"In his monumental study of the poverty of nations Professor Gunnar Myrdal blames the educational backwardness of developing countries partly on their dependence on private agencies. As it happens, such dependence was historically not the result of any appreciations of the contribution that voluntary agencies could make to the total educational efforts of the State. It is largely a colonial agency, dating from the times when the rulers did not acknowledge any special responsibility for the education of people. This explains the incursion of all manner of vested interests into the field of education."

- V.V. John

'The Times of India'
19-12-1974
6.1. INTRODUCTION

In the last Chapter the social determinants of the period were examined critically. An attempt was also made to examine how these social determinants influenced the growth of education. In this Chapter, a similar attempt would be made to discuss the prevalent economic order and examine briefly as to how, and in what ways, it impinged upon the growth, positive or otherwise, of education in India.

It would appear from the last two Chapters as if the social determinants and political determinants formed an unrelated and quite distinct field from economics. But, in the nature of things, where human being is the common denominator, politics and social factors cannot be regarded as altogether separate from economics. Actually, it has been
observed that much of the political activity and social movements was generated by the economic factors and forces. It was specially so during the period under study. Even the anarchist movement of the period was attributed to the influence of economic discontent. Briefly speaking, it appears that economic forces were at the heart of all history - educational, political and social.

In this Chapter more specific economic issues vis-a-vis education will be raised and examined. In fact, the historical discussions about the economic order and education can be extended to many fields of economics. In this Chapter it will be confined to three major areas viz. the agricultural base, the industrial base and the economic conditions of the people.

As one contemplates these three areas a little deeply, some assumptions immediately come out. In order that the historical treatment of the problem remains pointed and directed, it would be meaningful and fruitful to make a note of the assumptions also.

As regards the first, viz., the agricultural, it is assumed from observation and experience, that agriculture has been generally an art the knowledge and technique of which has been traditionally passed on from the father to the son. Formal education as such does not appear related to the dissemination of traditional agricultural practices. However, a well conceived, scientific and life - oriented
schooling can impart better insight into the problems of the agriculture and consequently can help in the adoption of new techniques, and increase the rate and quality of output thus helping agriculturists economically.

In regard to the second, viz., the industrial, too, there are some assumptions. First, as the machine work is more complicated, its efficient handling as such requires much more coordination of head and hand, and much more cognitive understanding and specialization for the achievement of which education is a potent factor.

Secondly, on the basis of the experiences of other countries, it is also assumed that industrial economy advances the course of education by increasing society's economic surpluses. Moreover, the industrial labour more than the agricultural labour, comes into contact with those who have better educational values, and this results in an increased consciousness about the need of education among the workers.

In regard to third area, i.e. the economic conditions of the people, there are three assumptions. First is that education of the people goes hand in hand with their economic conditions. Richer the parents, more education their wards are likely to get, of course exceptions apart. In political terms, one may speak of equality of opportunity or universal education, but the fact regarding economic conditions and the standard of living makes a very vital difference to the development of education. It is assumed, as such, that the
more wealth with the individual, the more chances of better education; on the contrary, lack of wealth likely hinder the growth of education.

Another assumption is that education betters the economic lot of the people by increasing production efficiency. Besides, education is also a necessity to secure a government or private jobs.

Still another assumption is that there is an upward movement in the social class structure via education for economic conditions and education put together determine the social status also. So, not only to improve the economic status alone, as the second assumption is, but also to improve the social status, that most of the people wish to send their wards to school and colleges for education.

With these preliminary observations, the researcher would like to turn now to the discussion of the economic dimensions of the problem under study.

6.2. THE ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF EDUCATION

It is the purpose of this unit of study to examine the relations which exist between education and the economic aspects of the total pattern. It is obvious that every human activity has its economic aspect. Undoubtedly, all education has economic aims and its form and content are affected by the economic capacity of the community being served.
In order to study the relations between education and economics, it is helpful to think for a while of the former as if it were a commodity and then to ask what sorts of question would arise if such goods were being considered. First of all would come the problem of demand. Secondly, for such demands, resources have to be provided: manpower, material. The question would also arise as to how these resources are acquired and allocated. Then there will also be a question whether education is to be classed among producer goods or among consumer goods, or whether there are various kinds of education. Keeping in view the economic dimensions, five types of attitudes support a demand for education for example: (a) Education as a human right; (2) education as an indispensable service; (3) education creating elites; (4) education as a thought-controlled instrument; and (5) education for national development as a tool for achieving national unity as well as technological development. Another effect of investment in education is provided by the growth of national income.

