

P

**EDUCATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION :
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THEIR
INTERRELATIONSHIP IN INDIA**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University,
in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

SHRI MONIRUL HUSSAIN

CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110057

1976

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

Gram—JAYENU

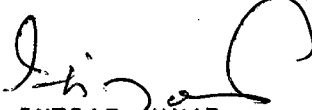
Telephone :
New Mehrauli Road,
NEW DELHI-110057.

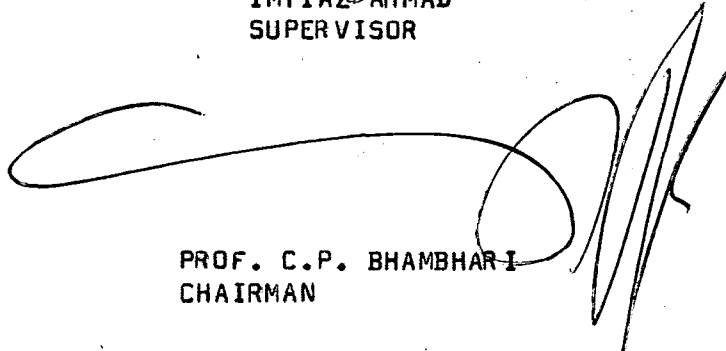
30th December, 1976.

DECLARATION

Certified that the material of this dissertation
has not been previously submitted for any other degree
of this or any other University and all the sources used
have been duly acknowledged.


MONIRUL HUSSAIN


IMTIAZ AHMAD
SUPERVISOR


PROF. C.P. BHAMBHARI
CHAIRMAN

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

It is almost impossible to adequately express my intellectual debt to Prof. Imtiaz Ahmad, Centre for Political Studies, J.N.U., for his valuable suggestions, guidance and constant encouragement.

Also, I am thankful to Mr. Alokesh Barua, Mr. Jayanta Kr. Gogoi, Mr. Vijay Agarwal and Mr. Pawan Jain for their helping hands.

Monirul Hussain

MONIRUL HUSSAIN

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Acknowledgements	ii
1. Chapter I Introduction	1
2. Chapter II The Growth of Modern Education in India	13
3. Chapter III Education and Social Strati- fication in British India	53
4. Chapter IV Education and Social Strati- fication during the Post- Independence Period	81
5. Chapter V Conclusion	115
6. Bibliography	125

LIST OF TABLES

1. Table-1: Public and Private Institutions 1851-52.
2. Table-2: Public and Private Educational Institutions 1882.
3. Table-3: The Growth of Education in India during the Period 1921-1937.
4. Table-4: The Growth of Enrolment (1950-51 to 1965-66).
5. Table-5: Expansion of Educational Institutions - 1950-1973.
6. Table-6: Distribution of Major Castes of Bombay Presidency (in %) according to Bombay Census - 1881.
7. Table-7: Distribution of Students by Castes in Bombay Presidency (in %) 1881.
8. Table-8: The Percentage of the Bhadralok Class of Total Hindu Population of Bengal Presidency (Brahmin, Kayastha and Baidya) 1881.
9. Table-9: Castes of Hindu Students of Bengal 1883-84 (in %).
10. Table-10: Caste Hindu Male Pupil, Madras Presidency - 1883-84.
11. Table-11: Literacy by Caste in U.P. - 1911.
12. Table-12: Literacy by Major Hindu Castes in Punjab - 1911.
13. Table-13: Occupation of Guardians of Students in Government Colleges, High Schools and First Grade Anglo-Vernacular Schools of Bombay Presidency in 1877-78.
14. Table-14: Occupation of Guardians of Students of Madras Presidency, 1883-84.
15. Table-15: Parental Income of Male students of Madras Presidency, 1883-84.
16. Table-16: Annual Income of the Parents of Bengal Students 1883-84.
17. Table-17: Education by Caste (Percent) in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, U.P. and West Bengal - 1966.

contd....

list of tables contd.....

18. Table-18: Difference Between Percentage of Scheduled Caste Children to total Enrolment (1964-65) and Percentage of Population of Scheduled Castes by States.
19. Table-19: Distribution of students (caste-wise) of colleges and university of Broda (Gujarat)
20. Table-20: Grade Rank of Bombay Colleges and Distribution of the Scheduled Caste Students - 1971-72.
21. Table-21: Occupation of the Parents of Graduates.
22. Table-22: Occupation of the Parents of Students admitted to the technical and medical colleges of India in 1965 (in percentage).
23. Table-23: Percentage Distributions of Students from Professional Colleges by the Occupations of their fathers.
24. Table-24: Fathers' Occupation of Allahabad University Students.
25. Table-25: Distribution of Graduates by average monthly income of the family.
26. Table-26: Parental Income of Students admitted to the Technical and Medical Colleges of India, 1965.
27. Table-27: Distribution of High School Students of Broda District According to Income Level of Family.
28. Table-28: Occupational levels by caste in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, U.P. and West Bengal - 1966.
29. Table-29: Family Income (Annual) By Caste in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, U.P. and West Bengal - 1966.

CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The educational system of any society is a part of the total social system. Education being a part of the total social system serves the society in interrelationship with the other subsystems, such as family, religion, economy and polity etc. So, "the educational process is inescapably a part of the social process. Social life among human beings necessitates some kind of education. Without education in one form or other the social heritage could not be handed on from one generation to another. Thus, the educational process, like political, economic and moral processes, forms a part of the whole network of social processes. No one of them has a separate existence. None is unaffected by others and each equally affects them all. If economic processes change they will in some way or other affect politics, morals, art, religion and education, and if there are changes in the educational process, these will have their effect upon politics, economics, morals, arts, religion and so forth. The different branches of social life are inter-dependent, since the social process is a totality...." (Allaway, 1951: section 8).

The needs and the aims of a society always get reflected in its educational system. The nature of society

determines the nature of education. In analysing the relationship between education and society, it is necessary to see educational system as a part of the society. When we analyse the educational system from sociological point of view it demands to be examined from the totality of the social system. It is because "education is functionally related to the society in which it operates" (Havighurst and Neugurten: 1975: 12).

The stratification system as an unavoidable feature of the total social system is always very closely connected with the educational system. Educability is by and large determined by one's position in the stratification system in all societies in lesser or higher degrees. Education has always been connected with the class, status, income and occupational structures, etc. There is no society known, writes Inkle, "which does not make some distinctions between individuals by ranking them on some scale of value" (Inkle, 1971: 83). Such feature is a universal phenomena of all social systems, - old and new, traditional and modern.

Ranking or rating of the members of the society in the scale of certain value is a part of social stratification system. "When we speak of social stratification in any society, we refer to the nature of possession and status, the bases for assignment to positions in these hierarchies,

and among groups within each hierarchy" (Inkles, 1971: 83-84). So, we find that social stratification implies a systematic regularization of structured inequality in which members of the society are ranked higher and lower in a system of hierarchy according to the value accorded to different roles and activities of the society. Therefore, the concept of social stratification implies a set of ranks and statuses or social classes or strata which are characterized by relative constancy and stability.

Involved in social stratification is, Richard observes, "the extremely important point of social inequality. Some individuals and groups are rated higher than others, and with such differences in opportunities and privileges" (Richards, 1953: 543). So, it is obvious that the study of social stratification is also a study of social inequality.

We very often see that there are variations in quality and quantity of education received according to one's belonging to certain caste, income, occupation and status structures. All these variables have significant impact on educability and thereby also to one's life chances. One's formal education is very much correlated with his position in the stratification structure. Education is related to one's position in the stratification structure in two ways:

- "(1) a portion of people's evaluation of one's status derives directly from how much education and what kind of education he has received, and
- (2) many of other important criteria of class position, such as occupation, income and style of life are partially consequences of the type and amount of education one has had." (Young and Mack, 1972: 359)

Therefore, education not only helps to acquire income and occupational prestige but also education itself confers status on the members of the society. In these ways education is related to the stratification structure of any society.

So far we discussed education and social stratification system in general, we are now in a position to discuss the relationship between education and social stratification system in the Indian context. Like all other existing societies, India is also not free from the stratification system. Rather social stratification system in India is regarded as a very complex one. The traditional caste stratification has been drawing quite a good number of foreign scholars for sociological studies from time to time and on different aspects of the caste system.

The modernizing Indian society broadly has the combination of both - the traditional caste and modern

class based system of stratification. In spite of present unfavourable condition for the perpetuation of caste system in India, still it has strong and wide-spread influence throughout the institutional fabric of Indian society. Along with caste, features of class based stratification system, i.e. income and occupation etc. are growing strong in Indian Society with the process of economic development of the whole country.

For our analytical purpose, we may accept caste along with income and occupation as the major dimensions of the social stratification system in India. Now we can discuss in brief the relationship between these three variables of stratification system with education.

1. Caste:

The caste system is a very much deeprooted social institution of traditional India. Still, it is regarded as one of the most important features of stratification system in India. "The caste undoubtedly an all India phenomena in the sense that there are everywhere hereditary indogamous groups which form a hierarchy and that each of these groups has a traditional association with one or two occupations. Everywhere there are Brahmins, untouchables, peasants, artisans, trading and service castes. Relations between castes are invariably expressed in terms of pollution and purity" (Srinivas, 1972: 3). Though the caste

as a rigid social institution is in the process of losing its strength due to increasing strength of modernizing forces, yet we very often find the influence of deeprooted caste in politics, occupation, religion, income and education etc. Still the caste, to a large extent related to the educability of an individual in India. The various caste stratas have different or uneven access to education.

2. Occupation:

Occupation is one of the major features of social stratification system in any society. The modern formal education provides skill and knowledge, and thereby allocates individual to different occupational structures. Education is a major means of society for allocating different occupation and status. As education determines occupation of individual to large extent, occupation on the other hand strongly determines the individual's educability to a large extent. Here the case of student's guardian is very important." The occupation followed by the guardians depend upon several factors, but the occupation in which a guardian is engaged has something positively to do with shaping the students and moulding him. It is by observing the guardian in his occupation that the student forms his opinion about his guardian's occupation, guardian's interest in him and in the family. Further, a student would be enjoying a social status in the school and outside

community in relation to the social status of the occupation of his guardian as some occupations have higher social status rather than certain others, and as some occupation have higher economic reward as compared to certain others." (Desai, B.G.: 1967: 6).

3. Income:

In any society income is a very important variable in analysing the stratification system. In all societies incomes are inequally distributed and this is the main reason for variation in the consumption pattern. The consumption varies in accordance to income. The income structure to a large extent determines one stratas consumption of education. The attainment of education in terms of both - quality and quantity, deffers in relations to the variation in the income structure. By and large , income contributes towards the determination of one's access to or consumption of education. Students coming from the families of high income strata can afford more education and more likely to aspire for high income profession which take more years for preparation in high standard educational institutions. Studies on the dropouts among the Harijans in India reveal: that the income of guardian is a major factor of dropouts among the economically backward Harijans (For details see, Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Co-operation, 1975).

The Problem:

The British rulers introduced modern formal education in India which replaced the old traditional education system existed in the pre-British period. The educational policy of the British rulers may be characterized as theoretically open to all, though in reality it had not been so. The British adopted a policy of restricted growth of education in order to serve their imperial interest. Contrary to this, the Government of Independent India wanted a huge expansion of education and this in fact has really occurred. The Government of India wanted to cover all stratas of the whole population in its educational orbit. Not only this, the objective of education has been regarded as the instrument of social change, modernization, national integration and 'equalizer of opportunities'. Assuming that our perception of historical development of educational policies are fairly consistent, we may, without any hesitation, say that the educational policy of independent India is diametrically opposite to what had been the policy of British rulers. This point has been elaborated in a fashion that it covers all subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

We have already seen that the social stratification system has something to do with the educational system. Now our problem is to analyse the relationship between education and stratification system in the Indian context with certain concrete evidence. As already stated that one's position in the stratification system ^{determines}

one's educability and thereby life chances. How far this has been true in the Indian context? How open is the openness of modern formal education in India? Who have exploited the benefits of modern formal education in the British India and the post independent India? What has been the share of backward or scheduled castes? Has the much talked about 'equalization of opportunities' has been achieved or likely to achieve? Has there been any change in the social composition of students during the late nineteenth century and in late sixties of twentieth century? And, caste or class, which is the more important determinant of educability in India? All these questions need an investigation in order to explain the phenomena systematically.

In this study, an attempt has been made to study the educational system from a sociological point of view. Analysis of education from a sociological point of view is of course not a recent development. Many eminent figures of sociology of the nineteenth century tried to view education as a part of total society. Herbert Spincer and Emile Durkheim stressed on the educational institutions and social processes in their writings. In the later period Karl Manheim and Max Weber also studied education in relation to the total social system. After the second world war many western sociologists have done their studies on

on education from sociological point of view. In India though in 1952 I.P. Desai made a sociological study of high school students of Poona (Desai, 1952) but it is only after 1960, several studies attempted to analyse educational development in relations to society (See, Gore M.S. etc. ed. 1967, 1970, Shah B.V., 1964; Desai B.G., 1967; Khusro, 1967; Kamat and Deshmuch, 1963; Naik, 1965; Parekh, 1966; etc.). But still none of them has made attempt to relate education directly with the stratification system with exception to only J.P. Nelson's study (Nelson, 1972: 51-76). This dissertation is an attempt to study the relations between education and stratification system of Indian society, both during the British period and the post-independence period. In other words the stratification and education during the late nineteenth century and after the sixties of twentieth century.

There has been paucity of data on social stratification in relations to education in India, more particularly very acute in the case of British India. This has further been aggravated by the decision of the government not to include caste factors in census since 1931. And this decision is still continuing. This has acted as a great barrier since 1931 as regards data on various castes in terms of their occupation, income and education. Of course,

during the post independence period several commissions and Reports of the Ministry of education both at the Centre and states provide some data relating to the socio-economic and educational position of the scheduled castes.

The discussion presented in this dissertation is based on already published works by scholars, various reports of the official agencies and surveys and researches carried out by sociologists and other social scientists. This has, therefore, naturally resulted in a serious limitation in that data of a comparable nature are not available for all regions and for each period. Even so, we hope that the data we have presented provides unmistakable indications of the relationship between education and social stratification. After going through the literatures on social stratification and education, we have abstracted some data in this study in order to examine the relationships between education and social stratification. This study, instead of concentrating on all three stages (i.e. primary, secondary and higher) of education, is basically concerned with the higher education in relations to the stratification system in India.

For a systematic, step by step investigation, the whole dissertation has been divided into five chapters. In the first chapter, the chapter of introduction, brief discussion has been forwarded on the relationships between

education and society, education and social stratification alongwith a brief notes on the statement of the problem, statement on the purpose of study, methodology and the limitations of the study. In the second chapter discussion has been initiated on the growth of formal education in India which replaced the traditional education with the beginning of the British rule. We will discuss in details in the third chapter on education and social stratification in British India. In the fourth chapter, we purpose to initiate a discussion on education and social stratification during the post independence period, and more particularly in the late sixties. In these two chapters our purpose is to analyse the relationships between social stratification and education with particular reference to higher education. In the fifth chapter we summarise the broad conclusions of the study and make some remarks on the scope for further study in that direction.

As a modest attempt in investigating the nature of interrelationship between education and social stratification we may hope that our study may throw atleast some light in understanding so complex a problem like education and social stratification. This study also is likely to help us in understanding the nature of social transformation that India is undergoing since the beginning of modern education to present day covering a long span of time.

CHAPTER - II

T H E G R O W T H O F M O D E R N
E D U C A T I O N I N I N D I A

CHAPTER - II

THE GROWTH OF MODERN EDUCATION IN INDIA

The history of the growth of modern education in India is an inseparable part of the total social history of modern India. With the emergence of the British rule in India the period of modern history begins. It was the British rulers who transplanted the institution of modern education in order to serve their colonial interest in India. Modern education is one of the major steps that exposed India to the forces of modernization. Besides the British rulers the christian missionaries and a small number of educated Indians contributed much in spreading modern education in India since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of course, education was not completely neglected in eighteenth century India. But it was on the whole limited in scope and content. This traditional education was out of touch with the rapid development of the West. Education in pre-British India was also linked with caste or on the ascriptive criteria. Only the ritually high castes had the access to education. The low castes were deprived from attaining education by religious edicts. The Brahmin and other high castes like Kayasthas monopolized the whole traditional educational system. As the roles and occupations were based on the ascriptive criteria, therefore, education

was also based on the ascriptive role of the individual. Only the child of ritually high castes had the access to education. The children of low castes had no access to education, they had to learn their hereditary occupational skills from their primary groups in the form of loose apprenticeship system. This enabled them to continue their occupation as ascribed by the caste system. The rigidity of the closed Hindu caste system reflected in the closed traditional education system of that period.

Contrary to the pre-British Hindu education, Muslim system of education was relatively open in its character, but, content wise, education was traditional and the illogical like the Hindu system of education. The religion was the focal point of educational system. "Learning in India, through the ages, was sought not for its own sake, but for the sake, and as a part of religion." (Saksena, 1975: 78). The Hindu and the Muslim systems had much in common - "They from their association with religion, being based on unchanging authority they discouraged the spirit of free enquiry and resisted change, but there was one respect they differed profoundly. While Hindu schools were designed for one favoured class of the community... Muslim schools were open without let to all who confessed that there was but one God and Muhammed was his prophet." (Cunningham, 1968: 139). This hampered the progressive growth of personality

and rationalist outlook among pupils in the pre-British India. "The education imparted, was to make the pupil staunch Hindus or Muslims uncritical subscribers to their respective religious and social structures sanctioned by these religions." (Desai, 1966: 138). Thus, we find that during the pre-British period educational system was traditional and religious in content. The Muslim systems of education was relatively open, but the Hindu system of education was a closed one like its caste system - "Interestingly enough, the average literacy was not less than what it was under the British rule later. Though the standard of primary education was inadequate by modern standards, it sufficed for the limited purposes of those days. A very pleasant aspect of education then was that the teachers enjoyed high prestige in the community. A bad feature of it was that girls were seldom given education, though some women of higher classes were an exception." (Chandra, 1976: 39).

