

**A TREND ANALYSIS OF
PRIMARY EDUCATION OF GIRLS
IN UTTAR PRADESH SINCE
INDEPENDENCE**

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D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the dissertation entitled "A Trend Analysis of Primary Education of Girls in Uttar Pradesh since Independence" submitted by Madhu Agarwal is in partial fulfilment of eight credits out of a total requirement of twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University and is her own work.

We recommend that this declaration be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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C O N T E N T S

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INTRODUCTION

Of the total illiterates of the world (814 million), women constitute sixty per cent (492 million) and out of those twenty eight per cent (140 million) are in India.¹ In the South Asian countries girls form the largest group of educationally deprived and of these the highest, seventy per cent of school age group of girls (6-14) without schooling, are in India. Out of an estimated 46 million out-of-school children in India in the age-group of 6-14 years, 35 million are girls. According to 1980-81 census, women formed two third of the total illiterates in the country.

In the 1970s, women's movement all over the world drew attention to massive evidence of inequality in the life chances of males and females. It also pointed out that the failure in the attempt to rectify existing imbalances in the educational system will relegate females indefinitely to a subordinate position in the socio-economic fabric of the society, and, the longer the present disparities are allowed to exist, the lesser the chance of closing the gap between male-female education. Most of the western nations have already reached a stage in educational development where the education of women ceases to be a separate problem but we have not reached that stage as yet.

1 Raza, Munis, "Women's Education in India : The Regional Dimension", NCERT, 1983.

The rate of women's literacy determines quite decisively the overall level of literacy in a country. Countries with a low overall literacy rate are found to be usually those that have relatively wider male-female literacy gap. For example, ⁱⁿ the Philippines and Sri Lanka, the literacy rate is very high. ~~because~~ In the Philippines the female literacy rate is 82.8 per cent while the male literacy rate is 84 per cent. In Sri Lanka, the female literacy rate is a little over 61 per cent while the male literacy ~~rate is a little over 61 per cent while the male literacy~~ rate is 90 per cent. The situation in India is in sharp contrast to that in Philippines and Sri Lanka. The total literacy rate in India was only 36.17 in 1961, and female literacy lagged far behind that of men; only 24.88 per cent of the female population was literate compared with 46.74 per cent of the male population. Thus, a staggering 75 per cent of the female population has not been touched by literacy. Thus, the main problem before the country is to give equality of educational opportunity to women and the basic requirement for this is to bridge the gap that exists between the education of men and women.

Education, if distributed equally, will reduce inequality between men and women which arise out of cultural factors and would lead to their greater participation in the development of socio-economic life of the country. Education will present women with new alternatives, and choices to transcend the limits fixed by biological and social influences. Education for women has both microscopic and macroscopic implications, that is, it may transform the attitudes and self-images

of the women, while on a societal level, it often alters the balance in male-female roles and widens the sphere of permissible feminine activities.

In modern societies, which depend heavily upon new knowledge and techniques, and wherein more and more occupations are becoming professionalized, education is one of the main instrument for promoting equality in life chances. The value of formal educational system for occupational and social placement in a modern, industrial, achievement-oriented society, mandates that the under privileged groups (women being one of them) gain access to schooling as a pre-requisite for social mobility.

The social status of women in society is closely related to their education. Thus, any improvement in their education would enhance their status in society. Though, the caste, class, religion, rural-urban and regional differences have a very significant influence on the status of women in different segments of the population, yet, education as an index of their position is one factor which affects the position of women in each class, caste, and community. Education is an enabling rather than a causative factor for women to achieve higher status. While there is no guarantee that with equal educational opportunity one can always move to higher positions or gain upward mobility or that education can always ensure equality, it is generally unlikely one can do so without education.

Women's Education in a Social Context

The most pronounced differentiation in education is based on gender. Education takes place in a particular social context which influences the opportunity, content and the aim of education for women. Thus, the issues of gender equality in education must be viewed within the wider social context and diversity of women's life situation and life options in different social segments. In a stratified pluralist society like India, there are various dimensions of women's inequality. Women's inequality in India is rooted in social stratification based on caste, class, religion and sex. Social stratification leads to differential opportunity structure and "may be presented as a graded series of obstruction which pose characteristic problem for different sections of the population".²

The position occupied by women in the society and the role assigned to them at a particular point of time determines the nature of institutional arrangements for their education, its purpose and content. The social perception of their roles as mothers and wives in society has adversely affected their chances of access to education and the distribution of education has been influenced by the patriarchal division of labour based on sex. Patriarchal³ ideology, the chief

2 Mann, Michael, MacMillan Student Encyclopedia of Sociology, "differential opportunity Structure", p. 74.

3/ McDonald, Madeleine, "Class, Gender and Education", The Open University Press, "Patriarchy Refers to a Set of Relations between men and women which, although appearing to be based upon biological sex difference between men and women, nevertheless derives from the social and cultural transformation of these differences into concepts of masculinity and femininity, i.e., gender categories", p. 7.

the chief instrument of women's oppression within the family, is all-pervasive and to a large extent women internalize their own inferiority through a process of socialization.⁴

The significant sex differences in the traditional process of socialization have generally kept women away for more than men, from exposure to social and cultural change, especially in the realm of education. Social prejudices and attitudes towards women's education have persisted and perpetuated in society through socialization. The whole cultural ethos promotes women's dependency through seclusion and devalues women's economic contribution. This lack of recognition of the economic contribution of females has led to the devaluation of female education because it has no economic benefit. The first effect of a situation in which education is more highly valued for males than for females is the simple under-representation of females in schools, colleges and university populations. In education and employment, progress towards sex-equality is hampered through women's choice of traditional feminine alternatives.⁵

The practice of seclusion and subordination of women has resulted in the kind of socialization of females which leads to gender-role stereotyping in education (Gender, which is the social construction

4 Sharma, Kumud, et.al., "Women in Focus" - A community in search of equal roles. Sangam Books, Hyderabad, 1984, p. 5.

5 Oakley, Ann, "Housewife". Allen Lane Penguin Books Ltd., London, 1974, pp. 85-87.

of sex, refers to feminine and masculine attributes and social roles)⁶. Society evolves laws, rules, customs, folkways, mores and ideologies to institutionalize gender stereotyping. This leads to sex role imagery which sets out the parameters of choices and behaviour for the school-going boys or girls, which determine their choice also in later life.

In the Indian family, gender roles are emphasized right from the childhood. Even at the time of birth, sons and daughters are endowed with different significance which is continued throughout childhood. Education builds on what the family has already commenced. The relation between family life and school life, generally described, is one of a continuous socialization process in which children learn the societal definitions of masculinity and femininity.⁷ Thus, a child enters the school premises with a gendered identity which is reinforced in the education process. School textbooks also present discriminatory role sets for boys and girls; girls are encouraged to study traditional female subjects which would train them to perform their traditional social roles better. At the school level, especially in primary schools, the issue of gender differentiation and equal opportunity would seem to be most pertinent as it has effects on male and female aspirations, achievements and subject choice. Gender difference is created in the way subjects are taught and thereby lead to different

6 Loftus, M., "Learning Sexism and Femininity", Red Rag, 1974, p. 15.

7 Mann, Michael, MacMillan Student Encyclopedia of Sociology, "Gender and Biological Sex", p. 143.

career aspirations of men and women. This also affects parental decision; to invest in their son's education in preference to daughter's education.⁷

women either themselves opt for soft courses or are pushed into arts and humanities. These choices are often determined by the role that the adult girl is expected to assume in society, primarily as a wife or as a mother. This sex-role ideology has a significant influence on girls' future ambitions. Gail Omvedt,⁸ in her study on aptitude and career interest of the girls of Ferguson College of Bombay, found that girls have poor ambition for careers. They relate their education to marriage prospects. Many girls complained that traditional ideas were hammered into their minds and that it was due to biology that they were inferior. There seems to be little incentive to offer women opportunities in higher education or indeed to allocate resources to girls' school education when they were most likely, it was assumed, to waste their education in marriage and family life.

The prevailing sex-role ideology determines the social attitude towards the purpose or objectives of women's education. During the

8 Omvedt, Gail, "We shall Smash this Prison", NJ., Zed. 1984.

British period, the demand for women's education did not come from a desire to liberate them from the bondage of social customs like dowry and their economic dependence on men but rather the hope that educated women would play the role of mothers and wives better. Women's education was not perceived by the social reformers of nineteenth century as a means to equip them to play roles in wider social context or economic activity. It was sought within the framework of their traditional roles. Educated women were regarded as better carriers of traditional values which were deemed to be threatened by western influence. Thus, women's education in the British India was a concomitance of social reform and cultural nationalism, i.e., not to train them for jobs but for enlightened motherhood. "Towards Equality"⁹ (1974) report states that the absence of any economic compulsion for women's education was in fact the main reason for the slow progress of women's education in India. "Since girls were not expected to work outside home, an education that did not train them for the role of housewife and mother was viewed as wastage".¹⁰

Even the dominant thinking of the time believed that there was a 'natural dichotomy' between the inherent qualities, capacities and mental make up of both the sexes. Gandhi, a strong champion of women's rights had said, "Man and woman are of equal rank but they

9 Towards Equality, Committee on the Status of Women in India (1974), p. 235. (Henceforth to be referred as CSWI Report)

10 Ahmed Chanana, Karuna, Social Context of women's Education in India, 1921-81. Mimeographed.

are not identical. Man is supreme in the outward activities of a married pair and, therefore, it is in the fitness of things that he should have a greater knowledge thereof. On the other hand, homelife is entirely the sphere of woman, and in domestic affairs, in the upbringing and education of children, women ought to have more knowledge. Not that knowledge should be divided into watertight compartments, or that some branches of knowledge should be closed to anyone, but unless course of instruction are based on a discriminating appreciation of these basic principles, the fullest life of man and woman cannot be developed".¹¹

For Gandhi, equality of sexes did not mean equality of occupation. Thus, even the dominant thinking of the time could not visualize women's equal role in the changing socio-economic structure. As one would justify the caste system by saying that different castes are complementary to each other, Gandhi also justified different sex roles as complementary to each other. This notion has persisted and guided the education and socialization of women. Non-recognition of women's role in economic activity has adversely affected their opportunity for education on par with men. Different objectives of the education of the two sexes and the difference in curriculum content followed as an inevitable natural corollary.¹² The attitude of the society and its educationists

11 M.K. Gandhi, Women and Social Justice, Ahmedabad, Navjivan Trust, 1947.

12 Kamat A.R., "Education and Social Change in India", Bombay : Somaiya, 1965, p. 219.

to the curriculum content of women's education is the important source and indicator of inequality and discrimination between the education of men and women.

The assumption that women's education was only useful for making women efficient to play their traditional role of mother and wife influenced the government's policy also. The British system of education was geared to meet the needs of educated persons in administrative professions and business fields. Women's education was of no use for them. Therefore, it was neglected for a very long time.

The slow progress of women's education was due to its non-utility in economic activities, although the demand for educating women to match the requirements of educated bridegroom gave impetus for women's education. The problem of reaching education and health services to women due to the desire of girls to be taught by women teachers and of women patients to be treated by women doctors helped popularize these two vocations outside the familial roles of women. But this only led to the occupational sex segregation which continues to be the dominant feature of education of women even today. Women are heavily concentrated in teaching and nursing professions. Because of the low educational participation and the poor curricular diversification women are inhibited from participating in higher productive sectors of the economy.

The political independence in 1947 was an important landmark for the advancement of women's education due to the introduction of the

idea of equality of women and their need to play multiple roles in society.

The Indian Constitution tries to build a new social order by granting equality, freedom, non-exploitation to all sections of the people as their fundamental rights, irrespective of caste, class, religion and sex. Article 15 of the Constitution lays down that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground of sex. The cherished values and goals of achieving basic values of liberty, equality and social justice through democratic means reflect significant departures from the traditional social stratification and value system.

Equality before the law, equality of opportunity for education and employment are all guaranteed as fundamental rights. The attainment of equality of status for women was one of the specific objectives of the Constitution which is implicit in the Preamble, Fundamental Rights, and the Directive Principles of State Policy. Here, equality of sexes in matters of education means equal opportunity in access to education.

Various committees¹³ have criticized the traditional role-perception which has adversely affected the availability and nature of schooling, offered to girls and women and their opportunity in the occupational

13 National Committee on Women's Education (1959); Committee on Differentiation of Curricula for boys and girls (1964); Indian Education Commission Report (1966); and Committee on the Status of women in India (1974, Towards Equality).

structure and consequently their status. They emphasised the new objectives of women's education. For example, the National Committee on women's education headed by Durgabai Deshmukh, in 1959, laid the following two objectives for educating women. Firstly, education is a means of providing equality of opportunity to women in line with the Constitutional commitment to equality and social justice to both men and women. Secondly, the development of a society requires full participation of all sections of the population and opportunity for full development of the potentialities of women. This human resource development objective regards education as investment and not as expenditure. The progress in the position of women is the indicator of the progress of that society.

These views are further endorsed in the Report of the Committee on differentiation of curricula for boys and girls which states, "In the Progressive society of tomorrow, life should be joint venture for men and women. Men should share the responsibility of parenthood and home-making with women and women in their turn should share the social and economic responsibilities of men".¹⁴ The Committee rejected the traditional view that mere biological differences of sex created different physical, intellectual and psychological characteristics between men and women which necessitated the provision of differentiated curricula for them. According to

14 Committee of Differentiation of Curricula for Boys and Girls, Government of India, 1964, Chapter IV.

it, the differences which men and women exhibit are the result of social conditioning.¹⁵

Therefore, the Committee recommended a common course at all levels and advised the inclusion of home science in the core curriculum for boys and girls upto the end of the middle stage to counteract the influence of traditional attitudes which regard certain tasks as 'manly' and others as 'womanly'. CSWI report¹⁶ recommends that needle craft and cooking should be prescribed both for boys and girls in the primary schools in order to counteract the traditional view which insisted on the difference between manly and womanly activities. This change in the role-perception is necessary to bring true equality through education. The Kothari Education Commission (1966) endorsed these recommendations. In 1965 government of India proposed to create a curriculum conducive to sex-role equality.

Despite these recommendations, a large number of institutions catering only to girls do not offer science or mathematics courses at the secondary level. Even the compulsory mathematics and general science recommended for all students upto class tenth by 10+2+3/^{system} is evaded in the case of girls by many state school boards which continue to encourage girls' schools to teach domestic science as a substitute

15. Ibid.

16 "Towards Equality", CSWI Report, 1974, p. 274.

on the pretext that girls are more inclined towards feminine subjects. Despite the rejection of separate curricula for boys and girls at the national policy level, the Uttar Pradesh Government continues to discriminate between the sexes by making home sciences compulsory for girls and mathematics for boys at the high school level.¹⁷ During the discussion for the new education policy in Uttar Pradesh, it was found that in many of the remote hill districts like Garhwal, the school curriculum itself discriminated between girls and boys. Because the girls were faring badly in mathematics they were asked to do home science in its place. No one associated the poor performance of the girls to the poor teaching of mathematics in the girls' schools. This is despite the 10+2 system of education which, by making all subjects compulsory till class 10, has broken the myth about girls' being unsuitable for science education.

The low enrolment of girls in technical-oriented courses is quoted as an evidence of difference in choice and aspirations of girls and boys. Such beliefs according to Vina Majumdar, hide the subtle discrimination practiced by the authorities/institutions.¹⁸ The CSWI report states that the students' choice of subjects is very often determined, not by their aptitudes, but by poor choice and diversification of curricula in girls' schools.

17 Ibid., 1974, p. 275.

18 Majumdar Vina, "Education and Women's Equality", Unpublished article, p. 12.

Thus, educational planning in the post-independence period has failed to promote the ideological foundation of the new political system. Till now it has not gone beyond the perspective of the nineteenth century movements for social reform or cultural nationalism.¹⁹ There is ambivalence between the traditional and new goals of women's education. New goals of equality and social justice of women's education are combined with traditional role-perception. Commenting on this state of women's education, A.R. Kamat²⁰ says that "Indian society gives a curious example where forces of tradition and modernity are being reconciled and potentialities for change are sought within traditions. The new freedom and opportunity are still combined with old restrictions and with traditional notions about women's dependence on male protection".

Focus of the Study

In a pluralist society, the system of education embraces a range of more or less heterogenous classes and socio-cultural groups. In the light of cultural plurality of the country a disaggregated regional approach to the development of education of girls would be fruitful, and, it would be crucial to study the progress of primary education of girls against a varied and complex web of cultural, social, political, and economic determinants.

19 Majumdar, Vina, "Emergence of Women's Question and Role of Women's Studies, Paper 1985, No. 7.

20 Kamat, A.R., 1985. Op.cit., p. 233.

The focus on educational opportunity for girls among different socio-cultural groups and geographical regions entails a choice of a state with considerable intra-state diversity with respect to educational development among different sections of population and regions. Therefore, our focus of study is on a "trend analysis of the primary education of girls in the Uttar Pradesh since Independence".

Uttar Pradesh shows great variations in its educational and economic development from group to group and region to region. It shows disparity in male and female education, in rural-urban literacy, economic and educational development of east and west regions, and variation in population distribution caste and community-wise. It is also the stronghold of two major religious traditions of the country, i.e., Hinduism and Islam. Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of Scheduled Caste population which constitute 21.6 per cent of total population of the state -- 23.33 per cent in the rural and 12.88 per cent in the urban areas.

A study of Uttar Pradesh would give an insight into the general problems and hurdles in girls' education and would throw light on the specific problem of girls' education in a socio-culturally and economically backward state which has for long been under feudal traditions.

Further, our focus on primary education is very significant because it makes the base and gives the minimum level of education. No country in the world has succeeded in improving the quality of its

education without first strengthening its primary education. In the Indian context the primary education is the weakest sector in the entire educational system. The proportion of boys to girls in primary education in India is 7:3. The problem of universalization of primary education is the problem of enrolling girls at this stage. Among all the researches on women's education, very little work has been done on the problem of primary education.

Several legislations have been made successfully aiming at introducing universal and compulsory primary education during the pre-independence period. The programme of universal compulsory primary education envisages *the universal provision of educational facilities*, the universal enrolment and ultimately universal retention and satisfactory progress of pupils in the school.

Primary education, which includes the classes from first to fifth for the children in the age group 6-11 years, is a prerequisite for subsequent educational attainment. Successful completion of primary education would determine ~~the~~ *the chances of going to the next* stage of education. In the case of girls this would ultimately affect their status as women. Minimum five years of schooling is necessary to ensure retention of literacy. Women who drop out of school before completing primary level of education, that is, before acquiring the minimum reading and numerical skills, are unable to assimilate any information regarding health and family

welfare services disseminated through the mass media, especially through printed materials.

In an article Moni Nag and A. Jain stress that it is significant to make sure that all the girls in the age group of 6-11 years are enrolled and complete the primary level of education since it would have effect on raising the age of marriage for girls and thereby reducing the fertility. The high proportion of graduate girls in Uttar Pradesh has not made any impact on population growth. Only by liquidating the illiteracy of the mass of females, who are not enrolled, can there be any improvement in ^{the} population situation in this largest populated state. Kerala with higher level of literacy has lower mortality and fertility rates. In Uttar Pradesh both the fertility and mortality rates are very high. The annual birth rate for 1979 in Uttar Pradesh is 39.6 per cent which is the highest among all the states. The death rate of 61.2 per cent is also the highest. Where the female illiteracy rate is high the fertility and population growth rate too is high. This is true especially of Uttar Pradesh with a low level of female literacy.

Objective of Study

We would analyse the trends relating to the growth and expansion of education of girls at primary level and explore different dimensions of access of girls to primary education in post-independence.

Uttar Pradesh. we would also try to answer the following questions :

- (1) Is women's education more backward in Uttar Pradesh as compared to other states ?
- (2) Is there more disparity in literacy rate of boys and girls in some districts than in the others? what is the district-wise difference in literacy rate of boys and girls?
- (3) Does the differences in female literacy rate in different districts have anything to do with the social composition of population and the economic development of the region?
- (4) Is there more disparity in literacy rates of boys and girls in Muslim majority districts?
- (5) whether girls' enrolment at primary level varies in single ^{and} sex/co-educational institutions!
- (6) Is the disparity in girls' and boys' literacy rate more pronounced in Scheduled Caste population?
- (7) Do the rural girls have more access to school education than urban girls?
- (8) whether girls' education is more backward in educationally backward areas or is the girls' educational deprivation a part of general educational backwardness?

In an effort to answer the above questions in a systematic manner, we have divided the study into four chapters apart from introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 on "Some Aspects of Girls' Education in India" discusses the disparity in girls' education

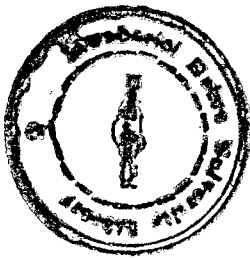
in India. Chapter II discusses the general profile of "Uttar Pradesh -- the Contextual Focus" to highlight the backwardness of the state in the field^{of} economic, socio-cultural and demographic development. Chapter III discusses the "Growth and Development of Women's Education in Uttar Pradesh during the Post-Independence Period". Chapter IV discusses the "Progress of Primary Education of Girls in Uttar Pradesh since Independence". Finally the conclusion discusses our observation and inferences from this study.

Gender will always be the point of reference and comparisons will be made with respect to the education of boys because no study on girls' education is complete without a comparison with boys. A comparison with other states and national average would be made at relevant points to establish the case of Uttar Pradesh.

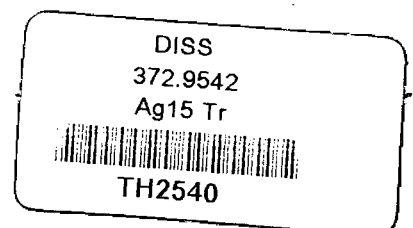
Sources :

The study is exploratory and will use a comparative perspective with respect to gender differences and regional differences in education. It will answer the research questions through the survey of macro statistics. The census reports will be used to collect demographic data. Census data will also be used for the district-wise analysis of socio-economically backward and advanced regions and social composition of population in different districts. Education in India, State Government education reports, State Annual Plans will be relied upon heavily to collect data on district-wise enrolment, number of

institutions and teachers, etc. All India Educational Surveys of NCERT will be used to collect data on rural-urban literacy and enrolment of boys and girls from general as well as Scheduled Caste population. We will also refer to various Committee reports to collect relevant data on girls' education.



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Chapter ISOME ASPECTS OF GIRLS EDUCATION IN INDIA

A discussion on education of women in a state should be preceded by an appraisal of historical background of women's education and a general overview of its status at all-India level. This will be helpful in properly understanding the trends that have followed in the state of Uttar Pradesh during post-Independence period.

Women's Education during the British Period

The education of women in India got official recognition after 1854. It was only when the "Woods Despatch" containing educational development programme was passed in 1854 by the East India Company that a special reference was made of education of women and government assumed direct responsibility for making women literate. A little progress was registered for girls at primary stage after this. By 1881, however, there were only six girls for every hundred boys enrolled in primary schools.¹

Due to the efforts of missionaries and Indian social reformers, with occasional support from enlightened British officials, women's education

1 Bhatt, B.D. and Agarwal, J.C. Educational Documents in India (1851-1968), Arya, Delhi, 1977.

began to spread first among the Christians, Anglo-Indians, Parsis, and upper caste Hindus or those families which supported the British rule in India. The Missionaries opened zenana schools for girls because of general opposition to sending girls to co-educational schools and their mixing with boys. Some of the Indian social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahatma Phule, Maharishi Karve, and Dayanand Saraswati, etc., made independent efforts to promote education among girls and in their efforts they were also supported by foreigners like Bethune, David Hare and Annie Besant. Moreover, rise in the age at marriage, need for women teacher and demand for educated wives gave a fillip to women's education.

women's literacy made slow and halting progress from 0.2 per cent in 1881 to 1.8 per cent in 1921. enrolment in women's schools and college rose to 134 lakhs in 1921-22 from 1.27 lakhs in 1881-82. enrolment in primary education expanded from 1.24 lakhs to 11.9 lakhs during this period.² while in 1882, only one girl out of three was studying in mixed schools, the ratio went up to one out of two in 1902 in the primary schools, thus marginally breaking the prejudice against co-education. while girls' enrolment in primary schools recorded an unprecedented increase from 3.45 lakhs in 1901-2 to 11.99 lakhs in 1921-22; the increase in secondary education was from 10,309 to

2 Bhandari, d.k., "Educational Development of women in India" -- Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India, New Delhi, 1962, p. 21.

36,696 during this period. The enrolment in colleges increased six times during these two decades.³

Female education got further impetus only after 1921 when education was transferred to Indian ministries in the provinces under the reforms introduced by Montague Chelmsford. General mass awakening and the emergence of a class of educated women by this time facilitated its spread as the quinquennial report describes - "A burst of enthusiasm swept children into schools with unparalleled rapidity ... enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old time prejudice against the education of Indian girls".⁴

Visible progress of women's education, was witnessed during 1922-47. The enrolment of girls in primary schools moved up from nearly 12 lakhs in 1922 to nearly 35 lakhs in 1946-47. The policy adopted by government with regards to primary education for girls in the rural areas, in the quinquennium 1932-37, was to develop existing primary schools where girls' education was almost entirely primary, instead of opening any new primary schools.⁵ By 1932 compulsory primary education had been introduced in some rural areas. Compulsory primary education for girls recorded 64.4 per cent attendance. However, it

3 Ibid.

4 Thomas, P., Indian women through the Ages, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964, p. 309.

5 General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1932-37, p. 91.

did not make a sustained headway, since it encountered difficulties of attendance and lack of efficient teachers.⁶ Quinquennial report (1932-37) pointed out that management of girls' schools was more difficult than boys' schools due to the impact of parda.⁷ Enrolment in secondary schools increased from about 37,000 in 1921-22 to a record of 281,000. But the significant progress occurred in higher education where the enrolment of girls increased from merely 1529 in 1921-22 to as high as 23,207 in 1947, followed by improvement in the demand for women in the employment market.⁸ Despite this progress only 7 per cent females as against 24.96 males were literate in 1947.