The educational system, like any economic activity, uses a certain proportion of society's scarce resources. These resources could be used elsewhere; expenditure on school buildings entails forgoing house and office building; expenditure on teacher's salaries represents employment opportunities forgone in some other branch of the economy. Thus, what is intended here to show is the close
relationship between education and economy in the society.

The concept of education as the essential element of national development is based in part on a recognition of the status and prestige of those who have education, who aspire to greatness both for themselves and for their people.

The economic result of the educational policy followed by the Britishers in India may be inferred from the new class of society with built-in-limits on the purchasing power of the masses, with a clear hierarchy of economic power.

"Education appears in macro-economics to the extent it influences the whole economy over time. For the macroeconomist education is a part of a nation's "knowledge industry" in that it provides services that involves "investment in human capital."³

Like economics, education may be considered on both individual (micro) and national (macro) levels.⁴ One may say, for example, that the better educated the individual is, the more money he is likely to earn. The nation, on the other hand, is concerned mainly with education's relation to total productivity, general technological progress, industrial expansion as a whole, and the enlightenment of all the people. Education attains unprecedented economic importance as a source of technological innovation. This shows class relationship between education and economy. The development of educated people is the most important capital formation, their number, equality,
quality and utilization, the most meaningful index of the wealth-producing capacity of a country.  

An abundant and increasing supply of highly educated people has become the absolute prerequisite of social and economic development. Of all the sociological factors that have conditioned the course of educational history, perhaps none has so persistently posed problems as has the economic.

Planning in India has proceeded from crisis to crisis largely because of the low priority given to education from the very start.

"The phenomenal economic growth in the USA is now attributed much more to education and advance of knowledge accounting for 23 per cent of the growth of the total real national income than to capital accumulation or improvement in employment."  

Further, beyond and above economic returns, education creates and disseminates values and ideals of life. The present trend of thinking is that education cannot be treated as an end in itself. It has to be treated as an investment in human resources and education has got to be related to economic development, that it must have a developmental bias and that it has to be treated as an investment.

Education has many aspects. Economic aspect is only one of them. This aspect is mainly concerned with the cost of education and returns from education. It is also the input-output relationship. The inputs for the production of education mainly consist of teachers, administrators,
buildings and all kinds of equipment. These constitute cost of education. The output consists of the volume of education acquired by the students. Education is an investment intended to help in the production of additional goods at some future date.

Primary and secondary education, even more than university education, has got to be related to economic development both in content and methodology. Apart from those who receive no education at all, more than 90 per cent of those who receive it do not reach the university stage and of these more than 80 per cent do not go beyond the primary stage. It is essential, therefore, that education at these stages has a developmental bias and is treated as investment rather than merely as special welfare activity.

India's educational system, for historical reasons, has been linked with the getting of jobs rather than self-employment, with the result that it has been so organised and motivated so as to reduce initiative, self reliance, and readiness to take risks.

Educational system, thus, has a profound impact on economic and social development. Here development means growth plus change; change in turn, is social, cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative.

Some special characteristics of education which effect its economic analysis are:
(1) The direct economic impact of education is upon the quantity and quality of occupational skills, education being a major source of the productivity of labour.

(2) It can also have many indirect effects. It may raise the level of initiative and inventiveness of the population, it may promote economic and social mobility.

(3) Education is treated as an economic investment.

(4) The educational system is interlocked functionally with the socio-economic environment. The expansion of education is also linked to the employment situation.

