It is naive to think that development of education is a simple affair of building schools and placing funds to support them. Even if schools are put up, students sometimes and at some places do not come. Parents resist sending their children to school. Their perception of education, the relation between education and the needs of the individual and society, the political, social and cultural incentives or laws, the social and school climate, the ease of access of school from a child's residence, economic means of the parents and such other related factors hinder or help the growth and development of education. The frame of education is complex and complicated. The fabric of education is woven by many hands, often clumsily, trying to make best use of the available texture. Growth of education should, therefore, be viewed on a wider panorama in complex and intertwining perspectives.

- Professor D.M. Desai

("Some Perspectives on Educational Research")

(Manuscript) 7
2.1 Introduction

After setting forth the plan of the present research in Chapter I, it will be now fruitful to examine some pertinent theoretical perspectives. As observed in the previous chapter, education is a complex process and it depends upon diverse inputs. These inputs take the form of material conditions, personalities and personnel and diverse factors and forces such as geographical, demographic, cultural, political, social, and economic. There has always been a constant and intertwining interplay of more than one of these major factors in the growth and development of education. In the present chapter, which is intended to be a kind of a theoretical reference frame or a
theoretical rationale or a perspective, an attempt will be made to analyse and interpret how various factors shape and determine the dimensions and directions of growth and development in education in general. The colonial set-up in Gujarat during the British rule will be kept in mind while elucidating and interpreting developments in the sphere of education. A each of section will be devoted to the discussion of the determinant factors of Indian education in general which have bearing on education in Gujarat also. More specific treatment of the causative factors of secondary education will be referred to where warranted.

In subsequent sections, the implications of various major factors, such as geographical, demographic, social, cultural, economic and political will be briefly examined and discussed in the perspective of educational growth and development. Such a discussion is calculated to provide a theoretical reference frame to perceive and purview the bearing or impact of various factors on educational development.

2.2 Geographical or Physical Factors and their Impact on Educational Growth

In this category are included physical features of a region, like hilly or mountainous barren tracts, forest covered areas, sandy deserts, rugged deeply-cut river beds and valleys and tracts of plains and rich pasture lands. It is a matter of common sense to understand that in the taluka or the
district which abounds in hills, mountainous tracts, deserts and rugged deeply-cut river beds, it is difficult to establish a school, and even if a school is built, it is difficult to get sufficient enrolment to run the school on an economic basis. The difficulties regarding recruiting teachers for such areas are many and real. In such areas, educational facilities are hardly provided unless the State is a welfare State, is economically viable and has democratic education-oriented leadership.

In Gujarat, out of its total 19 districts, some districts existing were during the British rule and are now fully endowed with continue to favourable physical conditions. Some had in the past and now / have partially favourable physical conditions while a few had and still have such unfavourable conditions. For instance, the Ahmedabad district has physical conditions very favourable to development of educational and other activities. The Ahmedabad district is described as under:

The wide expanse of flat alluvial plains of high fertility, watered by the perennial rivers under a mild and general climate; a long gentle and shelving coast-line of a hospitable sea.... the absence of rugged rock terrain or sandy desert such as those that surround it on east and north...."1

With these endowments of nature, the Ahmedabad district has excellent conditions for development of education. These conditions are further supported by a good network of communications by rail and road. The Ahmedabad district of the
British period was perhaps the richest district in the whole of Gujarat, both in its natural endowments of physical environment and the enterprise of the people in exploiting these endowments for the general prosperity of the district.

The Baroda district, is an instance of a region where physical endowments are partially favourable and partially unfavourable to the growth of education. The Baroda district as it was carved out after the merger of the Baroda State into the territories of the Bombay State in 1949, could be divided into two zones, one comprising plain land of the west intervened by small rivers and the other part, the eastern side, mostly hilly. Thus, the Western part of the district has most favourable physical conditions helpful to the growth of education and the eastern part of the district has the least favourable conditions for the same.

The district of Sabarkantha in the North can be cited as an example of physical endowments unfavourable to the growth of education. There are thick forests and hills scattered about the district. There are many small rivers in it. The average rainfall is about 50 cm. The general standard of health was and is below normal due to insufficiency of food and unhygienic ways of living. Epidemics like small-pox and typhoid were very common.

The Dangs District, prior to the formation of the Gujarat State, belonged to Maharashtra region of the erst-while Bi-lingual Bombay State. Now it is one of the districts of Gujarat.
It is an instance of an area where physical conditions are most unfavourable to the growth and development of educational activities. By its geographical nature, the district is a hilly region of forests and has been cut off from civilizing influences, to a large extent, maintaining its aboriginal character. The population belongs to the Adivasi type and the whole district was, and even now, classified as the Scheduled Area. It is a heavily wooded area. The district has no towns. Communication was not at all developed during the British period. The domestic and social life of the people was very primitive. The climate of the district is wet, moist and unhealthy. Thus, the Dangs district illustrates an area where physical conditions were, and are, least favourable to the normal development of educational activities.

Because of the physical conditions the districts of during the nineteenth century, Ahmedabad, Kheda and Surat had most favourable conditions, the districts of Amreli, Baroda, Broach, Mehsana, Halar, Madhya Saurashtra and Zalawad had partially favourable conditions and the districts of Dangs, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Panchmahals, Gohilwad, Kutch had conditions bordering on the least favourable dimensions so far as the development of educational activities are concerned. This physical picture of Gujarat was less favourable to growth in education in the nineteenth century as natural forces were not sufficiently harnessed.
2.3 Demographic Factors and their Impact on Educational Growth

Demography is another important factor influencing the development of education in a region. In order that a primary school can be established, a habitation was expected to have at least a population of 5,000 souls. To be able to draw sufficient number of children to enrol in a primary school, the habitation should have a population of at least 500 souls and in a secondary school more than 5,000. Density of population constitutes a vital ingredient of educational growth. That was why educational facilities could develop more in urban areas, towns and bigger villages where these conditions could be satisfied.

The Census Reports of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1901 had yielded some valuable data demographic data based on Census of 1901 which could provide a pointer to the demographic conditions existing in the Gujarat territories towards the end of the nineteenth Century.

"Kaira with a density of 433 is still the most crowded district of the Presidency. In Ahmedabad, the density varies from 827 persons to the sq. mile in the neighbourhood of the city to under 100 in the Bhal tract of Dholka and Dhandhuka talukas. The Panchamahals vary in density from 314 in western to 230 in the eastern mahals. The district of Broach is a flat alluvial plain. The area of the Bara tract written to the 172 persons to the sq. mile, while the rest of the District showed 313. Suret is the meeting ground of Gujarat and Kokar. The population is the most dense on the coast, when it reaches the high figures of 635 to the sq. mile. The central rich plain supports 440 persons and the poorer soil of the hills further east to 320 persons to the sq. mile. Thus, the density of population is the highest in central Gujarat with 333, next best is north Gujarat with 273, the third rank goes to Baroda state with 204, South Gujarat getting the 4th Rank with 146, to Kathiawad and Kutch go the last rank with 128. In the British Districts there were 40 towns and 3324 villages, Kathiawad had 52 towns and 4163 villages, Kutch had 8 towns and 937 villages, the Native States situated in the mainland of Gujarat had 19 towns & 6191 villages.}
This paragraph from the *Census Report of 1911* of the erstwhile Bombay Presidency is quoted at length because it throws light on the demographic conditions existed in different districts. In 1901 when the All India Census was taken, districts like Kaira, Ahmedabad, Surat and Mehsana, demographic conditions favourable for development of school education existed, while in districts like Amreli, Sabarkantha and Dinas kantha conditions in this respect were not so favourable. The demographic picture obtaining at that time also revealed that Saurashtra-Kutch districts stood at the opposite extremity to the districts of the mainland of Gujarat. The Saurashtra-Kutch region had the lowest density per sq.mi, as low as 128. The highest in any district being 228 in Kutch and 237 in Kathiawar. Kutch had the lowest 56, indicating that the population was scattered in the rural areas. Thus, Saurashtra-Kutch areas of the days of the British rule with scattered rural population had the least favourable conditions for establishing schools to run on an economical basis. The concentration of population was in some urban centres where primary schools and secondary schools could be set up. These urban settlements were also far removed from one another and, therefore, the benefits of the educational facilities obtaining in urban centres of habitations could not be well availed of by the inmates of the surrounding villages as was the case in the districts of the mainland of Gujarat. The Saurashtra-Kutch had the scattered centres of large human habitations for another reason also. The depredation of decoits and wandering tribes of the insecure days of old forced the people
to settle in large colonies to feel safety in having more people around them.