The victory at Plassey War in 1757 and the grant of Diwani in 1765, the East India Company of England emerged as the de-facto ruler of the major parts of India. The history of the growth of modern education in British India may broadly be divided into two major parts - education under the East India Company from 1757 to 1857, and education under the British crown beginning from 1857 to 1937. Again both the parts may be divided further into several parts in accordance to historical significance.

Education under the East India Company (1757-1857).

At the beginning of Company's rule, the company did not take any initiative and interest in education and thereby they adopted a neutral educational policy. The pre-British traditional institutions like Tols, Pathshalas, Vidyalayas, Maktabs and Madrasas, etc. were allowed to function freely without any interferences of the newly emerged alien ruling authority. At the same time, Company also did not patronized any educational institutions. However, in 1781, Warren Hastings founded Calcutta Madrasa at the repeated requests of the Muslim people. Again in 1791, a Sanskrit College was started by Jonathan Duncan with the permission of Lord Cornwallis at Baneraras.

The christian missionaries and their patrons among the British rulers; and the Indian humanitarians basically composed of newly educated Indians exerted pressure on the company rulers to take the responsibility of spreading modern education in India. The Indian humanitarians realized that modern education was the weapon for the upliftment of the Indian people. Contrary to this, the missionaries and their patrons in the company held the view the modern education would inculcate modern attitudes among Indians and ultimately that would lead to conversion of educated Indians to the christianity.

In 1813, the Charter of the Company was amended. This

amendment made the company responsible for education in India. The new Act directed the company to spend only one lakh of rupees for education in India. But till 1823, this meagre amount was not made available for education. This signifies the utter negligence of the company in educating Indians.

Long before the East India Company made responsible for education in India, it was the christian missionaries who made some successful efforts to spread modern education, though their main purpose of christianising the Indian people was not very much successful. The high education in the western style was largely introduced in India by christian missionaries. The christian missionaries were not only the pioneer of modern school education in India but also they were the pioneer in introducing modern higher education. They first established Sererampore College in 1818. Their effort had a very significant effect on the growth of higher education in the later period. "A significant by-product of christian efforts to develop colleges was the stimulation it gave to other religious and Governmental groups to develop similar institutions" (Dickinson, 1971: 69). The christian missionaries had started several colleges in the first half of the nineteenth century at the various places of British India. At that time, there was no other college of the same nature in India. "Christian colleges were also pioneers in bringing western ideas of education to India, thus helping to pave the way for many cultural and political events and attitudes which were

to follow" (Dickinson, 1971: 150).

In 1823, the East India Company constituted a new body known as General Committee of Public Instruction in order to implement the 1813 legislation in regard to education. A good number of members of the Committee were Orientalists, and they started supporting oriental learning through a system of education. The Orientalists were of the opinion that the use of Sanskrit and Persian, respectively by the Hindu and the Islamic educational institutions, should be continued as the medium of instruction. Another group of the Committee, known as Vernacularists, felt that the Indian (regional) languages should be the medium of instruction in their respective regions. The opinions of the Orientalists and the Vernacularists, were very strongly opposed by another group known as the Anglicists. This group advocated that English should be the medium of instruction. All these controversies were put before Macaulay, the Law Member of India in 1835. Macaulay strongly held the view that "the British culture was best and the most liberal in the world, and that if India, Africa and later on the entire world were Anglicised culturally, it would pave the way for social and political unification of the world" (Desai, 1966: 146).

Macaulay rejected the ideas of Orientalists and accepted the ideas of Anglicists. Macaulay's Minute of

1835 partially set aside the controversy, This may be regarded as the part of "Programme of Anglicising the world and thereby achieving the empire and world political and social unity of peoples under the guidance and leadership of Britain" (Desai, 1966: 146).

The Governor General, Lord William Bentinck approved the recommendations made by Macaulay and initiated working for spreading modern education through the medium of English. English was declared as the language of the Court in 1837. And, access of Indians to the high ranking posts in the colonial government, was also approved by the Company in 1844. This approval highly motivated the Indians to go for education in English medium in order to secure prestigious jobs in the Government. "Thus the system of English education was adopted and encouraged by the government, and developed alongside the vernacular schools. The indigenous system of education was neglected and even suppressed at times. Thus by the middle of the 19th century, the system of English education had definitely taken root in the country (Mukerjee, 1958: 4).

It should be mentioned here that the British rulers had no intention to educate the masses in English medium, rather it was their intention to educate a very small section of Indians in English medium in order to enable the rulers to educate the general masses in their native languages with the help of newly emerging English knowing Indian elites. This policy has been described as the "Theory of Downward Filtration".

As stated earlier, that the Orientalist and Anglicist controversy was partially set aside by the Minute of Macaulay in 1835. However, the controversy continued till 1854, the Despatch of Wood in 1854 declared that education of the entire Indian people as the responsibility of the state. Thus, it at least in theory repudiated the "downward filtration" policy.

The Despatch of Wood still forms the charter of education in India. Its main recommendations can be summarized below (Mukerjee, 1958: 4).

(1) The constitution of separate department for education in every province.

(2) The establishment of universities at the Presidency towns.

(3) The establishment of training institution for teachers for all classes of schools.

(4) The maintenance of the existing government colleges and high schools, and increase of their number when necessary.

(5) The establishment of new middle schools.

(6) Increased attention to vernacular schools, indigenous or other for elementary education, and

(7) Introduction of a system of grants-in-aid to all educational institutions.

The Wood Despatch provided for immediate drastic action

for recognizing the entire educational system in British India. In every province, the Department of Public Instructions with a Director and Inspectors etc. established in 1855. Another landmark of the Despatch was that, it led to the establishment of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras universities in 1857. The newly introduced grants-in-aid system stimulated the growth of privately managed schools and colleges all over India.

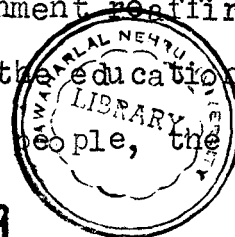
The modern education had taken its root at all levels under the East India Company's rule. It was the East India Company, which replaced the old traditional system of education by a modern system of education imported from the West. During the rule of Company, the foundation of modern education was laid down and strengthened to a very limited extent for its further growth.

Education Under the British
Crown, 1857-1947

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 rocked the regime of East India Company. This led to the change of Government of India from the East India Company, directly to the British Crown. This change in the power authority subsequently contributed towards certain changes in the educational system in India in the later period. Metcalf observes, "After the Mutiny, although the government reaffirmed the value of education, set out to widen the educational opportunities available to the Indian people, the amount

DISS
DISS
370.0954
H963 Ed

G-39529



of actual expansion was relatively limited. The theories of Laissez-faire and the determination to avoid outburst of popular discontent between them rightly circumscribed the government's freedom of action. The one forbade bold programmes of State education, while the other ruled out a comprehensive scheme of grants-in-aid to mission schools. Beyond this lay the obstacle posed by a perennial shortage of funds and of trained personnel. The government was never willing to give financial priority it required if real progress to be made. Nor were they able to make the educational service an attractive alternative to the prestigious I. C. S., which continued to drain off the best and brightest of youngmen who annually came out to India. The only possible solution under these circumstances and that a partial one lay in the provision of ample grants-in-aid to schools sponsored by the Indian community. Such schools developed slowly, however, and come into prominence only with the rise of political consciousness in 1870s. Still by 1882, the number of aided Indian secondary and primary schools exceeded those run by the missionaries, and from that time onward they were looked upon as the major vehicle for the expansion of education in India. (Metcalf, 1965: 131-132).

Of course, before the Sepoy Mutiny modern education contributed much in creating a new strata of Indian elite,

though it was very limited in number. They were the first to realize the humiliation of foreign subjection. This newly emerging elite influenced by contemporary western ideas of Rousseau, Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill etc. and wanted to bring certain changes in their society. The political milieu in which they emerged, it was not possible for them to fight immediately for freedom from mighty colonial rule. Therefore, they worked for implementing social reforms and spreading modern education in order to bring about social change in India. At the beginning they worked in their locality or region which in the later period became a part of emerging nationalism. The English language played an important role in contributing towards the growth of Indian nationalism. It was the English language which enabled newly emerging Indian elites of different places and regions to communicate their feelings and ideas.*

*Prof. Bipan Chandra observes "This point should not, however be over-emphasized. After all educated Indians of the past also possessed a common language in the form of Sanskrit and later on Persian as well. Nor was English essential for acquisition of modern scientific knowledge and thought - other countries of Asia such as Japan and China were able to do so through translations into their own languages. In fact, English soon became a barrier to the spread of modern knowledge among the common people. It also acted as well separating the educated urban people from the common people, especially in the rural areas. Consequently, it came about that modern ideas spread faster and deeper in many countries where they were propagated through indigenous languages than in India where emphasis on English confined them to a narrow urban section." (Chandra, 1976: 200).

impressed and influenced by the performance of Brahma Samaj. Alongwith religious reforms Arya Samaj succeeded in spreading modern education in Northern India. Among the Muslims, religious reform emerged lately. Muslims who were politically dominant in the pre-British India tended to remain outside the western education. It is mainly after the Sepoy Mutiny that modern ideas started emerging among the Muslims. The Muhammedan Literary Society which founded in Calcutta in 1863, encouraged religious, social and political discussion in the modern line. The Society also encouraged the Indian Muslims to accept the modern education. However the most important Muslim reformer was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898). He alongwith his followers which is collectively known as 'Aligarh School' - was the main force behind Muslims' acceptance of modern education. In 1875, he founded Muhammedan Anglo Oriented College at Aligarh as the centre of spreading modern education. This college grew into Aligarh Muslim University in the later period.

After the Sepoy Mutiny, there were competitions among various religious, caste, regional and linguistic groups to exploit modern education in order to elevate their socio-economic status in the newly emerging stratification system. The Wood's Despatch which provided for grants-in-aid system stimulated the growth of education all over India.

The brutal suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny confirmed the consolidation of British rule in India and thereby it crashed the immediate or near future chance of India's freedom from foreign subjection, put the newly emerged educated Indians in a tight situation. So, for time being they had to work under the political control of the British regime. They realized the importance of education

The participation of newly educated Indians; grants-in-aid system provided by the Wood's Despatch, and competitions whether reactionary or progressive among different religious, caste, regional and linguistic groups helped much in the rapid growth of privately managed educational institutions during the post Mutiny period.

A quantitative comparison of public and private educational institutions existed in pre-mutiny and post-mutiny period would give us a picture of exact development of that period.

Table-f*

<u>Public and Private Institutions 1851-52</u>		
	<u>Public 1851</u>	<u>Missionary 1851</u>
Arts College	15	91
Secondary schools	169	
Primary Schools	1202	1099
Professional schools	13	
Total	1399	1190

*Source: Nurrullah and Naik 1971: 255.

Table-2*

Public and Private Educational
Institution 1882.

Institution	Public	P R I V A T E	
		Indian	Missionary
Arts College	38	5	18
Secondary School	1,363	1,341	757
Primary School	13,882	54,662	1,842
Professional	96	16	18

*Source: Nurrulah and Naik, 1971: 255, 266.

Table 1 and 2 give us a clear indication of the growth of education from 1851 to 1882. This shows a rapid growth of private educational institutions managed by Indians. The socio-economic advantages of new education motivated the Indians to build up new educational institutions through their own efforts for the betterment of their future generation. This motivation generated the formation of huge number of associations all over India on the basis of caste, community and religion, etc., which contributed towards establishment of new educational institutions for the benefit of the children belonging to their respective caste, community, religion etc. in order to exploit the new socio-economic advantages and thereby improve their position in the newly emerging stratification system

based on education, occupation and income. The rapid growth of educational institutions managed by Indians further augmented by newly emerging nationalism in India. However, in terms of the vastness of the country and the strength of the total population the growth of educational institutions in India was not a satisfactory by any standard. The Wood Despatch though repudiated the theory of 'downward filtration' and made the rulers to take the responsibility of education of the ruled who had no means to educate themselves. "This was, however, difficult of achievement. The population was not only as large as that of all the European states together, but it varied widely in creed, language, race, and custom. The old literary classes, who had the virtual monopoly of education, were opposed to its being extended to inferior castes. Then there was financial consideration, which ruled out anything like compulsory education. Besides, the risk of incurring the disaffection of higher castes, a system of compulsory education might also disrupt the economy of the poor people whose children performed various tasks of manual labour to support the family. The Despatch, was in fact a challenge to India's tradition based on caste order and rural economy; its aim, as has been stated, was to change both. But this was an impossible task. The upper and the middle classes continued to enjoy an almost exclusive privilege of education. And since a demand for higher education was at the time limited to the

few, the government did not find it difficult, even with its limited resources, to educate them" (Misra, 1961: 281-82).

In 1882, the Governor General Lord Ripon appointed a new Commission with Sir W.W. Hunter as its Chairman to enquire about the implementation of the Wood Despatch of 1854 and to make recommendation for further reform of educational system. The Hunter Commission made the following major recommendations:

- (1) Gradual withdrawal of state from the direct support and management of higher education;
- (2) Provision for ordinary and special grants to the colleges and the schools;
- (3) Transfer to control of primary education to the District or Local Boards.

The Hunter Commission's report made a significant impact on the government's policy and subsequent expansion of primary education under the new management of the local bodies. This report also contributed to a relatively high growth rate of secondary and university education.

During the period, between 1882 and 1902, the matriculation figures increased almost three times - 7,429 (1882), 15,302 (1892-93), and 22,767 (1901-2) (For details see James 1917: 61). Two more new universities were established at Lahore (1881) and at Allahabad (1887) in addition to the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and

Madras. In 1882 Sir Surendra Nath Banerji started Calcutta Ripon College, Arya Samaj founded the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore in 1886, Mrs. Annie Besant started Banaras Central Hindu College in 1898. The number of students taking higher education increased heavily. In 1881-82 there were 5,399 students in arts colleges, in 1887 it reached 8,060, the figures increased much again in the following four years being 9,656; 10,618; 11,546 and 12,924. The number of graduates in arts increased from 287 in 1882 to 573 in 1885 and 898 in 1892 (University Education Commission's Report, 1949:22-23). As compared to secondary and university education, the progress of the primary education was not satisfactory. The period between 1885-86 and 1901-02 the increase in the number of pupils was 660,000 as compared to nearly 2,000,000 between 1870-71 and 1885-86 (quinquennial Reviews, 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. I: 172). Again there was a fall of total number of primary schools in between 1897 and 1902. Though the Hunter Commission's implementation led to the transfer of complete control of primary education to local Board and Municipalities, the Government failed to give adequate funds to this local bodies. The government expenditure on the primary education was 16.77 lakhs in 1881-82 and 16.92 lakhs in 1901-02, This indicates that there was not even an increase of one thousand per annum. However, the local bodies expenditure increased from 24 lakhs in 1881-82 to 46 lakhs in 1901-02. "

"Plague, earth quake, and famines had indeed swept the country during the period and as such the energy and resources of government were required elsewhere, but these were not legitimate reasons for the state to neglect primary education" (Mukerjee, 1974: 158). The reason behind the slow rate of growth of primary education during this period (1882-1902) is not difficult to locate. "While the upper middle classes in the areas possessed both the means and the will to educate their children, the great bulk of the rural folk had neither. Only government support and encouragement could have awakened interest and enabled them to make progress. The policy of private enterprise, however, left them to help themselves" (Misra, 1961: 284). By and large, during this period the government maintained a laissez-fair policy of putting major burden to private enterprise in educational expansion.

A section of the rulers realized that its earlier policy of creating a middle class of educated Indians in order to help them in running the administrative machinery and in maintaining a relations between the rulers and the ruled, was politically dangerous for British interest in India, because "that class began to grow in stature, a demand for an equal share in the administration of the country began. Refusal to recognize their claims caused bitterness and disaffection. Perhaps to ractify that error

attempts were made to retard the progress of higher education partly by an emphasis on primary education but more by limiting the responsibility of the state in the advancement of education as a whole" (Misra, 1961: 284).

The laissez faire policy adopted in 1854 by accepting the Despatch of Wood and this was further applied vigourously after accepting the Hunter Commission's report in 1884. This was formally abandoned by Lord Curzon in 1904. He considered the laissez faire policy's results were "both educationally and politically dangerous. The principal aims of his policy were to bring the entire educational structure under government control and thereby improve quality while at the same time restricting the growth of higher education" (Basu, 1975:229).

In 1902, the government of India appointed a commission to enquire about the feasibility of establishing new universities in India. The major recommendations of the Commission were incorporated in the Universities Act of 1904, which empowered the University to inspect the affiliated colleges. This Act also provided for keeping few seats in the senate for Indians to be filled by election. But it created resentment among Indians because, it provided majority of seats to the Englishmen.

The Government of India revised the grants-in-aid

regulations framed between 1904 and 1908, which affected the growth of education severely. On the other hand rejection of the Gokhale Bill in the imperial legislature which intended to provide free and compulsory primary education signified the indifference of the British rulers for further expansion of education in India.