6.3.(a) Agriculture and Education

The base of Indian economy despite some distinct progress in the field of industry during the period 1921-1947 remained predominantly agriculture. It was estimated that nine out of ten bread earners in India, were engaged in agriculture. The number of people engaged in agriculture did not decrease despite some industrial advancement in the country and the growth of urbanization and consequently a large number of people getting employment therein. It appeared on the other hand, that because of the decay of indigenous handicrafts which was caused due to the production of industrial goods at home and their imports from abroad, the pressure on land increased. The proportion of these dependent upon agriculture is given in the following table: \( ^9 \)
Table 6.1: Population dependent on Agriculture (1901-1919)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of Population dependent on agriculture</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table shows that the real problem regarding the growth of education in India was the problem of educating those people who were dependent upon agriculture, who lived in the rural areas and who, alone, constituted the bulk of the Indian population. In the words of the Auxiliary Committee Review:

"The problem of mass education in British India is preponderantly a rural problem. Only 29.9 per cent of the population of 247 millions live in towns, as compared with 79 per cent in England and Wales, 51 per cent in the USA, 42.2 per cent in France and 45.6 per cent in Germany. In British India 74.4 per cent of the population is dependent on agriculture or pastoral pursuits."10

In fact it was a problem of knowing their attitudes and aspirations. Their major problem was economic, while they were orthodox in their views and attitudes. Naturally, any education acceptable to them must have taken these problems, attitudes, aspirations into considerations. The education to this purpose should be life-oriented and production-oriented.
In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there were hopes of the evolution of such a policy at least in respect of primary education. For example, the Indian Education Commission of 1882 defined primary education as "the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for positions in life." This could lead one to expect that primary education in India would be life-oriented. This policy was, however, never implemented on any substantial scale. But very soon it was realized that primary education was not prompted by the needs of agriculture; it was professedly aimed at the liquidation of literacy. Schooling was certainly considered by Curzon and his successors to be a source of agricultural and economic growth, but this hardly affected primary education taken as a whole and as such the economic incentive as primary education could have offered was not capitalized. Later on, this policy was very clearly enunciated by the Resolution of March 11, 1904. It stated "the aim of the rural schools should be not to impart definite agricultural teaching but to give to the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators..." This idea was not very acceptable to agriculturists, except to those who really had some educational traditions in the family and wanted education for purposes and motives other than connected with agriculture. An average farmer who was interested in his farm and agriculture production did not see how that
sort of school training would turn his son into an intelligent cultivator. He was of the opinion that formal school education could not inspire any confidence in him from the agricultural point of view.

The Government and educational policy makers did not give much heed to these feelings of the farmers. Accordingly, the curriculum was framed in accordance with the policy of the Government. This curriculum, with some differences and variances in different Provinces, was generally followed during the period under study. Agricultural education and its allied areas such as the care of farm tools, raising of farm production or its setting etc., were never thought of by the schools. Thus, the scheme of primary education was conceived outside the villager's mind and was imposed from outside. Agriculturists had no sympathy and support for such a scheme of education. Thus, it failed to enlist their loyalty and adherence to it. This factor must be taken cognizance of while explaining the low percentage of literacy in India during the period under study.

The rural parents did not favour such a type of primary education and thought it to be useless. This scheme of primary education was considered as "frivolous" by them. The teaching of agriculture was a subject in many schools, but it was not receiving due attention. This was leading to a complete isolation of school life from the practical village life. It was no wonder, that the author of quinquennial review on education 1902-1907 remarked that
"...the children appear more stupid inside the school than outside. The reason is probably not far to seek. The state of things is doubtless due to an almost total dislocation between school curriculum and life outside."14

The general apathy of the villagers towards primary education, and the consequent low rate of literacy were causing some concern in the minds of the policy makers. Some probing was done and some thoughts were given to reorientate the curriculum towards agriculture. But nothing concrete was done to give an agriculture bias to rural school curriculum. The Quinquennial Review on Education, (1907-1912) pointed out that the primary school curriculum remained more or less identical for rural and urban primary schools.15 The Government Resolution of 1913 on the Indian Educational Policy, not only testified this position but also put a seal of approval on this state of affairs. While it stated on the one hand that "the scheme of primary and secondary education be directed to more practical ends,"16 about the curriculum it specifically stated on the other hand that "it is not practicable at present in most parts of India to draw any great distinction between the curriculum of rural and of urban primary schools."17