The general conclusion is that the demographic conditions in a colonial political set up, with Government's unwillingness to spend adequate amount of money on the spread of education among people, educational institutions sprang up where human settlement was large enough to be able to set up primary and secondary schools could be run through people's own efforts with some grant-in-aid from Government. That is why educational facilities could develop in cities and semi-urban areas where population slabs were large enough to yield enough school children to fill school spaces, and scattered areas and small villages remained without school facilities during the British regime.

The Table 2.1 gives population in Gujarat from 1881 to 1901 Century covering the period of the nineteenth for which the census data are available, along with the number of schools that came into existence during each decade. This will further illustrate the relationship between the growth of population and expansion of school facilities.

Thus, with the growth in population, facilities in primary and secondary schools expanded in Gujarat. Though other factors contributed to educational growth, the population increase was also a significant factor.
TABLE - 2.1: Growth of Population and the Corresponding Expansion of School Facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>9226013</td>
<td>10443579</td>
<td>9033721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2202</td>
<td>3024</td>
<td>3905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from the reports of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay for the years 1880-81, 1890-91 and 1900-01, and the Baroda Administration Reports for the years 1880-81, 1890-91 and 1900-01.

2.4 Social Factors and their Impact on Educational Growth

The road, a human being has travelled from his early struggles in and for life, involved a long hard climb and has taken hundreds of thousands of years." The fact that man possessed the capacity to rise from savagery to an accumulated culture, as never been done before, constitutes the greatest episode in the history of the universe." Some times by chance, more often then - by conscious effort, man learned first to adopt himself to nature, then to harness nature for his service. Generation after generation contested in the struggle of the mastery over the external circumstances. In this lies the
germ of the possibility of human endeavours to fructify in many spheres of life including the adventure in education. Through his accumulation of a social heritage, he developed the basic capacities to develop education and profit by it, the man learned little by little to multiply his powers of communication; through his development of language, customs and laws, he organised his society; through his discovery & invention of better modes of transportation and travel he broadened his world view. The man gradually learned to see visions of a better organised social, economic and political life. The creative development of aspirations and ideals added his steep accent. His changing conceptions of how this learning was and is to be achieved and transmitted constitute the history of his educational thought.

The Social Factors: Almost all modern sociologists treat educational system or the school as a social institution. The well known educational philosopher John Dewey expressed his belief that "the school is primarily a social institution, education being a social process". The same position was taken by Dutton in these words, "the school is a social institution, its aims are social and its management, discipline of methods and instruction should be dominated by this idea". Philips has pointed out that "(i) sociology (in the sense of social theory and social ideas) influences long-term rather than short term policy; (ii) it can contribute heavily to the formation of long term educational policy and give guidance to and evaluate educational administration". Desmukh observes that "all round
development of the individual, preparing the young for their role as citizens, the pursuit of knowledge, the transmission of the cultural heritage of a nation or people - all these traditional aims and objectives of education have undoubtedly a contact which could be identified as sociological." Ottaway says, "Education is an activity which goes on in a society and its aims and methods depend upon the nature of the society in which it takes place". The educational system is supported and controlled by society through the local, state and national governments and through voluntary educational organizations. The educational system has two supplementary functions: "to be a mirror that reflects the society, as it is, and at the same time, to be an agent of social change and a force directed towards implementing the ideas of society." According to Ruhela and Vyas, the relation between education and social change may be of three forms as under:

(1) Education as a necessary condition of bringing about social change in any country.

(2) Education as an instrument, too, means agency or agent for bringing about social change in any country.

(3) Education as an effect of social change in any country.

The third form of relationship between education and social change conceives of the former to be an effect of the latter.
"Educational system as sub-system of the social system is influenced and is in interaction with various social institutions, namely, religion, values, family, state or polity, community, social and class stratification, technology, knowledge etc." Thus, various types of social factors play their role in shaping the educational development. Educational thinkers and educational sociologists have laid stress on the following major social factors affecting education:

(i) Social class
(ii) Culture
(iii) Religion
(iv) New knowledge
(v) Technology
(vi) Philosophy of the thinkers

It would be fruitful to examine briefly the rationale of these factors in reference to education.

(i) Social class: Social class is a factor in distribution of educational opportunities. It is a determinant of educational performance. A social class exerts its influence on a child's personality and educability through his family. The influences of the factors associated with the child's family life, its size, nature of the family, existence of parents, mutual adjustment between the parents, education and occupation of the parents, parents' attitudes, love and aspirations towards their child and
his education, the degree of sacrifice that they are prepared to make in terms of money, time and energy for the sake of their children's physical, social and educational development, etc., are of utmost importance. By his birth in a certain family, a child automatically inherits certain social, economic and cultural benefits, position or facilities, but at the same time he has to bear the prejudices, atrocities, restrictions, hindrances or restrictions imposed on him by others. The factors like occupation and income of the members of the society and factors like consumption patterns, family rituals etc and the extent of the social participations will distinguish the members of the society. In other words, the society is classified from different points of view. According to the economic conditions, a society is generally classified into three divisions: (i) economically advanced class, (ii) middle class and (iii) economically backward class. A convenient classification of social classes in the context of the Indian society is as under:

(1) Upper class
(2) Upper middle class
(3) Middle class
(4) Lower middle class
(5) Poor class.

The Upper Class is affluent and its members are more or less completely westernized in their thinking, living and generally described as behaviour. They are luxurious and most influential in determining
economic, political and administrative policies and decisions in various social, economic, political and even cultural organizations. They want quality education, no-matter at what cost. They have the best possible educational atmosphere and so they do not suffer from any educational inequalities or want whatsoever.

The upper Middle Class: These families may be only one step lower than the upper class in wealth and they enjoy almost the same sort of luxurious living. Being mostly engaged in upper managerial, technical, and administrative jobs, they wield a great deal of power in government, economy and polity and hence their tastes are also not much different from those of the upper class. They appear to be conscious of the importance of education for their children, both sons and daughters. They are eager to create a happy educative environment in their homes for them. The upbringing of the children of this class as well as the climate in home is also such that they may turn out to be elites in intellectual, economic and administrative fields.

The Middle Class: In respect of the middle class, Goel observes that "most of the members of this group belong to the professional class. In the field of education, this group is quite advanced. So far as economic position is concerned, they are middle income group people. On the basis of their education and yearnings they are very conscious of their social status. Some times they
do things which are beyond their means, merely from a false sense of social prestige. They are afraid of associating with lower middle class. . . . Since this group has high aspirational level and as they aim to reach the status of the upper middle class people, they generally aspire for things which the upper middle class people possess. As most of them are unable to get them, they feel bitter and condemn them as luxuries; but as soon as they themselves come to possess them, they start supporting the positions and way of life of the upper middle class. This is a group which wants the maximum advantages from the government by making the least of sacrifices itself. It naturally implies that education is of crucial importance for the very survival of this class.

Lower Middle Class: In the lower middle class, a clerk, a school-teacher, a small-shopkeeper or a skilled mechanic can be placed. The economic tensions of this class and the inferiority complex from which the people of this class suffers pathetically make them conscious of their social inequalities, which results into developing an inferiority complex among them. Being educated people, these people have high expectations for their children, which, without education, often remain unfulfilled. Parents tend to fix high educational goals for their children, but they often find that the goals are beyond their reach as they find it very difficult to send their children to good schools as they cannot pay their children's fees. They also find it very difficult to provide them school books,
stationery, school uniform, pocket money and the like, which children from upper middle class ordinarily get easily. Most of them cannot afford to provide their children even a separate study room at home or to arrange for a private tutor if they are found to be backward in achievement in any subject. Mothers in these families are generally not infrequently found to be illiterates or semi-literate and so they are not able to provide educational climate and motivation at home to their children. Children often are treated shabbily and admonished by their parents whenever they want money to be spent to meet any of the requirements of the school. The homes are generally devoid of books, stationery, magazines, papers and toys. As it is observed in one study, "Parents cannot afford to provide nourishing food, milk, fruit and the like to their children with the result that many of them suffer from ill-health and poor vision. Economic degradation and tensions keep the parents constant irritated. In such tense atmosphere, children are constantly in anxiety, broken and desolate and unmotivated to study".

