are appointed from among senior members. The managerial efficiency of the teacher is not taken into account at the time of selection. There is no regular orientation programme for newly appointed principals. Generally, registrars are appointed from among university teachers. They too require training in managerial skills. Similar situation exists for posts of controller of Examinations, etc.

2.14.7 Overcrowded Classrooms

There are overcrowded classrooms in colleges, especially in cities. This happens due to more urbanization, and availability of facilities for rented accommodation in urban areas. The Radhakrishnan Commission had recommended student strength of affiliated colleges limited to 1,500. But there are many colleges which have more than 4,000 student strength. It is difficult for a principal to supervise such a college. Lack of adequate number of teachers and classrooms force many colleges to reduce the number of groups and merge them into larger groups making it impossible for a teacher to carry out effective classroom interaction.

2.14.8 Wastage in Instructional Hours

The higher education institutions, specially affiliated colleges, do not provide adequate number of instructional hours. Due to delay in declaration of examination results, admission process sometime continues till August/September although, in most of the cases, the session starts from July. The colleges also suffer due to class suspension owing to university/public examinations. In case of universities providing facilities for candidates to appear privately, the colleges unnecessarily have to suspend their classes for providing examination rooms for outsiders. Due to lack of funds the universities have not been able to have independent examination halls. The colleges also need separate examination halls. Lack of such provision compels them to suspend classes even when the students of the concerned classes are not appearing at the examination. The Radhakrishnan Commission had recommended 180 instructional days, excluding examination days, during a year. But this is rarely achieved. Kothari Commission had suggested that a class hour should be at least for 60 minutes duration. But one does not find such timing. Gnanarn Committee, 1990 recommended that the universities should draw up an academic calendar every year listing the dates of admissions, schedule of academic themes, vacations, holding of examinations, declaration of results, etc.

2.14.9 Inadequate Student Services

Most of the higher education institutions do not provide adequate student services such as (a) orientation programme for new students, (b) health services-dispensaries, doctors, health check up, etc., (c) residential facilities, (d) day study centres/reading rooms for self-study of students, (e) guidance and counseling facilities, (f) common room facilities with indoor games, (g) college canteens, etc.
Thus, the colleges fail to provide minimum facilities for students. These give rise to indiscipline and improper development of students. 223

2.14.10 Inadequate Material Resources

Most of the institutions do not possess adequate material resources. The affiliating universities ask the colleges to possess adequate material resources within a specified time. But the colleges never oblige. Politicisation of the system gives rise to increase in number of seats without taking into consideration physical facilities such as class rooms. This has led to closure of tutorials in many colleges, although posts of lectures are created taking into account the tutorial work load. In order to have more utilization of physical facilities evening College system was introduced. But, cut in supply of electricity and difficulty in procuring kerosene has compelled many evening colleges go for morning classes affecting the functioning of day college classes. Colleges, mostly private managed ones, do not have adequate physical resources. The problem is acute to the extent that a training college of 10 years old did not possess even a toilet.

2.14.11 Non-accountability of the Institutions

There have been discussions on accountability in education. But rarely, one finds efforts to enforce accountability. Lack of such efforts has resulted in wastage of human and material resources. There are colleges, which have teachers but do not have adequate classrooms. There are situations where the colleges do not have teachers but have classrooms. Examinations/admissions are affected by such lack of accountability. There have been discussions on teacher evaluation but there has not been much stress on administrator evaluation, hence the quality of programmes of the colleges and university departments suffer.

2.14.12 Inadequate Stress on Non-formal Channels

The University Grants Commission has been encouraging State Governments to go for non-formal channels. Each State does not have an Open University. The University Adult and Continuing Education Centres/Departments need to be made effective so as to divert a large section of student population. Hence, there is more pressure on the formal system.

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223 Ibid.
2.14.13 Inefficiency in Teaching

A good institution is known by its teachers. The institutions of higher education have been suffering from meritocracy and insincerity among teachers. Private colleges do not pay teachers till the college becomes old enough to receive grants. There are colleges, which take donations from teachers to issue appointment order. Such teachers do not attend college and come to college after a few years, only when they receive salary. Hence, insincerity in teaching is rampant among such teachers. The habit of cheating in early stages of the career sometimes continues throughout the career. In case of government institutions, there are also teachers whose principals take action against such teachers. Again, a teacher may go to a class because of compulsion, but may not teach effectively. Sometimes, he or she may create indiscipline among students. This fear forces the principals to become silent over insincerity of teachers. Lack of adequate reading facilities, also makes teachers deliver ill prepared lectures. Modern developments in the field of science and technology lead to enrichment of curricula. An effective teacher needs to be a lifelong learner and need to refresh his/her knowledge voluntarily. But lack of funds does not allow him/her to procure necessary journals and books. There are P.G Departments which do not even subscribe to a single journal of their subject. There has not been legislation to restrict teacher absence during term time maximum to 7 days as suggested by the Kothari Commission. The said Commission had also suggested question answer for at least 10 minutes in every period of 60 minutes. One does not find question-answer in majority of class room situation, which attributes to inefficiency among teachers.224

Development of higher education in India has not been systematic. The level of development also varies from State to State. The pace of development has been affected by problems stated above. Development not only has been affected by shortage of resources but also by wastage of resources.