Most of the girl students came from urban upper and middle class families. Again rural areas were not penetrated by private enterprise of missionaries and social reformers. At the turn of the century three out of four villages were without a school. Concentration on the urbanized upper and middle classes led to the neglect of mass education. The education system became top heavy and lop-sided. Of the total governmental expenditure on education only about 30 per cent was spent on primary education. In 1947 there were 123,000 primary schools with an enrolment of 141.1 lakhs in the country. The percentage of enrolled going in the age specific population at the primary stage

6 Ibid., 1932-37, p. 91.

7 Progress of Education in India, Quinquennial Record, 1932-37.

8 Bhandari, R.k., op.cit., p. 23.

was 31 per cent in India on the eve of the World War II as against 100 per cent in most of the advanced countries. Hardly 16 per cent of India's population was literate at the time of Independence.

The three important consequences of British education system were :

- (a) under-development of primary education in general;
- (b) neglect of female education for a long time; and
- (c) sharp regional variation in the spread of girls education.

Some states where there was general spread of modern English education like Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta took the lead in girls' education while, states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan, etc., lagged behind till 1947.

Women's Education during Post-Independence Period

A remarkable expansion in women's education took place in post-independence period both in absolute as well as in relative terms. But since it started from a very low base, the disparity between male and female education continues. In 1981 female literacy rate was equivalent to what it was for males 30 years ago.

TABLE 1

Literacy Rate : All India Level

Year	Male	Female	Total
1951	24.98	07.30	16.00
1961	34.44	12.95	24.02
1971	39.45	18.69	29.45
1981	46.74	24.88	36.17

Source : Census of India, 1951, 1961, 1971, and 1981.

Among the total female literate in India 40 per cent were without any educational qualifications, 7.8 per cent were matriculates and only 1.4 per cent were graduates according to 1971 census. The numbers of literate women in the country has increased from 140 lakhs in 1951 to nearly 800 lakhs in 1981.

TABLE 2

Number of Illiterates by Sex, 1951-81

Census years	Males	Female	Total	Percentage of female total illiterate
1950-51	139,918,031	161,908,945	301,826,976	53.6
1960-61	148,206,268	185,211,889	333,418,157	55.5
1970-71	172,025,614	215,314,004	387,339,618	55.6
1980-81	194,510,034	251,308,085	445,818,119	56.5

Source : Census of India, 1951, 1961, 1971, and 1981.

Table 2 indicates the comparative position of the increase in the number of illiterate women and men as revealed by different censuses. Except during 1960-1970, the number of illiterate women has been increasing faster than illiterate men. It has increased from 53.6 per cent in 1950-51 to 56.4 per cent in 1980-81 period.

Apart from the sharp increase in the number of illiterate women, there is disparity in educational development between rural and urban areas and between different groups of population. Disparity between male/female literacy is higher in rural areas, than in urban areas as is shown in table 3.

TABLE 3
Male/Female Literacy in Rural/Urban Areas
in India, 1981

1981	Male	Female
Rural	40.8	18.0
Urban	65.8	47.8

Source : Challenge of Education : A Policy Perspective, Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1985, p. 23.

Further, there were 83 districts in the country having rural female literacy below 5 per cent and another 113 districts with female

literacy rate varying from 5 per cent to 10 per cent.⁹ In addition, within a state, there is always a big gap in the literacy rates of urban and rural population, e.g. in 1981 female literacy was 9.49 per cent in rural areas and 35.43 per cent in urban areas of Uttar Pradesh.

Girls are less likely to be in school in the villages than in the urban areas. "In rural society," says Vina Majumdar, "women's lives and behaviour are controlled by a hierarchy of social formations, class, caste, family, religious rituals and prevalent social values. These manifest through various restrictions on women's behaviour, work, access to education, health-care and political participation. Neither legal nor political rights to equality have affected the strength of those structures of subordination which deny women access to resources, rights and services to which they are entitled".

Besides, the Scheduled Caste women in the rural areas are the educationally most backward group in the country. Socio-economic deprivation of Scheduled Caste population has affected both boys' and girls' education but girls from these groups are deprived more than boys.

From table 4 it is clear that three times as many women from the general Indian population are literate as compared to their Scheduled Caste counterparts.

⁹ Kamat, A.N., "Education and Social Change in India", Bombay : Somaiya, 1965, p. 213.

¹⁰ Majumdar, Vina, "Education and Women's Equality". Centre for Women's Development Studies, Mimeographed, p. 20.

TABLE 4

Literacy Rates Among Scheduled Castes/
Scheduled Tribes and the Rest of the
Population

Year	Rest of the Population	Percentage	
		Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes
1961	27.86 (16.59)	10.27 (03.29)	08.53 (03.16)
1971	35.80 (17.11)	14.67 (06.44)	11.30 (04.85)
1981	41.22 (29.51)	21.38 (10.93)	16.35 (08.04)

Note : Figures in brackets represent female literacy percentage.

Source : The 7th Five Year Plan, p. 330.

Poverty, work pressures (house-hold chores and care of siblings), early marriage, and parental apathy are the reasons to keep the Scheduled Caste girls away from schools in the rural areas. For the majority of the people who live below subsistence level, poverty is the predominant factor, governing the attitude of parents towards girls' education.

Enrolment

Women remain under-represented at all levels of education as compared to men. According to 1981 figures over 45 per cent of girls in the 6 to 11 age

group, over 75 per cent in the 12 to 14 age group and over 85 per cent of the 15 to 17 age group were out of school as compared to 20 per cent, 57 per cent, and 71 per cent of boys in the respective age groups. Girls constitute 80 per cent of the total non-enrolled children in the age-group of 6 to 14 years.¹¹

TABLE 5

Total Enrolment in the Educational System at all levels
(in lakhs)

Year	Boys	Girls	Excess of boys over girls
1950-51	191.42	064.00(33)	127.42
1960-61	337.05	142.60(42)	194.45
1970-71	539.77	264.26(53)	255.51
1980-81	720.36	389.64(55)	330.72

Note : figures in the parenthesis indicate the numbers of girls enrolled per 100 boys.

Source : Educational Development of Women in India, Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India, p. 33.

From the table 5 it is clear that the gap between total enrolled boys and girls is ever increasing in absolute numbers, although number

11 Ibid. Education and women's Equality, p. 10.

of girls per 100 boys has gone up from 33 in 1950-51 to 55 in 1980-81 period.

During the period 1977-83, enrolment of ratio of Scheduled Caste males increased from 98 to 115 whereas for female Scheduled Caste it increased from 51 to 66 only.

Primary Education

Turning to primary education we find that the proportion of boys to girls in primary education in India in 1981 was 7:3. The growth rate for female enrolment at primary level is higher than for males yet it is nowhere near the enrolment of boys.

TABLE 6

Annual Growth Rate of Enrolment of Primary & Middle Levels

Years	I-V Classes			VI-VIII Classes			I-VIII Classes		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51 to 1960-61	5.5	7.6	6.2	7.0	11.8	8.0	5.8	8.2	6.5
1960-61 to 1970-71	4.2	6.5	5.0	6.4	09.1	7.1	4.7	6.8	5.4
1970-71 to 1980-81	2.3	2.8	2.5	3.5	5.4	4.1	2.5	3.2	2.8
1950-51 to 1980-81	3.8	5.6	4.4	5.6	8.7	6.4	4.2	6.0	4.8

Source : A Handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics, Ministry of Education, 1983.

There was overall slackening of educational growth after the 1970s and this affects boys as well as girls. Girls' enrolment at primary stage increased from 36 in 1950-51 to 67 in 1984-85.

TABLE 7

Enrolment at Elementary Stage as percentage of the Population in the Corresponding Age Group (All India)

Year	Primary Classes I-V (6-11)			Middle Classes VI-VIII(11-14)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51	55.0	20.1	37.8	20.8	04.6	13.0
1960-61	74.0	35.0	54.8	35.5	12.5	24.3
1970-71	95.5	60.5	78.6	46.3	19.9	33.4
1980-81	101.8	67.6	85.2	53.5	29.1	41.6

Source : Ministry of Education, Education in India upto 1975-76, Annual Plans for 1980-81.

Universalization of primary education has almost been achieved in case of boys, it is still a distant dream in the case of girls as is evident from the above table where boys' and girls's enrolment percentages are 101.8 and 67.6 respectively. Vina Majumdar pointed out that the dimension of the problem continues to grow from the failure to universalize elementary education for the appropriate age groups.¹² Further the number of female school-going children

¹² Majumdar, Vina, "Education and Women's Equality", p. 11, mimeographed.

in rural areas is abysmally low, i.e., 25.83 per cent in the age group of 5-9 years and 39.18 per cent in the age-group of 10-14 years at all India level.¹³ For rural India ratios of enrolment in classes I-VI vary among states from 27 per cent to 70 per cent for boys and from 10 to 60 per cent for girls.

The CSWI report¹⁴ has identified five major problems in girls' education, viz (1) illiteracy; (2) widening gap in access to elementary education; (3) imbalances in educational development; (4) problem of non-enrolment, drop-out, wastage and stagnation; and (5) ideological imbalances among educational planners and administrators regarding the objectives of women's education.

Though the number of primary schools trebled since Independence, one out of every three girls, between 6 to 11 years, continues to be outside the school. The rate of drop-outs is very high at primary stage where out of every 100 girls enrolled in class I only about 30 reach class VI and almost half of the drop-outs leave school in class I itself. The highest incidence of drop-out is among Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes in rural areas and among Muslims in the urban areas.¹⁵ Drop-out rate is also higher for girls than for boys and

13 Census of India, 1981, series of India, paper 2 of 1983. Key Population statistics, New Delhi, 1984, p. 25.

14 "Towards Equality" CSWI (1974).

15 Majumdar, Veena, "Education and Women's Equality", p. 11.

this affects the progress of girls' education. The problem of inaccessibility to primary education, non-enrolment and drop-out is also related with factors like provision of institutions which significantly affect the education of girls.

TABLE 8

Growth of Educational Institutions at Primary
Level
(All India)

Year	Total	Girls' institution	Percentage of girls' institution to total
1950-51	209,671	15,901	6.6
1970-71	408,378	27,143	6.6
1976-77*	457,324	29,970	6.6

Source : Ministry of Education and Culture, Education in India.

*Figures after 1976-77 are not available.

There was remarkable increase in girls' enrolment in the 1960s due to the opening of many new girls' schools, particularly in areas where social prejudice inhibited enrolment of girls in co-educational schools. Of the total institutional increase, 60 per cent during this period, was due to opening of female schools. Though the number of girls' institutions has gone up, their proportion to the total has not. During the last decade most of the new educational institutions were

co-educational. Enrolment of girls was higher in co-educational institutions than in girls' institutions.¹⁶ At the all India level percentage of girls studying in primary boys' schools was 62.1 per cent of the total girls' enrolment.

This shows that social prejudice against sending girls to co-educational schools is becoming less effective. The reason of sending girls to co-education schools in large numbers could also be due to the inefficiency of single sex schools which led parents to send their daughters to better run co-educational schools. If the enrolment of girls is increasing in co-educational institution then the question for policy-makers would be whether or not to open separate schools for girls and at what levels of education. The report of Deshmukh Committee (1959) supported co-education as it is generally accepted at primary stage for educational, social and economic reasons. The Committee has also recommended that co-education need not be adopted as a general rule, especially where social prejudices are strong, e.g., in some states of north India where parda is observed.

In a study on women's education in 5 countries, Audrey Chapman Smock¹⁷ found that female prospects for schooling are the most depressed where schooling is sex-segregated and where males

16 Chanana Ahmad, Karuna, Social Context of Women's Education in India, 1921-81, p. 17.

17 Smock, Chapman Audrey, "Women's Education in Developing Countries : Opportunities and Outcomes" Praeger 1981, p. 104.

have a significant advantage in the distribution of schools and placements. But in the case of India acceptance or rejection of co-education should co-ordinate with the social customs of the region or the community where the school is located, e.g., Muslims of Uttar Pradesh who are mostly urban-based demand separate schools for girls. CSWI found that the resistance of sending girls to co-educational schools is more of an urban middle class phenomenon.¹⁸

Single-sex schools are unlikely to receive resources equal to those of the larger mixed schools. A large number of girls' primary schools are single teacher schools with obvious limitations on their teaching capacity. They frequently have to close down due to inadequate teaching staff. This led to higher drop-out rate in single-sex schools. An all-India educational survey conducted by NCEET in 1976 reported that a large number of primary schools had no teachers at all. Only 9 per cent of the primary schools have 5 teachers. The standard of teaching is also poor in single-sex schools because of lack of qualified women teachers.

Delving into the problem of financing of primary education one sees that there had been calculated financial cuts at the primary

18 Towards Equality, op.cit., p. 261.

level of education in the budgetary expenditure. In 1950-51, expenditure on primary sector of education constituted the largest proportion, i.e., 43 per cent. It was followed by expenditure on higher secondary sector (29.7 per cent). But by 1976-77 the share of primary education in expenditure had declined from 43 per cent to 27 per cent.¹⁹ India currently invests just 2.2 per cent of its budget on education which is low compared to other developing countries. There is top-heavy investment in higher education since it is twenty times the expenditure per student in primary and secondary schooling.²⁰ As a consequence of this there is much greater increase in women's enrolment in higher education than at the lower stages of education. At the secondary stage, the proportion of girls' enrolment to the corresponding population of the age group 14-17 is only 13 per cent as against nearly 35 per cent in the case of boys. Secondary education is largely confined to upper and middle classes and that too in urban areas. Girls in the rural areas constitute only 17 per cent of the total girls enrolment in secondary classes.

At the university stage, the total enrolment is about 10 lakhs or about 1.5 per cent of the population of age group 17-23 (38 girls for every 100 boys).

19 Challenge of Education, op.cit., para 254, p. 26.

20 Ibid.

TABLE 9

Quinquennial Growth Rate in Enrolment by Level of Institutions
(1960-61 -- 1980-81)

Level	1960-61 to 1965-66			1965-66 to 1970-71			1970-71 to 1975-76			1975-76 to 1980-81		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	34.9	67.2	45.4	12.9	12.6	12.8	13.2	16.5	14.4	14.3	16.8	15.2
Middle	46.8	46.6	46.8	19.7	46.7	26.7	14.0	29.0	18.5	21.4	28.2	23.7
Secondary	79.5	70.7	77.8	15.0	82.2	27.8	17.9	29.1	20.9	3.6	12.5	6.2
University (General Education)	53.6	116.9	65.3	80.3	91.3	82.9	23.5	42.2	28.2	10.7	14.6	3.6

Source : Educational Development of Women in India

Rate of growth is higher in university than in primary and secondary stages.

Women constituted 28 per cent of the total enrolment in higher education in 1982-83; Their proportion rose from one-tenth in 1950-51 to 26 per cent in 1982-83. Higher education caters to a small minority. Only 4.8 per cent of the relevant age-group was enrolled at this stage in 1982.²¹ Since higher education is mostly confined to urban areas and is expensive also, the major beneficiaries are, therefore, from urban upper and middle classes.

²¹ Majumdar, Vina., Education and Women's Equality, p. 13.

Regional Variations in Women's Education

Report of the Deshmukh Committee (1959) referred to the regional imbalances as the major problem in women's education. It pointed out that the gap between the education of boys and girls was wider in Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh than in other states like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra. Broadly speaking, southern states have always maintained a higher literacy rate, while there are glaring inequalities in the Hindi speaking states*.

TABLE 10

Percentage of Literacy

States	1971			1961		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Bihar	30.64	8.72	19.94	37.78	13.58	26.01
Madhya Pradesh	32.70	10.92	22.14	39.38	15.54	27.82
Orissa	36.29	13.92	26.18	46.90	21.11	34.12
Rajasthan	28.74	8.46	19.07	35.78	11.32	24.05
Uttar Pradesh	31.50	10.55	21.70	38.87	14.42	27.38
Kerala	66.62	54.31	60.42	74.03	64.48	69.17
Tamil Nadu	51.78	26.66	39.46	57.19	34.12	45.78
Maharashtra	51.04	26.43	39.18	58.89	35.08	47.37

Source : Educational Development of women in India, p. 77.

*We have selected backward states and the states advanced in literacy for purpose of comparison.

Out of all non-enrolled children 80 per cent are concentrated in nine educationally backward states -- Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa. Out of these nine states, Uttar Pradesh has a maximum number of non-enrolled girls. Numerically, Uttar Pradesh with 49 per cent gross ratio of enrolment for girls was conspicuous for low enrolment of girls at the primary stage.²² The drop-out figures are and on the higher side in Uttar Pradesh/increased during the last few years.²³ In all the 51 states and Union territories, Uttar Pradesh occupied 11th rank in the percentage increase of number of illiterates while it occupies the 17th place in the percentage increase of the number of literates.²⁴

States which are educationally backward also experience inequalities in their education system, e.g. disparity between male/female literacy rate and between urban/rural literacy is more in these states as compared to educationally advanced states. Educationally backward states are also populous states. The average rate of literacy among the advanced states is 45.8 per cent according to 1961 census while the literacy rate is only 28.4 per cent for educationally backward states.

22 Challenge of Education, para 2.11, p. 18.

23 Ibid., para 2.2, p. 21.

24 Selected indicators of educational development in India, NIEPA, p. 63.

Out of the 9 states mentioned as educationally backward in female education three states, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh show more than one third of the enrolled women dropping out before completing primary education. Inter state differences are caused by differences within the state in education system. The states which made an early start in women's education during pre-independence period also made rapid advance in the post-independence period. Moreover, in certain states women's education is given low priority for social prejudices and other similar factors.

In the north, apart from social factors which keep girls out of school, there may be topographical factors too,²⁵ e.g., villages in Kerala are not widely spaced as in the other States. Distances create a problem in educating children, particularly girls, if a school happens to be situated in a remote village. It is interesting to note that the literacy of Kerala's rural population is higher than the city population of the state as a whole. This may be due to the density of population in villages which facilitate the provision of schools in every village. Since in Uttar Pradesh villages are scattered and have small population, each village is not served with adequate educational facilities. In Uttar Pradesh about 50 per cent of the districts had rural female literacy rates of less than 14 per cent in 1981.

25 Andre Beteille (ed) Equality and Inequality : Theory and Practice Karlekar, Malavika, " Education and Inequality", Oxford University Press 1983, p. 223.

Variation in women's education between states is a consequence of great disparity of educational progress between rural and urban areas, between different sections of the population which reflect to a great extent variations in regional attitudes towards the education of women.²⁶ CSWI report²⁷ refers to a study which emphasized the importance of population composition in determining the literacy rate, e.g. — cities and regions with a high proportion of Muslims or Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe are marked by low literacy rates. Low educational development among Muslim women continue to be very high even in those states which have otherwise progressed considerably in the development of women's education, e.g. in Kerala, Muslim women lag behind in education. There is considerable overlapping between religious and regional variation. Karuna Chanana Ahmad in her paper has shown that the differential regional spread of women's education derived partly from cultural response. Regional origin constitutes the primary source of cultural diversity. As for instance, the practice of parda and the customs of child marriage hampered the progress of women's education in Bengal, Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh while their absence contributed to educational expansion among girls in Madras and Bombay. Response of various religious Communities varied within a region due to cultural differences. Differential

26 Chanana Ahmad, Karuna, op.cit.,

27 Towards Equality, CSWI (1974), p. 268.

spread of education community and region wise has bearing on women's education. In the Hindispeaking states, the social norms and values preclude the inclusion of women in the school system which involves outdoors movement and mixing with the opposite sex. Schooling or education of girls has to be seen, therefore, in the social context of a given society.

Summary

In this chapter we have highlighted the major trends that emerged at all India level regarding women's education such as disparity in male/female enrolment, drop-out figures at primary level, low enrolment among Scheduled Caste girls, rural/urban differences in literacy rate and finally regional variation, i.e., unequal development of education between different regions and different groups of population. We have dealt in greater detail with literacy as well as primary education since the latter forms the central focus of our dissertation while literacy is the base from which primary education draws its strengths and weaknesses. Before we discuss the growth and development of women's education in Uttar Pradesh, we would present an outline of the geographic, economic, demographic and socio-cultural features of Uttar Pradesh so as to provide a proper context for the education of women.

Chapter II

UTTAR PRADESH : THE CONTEXTUAL FOCUS

we have discussed the regional disparity in the progress of women's education in India. We have also seen that gaps between male/female literacy and within same sex such as difference in urban and rural female literacy have persisted everywhere over the years but they are more pronounced in some states than in others. This difference may be due to other characteristic features obtaining in the particular state such as the demographic features and geographic position of the region, its economic development in the primary as well as secondary sector and rate of urbanization and socio-cultural characteristics. Therefore, before we discuss the growth and development of women's education in Uttar Pradesh we shall outline the geographic, demographic, economic and socio-cultural characteristics of Uttar Pradesh which will provide a context to the educational development.

Historical Background of Uttar Pradesh

Uttar Pradesh is an amalgamation of different geographic and historical regions. Under British control it was known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It was first named as such in 1902 with its capital at Allahabad. Later on by 1937

the name of the Province was further changed to 'United Provinces' with its capital at Lucknow.

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh included British territory and states of Rampur, Tehri-Garhwal and Benaras. It had a total area, according to 1941 census, of 112,523 square miles with 456 towns and 105,773 villages. The area of British territory was 106,247 square miles and that of three states was 6,276 square miles. British territory was divided into 48 districts which were grouped into ten revenue divisions. Agra Province consisted of eight divisions, viz. Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahabad, Jhansi, Benaras, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh divisions. The rest two divisions Lucknow and Fyzabad constituted Oudh Province.¹

The Province was divided into four well defined tracts as shown below :

- (1) the montane tract (Himalaya West);
- (2) the sub-montane tract (Sub-Himalaya West and East);
- (3) the Gangetic Plain (Indo-Gangetic Plain West, Central and East); and
- (4) the trans-Jamna tract (Central India Plateau and East Satpuras).

"The montane tract consisted of four districts -- Almora, Garhwal, Nainital, and Dehradun. Sub-Himalayan West included five districts -- Saharanpur, Bareilly, Bijnor, Pilibhit, and Kheri."²

1 Census of India 1941, vol. V. United Province.-- Published by Managers of Publications, Delhi 1942, pp. 4-7.

2 Ibid.

The Sub-Himalayan east included four districts -- Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, and Bahraich. Gangetic Plain west included thirteen districts -- Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Budaun, Moradabad, Shahjahanpur, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Aligarh, Mathura, Mainpuri, Agra, and Etah. Indo-Gangetic Plain Central included twelve districts -- Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Allahabad, Lucknow, Unnao, Rae Bareilly, Sitapur, Hardoi, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partapgarh, and Barabanki. Indo-Gangetic Plain east included five districts viz. Benaras, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Ballia, and Azamgarh. Central India Plateau consisted of four districts -- Jhansi, Hamirpur, Jalaun and Banda. Eastern Satpura consisted of entire district of Mirzapur.

Total population of United Provinces in 1941 was 56,346,456 with 6,999,436 persons in urban and 49,347,020 in rural areas. The number of males was 29,542,475 and 26,803,981 were females. Population density was 501 persons per square miles. Sex ratio was 906 in British territory.³

Geographical Composition of United Provinces

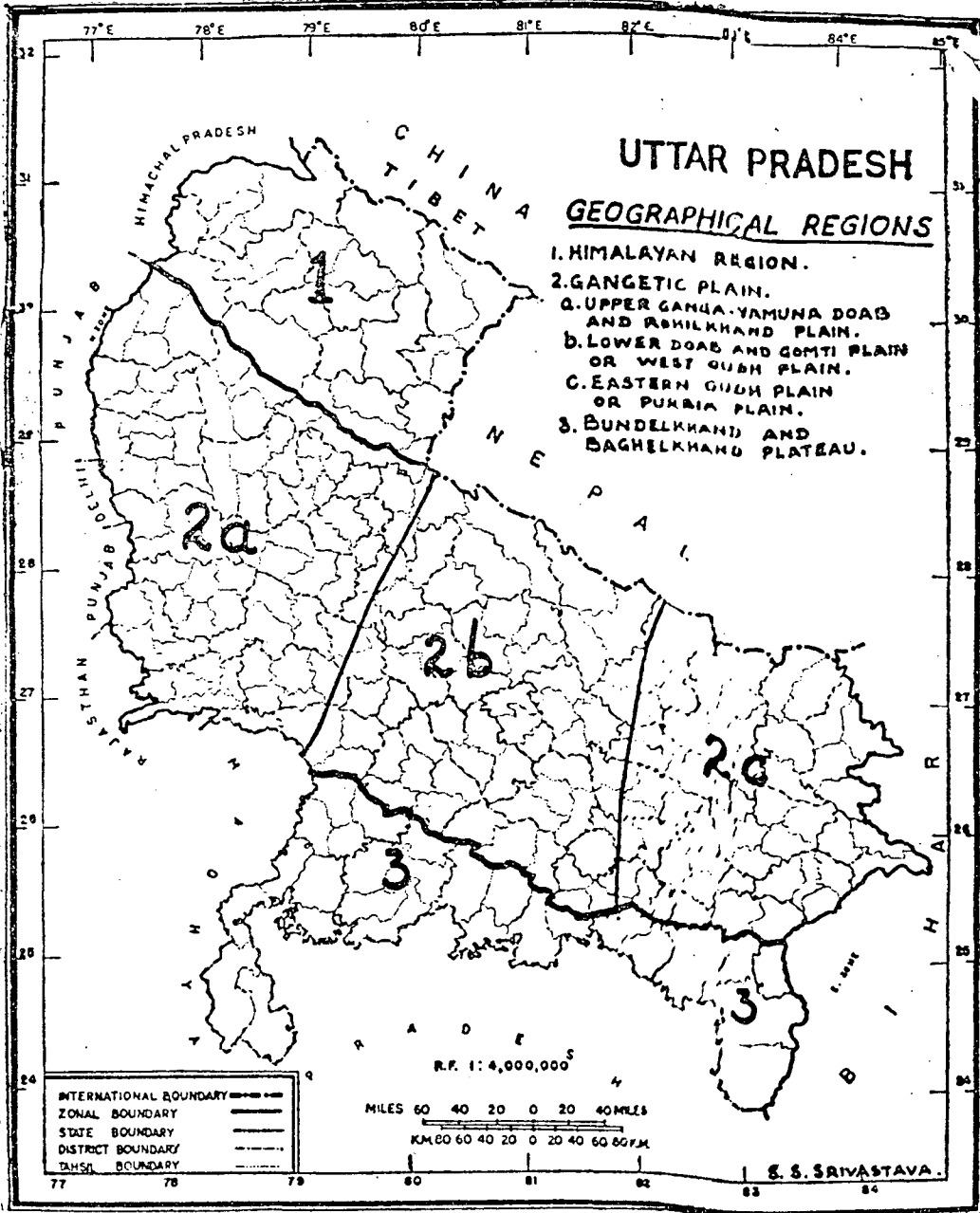
The three major geographic areas of Uttar Pradesh historically were : (1) the northern mountains; (2) the central plains; and (3) the southern hill and plateau region.⁴

within the central plain areas there were four regions of historical importance. The Doab, between the Ganga and Jamuna

³ Census of India 1941. United Provinces, op.cit., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid.