The Poor Class: The poor class includes factory and farm labourers, the artisans, the low-grade technicians, clerks in small industries and organisations, the peons in various organisations, the scheduled castes (Harijans) and the scheduled tribes (the tribal people). The poor class people have very miserable economic and social existence. They hardly have goals or ambitions for their children's education and future career. Being generally illiterates or semi-illiterates, the parents are unable to be of any
direct or indirect help to their children in their education, most of them cannot help their children in their home work given at school; they are not even stimulated to inquire whether home work is given by the teacher and whether children do this home assignments. They do not have enough means to provide books, stationery or pay fees well in time. Children have to live both in the school as well as at home a life of want, difficulties, tension and insecurity. Both in rural and urban areas, most of these poor class children have to remain illiterate or drop out of school after one or two years of superfluous schooling, to be able to help their parents in earning bread and butter for the family. It is also found that the children in this class have poor pronunciation and other linguistic capabilities, they are very poor in verbal and written expression and their imagination, aspirations and achievement motivation are at the most disappointing levels.

There is also another way to classify the Indian society, viz. on the basis of castes. In India the society is divided into a plethora of castes. The caste system, in its earliest stage, was based on 'Goon' 'Karma', (merit and action) and 'Swabhav' (temperament). A person was born *sudhara* but ultimately acquired his caste or Varna if he possessed these three qualities, listed above, in due course of time. But *Varna* got replaced by fixing the caste determined by birth. For a long time these hereditary concepts played their role in determining the caste of persons' born in the Hindu fold. This led to make the social system among the Hindu society rigid and stagnant.
Gradually, these castes became hereditary, professional sub-castes. The castes became functional. The criterion of membership in a caste system came to be based on birth. An individual belongs to the caste in which he is born. Thus, caste became a powerful social factor which had its effect in the social, economic, cultural and educational life that an individual lived within the fold of the caste. In olden days in India, the higher caste people got the advantage which the lower caste people, especially the Shudras, never got. The latter were not allowed to take education. Chitra's (1964) study reveals that "caste has a dominant role offering Brahmins better facilities for educational training". Other studies also reveal that "the educational opportunity is mostly open to better strata of the society."

There was also another dominant social factor during the nineteenth century in India. It pertained to the feudal system embodied in the princely order, noblemen or Bhayats and Zamindars. The feudal Zamindari system was in existence, prevalent in all parts of the country. The Princely States scattered all over Gujarat and elsewhere in India tended to create a feudal system. The Zamindars were the powerful lords. They also tended to give rise to another feudal class. They and their kinders as well as favourites all had vantage positions. Education could spread more easily among these privileged people. The peasants who were dependents on these over-lords were poor, ill-cared for and had the least equality of opportunity for social, cultural, economic and educational advancement. In the
Princely States of Kathiawad and Gujarat, the educational opportunities were mostly available to the children of the Bhayats, Government Officers, merchants, Zamindars and also to the high caste people who had in their families long tradition of education and cultural enlightenment.

(ii) Culture

Culture touches and affects man's life in numerous significant ways. Tylor says that "culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society." Thus, capabilities acquired by man as a member of society and culture. In other words, behaviour transmitted by learning from one generation to another is called 'culture'. In this connection Theodore Brameld observes that "it is from the stuff of culture that education is directly created and that gives to education not only its own tools and materials but its reason for existing at all". Freeman also observes, "Parents, families, the church, governments and most forms of organised institution deliberately attempt to educate by influencing the behaviour of young and old alike". Education has always been an integral part of human culture everywhere.

The history of the world has shown that whenever one nation enslaves another nation through political and military victory, it tries to impose its own culture on the vanquished nation considering its own culture and its own institutions
of superior nature. While discussing the objective of educational policy behind the modern system of education in India, from the cultural point of view. This is borne out by the cultural and educational history of India including historians.

Messrs Syed Nurullah and Naik observe that "from the cultural point of view, the educational thought of this period can be broadly divided into three definite viewpoints: the first is the view represented by men like Duncan and Hastings, or more preferably by Minto, Prinsep, H.H. Wilson and such other Orientalists. This view emphasised (a) the worth-whileness of the ancient literatures of the Hindus and Muslims, (b) the necessity and importance of its proper study by Hindus and Muslims, (c) the utility of careful study of these literatures by western scholars as well, and (d) the desirability of preserving the ancient culture of Hindus and Muslims from the state of rapid decay into which it had fallen on account of the loss of royal patronage." But Macaulay, in his Minute of 1835, had argued that "it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their health and not palatable to their taste!" One cultural unstated but implied aim of establishing English schools was to anglicise the Indian youth so that in due course of time a new class of Indian people would come to be created who though "Indian in blood and colour would be Englishmen in morals, taste and character". While speaking before the House of Commons, Lord Macaulay had articulated in 1835, another cultural aim of English education and English schools in India: "It may be that the public mind of India may expand our system until it
has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate for better government, that having become interested in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. English education in India was thus conceived as an agency to ensure and consolidate the cultural conquest of England over India by establishing western type of educational institutions. The cultural superiority of the British people and the rulers' anxiety to extend the benefit of their supposed superior culture to Indian people was one of the most powerful forces in shaping their educational policy in the nineteenth century. The over emphasis on the learning of English by Indians and the expectations that Indians would speak and write as Englishmen did resulted in the neglect of the Indian languages as media of instruction at the secondary as well as higher stages of instruction. This trend reflected the superior cultural complex of the British administrators of India. Under the hallow effect of this very cultural factor the English schools in the country were modelled after the Grammar schools of England. The curriculum that came to be prescribed for Indian secondary schools was dominated more by cultural considerations than for political or economical considerations. The English school that had come into existence in Gujarat since 1842 was predominantly England's Grammar school and its hold was so great and deep that the experiment of the diversification of school curricula introduced in a limited way, as a result of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission 1882, did not much succeed. Actually
the idea of vocational education mooted out by the Wood's Despatch of 1854 and of diversification of the curricula of
mooted out in 1882
the secondary school did not germinate much and blossomed out because the cultural effect of the English medium high school was very powerful in the mind of the bureaucracy as well as the people belonging to the upper section of the contemporary society. In the Indian school, the dignity of labour, manual work, activity methods of teaching and learning practical skills involving the use of hands and feet, as opposed to scholarly habits and academic competence and school curricula reflecting the pragmatic needs of the individual as well as of the local community, did not develop owing largely to the dominant and over-riding cultural effect of the English medium western type of high school.

((11)) Religion

Religion exercises control over the family. It is a great institution. It is obviously social. It is at the same time an individual matter. Religion not only deals with an individual but it is concerned with Government, a social institution. The social aspect of religion is most extensively manifest in its control over people's conduct.

Christianity, as a religion, had contributed very largely to the evolution of concept of universalism in education. Desai refers to the unique contribution of Roman Catholicism in terms of a large number of teaching orders who worked self-
lessly, and lived a missionary life, to spread education among the masses; he also points out to the fact that "Roman Catholics believe that religion must be integral part of all education, not merely as an additional subject, but as a spirit that pervaded the teaching of every subject and fills the whole atmosphere of the school". John Calvin advocated that "every one should be taught the three R.'s and should be able to read the Bible for himself or herself." The Puritan-Calvanistic zeal for education had contributed much to the introduction of universal, free and compulsory education in European countries and in America. Brubacher observes that "if the young are to develop religious interests, if they are to develop religious interests, if they are to develop interest in faith and morals, the church insists that it has no less right than state to complement their education begun in the first instance by the family." In other words, education is affected by the religion.

