

EDUCATION AND WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT*

I

The vital role of education in realising the goals of women's equality in development has never been questioned. On the other hand, education has been viewed as *the* crucial factor in movements for women's rights for equality. The present gap in women's access to knowledge power - or the process of acquiring self-consciousness, articulation and efficiency perpetuates the feeling of inequality among women themselves and in society. *It may be interesting to note that Aryan women in ancient India had equal access to education, played a major role in the economy and enjoyed substantial rights and freedom in most matters during the period when their men were busy establishing their political domination in the country. With the establishment of Aryan political authority, the task of manual labour in the production process was taken over by the conquered people - the Sudras, and Aryan women were withdrawn from any visible role in the economy. Over the next few generations, the absence of economic utility resulted in the gradual loss of access to education and skill training. Centuries later, the lack of education was used as the argument by Manu, - the law giver, - to justify keeping women under male control from birth to death.*¹

The 19th century reform movement which began a campaign for improving women's status within the family and society emphasised the role of education as most vital for any change in women's position. The debate on women's education threw up some interesting arguments. While its opponents argued that educating women will lead to dissolution of the social structure and of Indian traditional values, *an important section of its supporters presented just the opposite point of view. In their opinion, the increasing communication gap caused within the family by men's access to modern 'western' education while the women remained ignorant was causing greater damage to traditional values in Indian society. Women were put forward as the 'custodians' of traditional cultural values and practices. Improving communication between wives and husbands, mothers and sons by education the women, would restore their influence on men, and provide far greater resistance to the inroads of western values and ideas.*²

Women's movements all over the world, as well as national governments committed to a policy of women's equality have always emphasised this investment in women's capacity and personality as essential to enhance their participation and creativity in social development. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states "education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to strengthen all respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms". The UNESCO Convention and Recommendation Against Discrimination in Education emphasises the need to remove barriers that deny equality of educational opportunity to certain groups because of their

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sex or ethnic origin. The World Plan of Action adopted at Mexico also gives primacy to equality of opportunity in education for realising the goals of the Decade.

The review of progress since 1975, however, indicates that women still lag far behind men in education, that the largest section of the world's illiterates are women, and - even more disturbing - that women have not benefitted in the same manner from education as men because they are not able to utilise their education to the same extent in obtaining economic, social or political power. India represents a classic example of this situation. *A century after the adoption by the Government (then a colonial one) of a specific policy to promote women's education and three decades after free India's proclamation of complete equality between the sexes in all spheres of social life, the female literacy rate remained below 20% and the number of adult illiterates constitutes to swell. According to the estimates made by the Committee on the Status of Women in India, the total stock of educated women in the country constituted less than 10% of the female population.*³

The causes of this inequality are many and complex. Until recently traditional attitudes and cultural resistance were regarded as the greatest enemy of women's education. Domestic responsibilities, early marriage and pregnancy were identified as factors which perpetuated such attitudes. Modernisation, demographic transition with rising age of marriage and child birth and expansion of educational facilities were seen as mutually supportive forces to assist women in beginning and completing formal education. The findings of recent studies in India, however, *support the conclusion emerging from the global review of educational progress - that poverty - of individuals/families/nations play as important, if not a more powerful, role in denying this right to women. The discrimination rests on society's perception that women's education has lower economic utility because men and women are not equal in the labour market.*⁴ For developing nations with scarce resources, the cost factor is likely to remain a crucial one unless investment in women's education is justified in relation to other national priorities - e.g. the need for a rapid expansion of the skilled labour force, or for reduction of fertility pressure. *Even developed nations plead economic crisis/recession as a reason for inadequate investment in women's continuing/diversifying education.*