Mr. G.K. Ghokhale observed "It was obvious, that an ignorant and illiterate nation never can make any solid progress and must fall back in the race of life. What ~~we~~ therefore want, and want most urgently, is first of all a wide-spread diffusion of elementary education, an effective and comprehensive system of primary schools for the masses; and the longer this work is delayed, the more insuperable will be our difficulties in gaining for ourselves a recognized place among the nations of the world" (E.L. Turnbull and H.G.D. Twinbull - 'Gopal Krishna Gokhale', Trichur, 1934: 745, quoted from O'Malley, L.S.S. ed. 1968: 654). Though the Gokhale Bill (1903) was rejected, it reflects the attention paid by Indian leaders for mass education in the beginning of twentieth century. The newly emerging Indian nationalism, which was an unintended product of modern education, was very much concerned about developing a system of education for the masses. Of course it was not possible under a colonial regime.

The rigid policy adopted by Curzon blocked the growth of higher education. In 1901-2 there were 140 colleges in

India but in 1916-17 it went down to 134. The decrease in the number of colleges however does not mean the decrease of students. Contrary to the decrease in the number of colleges, the number of college students went up from 17,655 in 1901-02 to 47,135 in 1916-17. This signifies an almost three fold increase (quinquennial Reviews 1912-17), Vol. II: 99, 101, 111). From 1912 onwards, the grants to the universities from the state was substantially increased. Several new universities came up viz. Banaras, Mysore, S. N. D. T. Women's University in 1916, Patna in 1917 and Hyderabad in 1918, There was also strong move for establishing universities at Aligarh, Dacca, Poona, Ahmadabad etc.

As already stated, Curzon gave first priority to primary school in his educational policy. By 1911-12 the effect of his policy was noticeable, in the expansion of primary education. In 1901-02 there were 93,604 primary schools in India. The number increased to 1,18,262 in 1911-12. The number of pupils also increased from 30,76,671 in 1901-02 to 48,06,736 in 1911-12 (Nurrullah and Naik, 1971: 231).

In 1919, the British Government adopted a new act. In accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, the Department of Education was transferred from the Government of India to the Ministry of Education of the provinces. This is a landmark in the history of growth

of education in India. The newly allowed greater autonomy to the provincial governments in educational matters gave a new impetus to the Indian educational system. There was a rapid growth of education all levels all over India beginning from 1921 to 1937.

Table 3*

The Growth of Education in India during the Period 1921-1937

Types of Institution	No. of Institutions		No. of scholars	
	1921-22	1936-37	1921-22	1936-37
1. Universities	10	15	N.A.	9,697
2. Arts Colleges	165	271	45,418	86,273
3. Professional colleges	64	75	13,662	20,645
4. Secondary schools	7,530	13,056	11,06,803	22,87,872
5. Primary schools	1,55,007	1,92,244	61,09,732	102,24,288
6. Special schools	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,39,269
Total for recognized institutions	1,66,130	2,11,368	7,396,566	12888044
7. Unrecognized institutions	16,322	16,647	422165	501530
Grand Total	1,82,452	2,27,955	7818725	13389574

*Source: Nurrulah and Naik, 1971, p. 284.

Note: The table is of the British India, exclusive of Burma.

Table No. 3 demonstrates the high growth rate of education in India during the period of only sixteen years

i.e. 1921-1937. Motivation on the part of the people and leadership of new provincial Ministries contributed towards this paradoxical growth of education at all levels. On the other hand the growing sense of nationalism and emancipation also gave new strength towards rapid growth of education.

EDUCATION DURING 1937-47

The period after 1937 is remarkable for occurrence of three historically significant events i.e. (1) the introduction of provincial autonomy, (2) the outbreak of the second world war and (3) the Quit India Movement of 1942.

The Government of India Act of 1935 provided for provincial autonomy and, this Act came into operation from 1937. The Indian National Congress came into power in seven out of eleven provinces. But the Congress did not continue in power for long time because of its differences with the British rulers, they resigned. This shattered the hopes of further rapid educational expansion. The caretaker government ruled India from 1940 to 1945. At that time the whole country was standing at a historically significant situation. The outbreak of second world war, unresistable movement for independence, clashes of opinions among the British rulers, the Congress and the Muslim League etc. created a highly critical situation, where obviously education could not draw sufficient attention of the British rulers as well as of the Indian leaders. Both were

preoccupied with the question of Independence. All factors contributed towards negligence of education during 1937 to 1947. This period, we can say as the period of stagnation in the history of education in India.

In 1947, India attained her long desired freedom from the British rule. From freedom, a new phase of history starts. The educational system which was introduced by the British rulers has some social implications, which are summarized below:

(1) The British rulers introduced a new system of education which was both qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from the traditional educational system existed in the pre-British India. By and large, the British rulers made education as a secular and open system. The age old social restrictions on the basis of caste system came into end. The new system of education with secular and liberal characteristics replaced the traditional educational system which was based on caste and religious criteria.

(2) "The introduction of English education was one of the acts which collectively opened the doors of the West to the East. In every sphere of modern Indian life, though the influence of tradition persists, the impact of the West can also be traced. Much of the organization of democratic state, its secular character, the structure of

its institutions, and the political principles underlying them are all largely European in inspiration, similarly, the social reform movement in Hindu society, the movement for the emancipation of women, and for the removal of untouchability reflect the Western influence to a considerable extent." (Basu, 1975: 1).

(3) The pre-British social system was characterized by a closed stratification system. The growth of modern education contributed towards the emergence of rival stratification system based on the principles of achievement.

(4) The educational system was geared up with the newly emerging occupational structure. Thus education became the passport to new jobs and basis for exploiting new economic opportunities thrown out by the British rulers. Education helped individual to acquire qualification and necessary skills outside the traditional caste system. Thus the process of separating occupation from caste system taken its root during the British period. So, obviously, occupation started emerging as a relatively independent dimension of social status in British India.

(5) During the British period education was excessively restricted in its coverage. It was largely confined to urban males and high castes. A tiny group of Muslims and lower castes were also benefited by it. (Desai,

1975: 107). Education became a passport for most of the new jobs, and the jobs were basically of a non-manual character, they attracted more easily those castes and social groups which were connected with non-manual occupations in the traditional Indian society." (Desai, 1975: 104).

(6) Economic and other advantages of the new education system were fully perceived and exploited by the upper castes in the earlier phase of the British rule. But later there was a widespread attempt on the part of the middle range and low castes to seek modern education. Innumerable caste and religious associations sprang up in important cities and towns, and these, as a part of their programme of activities, established educational institutions, built hostels and award scholarships for the benefit of their student members. Certain States pursued a communal policy in the matter of admission of students and recruitment of teachers. Thus, educational activities became closely associated with caste and religious considerations. Such attempts on the part of caste and religious groups influenced the educational system in two ways: firstly, they were responsible for bringing modern education within the reach of the members of certain castes or religious groups. Secondly, they affected the standard of education in varying ways, as admission of students and recruitment of teachers were

determined by considerations other than merit. While some schools run by caste or religious associations promoted a high quality of education, many others contributed to a general deterioration of standards. (Rao, 1975: 146-47).

(7) The education system by building up an educated elite and neglecting popular education helped to preserve and strengthen the barrier between the upper classes and the masses. The use of English raised the class barrier even higher. The low rate of literacy, the method of teaching, neglect of training of teachers, contempt for manual work, emphasis on a literary education and neglect of technical education which was inevitable in a colonial context, and the creation of a gulf between an elite educated in English and the masses - all these constituted formidable obstacles in the path of development (Basu, 1974: 1-2).

(8) At the beginning, the British rulers depended on the support and co-operation of educated Indians. But during the later half of the nineteenth century they moved into nationalist politics and after a long period won the freedom ~~strongly signifies~~ from foreign subjection. This strongly signifies that the modern education played a contradictory double role. Introduced at the outset with a view to meeting the political and administrative needs of Britain, and even strengthening the bond of ruled,

it also helped Indian nationalism in its struggle against the rule" (Desai, 1966: 157).

(9) The British educational policy of the earlier period is marked by complete negligence of girls education. "This was partly due to the Governments anxiety not to hurt the susceptibilities of of orthodox Indians. Even more it was because female education lacked immediate usefulness in the eyes of the foreign officials since women could not be employed as clerks in the government. The result was that as late as in 1921 only 2 out of 100 Indian women were able to read and write"... (Chandra, 1976: 122). The education in British India failed to contribute much toward the improvement of women's status in India.

(10) In British India, the government was not very serious about spreading modern education, its educational policies had many serious drawbacks for educational development of a big nation; yet the limited spread of modern education led to the acceptance of modern ideas and technical know-how of an industrial society and a modern system of bureaucracy; and thereby helped India in its process of modernization.

EDUCATION DURING THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

India attained her independence in 1947. With this, a new phase of history of the nation as well as its part education started. India declared herself as a sovereign

Democratic Republic on 26th January in 1950, and adopted a new written constitution. The objectives of the national policy has been stated in the preamble to the constitution in the following words (Constitution of India, 1950: Preamble):

"Justice - social, economic and political, Liberty of thought, expression, faith, belief and worship; Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all, Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation".

In order to achieve these objectives the government has adopted: (1) democracy as way of life, (2) socialistic pattern of society, (3) economic development and industrialization based on the modern scientific and technological knowledge. The Government entrusted the educational system to work for the attainment of these noble goals. "Therefore, no reform is more important or more urgent than to transform education, to endeavour to relate it to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and thereby make it a powerful instrument of social economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realization of our national goals. This can be done if education

- is related to productivity;

- strengthening social and national integration
consolidation of democracy;
- hastens the process of modernization; and
- strives to build character by cultivating
social, moral and spiritual values.

All these aspects are interrelated and in the complex process of social change, we cannot achieve even one without striving for all." (Ministry of Education, 1966: 6).

There are certain provisions in the Indian Constitution which have a close connexion with the entire educational system. For instance, Article 14, guarantees equality before law to all citizens, article 15 bans discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, caste, sex, place of birth etc., Article 16 guarantees of public employment. Another significant provision of the Constitution is that it has provided certain concessions to the people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, in order to come at par with the other segments of the population, in terms of education, income and standard of living etc. All these provisions of the Constitution have far-reaching impact on educational system in India.

Since the beginning of the national movement for freedom, Indian leaders have been stressing much importance in education and in upliftment of the backward sections of the society particularly of scheduled castes and tribes. They

advocated for the eradication of untouchability from India. It was a commitment of the national leadership to take special care for these people after independence and this has been reflected in the constitution. Perhaps as Harold Isaacs has pointed out, "India is the only country where government employment quotas and educational benefits have been established right across on the board in order to help speed the social and economic elevation of specific groups from the lowest level of the country's population" (Isaacs, 1969: 107). The traditional practice of untouchability made the Indian social system a unique one, "the attempt to eradicate it has also made the country unique" (Zachariah, 1973: 3).

The late Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru observed "we have to think more of those who are more backward because we must aim at progressively producing a measure of equality of opportunity and other things. You can not go on far long having big gap between those who are at the top and those who are at the bottom. You cannot make all men equal of course. But we must at least give them equality of opportunity" (Jawaharlal Nehru, 1954: 90). The Planning Commission also stressed importance on educational expansion and equalization of opportunities in education in all five year plans. Again the Report of the Education Commission (1964-66) states, "One of the important social objectives of education is to equalize opportunity,

enabling the backward or underprivileged classes and individuals to use education as a lever for the improvement of their condition. Every society that values social justice and is anxious to improve the lot of common man and cultivate all available talent, must ensure progressive equality of opportunity to all sections of the population. This is the only guarantee for the building up on egalitarian and human society in which the exploitation of the weak will be minimized... The education of the backward classes in general and of the tribal people in particular in a major programme of equalization and of social and national integration." (Ministry of Education, 1966: 108, 143).

Education during the post-independence period, has been getting significant importance from national leaders, government and its plans, the government has made access to education as the fundamental right of all citizens, irrespective of race, religion, caste, creed, sex etc. Efforts have been made to gear-up education with the process of construction and development of the nation. The education also has been regarded as an instrument for national integration, social change and modernization. The principle of equality of opportunity has been declared as a part of the national policy of education. The government has provided certain concession to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in order to bring them to the educational orbit, and thereby improve their socio-economic status in the larger

social system.

EDUCATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE:

During the initial five years after the attainment of independence, the government was engaged heavily with the settlement of refugees, caused by the partition, formation of the new Constitution, Kashmir problem, etc. In spite of these problems, there was a considerable expansion of education through the annual plans. This was an ad-hoc arrangement, and continued till the beginning of the first five year plan period from 1952. Education started occupying an important position in the national plan as a part of the integrated five year plan.

After independence the government of India reorganized Education Department as an important department under the independent Ministry of Education, headed by a Minister, and responsible to the legislature both at the Centre as well as at the State levels. Provisions have been made for the involvement of the both, the Centre and the States in running the educational system of the whole country. The following are the major commissions instituted by the government of India in order to advise in formulation of reformative educational policy after independence i.e. (1) University Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in 1948, (2) Secondary Education Commission under the Chairmanship of L. Mudaliar in 1952, and

(3) the Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari in 1964. Another landmark of the history of education in India is the formation of the University Grants Commission in order to co-ordinate the activities of the higher education.

The following table (4) gives us the exact picture of educational development in terms of its increasing feeding capacity i.e. enrolment of students.

The table has shown us significant progressive growth rate of enrolment from the primary level to the higher level of educational system in India during 1950-51 to 1965-66, covering a period of 15 years. Though, this is not a long period of history yet, this shows the huge expansion of educational facilities after independence, particularly after 1950.

The total enrolment of students increased from 24 million in 1950-51 to 70 million in 1965-66. This demonstrates almost three-fold rise in the growth of enrolment of students within a period of fifteen years only. The average annual growth rate was 7.4 per cent during this period. On the other hand, at the post-graduate level average annual growth rate has been 11.2 per cent. Now, we can see the expansion of educational institution since 1950 to 1973.

Table-4*

The Growth of Enrollment (1950-51 to 1965-66)

in thousands

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	Average annual rate of growth %
Pre-Primary	5,177 (18.3)	7,135 (21.3)	8,612 (22.31)	11,778 (26.7)	5.6
Lower Primary (I-IV)	13,651 (37.8)	17,380 (42.6)	24,996 (54.8)	37,090 (69.2)	6.9
Higher Primary (V-VII)	3,228 (13.0)	4,592 (16.5)	7,463 (24.6)	12,549 (35.6)	9.5
Lower Secondary (VIII-X) General	1,461	2,300	3,582	5,990	9.9
Vocational	46	70	100	137	7.5
Total	1,507 (6.5)	2,370 (9.3)	3,682 (13.1)	6,127 (14.1)	9.8
Higher secondary (XI-XII) General	157	288	491	834	11.8
Vocational	125	214	358	564	10.6
Total	282 (1.9)	502 (3.1)	849 (4.9)	1,308 (7.0)	11.3
Under-graduate General	191	322	434	759	9.6
Professional	50	82	147	227	10.6
Total	241 (1.2)	404 (1.8)	581 (2.4)	986 (3.6)	9.8
Post-graduate General and Professional	0 0 0 (0.1)	0 0 0 (0.2)	0 0 0 (0.3)	0 0 0 (0.4)	11.2
GRAND TOTAL	24,108	32,419	46,247	70,031	7.4

contd.....

contd.....

* Extracted from the Report of the Education Commission (1964-66) Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi, 1966, p. 589.

- Note:-
- 1) Totals do not tally because of rounding errors.
 - 2) Figures in parentheses are percentage of population in the corresponding age-group.
 - 3) Enrolment figures at the pre-primary stage include those in Class I in States, where eleven years are required to reach the matriculation standard, which is reached in ten years in other States.

Table 5 (on next page) clearly shows us the expansion of educational institutions in India at all levels. This indicates a very high growth rate. Already we have seen the increase of enrolment rate after independence. The number of educational institutions also has increased at a very high rate to cope with the high rate of enrolment. There were 209671 primary schools in 1950-51 and the number increased to 42988 in 1973, which indicates a growth rate of 105 per cent during these twenty three years. The middle and the high and higher secondary schools have shown most significant growth rate, respectively 616 and 498 in 1973 over 1950-51. The number of universities went up from 27 in 1950-51 to 94 in 1973. Education has been expanded

Table-5*

Expansion of Educational Institutions - 1950-1973.

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1971	1973	1973 over '50-51
1. Number of Primary/Junior Basic Schools	209671	278135	240399	391064	404418	429888	105.0
2. Number of Middle/Senior Basic Schools	13596	21730	49663	75798	88567	97356	616.0
3. Number of High/Higher Secondary Schools	7238	10838	17257	27477	35773	40127	450.0
4. Number of Arts/Science including Research Insti- tutions & Commerce colleges	542	772	1122	1788	2792	3243	498.0
5. Number of Universities	27	32	45	64	86	94	248.0

* Source: INDIA 1975, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting and Educational Statistics at a Glance 1973, Ministry of Education 1974.

unprecedented after independence due to the initiative taken by both the government and the people. "The rate of India's educational expansion at the university level has been one of the highest in the world, after the United States and the Soviet Union" (Altbach, 1975: 207). The expansion has not only been confined to the traditional universities but also in agricultural and technological institutions of higher learning. All these developments have helped India in acquiring the scientific and technological know-how of international standard. There has been no parallel to the post independence growth in the earlier history of growth of education in India. At the time of independence the educational facilities were extremely limited. The expansion of education during the post independence period is in a way very much inevitable. "The attainment of independence created a great hunger for education especially among these classes which had been deprived of it in the past. Moreover, it was next to impossible to resist such popular pressure in a democratic society based on adult franchise" (Basu, 1974: 2). India has accepted democracy as the political system and decided to create a social order based on the quality of opportunity. Therefore, it is essential to democratize education and to ensure equal opportunity to all. Some measures have been taken in this direction to achieve these objectives during the post independence period. In this context the Education Commission (1964-66) observed "special emphasis has to be

laid on the development of values such as a scientific temper of mind, tolerance, respect for culture of other national groups etc., which will enable to adopt democracy not only as a form of government but also as a way of life" (Ministry of Education, 1966: 17).