Map ①



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

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MAP 15

rivers, had been the hot bed for various warfares. Three major cities of Uttar Pradesh were : Agra, the capital of Mughals in their heydays, Kanpur, a modern industrial city which came up in 19th Century and Allahabad, the sacred Hindu city at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna which also became an important centre for educational development.

The other two important regions which were historically distinguishable were Rohilkhand and Lucknow, Rohilkhand, the home of the Rohilla Afghans in the 16th Century, had the heaviest concentration of Muslims, Lucknow, which was the capital of Oudh Province in British India still preserves its Muslim culture.

Geographical Composition of Uttar Pradesh

Physiography, climate, soil, vegetation, agriculture, minerals, population, social, and traditional factors play an important role in determining a geographical region. On the basis of the above mentioned factors Uttar Pradesh can be divided into the following geographical regions:⁵

- (1) Himalayan Region.
- (2) Gangetic Plain : (a) the upper Ganga-Jamuna doab and

5 Tiwari, A.R., "India : The Land and People", Geography of Uttar Pradesh, KBT, 1971, p. 98. (See the Map ①)

the Rohilkhand plain; (b) the lower doab and the Gomti plain (West Oudh plain); and (c) the Eastern Oudh plain or the purbia plain.

(3)

(3) The Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand plateau.

The Himalayan Region

The North-western hill districts comprising Nainital, Almora, Pithorgarh, Chamoli, Pauri, Tehri, Uttarkashi, and Dehradun constitute a unique hilly region in the state. It is mainly due to the mountainous character and rugged terrain; that this is a very poorly developed area in the state. In this region, Dehradun and Nainital districts are economically better off than the other districts.⁶

The Gangetic Plain

This vast Ganga-Jamuna Plain covers the largest area of the state. It covers about 42 districts stretching from east to west. This region is divided into three sub-regions on the basis of climate, agriculture and culture.⁷

6 Ibid., p. 99.

7 Ibid., p. 100.

(a) The Upper Ganga Yamuna Doab and the Rohilkhand Plateau

This is the north-western part of the Ganga-Jamuna plain, slightly higher than the south-eastern region. The line joining Etawah, Fatehgarh and Shahjahanpur constitutes its boundary. The percentage of agricultural population is very high. The per capita income of the people is also high in this region. In comparison with the east, it is not so densely populated. The main urban centres of this region are Meerut, Agra, Moradabad, Bijnor, Aligarh, Mathura, Saharanpur; Muzaffarnagar and Bareilly.

(b) The Lower Doab and the Gomti Plain (the West Oudh Plains)

This region may be called a transitional zone between the east and the west. In the east, the line joining Faizabad and Allahabad delimits it from the eastern plain and in the west, the line joining Etawah, Fatehgarh, and Shahjahanpur makes up its boundary. Lucknow, Kanpur, Etawah, Sitapur, Lakhimpur, Rae Bareilly, Barabanki and Fatehpur are the important urban centres. This region is relatively less populated (except Lucknow and Kanpur districts) in comparison with the eastern and western plains.⁸

⁸ Ibid. p. 101.

(c) The Eastern Oudh Plains or the Purbiya Plains

This is similar to the west physiographically. But as compared to west it is more rural and densely populated. The east rice-producing region supports a huge population, so that income per head is very low in comparison with that in the west.⁹

(d) The Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Plateau

It lies to the south of Jamuna. The western part of this region is known as the bundelkhand plateau and the eastern part is known as the Baghelkhand. This region comprises the districts of Jhansi and Mirzapur and a part of Hamirpur, Banda, and Allahabad districts. This region is thinly populated.¹⁰

In the post-Independence period, the state has been divided into five zones, namely (1) eastern zone (15 districts); (2) western zone (19 districts); (3) central zone (9 districts); (4) hill zone (8 districts); and (5) Bundelkhand zone (5 districts). Thus, it has a total of 56 districts spreading over 11 administrative divisions, covering an area of 2,94,413 square kilometres (see map 2)¹¹

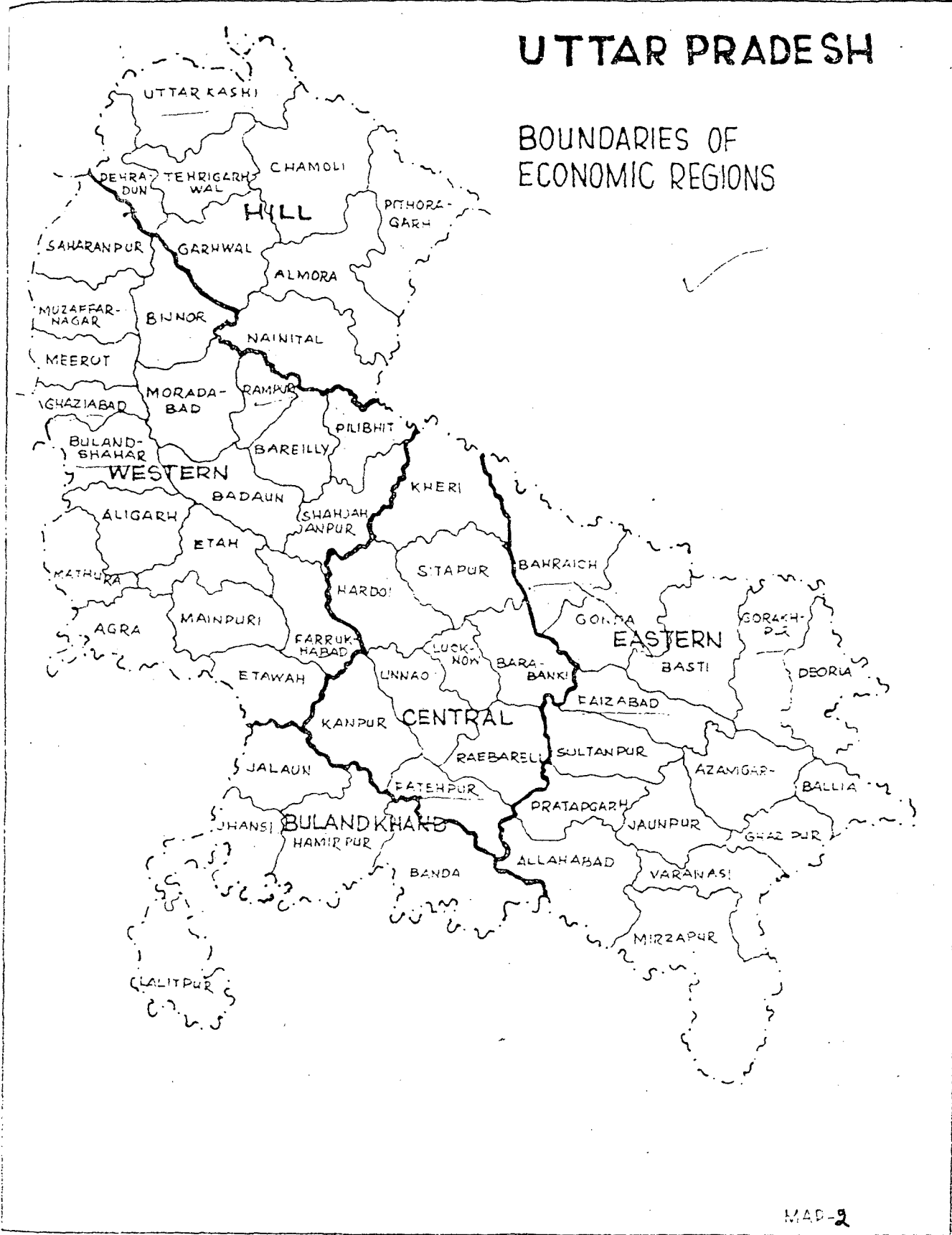
9 Ibid., p. 102.

10 Ibid., p. 103.

11 Administration of Elementary Education, Uttar Pradesh, A Study in relation to Universalization of Elementary Education, NIEPA, New Delhi, 1979, p. 6.

UTTAR PRADESH

BOUNDARIES OF ECONOMIC REGIONS



VARIATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF
UTTAR PRADESH

Turning to the pattern of economic development in the state we find that the regions which advanced in colonial period also made rapid progress in the post-independence period. In the colonial period development activities were mostly limited to a few urban centres.¹² In the post-colonial development efforts these areas, which had their initial advantageous position due to the development of infra-structure such as industrialization, educational facilities, communications, etc., developed faster than the other areas. These other areas were altogether neglected, and therefore, could not develop so rapidly as the former ones.¹³

The western division of the province, particularly Meerut and Agra, already advanced in terms of 'urbanization' and 'Industrialization' has been especially affected by the coming of railways and improvement in communications, the influx of factory-made goods and the general increase in commercial activity. The divisions of Western Uttar Pradesh and the doab had a relatively low agricultural work-force and a relatively high share of manufacturing. By contrast the divisions of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Oudh generally had a higher proportion in agriculture and very low share in manufacturing..¹⁴

¹² Singh, L.B., and Dubey, K.N. -- Demographic Development in a Developing Economy : A Case Study of Uttar Pradesh. Govind Ballabh Pant Social Science Institute, Allahabad, 1985, p. 10.

¹³ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

Urbanization in Uttar Pradesh has been rather slow. Among the districts which have seen a marked growth in their urban population during the last 60 years, Dehradun stands first with its phenomenal increase of 401.3 per cent followed by Kanpur and Garhwal districts with an increase of 285.7 per cent and 347.8 per cent respectively. The districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh have a low level of urbanization. In the Bundelkhand region, the Jhansi district has witnessed a pronounced increase of 138.3 per cent. In Central Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, Kanpur and Kheri are the only districts which have experienced increases of over 100 per cent. In the eastern districts, with the exception of Gorakhpur which crosses the limit of 7.3 per cent of urban population, the rest of the districts have an urban population between 1.5 per cent (in the Basti district) and 5.3 per cent (in the Jaunpur district). Faizabad also stands as another exception where, owing to the location of cotton mills, the percentage of urban population is 8.7 per cent. Pilibhit has a level of urbanization as high as 13.7 per cent. Other districts in this category are Hamirpur and Banda of the Bundelkhand region, Etah, Mainpuri, Etawah and Badaun of Central and Western Uttar Pradesh and Uttarkashi, Tehri Garhwal, Garhwal and Pithoragarh of the northern zone, having less than 10 per cent of urban population.¹⁵

Next in the category of urbanization come the districts of western Uttar Pradesh with Agra on top of the list. Besides, Saharanpur, Meerut

¹⁵ Tiwari, A.R., op.cit., pp. 91-94.

and Moradabad have their urban population between twenty to thirty per cent. These districts have a large number of industries. The western part of Bundelkhand plateau is better in economic development while the eastern part has stagnant economy.¹⁶ Eastern Uttar Pradesh is economically stagnant and deeply feudal. Primarily being a poor rural province, Uttar Pradesh was crippled by an exploitative agrarian system under feudal economy.

The economic conditions of a region also influence the pattern of work-participation of its population. Here we would mainly concentrate on female participation in economic activities. Very high female participation is found in the Himalayan districts, low in the eastern districts and almost very low in the western districts. The rate of participation is higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas.¹⁷ The eastern region, which is relatively less urbanized and more rural and poverty stricken, registers high female participation in rural areas and a low participation in urban areas. Western region presents a totally reverse pattern. In fourteen out of the nineteen districts of the West Plain more than 95 per cent of females are not engaged in any economic activity. The proportion of female non-workers is higher in some districts. For example, out of 1,000 females in Rampur, 970

16 Singh L.P. and Dubey, K.N., op.cit., p. 16.

17 Siddiqui Ali Farasat, Regional Analysis of population structures : A Study of Uttar Pradesh, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1984, p. 203.

are not working; in Bareilly female non-workers are 973; in Shajahanpur 968 and in Agra 975. In Uttarkashi, Garhwal, Barabanki and Faizabad the non-working women per thousand are 564, 862, 892, and 854, respectively. In the Himalayan districts, a large section of women folk have to take to work because of poverty and out-migration of male members to different other areas in search of employment.¹⁸

Female work participation is influenced by factors such as caste status of women, social customs and availability of occupations at which women could assist, such as family cultivation, economic compulsion, etc. In the eastern region due to economic compulsion and predominance of agriculture the rate of female work participation is higher.

The lower castes which are mainly concentrated in eastern region have high incidence of female work participation in the field. In the Western region where upper castes are dominant, women's work-participation is low. Economic prosperity of the upper castes and low status accorded to the manual work in India society are the reasons for low female work participation in upper castes. As the caste moves up in caste hierarchy to improve its social position with a higher achievement in economic status, their women become economically dependent and non-working.¹⁹ The proportion

18 Ibid., p. 205.

19 Parda is generally practised by the high caste Hindus and Muslims.

of non-workers among the Scheduled Caste males is 400 per thousand and among females 724 per thousand as against the corresponding proportions of 418 and 819 in the general population. This is because relatively greater number of Scheduled Caste population has to take to work on account of poverty and general backwardness. Thus we see that ⁱⁿ the general population, out of every 1,000 male non-workers 232 were full time students. As against this, the proportion of Scheduled Caste students was only 137. Similarly, among 1,000 female non-workers there were 26 full time students in the general population and 9 in the Scheduled Caste population.²⁰

The regions where social custom such as parda²¹ is observed, women could not, as a rule, go out to work or augment family income and, even if they did work, their high-caste husbands were not likely to admit the fact to enumerators. In the mountainous districts, the proportion of working females was comparatively high as there was no parda practiced among them and, therefore, no attempt at concealing the fact that women worked.

Demographic Variation

The state of Uttar Pradesh is most populous in the country -- more densely populated than any other state of India. It had an area of 2,94,413 square kilometre in 1971. It accounts for nearly 9 per cent

20 Brinivas, M.A., "The Changing Position of Indian women", Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 12.

21 Census of India 1961, Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, 115 Part I-A (II), General Report on Census, p. 619.

of the total area of the country. Its population density was 377 persons per square kilometre as against India's 221 persons per square kilometre in 1981. The decennial growth rate of population (1971-81) was 25.52 per cent for Uttar Pradesh and 24.75 per cent for India. The number of villages was 112,561 and urban habitations was 327 according to 1971 census.

Uttar Pradesh is one of the largest states accounting for 16.1 per cent of the total population in the country. The total population of the state was 110.86 million in 1981 out of which 52.09 million were females. More than 85 per cent of the population of the state resides in rural areas. Only 18.01 per cent of its population is urban as compared to 23.73 per cent in India. The sex ratio in Uttar Pradesh is lower (886) than that of India (935). The birth rate in Uttar Pradesh is 38.4 per cent per mile and death rate is 15.1 per cent per mile while in India birth rate is 33.8 per cent and death rate 11.9 per cent. The percentage of literacy in Uttar Pradesh is 27.4 and in India 36.12 per cent. Percentage of female literacy is 14.42 in Uttar Pradesh and 24.81 in India.²²

The eastern region of Uttar Pradesh is the most populous region comprising 37 per cent of the states population, followed by western region which has 36 per cent of the states' population. The population

²² Singh, L.P. and Dubey, K.N., op.cit., p. 3.

in the hill areas constitutes only 4.43 per cent of the state's total population. The density of population in 1971, in the western region was 447 persons per square kilometre, followed by the eastern region with 436 persons and the hill regions with 68 persons per square kilometre.²³

The pattern of economic development of the area also influence the pattern of demographic developments, e.g. the western region and hill region are advanced regions as compared to eastern and Bundelkhand regions in terms of demographic indicators.²⁴ Demographic development declines from west to east but reaches its lowest in the "poverty trough",²⁵ showing a close association with the economic development. Developed districts continued to dominate in inter-district pattern of development. Thus we see that Uttar Pradesh presents a picture of heterogeneous demographic development areas.

The demographic development of a region is also influenced by its past achievements which lead to same parts taking over the other and as a consequence regional disparity widens, e.g., the Ganga plain which was the socio-economic hearth of the state in the past, presents a higher level of demographic development than those of the Bundelkhand plateau and eastern regions. There is a clear cut division in the province between east and west; the east

23 Tilak, B.G., Jandhyala (ed), Education and Regional Developments, Yadav Publications, New Delhi, 1986, p. 178.

24 Tilak, B.G. Jandhyala (ed), Education and Regional Development, by Zaidi A. Nareem, "Educational Planning and Regional Disparities", Yadav Publications, New Delhi, 1986, p. 178.

25 Dubey, K.M. and, op.cit. p. 26 . He found an elongated belt of a cute underdevelopment ran vertically down through central Uttar Pradesh were the gradient of positive human forces in the west and of favourable conditions in the east sloped to their lowest. He called this zone as "poverty trough".

is poorer, more rural, more thickly populated, more backward in areas such as literacy and has a higher proportion of lower castes, as compared to the west.

There are other demographic factors which show regional variation such as sex-ratio. The sex-ratio of a region is an indication of the position of women in that region. ~~The sex-ratio of a region is an indication of the position of women in that region.~~ The sex-ratio in Uttar Pradesh has been falling continuously over the last few decades. It touched the maximum mark of 937 in 1901. Since then it has declined continuously and is 885 at present.

The downward trend in the sex-ratio over the years is indicative of the secondary position that women have come to occupy in this province. Uttar Pradesh has a low sex-ratio, high fertility and low female literacy. If we compare this demographic pattern of Uttar Pradesh with Kerala, which presents a contrasting picture, we would find that in the latter all the three demographic features are in favour of women -- high sex-ratio, low fertility, and high female literacy.

According to 1961 census, the sex-wise proportion of population in 0-4 and 5-9 age group indicate the position of females in this state while females are more in proportion (14.05 per cent females : 13.04 per cent males) in the age-group of 0-4 years (more females are born than males)

their percentage goes down to 15.0 per cent as against 15.48 per cent males in the age group of 5-9 years. This suggests that mortality rate of females is higher than males in this state. This may be due to the fact that girls, in the first few years of their life, suffer from greater neglect than boys whether in matter of nutrition or health.²⁶ Natural calamities like epidemics, etc. may also be responsible for high female mortality; they live at such a low level of nutrition that they do not have the reserves of energy to meet the assault of death.

The pattern of nutrition in various societies is determined by the cultural values of that society and this makes an impact on the physical constitution of the members of a society and on the sex-ratio, e.g., cultural and economic preference for sons in countries of South Asia is seen to have serious implications, not only for the status but even the survival of females. A study of infant mortality in North India found that post-neo-natal mortality seems to be strongly sex-specific and is much higher for females than for males. It suggests that this pattern may reflect cultural practices and patterns of nutrition which place lower priority on female than male children.²⁷ This indicates the

26 Hare, A. Chandrakala, "Changing Status of Women in Post-Independent India", New Delhi, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1969, p. 30. This may be the reason why Life Insurance Company of India charges more premium for insuring life of a woman unless she has passed the SSC.

27 Simmons George, et.al., "Some Aspects of Infant and Child Mortality in Rural India", in Alfred de Souza (ed) Children in India, Critical Issues in Human Development, New Delhi, Manohar, 1979, p. 104.

social and cultural devaluation of women in the Indian society. The census data also shows a declining sex-ratio in India. Adverse sex-ratio of women to ~~men~~ is one important demographic aspect in India. To some extent the predominance of males is caused by the comparative neglect of the health of females, high fertility and in migration of males. If sex ratio is in favour of males, it tends to lower the age of marriage for females, and generally results in considerable disparity in the ages of husbands and wives and increase in widowhood.

One of the important aspects of sex ratio in Uttar Pradesh is that the majority of women live in rural areas. The respective rural and urban averages are 869 and 821 for Uttar Pradesh. Barring a few exceptions, the general excess of males over females characterizes rural population also. There are only seven districts which stand out as exception^{to} this general character. They are : Tehri Garhwal (1,212), Garhwal (1,164), Almora (1,110), Chamoli (1,087), Pithorgarh (1,018), Jaunpur (1,021), Pratapgarh (1,020), and Azamgarh (1,004).²⁶ Except the last three, all other districts lie in the hill region. The female sex ratio in these districts is due to out-migration of male members in search of work to other areas. It is interesting to note that the districts of the highest and lowest sex ratio lie in the hill areas of north-west Uttar Pradesh.

28 Siddiqui Ali Farasat. Op.cit., p. 137.

Garhwal district has the highest sex ratio (1,164 females per 1,000 males), whereas Nainital district has 719 females per 1,000 males, which is the lowest sex ratio in the state. Since Nainital is more urbanized it provides more job opportunities while men out-migrate from Garhwal which has a very small urban population.

Due to this effect of urban and rural areas on sex ratio, the proportion of females is greater in the eastern districts. The western part of the state by contrast has a low sex-ratio. The ratio is lowest in the districts of Varanasi, Kanpur, Fatehpur, Meerut and Mathura. These are mostly the districts of central and western Uttar Pradesh with a high rate of urbanization. The nine districts which are very close to the state average for the rural population lie in the central part, the region that stands as a divide between the region of relatively low and high sex ratio. The latter lies to the east and the former to the west of this region.

Among the districts, the urban sex ratio varies within the range of 579 females per 1,000 males to 881 females per 1,000 males with the minimum in Uttar Kashi and the maximum in Bijnor.²⁹ This may be due to the fact that the urban population of hill areas comprises of more migrated males than in the plain regions. In the age group of 0-9 years and 10-19 years, the sex ratio is comparatively high in the urban population. It may be due to the high proportion of migrant adult males from rural to urban areas. In 51 districts of the state

29 Ibid., p. 138.

juvenile sex ratio is in favour of males, which varies between the minimum of 784 females per 1,000 males³⁰ to a maximum of 998 females per 1,000 males. The sex ratio in juvenile population is moderately high in the eastern districts, very high in the Himalayan districts, and relatively low in the western districts. Thus the demographic development of an area also gets influenced by the economic development of that area.

Socio-Cultural Variation

In this section we are going to discuss the socio-cultural pattern of Uttar Pradesh. This includes the caste and community wise spread of population in the state. Uttar Pradesh is mainly an agrarian society where long feudal traditions have influenced the life of the people. It has two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims, which influence the socio-cultural fabric of the state. We will first take the caste wise spread of population in the state.

In the caste distribution of population we will mainly discuss the spread of Scheduled Castes since there is not enough data available for non-Scheduled Castes. Uttar Pradesh has the highest percentage of Scheduled Caste population which, according to 1961 census, formed 21.16 per cent of the total population of the state while the Scheduled Tribe population is 0.21 per cent only. About 92 per cent of the

30 Ibid., p. 148.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, as against 84 per cent of the non-Scheduled Castes and Tribes population of Uttar Pradesh lived in rural areas.³¹ While the low castes are mainly clustered in rural areas, dominant castes, namely the Kayasthas and the Banias are urban-based and reside in cities and towns. The former follow the professional occupations and the latter are engaged in trade and commerce. Besides these two important non-Brahmin higher castes, other dominant castes are the Rajputs and Brahmins and other landowning castes such as the Jats in the western Uttar Pradesh.