2.15. DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

Since the establishment of formal universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the year 1857, the western system of higher education has been progressing every year. There have been many Committees and Commissions in colonial India.

224 Ibid.
Their recommendations were not given due importance by the colonial rulers. After independence, there have been attempts to review the progress of higher education and to suggest measures to be taken for its speedier progress. Some of the recommendations of a few important Commissions and Committees are given below.

2.15.1 Radhakrishnan Commission Report, 1948-49

The University Education Commission, 1948-49 under the Chairmanship of Prof. (Dr.) S. Radhakrishnan made following recommendations:

(a) Aims of university education should be development of wisdom and knowledge, democratic social order, love for higher values of life and training for leadership.

(b) The strength of affiliated colleges should be less than 1500.

(c) The strength of Universities should be less than 3000.

(d) Number of working days per academic session to be 180.

(e) Adequate provision should be made for tutorial classes, library work and written examinations.

(f) Practice of prescribing a few textbooks should be discontinued.

(g) Duration of post graduate study for pass graduates should be of two years and for honours graduates should be of one year.

(h) Admission to the universities should be controlled at all India level.

(i) Examination reform to be carried out in following manner

(a) One-third weight age should be given to class work.

(b) The minimum experience in teaching for an examiner should be at least five years.

(c) The candidates securing 70 per cent and more should be declared first class, from 55 per cent third class.

(j) More stress should be given on agricultural education.

(k) More facilities should be given for women education.

(l) More facilities should be provided for student welfare such as free medical examination at the time of admission, and provision of hospitals and dispensaries, etc.

(m) Provision should be made for compulsory physical education for at least two years.

(n) More encouragement should be given for participation in N.C.C. and social service activities.
2.15.2 Kothari Commission Report, 1964-66

The Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66 under the Chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari made following recommendations:

(a) Objectives

The Commission viewed the objectives of the universities in the following manner.

"Their principal object is to deepen man’s understanding of the universe and of himself in body, mind and spirit, to disseminate this understanding throughout society and to apply it in the service of mankind. They are the dwelling places of ideas and idealism, and expect high standards of conduct and integrity from all their members."

(b) Functions of Universities

(a) To seek and cultivate new knowledge, to engage vigorously and fearlessly in the pursuit of truth, and to interpret old knowledge and beliefs in the light of new needs and discoveries;

(b) To provide the right kind of leadership in all walks of life, to identify gifted youth and help them develop their potential to the full by cultivating physical fitness, developing the power of mind and cultivating right interests, attitudes and moral and intellectual values;

(c) To provide society with competent men and women trained in agriculture, arts, medicine, science and technology and various other professions, who will also be cultivated individuals, embossed with a sense of social purpose;

(d) To strive to promote equality and social justice and to reduce social and cultural differences through diffusion of education; and

(e) To foster in teachers and students and through them in society generally, the attitudes and values needed for developing the ‘good life’ in individuals and society.

(C) Stress on Research

There should be more stress on research in the following manner:

(a) Involvement of major universities in first class post graduate research work comparable to any other good university in other parts of the world.

(b) Establishment of Centres of Advanced Study.

(c) Institution of fellowships for working and retiring teachers.

(d) Setting up of National Academy of education and Education Research Council.

(c) Increase in expenditure on research.
(f) Facilities to be given at Centres of Advanced Study for conducting research and seminars to promising scholars and scientists from other universities,

(g) Fostering of inter-university linkages.

(d) Improvement in Quality of Programmes

Following improvements in functioning of institutions were suggested so as to provide programmes of better standard:

(a) Granting of autonomous status to outstanding colleges.

(b) Improving facilities of universities.

(c) Improving facilities of affiliated colleges.

(d) Reduction in number of formal classroom and laboratory hours and utilization of the time saved in development of independent study, assigned reading, ‘writing of essays, solving of problems and small research projects under the guidance of instructors.

(e) Restricting the absence of teachers during term time to seven days.

(f) Improving quality of libraries.

(g) Experimenting on handling of large number of students in a class room.

(h) Experimenting on utilization of selected post-graduate students of second year in teaching.

(i) Duration of class hour to be not less than 60 minutes out of which 10 minutes are to be devoted to question and answer.

(j) Study of teaching methods at higher education stage by the schools of education.

(k) New appointment to be made during vacation time.

(e) Medium of Instruction

Following strategies were suggested for medium of instruction:

(a) Gradual switch over to regional languages as medium of instruction.

(b) Need for all teachers in higher education to be bilingual at least for sometime to come.

(c) At post-graduate stage, bulk of the class work to be done through English.

(d) Universities catering to the needs of all India population to continue with English as medium of instruction.

(f) Improvement in Student Services

Following suggestions were given to improve student services:

(a) Orientation programmes in the beginning of the session,

(b) Provision for health services,
(c) Provision for residential facilities,
(d) Provision for guidance and counselling,
(e) Organization of student unions,
(f) Provision for day study centres.

(g) Improvement in Functioning of Universities
(a) Control of admission into colleges by the universities depending on teachers and facilities available.
(b) Minimum enrolment to a college to be 500.
(c) Location of new colleges to be examined before giving affiliation.
(d) Stress on University autonomy and autonomy within the university.
(e) Flexibility in university regulations to give scope for part-time and own-time education.
(i) Post-graduate education to be the responsibility of the Central Government.
(g) Formulation of suitable legislations for better functioning of universities.
(h) Improvement in the mechanism of appointment of Vice-Chancellor and their roles.
(i) Central testing organization to be set up by the UGC for admission to higher education institutions.