The point that is often ignored in such discussions is *that this disparity in the economic utility of men's and women's education is, to a great extent, the contribution of the educational system itself.* The school system virtually all over the world reflects the dominant pattern in the roles and status of men and women in any particular society, thus perpetuating, *even creating sex role stereotypes which may or may not reflect the realities of all women's lives. In a country like India, where women of non-elite classes perform extremely varied and multiple roles for the survival of their family or their community, the educational system projects sex role images that are real only in the case of the upper class or at the most the middle class.* Rural women, who constitute the largest group deprived of education, contribute to the economy in a substantial manner. Poor working women in urban areas are very often the main bread-winners of their families, not to speak of female headed families where they also have to perform all decision making roles. Yet these are not reflected within the educational system. This results in the children from such families growing up with the notion that the 'respectable' do not allow their women to play any roles outside their home. The impact of this is visible in one of the

characteristic expressions of what we call the *sanskritisation* process in India, i.e. of new or aspirant entrants to the middle class adopting the norms and emulating the behaviour of the traditional elite in India which sought to confine women to roles within the home.⁵

Faced by such a situation, it is hardly irrational on the part of a large section of the population to regard women's education as only an accomplishment needed to marry an educated man. Families which need their daughter's labour either within the household or in the wage market for their survival can find little utility to spare them for this costly accomplishment. Free education does not eliminate the opportunity cost of sparing their children to poverty stricken families who depend on their labour. Between sons and daughters, the opportunity cost of educating the sons still offers some rationale as it is seen as an investment in the family's future security. As for the economic impact of keeping this large group of economically active women away from education - there is now ample evidence of the consequences - low productivity, occupational displacement with introduction of modern technology, lack of alternative avenues of employment and hence concentration in low skilled, low paid jobs. *The economic rationale of widening women's access to education and diversification of skill training is now admitted, but its methodology and ways of making it acceptable to working women at large in both rural and urban areas continue to baffle educational planners.*⁶

Though formal illiteracy is more a problem for developing countries, women across the world share inadequate rewards from education, formal education has not helped all of them to shake off the burden of inequality in access to employment opportunities, resources or power, or to participate effectively in decisions that influence the trends and patterns of development and through them their own lives.⁷

Why this failure, when since the initial recognition of the women's question, education was emphasised as the major, the initial, if not for many people, the sole and essential tool for solving women's problems? *The answer to this question lies in the changing role of education in society and its differential impact on men and women.*

As long as socialisation of children and their induction into the world of productive work and adult human relations through skill and value development was the function basically of the family and the community, women played an equal, some times even predominant role - both as subjects and objects of this process. Disseminating limited knowledge derived from past and present experience of the people, women's nurturing role aimed basically to provide young people with equipment to survive within their environment, accept their prescribed obligations to the community as values in themselves, and learn to come to terms with their limitations. *Education for self - development, of intellectual capacities for limitless knowledge as a key to power was the monopoly of the elite.*

The explosion and acceptance of knowledge as an essential tool of development and the consequent transfer of education from the family to the hands of professional educators represented for women the loss of a sanctioned role - a prop to their own and society's perception of their value and efficiency. *Increasing identification of formal education, professionalism and wealth with channels of power and status pushed women, handicapped by*

their reproductive and domestic roles, behind men. The demand for formal education thus emerged as the foremost of women's rights from the middle class in which the new development was causing the greatest gap between the two sexes. And it is the situation of this class which dominates the formal education system of major parts of the world. Acceptance of mass education through formal schooling as an investment in human resources development and as the precondition for people's participation in development and decision making has not changed the content, class or structure of education or the dominant views of society regarding class as well as sex roles. This is one manifestation of the growing crisis within the educational system itself.

From being viewed as the 'great leveller' and instrument for realising human equality and social justice during the halcyon days of educational development, the system is now accused of being "a dependent function of the power and production structures"⁸ and a tool for 'sorting out people' in a hierarchical social and international order.⁹ Critics see formal education as a process that perpetuates existing and creates new inequalities, and defeats its purpose by alienating people from their environment and forcing them through an unnatural and forced growth, reducing knowledge to a commodity or an asset to promote or deprive people of opportunities for self - development and power.¹⁰

The basic contention of this paper is that mere expansion of educational opportunities for women, even induction of women in large numbers, on terms of parity into the different levels of the system, will not help to achieve either equality or development, let alone peace, Education can contribute to these goals only when it undergoes a qualitative and structural change within itself. In India - the greatest champions of women's liberation during the last two hundred years, were also radical educators, who worked for structural changes in society and the education system.¹¹ Interestingly enough, some biographers have noted 'feminine' traits in their personality.