With the advent of British rule in India, Christian missionaries appeared on the scene of education. Prior to the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813 in which the East India Company had laid down its educational policy, there were two agencies working for the spread of new education. Firstly, there were the Christian missionaries and secondly there were the private efforts of the native people and some enlightened Europeans. The early educational efforts of the Christian missionaries were not so much actuated by the desire to spread western knowledge and culture as by ulterior motives. The European missionaries were interested in
education only in so far as it served the purpose of enabling them to spread Christianity among the people of India. "The aims of the missionaries were naturally directed to the use of education, not as an end in itself, but as a means of evangelisation." The introduction of English in Mission Schools was in no way meant to diffuse European knowledge or to encourage the study of the European sciences. It was considered that "English language was a true symbol of Christian civilization or Christian doctrine and, therefore, the knowledge of English would initially lead to the spread of Christianity."

During the British rule, Hinduism and Islam as religious forces, were not so dominant as Christianity in the championing the cause of education and spreading it among the masses. Orthodox Hindu religion and the superstitious beliefs and traditions generated by it worked as an obstacle to the spread of education among the untouchables and also among women. The rigid stratification of the Hindu Society into an hierarchy of caste system and higher caste groups constituted a more privilege class socially, religiously and economically. The lower caste groups did not carry any religious importance and significance, and, therefore, religion did not operate as a favourable factor for the spread of education among the lower castes who were also the backward classes. Like the Christian Missionaries, the Hindu and the Muslim religious organisations did not come forward to establish schools for masses. The
religious institutions - the religious sects were on the contrary, apathetic, where they were not actually hostile, to the new types of schools that had begun to be established in Gujarat after 1840.

Knowledge

The expanding frontiers of knowledge are also a significant factor that affects the growth of education in a society. The most powerful effect and enduring result of the British rule in India is the intellectual development of the people on an entirely new line, and the consequent changes in their political, social, religious, and economic outlook. If one has to choose one single factor which helped more than others in bringing about this great transformation in India in the nineteenth century, one can, without any hesitation, point to the introduction of English Education. The English education and western ideas which flowed along with it formed the foundation of whatever progress that could be achieved during the British period. "English education opened the flood gates of the western ideas which almost overwhelmed them at the beginning. Fifty years of English education brought greater changes in the minds of the educated Hindus of Bengal than the previous thousand years." Exigencies of administration and commercial intercourse forced the Indians, particularly the residents of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to cultivate the knowledge of English in the eighteenth century or even earlier. With the developed opening of the nineteenth century, there was a growing appre-
ciation of the value of English as a medium of culture on the part of the educated Bengalis, specially, Hindus. The more they came into contact with the educated English people, the more they understood the nature and importance of the knowledge of English and Western Sciences and realised the necessity of acquiring the knowledge of English and sciences. This is explicitly borne out from the letter written by Raja Ram Mohan Roy to the Governor General urging the Government to encourage the advancement of modern scientific knowledge.

English education affected a number of Indians who came under its influence. As the Report of the Calcutta University Commission says, "They had all been found to drink deeply from the wells of English literature, which is beyond all others, the literature of liberty. The heaven of thought of Bacon and Milton, Locke, and Burke, Wordsworth and Byron, was working in the mind of Bengal, whose age-long ideals had been those of submission and self renunciation, not those of freedom and individual initiative." English language became a great instrument of awakening. Besides, the English language was at that time the language of liberty and Indian intelligentsia prided in their mastery of the language. Thus the love of liberty was implanted into Indian minds through the knowledge of English literature. To sum up the impact of knowledge of English literature and western sciences in the words of Panikar, it can be said, "The major contributions of British in India's new life related to the sphere of ideas and
organization. In the sphere of ideas must be included new ways of thinking and criticism, the cultivation of science and a scientific approach to problems and the transplantation and acclimatisation of political and social ideas."

Technology

Technology produces social change, but it also may produce social invention. All social changes take place through the medium of ideas. Some ideas flow from the observable facts and others from fantasies. Material culture is influenced largely by the first type, while such aspects of the social heritage as literature, art, religion, and social philosophy may conform to the second type, or to a blend of the two. Technology influences the social institutions. Modern industry is seen to be the virtual creation of the power inventions and the various power using machines made from the metal. "Modern technology, in taking industry from the household has radically changed the family organization." It has placed the man's work, except in agriculture, wholly away from the homestead and has removed nearly all women's economic duties except cooking, house-cleaning and a little sewing. Next to the economic organization, the state has been most strongly influenced by the changing technology, principally by the production inventions and by those of communication.
Technology often changes first, to be followed later by its social effects. "Some of the significant technological developments and inventions that are producing cultural lags in contemporary society are the telephone, automobile, radio, moving picture, power driven agricultural machine, printing, photography, alloys, electric transmission lines, electrical goods, welding, and chemical uses of cellulose, coal tar products, chemistry of foods, the airplane, air conditioning, artificial lighting, contraceptives, coin-in-slot devices, and television."

India did not benefit much from these technological developments as there was not appreciable technological development in it as compared to those that took place in the western countries. The industrial revolution also did not take place in India in the real sense of the word. Telephone, railways, radio, motion picture, printing, photography, electrical goods did come to India but their use was limited and the benefits from these technological advances occurred mostly to urban centres. The technological advances did not spread much to rural areas. Road and transport communications on the country side also did not develop much. The trends of democratisation were feeble in the country, wherever they had emerged.

In the sphere of education, the advances in technology did not achieve much in India - in Gujarat. Conscious efforts were not made by framing curriculum to incorporate such items of...
information and activities in it from the beginning classes which was helpful in the development of the children to adjust themselves with the new, competitive and rigorous life of the secondary aspirations and complex institutions of the modernising society. Thus the educational system prevailing during the British time did not make suitable provision for shaping modern personalities of the school students. Education was not perceived as a basic condition, and, therefore, any real modernisation as a result of technological process did not result. Industrial modernisation demanded widespread and careful use of sophisticated or complex machinery, but that did not take place excepting in the major industries like textile and in urban centres. Therefore, there was a dearth of properly educated and well trained workers to handle that sort of modern machinery. In the words of the Education Commission (1964-66), "The wealth and prosperity of a nation depends on the effective utilization of its human and material resources through industrialization. Success in industrialization depends to a large extent on an adequate supply of skilled man-power. The use of human material for industrialization demands its education in science and training in technical skills."

In India, even though the progress of industrialization during the British rule was not so remarkable, India could not remain aloof from the impact of the technological development—Industrial Revolution of Europe. This is borne out by the
fact that the Indian Education Commission had to draw the attention of the country by making specific recommendations that "there is real need in India for some corresponding course which will get boys for industrial or commercial jobs at the age when they commonly matriculate", and to give effect to this recommendation at the secondary education level, the Commission further recommended that "in upper classes of high schools there should be two divisions - one leading to the entrance examination of the universities, the other of a more practical character intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits". The Government Resolution on Indian Educational Policy issued in 1904 clarified that "the attempts that had been made, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission, to introduce alternative courses in order to meet the needs of those boys who were destined for industrial or commercial pursuits had not met with success.... They would not, however, abandon the aim."

In 1936, the Central Advisory Board of Education to the Government of India invited two British experts of vocational education - Wood and Abbott and after survey, they made recommendations regarding the vocational education in India. As a result of this, the Government of Bombay Presidency started Technical High Schools and Agricultural High Schools at Sholapur, Bombay, Satara and Abraja. With all these efforts to diversify secondary education curriculum, develop vocational education and establish technical schools, nothing much could
happen in secondary education in India during the British rule. The courses of studies became too academic, divorced from the needs of the society as well as of the individual child. Because of inadequate technological progress, the development of vocational education, technical education and even professional education suffered critically in India including Gujarat.