(h) Stress on Women Education
(a) Separate colleges for women at under-graduate stage, if there is a local demand.
(b) Research units to be established to deal with women education.
(i) Improvement in the Functioning of the U.G.C.
(a) All higher education should be regarded as an integrated whole and U.G.C. should eventually represent the entire spectrum of higher education. For the time being, however, it would be more feasible, to set up separate UGC type organizations for agricultural, engineering, women and medical education and to create a machinery that would effectively coordinate them.
(b) The UGC should consist of 12-15 members; not more than one-third should be officials of government and at least one-third from the universities. There should be no objection to a serving Vice-Chancellor being appointed as a number of the UGC.
(c) The UGC should adopt a practice of working through standing committee set up to deal with important responsibilities entrusted to it.
(d) The visiting committees appointed by the UGC should visit each university every three years and work in greater detail and depth.

(e) Considerably larger funds should be available to the UGC to enable it to deal effectively with the magnitude and importance of the problem and responsibilities as envisaged.

(f) The responsibility of coordinating standards should continue to vest in one body viz., the UGC. State UGC’s should not, therefore, be created.

2.16 National Policy on Education, 1968

The National Policy on education 1968 made the following observations about higher education.

(a) Regulating Student Strength

The number of whole time students to be admitted to a college or university department should be determined with reference to the laboratory, library and other facilities and to the strength of the staff.

(b) Regulating Establishment of New Universities

Considerable care is needed in establishing new universities. These should be started only after an adequate provision of funds has been made for the purpose and due care has been taken to ensure proper standards.

(c) Improvement of Post-graduate Education and Research

Special attention should be given to the organisation of post graduate courses and to the improvement of standards of research and training at this level. Centres of advanced study should be strengthened and a small number of clusters of centres aiming at the highest possible standards in research and training should be established.

There is need to give increased support to research in universities generally. The institutions for research should be established.

There is need to give increased support to research in universities generally. The institutions for research should, as far as possible, function within the fold of universities or in intimate association with them.

(e) Part Time Education and Correspondence Courses

Part time education and correspondence courses should be developed on a large scale at the university stage. Education through part-time and correspondence courses should be given the same status as full time education. Such facilities will
smoothen transition from school to work, promote the cause of education and provide opportunities to the large number of people who have the desire to educate themselves further cannot do so on a full time basis.

(f) Education for Agriculture and Industry

Special emphasis should be placed on the development of education for agriculture and industry.

There should be at least one agricultural university in every State. These should, as far as possible, be single campuses universities, but where necessary, they may have constituent colleges on different compasses. Other universities may also be assisted, where the necessary potential exists, to develop strong departments for the study of one or more aspects of agriculture.

In technical education practical training in industry should form an integral part of such education. Technical education and research should be related closely to industry, encouraging the flow of personnel both ways and providing for continuous co-operation in the provision, design and periodical review of training programmes and facilities. There should be a continuous review of the agricultural, industrial and other-technical man power or needs of the country and efforts should be made continuously to maintain a proper balance between the output of educational institutions and employments opportunities.

2.17 National Policy on Education, 1986

The National Policy on Education 1986 viewed Higher Education as follows: Higher education provides people with an opportunity to reflect on the critical, social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity. It contributes to national development through dissemination of specialized knowledge and skills. It is, therefore, a crucial factor for survival being at the apex of the educational pyramid; it has also a key role in producing teachers for the education system. In the context of the unprecedented explosion of knowledge, higher education has to become dynamic as never before, constantly entering unchartered areas.”

Various important aspects of Policy are as follows.

(a) Checking of degradation of higher education system.
(b) Emphasis on consolidation of facilities of higher education institutions.
(c) Facilities for expansion in existing institutions.
(d) Encouragement for establishment of autonomous colleges.
(e) Encouragement for autonomous departments within universities.
(f) Flexibility in combination of courses.
(g) Establishment of State Level Councils of Higher Education for Planning and co-ordination of higher education.
(h) Provision for minimum facilities in educational institutions.
(i) Regulation of admission according to capacity.
(j) Facilities of electronic equipments and other A.V. aids.
(k) Development of science and technology curricula and material.
(l) Development of research facilities.
(m) Efforts to develop into ancient fund of knowledge and to relate it to contemporary reality.
(n) Development of facilities for study of Sanskrit and other classical languages.
(o) Encouragement for research on Ideology.
(p) Setting up a national body covering higher education in general and agricultural, medical, technical, level and other professional field as to promote greater co-ordination and consistency in policy, sharing of facilities and developing interdisciplinary research.
(q) Encouragement for establishment of open universities.
(s) Steps to be taken for delinking of degrees from jobs.
(t) Support to institutions and programmes on Gandhian Basic Education.
(u) Consolidation of Rural University.

(A) Examination Reform
Improvement of examination by incorporating both scholastic and non-scholastic aspects of education, spread over the total period of instruction time.
(a) Introduction of the semester system in a phased manner.
(b) Use of grades in place of marks.
(c) Reduction of predominance of external examination system.

(B) Teachers and Their Status
The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of society, it is said that no people can rise above the level of the teachers.
(a) Uniformity in emoluments, service conditions and grievance removal mechanisms for teachers throughout the country.
(b) A system of teacher evaluation-open, participative and data based and provision for orientation and refresher courses for every teacher.