A predominant characteristic of the modern system of education is its power of rejection, or exclusion of a large mass of people as inferior. The radical thinkers mentioned above all sought to change this trend - to make education a nurturing and a building, rather than as selection process, to build on people's environmental and experimental knowledge, instead of drawing them into an isolated hot house or ivory tower created to pursue learning as a full time, competitive activity. *Their ideas were closer to the traditional methods of education followed by the common people, than the classical system of elite education in India.*

Jean Lipman-Blumen¹² tells me that her studies of institutions for mentally deficient or otherwise handicapped children - the rejects from mainstream education - reveals that a large majority of their faculty, and heads are women. Cynics would claim that this is only because men do not find this field sufficiently rewarding, but Jean believes that women are attracted to it because of their nurturing instinct. There is little doubt that a great deal of the transformation in pre-school and elementary education which has taken place in many countries is because of outstanding and creative women educators, most of whom were rebels against the established system. In India much of the dedicated work for education of the children and adults of the socially and economically deprived groups is being done by women.

Some of them follow the social and educational ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, some are highly qualified and sophisticated educators drawing their inspiration from radical thinkers like Illich or Paulo Frere, yet others are frankly revolutionary in their political and social ideas.

Let me clarify at this point that I am not trying to put forward or justify any theory of sex-role stereotype, modelled on women's biological characteristics. *I do not believe that all women have nurturing instincts nor do I believe that all men are aggressive, destructive animals. What I am trying to suggest is a humanising transformation of the educational system - with, a far larger dose of the so called 'feminine' traits.*

Some commentators on Gandhi's philosophy believe that his advocacy of women's equality, autonomy and their historic role as vanguards of a non violent social revolution sprang from his desire to 'feminise' society.¹³ In his view, as a historically oppressed group, and being naturally equipped to put others before themselves, women would be better leaders of the non-violent transformation of society into a nonexploitative one.

Social Sciences are not conducive to one retaining such unstinted faith in one's sex - even when one is a feminist. I cannot say, without reservation, that women are any greater believers in equality or peace are than men are. But I do believe that women's equality, or development, or peace are not possible as long as the world or societies within that world - are structured on the basic premise of inequality and exploitation.¹⁴ *On the other hand, I am increasingly convinced that the subordination, social seclusion and inequality of women in history is inextricably tied up with the rise of social stratification and establishment of class and race dominance in different societies.* The Indian evidence points mainly in this direction, though the research to prove this still remains to be done.¹⁵ If education is to become an instrument for realising the goals of the Decade, then it must change structurally, qualitatively and methodologically. How can this be brought about? Will it be achieved by co-opting more and more women into the educational structure - on non discriminatory terms, - at both decision-making and student levels. The Indian experience does not indicate this. The Indian higher education system has been pro-women virtually since its inception in the mid-nineteenth century, and the ratio of women and men students and teachers in Indian Universities today is comparable to any developed country in the world. Since independence no course of study has been barred to women, and the participation of women in science courses and in medicine is ahead of many developed countries. We have had women as Vice-Chancellors, Professors and as heads of the educational bureaucracy long before European or North American systems admitted women to such positions. Within the public education system women have always received equal pay - one State Government even offered higher pay to women teachers for some time as an incentive. Women's education has been free upto the secondary stage in many states and even upto the university level in a few states. Teacher education is free for women in most states, and most institutions for medical education offered reserved quotas for women till very recently. Egged on by leaders of the women's movement official policy has repeatedly stated that there can be no discrimination in curricula on grounds of sex and coeducation remains the national objective - at the levels of elementary and higher education. At the same time, on the logic of women being an educationally backward

group, women's institutions have received special development grants - for expansion, for introducing sciences teaching, for hostels etc.