(vi) Philosophy of Thinkers

As per Gentile, "The process of education cannot go along right lines without the help of philosophy." Rush also observes that "from every angle of the educational problem comes the demand for a philosophical basis of the subject. There is no escape from a philosophy of life and of education." Thus, philosophy and education are two aspects of the same truth; education without philosophy is unintelligible; philosophy clarifies and determines the aims of education; philosophy determines general curriculum and the number of subjects; philosophy assists in selection of appropriate method; philosophy expands and strengthens the teachers' knowledge and develops his personality. In short, every aspect of education bears impact of the philosophy, and therefore, it is but natural that philosophy of thinkers must have its impact upon the education. It is well known that the philosophy of great like thinkers Socrates, Plato, Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Herbert Spencer, Montessori, John Dewey.
T. Percy Nunn and Bertrand Russell have moulded the shape of education. In India also, philosophy of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshub Chandra Sen, Dayanand Sarashwati, Swami Vivekanand, Annie Besant, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Aurobindo, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vinoba Bhave have played their important role in shaping the Indian education from time to time. Raja Ram Mohan Roy aimed to spread enlightenment among the people so that they could think afresh and build up a new life in accordance with the changed conditions of the country. "The first thing that struck him was the necessity of introducing western knowledge and science into the educational curricula of India. He was of the opinion that if India were to make progress along with other nations of the world, she would have to assimilate modern European science."

As mentioned earlier, during the British period, India had produced several thinkers who had set forth sound educational philosophy which, if allowed to have its impact on the official system of education, the country would have been today in a mightily happy educational position. Indian thinkers and socio-religious reformers of the British period had set forth several ideas to initiate, mould and shape the education of the people. The Indian National Congress itself had set loose a powerful movement in National Education during the twenties of the present century. But the alien Government which believed that the western system of education introduced by it was the
best for India and her people, either paid no attention to the emergent new educational philosophy or resisted it through its official machinery and was content to go ahead with moulding and shaping Indian education according to its best understanding and faith. Thus, in India, not the educational philosophy of the Indian thinkers shaped the web and texture of Indian education during the British period, but the generating and moulding influences were mostly all from the West. It was, therefore, no wonder that Sir Eric Asby had to observe, while taking stock of Indian education during the British period that:

"The Universities remain alien implantations, not integrated into the New India as the writers of the Radhakrishnan Report hoped they might be. This is one reason why, to the observer from outside, the Indian intellectual remains a culturally displaced person, nostalgically treasuring his threads of communication with England.... There is in India (as Edward Shills recently, wrote) 'no intellectual community. This is due in part to the lack of a hierarchy of cultural institutions in the country."

This is the long range effect of cultural factors in a colonial set-up on education. It is borne out by what happened in higher education and by the products of Indian Universities as a result of the internalised impact of the cultural influences generated by the Universities (which were moulded on English pattern during the British rule) on the rising generation of young men and women. Such influences when spread over a long period get built into hard bound traditions which continue to operate even when the original
generating influences no longer exist.

Thus, the social factors have powerful impact on education. The external influences of the social factors determine the extent of the availability of equality of educational opportunity to different social classes or groups. The growth of educational provision for a given community or a social group is, besides other, determined by the social factors like, caste stratification, hierarchical status and social values. But social factors also influence the educational process in terms of its aims and goal—educational objectives, syllabus, textbooks, input of instructional materials and aids, methods of teaching and examination procedures, techniques and the philosophy of grading. In a study of educational growth and development, the operative influences of both the external and internal influences of the social factors have to be taken into consideration.

In the subsequent section, the influences of another powerful determinant factor of education, namely, the political factor will be dealt with in some details.

2.5 Political Factors and Their Impact on Educational Growth

Ottaway says, "Education is always the expression of the authority of some social group, and that in our civilization
this group is the State". The constitution of the State, the democratic, authoritarian, colonial benevolent, etc. characteristics of the State exercise a powerful influence in educating masses and individuals. Brubacher has rightly observed that "if one allows himself to reflect on education practice of the present century, he will note a number of problems whose solution at bottom involves political ideologies".

State policy on education, developed in a country from time to time, is the result of social, economic, cultural and other complex of inter-mixed factors, but political ideologies exercise equally strong influences. This was borne out by the history of education during the nineteenth and the first half of the present century in a number of Asian and African countries. It must be true in other parts of the world.

Political factors were interlinked with other factors in shaping educational policy of the alien governments of these countries and determining the quantity and quality of educational growth that took place in them.

Upreti (1973) has made a fine study of political development and growths of education in British India, 1904-47. He has....
shown how educational policies evolved by the colonial power—the British government were in response to its own political needs and the movements generated in the colony. The British policy in education remained uncertain, and unhelpful to the education of masses and even of classes till the British rule in India was not firmly established. The fact of a frown shown to education by Government is borne out by Meston when he says that "from the point of policy it is sufficient to note that the cold shoulder which was given officially to the spread of elementary education in 1830 was given officially to private educational effort in 1842. For the time being, then, a definite stop was put to a continued educational practice which had in it the germ of a beneficial educational policy!"

With the consolidation of the political rule over India of the British/political factors affecting education showed a welcome change. Reforms in administration were effected and the administrative services also came to be reorganised. The Permanent Land Settlement created a new landlord class. The Indian market was thrown open to the capitalist class in England. Thus, consolidation of political power of the British in India brought about a change in the social, economic and educational scene in India. Upreti concludes that with the consolidation of political rule over India by the British, "a need was felt, for the first time, to create a super-structure of education which could feed the administration and also satisfy the new classes of admirers of the British rule". Desai also comes
to the conclusion that acceptance of State responsibility for the education of the natives was not born out of any liberal-humanitarian spirit, as some scholars believe, but was an administrative and political necessity. The new emergent classes gave unqualified support to the English education and the Government's new educational policy was in fact grew out of their anxiety to consolidate their own position in the new political set-up. The traditional elites who were culturally associated with the ruling power soon began to adjust themselves with the political set up of the new Government. They tended to use the new English education as a tool to court favour of the British Government on the one hand and to perpetuate their hold on those who were below them in rank, power and resources.

Upreti's other conclusions regarding the influence of the political factors on growth of educational policy and other significant aspects are as under:

- In the early phase of the political development it was to instil ideas of loyalty through education among the masses. In the later phases, it was to draw the educated and those who were neglected, under the British system of education towards active participation in political movement.

- Due to the growth of political consciousness among the middle classes in urban areas and among the peasants in rural areas, sub-elite groups emerged who entered the race for higher education with the aim of consolidating
their own position socially, economically and even politically.

- The consolidation between the emerging classes and the political lords - the rulers did not manifest openly till the political consolidation of these classes had taken place.

- The contradiction that appeared between the emergent new classes and the political lords started a new thinking about what the State should do in the sphere of education. The contradiction that appeared within the new emergent classes challenged the very basis of the system of education founded by the British.

- The policy of control that appeared in the sphere of administration of higher and secondary education was with a motive to put a curb to the growth of deviant middle class. But this objective could not succeed.

- The Indian National Congress represented a kind of liberal political thinking which came in clash with the political leadership of the State on the issue of the demand for the education of the masses. Both perceived the advantages of mass education differently. The political factors on the national side saw in the mass education a source and a fountain of national awakening and development. The political leadership represented by the colonial government saw
in it a guarantee of creating feelings of loyalty towards the British Empire and a mechanism to act as an effective check on the influence of radicalism.

- A beginning made in spreading education among the lower classes also assumed political influence and it grew out of the growing influence of radicalism.

- The emergence of elites among the Muslims and the Parsis was based on the politics of separatism.

- Politics of liberalism formed the mainstream of the political nationalism till 1920. After 1920, both liberalism and radicalism merged. The Diarchy constituted a compromise between the liberals and the colonial rulers.

- The national political leadership regarded all attempts to curb to the political aspirations to have higher representation of educated classes in legislatures and administration.

- The political stability which resulted after the withdrawal of the Non-Co-operation Movement of Gandhiji accelerated the growth and development of education in India.