More than half of the total Scheduled Caste population (55.7 per cent) belong to a single caste namely ³² Chamar. It is heavily concentrated in eastern districts. Eastern districts inhabit poverty stricken people, especially in the rural areas. Chamars are mostly the landless agricultural labourers, or are occupied in the traditional menial 'impure' tasks. The condition of this group of caste is very bad and they generally live at a very low level of subsistence. In the agrarian society, agricultural labourers were a socially degraded class not only due to their profession which kept them at the lowest economic rung, but also due to the caste-structure of society. Chamar, Dhusia and Jatava castes occupy the first place in all the districts of the state excepting the eight hill districts and Sitapur, Unnao, Lucknow, Rai Bareilly, Gonda and Barabanki districts of the Central

Uttar Pradesh

31 Census of India 1971/Series 21 Part 1A.General Report, p. 189.

32 Ibid., p. 195.

plain. In the hill districts, the Shilpkar caste comes first.³³

Next to Chamar comes Pasi and Dhobi who reside mostly in the Central and the Eastern districts. The Pasi caste occupies the first place in Sitapur, Unnao, Lucknow, Rae Bareilly and Barabanki districts and take the lead followed by Pasis and Chamars. The largest number of Dhobis are found in Basti and Gorakhpur.³⁴

A comparatively high percentage of Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes population is observed in districts of Mirzapur (32.56) per cent, Sitapur (30.99 per cent); and Unnao (30.19 per cent) where they are more than 30 per cent. According to 1971 census the lowest percentage is found in district of Garhwal (11.91 per cent); Bareilly (12.49 per cent); Tehri Garhwal (12.78 per cent); Rampur (13.06 per cent); and Muzaffarnagar (14.61 per cent). The highest number of the Scheduled Castes were found in Allahabad followed by Azamgarh, Gorakhpur and Basti, which are located in eastern part of the state. The lowest Scheduled Caste population was found in Uttarkashi.³⁵

The percentage of the Scheduled Castes is much higher in the rural areas as compared to urban areas :23.09 per cent in rural areas and 12.33 per cent in urban areas. Dehradun has the highest percentage

33 Ibid., p. 195.

34 Ibid., p. 195.

35 Census of India 1971, Uttar Pradesh. Ibid., p. 189.

(54.64) of the Scheduled Castes in the urban areas followed by Agra (36.63 per cent) and Kanpur (33.64 per cent).³⁶ Agra and Kanpur are famous for their leather work, which by and large engage a large number of the Scheduled Castes. All these districts also have a comparatively higher proportion of urban population. Lucknow which has the highest percentage of urban population has only 22.2 per cent Scheduled Caste population in its urban areas but it has the highest percentage (39.15 per cent) in rural areas.³⁷ It may be due to low industrialization of this district. The industrial areas have quite a large proportion of the Scheduled Castes in the urban areas where they are employed as workers in the industries.

In almost all the districts of central regions (except Kanpur and Lucknow) the Scheduled Caste population is more than 25 per cent : Kheri (26.02 per cent); Sitapur (30.99) per cent); Hardoi (29.93 per cent); Unnao (30.07) per cent; Rae Bareilly (29.55); and Barabanki (27.68 per cent). In the Bundelkhand region, Jhansi and Jalaun also have more than 25 per cent of the Scheduled Castes. Jhansi has 29.96 per cent of the total Scheduled Caste population of the district, in the urban areas.³⁸ The low castes also form lower classes since in India, everywhere caste and economic status almost coincide.

After seeing the castewise spread of the population in different districts, we will take two major religious communities, Hindus and

36 Ibid., p. 192

37 Census of India, 1961, Uttar Pradesh. Primary Abstract Data. Series 22 Part II-B, p. 18.

38 Ibid., p. 21.

Muslims, as they form almost 99 per cent of the state's population. According to 1961 census, Muslims form 15.93 per cent while Hindus form 83.31 per cent of total population of Uttar Pradesh. Decadal growth rate during 1971-81 for Muslims is 19.11 per cent while for Hindus it is 24.82 per cent. Fertility rate is higher among Muslims than among the Hindus. The sex-ratio among Muslims in Uttar Pradesh is 903 per 1,000 males and 885 per 1,000 males among the Hindus.³⁹

In the rural areas Hindus are 86.31 per cent and Muslims are 13.18 per cent of the total rural population, while in urban areas Hindus are 69.63 per cent and Muslims 28.46 per cent of total urban population. This shows the urban character of Muslim population. Muslims are mostly heavily concentrated in the Rohilkhand division of Uttar Pradesh in the urban areas. The highest percentage is found in Rampur district. They constitute more than 40 per cent of the population in the urban areas of Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur, Sahjahanpur, Sitapur, Rae Bareilly, BaraBanki, Bahraich and Azamgarh districts. Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur, and Bahraich districts have more than 50 per cent Muslims in their urban areas. Rampur has more than two thirds Muslim population in urban area. In the rural areas of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Bijnor, Moradabad, Rampur, and Bareilly districts, Muslim population is more than 25 per cent of the total population. All these districts are contiguous being situated in the western part of the state below the Himalayas. On the hills, the

³⁹ Census of India 1961; Uttar Pradesh Series (22) Paper I of 1985, Household Population by Religion of Head of Household, p. 6.

percentage of Muslims is quite low.

Muslims were an important community by virtue of their historical position in the province. They were mainly urban-dwelling, non-agricultural and professional.⁴⁰ Since Uttar Pradesh alone accounts for about a quarter of the Muslim population of the country, therefore, it had been the nerve centre of 'Muslim Politics' both before and after partition.

There were many occupational castes among the Muslims too who were mainly the lower caste Hindu converts such as Julahas, etc. Besides them, were Saiyids, Mughals, Pathans, and Sheikhs. Muslim society in India is sharply divided into two distinct sections -- Ashraf and the non-Ashrafs. The Ashrafs represent the upper social strata and comprise the equivalent of a hierarchy of four castes, the Saiyids, the Sheikhs, the Mughals and the Pathans. These upper castes are of foreign origin and thereby are considered 'superior' while the non-Ashrafs are mostly converts and thus 'inferior'.⁴¹ In the Oudh region of Uttar Pradesh Ashrafs formed the bulk of the Muslim landlord class. Oudh was ruled by kawabs till 1856. Therefore, a distinct feudal culture is associated with the Muslims of Uttar Pradesh, especially in the Oudh region. In large parts of Oudh and the Aligarh-Bulandshahr region Hindu peasants faced Muslim talukdars and landlords.

⁴⁰ Basu, Aparna, "Growth of Education and Muslim Separation, 1919-1939" in B.R. Nanda (ed.), Essays in Modern Indian History. Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 227.

⁴¹ Bhatta, Zarina, Muslim Women in Uttar Pradesh, Social Mobility and Directions of Change in "Women in Contemporary India and South Asia (ed.) by Alfred de Souza, Manohar Publications, 1980, p. 201.

Unlike Muslim peasants of Bengal, Muslims were better off in the United Provinces. Due to historical reason, Muslims were either landed feudal aristocrats ^{or} engaged in artisanal small manufacturing activities. Very few of them came in trading industrial field. Urban Muslim concentrations in Uttar Pradesh towns mainly consisted of artisans, shopkeepers and petty traders, while most big merchants and bankers were Hindus.⁴² Thus, Muslims were not backward in Uttar Pradesh till independence.

After independence, the abolition of 'zamindari' substantially reduced the rural influence of the former Muslim landlords. While the urban-based landed aristocrats of the absentee variety and small zamindars suffered heavily in terms of socio-economic status, because of the loss of land, those who were entrenched in the rural structure and who also participated in the urban section of society, were able to ensure that change did not affect them when it came.⁴³ But they were a tiny minority. Thus the present economic position of a majority of them is not so good, especially in the eastern region.

Religion plays an important role in defining the status of women. Dominance of social structure and institutional factors in Islam, such as early marriage, polygamy, unilateral divorce, segregation and veiling, etc., have reduced women to a secondary position. The general

42 Sarkar, Sumit, Modern India, 1885-1947. Delhi : MacMillan, 1983, p. 60.

43 Ashraf Mohammad - 'On Muslim Identity and Politics : Some Perspectives Trends', Govind Ballabh Pant, Social Science Institute, Allahabad, 1984.

pattern of living and the system of social stratification, have influenced the attitudes of the Muslims and ^{Hindus} towards women. By and large both the religions belittled women. The image of women in these two religious traditions was of crucial importance in determining people's notions about their proper role in the domestic and extra domestic spheres.

Among the Muslims, the concept of a women is derived from her role as a wife and as a mother and is garnished with the traditional feminine virtues of premarital virginity, beauty, tenderness, modesty, selfdenial and devotion to the family. A girl is moulded for marriage and motherhood right from the birth. For the Hindus, the girl is a liability; her birth commits the family to exorbitant outlays for her dowry or marriage gifts and expenses.⁴⁴ Muslims also express their displeasure on begetting a daughter and use the phrase 'a guest of four days' to describe her. Among the Muslims, the attitudes regarding women have been greatly influenced by the dominant Hindu culture and traditions.

In the epic Ramacharitmanas written in Uttar Pradesh in the 16th Century, Tulsidas uses derogatory expressions for women and lumps them with drums, morom, Shudras and cattle, and described them as objects fit only to be beaten. Hinduism bound a woman to the house and sanctified a strong patrilineal social structure, stressing

44 Bhatti Zarina, op.cit., pp. 201-2.

the importance of sons for the continuity of the line. This has direct relevance to the place of women in society. A boy was the perpetuator of the patriline, who would continue the family name. By contrast, a girl was of no use in this respect. "A bird of passage" or "a guest in the parents house", etc., were the expressions often used in both communities for a girl.⁴⁵

The social norm of female seclusion, which is characteristic of both Hindus and Muslims of status families, is one of the crucial factors in the social milieu of Uttar Pradesh. Observance of female seclusion is practiced by Muslims due to religious conviction. Therefore, parda has religious value for Muslims, while, among Hindus, it covers mainly prestige. But for both of them, in ideological terms, it implied circumventing the scope of non-domestic activity for women. Parda in physical form obstructs the outward mobility of women. The custom of parda among Muslim women, whereby they have to cover themselves with a garment (burqa), drastically curtailed their freedom and ability to move about. Among the Hindus parda is an insignia of respectability and leads to immurement of women of higher castes. Srinivas says that among the Muslim lower castes, non-Ashraf women generally, as a rule, do not observe parda and by comparison are freer. But once non-Ashrafs acquire higher economic status, they try to emulate the manners of Ashrafs, put their women in parda and

⁴⁵ Bhatti, Zarina, op.cit., p. 202.

withdraw them from participating in the economic life.⁴⁶ Thus, observance of parda which is influenced by socio-economic factors has consequences for both the independence and social status of women in both the religions.

In conclusion we may say that the economic structure and social and cultural traditions have affected the status of women in Uttar Pradesh. Women as a group are discriminated in all sections of society and their lives are governed by social norms, sanctified by the two major religions of the province. Uttar Pradesh is basically a backward state in all socio-economic and cultural aspects. Women form an even more backward group among the poor, subject and backward people of this province. Historical factors like feudalism and colonial exploitation have also made their impact on the lives of women.

46 Srinivas, M.A., op.cit., pp. 15-16.

Chapter III

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN UTTAR PRADESH SINCE INDEPENDENCE

In the last chapter we have discussed the general backwardness of Uttar Pradesh with respect to historical, geographic, economic, demographic and socio-cultural factors. In this chapter we shall be discussing the progress of education in this state. We would like to see whether the general backwardness also affects the development of education, especially women's education, in this state and what are the variations in the growth of female education.

Women's Education in Uttar Pradesh during the British Period

Female literacy increased very slowly, from 0.2 per cent in 1901 to 2.4 per cent in 1941 in the state. In comparison to female literacy, male literacy progressed from 5.7 per cent ^{to} 13.9 per cent during the same period.

Of the total population enrolled for education at various levels in 1927, only 6.19 per cent were females, the rest being males. The percentage of women increased negligibly in the next twenty years. In 1947, the total women enrolled were only 9.75 per cent of the total population enrolled.

TABLE 1

Enrolment of Girls in all Institutions
in Uttar Pradesh

<u>1927</u>	<u>1937</u>	<u>1947</u>
124,236	224,688	310,784

Source : Quinquennial reports on the Progress of
Education in India 1922-27, 1932-37,
1942-47.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Female Enrolment at all Levels
vis-a-vis Total Enrolment of Girls and Boys

	1927	1932	1937	1942	1947
College	0.0098	0.12	0.025	0.05	0.071
High School	0.16	0.29	0.46	0.85	1.15
English Middle School	0.36	0.47	0.62	0.66	0.83
Vernacular Middle School	1.31	1.85	2.53	3.27	3.36
Primary School	4.95	4.53	5.12	4.84	4.44
Total Female enrolment	6.19	7.14	8.75	9.66	9.75

Source : General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces
of Agra and Oudh 1942-47, p. 37.

An overview of female enrolment at various levels, i.e., Primary school, Middle school, high school and collegiate level reveals that over a period of 20 years (1927-47) the maximum percentage of females were enrolled at the primary school level. The percentage of females, vis-a-vis males, at other levels steadily increased with time, although the increase was nominal. The percentage of females enrolled at the high school and college level was less than even one per cent throughout this period.

Throughout the British Period we find a lopsided development of education. Some states advanced in the education of women while others lagged behind.¹ This regional variation in educational development was visible in intra-state pattern also, e.g., while western Uttar Pradesh represented high female literacy eastern Uttar Pradesh remained extremely backward in female literacy. This advancement in literacy of western region could be due to the influence of reform movement during the pre-independence period. Arya-Samaj had a great impact on the cities of the province. The adherents of Arya Samaj are found in the western districts of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Bijnor and Bulandshahr. The contribution of Arya Samaj to the promotion of female education is well known in Punjab, where they had opened separate schools for the girls. The districts on the western side which were adjacent to Punjab, also felt its

1 Ahmed Chanana, Karuna, "The Social Context of Women's Education in India 1921-81, mimeographed, p. 11.

influence.² These were also the districts from where a maximum number of women joined the congress party during the freedom struggle. The literacy rate for females in the western districts is still high. Thus, there was a continuity in literacy trends from British period to post-Independence period.

The areas which did not serve the colonial authority and were under the control of native rulers, like Tehri Garhwal in Uttarakhand and Rampur in Rohilkhand, had the lowest position in literacy. This referred to the double deleterious effect of exploitation during the colonial period. The British squeezed the native rulers for resources and they in turn exploited their own people.³ These spatial patterns of colonial period in literacy development still persist.

Besides this variation in regional spread of education in Uttar Pradesh, there was the differential response to the education of girls in different communities and castes. The 1901 census noted that "taking considerable" areas, such as natural divisions and not single districts, female education amongst Muslims was more in vogue in the east of the province than in the western plains, where the greatest proportion of literate Hindu females is to be found".⁴ The relatively urbanized population of Muslims, vis-a-vis the Hindus in Uttar Pradesh, ensured a higher percentage of literate Muslim population in the eastern parts of the province. As the subsequent census noted, the presence of large towns in a districts tended to raise the proportion of literate persons, especially among the females, and this was more

2 Jones, K.N., "Arya-Dharm : Hindu Consciousness in the 19th Century Punjab, Delhi, Manohar, 1976. Pp. 215-19.

3 Singh, L.F. and Dubey K.N., op.cit. p. 17.

4 Census of India : United Province of Agra and Oudh, 1901, p. 154.

more marked in the case of Muslims than Hindus because Muslims were largely town dwellers.

From 1927 to 1947, the difference between the percentage of Hindu and Muslim females, vis-a-vis the total population of Hindus and Muslims enrolled at all levels of education -- Primary, Middle, high school as well as Intermediate and Collegiate level, was negligible.

TABLE 3

Percentage of Hindu Muslim Female
Enrolled at Various Stages

Stage	1927		1947	
	Hindu	Muslim	Hindu	Muslim
Primary level	5.68	6.0	12.68	12.50
Middle level	0.11	0.07	1.073	0.98
High School level	0.007	0.0005	0.12	0.18
College level	0.0015	-	0.10	0.16

Source : G.R.P.I.

Thus, Muslim girls were well represented in the total educated population at that time. After an initial slow start, Muslim girls seemed to have recovered, e.g., during 1920-30, the enrolment of Muslim girls, in Uttar Pradesh increased by 53 per cent. By 1931 the Muslims showed a distinct advantage over the Hindus. There were

TABLE 4

Percentage of Muslim Girl Students in Recognized
Institutes in Uttar Pradesh

<u>Percentage of Muslim girls: pupils to Muslim female population</u>		<u>Percentage of all girls: pupils to Muslim female population</u>	
1926-27	1936-37	1926-27	1931-32
0.5	1.0	0.6	0.7

Source : Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in the Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1922-27, 1932-37.

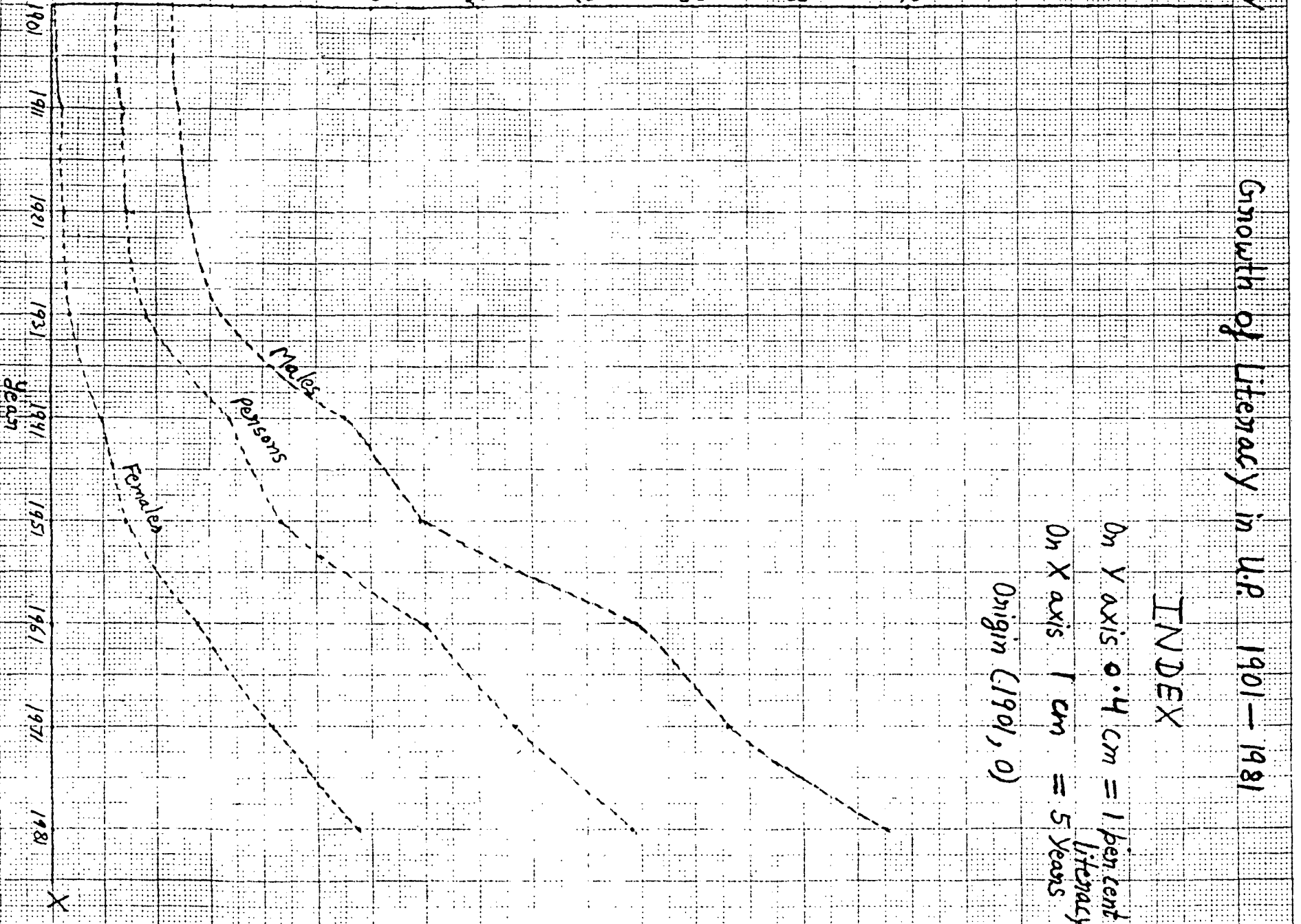
9.7 per cent literate Muslims as compared to 8.9 per cent Hindus. Although Muslims were a minority, they belonged to a more literate strata of society.

It is imperative to note that amongst both Hindus and Muslims, it was the higher classes which showed interest and responded to female education. Amongst Hindus, the largest increase was noted among the high caste Hindu girls, whereas the progress among "the depressed classes" was disappointing.⁵ Even among high caste Hindus the proportion of literate females was relatively high among Kayasthas whose occupation required literacy.⁶

5 GRPI, 1937-38, p. 36.

6 Census of India : United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1921, p. 460.

Literacy Rates in Percentage



Growth of Literacy in U.P. 1901-1981

INDEX

On Y axis 0.4 cm = 1 percent
 On X axis 1 cm = 5 Years
 Origin (1901, 0)

Reviews

Progress of Education in Post-Independent Uttar Pradesh

Literacy has increased from 3.1 per cent in 1901 to 27.16 in 1981. Progress was slow up to 1921. The greatest spurt in literacy occurred during the decade 1931-41. This was the decade during the latter half of which Provincial Autonomy came into being and literacy campaigns were organized on a large scale. With the dawn of independence, the government addressed itself to the task of eradicating illiteracy and the figures of 1951 showed an improvement over those of 1941.⁷ The following table brings to light the yawning gap between male and female literacy over the years.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Literacy in Uttar Pradesh (1901-1981)

Year	Male	Female	Persons	Year	Male	Female	Person
1901	5.7	0.2	3.1	1951	17.4	3.6	10.8
1911	6.1	0.5	3.4	1961	27.3	7.0	17.6
1921	6.5	0.6	3.7	1971	31.5	10.55	21.7
1931	8.0	0.9	4.6	1981	38.87	14.42	27.16
1941	13.9	2.4	6.4				

Source : Census Reports

⁷ Census of India 1961 - Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, 115 Part I-A (II), General Report, p. 308.

According to 1981 census Uttar Pradesh ranks 25th amongst all the states and Union Territories in literacy and is way behind the all-India average of 36.17 per cent. The status of female literacy is even worse -- 14.42 per cent against the national average of 24.81 per cent.⁸

TABLE 6

Percentage of Enrolment at Various Stages of Education to Corresponding Population, 1980-81 in Uttar Pradesh

Gross Enrolment Ratios			
Stages	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary I-V (6-11 years)	90.8	45.7	68.9
Middle VI-VII (11-14 years)	54.0	19.3	37.5
Higher Secondary IX-XII (14-17 years)	27.0	5.8	17.1
University and Colleges ⁹ (17-23 years)	4.4	1.4	3.0

Source : A handbook of Educational and Allied Statistics, Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India, New Delhi, 1983.

Enrolment of girls is much less than boys' enrolment at every stage. Percentage of girls in the total enrolled is 31.90 at primary stage, 24.45 per cent at middle stage, 23.41 per cent at high/higher

⁸ Census of India, 1981 - Uttar Pradesh - Part II-B. Primary Census Abstract, p. 31.

⁹ Figures for 1978-79 year for University and Colleges.

secondary stage and, 17.8 per cent at university level in 1984-85.

Thus, their percentage goes down as the level goes up.¹⁰

Regional Variation in Educational Development in Uttar Pradesh

within the state only the literacy rate varies from one region to another as will be revealed from the following table:

TABLE 7

Regional Disparities in Literacy Level in Uttar Pradesh (1971)¹¹

Eastern	Central	western	Bundelkhand	Hills	State average
19.4	22.8	22.3	22.5	31.0	21.7

Source : Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85, Review vol. I, pp.166-77.

Taking a look at these regional disparities in literacy we can discern a linkage between literacy and economic development of the region. The remote-north, mountainous Uttarakhand kumaon region and that part of Garhwal which was under direct British rule are advanced in literacy. In the Ganga plain which is in the western part of the state, i.e., the

¹⁰ Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1983-84, pp. 77-78.

¹¹ Figures for 1981 year were not available.

upper Ganga-Jamuna Doab, the literacy development is not commensurate with urbanization, while, Middle-Ganga Yamuna Doab is far ahead in literacy. Further east lie the poor areas of Oudh and the lower Ganga-Jamuna-Doab, which are under-developed in each dimension -- backward in urbanization and worst in literacy rate. The western part of Bundelkhand Plateau is better in both literacy and economic development.¹²

All the districts in Himalayan region have high literacy figures both for males and females and for urban and rural areas. One reason could be the provision of better education facilities in hilly areas than in other areas.

TABLE 8

Number of Schools per Lakhs of Population (1978-79)

	Eastern	Central	Western	Bundelkhand	Hills	State average
Junior Basic Schools	61.5	66.6	62.5	93.7	139.7	66.0
Senior basic Schools	10.0	11.7	10.2	14.2	22.8	11.2
High/Higher Secondary Schools	4.0	5.2	4.8	4.2	11.6	4.6

Source : Draft Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85, Review Vol. I, pp. 166-77.

¹² Singh, L.P. and Dubey, K.N., op.cit., p. 16.

It is evident from the above table that hill areas get much larger share of educational facilities than any other region.

Variation in the regional economy of Uttar Pradesh affects the uniform spread of female literacy and the uneven spread of female education has adversely affected the overall growth of female literacy in the state.