The result in quantitative terms - has been impressive, *but has made little dent in the basic problems of adult illiteracy, unequal opportunities in the labour market, a high drop out rate and failure to achieve universal elementary education, continued concentration of women in a narrow range of general education courses, and total failure of the system to change values relating to women in the direction indicated by the Constitution.*¹⁶ What is even more disturbing is the apathy, even partial resistance among highly qualified women within the scientific and academic systems to take up women's issues for investigation and action. The Indian Council of Social Science Research's decision in 1976, to organise a programme of women's studies evoked some response from women scholars, but not many of them belong to the ranks of established social scientists. On the other hand, most of the senior scholars who have taken up the challenge of this programme¹⁷ with great seriousness are men - already disturbed by poverty and inequality issues.¹⁸

I do not mean to undervalue the dedicated work done by a small band of women scholars - their numbers are growing very slowly but steadily. But they are mainly working outside the mainstream academic establishment, and facing criticisms from professional colleagues for wasting their talents on a 'fad', a research area promoted by international agencies under the influence of western ideas, of little relevance to the country's development. I am sure many of you have had to face similar charges in your own professional world.

In spite of its initial and continued commitment to the cause of expanding educational opportunities for women, and its post-independence stand against differentiation in curricula, the Indian education system failed to generate any positive role for itself in promoting the value of equality or in studying the social implications of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Reasons for the failure lie in :-

- (a) The delay in achieving mass education which, coupled with the political clout of the dominant classes, reinforces the existing class structure through the educational system;
- (b) The negative impact of unrealistic and patently false theories of the 'political neutrality' of academic institutions, and value free social sciences;
- (c) The predominant influence of analytical models, concepts/theories of social change developed in highly industrialised societies, not always applicable to agrarian societies out of a desire to pursue 'international standards'; and
- (d) The innate resistance of a vast and complex academic bureaucracy suffering from inadequate resources to change the content and methodology of its functions or to ensure genuine academic freedom. *In the case of women's issues, these characteristics receive added strength from the (a) invisibility of women in both the developmental and the political arena; (b) and the continued perception of the women's question as an issue in Social Development. Social Development is viewed as a long term goal of 'attitudinal change' which can come only with the spread*

of education and modernisation. *Even the legitimacy conferred on women's studies by national agencies responsible for promotion of social research in areas of national priority,¹⁹ and for reform of school curricula²⁰ has so far made little impact on either the school or the higher education systems. Only one university²¹ has formally included women's studies in its teaching and research activities, and another²² is considering ways of expanding the coverage on women in its curricula and research.*

Part of the problem of course lies in scarcity of resources - human and material. High research and publication costs and inadequate library holdings affect dissemination of new knowledge. The re-emergence of the women's question in the post 1975 period both in policy discussions and in the media are hopeful signs, which may ultimately affect the academic system. There is some evidence of a growing feeling of discomfort in women's colleges, and organisations in a few areas of the country which may in time provide some pressures on the system. But these trends will need to be sustained by a women's movement before they can make any major impact.

A review of the Indian experience throws up several issues which may be valid in other developing and even developed countries if education is to play its due role in women's development.

- i. Educational authorities generally tend to explain away their failure on the women's front by holding traditional attitudes/cultural taboos, as responsible. *Objective investigations however, often prove the physical and situational constraints play a more powerful role than attitudes, and attitudes are neither totally irrational nor static.* Illustrations of such situational constraints are many - e.g domestic or earning responsibilities, malnutrition, lack of clothing, distance; problems of security, lack of women teachers - especially in rural areas; special problems of migrant workers families, non-relevance of educational curricula to local environment and employment possibilities etc.