After the Resolution of 1913, the idea to change the curriculum of rural schools in order to make it farm-oriented or village-oriented was put in cold storage for sometime. Although there were some minor changes, here and there, the curriculum, by and large, remained the same, and "the
difference between the curricula for rural and for urban schools" were "slight" and tended to disappear.¹⁸

During the period 1917-22, some thoughts were again directed towards the ruralization of village school curriculum. For example, the Bombay rural primary schools received added impetus for nature study and gardening.¹⁹ Attempts were also made in the Central Provinces to give definite instruction in practical agriculture.²⁰ School gardens also received good attention in the United Provinces.²¹ In Madras, also, it was recommended by a Committee appointed by Government in 1919, that nature study be made compulsory; but nothing was done to achieve this end for a period of another five years.²²

After 1922, some thoughts were again directed towards taking some steps to make the school courses village-oriented in some Provinces. Bombay, for instance, tried to introduce an "Agriculture Bias" course in 1923, but the Director of Public Instruction was very conscious about the fact that the main aim of primary education was to produce "literates."²³ The Punjab Province also talked of the need of bringing back the primary schools into "the closest relations with the life and experiences of the people."²⁴ Other Provinces, however, did not think of any change.

Despite all these conceived changes to make the rural education farm-oriented, nothing tangible happened up to 1947. The schools remained out of touch with the village life and more and less, turned out to be purely an agency
of producing literates. It never became a source of economic incentive to the people by becoming agricultural biased. This was specifically stated by the Auxiliary Committee Review:

"In India, more than in most countries, the general economic position of the villagers is unfavourable to the spread of education or an appreciation of its advantages. If an appeal to him to educate his children is to be successful, it must rest on a concerted effort to make the school an instrument of village "uplift" - economic and social as well as intellectual."25

As remarked above, during the period under study, the policy makers only thought primary education to be a means of literacy. Literacy was considered to be the goal of education as it could magnify the "Census data." But for the poor Indian villagers, reading and writing meant little if they did not help them in imparting a rich and useful knowledge which could help in their economic status. For most of them, with the exception a few, mere goal of literacy was useless. In this connection it would be noted with caution that such reports and reviews26 which point out that villagers themselves never felt interested in the farm-oriented education but prepared to send their children to schools as they were enamoured by the prospect of their sons getting clerical Government jobs,27 may be taken as an excuse for the acts of omission on the part of those who formulated the policy. Such people were not agriculturists themselves and as such could not mentally enter into the thoughts and feelings of the agriculturists. This "official class" which formulated the policy was recruited from the
commercial classes, and the tyranny and arrogance of these officials had become a byword. It will be pointed out that if the people really preferred literacy education, and that was what the official version claimed, the rate of literacy could have gone up since the schools provided nothing else except this education. If it did not go up, the reasons must be found somewhere else to reach the approximation of truth. It appears from the study of the records that in the villages mostly those people took to this education who had some educational traditions in the family. Their percentage was relatively small. Some others who opted for this literary education did it under compulsion as there was no alternative course of education. Their educational ambition was naturally centred round either on knowing reading and thus becoming able to read religious books or if they wanted further, they aspired to become teachers or clerks. This fact was also proved by the report of the Commission on village education (appointed by the National Missionary Council). The remarks of the Calcutta University Commission deserve special mention in this case. It stated about the cultivators of Bengal:

"They also are for the most part illiterate, such rudiments of education as they obtain are valued mainly for religious purposes and are commonly limited to the memorising of parts of the Qur'an, taught in maktabs attached to mosques. Hitherto, the
Western education movement has scarcely touched the cultivator, which is and always has been, largely out of touch with some of the economic needs of the community which it is out to serve. The cultivator has not yet learnt to value education as an equipment for his life: he often fears, not without reason, that his children may be tempted away from the land by a system of training which has no bearing upon the work of the fields.30

From this citation, it is clear that instead of being enamoured of literary education and consequently Government jobs, the majority of the villagers actually feared this education. The official version represented the truth about a small number of people and that explains partly the continued low rate of literacy percentage during the period. Most of the villagers who constituted the vast mass were definitely apprehensive of this literary education as it did not take into consideration their immediate economic conditions and needs. For them, absence of a farm-oriented education was responsible to keeping them away from education and hence the continuous problem of literacy.