With the above historical background of education in India, we are now in a position to proceed further in order to investigate relationship between social stratification and education. Who exploited the fruits of education in the British India, and who are exploiting in the independent India? Has there been any change in the representation of different stratas in terms of their access to education? Has the much talked about the government's policy of equalization of educational opportunity being realized? What has been the share of the low castes in the educational system, both in the British India and the independent India? In the subsequent chapters (III-IV) we shall discuss these issues particularly with special reference to higher education.

CHAPTER - III

E D U C A T I O N A N D S O C I A L
S T R A T I F I C A T I O N I N B R I T I S H I N D I A

CHAPTER-III

EDUCATION AND STRATIFICATION IN BRITISH INDIA

With the beginning of the British rule in India a new phase of history starts. Under the British subjection, India experienced many changes in its social structure. Education was also no exception. The whole educational structure faced a change. It was the British rulers who "inaugurated a new, modern, secular, formal educational system which was historically different from one which prevailed in the past in India, and this new system increasingly became the decisive instrument for achieving status in the new Indian society, except in so far that status could be based independently on wealth, the significance of education as a major vehicle for status and job acquisition, as well as for acquiring competence and skills to participate in the new economic, political, social and cultural life of the community, increased more and more. The formal educational system also became a major socializing agency rivaling all other agencies like family, caste, religious bodies etc., snatching more and more hours of the student's life within its own orbit" (Desai, 1975: 107).

The new educational system introduced by the British rulers, was theoretically open to all irrespective of caste, creed, religion and sex. By and large, the

educational system was secular and open unlike the educational system existed in the pre-British period. In this chapter an attempt has been made to investigate the relationships between education and social stratification in British India during the late nineteenth century and in early period of the twentieth century. As already stated we shall mainly be concerned here with a discussion on education in relation to caste, occupation and income structure.

1. Caste

The traditional caste based stratification system was a very important determinant of social as well as educational trend in British India. Caste, instead of disintegrating with the beginning of modern era, it asserted itself in the newly emerging stratification system based on education, occupation and income structure. The modern formal education, which was linked with the newly emerging prestigious occupations and income, was mainly consumed by the high castes all over India, in order to consolidate their socio-economic dominance in British India.

1. A. Bombay Presidency

In the Presidency of Bombay, education was very much inequally distributed among various castes. The level of literacy was highest in Bombay city. In 1881, one third of the city's male population was either learning or literate (Seal, 1968: 84).

Table-6

Distribution of Major Castes of Bombay Presidency
(in %) according to Bombay Census 1881.*

Castes	%age of total Hindu Population
Brahmins	5.53
Rajputs	1.82
Writer castes	0.21
Trading Castes	3.70
Artisan Castes	10.87
Agricultural Castes	55.25
Depressed Castes	9.31

*Extracted from Seal, 1968: 78.

Table-7

Distribution of Students by castes in Bombay
Presidency (in %) 1881*.

Castes	Colleges	High & Middle Schools	Primary Schools
Brahmins	66.1	50.5	36.8
Kshattris	4.2	3.0	4.3
Other writers	9.7	12.6	2.4
Traders	14.4	16.1	17.0
Shopkeepers	0.0	1.7	5.0
All others	5.6	16.1	34.5

*Source: Seal, 1968: 87.

Table 6 shows the distribution of castes of Bombay Presidency in percentage according to Bombay Census 1881, and table No. 7 shows the distribution of students by their castes in the same Presidency in the same year. These two tables present us clearly the impact of caste stratification on education. (The Brahmin caste consists of only 5.53 per cent of total Hindu population of the Presidency, but their representation in education was very high. At the primary level they exhibited 37 per cent, at the high and middle school level 51 per cent and at the college level they exploited 66 per cent of the total seats of whole educational system though their percentage of total population is only 5.53 per cent.) All other castes have shown a declining curve in higher education, only the Brahmins have shown a highly increasing curve from primary level to college level. From 37 per cent at the primary level, they went upto 66 per cent at the college level, which is all times higher than their per centage in the total population. This clearly demonstrates the dominance of Brahmins in the educational system with a high rate of overrepresentation. And even among the Brahmin sub-castes education was unevenly distributed. "Among the Brahmins, the Chitpavans and Deshaths had done best" (Seal, 1968: 89). The Chitpavans originally came from the narrow littoral between Goa and Bombay, which lies in the rain-shadow of the western ghats. "The narrow shelf

was unable to support its large population, and for the Brahmins of this area English education became a necessity, as it did for the Bhadralok (Bhadralok: Literal meaning is gentlemen, but here it is applicable to the respected strata of Bengal, - mainly composed of high ranking Hindu castes) of Bengal, since they were dependent on white-collar jobs. The Chitpavans formed only five per cent of the Hindu population but they held a disproportionately large number of posts in the public administration" (Basu, 1974: 133).

In the Presidency of Bombay, artisan, agricultural castes combinedly comprised of 76 per cent of the total population but their representation in education was very negligible. They, even did not comprised as an identifiable category of each caste in the distribution table of students by castes. They were all combinedly regarded as 'All others' category inspite of the fact that they were consisted of 76 per cent of total Hindu population of Bombay Presidency. They were very badly represented in the newly emerged modern educational system. Their representation at the primary level was 35 per cent, secondary level 16 per cent and at college level only 6 per cent, signifying their mass failure to exploit the advantage of modern education. All the middle range castes stood somewhat at the middle point in exploiting educational facilities.

Here it is to be noted that in terms of community the situation in Bombay Presidency was very complex. Although Brahmins were dominating educational system to a highly disproportionate extent, there was another non-Hindu community known as Parsis, who were better educated than the Brahmins. By 1891, more than 58 per cent of the male Parsis were literate and 27 per cent could read and write English. (Census, Bombay, 1891: 394-426). In 1911-12 the number of pupils in arts college per 10,000 of male population was highest among Parsis at 107.1, and in 1916-17 it was 118.3 (6th quin. Review, 1907-12, Vol. II, table 47; 7th quin. Review 1912-17, Vol. II, table 39). The number of literates per thousand Parsis was 650, the highest for any community. (Census Bombay, 1901: 128). English literacy was also highest among Parsis in 1901, 258 Parsis per thousand could read and write English. (Census, Bombay 1901: 134).

1. B. Bengal Presidency

The caste composition and their representation in education in the Presidency of Bengal was somewhat different from the Presidency of Bombay.

Table-8

The percentage of the Bhadrakol Class of total Hindu Population of Bengal Presidency (Brahmin, Kayastha and Baidya), 1881.*

Castes	Percentage of total Hindu Population
Brahmins	6.13
Baidyas	3.31
Kayasthas	4.65

*Source: Seal, 1968: 42.

Table-9*

Castes of Hindu students of Bengal, 1883-84 (in %)

Castes	College	High Schools	Lower Primary
Brahmins, Kyasthas etc.	84.7	73.4	34.5
Nabasaks	9.3	14.2	28.8
Trading and Intermediate castes	6.0	11.6	29.3
Others	-	0.8	7.4

*Source: Seal, 1968: 61

The table 8 and 9 provide us percentage of the Bhadralok castes of total population and the castes of Hindu students of Bengal respectively of 1881 and 1883-84. Here, we find the dominance of Bhadralok castes in exploiting newly emerged educational facilities. Though the percentage of Bhadralok castes in total Hindu population stood at only 10 percent but their share in education stood several times more than their share in the population. The Brahmins and Kayasthas combinedly exploited 30 percent, 73 per cent and 85 per cent seats respectively in lower primary, high school and college education. This shows their strong dominance and increasing growth rate successively at the higher level of education. The Nabasaks, the trading and other intermediate castes though represented significantly at the lower primary level but they failed to

maintain the same rate subsequently at the higher level.

This demonstrates the inability of the Nabasaks, trading and other intermediate caste to compete with the Bhadraloks which consisted of high literary castes of Bengal Presidency. The plight of 'others' category is very sad. This category had included all castes standing at the low positions in the caste hierarchy. They were very badly underrepresented in the orbit of education. Their percentage at the lower primary level was only 7 per cent and that decreased to a negligible 0.8 per cent at the high school level and zero per cent at the college level. Here we find that the Bhadraloks were highly overrepresented in the whole educational system in the Presidency of Bengal and their representation in the successive higher level has always been higher than the lower level of education. The Nabasaks, trading and other intermediate castes had very limited access to education and their representation at the successive higher level had shown a decreasing rate. The low castes which have been categorized as 'others' were very badly underrepresented in education. Their representation at the high school level was very negligible and there was no representation at all at the college level. Therefore, we find that, in Bengal Presidency it was the Bhadraloks which were mainly composed of high literary castes, succeeded in exploiting the newly emerged educational facilities disproportionately higher than their due share in terms of their strength in the total population.

Within the Presidency region-wise education was not evenly distributed. It was far more advanced in Bengal proper than in Bihar and Orissa, which till 1912 formed part of Bengal. In 1911, whereas in Bengal 77 persons per thousand were literate, in Bihar and Orissa only 39 per thousand were literate. (7th quin. Review, 1912-17, Vol. I: 85). Of all parts of Bengal proper, central Bengal was educationally the most advanced, with a literacy rate of 11 per cent or 109 per thousand, mainly because of Calcutta, where one out of three persons had sufficient knowledge of reading and writing to pass the census literacy test in 1911 (Census, Bengal, Vol. V, Part 1: 369, Subsidiary table II). Next to Central Bengal came West Bengal (102 literates per thousand) then East Bengal (66 per thousand) and last North Bengal (53 per thousand). "Both East and North Bengal were areas with a predominantly Muslim population, the bulk of whom were ordinary cultivators and hence educationally backward" (Basu, 1974: 115).

1. C. Madras Presidency

We found the dominance of Brahmins mainly Chitpavans and Parsis in Bombay Presidency and Bhadrakal castes in Bengal Presidency in exploiting educational facilities. Madras Presidency is marked by absolute dominance of Brahmins in the field of education.

Table-10*

Caste Hindu Male Pupil, Madras Presidency
1883-84 (Percentage of total Hindus)

Institutions	Brahmins	Vaishyas	Shudras	Others (including Pariahs)
Colleges	74.6	3.2	21.7	0.5
Secondary schools	45.5	5.6	45.8	3.1
Primary schools	14.4	10.0	68.4	7.2

*Source: Seal, 1968: 107.

In Madras Presidency we find the absolute dominance of Brahmins in the educational system. They alone consumed 14 percent of seats in the primary school, three fold increase at the secondary level (45.5%) and more than five fold (74.6%) increase at the college level signifies the dominance and high rate of overrepresentation of Brahmins in education in the Presidency of Madras. On the other hand intermediate caste like Vaishyas were succeeded only to exploit 10 percent of seats at the primary level, 5.6 per cent seats at the secondary level and 3.2 per cent seats at the college level. Unlike the Brahmins, this caste shows a declining representation successively at the higher level of education. At the primary level, the Sudras were significantly represented, as they occupied

68.4 per cent of the total seats of primary schools. This shows the desire on the part of low caste to attain education in order to secure higher status and better occupation. But at the higher level their share went down to 46 per cent at the secondary school level and at the college level they went down to 22 per cent. The same is the case with the 'others' category which also shows a decreasing rate of percentage of students at the successive higher level of education. This table(10) shows it clearly that only the Brahmins as a caste succeeded to exploit the educational facilities in the late nineteenth century to a maximum extent. Their representation was very high at the primary and which at the college level shows further five fold increase. Contrary to the Brahmins, all other castes have shown a decreasing rate of their share in education, particularly at the higher level. The education as a whole and more particularly higher education was a monopolized institution of Brahmins in Madras Presidency.

1. D. United Province

Contrary to the dominance of Brahmins in the Madras Presidency, the Kayasthas supersaded Brahmins in Northern India. The Kayasthas were educationally most advanced community, though they comprised of only 1 percent of the total population, they constituted 11 per cent of the literate population. In 1901 more than 55

per cent of Kayastha males could read and write. (Census, U.P. 1921, Vol. VI: 118-19). In 1921, 1,139 per 10,000 Kayastha males were literate in English (Census, NWP & Oudh, 1901, Vol. XVI: 155). "This was not surprising since the Kayasthas were traditionally a professional caste for whom education was necessary." (Basu, 1974: 141).

The Agarwals, a commercial caste stood next to Kayasthas in educational attainment. The following table provides a clear picture.

Table-11*

Literacy by Caste in U.P. - 1911

Castes	No. of literates per 1000 males	No. of literates in English per 10,000 males	No. of pupils in Primary schools per 1000 males
Brahmins	209	79	49
Kayasthas	549	779	115
Agarwals	391	319	-
Saiyids	277	361	-

*Source: Census, U.P., 1911: 273.

Here in the United Province we find that the Brahmins were supersaded not only by Kayasthas but also by Agarwals and Muslim castes like Saiyids.

1.E. Punjab

Now let us look into the situation of Punjab which at that time was swept by the Arya Samaj movement. The following table presents us the picture of literacy among various castes of Punjab.

Table-12*

Literacy by Major Hindu Castes in Punjab 1911

Caste	Population	No. of literates	%age of Literacy in each caste
Arora	10,547	3,613	34
Brahman	7,240	2,077	28
Khatri	17,237	5,212	30
Ode	5,102	542	10
Rajput	2,403	421	17
Aggarwal	1,983	474	24

*Source: Census, Punjab 1911: 323.

In Punjab, also we do find the trend of high caste dominance. The Brahmin had 28 per cent literates while commercial castes like Arora and Khatri supersaded them with the literacy rate of 34 and 30 per cent respectively. Aroras and Khatri proved their high exploitation in education by competing with the high caste like Brahmins. With the beginning of the spread of modern education in Punjab in the second half of the nineteenth century "the

traditionally literate castes moved swiftly into schools and from there into new occupations demanding literacy. Among Hindus this meant the Brahmans, and commercial castes Khatris, Aroras and Banyas plus few smaller commercial and artisan groups" (Jones, 1976: 59). By 1911, education was expanded to the Rajputs and Jats, who are traditionally warriors and agricultural castes of Northern India. But the dominance of the commercial castes and Brahmans continued. The traditional low castes failed to respond to the emerging educational facilities. This kept them again in their backwardness. The commercial castes and the Brahmans responded immediately and improved their position in the newly emerging stratification system, based on occupation and income.

Thus, we find that in all the three Presidencies and in two provinces of British India, the high castes were successful in exploiting the educational facilities very highly. The middle range castes had middle range share in education. The low castes were very much underrepresented in education, particularly at the higher education, they were worsely represented. So, it is obvious that in British India caste played a determinant and dominant role in educational attainment. Another landmark of education in British India is that, almost all castes were cautious about the benefits of modern education. This was manifested in the high rate of enrolment at the primary

level, though except more few high castes, only very few could climb the higher level of education. Only those who had the traditional link with the learning succeeded to exploit the educational facilities in British India.

It was in the three Presidencies that the first impact of the new education was felt because Britain's was a sea-empire and these were the first provinces to be annexed. The class who took the earliest advantage of the new education system were the higher caste Hindus, in the capital cities. But it soon began to spread inland into new areas and among new groups (Basu, 1974: 146). In Bengal Presidency English education was the monopoly of the Bhadrakalok castes, mainly composed of Brahmins, Kayasthas and Baidyas coming from eastern and western districts of Bengal proper and they were mainly concentrated in the capital city of Calcutta. In Bombay Presidency, the Brahmins of Maharashtra, particularly the Chitpavan and Deshath Brahmins and the Parsis of the city had done best in education. However here in Bombay Presidency education was not only concentrated highly in Bombay city but also at the Maharastrian capital of Poona. In the Madras Presidency, it was the Brahmins of Tamilnadu and to a lesser extent of the Telugu areas, who mainly monopolized the education particularly higher education. In the United Province, it was the Kayasthas who did best

and was followed by the Agarwals and the Saiyids - a high Muslim caste. And, next to these castes stood Brahmins in exploiting newly emerged educational facilities. In Punjab, Aroras, Khatri and Brahmins exploited educational facilities very highly.

Exploitation of modern education by caste differed from one Presidency to another and one Province to another but it was the high ranking castes who had the traditional link with learning succeeded in education. On the other hand within a Presidency there were some parts which were educationally advanced and some parts were educationally backward. There was big disparity from one caste to another, one region to another, one linguistic group to another etc. In sum, education was very unevenly distributed among castes, regions, religion and linguistic groups etc. The traditional high castes, by and large, succeeded to exploit modern educational facilities and thereby, they also succeeded to retain their higher position in the newly emerging modern stratification system based on education, occupation and income.