II

Emerging Issues and Suggested Strategies

The major issues emerging from the experience of most countries in attempting to expand women's opportunities for education and training are as follows :-

1. Without the removal of situational constraints, mere expansion of schooling or adult educational facilities will not enable all sections of girls and women to obtain access to education. *Legislative compulsion certainly helps to activate the public educational systems to expand enrolment at the elementary school level, but cannot prevent large numbers of girls dropping out from the educational stream because other pressures on them affect their ability to complete schooling effectively. Re-entry possibilities for such dropouts are exceedingly rare, though there are ongoing experiments in many countries. For monitoring progress within the formal system, out turn ratios to enrolment, and qualitative and quantitative analysis of dropouts appear to be more meaningful than mere enrolment percentages.*
2. Limitation of resources, particularly in developing countries, imposes inevitable constraints on the range of options in courses that can be offered through particular institutions at different levels of the educational system, or in vocational training. If equality of opportunities is dependent on such options being available, then it will remain a distant target for the majority of women. *The experience of developed countries testify that even the existence of such options do not necessarily encourage increasing women's entry into courses regarded as non-conventional for women. Sometimes they are prevented by lack of specific entry requirements - e.g. adequate knowledge of Mathematics, for Science and Technology oriented courses. Sometimes it is due to active discouragement by the institutions and families who do not see the utility of such courses for women. Most often it is the cost and time factor and lack of information on employment possibilities that affect choice of courses by women.*
3. *The concept of relevance, emerging as a critical issue in policies for educational reform has to be widened and deepened, by reference to present realities as well as to future possibilities, particularly in the light of the goals of the Decade. Otherwise the danger of relevance being interpreted to strengthen and perpetuate sex-role stereotyping will increase. Firm political commitment to the Decade's goals needs to be indicated in clear policy statements, for guiding educators, planners and administrators, and particularly centres designing training curricula for teachers - both formal and informal, in general education or vocational training.*
4. In order to eliminate social prejudices - parental guidance, community centred discussions, and vocational oriented information services have been identified as tools of the educator already. Special incentives in the way of scholarships, uniforms, mid-day meals, books etc. are also provided in some countries. *What is needed is to add to this package an ideological dimension - to deliberately promote the new values of equality, development and peace. Unless this responsibility is accepted*

- by the educational system, and other communication systems, sex-biases will continue to be perpetuated. *Acceptance of such a role can revitalise the system, and initiate measures for revision of curricula, teaching methods etc. from within the community of educators.*
5. Expansion of women's participation in decision-making roles in the process - as teachers, administrators, and planners has been repeatedly identified as an essential strategy. A new dimension is emerging with the need for situational analysis as a precondition for removal of constraints and incorporation of remedial action by educational authorities. Considering the resource constraints of educational institutions, and overburdened situation of teachers, particularly in schools, such policies may well remain pious wishes, unless additional resources - human and material - are provided for this specific purpose. *Increased participation by women in this activity, as analysts and liaising intermediaries, as designers of supportive services may provide a powerful lever - both in promoting educational/training opportunities and in generating a popular movement - in support of the goals of the Decade.*
 6. While the need for supportive services such as child care²³ centres has been identified in most forums - responsibility for providing such services, and resources allocation for the purpose has to be made specific, for implementation. *Provision of childcare centres, hitherto viewed as a necessity only for working mothers, has now emerged as a major issue for expanding women's access to all types and levels of education, as learners, educators, administrators, or facilitators. Where should this responsibility be located? A national policy for establishing a network of day-care centres has been advocated to promote women's employment opportunities. Entrusting the responsibility to the educational system may serve several purposes : e.g. (i) provide condition for an interlinked system - of creche-cum-day-care centres, pre-school and elementary/secondary/higher/vocational and professional and non-formal education, (ii) expose educational institutions more to women's and children's problems, and thus widen the concern for their development, and (iii) deepen concern for nutrition, health care and child development and community service within educational activities. A particular consideration in the context of developing countries is that education is very often the only government agency with some outreach in rural areas. If rural women's access to education and other developmental activities is to expand, childcare centres are imperative, and educational agencies may well be the only possible channel for operationalizing them, with assistance/services of local women's organisations.*
 7. The need for an integrated approach to women's developmental needs - education, health, employment, productivity/efficiency improvement (in agriculture/industry/ management/organisation) and participatory opportunities through knowledge of legal and political rights, responsibilities and issues of women's status through nonformal education has been repeatedly stressed. *It is important now to consider whether such issues should not be also included in general education programmes, for men as well as women - to correct attitudinal biases. Secondly, while admitting the need to expand nonformal approaches*

to 'remove adult illiteracy, the danger of relegating most women to the nonformal sector has to be avoided.