The districts with low female literacy rate are clustered together in three regions : Rohilkhand, Central, and eastern region (Sub-Himalayan East). Rampur comes at the bottom for all types of literacy namely, male, female, urban and rural. In the economically backward region of east and in Rohilkhand region female literacy is far behind the state average. From the table on next page there emerge a few district trends. In the low female literacy areas the literacy rate for male is also low, e.g. in districts lying in Rohilkhand region. This shows general educational backwardness of that region. The disparity between male and female literacy is wide-spread and a characteristic of every district. The disparity between male and female literacy is greater in the hill region -- in Uttarkashi (46.32 per cent for males, 9.17 per cent for females) and in Tehri-Garhwal (47.99 per cent for males and 9.42 per cent for females); Allahabad in central region; and Basti, Pratapgarh and Deoria in eastern region (see table 9). All the

TABLE 9

Total Literacy Rates in 1981
Male/Female, Rural/Urban

(The Percentage have been calculated on the total population inclusive of the population in age-group 0-4)

State/ District	Among the total population			Among the rural population			Among the urban Population		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
UTTAR PRADESH	27.16	38.76	14.04	23.06	35.18	9.49	45.88	54.73	34.43
Uttarkashi	28.92	46.32	9.17	26.21	43.62	7.05	65.20	76.04	46.24
Chamoli	37.46	57.40	18.34	35.16	55.40	16.50	63.87	75.24	45.61
Tehri-Garhwal	27.89	47.99	9.42	26.20	46.40	8.16	67.07	75.12	52.58
Dehra Dun	52.58	61.15	42.03	38.84	49.21	26.50	66.97	73.25	58.93
Garhwal	41.06	56.26	27.12	38.46	53.74	25.15	64.89	74.35	51.01
Pithoragarh	39.08	58.12	20.30	37.37	56.78	18.61	68.37	77.54	55.58
Almora	37.76	56.66	20.27	35.21	54.36	18.09	75.69	83.35	63.69
Nainital	37.81	46.61	27.10	33.24	42.97	21.76	49.86	56.78	41.44
Saharanpur	29.56	39.13	18.06	22.62	32.89	10.32	48.24	5.81	39.05
Muzaffarnagar	30.10	40.72	17.50	26.87	37.95	13.64	41.73	50.86	31.17
Bijnor	26.71	37.03	14.76	24.64	36.00	11.37	32.99	40.22	24.84
Meerut	34.68	46.73	20.30	30.01	43.41	13.89	44.97	54.14	34.23
Ghaziabad	36.28	48.68	21.32	29.76	43.48	13.33	48.85	58.64	36.91
Bulandshahr	28.97	42.47	13.34	27.29	42.00	10.19	35.96	44.42	26.34
Noradabad	19.82	27.31	10.93	15.24	23.62	5.17	32.25	37.53	26.19

Table cont'd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Rampur	16.34	22.63	8.86	11.59	17.97	3.91	29.34	35.77	22.05
Budaun	16.10	23.02	7.54	13.44	20.49	4.60	29.92	36.61	22.19
Bareilly	22.04	30.11	12.83	15.36	24.13	4.68	38.37	45.11	30.54
Pilibhit	20.44	29.85	9.32	17.20	27.02	5.56	37.17	44.63	28.51
Shahjahanpur	21.44	30.10	10.79	17.66	26.72	6.34	37.20	44.63	28.56
Aligarh	31.35	44.04	16.24	27.79	41.69	11.14	43.24	52.02	33.04
Mathura	30.63	45.02	12.92	26.71	42.17	7.50	45.32	55.91	32.73
Agra	33.45	44.65	19.92	26.57	40.06	9.95	44.62	52.29	45.65
Etah	27.10	38.69	13.10	24.77	37.06	9.78	39.78	47.85	30.56
Mainpuri	33.30	45.56	18.49	31.04	43.62	15.81	51.36	61.37	39.62
Farrukhabad	32.02	42.70	19.08	29.65	40.79	16.07	44.35	52.76	34.44
Etawah	37.29	48.69	23.58	34.83	46.68	20.49	51.46	60.56	40.94
Kanpur	43.67	53.40	31.95	34.09	45.38	20.83	54.77	62.45	45.23
Fatehpur	25.97	38.07	12.48	24.42	36.82	10.61	41.70	50.52	31.62
Allahabad	27.99	41.51	12.81	21.02	35.28	5.33	55.24	64.76	43.66
Jalaun	35.95	50.16	18.96	32.92	47.83	15.07	48.12	59.53	34.54
Jhansi	37.06	50.67	21.38	28.73	43.84	11.06	50.68	62.06	37.91
Lalitpur	21.34	31.11	9.96	17.11	26.64	5.96	48.84	60.60	35.49
Hamirpur	26.31	38.94	11.57	23.10	35.78	8.28	42.46	54.78	28.06
Banda	23.30	35.99	8.61	20.56	33.33	5.86	43.78	55.44	29.68
Kheri	17.70	26.24	7.61	15.12	23.75	4.92	42.03	49.80	32.89
Sitapur	19.44	28.79	8.38	16.45	25.77	5.42	45.48	55.24	34.06
Hardoi	22.19	32.67	9.52	19.97	30.63	7.03	40.03	49.32	29.17
Unnao	25.28	36.78	12.34	23.11	34.85	9.94	41.39	51.04	30.37
Lucknow	40.33	49.32	29.71	22.61	33.53	9.95	56.29	65.34	47.84
Rae Bareilly	23.08	34.94	10.47	21.46	33.45	8.86	43.11	52.67	31.90

Table cont'd...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bahraich	15.57	24.35	5.29	13.75	22.53	3.45	39.57	48.69	29.16
Gonda	16.32	25.99	5.45	14.50	24.02	3.83	29.30	50.36	26.39
Bara Banki	16.87	28.86	7.21	17.30	27.36	5.57	34.91	44.40	23.90
Faizabad	25.61	36.19	12.15	22.81	35.54	9.39	46.33	56.34	36.21
Sultanpur	22.44	35.14	9.37	31.44	34.15	8.41	51.84	62.42	39.40
Pratapgarh	23.81	36.51	8.81	22.72	37.84	7.81	44.34	57.36	29.26
Basti	20.24	31.66	7.94	19.09	30.44	6.91	43.14	54.74	29.49
Gorakhpur	23.92	36.66	10.36	20.22	33.10	6.68	55.17	65.08	43.43
Deoria	23.20	37.16	9.07	21.75	35.73	7.72	43.65	56.04	29.49
Azamgarh	25.10	36.27	12.20	23.11	36.40	10.25	44.73	55.60	32.76
Jaunpur	26.30	41.86	10.89	25.04	40.83	9.54	43.94	55.31	31.17
Ballia	26.16	41.85	14.29	26.47	40.31	12.53	45.20	56.61	32.67
Ghazipur	27.62	41.45	13.63	25.96	39.82	12.04	46.97	59.49	33.07
Varanasi	31.85	45.95	16.25	26.52	41.79	10.05	46.34	56.80	33.96
Mirzapur	23.58	35.10	10.62	20.13	31.43	7.63	46.36	57.95	31.80

Source : Census of India - 1981

districts in Himalayan region have high literacy figures for males and females, and for urban and rural areas, except Uttarkashi and Tehri Garhwal where female literacy in the urban areas is very high, but female literacy in the rural areas is less than 9 per cent. The large disparity in these two districts may be due to their general economic backwardness, Females in these regions are engaged in large numbers in economic

activity because males migrate to other places for employment and the economic burden fall on women. Thus, poverty affects girls more than boys.

The census records for 1951 refer to 'social reasons' for the relatively high female literacy in the Himalayan regions. In the hill areas a better response to education of girls comes due to the absence of parda. In other areas prejudices to female education presented major obstacles to the progress of the education of girls and women and were related to a wider framework of social norms like female seclusion.

Variation in Rural/Urban Literacy among the Districts

The disparity between rural and urban literacy is also quite high in the state. Female literacy in the rural areas presents a very dismal picture. It is only 9.49 per cent as against 35.16 per cent for males for the whole state. It has increased from 2.5 per cent in 1971 to 9.49 per cent in 1981, while male literacy has increased five-fold from 7.16 per cent to 36.16 per cent during the same period.

From table 10 we can see the degree of disparity in the literacy rate between the males and females in rural and urban areas. It is clear from the table that male/female literacy differential is highest in the rural areas and has increased since 1971. Literacy difference between rural and urban areas is higher among females than males and

TABLE 10

Literacy Differentials in Percentage Points 1971 and 1981 in Uttar Pradesh

Sex wise	Differential		1971			1981			
	Areawise		Rural	Urban	In total	Urban/ Rural	Rural	Urban	In total
	Urban/ Rural	Rural/ Rural	Rural Rural	Urban Urban		Urban/ Rural	Rural Rural	Urban Urban	
Male/Female	--	21.03	18.75	20.95		--	25.54	18.62	24.48
Male/male	24.06	-	-	-		19.04	-	-	-
Female/ Female	26.34	-	-	-		25.96	-	-	-
In total	25.50	-	-	-		22.57	-	-	-

Source : Educational Growth in India, Data Base, NISPA, Table IV.

has hardly reduced since 1971 in case ^{of} females. For males it has reduced considerably.

The district_wise literacy position in the rural and the urban areas is as follows. The himalayan districts top the list in urban literacy. Nainital, Pithoragarh, Dehradun, and Etawah districts are ahead in rural literacy while Almora, Tehri-Garhwal, Dehradun and Garhwal districts are ahead in urban literacy. On the other hand Budaun, Rampur, Bareilly and Moradabad districts are low in rural literacy while Rampur, Budaun, Shahjahanpur, Barabanki, Bijnor and Moradabad districts are backward in urban literacy.¹³ In 1961 the lowest urban literacy was in district Rampur (32.3 per cent) followed by Budaun (29.92 per cent), Shahjahanpur, Barabanki, and Bijnor.

Bahraich has the lowest female literacy in the rural areas (3.45 per cent) followed by Gonda (3.63 per cent), Rampur (3.91 per cent), Budaun (4.6 per cent), Bareilly (4.68 per cent), and Kheri (4.92 per cent). The total female literacy for these districts is also very low. In the districts of Central region rural literacy is less than 20 per cent and female rural literacy is much less than 10 per cent. The case of Lucknow and Allahabad districts is interesting where female literacy in urban areas is very high, i.e., 47.84 per cent and 43.66

¹³ Census of India, 1961, Uttar Pradesh, op.cit., p. 33.

per cent, respectively, while rural female literacy is low : 9.94 per cent and 5.33 per cent, respectively. The reason for low rural female literacy in Lucknow could be the high percentage of Scheduled Castes (39.15 per cent) in its rural areas. The Census of Uttar Pradesh (1961) showed that Lucknow, Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur, Banaras, which were centres of importance and commercially important, had a higher number of literates than Gorakhpur, Gonda, Faizabad and Ghazipur. It is noticeable how the literacy figures depend on the presence of towns because cities are better provided ^{with schools and institutions of higher learning} than rural areas, besides being the centres of social, political and intellectual activities. Thus, urban and industrial development also favour the growth of literacy, apart from exclusively socio-cultural considerations. Perhaps that was the reason why Muslims who were mainly urban dwelling in Uttar Pradesh were better off in literacy till independence.

In the rural areas, sheer poverty and lack of easy access to educational opportunity hindered educational development. Eastern districts maintained a low female literacy throughout. Since East is poorer and more rural with a higher concentration of the lower castes, therefore, literacy in general and particularly among rural females is very low. Female children are subjected to 'selective child care' and are seldom sent to school.¹⁴ The western region comes out better in women's literacy. One reason for this is that it is

14 Singh, L.P., and Dubey, K.N. -- op.cit., p. 16.

more urbanized, with dominant landowning castes like Jats, Rajputs and Brahmins and in the cities resided Kayasthas and Benias, the trading communities who have always registered higher literacy than the other castes. It is also more industrialized and, therefore, has literate migrant population from the east engaged in industrial activity.

Uttar Pradesh is a vast state and conditions in one part of it vary greatly from those of the other. A predominantly agricultural area will have literacy rates different from the one which is composite in character, consisting of artisans, city labourers, traders and the like. A farmer cannot see any connection between literacy and his own prosperity. A farmer needs all the help he can muster to keep his farm going while a trader needs to educate his children so that they can be initiated in the art of his trade.¹⁵

Concluding this section on rural/urban variation in literacy we can say that traditional resistance to the education of girls is comparatively strong in the rural areas, because education is not seen to have any economic returns. On the other hand, in the economically advanced regions, where urbanization and industrialization have made inroads, education is linked with occupational mobility.

Variation in Literacy on Community Basis

The Committee on the Status of Women in India (1974) has

15 Census Report, 1961, Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, Part I-A(II), p. 45.

emphasized the need for the study of population composition in determining the literacy rate in an area. The report of the Committee has found that cities and regions with a high proportion of Muslims or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are marked by low literacy rates.¹⁶

We shall now see how population of a district affects its literacy rate in the state, i.e., in Muslim dominated districts, what is the literacy position. Since we do not have religion-wise literacy figures for the post-independence period, we shall try to see whether the literacy development of a district is reflected on the majority or minority composition of a particular community inhabiting that district.

We have seen that Muslims, being an urban-dwelling community in Uttar Pradesh, were better off in literacy development of the state and Muslim women were well represented in the field of education before independence. But a different educational position of Muslim women emerged in post-independence period. The Committee on the Status of Women in India (1974) conducted a survey of 1,577 Muslim women from one union territory and eight states including Uttar Pradesh. These eight states and the Union Territory represent 73.5 per cent of the urban Muslim women population. Some of the important observations of this survey for Uttar Pradesh were that the largest number of respondents

16 Towards Equality, 1974, op.cit., p. 268.

observe parda due to religious convictions. It is confined mainly to housewives, both in the slum areas and in the middle class areas.¹⁷ It does not extend to students or working women in slums. Once the Muslim women become educated or start working, they discard the parda. The educational level of respondents was as follows :

TABLE 11

State	Number of Education	Upto Primary	Upto Secondary	Upto B.A.	BA & above
Uttar Pradesh	46.6	3.4	15.7	9.8	6.9

The number of "upto primary" respondents seem to indicate that there is a large percentage of drop-outs from school. These respondents without formal education do not know any written language. One important observation was that there is no difference in the formal education given to daughters and sons. In many Muslim families, while no formal education is imparted to girls, they are traditionally taught Urdu and the Quran at home.

The report concluded that there was low educational development among Muslim women and a lower rate of literacy among them. The survey

¹⁷ Towards Equality, 1974. op.cit., p. 454.

revealed that the number of Muslim women with no formal education continued to be very high even in states like Kerala which were considerably advanced in the development of women's education.¹⁸

In Uttar Pradesh, Muslim dominated districts registered very low literacy in general and low female literacy in particular. In all the six districts centered in Rohilkhand region female literacy was lower than 4 per cent which was much below the state average of 8.30 per cent (1961). All the six districts in Rohilkhand region have low literacy percentage in both rural and urban regions, which is below the respective state averages. According to 1961 (Table 12) Census report, the low literacy in Rohilkhand division and some other districts was not due to poor economic conditions, but to a long standing apathy towards education.¹⁹

How far this contention is true can be verified by looking at the female literacy position of these districts in 1981 (Table 13). How much progress has taken place in female literacy since 1961?²⁰ In three districts of Bijnor, Moradabad and Rampur, Muslim population in the urban areas is more than Hindu population. The urban literacy rate for these districts is lowest, i.e., less than one third of the

18 Ibid., p. 268.

19 Census of India, 1961, Uttar Pradesh, op.cit., p. 607.

20 We do not have consistent figures for the year 1951.

TABLE 12

Population Table for 1961 : Percentage of Male and Female Literacy in Rural and Urban Areas

District*	Muslim Population			Male Literacy		Female Literacy	
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Rampur	39.2	67.1	45.0	13.3	35.4	1.9	18.6
Bijnor	32.3	58.4	36.8	23.9	37.7	5.4	21.1
Moradabad	33.4	50.8	37.2	14.4	39.0	2.8	20.3
Saharanpur	30.0	34.9	31.1	21.4	50.0	4.5	29.9
Bareilly	27.5	36.3	29.0	14.4	44.7	2.4	27.9
Pilibhit	18.6	36.7	21.1	16.8	39.9	2.9	22.7
Bahraich	23.9	55.5	25.8	18.5	43.2	1.8	20.6
Gonda	20.0	39.9	20.9	18.0	49.9	2.3	22.6
Basti	18.6	25.8	18.7	19.2	55.3	2.8	25.4
Barabanki	17.2	48.5	18.8	18.5	39.0	2.8	20.2
UTTAR PRADESH	12.48	29.16	14.63	27.78	50.0	4.91	27.8

Source : For religious population source is Census of India, 1961, vol. XV, Part-1-C(III) U.P., pp. 64-66.
 For Male and Female rural and Urban literacy rates, Census of India, 1961, vol. XV, U.P.,
 Part-IIA, General Population Tables, p. 275 and 276.

* We have taken only Muslim dominated districts in our Analysis.

TABLE 13

Table for the Year 1981 : Percentage of Male/Female Literacy to Total Population

District	Percentage of Muslim Population	Male Literacy			Female Literacy		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Rampur	47.22	22.63	17.97	35.77	8.88	3.91	22.05
Bijnor	39.45	37.03	36.00	40.22	14.76	11.37	24.64
Moradabad	36.06	27.31	23.62	37.53	10.93	5.17	26.19
Saharanpur	31.57	39.13	32.89	54.81	18.06	10.32	39.05
Bareilly	27.15	30.11	24.13	45.11	12.33	4.66	30.54
Pilibhit	21.12	29.85	27.02	44.63	9.32	5.56	28.51
Bahraich	25.02	24.35	22.53	46.69	5.29	3.45	29.18
Gonda	22.46	25.99	24.02	50.36	5.45	3.83	26.39
Basti	20.4	31.66	30.44	54.74	7.94	6.91	29.49
Barabanki	20.45	26.66	27.36	44.40	7.21	5.57	23.90
UTTAR PRADESH	15.93	36.76	35.16	54.73	14.04	9.49	35.43

Source : Census of India, 1981, Uttar Pradesh. Socio-Cultural Tables.

Census of India, 1981, Uttar Pradesh. Primary Census Abstract.

population. There is general educational backwardness in the districts lying in Rohilkhand region. In Rampur, female literacy has increased four-fold from 1961 to 1981, and is much below the state average. In the case of Bijnor, where Muslim population in urban areas is double the Hindu population, the literacy rate of both males and females is much below the state average while in rural areas the literacy rate for both males and females is above the state average. The case of Rampur is different where the development of modern education was very late to start because the state was ruled by native rulers and was outside the British education system.

We can only infer from these observations that Muslims are slow to take to education even in urban areas. After independence, the general economic deprivation of upper class, traditionally dominant Muslim families in urban areas forced them to send their daughters to schools to exploit the economic opportunities obtained due to educational attainment, e.g., the upper class Muslim Ashrafs in Uttar Pradesh realized the worth of education and changed their attitudes towards women in the matter of their education.²¹ The favourable response to girls' education, therefore, came from a very tiny section of middle class families, while the large majority of them remained aloof from education of girls due to socio-cultural backwardness. Thus, despite, their urban character, Muslims in Uttar Pradesh remained educationally backward.

21 Bhatti, Zarina, op.cit., p. 206.

Apart from variation in literacy development in districts along religious lines, there are also variations in literacy on caste basis. ~~also~~

Caste-Wise Variations in Literacy

In this section we shall analyse the literacy position of Scheduled Caste only because data on other castes is not available. There was a wide gap in literacy rate for general population (21.7 per cent) and for Scheduled Caste population (10.19 per cent) in 1971. The gap between female literacy rate of Scheduled Castes (2.46 per cent) and general female population (10.55 per cent) was also alarmingly high in 1971. In Uttar Pradesh, literacy among the Scheduled Caste females is generally very low in rural areas as compared to their all-India position.

TABLE 14

Female Literacy Rates Amongst Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in Rural Areas in 1971 and 1981.

State	Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribe	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
India	5.06	6.45	4.36	6.61
Uttar Pradesh	1.74	2.72	4.33	7.32

Source : (1) Census of India, 1971; (2) Census of India 1981.

The literacy difference between the Scheduled Caste males and females in Uttar Pradesh is very high; 17.13 per cent and 2.46 per cent, respectively. The difference between urban and rural Scheduled Caste female literacy for Uttar Pradesh is also very high: 11.75 per cent and 1.74 per cent, respectively.

The literacy rate for the Scheduled Caste population was high in Dehradun (24.27 per cent) and Garhwal (21.0 per cent) in 1971. It was the lowest in Gonda, Bahraich and Barabanki.²²

According to 1971 Census, rural Scheduled Caste female literacy in eastern districts of Bahraich, Basti, Gonda, Faizabad, Pratapgarh, Gorakhpur, Deoria and Sultanpur was less than 1 per cent. Other districts which fall in this category are Fatehpur, Allahabad, Banda, Badaun, Rampur and Bareilly. In all these districts literacy for the Scheduled Caste females in rural areas is lower than the state average. In Mirzapur, where Scheduled Caste population forms one-third of the total population, the literacy rate for Scheduled Caste females in rural areas is only 0.91 per cent.²³

We have seen that in Uttar Pradesh there was general educational backwardness among the Scheduled Castes. But women, as a group among them

22 District Profiles of India, Data Base, NIEPA, 1973, p. 42.

TABLE 15

Female Literacy Rate in Rural Areas and Among Rural
Scheduled Caste Females
in 1971

District*	Rural female literacy rate	Literacy Rate in Rural Schedules Caste Female
<u>1971 year</u>		
Bahraich	02.9	0.53
Basti	04.6	0.61
Gonda	03.4	0.39
Faizabad	06.0	0.84
Bara Banki	04.4	0.57
Gorakhpur	05.7	0.74
Deoria	05.3	0.87
Sultanpur	06.2	0.70
Fatehpur	07.8	0.83
Allahabad	04.6	0.62
Banda	04.0	0.48
Badaun	04.0	0.83
Rampur	03.6	0.94
Bareilly	04.0	0.94
Uttar Pradesh	07.0	1.73
India	13.17	6.44

Source : District Profile of Uttar Pradesh Data Base, NIEPA

*We have taken those districts where Scheduled Caste population is substantial and literacy rate is very low among them.

are more deprived educationally than men. They are doubly discriminated firstly, because of their caste position and, secondly for being women, e.g., a Scheduled Caste woman agricultural labourer, who felt terribly insecure in the village due to the harrassment from the locally powerful landlord and lack of support from her own biradari (kin-groups), had only this explanation to offer, "I am poor and they are rich. I am a women and they are men".²⁴ Such fears are often translated into negative social attitudes and practices like early marriage, withdrawal of girls from wage-work with upward social mobility.²⁵

Early marriage is widespread among the lower castes, who may have particularly wanted to shield their women-folk against the assault by men of upper castes and classes. Secondly, lower castes have adopted this upper caste practice in an attempt to raise their social status, as in the past it was regarded a badge of social respectability.

Caste also determines parents' attitude towards the education of their children. Lower castes for long have had no tradition of educating their children. They don't see the immediate economic benefit from educating their children; they tend to be less inclined to send their children to school.

24 Sharma, Kumud, et.al., "Women in Focus" a community in search of equal roles, Sangam Book Pvt. Ltd., 1984, p. 61.

25 Ibid. "women in Focus", p. 61.

General Reasons for Educational Backwardness of Women

Early marriage was the greatest deterrant to the progress of girls' education in the past, it is much less so now. In educationally backward states, this still is a problem. The average age of marriage of females in the rural areas in 1971, in Uttar Pradesh, was 16.7 per cent as against 19.2 per cent in urban areas. The corresponding average age of marriage for men in rural and urban areas was 21.6 per cent and 24.3 per cent, respectively. The proportion of married females in the age group 10-14 for 1961 was 11.26 in Uttar Pradesh. The percentage of married males and females in this age group in rural and urban areas in 1961 was as follows :

TABLE 16

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Rural	5.96	13.32
Urban	1.00	2.85
Total	5.12	11.37

Source : Census of India, 1961, "Social and Cultural Tables", Uttar Pradesh, pp. 46-9.

Education tends to be seen as irrelevant for girls who are destined for marriage and motherhood at an early age. Some disastrous effects of child marriage among females are young widowhood, maternal mortality, nutrition deficiency and illiteracy.

There are other reasons which are responsible for the educational backwardness of women, such as the economic position of the family which governs the differential preference given to boys and girls insofar as their education and other growth inputs are concerned. There seems to be a lack of appreciation of women's contribution to the economy through their participation in the economic and social activities. Thus, perception of economic worth of females and the likely or possible economic returns from investment in girls education is also an important factor affecting access of girls to education. Therefore, one of the reasons of girls' educational backwardness is that their education is not seen as having economic value like boys. It is valued more in the marriage market for girls as the opinion goes that educated women would make better wives and mothers in the changing socio-economic conditions.

A study conducted by Kumud Sharma et.al., on the experience of being a woman in the two districts of Uttar Pradesh namely, Barabanki and Etawah, found ambivalent attitudes towards the education of girls in towns and villages. They indicated that girls' education is increasingly seen as an insurance against some future crisis or withdrawal of traditional support and, therefore, leading to employment. On the other hand boys' education is perceived as more important and crucial for future security of the family. The general reluctance to invest in girls' education stems from the feeling that there will be no return to the natal family on the expenditure incurred. A further contradiction is that, though girls education is perceived as improving her marriage prospects, it increases the dowry demand made by an equally

educated bridegroom.²⁶ when the boys dropped out of school, it was solely for economic reasons, out girls were withdrawn for other reasons as well, such as marriage, or to minimise the risk of high dowry demands or to help out in the house or to take care of younger siblings.²⁷

In their survey, Kumud Sharma and others, tried to find out the opinion of villagers regarding the education of girls. Some of the respondents in the weavers' families were of the opinion that social prejudice against girls' education does not constitute a barrier, but economic constraints coupled with the requirement of family labour in household industries, inhibit girls' education. The prevalence of child labour has been recognized as the greatest deterrent to the spread of education among children of the poor. Exclusion from education because of participation in economy is higher among girls than among boys, as they constitute a higher proportion of the unpaid family workers.

To sum up, we can say that women's education is backward in Uttar Pradesh in comparison to education of men and this backwardness varies from one region to another and within a region from one district to another. Development of women's education has shown a co-relation with factors like economic development, caste, religion and poverty

26 Sharma, Kumud, et.al., "Women in Focus", p. 38.

27 Ibid., p. 39.

of the people of that region. Thus, in Uttar Pradesh, the development of women's education is linked to socio-cultural, economic and educational backwardness.

Chapter IV

PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN UTTAR PRADESH

In the preceding chapter we have seen how social disparities in education are related to geographic, economic, demographic, and socio-cultural characteristics of a region. Disparities in the progress of education between districts of the state, between male and female literacy rates in every district, educational backwardness of a community, female educational backwardness among the weaker sections and above all imbalance in its expansion between rural and urban population, characterise the education system in Uttar Pradesh.