The lack of growth in primary education in the early stages of the period under study must be appreciated to some extent in the light of this situation. The high rate of wastage, at the primary stage again, should be partly attributed to this situation. It appears from the discussion done so far that there was no incentive in education for the cultivators. As a natural outcome of this, villagers could not take full advantage of education. No extra
knowledge was gained for the improvement of agriculture. Thus, there was no extra growth of production, as a result of which there was no betterment of economic conditions of the cultivators. And in return, because of these poor conditions, there was no appreciable growth in education. Thus, a vicious circle was at work which hampered the growth of education and agricultural production both. The lack of proper education was the cause of agriculture stagnation and the lack of agriculture growth was the cause of educational stagnation.

An attempt will now be made in the next section to examine the relationship, if any, existed between industrial growth and education, during the period under study

6.4. INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

While agriculture was the major base of Indian economy, industry was progressively taking roots in the country during the period under study. This progress in industry was becoming quite spectacular in the first two decades of the twentieth century. For example, the number of cotton mills which was 150 in 1895-96 rose to 264 in 1913-14. The number of jute mills which was 28 in 1895-95 rose to 64 in 1913-14. Similar was the case with other industries. Coal and petroleum industry was coming up. The minor industries like manganese, gold, mica, and salt etc. were also progressing.
(a) Industrial Growth

The World War I and its aftermath brought a great ferment in the industrial field of India. It cannot be denied that in the beginning of the War, there was some set-back to the industry. But, soon after, there was rapid progress in industry due to several reasons. First and foremost was that the World War provided suitable opportunity for the rapid growth of various industries in India. The demand for Indian manufactured goods increased tremendously. It was under these circumstances that the Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to evolve some industrial policy at the national level. The Commission made many recommendations\(^{32}\) to streamline the industry in India. These recommendations, though, were accepted by the Government of India in principle, could not be implemented soon. The industry, however, continued to progress upto 1920 because of the War itself. An industrial census taken along with the Census of 1921 shows that in 1921, over 11,000 industrial establishments operated, employing about 2.6 million persons as compared to about 7,000 industrial establishments and 100,000 persons in 1911.\(^{33}\) These mostly included only those factories in British India which used power and employed 20 or more persons. They did not include the cottage industries, though all of them were not major industrial units.

Only after 1920, a minor depression hit some industries. That depression was, however, short lived. The industrial growth again assumed the progressive trend and the tempo.
This continued right up to the end of 1929, when a world-wide economic depression started. By 1929, the total number of major industrial units in India was 9,597 and the total factory population of these units was 17,55,937.

(b) Manual Instruction and Vocational Education

This growth of industry in India was not only of economic importance, but also had an important educational implication. Industry is more of a science and technology in which education is necessary not only for its know-how, but also for the increased production. Moreover, keeping in view the general employment situation during the period, this industrial growth could well influence not only the growth but also the content of education. In fact, this realization came in the early decades of the twentieth century when people expressed resentment at purely literary character of education and demanded some industrial and vocational bias to the secondary education at least. This, in the opinion of the people, would make the employment of their wards easier in view of the growing industry. The Government, however, did not pay any heed to it.

The Resolution of 1913 on the Educational Policy did not go far enough. It wanted primary and secondary education to be directed to more practical needs. But it turned out to be a pious hope. In respect of secondary education, the Resolution also wanted that the manual training should be improved. This recommendation, however, had very little direct relationship with the growing
demands of the industry.

The Calcutta University Commission was the first to see the matter clearly. It took a note of the fact, "...a very small proportion goes to the university for what is ordinarily described as vocational training. The great majority—over 22,000 out of 26,000—pursue purely literary courses." It also noted the fact that industry and commerce hitherto contributed nothing to the development of the educational system. After considering these facts, the Commission consequently recognized the need of the scientific industry and called for a variety of courses in the secondary schools.