Strategies for promoting equality of opportunity in education and training have to be developed within the context of existing inequalities and apathy of the community, educational systems and administrations. They must therefore include :-

- (a) Explicit targets for expansion of women's opportunities (enrolment, courses, institutions, personnel, materials, etc.) with earmarked resources;
- (b) Institutionalised monitoring of such programmes with measures to improve data on dropouts, out-turn, and actual course content, to facilitate introduction of remedial or accelerating measures, and to generate greater awareness/commitment to the policy objectives within the system;
- (c) Identification of situational constraints of different target groups, e.g. out of school girls of school going age, adult illiterates or adults needing additional/diversified education who are engaged in home responsibilities, working women of different age groups - in rural/urban areas etc.;
- (d) Provision of supportive services for particular target groups, (e.g. child care, earning and learning schemes, transport, clothing, books, supplementary nutrition, reading centres, special tuition in basic subjects like mathematics, scholarships, stipends etc.) based on situational analysis, and inclusion of resources for such services as priority items in educational budgets;
- (e) Provision for reservation/preferential entry for women in non-traditional vocational courses taking care to relate such efforts to anticipated manpower requirements;
- (f) Provision for non-formal education for women in all major development sectors (e.g. agriculture, industry, urban/rural development, health, local government etc.) with specific provision of funds and personnel;
- (g) Utilisation of non-formal methods to assist entry/re-entry to formal education and/or vocational training;
- (h) Organising information campaigns through all possible channels to expand/diversify women's educational/employment aspirations/opportunities;
- (i) Inviting and assisting women's organisations and institutions, particularly institutions of higher education to support governmental effort by
 - (i) investigating problems of different groups of women;
 - (ii) assisting collective organisations of women at the grass-root level, especially among poor and uneducated women - for learning, productive and other developmental activity;

- (iii) providing liaising services for these groups with educational and other development promotional agencies;
 - (iv) encouraging attitudinal change among men and women;
 - (v) promoting solidarity among women's groups;
 - (vi) influencing and informing media and political groups;
 - (vii) developing new analytical methodology;
- (j) Promoting teaching and research on women and the implications of the Decade's goals, as an input within the educational process - particularly in institutions of higher and teacher education - to eliminate attitudinal, conceptual and class biases which prevent understanding of women's role and situation;
 - (k) Promoting exchange of experiences of successful community-centred and development oriented educational projects among women's organisations and institutions within and between countries;
 - (l) Identification/establishment of special institutions of development training and research programmes on women's education and development - as catalysing professional agencies - to assist training/orientation of educational cadres, planners, administrators, to develop information/documentation/advisory services for governmental and non-governmental agencies in formulating policies/programmes for women's development.

I must confess that after my initial plea for revolutionary and structural change of the educational system, these are very timid and only reformist suggestions, which rest on the assumption of some commitment on the part of national governments to the goals of the Decade. But we must begin somewhere. All that I have tried to suggest in this paper is how to use the current concern - at national and international levels - to move in the direction of qualitative and structural change.

The special roles visualised for women's teaching and research institutions is based on a belief that this will help to prevent alienation between educated and uneducated women and provide needed instruments, for promoting the goals of the decade. National and international agencies concerned with women's advance need to recognise the potential of these institutions as intermediaries and active participants - instead of only depending on government or non-governmental organisations. Educational and research institutions have certain professional skills not always available to NGOs. They also enjoy considerable status, and can provide powerful spokesmen for the women's cause. Above all - their active engagement in this field is essential to correct false assumptions and analytical concepts which have prevented understanding of the situation of women. In playing this role, these institutions can transform their own consciousness, and vitalise their educational function with new knowledge and perceptions.

Women's studies need to be developed as an input into the educational process, not as a separate, isolated activity. However, knowing the resistance of academic institutions, some institutions may need to be developed to play a catalytic role at the initial stage. Contact between such institutions, within and between countries and regions need to be promoted by national and international agencies. Collaborative/comparative research, and interaction between these groups engaged in a common endeavour - can be a powerful force in realising the Decade's goal.