(c) Provision of norms of accountability for teachers with incentives for good performance and disincentives for non-performance.

(d) Preparation of a Code of Professional Ethics for teachers.

(e) Creation of Indian Education service.

(f) Freedom to teachers to innovate and improvement in teaching methods.

2.18 Programme of Action on National Policy of Education, 1986

The National Government brought out a document entitled Programme of Action (POA). This document gave details of various programmes to be undertaken as a part of follow up measures of NPE 1986.

2.18.1 Consolidation and Expansion

(a) Funding of universities and colleges.

(b) Preparation of plan for equipping existing institutions in phased manner.

(c) Establishment of institutions within the University system having close link with the National Laboratories and other agencies and establishment of task force by the university Grants Commission for such institutions.

(d) Formulation of scheme by the U.G.C. for providing financial assistance and other incentives, including model statutes for promotion of autonomous departments within Universities.

(e) Improvement in the quality of the management of Universities based on a review of the management pattern by the U.G.C.

(f) Ensuring the necessity of establishment and availability of adequate facilities for the establishment and availability of adequate facilities for the establishment of new institutions.

(g) Formulation of conditions for grant of affiliation to new institutions including availability of audiovisual system, V.C.Rs and computers.

(h) Regulation of admission on the basis of physical facilities.

(i) Provision of entrance examinations for admission to institutions of higher education.

(j) Formulation of state councils of Higher Education.

(k) Planning for consolidation of existing institutions and development of higher education.
(l) Programmes for strengthening non-viable colleges including their use for vocational programmes.

(m) Special programmes for rural colleges.

(n) Monitoring of State level plans by the U.G.C.

2.18.2 Development of Autonomous Colleges

(a) Granting Autonomy to about 500 colleges during seventh plan period.

(b) Formulation of guidelines for functioning of autonomous colleges.

(c) Formulation of schemes of incentives-special assistance to selected colleges, for creation of posts of Readers and Professors, provision of higher level grant for development to autonomous colleges.

(d) Special assistance to colleges in tribal and backward areas as to enable them to develop into autonomous colleges.

(e) Provision of necessary statute for award of degrees and diplomas for declaration of colleges as deemed to be universities.

(f) Development of a system of appraisal.

(g) Development of the process of interaction among autonomous colleges.

(h) Initiation of studies on improvement of University College relationships.

(i) Provision of funds for five years for programmes of autonomous colleges whereas the maintenance expenditure of these colleges to continue to be borne by the resources which provide such expenditure.

2.18.3 Improvement Courses

(a) Review of U.G.C. guidelines to incorporate new concepts in the design, content and structure.

(b) Inclusion of the concept of composite culture of India and women's studies in foundation courses.

(c) Reorganization of boards of Studies to make room for development of interdisciplinary approach.

(d) Provision of academic recognition and credits for participation in creative activities like N.S.S., N.C.C., Sports, games, etc.

(e) Organization of regional and national seminars on flexibility in course design, modular structure, accumulation of credits, etc.

(f) Linking of development grants to universities the innovation in design of courses.

(g) Increase in number of curriculum development centres set by the U.G.C.
(h) Development and co-ordination of science and technology curricula with the collaboration of the International Centre of science and Technology Education.

In May 1990, the Government of India (National Front Government) appointed a Committee to review the implementation of the National Policy on Education, 1986 formulated by the Congress party which was then in power at the Centre. The Review Committee consisted of 17 members with Acharya Ramamurti as its Chairman. The Committee submitted its report under the title: “Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society.”

The terms of reference of the Committee were as under:
(i) To review the National Policy on Education, 1986 and its implementation;
(ii) To make recommendations regarding revision of the policy; and
(iii) To recommend action necessary for implementation of the revised policy within a timeframe.

The Committee highlighted its general concerns and in Chapter four it made detailed observations and recommendations on various aspects of girls’ and women’s education.

2.19 Approach's Of the Ramamurti Report

The rural areas in general and the tribal areas in particular, have suffered in terms of resources, personnel and infrastructure facilities. This phenomenon of regional disparities in educational development has acquired a major political dimension in the current Indian scene. It is reflected in the regional and sub-regional movements. Therefore, the need of the hour is planning for, and implementation of, educational development programmes in terms of disaggregated targets and, area, community and gender specific activities. This would mean concrete programmes being established on ground for the disadvantaged groups SCs and STs, Women, the educationally backward minorities and the handicapped with appropriate budgeting for the same. No doubt, there have been special component plans for the SCs and sub-plans for the Tribes. But these plans have largely remained exercises on paper, not concretely provided for in the budget documents. The consequence has been that these plans have not had any impact on the educational standards of the SCs and STs in terms of enrolment, retention and reduction in drop-out rates. "The

Integrated Education for the Disabled", the handicapped do not significantly feature in the educational programmes of the Centre or the States. The Programmes for the educationally backward minorities have not been significant, having been construed as the almost exclusive domain of the States.

In order to promote participation of the girls and women in education at all levels, there is need for an integrated approach in designing and implementing the schemes that would address all the factors that inhibit their education. Mere implementation of disaggregated schemes such as Opening of Non-Formal Education Centres for Girls, Adult Education Centres for Women etc. by themselves is not adequate. In this context special mention may be made of inter-action of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) with primary education. Education of women is not to be construed of a question of mere access but of empowering them through education of all on equality of sexes.