- The intervention of the World War II and the 'Quit-India' Movement of August 1942 again relegated educational issues to the background.
Upreti has discussed several educational developments which could be ascribed to political forces. What Upreti has done for educational history in India for the period 1904 to 1947 has been done by Goel for an earlier period prior to 1904. Goel has also shown how political influences constitute a vital factor in shaping educational policies and programme in India. A recent research by Saini is also pointed to a similar conclusion. Thus, the research evidence is in great support of the hypothesis that political factors have powerful impact on educational growth and development in a country.

About the influence of the State, Bertrand Russell is rather harsh. He observes, "Throughout the western world, boys and girls are taught that their most important social loyalty is to the state of which they are citizens, and that their duty to the state is to act as its government may direct. Lest they should question this doctrine, they are taught false history, false politics and false economics. They are informed of the misdeeds of foreign states, but not of the misdeeds of their own state. They are led to suppose that all the wars in which their own state has engaged are of defence, while the wars of foreign states are wars of aggression. They are taught to believe that when, contrary to expectation, their own country does conquer some foreign country, it does so in order to spread civilization, or to light the gospel or lofty moral tone, or prohibition, or something else which is
This is also an important aspect of the influence of the political factors in shaping curriculum, textbooks, methods of teaching and learning.

After this general discussion about the role of political influences in education, it would be worthwhile to examine the influences on education of specific facets of political factors.

The following political factors affect education:

(i) The type of Government;
(ii) Stability of the Government;
(iii) Reforms by the Government; and
(iv) Roles of the individual politicians.

(i) The type of Government:

In autocracy, where one man rules, the final decision on public policy rests with the ruler. As observed by Brubacher, "the ruler should have one kind of training, while the ruled another. The former should learn to choose and to lead, while the latter should learn not to question, but to follow. The teachers under an absolute ruler will propagandize and indoctrinate the decisions made higher up. As in army, the schools of an autocracy will more than likely emphasize drill and obedience at the expense of initiative and criticism." Prior to independence, there were many number of princely States in India wherein...
the condition of education was no better than that described earlier by Brubacher. This was also the case, to a large extent, even in the British territories where the attempts were made to use the educational system to indoctrinate and instil in the growing school children loyalty to the British Government.

During the British period, a kind of aristocracy consisting of a few nobility had emerged. This was the highest class in the social and the political structure of the country. The children of this aristocracy had the best of education. The Rajkumar College of Rajkot was the best example of this emergent phenomenon. Public schools and sophisticated high schools came closely to the educational institution at Rajkot established for the sons of the princes and nobility. They got the richest and efficient education. The education of the rest of the people belonging to the middle strata, i.e. the strata next to the aristocracy did not go much beyond primary, middle school or high school education. But the lowest strata of the people, which constituted the bulk of the society were neglected and most of the masses went without education. The State was a bureaucratic state. It controlled all educational institutions and with meticulous vigilance, directed school curricula, text-books, methods of teaching, examinations on the lines thought best by it and pre-determined by it.

"Educational freedom in such a state does not mean self-realisation or emancipation of the individual, but rather the
the sublimation of the individual in the interests of the State. Liberty is not a right but a concession of the state, contingent on what it deems its own interest. Consequently, the virtues in which the individual is schooled are those of discipline, duty and self-sacrifice." Indian education, during the period of British Rule, even still exhibited this influence in its two class system of schools, one set for the masses and another for the classes. Pointing out to the various defects of the new education during the British India, Nurullah and Naik observe that "it consisted mostly of persons drawn from the upper castes or the well-to-do. In other words, the new system of education led to the division of the Indian society into two distinct groups - a small majority of highly educated men and women, and educated aristocracy which was distinctively urban and upper-class in character, and a large majority of almost illiterate people who lived in rural areas and belonged to the lower castes." This defect was the outcome of the adoption of the Downward Filtration Theory by the earlier government of the East India Company. According to this theory, it was hoped that, as in a filter, knowledge imparted to the higher classes would gradually percolate to the lower classes of the society.

Democracy, on the other hand, believes in the essential dignity of all individuals. It enjoins that every person be treated always as an end. This injunction holds it as least important as to which sex a person belongs, what his colour or
race is, whether he is high born or low, and what the economic condition of his parents is. It upholds the view that whatever these accidental circumstances, an individual is to be educated as a man. The personal virtues which schools in a democracy inculcate can be easily imagined. Since the measure of the man is what he is and what he can do, the individual is under the duty of making the most of what he possibly can do out of himself. The teachers will encourage qualities of initiative, enterprise, self-reliance and perseverance in their pupils.

On the economic side, there will be emphasis on hard work, the dignity of labour, and scorn of idleness and an emergence of a leisure class. On the political side, provisions for education will be conditioned by a deep regard for civic responsibilities and deep devotion to the civil rights. To fulfill these specifications, nothing less than universal school education will suffice. This minimum education has to be free and even compulsory in the larger interest of the society. "In a democracy in which all men are politically free, all should have a liberal education. Since all men in a democracy are free, education must be free, that is, there must be no economic barriers to its acquisition." A democratic society believes in making sincere efforts to provide educational opportunity more equitably by taxing everyone according to his ability to pay but disbursing public funds according to educational need.
Prior to 1947, India was under the rule of the British and as such it was not possible for her to choose her own path of education. When the Britishers came to India as traders by forming the East India Company, the indigenous educational institutions i.e. the schools of learning—the Pathashalas of the Hindus and Madrassahs of the Muslims—and elementary schools—schools teaching through the modern Indian languages and the persian schools—existed. G.L. Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Governor's Council, in his minute of 1821 reported that "there was hardly a village, great or small throughout our territories in which there is not at least one school, and in a larger village more, many in every town and in the larger areas in every division". The East India Company, which had assumed political power, had to consolidate, in the beginning the political power in the country, establish law and order and set up the administrative machinery to run the civil government. It was, therefore, not interested in strengthening and expanding these existing indigenous schools and colleges. It was difficult even for the educationally enlightened and motivated officers of its own to persuade the State to take any direct responsibility for the education of Indian children.

(ii) Stability of the Government:

In India, the stability of government came to be established largely after 1857 when Government crushed the Rebellion (or the first war of independence) of 1857. Therefore, the public system of education really had its first spurt, though small, after
1857. The systematic set-up as well as the expanding programme in education really began after 1857. But the violent outbreak of 1857 influenced certain measures of State policy in education. The government was reluctant to force people against their wish to send their sons and daughters to school on an obligatory basis. It felt itself safe in leaving people to themselves in utilising the benefits of education. It did not force the pace of educational expansion. This is borne out by the fact that till 1917 (when Vithalbhai Patel's Bill on compulsory primary education was accepted in the Bombay Provincial legislature), government consistently resisted attempts made in some parts of the country, including Gujarat, to make primary education compulsory. It did not pursue a determined policy to spread education among girls and women because the Hindu and Muslim communities did not perceive favourably the education of the also fair sex. The Hindu society was vehemently opposed to the education of the untouchables. For the fear of offending the religious sentiments of the people in a society where people followed different religious faiths, the British Government, all throughout its rule, opposed the introduction of religious education in educational institutions. It suspected the bona-fides of the popular socio-religious, economic and political movements in the country for long and the educational reforms that came to be advocated in the wake of these movements for fear of losing its political power and disturbing its stability. These few examples illustrate how the concern for preserving
political stability becomes a crucial factor in shaping educational developments in certain desired directions.

The concern for preserving political stability is reflected in another way also. Government feels the need to create supporting administrative sub-structure to maintain and perpetuate its political structure. The story of Government's exploitation of English education - high schools and colleges - to train clerks and subordinate administrative staff to run its administrative machinery all throughout the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century illustrates and substantiates this point. Education was used to make the prospective administrative cadre of the ruler's ideology. It was also initiated into the values of discipline, loyalty and subordinate leadership expected by the Government of its administrative personnel. One can suspect that during the major period of the British rule in India, any change and shifts in the state's educational policy were actuated by its anxiety to maintain and preserve its political stability. Upreti observes, "It seems more plausible that the consolidation of the political power had prepared the ground and administrative and political conclusions of the process created the necessity of evolving a policy on education. The response to the situation was political rather than humanitarian".