2. Occupation

One of major changes that occurred in India after the beginning of the British rule, is the changes in the occupational structure. The traditional ascriptive based education was not suitable for various occupations emerged under the new foreign regime. It was also not

possible for the British rulers to bring all required personnels from England to man the huge administrative machinery to rule India. In order to economize the cost of their imported personnels from England, they were compelled to recruit some people from India itself to collaborate them. The modern educational institutions, though very limited in number, were transplanted by the British rulers on the western model in order to get regular supply of educated personnels, who are suitable to man the lower and middle cadres of their administration. In the process of consolidation of British rule, a new occupational structure emerged within the Indian social structure which was independent of caste or ascriptive status. The British administrative requirement contributed towards the creation of a modern educational system and the educational system contributed towards the emergence of a new occupational structure.

Education became a passport to exploit newly emerging occupations under the British rule. Here we shall discuss the role of occupation as a determinant of education attainment in British India of late nineteenth century.

2. A. Bombay Presidency

The table 13 (on next page) shows the occupation of the guardians of students studying at the government colleges, high schools and first grade Anglo-Vernacular

Table-13*

Occupation of Guardians of Students in Government Colleges, High Schools and First Grade Anglo Vernacular schools of Bombay Presidency in 1877-78.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Total Govt. Servants	2,404	30.0
Private Clerks	1,443	14.5
Professional Persons	668	8.2
Priests	321	3.3
Commercial Classes	1,483	18.0
Others	1,799	26.6

*Source: Seal, 1968: 90.

schools of Bombay Presidency in 1877-78. This clearly indicates us that the different occupational strata had different access to education. The exploitation of educational facilities had been influenced by occupational background of student's guardians. The students coming from the families of government service holders succeeded to exploit as high as 30 per cent of the total seats of the whole educational system of Bombay Presidency, though their percentage in relation to the total population was a meagre one. On the other hand students belonging to the families of professional persons, priests,

private clerks combinedly exploited 44 percent of total seats. The remaining 'other' category succeeded to exploit only 26 percent of total seats. This 'other' category included peasants and workers who were composed of more than 80 percent of the total population of the Presidency. This clearly shows that in the late nineteenth century India, student coming from peasant and worker families were very badly represented in the educational system. Contrary to their worst underrepresentation, students coming from the families of government service holders followed by other private service holders, were very highly represented in the educational system of Bombay Presidency.

2. B. Presidency of Madras

Table-14 *

Occupation of Guardians of Students of Madras Presidency, 1883-84.

Occupation	College (excluding professional colleges (100))	Secondary schools (100)
Landholders	38.4	30.0
Officials	28.5	17.5
Petty officials	11.8	17.0
Traders	7.0	14.0
Others and not known	14.3	21.5

*Source: Seal, 1968: 109.

The Presidency of Madras like the Presidency of Bombay has shown more or less similar picture of occupation of guardians of students in 1883-84. Here, students belonging to the families of big landholders exploited highest amount of seats which was at the secondary level 30 percent and at the college level 38 percent. At that time Madras was industrially and commercially very backward Presidency in comparison to Bengal and Bombay Presidency. Therefore occupational structure of Madras was different from that of Bengal or Bombay. Perhaps because of this reason, the big landholders were economically dominant strata and they exploited education more than any other occupational strata. On the other hand students belonging to the families of government officials and petty officials exploited 35 per cent at the secondary level and 40 per cent at the college level. Both the categories of occupation, i.e. the landholders and the officials demonstrated that their amount of share at the higher level were more than that of the lower level. But the remaining two other categories demonstrated a declining amount of share at the successive higher level. The traders had gone down from 14 percent at the secondary level to 7 percent at the college level. The same was the case with the last category. The last category which had included peasants, manual labour and workers, whose population was not less than 80 percent of total population

were very miserably represented in education.

2. C. Presidency of Bengal

We have already found that the education in Bengal Presidency was a monopolized institution of the Bhadralok castes. The Bhadralok's grip on higher education can be illustrated in another way. The provincial administration's records of occupation followed by the parents of students show that in 1870 the vast preponderance of college students were sons of professional-men, government servants and rent receivers in that order. Very few were drawn from the commercial classes. In the larger category students learning English, the sons of rent receivers were more numerous than the sons of government servants. Only one in ten was the son of a trader. In 1883-84 more than half the students at college and high school had fathers employed by the Government or in private service and the professions, and about a fifth came from families dependent on rents. Only 7 percent of the college students and 13 percent of the high school boys had a background of trade. Even fewer had emerged from peasantry - one per cent of the college and six per cent of the high school pupils. (Seal, 1968: 63).

So, we find that Presidency wise there was some variations in the occupation of the guardians of students, but, by and large, the trend was same in all presidencies.

Most of the students were drawn from the families of government service holders, who exploited largest share of education. Students from landed aristocracy, private service holders and traders also had significant share in education. The students coming from the families of peasants and workers were very badly under-represented in education and more particularly in higher education their representation was worst one.

3. Income

The growth of new occupational structure in British India led to further changes in the pattern of income distribution. Money replaced land completely as the form of payment of sales and services. In British India like caste and occupational background of parents; income of the parents also closely associated with the educational attainment. Here we shall try to see the influence of income on education in British India by taking data of two Presidencies. However, no data is found available to analyse the situation of Bombay Presidency.

3. A. Madras Presidency

Table-15*

Parental Income of Male students of
Madras Presidency, 1883-84.

Income per annum	Colleges		Secondary Schools	
	Total	P. C.	Total	P. C.
Less than Rs. 200	905	41.6	38,246	62.1
Rs. 200 to Rs. 5000	1,189	54.7	22,428	36.4
Rs. 5000 and above	81	3.7	935	1.5

*Source: Seal, 1968: 109.

The table 15 provides us a general view of three broad income stratas and their access to education in Madras Presidency in 1883-84, though the table itself is defective because it has shown the income from Rs. 200 to 5,000 in a single strata. This table demonstrates that a high income strata had only 1.5 per cent enrolment at the secondary level but at the college level their percentage had gone up to 3.7 per cent. This is a significant amount because it increased to a more than double amount, though it was numerically less. The low income strata succeeded to exploit 62 per cent seats at the secondary level but their representation decreased very significantly at the college level to 41.6 per cent. On the other hand, the middle income strata exploited 36.4 per cent seats at the secondary level and 54.7 per cent at the college level. This indicates that the middle income strata exploited about 50 per cent more seats at the college level than at the secondary level. So we find that the low income strata had low share in the college education. The higher education was mostly exploited by the middle income strata. The low income strata has shown a high declining rate at the college level. It shows that in Madras Presidency higher education was basically an institution of middle income strata while the low income strata though numerically very high in the total population were very badly underrepresented in higher education. Of course, they were represented

substantially at the secondary level. The low income strata was the victim of financial problem to meet the high expenditure of higher education. The high rate of enrolment of low income strata at the lower level signifies their motivation for education.

3. B. Presidency of Bengal

Table-16*

Annual Income of the Parents of Bengal Students, 1883-84.

Levels of Education	Rs. 5000 and above (%)	Rs. 200 to Rs. 5000 (%)	Below Rs. 200 (%)
College	13	78	9
High School	7	67	26
Middle English School	2.5	48	49
Middle Vernacular School	1.5	38	61
Upper Primary School	0.7	20	79
Low Primary School	0.3	12	88

* Seal, 1968: 64.

The above table clearly indicates that in the late nineteenth century higher education was basically a monopolized institution of middle income strata, the high income strata demonstrates a drastic progressive rate of growth of share gradually from lower primary to the college level. At the lower primary stage the share of

high income strata was only 0.3 per cent of total enrolment in the lower primary schools of Bengal Presidency. And at the college level they went up to 13 per cent of total enrolment. This is very significant because it has shown a 43 fold rise in enrolment at the college level in comparison to lower primary level. This had happened because the students belonging the families of high income strata could afford the increasing expenditure on education which was gradually higher at the successive level. The cost of education almost everywhere always increases from one level to another higher level. For the high income strata there was no problem at all to meet the increasing cost of education at the successive higher level. So, there was absolutely no drop outs from this strata due to economic reasons. On the other hand there was a high rate of dropouts from among the lower strata. The students from middle income strata in Bengal Presidency also demonstrates their high dominance in the higher education. From mere 12 per cent at the lower primary level in Bengal they raised upto 78 percent of the total enrolment of college students. This spectacular rise also indicates increasing rate of share from one lower level to another higher level. The middle income strata was the main consumer of higher education. The favourable economic conditions alongwith social condition and psychological motivation, the middle income strata succeeded to the unrestrictive exploitation of

the educational facilities more particularly in higher education. By virtue of their dominance in education, the middle income strata also succeeded to perpetuate their position in the stratification system.

The position of the students belonging to the families of lower income strata of Bengal Presidency clearly shows their underrepresentation in higher education. In contrast to high and middle income stratas though the low income strata had shown a high rate of enrolment at the primary level, yet, they could not continue their education properly at the subsequent higher level of education. Their share went down from 88 per cent at the lower primary level to only 9 per cent at the college level, which in other words, their share decreased by ten fold rate. Here, it should also be remembered that in the case of high incomes strata there was 43 fold increase rate and the middle income strata there was 6 fold increase rate at the college level from the lower primary level.

As stated earlier, the cost of education, increases from one level to another higher level. At the beginning it is very cheap (economically) to afford education. In British India, education became a passport to exploit new economic and social status. The low income strata who realized the importance of education as a means for better occupation, income and social status and that is why they

started sending their children to the schools. Their rate of enrolment at the primary level was very much satisfactory in comparison to their share in the total population. Their satisfactory amount of share at the primary level signifies their consciousness about social mobility. Their gradual decline at the subsequent higher level shows their inability to compete with the students coming from the high and the middle income stratas, which virtually monopolized the whole system of higher education in Bengal Presidency.

The above analysis has made it clear that only the students coming from financially well off strata succeeded in getting and continuing higher education. And those who were belonging to the families of the low income strata were very badly underrepresented in the higher education. Their economic and social conditions were not conducive for attaining higher education in British India.

To sum, up, in all the three Presidencies we have found the dominance of high castes in education and their dominance has shown a high increasing rate at the subsequent higher level of education. In Bombay Presidency, it was Maharastrian Brahmins and mainly Chitpavans and Deshaths who exploited education very highly alongwith another non-Hindu minority community known as Parsis. In Bengal Presidency, it was the Bhadraloks which was mainly composed of

Brahmin, Kayastha and Baidya castes and in Madras Presidency it was the Brahmins who monopolized the higher education. In the United Province, it was Kayasthas and Agarwals who exploited higher education best. In Punjab, it was commercial castes like Aroras and Khatris; and followed by Brahmins, which dominated the education. By and large, it was those castes which had the tradition of learning succeeded to exploit educational facilities and thereby they ensured their high position in both the system of stratification - traditional and newly emerging modern. In terms of occupation of parent's, students belonging to the families of government officials very highly exploited the higher education alongwith the children of other salaried people. The students belonging to the families of peasants and workers were very badly underrepresented in education and worst representation in higher education. In terms of income, it was the middle income strata which was the main consumer of higher education. The low income strata, though represented substantially at to primary level, failed to maintain their same share at the higher level. Thus, in British India, education was very much unevenly distributed among different castes, occupation and income stratas.

CHAPTER - IV

E D U C A T I O N A N D S O C I A L S T R A T I F I C A T I O N
D U R I N G T H E P O S T I N D E P E N D E N C E P E R I O D

CHAPTER-IV

EDUCATION AND STRATIFICATION DURING
THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

In our earlier chapter (No. 2) we have seen that the expansion of educational facilities during the post independence period is unparalleled in the history of education in India. The growth rate of higher education has been one of the highest in the world. Here our purpose is to see the relationship between education and stratification in order to find out the positions of various caste, occupation and income stratas in exploiting educational facilities during the post independence period.

1. Caste

The caste system in India has not lost its traditional deep-rooted significance during the post-independence period. Of course, the modernizing process is contributing towards loosening of rigidity of the caste system. Still, the caste system remains dominant in the Indian social system. The Education Commission (1964-66) observes, "Indian society is hierarchical, stratified and deficient in vertical mobility. The social distance between the different classes particularly between the rich and the poor, educated and uneducated, is large and tending to widen. Our people profess a number of different religions, and the picture becomes more complicated because of caste, an undemocratic institution which is still powerful and

which strangely enough seem to have extended its sphere of influence under the very democratic process of the constitution itself. The situation, complex as it was, has been made critical by recent developments which threaten both national unity and social progress." (Ministry of Education, 1966: 2). The Education Commission has rightly recognized the influence of caste system and its bad effects on the Indian society.

In India, the caste system exerts its influence and impact on all aspects of the whole society, so also on education. The caste, to a large extent, decides educability of an individual. The various caste stratas have different access to education. This study is an attempt to examine empirically the impact of caste on education in India during the post independence period.

Table 17 provides us a macro level view of relationship between education and caste in contemporary India. This data is a part of the results of more than six years investigation in a large cross national study. The sample in India is limited to four states - Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. We have already marked that after independence the whole educational system expanded heavily. During the period 1950-66, the average annual rate of growth of enrolment was 7.4% (Ministry of Education, 1966: 589) and average annual rate of growth of

✓ Table-17*

Education by Caste (%) in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, U.P. and West Bengal, 1966.

Education	CASTES						
	Ha_ri_jan	Low castes	Lower Middle castes	Middle castes	Other high castes	Rajputs	Brahmins
Illiterate	73	48	45	51	4	45	16
Literate, some primary	17	26	25	26	17	37	31
Primary completed or middle school	5	12	13	8	18	6	8
Some secondary schools	3	5	8	8	23	3	14
Secondary school complete	2	4	5	4	15	2	13
Some college	**	4	3	1	10	3	11
Degree and above	00	1	1	2	12	4	8
Total *** (Base N)	100 (287)	100 (353)	100 (270)	100 (356)	100 (147)	100 (116)	100 (184)

* Source: Bhatt, Anil, 1975: 31.

** Less than one half percent only one Harijan in "some colleges" category, therefore, included in the secondary school category.

*** The percentage may not add up to 100 because of rounding errors.

total expenditure was 11% (Ibid.: 465). Almost every village is covered by a primary school. In order to draw more students from the lower castes and the untouchables, the government has been spending a large amount of money in the forms of scholarship and freeship. In addition, efforts have been made by lowering the minimum eligibility requirements for admission of students of low castes to various school, colleges and universities.

Similarly table 17 helps us in understanding the impact of education expansion and concession given to the low castes and, as to how far the caste composition of the educational system is undergoing a change during the post independence period.

The table also indicates that a big disparity exists between the high castes and the low castes in terms of their access to education. The high castes i.e. Kayasthas, Banias, Guptas, Baidyas etc. inclusive of Brahmins demonstrate the highest level of educational attainment. Of course, this is not a new trend in modernizing Indian society. Though the Brahmin exclusively monopolized the study of religious text and had old tradition of learning and knowledge, since the beginning of modern formal education in British India, the other high castes started exploiting the newly developed educational facilities more than the Brahmins in some regions of eastern, western and northern India. Unlike South India, in these regions, the social distance between the Brahmins and other

non-Brahmin high castes remained insignificant. In the ritual hierarchy, the Rajputs are next to the Brahmins, who are by tradition politically powerful, remain somewhat backward in education. The level of their educational attainment is not very much higher than the middle and the lower middle castes. (Bhatt, 1975: 28-29).

Table 17 also shows the position of the Harijans and other low castes. Even after two decades of independence, 73% of the Harijans, in comparison to 4% other high castes, remain in illiteracy. This also shows that 48% of the lower castes, 45% of the lower middle castes, and 50% of the middle castes, still are in the orbit of illiteracy. The high rate of illiteracy among Harijans and other low castes, and their successively decreasing rate at higher level of education signifies the occurrence of high rate of dropouts at the primary and secondary levels. Again we find in the same table that only two out of the sample 287 succeeded in completing the secondary school level. On the other hand, only 9% of the low and the middle castes succeeded in completing the secondary level of education. This clearly demonstrates the fact that the low castes and the Harijans, commonly known as scheduled castes, have not been able to exploit the expanding educational facilities properly inspite of the special patronage offered by the government. According to the 1971 Census, only

14.71 per cent of the scheduled castes population as compared to 29.35 per cent of total population was returned as literate. But this is not enough to demonstrate the disparity in education between the scheduled castes and other castes. In this connection we intent to focus on, with the state level data, the magnitude of continuous disparity between the scheduled castes and others in the field of education.

Table 18 shows the enrolment of the scheduled caste children to total enrolment and the percentage of their population by states. This table includes the enrolment of the scheduled caste students at all levels of education in thirteen out of twenty two states of India. At the primary level, the scheduled caste students lag behind in seven states. At the middle school and the high school levels, the Scheduled caste students lag behind in nine and ten states respectively. And finally, at the university level they lag behind in twelve states. This clearly shows the peculiar aspect of educational backwardness of the scheduled caste i.e. the amount of enrolment of their students decreases at the successively higher level of education. At the primary level in the six states the scheduled caste students were slightly over-represented. This shows the awareness on the part of scheduled castes for social mobility through the means of education. But they failed to compete adequately with other castes at the

Table-18* ✓

Difference Between Percentage of Scheduled Castes Children to total Enrolment (1964-65) and Percentage of Population of Scheduled Castes by States.