2.20 Education for All by 2000

universalization of elementary education has been one of the most important goals of educational development in India since Independence. The goal of free and compulsory education for all children up to age of 14 years as stipulated in Article 45 of the Constitution should have been fulfilled within a period of 10 years i.e. by 1960. On account of various constraints it has been revised several times: first by 1970, then by 1976 and later to 1990. The present date according to the National Policy on Education, 1986 is 1995. The document under reference does not subscribe to the present target; it makes on analytical study of the various aspects of the problem and attempts to indicate possible direction and broad resource requirements.226

Goals and Targets

(a) Unrealistic Targets in the Past

A review of the progress of basic education shows that goals and targets were fixed in the past on the basis of an inadequate understanding of the significance of education. These targets did not take into account the problem of availability of resources and the conflicting claims of social and economic planning.

(b) Realistic Targets

If right from the beginning, it is apparent that goals are unrealistic and unachievable, they do not lead to the kind of motivation and resource mobilization

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226 Education for All by 2000: Indian Perspective, National Institution of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA), New Delhi, 1990.
required. The right approach, therefore, is to set realistic targets—realistic not defined as easily achievable, but as achievable, with conceivable maximum input of meticulous planning and resources financial as well as human.

Keeping in view the past trends, the contemporary situation, and the future prospects of availability of resources and other favourable environment, as also the constraints. The targets will be presented in more precise and specific terms. Although it is a plan for ten years, it would be useful to set separate targets for the first five and the second five years to enable mid-term appraisal and corrective action. This will also coincide with the Eighth and the Ninth Five Year Plan periods.

(c) Identification of Educational Inputs

For ideal planning, educational inputs provided by other sectors should also be taken into account.

(d) Limited Specificity and Desegregation in Target Flying

Different targets for different States and areas could be attempted, but this would make the whole exercise too cumbersome to be meaningful. It is, therefore, proposed that the national targets may have limited specificity and desegregation with the further requirement that more detailed disaggregated targets will be set for each state, each district, each development block and each unit of micro planning. In this disaggregated target-setting at various levels, the following important considerations will be kept in view:

(a) Separate targets for rural and urban areas should be fixed.

(b) Separate targets for the disadvantaged sections of the society will be fixed gender wise.

(c) The low participation in education of girls and women is the most significant factor to be taken into account. Any target for a group may be achieved with continued inequity between males and females of that group, so long as the targets do not clearly indicate the levels to be achieved separately for both genders. That is why it has been suggested that the group wise disaggregated target will also be gender wise.

(d) Access to educational facilities, participation in education, and achievement in education are distinct, though interrelated. These aspects should be separately considered for fixing targets and appropriate planning.
(e) National Level Targets

The mechanism of micro-level planning will result in separate targets for each planning unit state, district, block, and village. In a truly decentralized approach of planning, realistic targets fixed by all the villages of the block should lead to the target of the block; the targets of all the blocks in a district should lead to the target of the district and so on. However, such a process will not only be time consuming, it would also lack a national goal reference. By expecting certain national level targets on the basic of desegregations, we are also hoping to oblige the national and state-level planners to pay higher attention to areas and groups and within them to girls/women, receiving special attention.

2.21 Central Advisory Board of Education Working Group on Education for Women and Other Disadvantaged Groups, 1991

The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in its Forty-sixth meeting held on March 8-9, 1991 at New Delhi discussed the reports of the various working groups formed by it on education. The Working Group on Education of Women and other Disadvantaged Groups like SC, ST, and Minorities etc. was headed by Shri H. S. Lyngdoh, Education Minister, and Meghalaya. Shri, Ashok Kumar Mishra, Education Secretary. 227 The recommendations were as follows:

(a) At the outset, the Group discussed the reasons for low literacy among women in the country and focused on the problems which prevent young girls from attending schools. Among other reasons, special emphasis was laid on the social attitudes of people, responsibility shouldered by the girl child-specially in collecting water, fuel and in looking after her siblings. The regional variations especially between areas like North East on one hand where the position of women is different from regions such as Uttar Pradesh and Bihar were noted. Therefore, the first recommendation of the Sub-Group was that special efforts should be made to understand the region’s specific problems of women and girls in order to design special inputs. All recommendations should, thus, be seen in area and culture specific context.

(b) The position of women in minority communities was an important focus of the Group. It was noted that literacy rate among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other minorities was much lower than the literacy rate among forward

areas/communities. In some areas, the literacy rate among Scheduled Castes women is lower than 1 percent. The Group, therefore, recommended that the problems of girls’ education among these communities should receive special attention and area community specific strategies may have to be devised.

c) Most young girls, especially in poor families share a very large burden of household responsibilities. In this context, the need to provide child-care facilities and ECCE centres along with primary schools was emphasized.

d) Focusing on problem of high drop-out rates among girls and their non-participation in the formal school system, the Group was of the opinion that the formal system needs to be non-formalized. Possibility for operating different shifts for girls and working children could be explored, along with reduction of school hours, wherever necessary. In order to achieve universal elementary education a special Action Plan may have to be prepared for addressing the problem of girls’ education. If necessary, special funds could be earmarked for such an initiative.