The political consolidation and the growing stability of the political powers of the British government in India
created further a situation in which Indians themselves strived towards the maintenance of the political stability in their own interest. The contact between the ruling class and the influential upper class of the Indian society which had begun to receive western education through the medium of English language, had resulted in the emergence of a new elite group which saw in the stability of the British rule in India their own safety and growth and prosperity. They had also realised that the growth and development of the new system of education was necessary in their own stability and growth. This presents an illustration of the fact how the development of education — especially secondary and higher education — can help political stability which itself was a cause of educational development earlier.

But it is also true that Indians educated in western ideas and ideals of liberalism, and liberty began to clamour for liberty and autonomy for India. The political agitation against the British government carried by the leaders of the Indian National Congress from the first decade of the present century onward to the exist of the British from India in 1947, were mostly by those who had received western education in high schools, and colleges. Thus, in a way, the spread of western education had also sown the seeds of the political instability of the alien government and its subsequent liquidation from the country. Thus, the factor of political stability had its impact on the development of education both ways.
For educational, economic, social and cultural development of any country, the study of history reveals that peace and order is the prerequisite condition. If there is peace and order in the country, the government can perform its duties in the country. It can pay attention to the welfare of the subjects and it can try to develop education. But if there are internal conflicts or fear of external invasion, much of the energy and income of the State will be spent on the warfare with the result that the welfare activities of the State will be neglected. Thus, stability of government, which brings peace and order in the state, helps to develop educational activities of the state. "During the period from 1485 to 1603, the Tudor kings ruled over England and because of the political stability, commerce developed, geographical inventions took place, economic prosperity developed, growth of culture took place, Shakespeare and Morlo presented their literature and the domination of England over external worlds was seen".
With great difficulties, the State was eventually persuaded to support education - the higher education and that too marginally. The East India Company agreed to support the Calcutta Madressa and the Hindu College established at the initiative of some of its officers to educate the sons of the Muslim and Hindu upper classes. But here also the driving force was to emulate the example of the former Indian princes from whom the East India Company took over the territories who supported the education of the high castes and to win over these influential sections of the Hindu and Muslim Communities to the British rule as grateful and faithful subjects.

The British Government in India accepted the State responsibility in education progressively only from 1813 onwards, and that too expanding its obligations gradually and never fully. In 1835, as a result of Lord Macaulay's famous Minute, it was decided by Government to spend its funds appropriated for education not for the encouragement and development of classical languages and literature as well as of the modern provincial and regional languages and their literature but for the spread of the English language and the knowledge of western literature and sciences. This led to the creation of the English school. In Gujarat, as stated earlier, the first English school was established at Surat in 1842. The motives that inspired the Government to create this new type of the educational institution in the country were political as well as politically coloured cultural. The political motive was to train English -knowing
Indians to fill in the subordinate administrative positions in Government establishments. Not only the administrative and financial viability but also the Indians educated in English schools who would supply the subordinate administrative manpower would be elated with their knowledge of English and be western literature, and they will be drawn more favourable to the British Government displaying its allegiance and faithfulness to it.

In 1854, as a result of the recommendations of the Wood's Despatch, the modern structure and system of education came to be introduced in all the provinces of India, including the Gujarat region of the Bombay Province. There was not much difference in the type of Government between 1854 and 1921. The Government continued to be bureaucratic and also autocratic in appreciable measure. The growth in primary schools, secondary schools and colleges took place during these years. But the expansion of educational facilities was small and inadequate. Whatever educational growth took place was mostly among the upper strata of the society, among men and also in urban centres and towns. Efforts, actually struggles, were made to persuade the bureaucratic government to accept the principle of free and compulsory primary education and spread education among the masses. But Government stubbornly resisted and rejected all these attempts. In this respect, the State Government of Hiss Highness Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda proved to be more responsive to the welfare needs of his subjects. Whereas the
Baroda state could introduce compulsory primary education, through as an experimental measure, as early as 1883, in the Amreli District of the Baroda State, the British Government in India turned down all efforts of Stalwarts like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others to make Government accept the principle of compulsory primary education in municipal areas.

Government's output in other vital sectors of education like development of modern Indian languages as media of education, curriculum development so as to meet the growing and varied needs of social change and economic development of the country, vocational and technical education, dynamic methods of teaching, qualitative improvement of instruction and student learning, better examination techniques and tools, etc. went begging. Though funds came to be spent on education grew considerably in size and quantum, they were not sufficient for a large country like India. The Local Boards and municipalities set up, as measures of decentralisation, were not in real sense democratic. They were under the large scale influence of government bureaucracy.
(iii) Reforms introduced by Government

With the spread of education among the upper class of the society, a movement for political, social, economic and educational reforms had also begun to emerge. The enlightened and the progressive among the educated began to manifest its dissatisfaction about the tralldom of old ideas, beliefs, habits and customs from which the teeming millions of the country pitifully suffered. They began to demand and agitate for social, religious and educational reforms. They succeeded in putting pressure on government to enact laws to bring about reforms which, to some extent, helped the cause of education. For instance, in 1856 the Widow Remarriage Act was passed; in 1860 the idea of the age of consent to fructify marriage obligations on the part of girls was introduced in the Indian Penal Code, the age of consent was first fixed at 10 years and was subsequently extended to 12 years under the Act of 1891; the Sarda Act of 1929 put a ban on child marriages. These social reforms indirectly helped the cause of education as boys had more years to prolong their education and girls were at least legally made free from the early consumption of marriage obligations and consequently had further possibility and access to girls to prosecute their studies beyond the age of ten. The political reform reflected in the Government of India Act of 1919 gave rise to three important trends in education, viz., (1) Acts on compulsory primary education began to be put on the Statute book of different provinces. (This mostly happened between 1918 and 1930)
(2) democratisation of local bodies - the District Local Boards and Municipalities began and the transfer of the powers of management and control of primary education to the local bodies was effected and (3) the first exercises in introducing and enforcing primary education in urban as well as rural areas and for boys as well as girls began. Thus, the social and political reforms which Government was forced to introduce as a result of the pressure and persuasion of the educated Indian leaders began to serve the cause of educational expansion and development during the British rule.

(iv) Role of Individual Politicians

The introduction of modern educational system in India was the result of the efforts of a number of individuals who were, in a sense, politicians. The first politician to formulate an elaborate scheme of English education was Charles Grant (1746-1823) who was, in his time, a member of the Board of Directors of the East India Company and of the British Parliament. He set in motion the early currents of the introduction of Christianity and English education. Hampton observes about Grant that "he believed that Christianity was the end of all education and the only adequate means of promoting the well-being and happiness of the mankind".

In 1788, under the influence of William Wilberforce, Grant and the 'Chapam Sect' of the House of Commons accepted a resolution which provided for measures to be adopted for securing the advancement of India in 'useful knowledge' and 'religi-
ous and moral improvement*. It was Grant who was mainly responsi-
ble for getting the educational clause inserted in the Chapter of
1813. Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras (1822-1826), Lord
Mount-stuart Elphinstone (1823-1827), Mr. James Thompson (1804-1853)-
- they all had their precious contributions to the development
of Indian education. In fact, Indian education that developed
in the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the present
century drew its sustenance and shape owing to the efforts of
these officers and politicians.

This reinforces the general conclusion that was arrived at
on the basis of some research findings that during the British
rule, the political factor was considerably in the forefront in
architecturing and engineering education at all levels in the
country.

2.6 Economic Factors and Their Impact on Educational Growth:

Economic factors are as powerful as the social or political
factors in moulding and shaping educational growth. In the British
days, education was looked upon as 'spending' item in the budget.
In the earlier days of its establishment of political power, the
East India Company was reluctant, nay opposed, to incur expendi-
ture on the education of the people of India, because that would
have reduced its profits from its trade and commerce in India. It
took considerable efforts on the part of the benevolent and public
welfare-oriented English officers of the company to persuade the
authorities to spend even a small sum on discharging its obligations
in the sphere of public education. Therefore, educational growth
and development is always slow and inadequate when the State has
either not adequate resources to be able to spend on educational
activities or it is unwilling to spend liberally on account of its
different philosophy, perceptions and attitudes to the education
of the people.
A nation's economy depends upon its capital, natural resources, industries, trade and commerce and human resources. The development of natural resources, human resources, investment, production and marketing and the consequent growing capital of the State and the people are at the root of the economic growth of a nation. When a nation's economy grows, the living conditions of the people improves. Better living standards have always resulted in more intensive pursuits of education by people. A State also is likely to be in more favourable disposition to spend more on education if it happens to be a welfare state. Thus, economic factors are responsible for a welfare State's attitude to improvement in public services.