States	Percentage of scheduled castes population in the state	Primary or junior basic	Middle or Senior basic	High or Higher Secondary	University or other higher education
Andhra Pradesh	13.8	+0.2	-4.2	+5.6	-8.4
Assam	6.2	+0.9	+0.2	-0.1	-1.8
Bihar	14.1	-3.7	-6.2	-8.2	-10.3
Gujarat	6.6	+1.0	+1.3	-1.6	-4.4
Kerala	8.4	+2.2	+0.8	-0.4	-4.7
Madhya Pradesh	13.1	-3.2	-4.7	-7.8	-9.4
Madras	18.0	+0.1	-3.1	-5.1	-13.0
Maharashtra	5.6	+4.7	+2.7	+2.3	+1.9
Mysore	13.2	-0.6	-4.3	-7.5	-10.4
Punjab	20.4	-6.9	-11.5	-12.1	-15.8
Rajasthan	16.7	-4.3	-8.0	-10.6	-14.8
Uttar Pradesh	20.9	-7.6	-10.1	-12.1	-16.3
West Bengal	19.9	-3.5	-8.5	13.7	-14.7

*Source: Chitnis, 1975: 169.

successively higher level of education. In spite of their awareness for education, and certain concessions and patronage from the government in terms of reservation of seats at the educational institutions and in jobs, freeships and scholarships etc., the scheduled caste students have not been successful in exploiting educational facilities at the high level.

From table 18, we have seen that the low castes are very highly under represented at the secondary level and their representation at the university level is more pathetic. For further confirmation we can take the help of micro-level studies regarding caste composition of our university students.

Table 19 has shown absolute biasness towards the high castes in higher education. They alone exploited 88 percent seats in the college and university. The position of the intermediate and low castes has shown very poor share in higher education. Absolute dominance of high castes found not in general higher education but also in the engineering and medicinal education, which have the better prospects of future income and status. Even among the high castes, high as well as low representation is quite visible. Baniyas and Patidars of Gujarat have superseded the Brahmins in exploiting higher education. Also, it demonstrates the worst plight of the scheduled castes in higher education. Apart from this *Banoda* study, there are also some

Table-19*

Castewise Distribution of Students of Colleges and University of Broda (Gujarat)

Castes	Faculty of							Per- cent	
	Arts	Comm- erce	Sci- ence	Medi- cine	Engi- neer- ing	Ab- tal			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	%	%	
<u>UPPER</u>									
Other Brahmins	13	4	5	3	7	32	16		
Anavil Brahmins	1	2	1	-	6	10	5		
Nagar Brahmin	-	2	2	-	2	6	3		88
Banias	10	17	16	7	26	76	38		
Patidars	13	6	12	4	17	52	26		
<u>INTERMEDIATE</u>									
Luhanas	1	1	1	-	3	6	3		
Bhatias	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		5
Rajputs	2	-	-	-	1	3	1.5		
<u>LOWER</u>									
<u>(a) Artisans</u>									
Goldsmiths	-	2	-	-	1	3	1.5		
Carpenters	-	-	-	-	2	2	1.0		
Blacksmith	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		
Panchals	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		5.5
Potters	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		
Tailors	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		
Oil Pressers	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.5		
Shoe Makers	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.5		
<u>(b) Others</u>									
Kolis	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.5		
Dhodias	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		1.5
Rohits**	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.5		
Total	40	35	37	16	72	200			100

*Source: Shah, B. V., 1964: 20

** 'Rohit' an untouchable caste.

more studies which have shown the extreme biasness towards high castes in education. DiBna's study again reveals that the university education is a monopolized institution of high castes. His Allahabad University study, has found that Brahmins exploited 42 percent seats, followed by Kayasthas and Khatriyas and combinedly, they exploited 81 percent of seats. (DiBna, 1973: 73). Similar trend is equally observable from the Poona college study (Kamat and Deshmukh, 1963: 5). Another study on Poona reveals much higher rate of exploitation by Brahmins - 54 per cent of the University seats (Poona University 1960; 11). Gupta's study of Aligarh College students reveals again the high share of high castes in the collegiate education (Gupta, 1957: 24). More or less almost all studies have shown extreme form of high and low representation of high and low castes respectively. The causes of the educational backwardness among the low castes or scheduled castes are not difficult to locate. By and large, the scheduled castes are poor. It is their poverty that has been the major factor of high rate of dropouts among the scheduled caste pupils. Only a few reach higher level. This is presumably due to fact that, they are already having a good economic conditions. Excepting a very few families, most of the families are suffering from abject poverty, barely can afford to meet the expenditure of education for their children. Or may be that, the children have more productive functions to do in traditional Indian agriculture. Therefore, the poor peasants put less importance to the value of

education. The need of the families to engage their children in agriculture, domestic service, such as, taking care of younger children, cattle care etc. are the main reasons for high rate of dropouts among the scheduled castes. Untill and unless the high dropout rate is arrested at the primary and secondary level, there is no chance at all for scheduled caste students to reach the higher level of education. If they remain as they are in higher education in present day India, then they are not going to improve their low socio-economic status in future as well.

In our discussion on the difference between percentage of scheduled caste students to total enrolment in 13 states (table 18) we noted that only in one state - Maharashtra, the scheduled caste students have shown a slightly higher rate of enrolment (+1.9%) at the university level. The scheduled caste students are coming for higher education only in Maharashtra with a satisfactory amount of enrolment in terms of their total population; but this satisfactory quantitative enrolment implicitly bears the qualitatively dark side of their educational backwardness. In this connection we may refer to Dr. S. Chitnis's study on scheduled caste students of Bombay, the capital of Maharashtra.

Table-20*

Grade Rank of Bombay Colleges and Distribution
of the Scheduled Caste Students - 1971-72.

Rank list of colleges as grouped in Four grades	Percentage of students who passed FY/Art Examination from each college (Figures in brackets indicate the difference between the college average and the university base at 56%)	No. and percentage of scheduled caste students enrolled in the college.
Grade "A"		
College No. 1	93(+37)	5
College No. 2	84(+28)	38
College No. 3	69(+13)	33
Total		76 (5%)
Grade "B"		
College No. 1	58(+2)	22
College No. 2	55(-1)	8
College No. 3	53(-3)	63
College No. 4	53(-3)	20
Total		113 (8%)
Grade "C"		
College No. 1	47(-9)	85
College No. 2	45(-11)	67
College No. 3	42(-14)	17
Total		169 (11%)
Grade "D"		
College No. 1	40(-16)	128
College No. 2	38(-18)	65
College No. 3	35(-21)	881
College No. 4	31(-25)	16
College No. 5	24(-32)	32
Total		1122 (76%)
		1486 (100%)

*Source: Chitnis, 1975; 172.

In the year of 1972, altogether 1,616 scheduled caste students were enrolled for degree courses in fifteen arts and science colleges of Bombay city. A detailed systematic study of 1480 (91%) out of total 1616 scheduled caste students has shown that a significant feature is their educational backwardness; and, that they tend to enroll at the educational institutions which have lower level of performance in the university examination. In other words, the scheduled caste students go to qualitatively inferior academic institutions. All the fifteen arts and science colleges of Bombay have been graded as 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D' on the basis of their students' performance in the university examination; and ranked in order. The study reveals that 1122 out of 1480 scheduled caste students were enrolled in the grade 'D' college of Bombay. This amount represents as high as 76 percent of the scheduled caste students studying at different colleges of Bombay. And only 5 percent of the scheduled caste students were successful in obtaining admission at the 'A' grade colleges. This shows that though, in terms of quantity, the scheduled caste students are coming up satisfactorily in Maharashtra for higher education, they are, in fact, studying at the worst educational institutions; and hence is the reason for their qualitative backwardness.

It is important to note that the three colleges in

Grade 'A' are not only the colleges with the best performance level but also they happen to be the most prestigious or the elite colleges in the city. Thus, we find that the scheduled castes are usually confined to institutions of low level performance. And, therefore, are less prestigious as well. "In order to appreciate the implications of a situation wherein the scheduled castes are confined to such colleges it is necessary to appreciate the tremendous variation between schools and colleges that provide education in the country and to be sensitive to how students educated at the more prestigious and better equipped institutions benefit by having better prospects for employment... Limited enrolment in school and college and restricted access to prestigious courses and the institutions are only one facet of the backwardness of scheduled caste education. The poor performance of those who are enrolled is the other facet" (Chitnis, 1975: 173).

It also uncovers the fact that the academic performance of scheduled caste student cannot be compared favourably with that of the non-scheduled caste class student. As high as 22 per cent of the scheduled caste respondents, compared to only 3 per cent of their non-scheduled caste students, have failed during their last two years at school. The inferior performance of the scheduled caste students is much more pronounced with respect to performance ✓

at college level. As compared to 18 per cent of the non-scheduled caste students, 44 per cent of the scheduled caste students have failed during their college career. Dr. Chitnis observes, "Probably, quite as significant as the limited access and the poor performance described above are the imbalances that have appeared within scheduled caste education. These imbalances occur in the form of interstate, interdistrict, intersex and intercaste disparities and in the fact that it is largely the privileged from among the scheduled castes who gained access to education." (Chitnis, 1975: 173).

The above analysis of the relationship between the caste and education during the post independence period establishes the fact that the overall pattern of "higher the caste, higher the education" has been maintained. In the last chapter also, we found that the same pattern existed in British India. All these demonstrate the high caste dominance of our educational system, particularly in higher education; and, thereby, they are perpetuating their dominance. Of course, after independence a large number of scheduled castes are coming up for education. This has also been encouraged by the government by providing scholarships, travel grant, hostel accommodation, freeship and reservation of seats both in education and jobs. The government patronage has

definitely contributed towards the growth of their motivation for education. But the overall socio-economic backwardness has ~~hampere~~ hampered their educational attainment. The rate of enrolment of the scheduled caste students shows declining trend at the successively higher level of education; and qualitatively as well, the scheduled caste students are not getting good education. Most of the scheduled caste students are enrolled in academically inferior and less prestigious institutions. Even the performance wise the scheduled caste students are standing far behind the non-scheduled caste students.

As regard to the caste composition of students, ^{may} we refer to two more studies conducted at the micro-level sometime after independence. (Desai, 1952 and Lucknow Report 1952). Both the studies have shown the over-representation of high caste students and low representation of the scheduled caste students. Another study conducted after two decades of independence at the district level has also revealed the similar pattern in the caste composition of students (Desai, 1967).

2. Occupation

After discussing caste and education during the post independence period, now, we are in a position to **discuss** further discuss education in relations to occupation.

Table-21*

Occupation of the parents of graduates

Occupations	Graduates in percentage
Agriculturist	27.7
Govt. service	20.3
Other services	24.1
Business	24.1
Artisans	0.9
Not available	3.0
Total	100.0**

*Source: Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1963: 14.

**The percentage may not add up to 100 because of rounding errors.

Table 21 shows the occupation of parents of the graduates in the year 1960. This table is a part of the results of a study on the patterns of graduates employment conducted by the Directorate General of Employment and Training of the Central Government. This study has covered graduates of altogether 29 universities of different regions of India.

Table 16, shows that the students belonging to the families of agriculturists had highest amount of share of total graduates. But this highest amount is not

a satisfactory one, because they are underrepresented in education, particularly, more in higher education. In order to understand this situation in a better perspective, one should remember that in India more than 70 per cent of total working force is engaged in agriculture, In other words, 70 per cent occupations in India are linked with agriculture. But in terms of occupations of graduates, there were only 28 per cent of graduates belonging to the families of agriculturists; their share in terms of total occupation is 70 per cent. This shows that they are very badly underrepresented in our educational system, particularly in higher education.

The students coming from the families of government servants and other service holders together with the businessmen combinedly shared as high as 69 per cent of educational facilities at the graduate level. Again this table (21) does not show any representation of the unskilled or waged labours. All these prove that the facilities of education in India, particularly more of higher education, are mainly consumed by students coming from families of occupational stratas like - government servants, other service holders and businessmen etc. The students belonging to the families of agriculturists are badly underrepresented. In a way, it is remarkable because after independence students from the agriculturist families are coming up for education in greater number than the British period; of course, these students are

certainly not all belong to the poor agriculturists, but they belong to the rich agriculturists or the landed aristocracy, who are economically as well as ritually stand at the high position in the rural areas. The students from the families of the poor agriculturist, landless peasants and workers are almost nil in the orbit of higher education in India.

Again, in terms of occupation we find the over-dominance of students belonging to the families of occupational stratas like - government servants, other service holders, businessmen etc., in higher education. Their dominance in education since the beginning of modern education in British India, till the present day reveals their perpetuation in education, which in turn, indirectly indicates their less possibility of downward social mobility. The underrepresentation of students from the families of agriculturists since the beginning of modern education to the present day shows that inspite of independence and several five year plans, their position has not been drastically changed in the occupational background of Indian students.

For further confirmation and accuracy, again we can take the help of another table (22) in order to study the access of different occupational stratas to the technological and medical colleges of the whole country.

The graduates of these professional colleges command high income status and prestige in the society.

Table 22 (on next-page) shows that the same biasness of the last table (21). In analysing table 21, we found that the students from the families of occupational stratas like - the government servants, other service holders and businessmen combinedly shared 68 per cent of total graduates of 29 universities. Here, in this table (22) we find that the same stratas are exploiting altogether 61 per cent of the total seats of the Indian Institutes of Technology, Regional Engineering Colleges and Medical Colleges of India. Here, category wise the service holders exploited highest amount of seats in all these institutions. The amount of students from the families of agriculturists in almost same with some minor variations. The Indian Institutes of Technology which are regarded as the best and the most prestigious institutions of technical education is concerned, here we find a great disparity in the composition of occupational backgrounds of students. The students coming from the families of agriculturist are composed of only a meagre 7 per cent of total enrolment, on the other hand, the students coming from the families of service holders exploited 62 per cent of the total seats of the Indian Institutes of Technology. This is a manifestation of great occupational disparity in higher education, particularly in the best available institutions in India, which are mainly consumed by students

-: 100 :-

Table-22*

Occupation of the parents of students admitted to the technical and medical colleges of India in 1965 (in percentage).

Occupation of parents	Indian Institutes of Technology.	Regional Engineering College	Engineering Colleges	Medical Colleges	Total (over all)
No. of Institutions covered by study	5	7	48	45	105
Professionals	7.2	10.9	8.7	17.0	11
Service	61.2	37.3	39.6	32.9	41
Business	20.1	17.7	21.2	17.9	19
Agriculturist	4.3	23.9	23.4	21.4	18
Others	7.2	10.2	13.1	10.7	10
Total no. of students	2,574 (100)	2,425 (100)	15,744 (100)	6,118 (100)	26,261 (100)

* Source: Report of Education Commission (1964-66): 119.

students belonging to the families of occupational strata like government and other service holders. Another main consumer of higher education comes from the business strata. In table 21, they shared 24 per cent of total graduates, and again in table 22 they consumed 19 per cent of total seats available in the technical and medical colleges of India. Both the tables present almost the same results of overrepresentation and under-representation and of the same occupational stratas in the educational system in India.

Besides these findings on the representation of students of different occupation stratas in education, there is another macro level study conducted later by the National Council of Educational Research and Training. This study also reveals the same pattern as found in the earlier studies. This study included eight states i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Gujarat, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan.

Table-23*

Percentage Distributions of Students from Professional Colleges by the Occupations of their fathers

States	Rural Occupation	Urban white collared occupation	small trade business	Urban Manual
Andhra	37	42	14	3
W. Bengal	13	63	9	4
Gujarat	20	45	23	6
Maharashtra	15	56	11	8
Mysore	29	54	9	5
Orissa	43	40	7	3
Punjab	24	40	23	5
Rajasthan	19	52	18	2
Total	25	52	15	5

*Source: Gore, M. S., Desai I. P. and Chitnis, S., ed. 1970: 81

Here, again we find that the students coming from the families of urban white-collared occupation, which includes both the government servants and other service holders together with the small trade and business occupational stratas and the urban manual workers, combinedly exploited 73 per cent of seats of professional Colleges of eight states. Rural occupation which basically means occupation related to agriculture, from this strata only 25 per cent students have been studying in these colleges. This table indicates that those states which are industrially developed like Maharashtra, West Bengal and Gujarat comparatively have less amount of students from agricultural occupational strata than the industrially backward states.

In present day India, the professional courses are the lever for better status, occupation and income in future. The students coming from the agriculturalist families have not been able to exploit education proportionately to their population in the contemporary India, while the students from the families of government servants, other service holders and businessmen have been successful in exploiting education more than their share in terms of total population.

This apart, we may refer to a micro-level study for further validation.

Table-24*

Father's Occupation of Allahabad University students

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Business or Trade	50	13
Cultivation	126	33
Govt. Service	93	24
Teacher	30	8
Professor or Judge	5	1
Doctor, Lawyers, Engineers	34	9
Servant, Handicrafts, Milkmen etc.	15	4

*Source: Di Bana, 1973: 83.

Again, we find the dominance of students coming from the families of government service holders, businessmen and other salaried servants have shown the dominance. They alone exploited combinedly 65 of seats in Allahabad University. Of course, the students from agriculturist (cultivation) have been shown as the largest single category. As already said their share in terms of their total strength in the population they have remained less represented in education. It is basically students from white-collar service holders' families are most successful in exploiting education.

Another micro-level study on the high school students of Broda reveals the similar findings (Desai, 1967: 39). From all these studies we can observe that in India education, particularly higher education has been maintaining its biasness towards certain occupational stratas in their educational attainment. The benefits of large expansion of education during the post independence period has gone mainly to the students coming from families of government service holders and businessmen. A significant development during the post independence period is that the students from the families of agriculturists are coming up at higher rate though their share is still from the adequacy. Now, we need to ask the question about the parental income background of the students coming from the agriculturist strata. No data is found in this regard. But several data on the income and education we can take here for an indirect analysis. Data on parental income background have shown that the low income strata has no place in higher education. From this we can say that the students coming from the families of agriculturists are at the same time belong to the high and middle income strata. Thus, students from the agriculturist strata are mostly drawn from the rich peasantry and landed aristocracy.