In this chapter we shall be analysing the progress of primary education of girls with respect to the provision of primary schooling in different regions, the enrolment of girls vis-a-vis boys' enrolment their retention at primary stage and availability of teachers, etc. So far we have seen that there are, advantages and disadvantages in this state on account of historical circumstances, the physical, economic, demographic and social factors, which have important influence on the educational development among girls. From here we would proceed to study first the progress in the number of institutions at primary stage, in the enrolment of girls at primary level and finally the drop-out rates for boys and girls. We have taken these dimensions because universalization of primary education involves three basic requirements : (1) universal provision of schooling facilities (2) universal enrolment; and (3) universal retention.

Administration of Primary Education in Uttar Pradesh

Till 1972, the local Boards were entrusted with the responsibility of administering elementary education, although the major amount for expenditure was provided by the state government. Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Act 1972 established a Basic Shiksha Parishad to take over the administration of Junior Basic Schools (JBS) from local boards. Almost all the primary schools are independent institutions. Only a few of them form a part of the Junior High School.¹ At present there are no separate primary schools for girls and boys. All the primary schools of the Parishad have been declared mixed schools as per instructions of the Basic Shiksha Parishad. Education for girls is free upto class tenth while the boys are exempted from tuition fee upto class sixth.

Finance

Uttar Pradesh has lowest per capita (Rs 35.4) budgeted expenditure on education among all the states. Only 22.0 per cent is spent on education from the total state budget.² Total budgetary

1 A study of the Administration of Elementary Education in relation to the Programme of universalization, NIEPA 1979.

2 Analysis of budgeted Expenditure on Education (1981-82 to 1983-84), Government of India, Department of Education, 1984, p. 183.

expenditure on education had decreased in Uttar Pradesh from 27.1 per cent in 1977-78 to 21.8 per cent in 1981-82. Out of this 21.8 per cent in 1981-82, 51.6 per cent was spent on primary education, 31.7 per cent on secondary education and 10.2 per cent on higher education.

TABLE 1

Sectoral Allocation of Educational Budget in
Uttar Pradesh
(in crore)

	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
1950-51	3.32 (45.04%)	1.66	.46 (6.51%)	7.37
1960-61	5.69 (42.59%)	3.36	1.14 (8.53%)	13.36
1970-71	31.67 (46.64%)	18.24	4.66 (6.86%)	67.89
1980-81	164.65 (51.24%)	94.44	32.04 (9.97%)	321.30
1981-82	168.70 (53.34%)	104.65	33.27 (10.52%)	316.24
1984-85	243.46 (50.34%)	179.69	47.40 (9.80%)	483.59

Source : Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85, p. 72.

Out of the total budget of 483.59 crores on education in 1984-85 448.00 crores was earmarked for the education of boys and 35.59 crores for the education of girls. The budget on the education of boys also include expenditure on girls' education. In 1986-87 a grant of 1,132.74 lakhs was sanctioned for the construction of Junior Basic

Schools in the rural and the urban areas out of which 192.21 lakhs was spent on the hill region. A total of 11.45 lakhs was sanctioned in 1986-87 as incentive grant in the form of free text books to girls and boys of weaker communities. A total of 540 lakhs was given as grant to unaided primary schools.³

There is an increase in the responsibilities of the government and other public bodies as against a decline in the responsibilities of private agencies in terms of their share in expenditure on primary education.⁴ Public expenditure on education has grown at an annual growth rate of 13.5 per cent as against 8.5 per cent between 1950-51 and 1976-77. The contribution from private bodies declined from 43.4 per cent to 19.6 per cent during this period.⁵ Private agencies do not seem to be interested in opening schools in the rural areas. Barely 8.28 per cent of the enrolment is in private aided or unaided schools located in the rural areas. In urban areas its contribution is significant as 38.39 per cent of enrolment is in private aided or unaided schools.

Most of the Primary schools are under the control of local bodies. The contribution of private aided and unaided schools has

3 Draft Annual Plan 1988-89, vol. III. Uttar Pradesh General Statement, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Planning Department, December 1987, pp. 178-181.

4 Padmanabhan, C.B., Financing and Equality of Opportunity in Education with special reference to Uttar Pradesh, and Kerala ICSSR Study, NIEPA, New Delhi, p. 191.

5 Ibid.

decreased during the period 1956-57 to 1978-79, while during the same period contribution of local bodies has increased. (See table 2.)

TABLE 2

Percentage of Primary Schools according to Management
in Uttar Pradesh

Year	Government	Local bodies	Private aided	Private unaided	Total
1956-57	2.2	91.0	6.1	9.9	100
1978-79	00.2	94.6	1.5	3.7	100

Sources : (1) Education in India, 1956-57; and
(2) Fourth All India Educational Survey, 1978, NCERT.

Provision of Primary Schools

Universalizing the provision of primary education facilities is a pre-condition for the universalization of enrolment. Norms for providing new primary schools under the formal system are (1) a primary school within 1.5 km in the plains and in habitations with 300 persons or more population. In the hills the norm for providing new primary schools is within 1 km. According to the above norm, the number of habitations which still need to be served in respect of primary education came to be 4,309 in 1978 in Uttar Pradesh.⁶ In Uttar Pradesh the number of habitations with a population of less than 300 persons forms

6 IV All India Educational Survey, 1978, NCERT.

about 30 per cent of the total habitations in the country. The problem of providing additional schooling facilities in the future is likely to be that of providing schools for small habitations. According to Fourth All India Educational Survey (1978) 23 per cent of the general population is served with primary schools within the habitation, 77 per cent of population is served with primary schools up to 1 Km and 86 per cent of population is served with primary school upto 1.5 Km. The higher the density of population the easier it is to create educational facilities in all habitations because per student expenditure is low. Uttar Pradesh has 62.5 per cent of small habitation with less than a population of 300 persons while Kerala has only 2.6 per cent of such habitations. In the hill areas of Uttar Pradesh, the ideal of one school for every village in sparsely populated areas is difficult to realize.⁷ At present (1984-85) there are 72,959 mixed Junior Basic Schools in Uttar Pradesh, out of which 66,156 schools are in the rural areas.⁸ For providing educational facilities in unserved areas, 351 primary schools (104 in the plains and 247 in the hills) were opened in 1985-86. During 1986-87 Annual Plan 222 primary schools at the end of 1986, the total number of primary schools in Uttar Pradesh was 73,535.⁹ Out of these 66,700 are in rural and rest in urban areas.

7 Census 1961, Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, Part IA (II), p. 46.

8 Shiksha Ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85, p. 5.

9 Draft Annual Plan (1986-89) Vol. I, Uttar Pradesh Sectoral Profile. Government of Uttar Pradesh, Planning Department, December 1987, p. 23b.

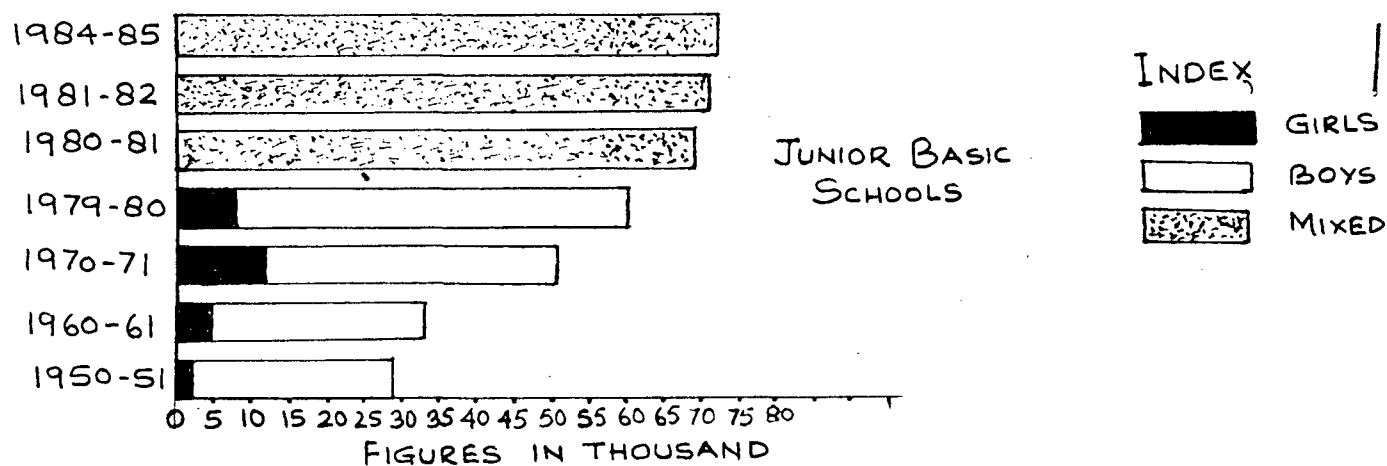
Sex-wise Variation in Number of Institutions (Junior Basic Schools)

TABLE 3

Number of Junior Basic Schools 1950-51 -- 1984-85

Year	Girls' Schools	Boys' Schools	Total
1950-51	2,520 (7.88)	29,459	31,979
1960-61	4,927 (12.29)	35,156	40,083
1970-71	11,624 (16.71)	50,503	62,127
1979-80	8,854 (12.59)	61,438	70,292
1980-81	-	-	70,606 (mixed)
1981-82	-	-	71,602 (")
1984-85	-	-	72,959 (")

Source : (1) Shiksha Ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh 1984-85.

(2) Education in India 1979-80, p. 125.

(Figures in parenthesis denote percentage).

3

From the table/it is clear that a maximum increase in the number of Junior Basic Schools occurred during 1960-70, after that the increase was slow. While the percentage of girls' schools increased during 1950-1970 from 7.88 to 18.71 per cent, in 1980-81 all the Junior Basic Schools were declared mixed schools. Due to the paucity of funds it has not been possible for the state administration to provide exclusive schools for girls. In 1979-80 the number of girls' schools decreased from 11,624 in 1970-71 to 8,854 in 1979-80. It could be due to the non-availability of female teachers to teach in schools located in the rural areas. Co-education was more popular in the eastern districts where it was doubly welcomed due to the problem of insufficient staff and accommodation in the girls' schools in general, and also because education was made possible for a large number of girls in areas where there were no schools for girls at all.¹⁰

Caste-wise Variation in the Number of Institutions

There is no policy guideline for the scattered or dispersed population or for locating a school in an area having a concentration of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population. According to

10 Third All India Educational Survey, Uttar Pradesh Tables vol. 1. Survey and Data Processing Unit, NCERT, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 60-65.

IV All India Educational Survey (1978), 20 per cent of new schools should be opened in the localities which are pre-dominantly inhabited by the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe communities. But most of the villages with more than 15 per cent of Scheduled Castes are not served with primary schools.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Habitations Served with Primary
Schools 1978

Habitations	Primary schools served within habitation of 300 or more population	
Habitations (General)	A.	48.94
	B.	84.10
Habitations predominantly populated by Scheduled Caste	A.	33.10
	B.	76.53
Habitations predominantly populated by Scheduled Tribe	A.	66.83
	B.	88.26

A = Served within the habitation

B = Served upto to 3 kms.

Source : IV All India educational Survey, 1978, NCERT.

From the above table it is clear that only 33.10 per cent Scheduled Caste habitations were served with primary schools within the habitations. In these habitations 12 per cent of the Scheduled

Caste population is served with primary schools within the habitation. 75 per cent of Scheduled Caste population is served with primary schools upto 1 Km and 65 per cent is served with primary schools upto 1.5 km. Thus, a large percentage of Scheduled Caste population does not have primary schools within the habitations.

Rural/Urban Variation in Primary Schools

An acute type of educational imbalance is the difference in opportunity and quality of education available in the rural and the urban areas. These disparities have been identified as one of the main factors *for the widening economic and social inequalities* between rural and urban population, particularly in many developing countries.¹¹ The larger the degree of backwardness in a district, the larger the extent of disparity in the distribution of benefits in the rural areas.

In 1961, 70 per cent of the villages in the entire state were without schools. In nine districts more than 80 per cent villages were without any school. These were : Uttar kashi (81.0); Pithoragarh (84.7); Tehri Garhwal (83.3); Almora (84.3); Rampur (80.7); Basti (87.8); Gorakhpur (82.3); Azamgarh (81.8); and Jaunpur (80.6). These are thinly populated districts¹². According to the fourth All

11 Coombs H. Philip. et.al., "New Paths to Learning", For Rural, Children and Youth 1973, New York : International Council for Educational Development, p. 1.

12 Census of India 1961 -- Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, Part IA (II), pp. 46 and 55.

India Educational Survey conducted in 1978 there were 13,962 rural habitations having a population of 300 or more but no primary school within a walking distance. About 1,500 Junior Basic Schools were needed in the urban areas. In 1978¹³ only 65 per cent rural habitations had school facilities in Uttar Pradesh within a distance of half a mile, while 23 per cent were unserved within half a mile.

TABLE 5

Percentage of Rural Population Served by
Primary Schools in Uttar Pradesh

<u>within the habitation</u>	Upto 1 km.	1 to 1.5 km	More than 2 Km
52.97	85.84	5.42	2.76

Source : Fourth All India Educational Survey, 1978, NCERT.

In 1978 only 96 per cent of rural population in Uttar Pradesh was served with a primary school within a distance of one Km. and 84 per cent habitation with population of 300 or more served with this facility

¹³ The latest available date on habitation, served with primary schools, is of 1976 only.

TABLE 6

Percentage Increase in Number of Schools (JBS)
in the Rural Areas

Year	Percentage increase in rural areas
1950-51 -- 1960-61	48.89
1960-61 -- 1965-66	53.69
1965-66 -- 1973-74	1.41
1973-74 -- 1978-79	10.87

Source : Ashraf, M.S. and Papola T.S. -- Problems of Non-enrolment Non-Attendance and Dropouts in Schools. A Study in Uttar Pradesh, p. 4.

From 1950-51 to 1965-66, there is very high increase in the number of schools in rural areas. After 1965-66 the percentage growth of Junior Basic Schools has gone down. This has also been the trend for the total number of Junior Basic Schools over the years. There was a rapid increase in the number of Junior Basic Schools till 1965-66 but this rapid increase could not keep pace with the quality of primary schooling. Facilities provided in these schools were very poor. According to Fourth Educational Survey (1978) in Uttar Pradesh in September 1976, 16.52 per cent of the Junior Basic Schools were running in open space thus making their functioning impossible during hot weather and rains. At the end of Sixth Plan there were 18,600 primary schools without buildings. During 1985-86, 1,224 primary

school buildings were constructed.¹⁴ The education policy of 1986 has given a symbolic name 'Operation Blackboard' for ensuring essential facilities in the primary schools.¹⁵

In 1978, 6.3 per cent Junior Basic Schools were housed in tents or kuchcha structure and 8.6 per cent had only partly pukka buildings. Only 55.97 per cent Junior Basic Schools had adequate mats/furniture for students. Only 53.9 per cent had adequate number of blackboards. About one third of Junior Basic Schools had text book banks and only 23.3 per cent schools had libraries. The percentage of schools with inadequacy in respect of the above facilities was larger among the rural schools than the urban schools.

TABLE 7

Facilities/Incentives in 1978

Item	Urban Junior Basic Schools	Rural Junior Basic Schools
Sports	32.8	10.2
Drinking Water	74.1	41.0
Urinals/Lavatories	61.4	10.0
Mid-day meals incentives	12.8	7.6
Free uniform	00.6	0.1
Attendance Scholarship	0.7	0.6
Play Ground	35.3	49.9
Free text books	13.6	11.1

Source : Fourth All India Educational Survey, 1978, NCERT.

14 Draft Annual Plan (1988-89) Vol. 1 Uttar Pradesh. Sectoral/Profile Government of Uttar Pradesh. Planning department. December 1987, p. 236.

15 Ibid.

Except in the case of playground (which is relatively easily available in the village) and the incentives of free text books, all other facilities and incentives are available in a large percentage of urban schools.

TABLE 8

District wise Figures for Number of Junior Basic Schools in 1978 and 1984

District	1978	1984	Difference between 1978 and 1984
Lucknow	1,370	1,173	-197
Sitapur	1,234	1,513	279
Kheri	1,260	1,400	140
Hardoi	1,388	1,575	186
Unnao	1,326	1,281	- 35
Rae Bareilly	980	1,079	99
Pratapgarh	991	1,065	74
Sultanpur	1,474	1,572	98
Faizabad	1,395	1,489	94
Barabanki	1,415	1,464	49
Bahraich	1,297	1,513	216
Gonda	1,965	1,937	- 28
Basti	1,941	2,120	179
Gorakhpur	2,000	1,917	- 83
Deoria	1,960	1,777	-183
Azamgarh	1,604	1,802	198

cont'd..

Table cont'd....

District	1978	1984	Difference between 1978 and 1984
Ballia	1,266	1,227	- 39
Gazipur	1,187	1,064	-123
Jaunpur	1,212	1,318	106
Varanasi	1,661	1,706	45
Mirzapur	1,333	1,578	245
Bijnor	956	1,153	197
Moradabad	1,715	1,888	173
Rampur	630	718	88
Allahabad	1,840	1,838	- 2
Fatehpur	913	989	76
Kanpur	2,236	2,199	- 37
Farukhabad	1,035	1,231	196
Etawah	1,029	1,217	188
Jalaun	914	961	47
Hamirpur	1,052	1,113	61
Banda	1,167	1,264	97
Lalitpur	645	598	- 47
Jhansi	948	1,026	80
Agra	1,446	1,361	- 85
Mainpuri	1,270	1,396	126
Etah	998	1,152	154

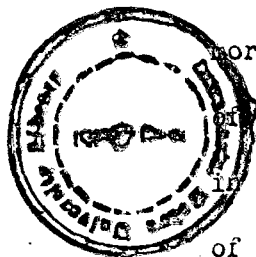
cont'd..

Table cont'd...

District	1978	1984	Difference between 1978 and 1984
Mathura	1,161	1,147	- 34
Aligarh	1,461	1,463	2
Bulandshahr	1,527	1,313	214
Gaziabad	-	841	-
Meerut	2,413	1,558	-855
Muzaffarnagar	1,429	1,269	-160
Saharanpur	1,401	1,510	109
Badaun	1,155	1,344	189
Shahjahanpur	1,191	1,333	142
Bareilly	1,476	1,444	- 32
Pilibhit	641	745	104
Nainital	910	1,089	179
Almora	1,001	1,197	196
Pithoragarh	865	904	39
Pauri Garhwal	1,131	1,194	63
Tehri Garhwal	731	841	110
Uttarkashi	380	409	29
Chamoli	622	700	78
Dehradun	676	783	105

Source : Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85.

Thus, the schools located in urban areas were better served and equipped than those in the rural areas. The urban areas have an additional advantage of private schools whereas the rural population has to depend mostly on the schools run by the Basic Shiksha Parishad and other local bodies. Therefore, the schools of rural areas need more attention of the authorities. Our contention is that extent of rural-urban difference in the quality of education would reflect in the inequality of male/female education; it will affect the access of girls' to schooling more than the boys'.



District-wise Variation in Number of Institutions (Junior Basic Schools)

Here we have taken the number of Junior Basic Schools for the year 1976 and 1984. Till 1971, Primary Schools were divided into single sex and co-educational institutions but figures for 1976 and 1984 are only for mixed schools. (See the table 6).

In fifteen districts -- Lucknow, Unnao, Gonda, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Ballia, Ghazipur, Allahabad, Kanpur, Lalitpur, Agra, Mathura, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, and Bareilly -- the number of Junior Basic Schools has decreased in 1984 from 1976.¹⁶ Maximum increase in the number of Junior Basic Schools has taken place in Sitapur district (279+). All the districts lying in the hill areas have registered an increase. when we study the district-wise enrolment of girls

16 Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1964-65 and 1976-79.

and boys in the next section we would try to see if there is any difference in the enrolment figures owing to the difference in the number of institutions.

Enrolment in Junior Basic Schools

In 1979, the population in the 6-11 years age-group was at 1.34 crores. During the years 1978-79 a total of 118.75 lakh children were enrolled in the Junior Basic Schools (Class I-V). Thus, 88.62 per cent of the estimated population in the age-group 6-11 years could be assumed as enrolled. Uttar Pradesh occupies nineteenth place in all the states in terms of enrolment ratio (for boys and girls) 71.4 per cent in 1981-82. 124.5 lakhs children were enrolled in Junior Basic Schools during the year 1986-87.¹⁷

Despite rapid increase in enrolment at the primary level, the proportion of non-schooling population in the age-group of 6-14 has increased in absolute term. The position of Uttar Pradesh with regard to the problem of non-enrolment had not been alarming as compared to the position at the all-India level; yet, girls were found to be far behind boys in enrolment. Out of a total number

17 Draft Annual Plan (1986-89), vol. 1, Uttar Pradesh, p. 238.

of children in the age-group 6-14 years the percentage of non-enrolled was 42.4 per cent out of which 63.8 per cent non-enrolled were girls in 1960-81.¹⁸

TABLE 9
Enrolment in Primary (I-V) classes of 6-11 years of age-group

Year	<u>Population</u>		<u>Enrolment</u> (in lakhs)		<u>Percentage</u>	
	Total	Girls	Total	Girls	Total	Girls
1950-51	79.02	37.83	28.18	4.88	36	11
1955-56	83.85	40.14	28.85	5.44	33	14
1960-61	91.53	44.63	40.93	8.66	45	19
1965-66	107.96	51.96	90.18	31.39	83	60
1973-74	119.10	56.75	117.89	43.42	99	77
1977-78	132.55	63.68	124.31	46.81	94	74
1980-81	-	-	93.68	27.74	-	-

Source : Administration of Elementary Education, Uttar Pradesh, A Study in relation to Universalisation of Elementary Education, NIEPA, New Delhi, 1979, p. 2.

There was relatively slow growth in periods between 1950-51, 1960-61 and 1966-67 to 1978-79, while the enrolment figures increased very fast during the period 1965-66. The expansion of schooling facilities during this period did have an impact on enrolment also.

18 Azad, J.L., et.al., Policies, Priorities, and Progress of Educational Development in India with particular reference to Regional and Social Disparities at the Elementary Education Stage. ZHCES, JNU, New Delhi 1985, p. 80. Critical Study.

TABLE 10

Annual Average Growth Rates of Student enrolment
at the Primary Stage in 6-11 Age-Group

1960-71	1971-81	1960-82
10.31%	(-)1.76%	3.27%

There was negative growth rate during 1971-81.

TABLE 11

Percentage Increase in Enrolment

Year	Percentage increase in Junior Basic Schools	Percentage increase in enrolment
1950-51 -- 1960-61	25.34	45.16
1960-61 -- 1965-66	50.30	121.99
1965-66 -- 1973-74	5.73	31.35
1973-74 -- 1978-79	8.71	2.88

Source : Ashraf, M.S. and Papola, T.S., p. 7.

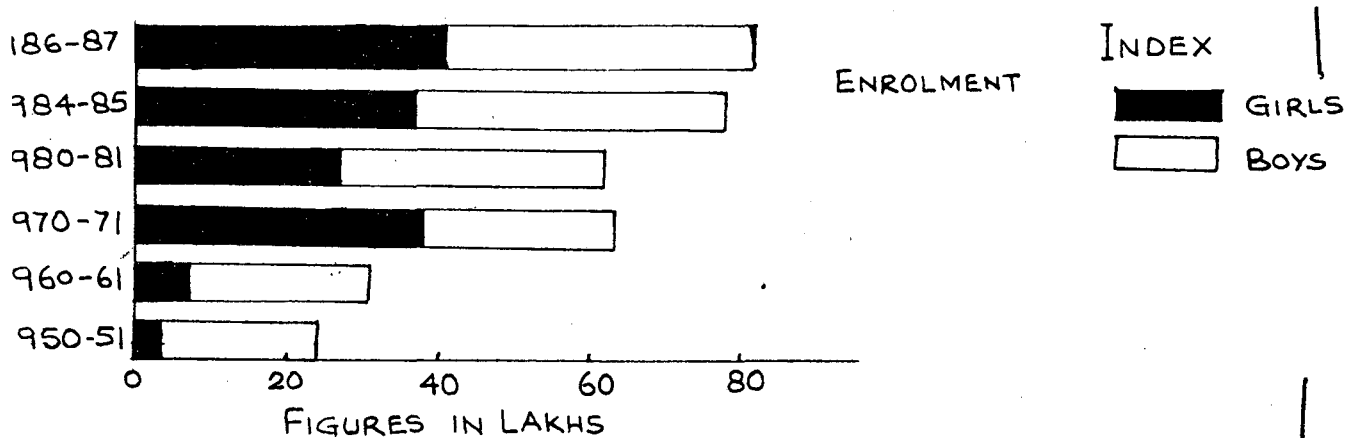
Table 11 shows the percentage increase in enrolment in Junior Basic Schools corresponds with an increase in the number of schools during the same period. This testifies that provision of schooling

facilities is very important for increase in enrolment number.

Enrolment has increased in a more rapid pace than the number of schools.¹⁹

Sex-Wise Variation in Enrolment

One impressive feature of the development of education in Uttar Pradesh is the rapid progress in the education of girls in relation to that of boys. Their enrolment increased from 3.35 lakhs in 1950-51 to 37 lakhs in 1984-85 at the primary level.



The enrolment of girls has increased more rapidly in absolute and in relation to boys' enrolment. Nevertheless, while the enrolment of boys is nearly reaching 100 per cent, the enrolment of girls is below 50 per cent and there is still a long way to realize the objective of equalisation of ^{educational} opportunity for girls.

19. Papola, T.S. and Ahraf, M.S., op.cit., p. 7.

TABLE 11

Disparity in Enrolment between the Sexes
(1981-82) at Primary Level

	<u>Enrolment</u>
Boys	92.5%
Girls	49.0%
Total	71.4%

Source : Selected Education^{al} Statistics, 1981-82, p. 29.