However, in the case of the British Government of India, the situation was different. Its policy was more oriented towards enriching the economy of its own people in England by draining the resources or exploring the resource of India. Therefore, as such, not any appreciable economic growth was felt in India during the regime of the British. Industrial revolution was not allowed to take place in India by the British Government. Even efforts were made by the British administrators to strangle and destroy the indigenous industries of people. The political overtones of the economic policy of the Government was such that the public services, including education did not get their fair share in Government budgets. One consequent of this policy for education was that instead of a state supported public system of education, a system based on a model school in each district
town and a network of educational institutions supported on a grant-in-aid basis developed. The story of the development of large sized private enterprise in high school and collegiate education during the British period in every British province derives its source from this economic policy of the government.

During the British period, there was inadequate economic growth in all parts of the country. There are a number of reasons for this sorry state of affairs. But one principal cause was that Government was not development minded. There was no commitment to economic growth and the growth of public welfare services including education. Education was limited to the upper strata of the society and in urban centres. The vast multitude of masses was steeped in ignorance, poverty and therefore the people as a whole were not fired with an intense desire for development. The concept of the 'trained manpower' and its possible role in the economic development of the country did not perceptibly emerge. In science, as well as in technology, there was little development in the country. India had vast natural resources and human resource material, but for a lack of commitment on the part of government to harness them by suitable operations and training-building mechanisms, they remained undeveloped. This also proved to be a major cause of inadequate economic growth of the country and people's as well as State's inadequate resources to spend sufficient funds for educational growth and development. It was, unfortunately, not realised by government that "a dynamic national economy cannot be
achieved, maintained or expanded without a dynamic educational programme! The unbalanced growth of both economy and education affected adversely the national development during the British period.

India's economy, during the British days, was based on agriculture especially in its vast rural areas. But the agriculture was operated by primitive methods. The habits and attitudes of the farming community was traditional. Therefore, the vast farming community and other rural people remained poor and backward. They did not have enough money and leisure for the pursuit of education, and even where they had both money and leisure, there were not necessary climate, motivation, attitude and habit for the pursuit of education of themselves and/or for their children. The lesson of nations of the world is that "it is industrial rather than agricultural society which most enhances the regard for education". Further people's standard of living on the whole being poor, the standard for education was also below the norm. Usually it happens that the poorer classes of the society are content with a minimum of education for their children. But in India, the bulk of poorer classes had to go even without the minimum of education. The literacy percentages for the country were 3.5 in 1881, 4.6 in 1891, 5.3 in 1901, 5.9 in 1911, 7.3 in 1921, 8.0 in 1931, 12.1 in 1941 and 16.61 in 1951.
Another fact that needs to be noticed is that there was periodic advance and decline in financial allocation in the form of additional grants made by the government for education. For instance, this had its effect on speedy expansion or decline in educational growth. Thus, the events in India too bore out the general finding of the researches that "periods of economic prosperity and educational advance have frequently, even generally, been coincident."

A brief reference to the educational finance of the Bombay Province, of which Gujarat was a region all throughout the British period, would give a better perspective of the economic factors that influenced educational developments. These data have been collected from the Annual Reports of the Bombay D.P. D. for specific years.

Till 1870, the Central Government was the sole centralised agency for all budgets of the British provinces including education. The educational finance available to a province depended upon the funds earmarked for it in the central budget. The sources available to a provincial government for educational expenditure were government funds, local funds and other sources, the chief among which were fees and the local fund cess. Government's contribution had increased steadily and continuously, but in a small measure. For instance, in 1855-56, the total expenditure of the Education Department of the Bombay Province was Rs. 2.99 lakhs. This was for 300 educational institutions.
established in the Bombay Province which had in them 24,079 students. Thus, in 1856, the per student annual expenditure was around Rs.12.3. In 1870-71, the total expenditure of the Education Department had increased to Rs.20.91 lakhs. This was for 2,972 educational institutions having in all 1,76,609 students. The annual per student cost was Rs.11.8. This was smaller than what it was in 1856. Showing thereby that the economic factor was not favourable to educational expansion.

Between 1871 and 1901, education came under the control of provincial governments. The centralised budget for education in the country disappeared. Provincial governments were given power to frame their own education-budget with their own resources and revenues. This new arrangement had administrative gain as "most problems of the Department could now be decided by the Provincial Government itself, the centre of gravity in educational policies shifted from Calcutta to Bombay". But the Central Government lost its major interest in education of provinces, and consequently the central grants for education came to an end. This affected adversely the economic factors of educational growth in the Bombay Province including the Gujarat region. The educational expenditure rose from Rs.20.91 lakhs in 1870-71 to Rs. 77.78 lakhs in 1901-1902. But, henceforth, government began to depend in larger measure on resources from Local Board Funds, Municipal Funds, Fees and Endowments and Donations. This can be seen from the fact that in 1870-71, 45.3 percent of the total educational expenditure came from Provincial Revenues, whereas *These and subsequent statistics for Bombay Province are taken from relevant Bombay D.P.I.'s Annual Reports on Progress of Education.

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in 1901-02 only 28.2 per cent of the educational expenditure came from this source. In 1870-71, revenues from student fees accounted for 6.8 per cent of the total expenditure in the province, whereas in 1901-02 this source accounted for 22.1 per cent of the provincial educational expenditure. Similarly, the share of income from endowments, donations and other sources in the total provincial educational expenditure also increased from 11.9 per cent in 1870-71 to 31.7 per cent in 1901-02. Thus, though the total educational expenditure in the Bombay Province between 1870-71 and 1901-02 increased by 271.9 per cent, the larger burden had begun to fall on the resources of funds of local bodies, fees, endowments and donations. This increasingly greater reliance on non-government sources of revenue is not very favourable to speedy educational expansion and the improvement of standards in schools and colleges.

In 1901, there were 6,39,863 students studying in 12,251 educational institutions of the Bombay Province. The average annual cost per student was around Rs.12 in 1901-02. This further proves the point that the economic factors for education did not improve at all in the Bombay Province between 1856 and 1901. It would be seen from the above discussion that greater financial allocation by State to education from its own funds, and increase in the income for education from the funds of the local bodies, fees, and endowments as well as donations and gifts, improves the economy of education. When education has larger funds for expansion and development, the results are natural more satisfying. The economic factors of education thus improve with State's greater commitment to education by way of greater allocation to education from provincial as well as central government's funds, more income being available from the funds of district local boards and municipalities, greater incoming accruing from the receipts of tuition and other fees and also from public donations, gifts and endowments of benevolent individuals.
There were not appreciable periods of prosperity for the country. There was not much scientific, technological and industrial development which could have strengthened the economy of the country, people, by and large, subsisted on the agriculture economy, but even in this sphere the development was inadequate because the techniques and tools of farming had continued to be primitive and traditional. The vast rural areas of the country were neglected or inadequately cared for. There was hardly any realisation on the part of government as well as educational administrators and educationists that education was a good investment in national development. Hardly, there appeared to be over riding assumption in the central and provincial budgets of education that the education system would produce "the kinds and amounts of human resources required for the economy's growth and that the economy would in fact make good use of these resources". The concept of the economics of education had not emerged in the country. Education was regarded as consumption, rather than sound investment for greater economic growth.

Against this kind of economic background and under the influence of such economic factors, it is natural that education would not make rapid strides, both quantitatively and qualitatively. It would be found to be deficient; the literacy of people would not attain that level when education itself becomes the cause of economic expansion and development; the spread of education becomes limited to those who are socially, economically and politically well placed, and the people in rural areas and backward territories like and grow under handicaps. Such are the theoretical perspectives of the present study.
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