3. Income

Now, let us examine the impact of economic (income) stratification on education in present day India. Has the

trend of British India gone up or gone down? In this regard, data are very scarce, yet we can refer first to the study conducted by the Directorate General of Employment and Training of the Central Government on the Pattern of Graduate Employment which had extensively covered 29 universities of India located at the different regions.

Table-25*

Distribution of Graduates by average monthly income of the family

Income	Men (%)	Women (%)	Total (%)
Below Rs. 200	29.9	32.1	29.0
Rs. 200-499	45.8	44.3	45.7
Above Rs. 499	22.7	28.4	23.3
Not available	1.6	5.0	3.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0**

*Source: Ministry of Labour and Employment, 1963: 13.

**The percentage may not add upto 100, because of rounding errors.

From the above table we find that the middle income strata exploited the highest amount of share of graduates in 1960. For our analytical purpose, it should be mentioned here that in 1964-65, the average per capita monthly income was only Rs. 29. In rural areas per capita monthly income was only Rs. 21. According to a government report of 1966, only the top 20% of the total population had Rs. 35 per

capita monthly income and whereas the lowest 30 per cent had less than Rs. 15 per capita monthly income. All these figures very clearly indicate the big disparity in the distribution of our national income. The high and the middle income stratas of the table 25 altogether combinedly exploited a high share of 69 per cent of total graduates whereas graduates from the low income strata is only composed of 30 per cent of total graduates. In terms of the total population structure, the high and the middle income stratas are highly overrepresented, while the low income strata has been very much underrepresented. In this connection, we may refer to the following table (26) in order to examine further the access of different income stratas to the technical and medical college of India.

Table-26*

Parental Income of Students admitted to the
Technical and Medical Colleges of India, 1965.

Income of parents	Indian Insti- tutes of Techn.	Regional Engg. Colleges	Engg. Colleges	Medical Colleges
No. of Institutions covered by study.	5	7	48	45
Less than Rs.150 p.m.	6.9	32.9	38.7	30.8
Between Rs. 151 and Rs. 300 p.m.	13.8	25.6	29.1	23.5
Between Rs. 301 and Rs. 500 p.m.	20.6	23.8	19.6	19.6
Over Rs. 500 p.m.	58.7	17.7	12.6	26.1
Total No. of students	2,574 (100)	2,425 (100)	15,445 (100)	6,118 (100)

*Source: Report of Education Commission(1964-66); 1966:119.

The above table shows the monthly parental income of the students admitted to the technical and medical colleges of India in the year 1965. The Indian Institutes of Technology which are regarded as the best and most prestigious institutions, have demonstrated an absolute dominance students belonging to the high income strata. They alone exploited 59 per cent of the total seats of the Indian Institutes of Technology. The low income strata succeeded only to exploit 7 per cent share while the lower middle and the upper middle income stratas have exploited only 14 per cent and 21 percent respectively in the Indian Institutes of Technology. Though other technical colleges have shown little more improvement in the representation of students coming from the low income strata which is in overall composed of 34 per cent, but in terms of their total strength in the population they are not adequately represented i.e. poorly represented. As regards the medical colleges of our country, we find the overrepresentation of students coming from the high income and the middle income stratas and low representation of from the low income strata. Although the low income strata has exploited overage 31 per cent of the total seats of medical colleges existing in India in 1965 seems to be a satisfactory one, but, in terms of their total population, the low income strata is badly underrepresented.

Another macro-level study sponsored by the National

Council of Educational Research and Training indirectly demonstrates that the education is basically an institution monopolized by the middle income strata. (Gore, M.S. et. ed., 1970: 493, 595). This study included altogether eight states - West Bengal Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Gujarat, Punjab and Rajasthan. All these three macro-level studies have also been supported by the findings of few other micro level studies. Studies on the high school students of Poona and Lucknow (Desai, 1952 and Lucknow Report, 1952) have supported that the educational facilities mostly exploited by the middle income strata. Another micro-level study conducted by Dr. B.G. Desai on the students of Broda district of Gujarat state has also shown the same trend of income background in exploiting educational facilities. (Desai, 1967).

Table-27*

Distribution of high school Students of Broda District According to Income Level of Family

Income Levels	Percentage
1. Very good	7.41
2. Good	10.93
3. Average	19.08
4. Ordinary	42.95
5. Poor	19.63
Total	100.00

*Source: Desai, 1967: 41.

This table shows that the category 'ordinary' exploited the highest amount of seats (43 per cent) 'Average' category has claimed 17 per cent of total seats. We can put both these two categories to middle income strata which combinedly succeeded in exploiting altogether 63 per cent of seats at the high school levels. The category 'poor' or low income strata has succeeded only to exploit 19 per cent of total enrolment.

From the above discussion we find that the students coming from the middle and high income strata are not only overrepresented in general education but also in higher technical and medical education. As a whole the higher education in India is basically on institution of middle income strata. The low income strata is badly underrepresented in higher education. It seems that the low income strata cannot afford to meet the expenditure on higher education. The cost of higher education is heavy and they cannot compensate this expenditure with the help of scholarships, which are not only very few in number and limited in monetary amount. Therefore, only the economically well off stratas can afford education particularly higher education in India. The Education Commission therefore observed "We do not want to advocate the immediate general abolition of fees... at present, when higher education is mostly being consumed by the up five per cent of the population" (Ministry of Education, 1966: 112-13). All

these facts exhibit that even after two decades of independence, education has been serving mainly the interest of certain income stratas in perpetuating their dominance in the society. Access to education differs in accordance with the variation in the income structure. The highly unequal distribution of national income has reflected in the educational system during the post independence period.

CASTE OR CLASS - WHICH IS MORE
IMPORTANT IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT:

The foregoing analyses have shown that education is more inqally distributed among various caste, occupation and income stratas. High castes have been succeeded to exploit educational facilities than the low castes. Now, the question arises as to which one of these two viz. the traditional caste factor or modern class factor based on occupation, income etc., is seemed to be more important. There is, of course, no doubt that "the significance of caste ~~ix~~ a determinant of educational opportunities has been overemphasized. Caste is significant not as itself but congruence between caste rank and economic position (See for instance Srinivas 1962: 7-8; 1966: 96; Betille, 1965: 103, 201; Rao, 1951: 201). By and large, the lower castes are poor, and, it is their poverty rather than caste status per se that tends them to far from enjoying the fruits of new educational opportunities. Caste is thus important as an expression of their inequalities in the

economic structure" (Ahmad, 1974: 183-84). The following tables (28 and 29) can help us to look into the situation. These two tables can easily be compared with other tables of this chapter and particularly more with the table 17. The area covered by these three tables are the same areas and data collected at the same time.

Here, we find that relatively high caste strata is collectively identical with the relatively high and middle income stratas; and, with the non-manual occupations, more particularly white collar occupations. The low castes are predominantly backward economically and are engaged mostly in manual occupations. Their economic conditions debbarred them from educational attainment. Contrary to this, the high castes stratas exploited education very highly because their economic condition is more conducive for such educational attainment. From the above data we can observe that class factor is more important than caste factor in educational attainment. A further collection of data is necessary to see whether the students belonging to the low castes who have succeeded in entering higher educational institutions are mainly recruited from the families which have already entered the white collar occupational strata and middle or high income strata. Again "it would be useful to study the social background of those from higher caste groups who leave educational system during or after the secondary

Table-28*

Occupational Levels by Caste in the States of
Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, U.P. and West Bengal - 1966

Occupational levels	Castes						
	Harijans	Low castes	Lower Middle	Middle	Other high castes	Rajputs	Brahmins
Agricultural and other unskilled labourers	42	23	10	9	2	7	2
Farm tenants, semi-skilled workers, Washermen, Barbers, Shoe-makers, Potters, Construction workers etc.	14	10	15	6	7	5	8
Small independent occupations small farm owners, small retailers etc.	33	43	43	49	25	52	34
Skilled occupations - Policemen, Drivers, Mechanics, Low status white collar etc.	8	9	15	19	9	20	17
Big land-holders, top level managerial occupations, big businessmen etc.	3	15	17	17	57	16	39
Total (Base N)	100 (209)	100 (334)	100 (259)	100 (342)	100 (136)	100 (113)	100 (166)

*Source: Bhatt, 1975: 40.

Table-29*

Family Income (Annual) By Caste in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, U.P. and West Bengal - 1966

Family Income	Castes						
	Harijans	Low castes	Lower Middle Castes	Middle	Other high castes	Rajputs	Brahmins
Under Rs. 600	33	26	17	22	9	22	11
Rs. 601-1,200	37	34	29	24	21	22	18
Rs. 1201-2400	21	21	28	23	23	28	30
Rs. 2400-3600	6	9	16	13	14	15	12
Rs. 3601-4800	3**	3	4	5	11	6	9
Rs. 4801-6000	0	2	2	5	6	4	10
Above Rs. 6000	0	4	5	9	16	3	11
Total (Base N)	100 (278)	100 (345)	100 (264)	100 (533)	100 (132)	100 (104)	100 (160)

*Source: Bhatt, 1975: 33.

** The number of Harijans in the top three categories is very small. The top three categories for Harijans have been collapsed and included in the category, Rs. 3601-4800, where most of Harijans were found.

stage. We would expect to find that the economic standing of the father is the main factor that accounts for withdrawal from education" (Core, 1975: 113). In this regard Zachariah observes, "If untouchability is still the greater disadvantage, then we are dealing with a social system which is more or less 'closed'; if poverty is the greater disadvantage, then we are dealing with a more or less 'open' system. This is another way of asking whether India is moving under the impact of modernization processes from a caste to a class system" (1973: 12). Now, undoubtedly the class factor is more important than the caste factor in educational attainment. Therefore, we can say that now time has come to examine seriously again the continuance of positive discrimination on the basis of caste in education. As an alternative to present positive discriminatory system, the government can introduce a new system of positive discrimination based on a carefully worked out criteria of economic deprivation and social justice.

CHAPTER - V

C O N C L U S I O N S

CHAPTER-V

CONCLUSIONS

From our investigation on the relationship between education and social stratification in British India and Independent India, we can draw some broad conclusions. This study is ~~mainly~~ based on secondary source materials. Here, we have discussed education in relation to the stratification system in terms of its three major features i.e. caste, occupation and income.

In all three Presidencies of British India, the high castes were successful in exploiting the newly emerging educational facilities very highly. The middle range castes had some middle range share in education. The low castes were very badly underrepresented in education and more particularly in higher education their representation was worst. So, it was obvious that in British India caste played a dominant and determinant role in education. Another landmark of education in British India is that, almost all castes were cautious about the benefits of education. This was manifested in the considerable rate of enrolment of all castes at the primary level, though except very few high castes, only a very few succeeded to reach the higher level of education. In British India, only those castes which had the traditional link with the learning, succeeded to exploit the educational facilities. In Bengal Presidency, it was Bhadraloks mainly composed of Brahmin, Kayastha and Baidya castes coming from eastern and western

districts of Bengal proper and concentrated mainly in the capital city of Calcutta succeeded very highly to exploit the modern educational system. In Bombay Presidency, the Brahmins of Maharashtra particularly Chitpavans and Deshaths and the Parsis of the city had done best in education. However, in Bombay Presidency education was not only concentrated highly in the capital city of Bombay but also at the Maharastrian capital of Poona. In Madras Presidency, education, particularly higher education was absolutely monopolized by Brahmins of Tamilnad and to a lesser extent the Brahmins of Telugu speaking area. In the United Province, it was the Kayasthas, who superceded all high castes in education, particularly at the higher level. Agarwals, and Saiyad - a high caste Muslim followed the Kayasthas. And next to these castes stood Brahmins in exploiting newly emerged educational facilities. In Punjab, among Hindus, Aroras and Khatri, these two commercial castes exploited the highest amount of educational facilities. They were followed by the Brahmins.

In order to acquire the limited socio-economic benefits under the new British regime, there were competitions among various caste groups all over India. Modern education became a passport to jobs, better income and white-collar occupations in British India. And, therefore, the competition among various castes for very limited positions reflected in their competition in exploiting modern education. More important point to note here is that,

the competition was confined only among high castes in all regions of India. Only the high castes, by virtue of their success in exploitation of education, they succeeded to raise their position in the newly emerging occupational and income structure. Of course, in latter period many other middle and low caste groups attempted to enter the competitions. In this connection we can look into the caste composition of the newly emerging Indian middle class. Those who entered the middle class were basically from the newly emerging modern educated class. Since the educated class was predominantly composed of various high castes, it was obvious that, the caste composition of newly emerged Indian middle class was mainly limited to high castes.

The rate of exploitation of modern education in the late nineteenth century by caste differs from one Presidency to another, but by and large, it was the ritually high ranking castes, who had the traditional link with the learning succeeded highly in education and more particularly in higher education, "since the traditionally higher castes had easy access to education and since high positions in government and administration went by educational qualifications, these group acquired a high status in both system of stratification" (Desai, 1975: 107).

In British India, within a Presidency there were

some parts which educationally advanced and some parts educationally backward. There was big disparity from one caste to another, one region to another and one linguistic group to another. Education was very much unevenly distributed among castes, regions and linguistics groups etc.

As regards parental occupational background of students in British India, the study has indicated some variations from one Presidency to another, but by and large, the trend was the same in all Presidencies. Most of the students were drawn from the families of government service holders who had exploited largest share of higher education followed by students coming from the families of other salaried occupations and traders. The students coming from the families of peasants and workers were very badly underrepresented in education and more particularly in higher education, their share was worst.

As regard to economic stratification on the basis of income, the higher education has shown its biasness towards the middle income strata in British India. The high income strata also had a high share in higher education in comparison to their strength in the total population. The low income strata though had a satisfactory amount of enrolment at the primary level but at the subsequent higher level they failed to maintain their share. At the

level of higher education their share went down to a meagre one. This was happened mainly because of their inability to meet the expenditure at the higher level of education. We have already stated that education gets costlier from one level to the next higher level. Here, we can draw another important conclusion that education became a passport to exploit new economic and social status thrown by the colonial regime. And this was realized by the low income strata which was manifested in their high rate of enrolment at the lower level of education. Of course, at the subsequent higher level they failed miserably to maintain their share. This shows that the low income strata had no place in higher education. Higher education became an institution of middle income strata.

In British India, the students coming from the families of traditional high castes, government servants and other salaried service holders; and middle income strata were ~~fav~~very highly overrepresented in education, particularly in higher education. In independent India, by and large, the same trend of British India is perpetuating.

The analysis of relationship between the caste and education during the post independence period reveals that the overall pattern of "higher the caste, higher the

education" has been maintained. During the post independence period, again, the share of education went disproportionately high to the high castes. And, higher education again became a monopolized institution of high caste students. This is also true that after independence a large number of students belonging to the scheduled castes are also coming up for education. This has been encouraged by the government, by providing them with scholarships, freeships, hostel accommodation, travel grants and by reserving seats both in educational institutions and jobs. The government's patronage has definitely contributed towards the growth of motivation to some extent for education among the scheduled castes. But overall socio-economic backwardness has hampered their educational attainment. The rate of enrolment of the scheduled caste students have shown declining trend at the successive higher level of education. Qualitatively as well the students coming from scheduled caste homes are not getting good education. Most of the scheduled caste students are enrolled in academically inferior and less prestigious educational institutions. Even, by performance wise the scheduled caste students are standing far behind the non-scheduled caste students.

During the post independence period, like that of British India, education has shown biasness towards students coming from certain occupational stratas. The

students belonging to the families of government service holders and other salaried service holders followed by traders, have been succeeded to exploit educational facilities very highly. But, the significant point is that, after independence students from the families of agriculturists are coming up for education, though their representation is not adequate. But, in comparison to British India, their position has been improving with the passage of time. Some other major occupational strata like manual labour, industrial worker are absent as a remarkable strata, shows their absence or worst representation in education. Here, we find, by and large the access of different occupational strata to the education and more particularly to higher education has not been radically changed during the post independence period.

As regard to the exploitation of education in terms of income strata, the same trend of British India has been prevailing in independent India. In term of the total population the middle income and the high income stratas are very highly over-represented in education and more particularly in higher education. The students coming from the low income strata are very much under-represented in higher education. Another important conclusion we can draw here is that the high income strata is succeeding to exploit qualitatively better education. We know the children from all high income strata go to the public and other costly schools and colleges, which are not within

the reach of the middle and the low income strata. The Indian Institutes of Technology which are regarded as the best institutions in the country as regard to the technical education is concerned, there, we find that the high income strata exploited alone six out of ten seats in these prestigious institutions. But in other technical colleges their amount of share is not as high as in the Indian Institutes of Technology. This shows that qualitatively better education has been monopolized by the high income strata.

From our discussion, we find that in India, education and more particularly higher education, is very much related to the existing system of social stratification. By and large, students from the families of high castes, occupational strata like government service holders and other salaried service holders, businessmen, and the middle and high income stratas are very highly overrepresented in education and more particularly in higher education. And, on the contrary to their overrepresentation, the students belonging to the families of low castes, Harijans, agriculturists in occupation; and the low income strata are very highly underrepresented in the educational system in India. This situation ^{further} worsen at the higher education.