A lesser number of girls is going to primary schools than the boys, though the opportunities are alike for both in terms of provision of schools. Growth of boys' and girls' enrolment is shown in the following table.

TABLE 12

Enrolment in Junior basic Schools over the years
(1950-51 -- 1986-87)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
1950-51	2,392,175	334,946	2,727,123
1960-61	3,170,868	787,960	3,958,828
1970-71	6,746,031	3,667,691	10,615,722
1980-81	6,593,572	2,774,829	9,368,401
1981-82	6,893,043	2,966,544	9,859,587
1984-85*	7,905,132	3,703,410	11,608,542
1985-86	8,416,000	4,058,000	12,474,000
1986-87	6,205,000	4,245,000	12,450,000

Source : (1) Shiksha Ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85, p.77-78.
(2) Draft Annual Plan (1988-89) vol. 1, Uttar Pradesh, p. 241.

*figures estimated.

Out of a total of 124.5 lakhs enrolled children, girls form 42.45 lakhs, i.e., 34.09 per cent. The percentage increase in girls' enrolment is more than for boys', i.e. 92.1 per cent for girls and 70.8 per cent for boys during 1950-51 to 1986-87.

TABLE 13

Sex-Wise Enrolment Ratio in Classes I-V

<u>Year</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960-61	68.8	19.5	44.7
1970-71	113.1	73.2	94.2
1979-80	93.6	43.4	69.3
1981-82	92.5	49.0	71.4
1985-86	102.0	53.0	78.0
1986-87	98.0	55.0	77.0

- Sources :
- (1) Education in India 1960-61, p. 52.
 - (2) Education in India 1970-71, p. 15.
 - (3) Education in India 1979-80, p. 194.
 - (4) Selected Educational Statistics, 1981-82, p. 29.
 - (5) Draft Annual Plan 1988-89, vol. 1, Uttar Pradesh, p. 241.

We can see from the table 13 that the enrolment ratio of girls shows continuous increase except during 1970-71 -- 1979-80. In the period from 1960-61 to 1970-71, there has been tremendous

increase in girls' enrolment ratio. The increase for boys enrolment is also the maximum during this period. This may be due to the opening of large number of new Junior Basic Schools during this period.

we shall now see the percentage of girls in different types of institutions.

TABLE 14

Enrolment of Girls by Type of Institutions
at Primary Level

Year	number of girls in Boys' schools	number of girls in girls' schools	Total number of girls	percentage of girls in boys' schools to total number of girls
1960-61	399,323	388,637	787,960	50.7
1970-71*	2,053,260	1,814,431	3,867,691	53.08

Source : Education in India 1960-61, p. 53.

2) Education in India, 1970-71, p. 132.

*We do not have information on girls' enrolment in single sex schools after 1970-71 as all the primary schools (Junior Basic Schools) in Uttar Pradesh were declared mixed schools.

From the table 14, it is clear that girls's enrolment is high in the boys' schools and has increased from 1960-61 to 1970-71. This indicate that prejudice against sending girls to co-education was dissolving.

A study²⁰ of 24 villages in four districts namely, Almora, Hamirpur, Bahraich and Mainpuri in 1979 by NIEPA found the percentage of non-enrolled girls in all the primary schools in the age of 6-11 years ranged from 0 to 91 whereas in the case of non-enrolled boys it ranges from 0 to 55. In the two villages Lalbojhi and Balsingpuri of Bahraich district, girls's enrolment in the primary schools in 1978 was as low as 8 per cent and 9 per cent while that of boys' were 77 per cent and 74 per cent respectively.²¹ The percentage of non-enrolled girls is higher than boys in all the villages with regard to cause of non-enrolment. 62 per cent parents gave poverty as the main cause. Only 18 per cent parents stated that they need children's assistance at home. In the case of non-enrolment of girls, 12 per cent parents were not interested in the girls' education. One fifth of the girls in the age-group of 10-14 years were not enrolled because they helped in the household chores and 11 per cent in the age-group of 6-9 years were not sent to school because of similar reasons. A significant proportion of parents found the girls' education of no use. Parents of girls belonging to rural and backward regions show indifference towards the education of their daughters. In backward regions education of boys is valued more than the girls', especially in rural areas.²²

20 Administration of Elementary Education -- Uttar Pradesh, A Study in relation to Universalization of Elementary Education - National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, 1979.

21 Ibid., p. 65.

22 Ibid., pp.47-48.

During this study it was found that a large percentage of girls of the wage-earning families were regular in attendance as compared to boys, whereas a larger percentage of boys belonging to artisan families were regular in attendance. The reason may be that the wage-earning families may see the economic value of girls' education while the artisan families might be using girls' labour for domestic production and did not see any economic benefit of their education. Economic status of a household is important in the initial decision to enrol a child in the school. Once enrolled, the economic disadvantage does not necessarily come in the way of a child's regularity and continuation in the school.

The direct cost of education in the schools is not very significant because most of the school's education is free. The indirect cost in terms of the earnings forgone seems of some significance. In a micro study²³ on the private cost of elementary education of girls in rural Haryana, Janak Duggal calculates the opportunity cost of girls on the basis of the kind and quantum of work they were engaged in. The private cost of education of girls in the village was not only high, it was also different for different castes and different income groups. The girls were mostly engaged in such activities as cooking, washing clothes, cleaning utensils

23 Duggal, Janak, Private Cost of Elementary Education of Girls in Rural Haryana (A Micro Study), NCERT, New Delhi, 1984, mimeographed.

and house work, baby sitting, cattle grazing, collecting fodder and firewood, bringing water, working on land or as labourers on farms. In this study the opportunity cost per month for each girl in different castes is maximum for Harijans followed by Dhanaks, Thakurs, Kumhar, and Sansi Castes.²⁴

Therefore, even though the primary education is free, a majority do not derive any benefit from it because in most cases the family cannot afford to send the children to school even when free since they are required to help the family. Enrolment of girls is appallingly inadequate, which explains the low percentage of female literates in the state.

Cast-Wise Variation in Enrolment

Since we do not have information on enrolment for every caste, we shall study the enrolment data for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Among the Scheduled Caste, the percentage of girls' enrolled to the population of children in the school-going age-group of 6-11 years is estimated to be 64.2 per cent. The enrolment

²⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

ratio of girls belonging to these castes in the Junior Basic Schools were 33.5 as against 93.2 per cent of boys of same caste group in 1976-79.²⁵ During 1960-61 to 1981-82 the enrolment of Scheduled Castes at the primary stage grew annually at the rate of 3.2 per cent in Uttar Pradesh which is below the national average of 5.6 per cent. Scheduled Caste enrolment is less than^{the} Scheduled Caste population of the state. In the case of the Scheduled Caste girls, Uttar Pradesh shows very poor improvement. The growth rate of enrolment of Scheduled Caste girls was 3.9 per cent which is much below the annual growth rate of 6.7 per cent for the country. The number of enrolled scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe girls has gone down per 100 boys in the primary section.

TABLE 15

Number of Girls per 100 boys among Scheduled Caste
and Scheduled Tribe Population 1973-78

Total Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe Girls per 100 boys		Scheduled Caste girls per 100 boys		Scheduled Tribe girls per 100 boys	
<u>1973</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1978</u>
21	22	35	29	44	39

Source - Educational Growth in India, Data Base, NIEPA

25 Selected Educational Statistics, 1978-79.

As against 100 Scheduled Caste boys and 29 Scheduled Caste girls' were going to school in 1978 and 39 Scheduled Tribe girls against 100 Scheduled Tribe boys were attending primary schools in 1978. From the table 15 we can say that the enrolment of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe boys must be increasing faster than that of the girls and, therefore, the number of girls per 100 boys enrolled in the primary schools has decreased from 1973 to 1978.

TABLE 16

Enrolment of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in the Primary Section and Percentage increase/decrease over 1973 in Uttar Pradesh

	Total enrolment	percentage increase/decrease	Boys		Girls	
			enrolment	percentage increase/decrease	enrolment	percentage increase/decrease
Scheduled Caste	1,607,055	-0.43	1,245,441	4.5	161,614	-14.36
Scheduled Tribe	19,390	-56.08	13,997	-54.37	5,393	-59.96

Source : Education^{al} Growth in India - Data base NIEPA. Tables 9 and 10.

The enrolment of Scheduled Caste girls has decreased (-14.36) while the enrolment of boys has increased (4.5) from 1973 to 1978. Among the Scheduled Tribe enrolment has decreased for both boys and girls.

TABLE 17

Enrolment Ratio of Scheduled Caste and
Scheduled Tribe in Classes I-V in 1980-81

<u>Scheduled Caste</u>		<u>Scheduled Tribe</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Girls</u>
61.9	32.4	81.6	52.6

Source : Selected Educational Statistics, 1980-81.

While the enrolment ratio of Scheduled Caste girls in 1980-81 was 32.4 per cent, it was 33.5 per cent for Scheduled Caste girls in 1978-79.²⁶ Thus their enrolment shows a declining trend.

The enrolment percentage for Scheduled Caste boys and for total Scheduled Caste Population were 93.2 and 64.2 respectively in 1978-79.²⁷

TABLE 18

Percentage of Girls in Classes I-V in Uttar Pradesh
in 1978

	<u>Total enrolment</u>	<u>Scheduled Caste enrolment</u>	<u>Scheduled Tribe enrolment</u>
Rural	28.25	20.72	26.91
Urban	41.51	34.36	36.11
Total	30.43	22.5	27.81

All India

Source : Fourth Educational Survey, 1978, NCERT.

²⁶ Selected Educational Statistics, 1978-79, p. 18

²⁷ Ibid., p. 48

According to table 16 enrolment of Scheduled Caste girls in rural areas is the lowest in comparison to all groups of population. Enrolment of the Scheduled Tribe girls is higher than the Scheduled Caste girls in both the rural and the urban areas. In a village (Saura) of Hamirpur district only 2 per cent of Scheduled Caste girls were enrolled in 1978 while enrolment of Scheduled Caste boys was 48 per cent.²⁸ Among weaker sections, girls cannot go to full-time schools because of their engagement at home. Their participation ratio is higher in work. The proportions for male and female Scheduled Caste workers were 21.2 per cent and 32.3 per cent, respectively. The representation of Scheduled Caste in the male agricultural labour was over 50 per cent and of females over 60 per cent.²⁹

Papola and Ashraf collected a sample of 7,225 households (6,427 rural and 798 urban) from the four districts of Pithoragarh, Gonda, Sitapur and Hamirpur. The sample from the rural areas comprised of 34 per cent high caste Hindus and 25 per cent backward castes, 11.78 per cent Muslims, 0.6 per cent from other religious groups and 28.41 per cent Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe. The sample from urban areas consisted of 37 per cent high caste Hindus and 6 per cent backward caste Hindus, 33.46 per cent Muslims 0.75 per cent from other religious groups and 23.56 per cent of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe.

28 A Study of Administration of Elementary Education, 1979. op.cit., p. 54.

29 Census of India, 1961, Uttar Pradesh, op.cit., p. 614.

30 Ashraf, M.S. and Papola, T.S., Problems of Non-Enrolment, Non-Attendance and Drop-Outs in schools. A Study in Uttar Pradesh, Giri Institute of Development Studies, B-42, Nirala Nagar, Lucknow.

TABLE 19

Caste and Enrolment

Caste	Rural Areas															Urban Areas		
	Pithoragarh			Hamirpur			Gonda			Sitapur			Total			Male	Female	Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total			
Upper Caste	96.52	69.65	84.16	91.16	74.49	83.65	90.40	49.71	75.75	78.20	67.21	70.54	90.50	67.10	80.00	97.87	95.25	96.79
Backward Caste	98.05	60.00	91.35	56.89	25.69	45.05	56.71	10.68	42.28	75.75	66.66	71.49	63.20	36.66	52.77	90.56	66.66	80.46
SC/ST	86.24	30.56	62.74	55.76	19.27	41.86	50.58	14.28	36.02	67.66	47.44	56.92	67.53	31.77	53.04	91.16	79.71	86.68
Muslims	-	-	-	60.00	60.00	73.33	63.63	41.21	53.66	76.03	64.26	71.72	67.11	46.98	56.27	69.41	61.08	65.66
Other	100.00	-	57.14	-	-	-	100.00	-	100.00	-	-	-	100.00	-	66.66	83.33	100.00	91.66

Source : Ashraf, M.S. and Papola, T.S. - Problems of Non-Enrolment, Non-attendance and Drop-Outs in Schools. A study in Uttar Pradesh, Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow, p. 45.

in

According to table 19/the rural areas 67 per cent of school age girls from high caste Hindu families were enrolled, from Muslim families 47 per cent of girls were enrolled, from backward castes 37 per cent and from Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe only 31 per cent girls were enrolled. Muslims are found to be doing better than lower caste Hindus in the matter of enrolment of female children of their families.

In the urban areas, the Muslims show the lowest enrolment figure of 66 per cent while the backward castes had 80 per cent enrolment and scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe had 87 per cent enrolment. The major incidence of non-enrolment in the urban areas was among the Muslims. The differences here are not very much marked between the enrolment of boys' and girls'. Caste wise variation in enrolment are sharper in the rural areas than in the urban areas. The Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe households in the urban areas had 87 per cent of their children enrolled as against only 31 per cent in the rural areas. Granting that the urban situation in general provides conducive conditions for higher enrolment, the difference suggests that the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe families in the urban areas are more aware of the special facilities available to them than those in the rural areas.

Rural/Urban Variation in Enrolment

In 1956-57 in Uttar Pradesh, the total enrolment of girls in 6-11 years age-group was 8.4 per cent for the rural areas and 38.1 per cent for the urban areas.³¹ By 1959 only 10 per cent of the girls in the rural areas were under instruction at the primary stage. In 1966, girls' enrolment in rural areas was 32.85 per cent against 67.15 per cent for boys. The position in the urban areas was : 38.73 per cent girls and 61.27 per cent boys.³² According to Fourth Educational Survey of 1978, in rural areas of Uttar Pradesh, girls' age specific enrolment in classes I-V was 30 per cent, which, in urban areas, was 45.39 per cent for girls. Comparative figures for boys were 72.62 per cent and 71.05 per cent, respectively. The boys' enrolment was higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas. The disparity between male and female enrolment in primary classes was greater in the rural areas than in the urban areas in all the districts of Uttar Pradesh.³³

TABLE 20

Number of Enrolled Girls' Students per 100 Enrolled Boys in Primary Section in 1973 and 1978 in Uttar Pradesh

Total	1973		Total	1978	
	Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban
51	48	63	44	39	71

Source : Educational Growth in India, Data Base 1978.

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- 31 National Committee on Women's Education, 1959, Government of India, p. 43.
- 32 Second All India Educational Survey, 1966, NCERT.
- 33 Padmanabhan, C.B., op.cit. p. 160.

The number of enrolled girls per 100 boys has reduced from 48 to 39 during 1973 to 1978, while for urban areas their number has gone up from 63 to 71 (see table 20).

TABLE 21

Total Enrolment in 1978 in Primary section and
Total Percentage Increase/Decrease over 1973
in Uttar Pradesh

Area	Total Enrolment	Percentage increase/decrease	Boys		Girls	
			Enrolment	percentage increase/decrease	Enrolment	Percentage increase/decrease
Rural	7,511,073	-7.43	5,389,345	-1.70	2,121,728	-19.36
Urban	1,477,740	3.42	864,317	1.32	613,423	6.52
Total	8,988,813	-5.60	6,253,662	-1.29	2,735,151	-14.71

Source : Educational Growth in India Data Base, NIEPA.

Table 21 shows that enrolment of girls in 1978 in the rural areas has decreased substantially (-19.36) in comparison to boys' enrolment which has decreased slightly after 1973 as a consequence of which the total enrolment has also gone down. Besides the disparity in enrolment between rural and urban areas is also of very high order.

It is evident from table 22 that while the enrolment of girls in the rural areas was increasing till 1977, it has declined considerably

TABLE 22

Enrolment in Primary Classes in Rural
Areas of Uttar Pradesh

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	Percentage of girls to total
1965-66	5,016,287	2,531,412	7,547,699	36
1973-74	7,212,353	3,536,748	10,749,101	33
1976-77	6,292,894	4,486,187	10,779,081	42
1977-78	5,293,324	2,105,791	7,399,115	28
1978-79	5,387,345	2,121,728	7,509,073	28

in the subsequent period. This fluctuation in enrolment figure is directly related to the provision of schooling facilities. The number of primary schools increased from 29,599 (90 per cent of total) in 1956-57 to 60,021 (91 per cent of total) in 1977-78 in the rural areas while in the urban areas the increase was from 3,722 to 6,275 during the same period. The annual growth rate was 3.4 per cent for the rural areas which was much higher than the growth rate (2.5 per cent) in the urban areas for schools. But the growth rate of enrolment was less in the rural areas (1.1 per cent compared to the urban areas (1.4 per cent) in the primary sections.

After having seen the rural/urban variation in enrolment we shall now discuss the district wise variation in enrolment in Uttar Pradesh.

District-wise Variation in Enrolment

In a majority of districts there is wide disparity in girls' and boys' enrolment at the primary stage. In some districts it was substantial, e.g. in Pithorgarh it seemed to be at the extreme, i.e. only 2 per cent for girls and 53.4 per cent for boys. In Tehri Garhwal 1.6 per cent for girls and 39 per cent for boys.³⁴ These are also high sex-ratio districts. The reason for such large disparity between male/female enrolment could be the high female work participation in these districts and secondly because of long distance between schools and home, Because population is very scattered in these districts, therefore, schools are widely spaced.

In 1961 in seven districts the percentage of enrolment exceeded 25. They were Chamoli, Pithoragarh, Garhwal, Almora, Nainital, Mainpuri and Kanpur, they were all high literacy districts. In another seven districts it was below 15 per cent. They are Badaun, Rampur, Sitapur, Bahraich, Gonda, Basti, and Gorakhpur; all of these had low literacy. The poor percentage^{of}/enrolled children in the juvenile age-group in these districts revealed that not much advantage was being taken of educational facilities and there was genuine fear that these districts will remain as low literacy areas for a long time to come.³⁵

34 Census of India 1961, Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, Part 1-A (II), p. 54.

35 Census of India 1961, op.cit., p. 49.

Table cont'd..

District	1978			1964		
	boys	Girls	Total	boys	Girls	Total
Gorakhpur	277,315	175,915 (38.81)	453,233	233,264 -	100,453 (29.65) -	336,737 -
Deoria	257,760	222,340 (46.31)	460,100	226,834 -	102,734 (30.96) -	331,568 -
Azamgarh	262,644	191,471 (40.36)	474,315	236,730 -	98,461 (26.95) -	333,251 -
Saillia	153,219	104,835 (40.62)	258,054	141,561 -	70,735 (33.31) -	212,316 -
Gazipur	145,656	99,505 (40.55)	245,361	155,972 +	74,329 (32.27) -	230,301 -
Jaunpur	170,110	75,498 (30.73)	245,606	210,760 +	96,170 (31.33) +	306,930 +
Varanasi	175,959	73,137 (29.36)	249,096	231,167 +	110,654 (32.41) +	342,021 +
Birzapur	140,027	101,739 (42.06)	241,766	133,758 -	68,126 (33.74) -	201,884 -
Bijnor	105,641	68,146 (39.16)	173,987	127,216 +	54,946 (30.16) -	162,162 +
Moradabad	211,411	124,706 (37.10)	336,117	202,417 -	77,763 (27.75) -	260,160 -
Rampur	62,317	42,560 (34.06)	124,877	75,238 -	32,699 (30.29) -	107,937 -
Allahabad	217,623	145,196 (40.01)	362,821	206,266 -	95,766 (31.70) -	302,076 -
Fatehpur	66,236	61,235 (41.52)	147,471	121,371 +	62,444 (33.97) +	163,815 +
kanpur	205,216	143,362 (41.12)	348,578	234,250 +	155,810 (39.94) +	390,060 +
Farukhabad	117,594	71,842 (37.92)	189,436	149,210 +	80,512 (35.03) +	229,602 +
Etawan	115,935	67,447 (36.77)	183,382	161,165 +	96,991 (38.00) +	259,976 +
Jalaun	141,990	36,119 (21.16)	180,109	89,200 -	46,690 (34.35) +	135,890 -
hamirpur	54,112	31,688 (36.83)	85,800	93,392 +	39,959 (29.96) +	133,351 +
banda	104,285	62,613 (37.51)	166,898	116,225 +	51,647 (30.76) -	167,672 +

cont'd...

TABLE 23

District wise enrolment at Primary Level in
1978 and 1984 (Junior Basic Schools)

District	1978			1984		
	boys	Girls	Total	boys	Girls	Total
Lucknow	133,154	101,842 (43.33)	234,996	133,653 +	76,524 (36.37) -	210,377 -
Sitapur	146,214	96,821 (39.50)	245,065	134,664 -	72,214 (34.08) -	211,878 -
Ameri	104,307	44,619 (29.96)	148,926	133,130 +	60,285 (31.16) +	193,415 +
hardoi	125,090	77,285 (38.16)	202,375	177,050 +	73,003 (29.19) -	250,053 +
Unnao	125,731	81,661 (39.43)	207,592	135,957 +	65,357 (32.46) -	201,314 -
Kahe Bareilly	111,543	74,546 (40.05)	186,089	145,910 +	72,584 (33.22) -	218,494 +
Pratapgarh	142,016	80,603 (39.00)	232,825	154,410 +	50,088 (24.42) -	204,478 -
Sultanpur	140,973	67,959 (32.54)	208,832	183,733 +	71,660 (28.05) +	255,393 +
Faizabad	213,446	114,375 (34.88)	327,821	176,377 -	72,725 (29.91) -	243,102 -
Barabanki	114,574	93,747 (45.00)	208,321	149,706 +	59,037 (28.28) -	208,743 +
Bahraich	100,633	104,523 (25.31)	205,156	147,126 +	51,266 (25.84) -	198,412 -
Gonda	279,093	133,786 (32.40)	412,861	164,664 -	58,410 (26.16) -	223,274 -
Basti	261,434	161,001 (36.36)	442,465	275,666 -	76,332 (21.66) -	352,016 -

cont'd..

Table cont'd...

District	1978			1984		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Meerutpur	36,350	23,771 (59.53)	60,121	96,650 +	24,365 (20.13) +	21,015 +
Jhansi	66,615	41,777 (56.56)	108,292	105,162 +	54,153 (33.99) +	159,315 +
Agra	201,265	101,018 (33.41)	302,283	166,128 -	75,701 (31.30) -	241,829 -
Mainpuri	106,905	79,820 (42.74)	186,725	145,339 +	75,261 (34.11) -	220,600 -
Etah	120,567	70,666 (36.95)	191,233	140,241 +	53,306 (27.54) -	193,547 +
Mathura	115,219	56,193 (32.78)	71,412	120,356 +	56,957 (32.12) +	177,313 +
Aligarh	204,403	118,550 (36.70)	322,953	168,516 -	82,455 (30.42) -	270,971 -
Bulandshahr	146,817	58,819 (29.75)	197,636	146,539 -	61,573 (29.56) +	208,112 +
Ghaziabad	-	-	-	102,970	50,247 (32.79)	155,217
Meerut	271,096	136,933 (33.36)	410,029	146,563 -	79,271 (35.10) -	225,834 -
Muzaffarnagar	137,636	62,138 (31.10)	199,774	162,765 +	72,640 (30.85) +	235,405 +
Saharanpur	142,807	76,672 (34.93)	219,479	136,170 -	96,094 (41.67) +	234,264 +
Badaun	175,125	66,510 (33.06)	261,635	136,200 -	60,175 (30.64) -	196,375 -
Shajapur	95,731	57,036 (37.33)	152,769	119,324 +	53,796 (31.07) -	173,120 +
Bareilly	151,353	137,647 (47.66)	289,000	145,464 -	66,620 (31.41) -	212,084 -
Pilibhit	46,942	24,674 (33.69)	71,616	76,444 +	40,911 (34.27) +	119,355 +
Nainital	51,994	30,456 (36.93)	82,450	99,166 +	46,462 (31.81) +	145,628 +
Almora	55,437	29,677 (34.86)	85,114	81,223 +	55,791 (40.71) +	137,014 +

cont'd...

Table cont'd...

District	1978			1984		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Pithorgarh	34,496	20,467 (37.25)	54,963	62,056 +	38,620 (36.35) +	100,676 +
Pauri Garhwal	58,800	41,200 (41.2)	100,000	69,726 +	52,897 (43.13) +	122,623 +
Tehri Garhwal	31,284	9,259 (22.85)	40,543	50,435 +	25,936 (33.96) +	76,371 +
Uttarkashi	11,715	5,405 (31.57)	17,120	33,391 +	21,511 (39.18) +	54,902 +
Chamoli	26,112	14,717 (36.04)	40,829	47,489 +	32,968 (40.97) +	80,457 +
Dehradun	60,660	34,091 (35.98)	94,751	65,217 +	47,264 (42.01) +	112,481 +

Source : Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85.

(Figures in brackets denotes the percentage of girls).

From the table 23 it is evident that disparity between male and female enrolment is widespread in every district. In 25 districts, female enrolment has increased from 1978 to 1984 in the Junior Basic Schools. Against this the enrolment of boys has increased in 35 districts during 1978-84. The total enrolment has increased in 31 districts only. In the districts Lalitpur, Mathura, and Muzaffarnagar and Kanpur, number of primary schools, has reduced during this period but both male and female enrolment has marked an increase in these districts. In the rest of the districts where number of Junior Basic Schools has gone down the number of male/female enrolment has also decreased. There is no definite trend in the increase/decrease of boys' and girls' enrolment in different districts, we cannot draw any definite conclusions from these figures. The enrolment of girls has decreased in a majority of districts (31). In the hill areas all the districts show an increase in both boys' and girls' enrolment. The number of schools has also gone up in these districts. Male/female difference in enrolment is a marked feature of all the districts. This is more in some districts like Basti, Lalitpur, Pratapgarh, and Bahraich where the enrolment of girls is less than 25 per cent and boys' enrolment is ^{more than} 75 per cent.

we would now study the ^{other} factors which can influence the enrolment of girls. The enrolment of girls in primary schools is influenced by the presence of adequate teaching staff in schools. Presence of male/female trained/untrained teachers affects the enrolment of girls.