e) The Group strongly recommended the need to evaluate the impact of special provisions, schemes and projects made for women over the last 40 years. An understanding of the impact of the Scheme could help policy-makers to make specific recommendations. Area specific special programmes will have to be devised after a thorough study of those regions where female literacy is extremely low.

f) The Group was of the opinion that a Council to monitor women’s education should be set up under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister with senior officers as members. This Council should have a Chief Executive who could systematically monitor progress of different schemes, ensure target is achieved and above all ensure resources are allocated for women’s education.

g) The Group recommended the need to have awareness generation programmes which could create a demand for education for women and also encourage parents to send their girls to schools? Additional facilities or infrastructure alone cannot ensure increased participation. In this context, the Group took note of the pilot programme initiated by the Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development and Mahila Samakhya.

h) The Group endorsed the recommendations made in agenda Item No. 18 on Women’s Education. The Group noted that the specific recommendations of the NPE-1986 are still relevant. Special mention was made on the following items:

(a) Increased women’s access to vocational, technical and professional education.
(b) Preference for women in recruitment of teachers.
(c) Special Polytechnics for women.
(d) Special hostel facilities for women.
(e) 100 per cent assistance for NFE centres for girls.
(f) Schemes of freships and scholarships.
(g) Special focus on the campaign approach to encourage women's participation in adult literacy programmes.
(h) Mahila Samakhya Programme as an important pilot programme.

The Group also took note of the main recommendations of the Report of the Committee for Review of National Policy on Education, 1986. Special mention was made to the following recommendations of that Committee:
(a) Need to link girls' access to elementary education with ECCE facilities.
(b) Decentralized and participative mode of planning to address policy measures to region and community specific problems.
(c) Need to encourage vocational and technical education.
(d) Increase the number of women teachers in schools to at least 50 per cent and provide necessary facilities to them.
(e) Awareness generation programmes as an important input in the Adult Education.
(f) Earmarking funds for girl's education.

Rounding off the discussion, the Group reiterated the need to focus on areas and region specific problems especially to encourage women's education. Culture attitudes and practices vary from region to region. Therefore, planning for education should be sensitive to the above context.

2.22 Education for Women's Equality

Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System is playing a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of education institutions. This will be an act of faith and social

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engineering. Women's studies will be promoted as a part of various courses and educational institutions encouraged taking up active programmes to further women's development.

The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting their access to, and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support services, setting of time targets, and effective monitoring. Major emphasis will be laid on women's participation in vocational, technical and professional education at different levels. The policy of non-discrimination will be pursued vigorously to eliminate sex stereo-typing in vocational and professional courses and to promote women's participation in non-traditional occupations, as well as in existing and emergent technologies.

Education for Women's Equality is a vital component of the overall strategy of securing equity and social justice in education. The National Policy on Education, 1986\textsuperscript{229} is very strong and forthright statements on the intervening empowering role of education. Inter alia, they emphasize the provision of special support services and removal of factors which result in discrimination against women at all levels of education. The POA clearly spells out the actions which need to be taken to promote education for women's equality; it can hardly be improved upon. What is sought to be done is to modify the contents of the POA wherever appropriate. What comes out clearly is the need for will to implement and to devise institutional mechanisms to ensure that gender sensitivity is reflected in the implementation of educational programmes across the board. Education for Women's Equality is too important to be left to the individual commitments of persons in charge of implementing programmes. It should be incumbent on all actors, agencies and institutions in the field of education at all levels to be gender sensitive and ensure that women have their rightful share in all educational programmes and activities.

\section*{2.22.1 Policy Parameters and Strategies}

In pursuance of NPE the main features of the implementation strategy will consist of the following:

(a) To gear the entire education system to play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women;

\textsuperscript{229}Ibid at paras 4.2 and 4.3.
(b) To encourage educational institutions to take up active programmes to enhance women’s status and further women’s development in all sectors:

(c) To widen women’s access to vocational, technical and professional education at all levels, breaking gender stereotypes; and

(d) To create a dynamic management structure that will be able to respond to the challenge posed by this mandate.

(e) Plan of Action

Strategies outlined below deal primarily with operational details regarding implementation of the POA:

(i) All the Bureaus of the Department of Education will prepare a concrete action plan addressing gender related concerns in their specific area of work by August, 1993. Relevant nodal institutions like the UGC, AICTE, ICSSR, ICHR, CBSE, ICAR, ICMR, IAIVIR, State Boards, Vocational Education Bureaus, etc. will also prepare similar action plans. Part IV, Para 4.1 to 4.3 of the NPE and Chapter XII of time POA will form the guiding principles for the action plan.

(ii) A monitoring unit will be created in the Planning Division of the Department of Education to ensure integration of gender issues into policies, programmes and schemes. This unit will develop indicators for monitoring implementation, ensure effective dissemination of information and coordinate action. This will be done by August, 1993.

(iii) Similar monitoring units/bureaus will be set up at the State level; and

(iv) Annual reports of all the bureaus and institutions will clearly spell out the steps they have taken to enhance women’s and girls’ access to education, ensuring that the content and process of education is sensitive to gender concerns and equal access is assured for science and technical education at all levels.