This study also indicates that there has been no

significant change in the representation of different stratas from British period to the post-independence period. As a whole, higher education in India, has been dominated by the students coming from the families of high castes, government and other service holders, and the middle income stratas. Therefore, we can say that one's belonging to one or certain social strata, determines his educability in India. This study on the other hand has helped us to locate the socially dominant stratas of both independent as well as of British India.

Insofar as data limitations are there, our attempt is a fairly successful one to draw a plausible looking conclusion, inter alia, that the class position is relatively more important than caste position in educational attainment. There is still enormous scope for further research in this direction to derive more concrete insights about different processes of interactions and interrelations between class and education. Since we have been able to draw this conclusion with much difficulties arising due to the non availability of data and the paucity of substantial research work done in this field, we believe that a more thorough study is required to firmly establish this conclusion.

Theoretically, we have found the vast difference between the educational policy of the British rulers and

the Government of India (independent), but in practice, by and large, the educational trend of British India has been continuing during the post-independence period. The much talked about equalization of opportunity has not been achieved. And we are still too far from achieving this goal.

Now, we can conclude that in India a big disparity has been existing and continues to exist among different caste, occupations and income strata in their access to education, particularly to higher education, which sector is the lever for higher status, income and modern occupations. We have stated earlier that the study of social stratification is also the study of social inequality. Here, we have discussed inequality in the Indian educational system. In studying inequality in education, we cannot escape from the socio-economic inequality of our larger social system. The inequality in education is nothing but the manifestation of inequality existing in the larger social system. Educational system is the sub-system of the large social system, so obviously, the social trend determines the trend of education. There has been much debates and discussion about equalization of educational opportunities but "as a matter of fact educational opportunities cannot be equalized unless the society is fairly equal, since parents cannot be prevented from handing on their privileges and handicaps to their children" (Floud, 1975:201).

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ahmad, Karuna 1974 'Women's Higher Education: Recruitment and Relevance,' in Singh, A. and Altbach, Philips eds. - The Higher Learning in India Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.
2. Airan, J.W., Barnabas, T., and Shah, A. B. (eds) 1965 Climbing a Wall of Glass: Aspects of Educational Reforms in India Manaktolas: Bombay.
3. Allaway, A. J. 1951 "Social and Educational Change Since 1900, The Sociological Review, Vol. XLIII, Section Eight,
4. Altbach, Philip G 1969 Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Students Politics in India Lalvani Publishers, Bombay.
5. Altabach, Philip G 1972 The University in Transition: An Indian Case Study. Sindhu Publication Pvt. Ltd., Bombay.
6. Altbach, Philip G 1975 "Higher Education and Modernization: The Indian Case", in Gupta, Giriraj ed. Contemporary India, Main Currents in Indian Sociology Vol. I Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.
7. Altbach, Philip G. 1974 and Amrik Singh (eds) Higher Learning in India Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.
8. Anderson, C. A., 1971 Bowman, Mury Jean Education and Economic Development. London.
9. Ashby, Eric. 1974 Universities: British, Indian, African. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
10. Association of Indian Universities 1975 Higher Education and Development, Golden Jubilee Seminar 1975. Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi.
11. Banks, Olive B. T. 1971 Sociology of education. Batsford Ltd., London.

12. Barber, Barnard 1967 Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process
Harcourt, Brace & World Inc.
New York.
13. Barrier, N.G. 1967 'The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in Punjab 1844-1908'
Journal of Asian Studies XXVII
No. 3, May 1967: 663-79.
14. Basu, Arpana 1974 The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898-1920
Oxford University Press, Delhi.
15. Bell, R. E., and Youngman A. J. ed. 1973 Present and Future in Higher Education
Bristock Publications, London.
16. Bendix, R., and Lipset, S.M. 1959 Social Mobility in Industrial Society,
University of California Press
Berkley.
17. Bendix, Reinhard and Lipset, S.M. ed. 1966 Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Perspective.
The Free Press, New York.
18. Bergel, E.E., 1962 Social Stratification.
McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York.
19. Beteille, Andre 1965 Caste, Class and Power
University of California Press,
Berkley.
20. Beteille, Andre, 1965 'The Future of the Backward Classes: The competing demands of status and power,' supplement to the Indian Journal of Public Administration, XI(1) 1965, pp. 1-34
New Delhi.
21. Bhat, Anil. 1975 Caste, Class and Politics,
Monhar Book Service, Delhi.
22. Bhatia, B.M., 1974 History and Social Development Vol. I: Elites in Modern India,
Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.
23. Bhatnagar, G.S. 1972 Education and Social Change
Minerva Associate Calcutta.

24. Brass, Paul, R. 1974 Language, Religion and Politics in North India.
Cambridge University Press, London.
25. Bremback, C. S. 1971 Social Foundation of Education
John Wiley and Sons Inc., N. York.
26. Brookover, W. B. 1955 A Sociology of Education
American Book Co., New York.
27. Calcutta University Commission Report 1917-19 Sadler Commission, Calcutta, 1919-20.
28. Census of India 1881
" 1891
" 1901
" 1911
" 1921
" 1961
" 1971
29. Census Report, Bengal 1881
" 1891
" 1901
" 1911
" 1921
30. Census Report, Bombay 1881
" 1891
" 1901
" 1911
" 1921
31. Census Report, Madras 1881
" 1891
" 1901
" 1911
" 1921
32. Census Report, Punjab 1881
" 1891
" 1901
" 1911
" 1921
33. Census Report, United Province 1881
" 1891
" 1901
" 1911
" 1921

34. Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Co-operation 1975 School Dropout Among Harijan Children: Causes and Cure, Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Co-operation New Delhi.
35. Centre for Study of Education in Changing Societies The Hague ed.1969. 1969 Educational Problems in Developing Countries. Wolters-Noordhoff Publishing Groningen.
36. Chandra, Bipin 1976 Modern India National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi.
37. Chitnis, Suma 1975 'Education of the Scheduled Castes' Journal of Higher Education pp. 167-78, Vol.I No. 2, University Grants Commission, New Delhi.
38. Choudhuri, Saroj Kanti 1970 Educational Progress in Rural Bengal - A Study of Four Villages, Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay, Vol. V, No. 6, Feb.7,1970.
39. Desai, A.R. 1966 Social Background of Indian Nationalism Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
40. Department of Social Welfare Govt.of India 1969 Report of the Committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes and Connected Documents - 1969.
41. Desai, A.R. 1975 'Social Change and Educational Policy in Gore M.S. etc.. ed. Papers in Sociology of Education in India, pp.91-126, National Council of Educational Research & Training, New Delhi.
42. Desai B.G. 1967 The Emerging Youth Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
43. Desai, I.P. 1953 High School Students in Poona Deccan College, Poona.
44. DiBna, Joseph E. 1973 Change and Conflict in the Indian University Lalvani, Bombay.

45. Dickinson, Richard, 1971 The Christian College in Developing India, A Sociological Inquiry, Oxford University Press, Madras.
D. N.
46. Dhar, T. N. 1974 The Politics of Manpower Planning - Graduate Unemployment and the Planning of Higher Education in India Minerva Associates, Calcutta.
47. Dube, S. C. 1974 Contemporary India and Its Modernization Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.
48. Durkheim, Emile 1968 Sociology and Education (Translated by Fox, S. D., 1956). Free Press, New York,
49. Floud, Jean 1975 'Education, Inequality: A Perspective from the West.' Journal of Higher Education pp. 199-209, Vol. 1, No. 2.
50. Freira, Paulo 1974 Pedagogy of the Oppressed Penguins, Middlesex.
51. Gaudino, Robbert 1965 The Indian University Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
52. Galtam, G. S. 1972 Crisis in the Temple of Learning S. Chand & Co. Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
53. Good, Carter V. 1963 Introduction to Educational Research. Appleton Century Crofts, New York.
54. Gore, M. S., Desai, 1970 Field Studies in the Sociology of Education, All India Report, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi.
I. P. and Chitnis, S. ed.
55. Gore, M. S., Chitnis, 1967 Papers in Sociology of Education in India. National Council of Educational Research Training, New Delhi.
Soma, and Desai, I. P. ed.
56. Gore, M. S. 1975 "Education and the Equality of Opportunity" in Narain, D. ed. Exploration in the Family and other Essays, (Prof. K.M. Kapadia Commemoration Volume) Thacker & Co., Bombay.

57. Gupta, G.R. ed. 1975 Main Currents in Indian Sociology
Contemporary India, Vol. I
Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.
- x 58. Gupta, S.S. 1957 Report of the Socio-Economic
Survey of College Students of
Aligarh,
D.S. College, Aligarh.
59. Haggerthy, Wilan J. 1969 Higher and Professional Education
in India
U. S. Government Printing Office,
Washington.
60. Harris, Seymour ed. 1964 Economic Aspects of Higher Educa-
tion, O.E. C. D., Paris.
61. Havighurst, Robert,
J. and Neugarten, B. 1975 Society and Education
Allyn and Bacon Inc. Boston.
- , 62. Heimsa_th, C.H. 1962 Indian Nationalism and Hindu
Social Reform
Princeton, New Jersey.
63. Hodges, Harold M.
Jr. 1971 Conflict and Consensus: An Intro-
duction to Sociology.
Harper and Row Publisher, New York.
64. Hope, Keith ed. 1972 The Analysis of Social Mobility
Claredon Press, Oxford.
65. Haq, Mohd. Shamsul 1965 Education and Development Strategy
in South and Southeast Asia
East-West Center Press, Honolulu.
66. Hurd, Geoffery 1973 Human Societies: An Introduction
to Sociology.
Routelidge & Kegan Paul, London.
67. Husin, Ibrsten 1975 Social Influences on Educational
Attainment., O.E. C. D., Paris.
68. Isaacs, Harold 1965 India's Ex-Untouchables, John
Day & Co., New York.
69. ISS. FERES Project 1967 The Christian College and National
Development
Christian Literature Society,
Madras.
70. Jackson, J.A. ed. 1968 Social Stratification
Cambridge, at the University Press.

71. John V. V., Krishnan, 1970 ✓ Indian Education Today: Prospects and Perspectives, Daya, and Sundram P. S. ed. Daya Krishnan, Jaipur.
72. James, H. R. 1917 Education and Statesmanship in India Longmans, Bombay.
73. Jones, Kenneth W. 1976 Arya Dharm - Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab, Anandhar Book Service, New Delhi.
74. Kamat, A. R. 1973 ✓ The Educational Situation Peoples' Publishing House, New Delhi.
75. Kamat, A. R. 1968 ✓ Two Studies in Education Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Poona.
76. Kamat, A. R. and Deshmukh A. G. 1963 Wastage in College Education: Two Studies about students of University of Poona Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.
77. Karlekar, Malvika 1975 'Higher Education and the Scheduled Castes', Journal of Higher Education, pp. 179-87, Vol. I, No. 2, University Grants Commission, New Delhi.
78. Karve, D. D. 1963 The New Brahman - Five Maharastrian Families, University of California Press, California.
79. Karve, Irawati 1966 'Indian Women in 1965' in Perspectives, supplement to the Indian Journal of Public Administration, New Delhi, Vol. 22, No. 1.
80. Kaul, J. N. 1974 Higher education in India 1951-71. Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla.
81. Khan, Md, Shabbir, 1957 Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of University and College students of Aligarh, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
82. Khusro, A. M. 1967 ✓ A Survey of Living and Working Conditions of Students of the University of Delhi, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

83. Lynch, Owen M. 1969 The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a city of India. Columbia University Press, N. York.
84. Mazumdar, Vina 1972 ✓ Education and Social Change Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla.
85. McDully, Bruce Tiebut 1966 English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism Glouster, Mass, Peter Smith.
86. Metcalf, Thomas R. 1965 The Aftermath of Revolt, India 1857-1870 Princeton University Press, Princeton.
87. Millar, Robert 1966 The New Classes Longsman, London.
88. Miller, S.M. and Roy, P.A. 1970 The Future in Inequality Basic Boks Inc. Publishers New York.
89. Ministry of Information & Broadcasting 1976 India 1975.
90. Ministry of Education, 1949 Report of the University Education Commission (1948-49).
91. Ministry of Education 1961 Review of Education in India 1947-61
92. Ministry of Education 1966 Education and National Development Report of the Education Commission 1964-66.
93. Ministry of Education 1974 Educational Statistics at a Glance 1973.
94. Ministry of Labour & Employment 1963 Reports on the Pattern of Graduate Employment. The Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

95. Mishra, A. 1973 Grants in Aid of Education in India.
Macmillan India.
96. Mishra, B. B. 1961 The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times
Oxford University Press, London.
97. Morrish, Ivor 1972 Sociology of Education: An Introduction
George Allen and Unwin, London.
98. Mukerji, S. N. 1958 ✓ An Introduction to Indian Education, Acharya Book Depot, Broda.
99. Mukerji, S. N. 1974 ✓ History of Education in India
Acharya Book Depot, Broda.
100. Myrdal Gunnar 1963 Asian Drama, Pantheon, New York,
Vol. III.
Harmondsword; Penguin.
101. Naik, J. P. 1965 Educational Planning in India
Allied, New Delhi.
102. Naik, J. P. 1968 Education in the Fourth Plan: Review and Perspective.
Nachiketa Publishers, Bombay.
103. Naik, J. P. 1972 Education of the Scheduled Castes (1965-66)
Occasional Monographs No. 6,
Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.
104. Narain, Dharendra ed. 1975 Exploration in the Family and other Essays
Thacker & Co. Bombay.
105. Nehru, Jawahar-Lal 1948 Discovery of India
Signet Press, Calcutta.
106. Nehru, Jawahar Lal 1954 Nehru's Speech 1949-53
Publication Division, New Delhi.
107. Nelson, J. P. 1972 ✓ Impact of Education on Social Stratification
Journal of Social Research, Deptt. of Anthropology, Ranchi University, September 1972.

108. Nurrullah, Syed and Naik, J.P. 1971 ✓ A Students' History of Education Macmillan, Delhi.
109. O'Malley, L.S.S. (ed.) 1938 Modern India and the West, Oxford.
110. Ottaway, A.K.C. 1970 Education and Society: An Introduction to the Sociology of Education Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
111. Parkin, Frank ed. 1974 The Social Analysis of Class Structure Bristol Publications, London.
112. Parsons, T. ed. 1973 Knowledge and Society Voice of America, Washington D. C.
113. Patwardhan, S. 1973 Change Among India's Harijans Orient Longman, New Delhi.
114. Perkins, James A. ed. 1972 Higher Education: From Autonomy to System. Voice of America, Washington D. C.
115. Poona University, Mathematics & Statistical Association 1960 ✓ A Socio-Economic Sample Survey of College Students of Poona City 1955-56. Poona University, Poona.
116. ✓ quinquennial Reviews of the Progress of Education in India 1886
" 1887-92
" 1827-1902
" 1902-07
" 1907-12
" 1912-17
" 1917-22 and
" 1922-27
117. Ramalingaswamy, P. Neki, K., and Pareek, U. 1972 ✓ Studies on Medical Students National Institute of Health Administration and Education, New Delhi.
118. Rao, M.S.A. 1951 ✓ Social Change in Malabar, Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

119. Rao, M. S. A. 1972 ✓ Traditions, Rationality and Change
Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
120. Rao, V.K.R.V. 1966 Education and Human Resource Development
Allied Publishers, New Delhi.
121. Richard, C. 1953 Social Class, Occupation Imputed Beliefs.
American Journal of Sociology,
Vol. 58: 543-55, May 1953.
121. Riffich, Thomas, I. 1968 Education and Poverty
The Bookings Institutions
Washington D. C.
122. Rudolph, Lloyd,
and Susanne
Rudolph (eds) 1973 Education and Politics in India
Oxford University Press, New
Delhi.
123. Ruhela S.P. ed. 1969 Social Determinants of Educa-
bility in India
Jain Bros., New Delhi.
124. Ruhela, S.P. and
Vyas, K. C. 1970 Sociological Foundation of
Education in Contemporary India
Dhanpat Rai & Sons Delhi
125. Seal, Anil. 1968 Emergence of Indian Nationalism
Cambridge University Press,
London.
126. Shah, A. B. ed. 1967 Higher Education in India
Lalvani Pub. House, Bombay.
127. Shah, B. V. 1964 Social Change and College
Students of Gujarat
M. S. University, Broda.
128. Shanker, Uday and
Ahluwalia ed. 1967 Development of Education in
India 1947-1966.
Deptt. of Education, Kurushetra
University, Kurushetra.
129. Shils, Edward 1963 The Intellectual Between Tradi-
tion and Modernity: The Indian
situation
Mouton, The Hague.

130. Shils, Edward 1973 The Intellectuals and the Powers and other Essays.
University of Chicago Press, Chicago
131. Srinivas, M.N. 1962 Caste in Modern India
Asia Publishing House, Bombay
132. Srinivas, M.N. 1966 Social Change in Modern India
University of California Press, Berkeley
133. Stanley, O. William 1956 Social Foundation of Education
Smith, B. Othanel, The Drybon Press Inc., New York
Benne, D. Kenneth
and Anderson A.W.
134. Weiner, Myron ed. 1966 Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth
Voice of America, Washington D.C.
135. Weiner, Myron 1967 Politics of Scarcity, Asia Publishing
House, Bombay.
136. Young Kimball and Mack, R 1972 Systematic Sociology, East & West
Press, New Delhi
137. Zachariah, M. 1973 Positive Discrimination for India's
Scheduled Castes: A Review of the
Problems 1950-1970, Reports of
Research in Education, Education in
Developing Countries of Commonwealth,
Commonwealth Secretariat, London,
pp. 1-12.