Teachers in Primary Schools

The strength of teachers in Junior Basic Schools during 1950-51 was 70,299 which increased to 259,000 in 1986-87,³⁶ an increase of around 3.7 times.

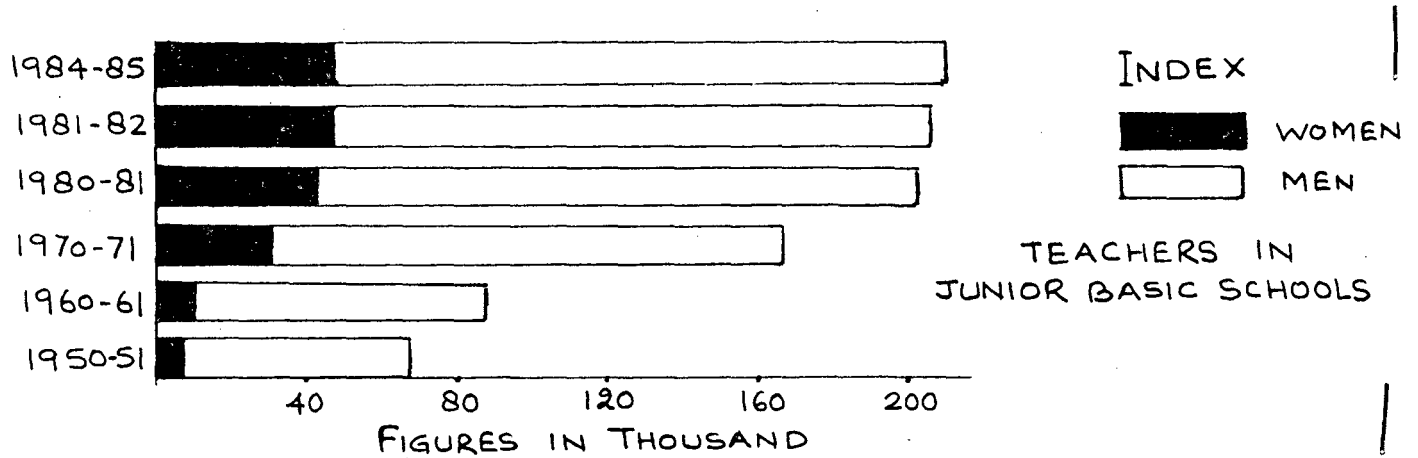


TABLE 24

Teachers in Junior Basic Schools

Year	Male	Female	Total
1950-51	65,110	5,189	70,299
1960-61	87,340	11,714	99,054
1970-71	170,857	32,502	203,359
1980-81	203,712	44,042	247,754
1981-82	206,806	45,630	252,636
1984-85	208,757	46,145	254,902

Source : Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85.

³⁶ Draft Annual Plan (1988-89), vol. 1, Uttar Pradesh, p. 238.

The percentage of women teachers is only 16.10 of the total teachers. Though the percentage increase of male teachers in 1964-85 since 1950-51 has been only 66.8 for female teachers increase has been as high as 88.1 per cent during this period. While there is no difficulty in the availability of men teachers, the position with regard to women teachers continue to be unsatisfactory. Recruitment of women teachers continues to be difficult for schools in the rural areas. The main problem is that while girls in urban areas are very reluctant to work in the rural areas the number of girls's schools in the rural areas is quite inadequate to meet the needs of such areas. The main task, in so far as girls' education in rural areas is concerned is of providing primary schools with women teachers. As the number of women teachers working in most of the mixed schools is very small in the rural areas the number of girls' enrolled in these institutions was also proportionately very small. Out of total number of teachers in the rural areas 12.79 per cent were females according to Fourth All India Educational Survey 1978. Percentage of women teachers to total number of trained teachers was 16.9 per cent.³⁷ This scarcity of women teachers affects the girls' education in parda observing areas especially in the rural areas.

37 Education in India, 1979-80, p. 268

In Uttar Pradesh the enrolment of children has increased at a higher rate than the number of teachers, thus increasing pupil teachers ratio.

TABLE 25

Percentage in Enrolment and Teachers

Year	Enrolment in Junior Basic Schools	Percentage increase number of teachers in Junior Basic Schools
1950-51 -- 1960-61	45.16	40.90
1960-61 -- 1965-66	121.99	70.19
1965-66 -- 1973-74	31.35	39.37
1973-74 -- 1978-79	2.86	2.71

Source : Ashraf and Papola, p. 6-7.

Between 1950-51 and 1960-61 the enrolment of children has increased at a higher rate than the number of teachers and schools leading to high pupil teachers ratio. For^a primary school the prescribed number of scholars per teacher is 40 only.

Pupil-teachers ratio is higher than the prescribed number of scholars per teachers. In 1965-66 it reached even 52 students per teacher because of tremendous increase in enrolment during this period. This leads to poor conditions of teaching and hence to

TABLE 26

Average Number of Teachers per School and Average
Number of Students per Teacher in Junior Basic
Schools

Year	Teacher per School	Student per Teacher
1950-51	2.2	38.8
1960-61	2.5	40.0
1965-66	2.8	52.1
1973-74	3.7	49.1
1978-79	3.5	49.2

Figures collected from different sources

Source : Ashraf and Papola, p. 6.

to drop-outs. In Badaun, Rampur, Bareilly, Moradabad, Kheri, Gonda, Shahjahanpur, Bahraich and Pilibhit the number of scholars per teacher did not exceed 40, the prescribed limit. In these districts the cause of low literacy was not the shortage of teachers but the general attitude of indifference towards learning. This was especially so in Gonda and Bahraich where the scholars teachers ratio was only 28 and 27 respectively.³⁸

³⁸ Census of India 1961, Uttar Pradesh, vol. XV, Part I.A (II), p. 46.

Teachers for the primary schools are trained in teachers training institutions (Rajkiya Diksha Vidyalaya). The number of male teachers' training institutions is 65 and female teachers' training institutions is 56 in Uttar Pradesh. The percentage of trained men teachers is 97.7 per cent and trained women teachers is 93.2 per cent in Uttar Pradesh. Out of a total women teachers 37.35 per cent are matriculates and 36.0 per cent are with teachers' training and 16.74 per cent have both these qualifications. In comparison to this, a 52.3 per cent of men teachers have completed matriculation, 62.34 per cent teachers' training and 24.87 per cent have both the qualifications according to Fourth Educational Survey 1976. Women teachers are less qualified than men teachers and this results in poor quality of education in girls' schools.

A large number of primary schools in the rural areas are single teacher schools. There are about 11,000 single teacher primary schools in the state.³⁹ The percentage of single teacher primary schools in 1966 was 22.43 per cent in the rural areas and 4.85 per cent in the urban areas.⁴⁰ In the village Attar in district Hamirpur there was no headmistress in girls' primary school

39 Draft Annual Plan (1988-89) vol. I, U.P. Sectoral/Profile 1987.

40 Second All India Educational Survey, 1966, NCERT.

since May 1979 and the girls of this school were reading in boys' school. There too, a single teacher against the sanctioned strength of three was carrying the teaching job.⁴¹ In the hill areas number of single teacher primary schools was very high.⁴² Inadequate number of teachers in schools leads to irregular attendance, repeating and dropping out of students.

A survey conducted in 1979 by the Uttar Pradesh Development Systems Corporation revealed the extent of fictitious enrolment in the rural areas of Uttar Pradesh. This was 11.3 per cent for boys and 15.10 per cent for girls. The report said that it was shocking to find out that 40-41 per cent of the absence in school was because the parents did not deem their wards to be enrolled in the school. These children were not going to school most of the days although the teachers had marked them 'present' in the attendance register for most of the days. Their enrolment was obviously not genuine. The incidence of fictitious enrolment was maximum among the Scheduled Caste girls and was fairly high among the girls of backward classes. Entering of names in the school records without the concurrence of parents indicated a tendency among the teachers to excessively inflate the figures of enrolment, particularly for the girls and for groups in which enrolment was markedly poor.⁴³

41 Administration of Elementary Education in Uttar Pradesh. NLEPA, 1979, p. 29.

42 Census of India 1961 -- Uttar Pradesh, Vol. XV Part IA, (II), p. 45.

43 Enrolment in Primary Education in Rural Areas of Uttar Pradesh - A Study Sponsored by the Education Department, Government of Uttar Pradesh, May 1981.

Example of fictitious enrolment in Uttar Pradesh indicates the high drop-out rate, These children were as good as the drop-outs from the school system.

Drop-Out at Primary Stage

Gunnar Myrdal pointed out that the weak link in the Indian school system is provided by the low standards in education.⁴⁴ School education or schooling is generally interpreted in terms of 'quantity' enrolment, grade of schooling etc. Quantity alone, however, is misleading. Over emphasising primary school enrolment perse, at the expense of quality may result in irregular attendance, repeating and dropping out.

Low quality of school education is reflected in high educational wastage which is manifested in the form of stagnation, i.e., in the repetition of grades and in premature withdrawals from school which creates the problem of drop-outs. The high wastage in school points to deterioration in the quality of education. This wastage is more at primary stage. It is greater in the case of girls. Enrolment of children is comparatively an easier task, what is difficult is their retention in school. Out of every 100 children admitted to class I only 20 reach class V. In class I the drop-out is maximum.

44 Myrdal Gunnar, "Asian Drama : An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations", vol. II, p.435.

TABLE 27

Drop-out Figure for India and Uttar Pradesh
(For both boys and girls)

Class	Uttar Pradesh	India
I	46.3	36.1
II	25.6	17.2
III	16.0	15.5
IV	13.9	14.4
V	18.8	15.9
VI	10.2	12.6

Drop-out rate in Uttar Pradesh upto class V is higher than all-India average.⁴⁵

Drop out among girls was higher than among boys, 22 per cent of the school going age girls were drop-outs from schools as against 12 per cent among boys. NCEER survey of primary and middle schools children conducted in the 1960s found that while the wastage and stagnation rate was 84.7 per cent for girls, it was 75 per cent for boys.

45 Chauhan, P.D., Director of Education, Uttar Pradesh : Elementary education in our State paper presented at the Seminar on Elementary and Adult Education, Lucknow, April 1979, p. 8.

TABLE 28

Dropped out Children as Percentage over Enrolled
Children in Junior Basic Schools

<u>Rural Areas</u>			<u>Urban Areas</u>			<u>Total</u>		
<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
16.11	16.28	17.03	16.25	12.94	14.88	16.15	17.63	16.77

Source - Anand, M. S. and Popola F. S. Op.cit, p. 126

The proportion of drop-outs among the ever-enrolled is found to be marginally higher in the case of girls than of boys, the difference is somewhat more significant in the same direction in the rural areas.

The holding power of the schools in the rural areas is very poor. This has adversely affected the access of girls to schooling. The concentration of girls in class I in the rural areas is the highest in Uttar Pradesh where 62.32 per cent of the enrolment in classes I to V is in class I only. For every fifteen girls in class I in the rural areas in Uttar Pradesh, there was one girl in class V according to second All India Education^{al} Survey 1966. The highest drop-outs were in class I and II, 30 per cent pupils in the rural and 25 per cent in the urban areas dropped out in these two classes. Most of the drop-out takes place at the age of 10-12 years when the child is supposed to be able to help in some activity. The education is

viewed as irrelevant for girls by the parents. All institutions conduct teaching of stereotyped subjects. They fail to offer sufficient subject choice to girls.

The content and quality of education are inter-related with universalization. Uttar Pradesh suffers more from a relative disadvantage in terms of retention of the children at primary stage. The phenomenon of drop-out from the schools without completing basic education is emerging as the most serious problem in the task of universalization of education.

TABLE 29

Enrolment and Stage wise Drop-Outs in Uttar Pradesh Districts

Name of the Districts	Enrolment in age-group 6-11 years	Drop-out* rate	Name of the Districts	Enrolment in age group 6-11 years	Drop-out rate
Allahabad	90.57	0.64	Jaunpur	91.77	0.64
Azamgarh	91.22	0.75	Mirzapur	90.18	0.77
Bahraich	92.06	0.85	Pratapgarh	92.08	0.72
Ballia	91.05	0.62	Sultanpur	91.49	0.73
Basti	92.65	0.75	Varanasi	90.64	0.56
Deoria	91.32	0.69	Almora	97.51	0.71
Faizabad	91.30	0.71	Pithoragarh	75.23	0.51
Ghazipur	91.99	0.66	Dehradun	86.86	0.03
Gonda	92.76	0.82	Garhwal	91.72	0.57
Gorakhpur	92.40	0.66	Chamoli	91.57	0.58

cont'd...

Table cont'd...

Name of the Districts	Enrolment in age-group 6-11 years	Drop-out* rate	Name of the Districts	Enrolment in age-group 6-11 years	Drop-out rate
Nainital	85.83	0.51	Mathura	90.86	0.54
Tehri Garhwal	190.43	0.75	Meerut	89.70	0.47
Uttar Kashi	88.89	0.68	Moradabad	91.09	0.76
Banda	90.12	0.77	Muzzafarnagar	83.04	0.64
Hamirpur	62.93	0.78	Pilibhit	89.59	0.76
Jalaun	86.08	0.28	Rampur	88.39	0.82
Jhansi	87.47	0.76	Sharanpur	89.04	0.77
Aligarh	90.94	0.58	Shahjanpur	91.80	0.77
Bareilly	87.38	0.66	Bharabhangi	91.45	0.84
Bijnor	89.66	0.72	Fatehpur	91.01	0.71
Badaun	91.49	0.82	Hardoi	91.32	0.76
Agra	91.04	0.37	Kanpur	89.17	0.39
Bulandshahr	90.94	0.57	Kheri	90.65	0.80
Etah	90.51	0.71	Lukhnow	89.98	0.57
Etawah	89.79	0.54	Rai Bareilly	91.84	0.83
Farukhabad	90.87	0.60	Sitapur	86.39	0.80
Mainpuri	90.21	0.61	Unnao	90.49	0.69

Source: Ashraf M.S. and Papola, F.S., "Problems of Non-enrolment, Non-attendance and drop-outs in schools: A study in Uttar Pradesh, Guri Institute of Development Studies Lucknow

Table 29 shows district wise variation in drop out-rates in Uttar Pradesh. In high literacy districts the drop-out rate is is very low.

In the four districts of Pithoragarh, Gonda, Sitapur and Hamirpur, Papola and Ashraf⁴⁶ found that the drop-out rate was different among the different castes in the rural and the urban areas. They found that the children of the Muslim and 'other' communities had the highest drop-out rate (8.9 and 8.35 respectively) in the urban areas, as against the highest incidence of drop-out amongst Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes (9.76 and 8.21 respectively) in the ^{rural} ~~urban~~ areas, ~~as against the highest incidence of drop-out amongst Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes,~~ ^{Secondly,} except in the case of the upper castes the girls of urban areas have dropped out of their schools in significantly lower proportion than the boys, whereas in the rural areas girls of all caste groups had higher drop-out rates than the boys. The difference between boys and girls was relatively more significant in the case of upper caste household than in the case of other caste groups in the rural areas.

The analysis of drop-out data based on 196 children shows that 77 per cent of the drop-outs belonged to the agricultural class, 15 per cent to the labour class, and 8 per cent to the business community. The majority of drop-outs were from the economically backward classes, the average monthly income of 48 per cent families was between Rs 50-100 and 40 per cent were

46 Ashraf, M.S. and Papola, T.S. Op.cit., pp. 125-6.

in the income range of Rs 100-200. Only 2 per cent families were earning on an average, more than Rs 200 per month. On an average at least one child per family drops out of school before completing primary education. Again, out of 196 children, 132 children left the school for economic causes, 49 students for assisting at home, 7 children left the school owing to bad health and 8 dropped out of the school for other reasons.⁴⁷

Poverty of the people discourages parents for sending their children, particularly the girls to school. But, the extent and the type of educational opportunity available to them also conditions their attitude towards the education of their children. In this context the distance and conditions of the school are equally important. In the case of girl in economically and socially depressed groups of population one finds that enrolment is especially low and drop-outs high.

Concluding this chapter we can say that the primary education of girls is very backward in this state. Socio-cultural and economic backwardness overlaps educational backwardness in the case of girls. Girls are more discriminated than boys even among the weaker sections. Poverty affects the education of girls more than the boys. There is disparity in the enrolment and drop-out between different districts

47 Ibid., p. 153.

We find a decline in the enrolment of girls in the rural areas.

Boys' enrolment is higher in the rural areas than in urban areas

while girls enrolment is lower in rural areas than in urban areas.

Poor economic conditions of the household combined with traditional prejudice against the education of girls keep a majority of the girls out of the portals of schools.

CONCLUSION

The emphasis on the equality of opportunity for women in education is based on the concept of social justice. Women have been given equality in theory but social practices and social reality relegate them to a secondary position. There is no parity between men and women in any sphere of life. After independence the question of equality was deemed to have been solved with the adoption of the principle of equality in the Constitution by throwing open to women the right to education, the vote, her entry into professions, public services, and political offices. But the gap between the values of a new social order proclaimed by the Constitution, and the realities of contemporary Indian society, as far as women's rights are concerned, remains as great as at the time of independence. The benefit of recognition of this formal equality has gone mainly to women from already privileged sections, while the overwhelming majority of them are being deprived of equal opportunity in education. We cannot talk of equality in education without true equality between men and women in other spheres also.

Sex-inequality cannot in reality be differentiated from the variety of social, economic and cultural inequalities in our society. There are complex cultural and social processes operative at micro level, rooted in a traditionally inequalitarian social structure, which would not let de-jure equality convert into de facto equality.

In our study we have tried to provide a sociological explanation for the educational backwardness of females in Uttar Pradesh. This study has highlighted the diversity in the spread of primary education of girls in different regions and sections of the population of Uttar Pradesh. This diversity is reflected in the difference in the educational development among men and women. With regard to the development of education, women have lagged behind men. This fact alone makes women stand out as a class of educationally deprived. But this is only one aspect of female education in Uttar Pradesh. Yet another aspect of women's education is that there is disparity in the spread of primary education among women belonging to different sections and groups. Accordingly, we have attributed the educational backwardness of females to two sets of factors. Firstly, those which are general and common to all women such as parda, sex-segregation, early marriage of women, social prejudice against the education of girls, low status of women in society and low economic value given to the education of daughters. Secondly, those which discriminate against women in education on account of their belonging to different socio-economic categories, such as rural, urban, Scheduled Caste, etc.

Thus, the double effect of socially constructed inequality reduces their accessibility to educational opportunity. There is no educational equality between men and women in comparable situations in the same socio-economic category. We find that women in a particular class or caste are more discriminated than men which

implies that their social class or caste position has its own bearing on their education. Girls' access to education is unfairly determined by her position in the socio-economic hierarchy. Rural residence, low caste and low economic standing all further tend to deny opportunity of education to girls. In addition, the process of discrimination operating through a complex network of family, caste, religion and education results in narrowing down the options for women and excludes them from the significant aspects of educational experience.

Thus, what we have argued is that women's educational deprivation is associated with their social deprivation. Distribution of differential roles and status, which assign (give) women a secondary position in society, leads to the differential distribution of education between men and women. Prejudices to female education present major obstacles to the progress of the education of girls and women and are related to the wider framework of social norms and values. Moreover, the social and cultural devaluation of women, cultural and economic preference for sons, besides other factors, such as early marriage, differential socialization of men and women which leads to female seclusion, affect the entry of women into the education system.

The question of girls' primary education is related to the issue of women's position in society and also to the wider issues of social inequalities and disparities. The emphasis on formal primary education that characterizes Uttar Pradesh, is based on an over-optimistic assumption that education will bring a social change in society. It overlooks the limitation of education in changing attitudes and behaviour, rooted in the division of labour between sexes, whether at home or in the

workplace. Thus the system primary education in Uttar Pradesh, in spite of its emphasis on literacy for all, i.e. both sexes, has remained unchanged and indeed even unchallenged the traditional social structure. It remains status quo and has been marked by a slowing rate of progress among women.

Education system portrays the same picture of women which they occupy in the society and follows a discriminatory code in the teaching and curriculum. Thus, it hardly makes a dent in the social attitudes towards girls's education. It rather reinforces the sex-stereotyping and role socialisation. This adversely affects the access of girls to education.

Besides this limitation of education ^{system,} ~~for unequal~~ institutional limitation is also responsible for unequal access of girls to education e.g., poor quality of education, lack of adequate teaching facilities in schools or lack of women teachers, etc. Any sort of educational disadvantage affects girls' education more than boys. The Educational infrastructure has been very sadly lacking ^{in girls' schools} with the result that many single sex schools are being converted to co-educational schools which again deter girl students due to the rigid sex-dichotomy prevalent in the traditional social order.

The system of social stratification has influenced the attitudes of people towards women. The consciousness of the need to give education to girls at the primary stage varies from region to region

from caste to caste and from community to community. This is more in the urban areas than in the rural areas and in socially advanced strata. In the urban areas parents respond more favourably to the education of girls because of the socio-economic benefit of education. The presence of large towns in a district tended to raise the proportion of literate persons especially among women. In the rural areas sheer poverty and lack of easy access to educational opportunity, work pressures, early marriage and parental apathy are the main reasons to keep the girls away from schools. Conditions of sustained poverty would become a depress^{ant} out on the desire of parents to educate their children since there is no immediate economic benefit from the primary schooling of their daughters. Scheduled Caste women in the rural areas are educationally the most backward group in the state. Enrolment of Scheduled Caste girls is higher in urban areas and very low in rural areas. Thus caste is a dominant factor in rural society.

Moreover, disparities in the education of girls are higher where the social disparities are greater, as, for example, in the districts where Scheduled Caste population is substantial, disparity between male/female enrolment at primary education is more than elsewhere e.g., Barabanki, Bahraich, Gonda, Basti, and Pratapgarh etc. Again the highest incidence of non-enrolment and drop outs is among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in the rural areas and among Muslims in the urban areas. Thus, the reasons for non-enrolment and drop-out are socio-economic and cultural. Among the Scheduled Caste in the rural areas the extent of drop-out is higher for girls than for boys because

their causes have a larger application to girls in our existing social conditions. While boys drop out of school solely for economic reasons, girls are withdrawn for various other reasons, such as marriage, domestic help, female seclusion, etc.

The social composition of population also affects the progress of female education in different districts e.g., districts with a high proportion of Scheduled Caste and Muslims are marked by low literacy rates, low enrolment and high drop-outs. Districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh are inhabited by a large number of lower castes and more rural as compared to districts of western Uttar Pradesh. Female primary education is very backward in the former districts. Districts lying in Rohilkhand regions where Muslims are in a majority in the urban areas show general educational backwardness, especially among women. The level of development of a district is also related to the educational development of its people, e.g., in the western and eastern districts the socio-economic structure influences the education of women. Disparity in the progress of education between different regions and different sections of the population reflects, to a great extent, the variation in regional attitudes towards the education of women.

Prospect for Future Research

The growth of primary education of girls after a promising

start in the first two decades of independence has slowed down in the 1970s. This could be because of the closing down of girls schools. during this period. Separate schools for girls were opened during the 1960s but were closed down due to the difficulty in maintaining them. Although the general consensus is for moving towards co-education, girls' schools are still necessary to overcome social prejudices in some areas. Enrolment of girls in single-sex girls' primary schools, although less than in co-educational primary schools, was still high till 1970. This shows that prejudices against sending girls to co-educational schools are still strong. Separate education for girls was not pursued with vigour in the last decade. During this period enrolment of girls also shows a decline. In the districts of Rampur Moradabad and Bijnor the number of women teachers and Junior Basic Schools has gone up during the period 1978 to 1984. In these districts, the enrolment of boys has increased while the enrolment of girls decreased during the same period¹. These districts also have majority of Muslims. It would be interesting to find out as to why the enrolment of girls has gone down after 1978 in the majority of districts particularly in Muslim majority districts. Is it because of closing down of single-sex schools or are there other factors? we do not have religion-wise data for post-Independence period. we can undertake an empirical research to explore as to why female education is so backward in the Muslim dominated districts.

1 Shiksha ki Pragati in Uttar Pradesh, 1984-85.

This can also help us to further analyse the effects of parda or female seclusion on the education of girls in Uttar Pradesh. These micro studies can also answer how far co-education has affected the progress of girls' primary education.

On the basis of our analysis of girls' primary education in Uttar Pradesh we say that insofar as the different communities or castes have different degrees of access ^{to} ~~of~~ education, there will be a slower change in the progress of primary education of girls. Due to the rigid caste structure and everyone occupying a fixed place in life, education may not lead to upward social mobility. It would provide equality of opportunity relative to that structure. Thus, an equalising opportunity for women in education is almost impossible without greatly reducing the absolute level of inequalities.

There is a need to bring about a radical transformation in the social structure. A change in education cannot proceed without changing the other aspects of the social structure. Women should have parity with men in other spheres also. There is a need to change the existing structure of social relations and social roles between men and women.

The primary education of girls should be planned by studying closely the inter-relationships between what happens to them before

their entry in the school, during their study in the school and after leaving the portals of the school. All the spheres of women's life like education, family, social status and occupation are closely related to one another.

Disparity on the basis of caste, community and region, which has adversely affected women more than men is to be eliminated. women have been subjected^{to} the same divisions and inequalities that are visible in our society. Official policy should respond to these inequalities by providing structural facilities in favour of women. Unless special attention is given for an even spread of education among women belonging to different regions, castes and sections of population, they would ~~remain~~^{continue to be} backward in education.

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