2.22.2 Empowerment of Women

Education can be an effective tool for women’s empowerment, the parameters of which are as follows:

(a) Enhancing self-esteem and self confidence of women;

(b) Building a positive image of women by recognizing their contribution to the society, polity and the economy;

(c) Developing ability to think critically;

(d) Fostering decision-making and action through collective processes;
(e) Enabling women to make informed choices in areas like education, employment and health especially reproductive health;
(f) Ensuring equal participation in developmental processes;
(g) Providing information, knowledge and skill for economic independence;
(h) Enhancing access to legal literacy and information relating to their rights and entitlements in society with a view to enhance their participation on an equal footing in all areas;

The following measures will be taken for achievement of the above parameters and the concerned bureaus and institutions will report on progress as stated in Para 4.1 above:

(a) Every educational institution will take up active programmes of women’s development;

(b) All teachers and instructors will be trained as agents of women’s empowerment. Training programmes will be developed by NCERT, NIEPA, DAE, SRCs, DIETs, SCERTs and the University System. Innovative training programmes will be designed with the assistance of concerned organizations and women’s groups;

(c) Gender and poverty sensitization programmes will be developed for teacher educators and administrators. An environment will be created whereby all the sections of the education sector will become alive and sensitive to the role of education in eliminating gender disparities;

(d) In order to create a greater confidence and to motivate parents to send girls to school, preference will be given to recruitment of women teachers;

(e) The common core curriculum is a potentially powerful instrument to promote a positive image of women. The Department of Women’s Studies, NCERT will intensify activities already initiated in the area of developing gender sensitive curriculum, removing sex bias from textbooks and training of trainers/teachers. SCERT and the concerned State level boards and institutions will initiate similar work; and

(f) Funds would require to be earmarked in all education budgets for such awareness and advocacy of related activities.

2.22.3 Research and Women’s Studies

Women’s Studies is a critical input to promote better understanding of women’s contribution to social processes within social, technological and environmental
change, their struggles and aspirations, conceptual obstacles that make them “invisible” in many areas of scientific enquiry. The programme aims to investigate and remove structural, cultural or attitudinal causes of gender discrimination, and thus empower women to achieve effective participation in all areas of national or international development. The four dimensions to be supported are:

(a) Research to advance the frontiers of knowledge, develop human resources and produce teaching/learning material in pursuit of the above aims:

(b) Teaching to change present attitudes and values of men and women to one of concern for gender equality. Existing biases and deficiencies in curriculum will be addressed;

(c) Training of teachers, decision-makers, administrators and planners to enable them to play a positive interventionist role for gender equality: and

(d) Extension or direct involvement of institutions in women’s development activities among the community.

Special efforts will be made to make the Women’s Studies Centres setup in 20 universities and 11 colleges to become more effective through intensive training of their staff. Eminent institutions and well known women’s organizations will be involved in the process of revitalizing existing centres/units and helping in the establishment of new ones.

Networking between different institutions for research, extension and information dissemination has demonstrated high cost-effectiveness as well as potential for coordinated growth. Such networks will be initiated to increase output of quality teaching materials, especially in regional languages, training and curriculum design, and decentralized area-specific models of intervention.

Foundation course should be designed and introduced for undergraduates with a view to promote the objectives of empowerment of women. This will be done within the Eighth Plan period.

2.23 Universalization of Elementary Education and Adult Education

It is impossible to achieve Universal Elementary Education (UEE) unless concerted efforts are made to reach out to the girl-child. Girls who can not attend formal schools or have had to drop out will be provided educational opportunities through Non-Formal Education (NFE). Efforts will be made to design special NFE programmes for out-of-school and adolescent girls with a view to get them back into
the formal stream or qualify for technical or vocational education. The Open School, distance education systems and other innovative educational programmes will reach out to girls in rural/remote areas and urban slums. Voluntary and community-based efforts will be encouraged in this sector. The above tasks acquire a greater significance in the SAARC decade of the girl-child.

The rural girls are doubly disadvantaged by non-availability of educational facilities and by the work they have to do relate with fuel, fodder, water, sibling care and paid and unpaid work. Coordinated efforts, albeit with other Departments/Ministries, need to be made to provide the necessary support services to enhance their participation and performance. Provision of support services and child-care facilities should be seen as a necessary and integral adjunct of UEE. An important constraining factor for female education is the lack of women teachers in rural areas. The Revised Policy Formulations postulate that at least 50 per cent of teachers recruited in future would be women. Therefore special efforts would be made to recruit women teachers and to provide teacher-training facilities for women so that adequate numbers of qualified women teachers are available in different subjects, including Mathematics and Science.

Total Literacy Campaigns (TLCs) being taken up should pay special attention to women in the 15 to 35 age-group as it has been done with very positive impact in many districts. NFE should be dovetailed to TLCs in order to reach out to girls in the 10 to 20 age-group.

Programmes for continuing education should be designed to ensure that neo-literates and school going girls have access to reading materials. If necessary, books and magazines should be made available to women in their hamlets. The medium of radio will be utilized to sustain enthusiasm and motivation.

Efforts should be made to coordinate the different vocational schemes both within the formal system and those initiated by other Departments/Ministries.

2.24 National Policy on Education, 1992

Education will be used as an agent of basic changes in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and
orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions. This will be an act of faith and social engineering. Women's studies will be promoted as a part of various courses and educational institutions encouraged taking up active programmes to further women's development.