Footnotes

- 1 A.S. Altekar - Position of Women in Ancient India.
- 2 *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha* (a compendium of Bengali Newspapers in the 19th century). See also Vina Mazumdar Social Reform Movement from Ranade to Nehru, in B.R. Nanda, (Ed.). *Indian Women : from Purdah to Modernity*, Vikas, Delhi, 1976.
- 3 Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare; *Towards Equality - Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India*, 1975.
- 4 U.N - A/conf/94/10.
- 5 M.N. Srinivas : *Changing Position of Indian Women*, O.U.P. Delhi 1978; also *Social Change in Modern India*, O.U.P. Delhi '79. T. Scarlett Epstein : *South India - Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*.
- 6 Govt. of India. Planning Commission :- Draft Five Year Plan (1978-83) Ministry of Education & S.W. *Education and National Development - Report of the Indian Education Commission 1966*; *Report of the Committee on Adult Education Programmes for Women, 1978*; *Report of the Working Group on Universalisation of Elementary Education, 1978*; *Report of the Review Committee on National Adult Education Programme, 1980*.
- 7 United Nations, World Conference of the UN Decade for Women Equality, Development and Peace - Review and evaluation of progress achieved in the implementation of the World Plan of Action : Education - No. A/CONF. 94/10.
- 8 Pablo Latapi, in *New Frontiers in Education*, Delhi 1972.
- 9 R.P. Dore - *The Diploma Disease*. See also Report of ILO Study.
- 10 Ivan Illich - *Teams on Education and Employment : Kenya, Sri Lanka, Colombia Deschooling Society*. See also J.P. Naik - *Equality, Quality, Quantity : The Elusive Triangle of Indian Education*; D.S. Kothari - in *From Autonomy to System*, Unesco, 1968; and also *Education for Living - Report by E. Faure, Unesco, 1967*.
- 11 Isvarchandra Vidyasagar, Jyotiba Phule, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, J.P. Naik and others.
- 12 Of the National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.
- 13 S. Dasgupta & I.N. Tewary - *Women's Emancipation in India - A Sociological Analysis* (unpublished paper prepared for the Committee on the Status of Women in India) for Gandhi's ideas on women's liberation see M.K. Gandhi - *To Women Role of Women*; and Vina Mazumdar op.cit.
- 14 Asian & Pacific Centre for Women & Development, UNESCAP : *Feminist Ideology and Structures* : Report of an International Workshop. June '79, The Report of the the Committee on the Status of Women in India; see also the Report of the Non-aligned and other Developing Nations' Conference on *Role of Women and Development*, Baghdad, 1976.
- 15 For those who want to dismiss this hypothesis as Marxist dogma, it may be mentioned that neither A.S. Altekar, the historian of ancient India, nor M.N. Srinivas, the social anthropologist whose works provide the most substantial clues for the hypothesis can by any stretch of imagination be described as Marxists.
- 16 *Towards Equality op.cit.* - Chapter 6. See also Vina Mazumdar 'Education for Equality in A.B. Shah (ed). *The Social Context of Education*. Essays in honour of J.P. Naik Allied Publishers Delhi 1978.
- 17 ICSSR - Programme of Women's Studies, 1977.
- 18 Vina Mazumdar & Kumud Sharma - 'Women's Studies in India - New Perceptions and Challenges' in *Economic & Political Weekly*, Jan. 29, 1979.
- 19 Indian Council of Social Science Research an autonomous agency created and funded by the Government of India.
- 20 National Council of Educational Research & Training, also funded by the Government of India.

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- ²¹ The S.N.D.T. Women's University, Bombay. This was the only all women university in India established in 1961.
- ²² University of Kanpur, U.P. - a new university in which this initiative has been taken by the new vice-chancellor, a woman social scientist.
- ²³ See Report of Baghdad Conference of Non-aligned and other Developing Nations on Role of Women in Development, May 1979, Commonwealth Conference on Non-formal Education for Development, Delhi, 1979, ESCAP Regional Preparatory Conference for the UN World Conference on Women, Delhi, November 1979.