The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting their access to and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support services, setting of time targets, and effective monitoring. Major emphasis will be laid on women's participation in vocational, technical and professional education at different levels. The policy of non-discrimination will be at different levels. The policy of non-discrimination will be pursued vigorously to eliminate sex stereotyping in vocational and professional courses and to promote women's participation in non-traditional occupations, as well as in existing and emergent technologies.

2.25 GOALS FOR XI\textsuperscript{TH} PLAN\textsuperscript{230}

(a) Target for XIIth plan-85\% Literacy rate.
(b) Reduction in gender gap in literacy to 10\%.
(c) Reduction of regional, social and gender disparities.
(d) Use of ICT for Literacy.

2.26 Janardhan Committee to Review Implementation of NPE, 1992

The National Policy on Education (NPE) was adopted by Parliament in May, 1986. The Policy was followed up by an elaboration through the Programme of Action (POA) which was adopted by Parliament in August, 1986. NPE envisages a review of the implementation of various parameters of the Policy every five years. The Central Government had, in May 1990, appointed a Committee to review NPE, 1986 (NPERC), under the chairmanship of Acharya Ramamurti. The Committee submitted its report on 26\textsuperscript{th} December, 1990. The report was tabled in both the Houses of Parliament on 9th January, 1991. The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in its meeting held on 8-9 March, 1991 examined the procedure to be adopted for consideration of the report of the NPERC and decided that a CABE Committee be constituted by the Chairman, viz., Union Minister of Human Resource

\textsuperscript{230} http://nlm.nic.in/nlmgoals_nlm.htm 24.07.2008
Development, National Policy on Education Review Committee to consider the recommendations of the NPERC. In pursuance of the above decision, the Chairman of the CABE appointed a Committee on 31st July, 1991. To review the implementation of various parameters of NPE taking into consideration the report of the NPERC and other relevant developments since the Policy was formulated and to recommend modifications to be made in NPE.231

Shri N. Janardhana Reddy, Chief Minister and Minister of Education, Andhra Pradesh was the Chairman of the Committee. The Committee gave its recommendations on women education in Chapter three of its report.

The NPERC considered women’s education to be a vital component of the overall strategy of securing equity and social justice in education. It rightly addressed the issue of women’s education with reference to the special existential problems of women, such as the prevailing cultural norms of gender behavior and the perceived domestic and reproductive roles of women which restrict the access of women to education. The NPERC strongly advocated intervention on behalf of women by the State in all its manifestations, the Central Government, the State Governments and the Local Bodies. The NPERC sought to differentiate its perspective from that of NPE by contending that the NPE seemingly construed that education alone was an agent of basic change in the status of women, the thrust of NPE lay in the intervention within the education system and that NPE did not adequately address socio-economic and cultural constraints that were outside the school system and had a direct bearing on education. In essence, the NPERC’s perspective is very much in tune with what NPE envisaged in regard to women’s education. Paras 4.2 and 4.3 of NPE are very strong statements on the interventionist and empowering role of education. Inter alia, they emphasize the provision of special support services and removal of factors which result in discrimination against women at all levels of education. There is nothing in the susceptible of the interpretation which NPERC had made. The recommendations of the NPERC mainly relate to the logistics of implementation. Most of them, such as those relating to ECCE, availability of schooling, regional disparities, content of education and adult education are also reflected in the recommendations contained in the other chapters of the NPERC’s Report dealing with these subjects.

Recommendation numbers one to five\textsuperscript{232} of National Policy on Education Review Committee brings out the nexus between girls' schooling and access to water, fuel and fodder. The suggestion is that this nexus should inform educational planning and that the Department of Education should co-ordinate with other departments with a view to bringing about an improvement in the access of women to education. The criticality of the nexus highlighted by the NPERC cannot be exaggerated; however, the coordinating role is better discharged by the Department of Women and Child Development and the Planning Commission at the Centre, the corresponding agencies at the State-level, and the agencies responsible for integrated planning and development at the district and sub-district level. It would not be realistic to expect the education department alone, whether at the Centre or in the States, to play the lead role for ensuring that women's development occurs in a holistic manner. The NPERC's recommendations in regard to the gender bias in curriculum and textbooks\textsuperscript{233}, media\textsuperscript{234}, Women's studies\textsuperscript{235}, and representation of women in educational hierarchy\textsuperscript{236} are very much in keeping with the spirit of the NPE/POA\textsuperscript{237}. The Mahila Samakhya approach is a product of the NPE\textsuperscript{238}.

Some of the recommendations\textsuperscript{239} call for earmarking of resources for women's education not only in the allocations of elementary, secondary, vocational and higher education but also in the Special Component Plan (SCP) for SCs and the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) for STs. However, there is a fundamental difference between SC/ST problems and the women's question. The problem of women's education cuts across caste and regional barriers. Therefore, while women's participation in education should be closely monitored and particular attention paid to remove the barriers impeding such participation, the earmarking of funds may not be administratively feasible.

To sum up, I am of the view that while the NPERC had rightly reiterated the importance of women's education, the NPE policy frame is not adequate and the POA should be revised to take into account the recommendations of the NPERC.

\textsuperscript{232} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Ramamurti Review Committee on Education}, 1990 Recommendation nos. 17 to 20.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid. 21 to 27.
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid 44 to 48.
\textsuperscript{236} Ibid 49 to 52.
\textsuperscript{238} Supra 137 at 53 to 57.
\textsuperscript{239} Ibid 58 to 62.