The recommendations of the Calcutta Education Commission, however, had not any marked influence on the general curriculum of the schools.

With the introduction of 'Dyarchy' in 1921, the portfolio of education in the British Provinces came under the control of Indian Ministers, and for some time, there was again hope that some kind of diversified courses would be introduced in schools keeping in view the requirements of the industry on one hand, and the employment situation on the other. But no such steps were taken although some vocational and manual instructions were introduced in the curriculum. The Quinquennial Review on Education, 1922–1927 noted "the most noteworthy features in the alterations in the curricula during the..."
have been the extended adoption of vocational and manual instruction in secondary schools. The manual work mostly related to such fields as wood work, carpentry, metal work, agriculture, tailoring, engraving, spinning, book-binding, dyeing, sericulture, market gardening, horticulture, mica work, smithy, coir work and printing. The position of vocational education and manual instruction varied from Province to Province. While Madras generally confined itself to manual training, Bengal preferred the introduction of vocational courses. The United Provinces felt that the vocational training should be given in separate schools while manual training could be made a part of secondary school curriculum. The Punjab also introduced manual training in some secondary schools extensively. In Bihar and Orissa, attempts were made to introduce vocational subjects in the middle schools. Manual training in some high schools was also introduced. In the Central Provinces, also, vocational education was thought to be the privilege of separate schools. Only manual instruction in secondary schools was appreciated and was partially introduced.

This vocational and manual instruction was all that was partially introduced in the secondary school curriculum up to 1929. This suffered from one great defect. There was no clear appreciation of the aim of this
instruction and it never tended to give any industrial bias to education. Naturally, the students who had some industrial aptitude or who wanted to employ industrial concerns, could not get much benefit from the secondary school curriculum. The Auxiliary Committee put the case rightly when it stated:

"There is also the boy to be considered whose bent is to be industrial rather than after rural pursuits; and it is unreasonable that he should be compelled to undertake a secondary school course which leads only to the matriculation examination and which is dominated throughout by its requirements. It is true that in almost all Provinces attempts have been made in recent years to introduce practical or pre-vocational instruction in the ordinary schools; but it is evident that there has been as yet no clear appreciation of the aim of such instruction, and its proper relationship to the ordinary school courses. In some Provinces, it is regarded merely as a form of manual instruction which is helpful as a part of the general education of pupils; it is imparted in the higher classes of the secondary schools to pupils who in the majority of cases, are striving to qualify for admission into the colleges and have no intention whatever of making use of the instruction as a preliminary to technical training."

The Committee observed further:

"The uncertainty of aim and thought had been accentuated by the fact that, in most Provinces the industrial schools are controlled by a separate Department of Industries and in some cases, by a minister other than the Minister of Education, and, therefore, that they tend to be regarded also as rivals to the ordinary schools. It is the exception rather than the rule to find in India an educational system in which the industrial and the ordinary schools are regarded as complementary to each other."
It was in view of this situation that the Auxiliary Committee suggested, "the diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle stage, for which provision should be made by alternative courses in that stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools." 43

On the basis of the discussion held so far, it can be stated that the growth of industry in India during the period had not any marked influence on the content or growth of general education. Those who, because of their bad economic conditions, were not in a position to pursue purely literary courses and as such were in need of some employment and those, who had 'industrial bent of mind,' were put to a great disadvantage. The introduction of some diversified courses catering to the demands of industry could have definitely given some more impetus to enrolment at secondary stage.

(c) Industrial Proletariate and Education

It has been seen that the growth of industry was not influencing the growth of general education in India to any appreciable degree. No doubt, there were some less than made half hearted attempts to give some industrial or manual orientation to curriculum at the secondary level, but the policy-formulating authorities were not clear about the aims of such education, nor were they in a position to appreciate such aims.
One thing was, however, happening. This growing industry in India during the period was throwing up a class of industrial workers on the socio-economic scene. These workers were mostly employed in such industries as cotton, jute, tea plantation, flour and rice mills, printing presses, railway workshops, coffee plantation etc. The number of these workers was constantly going up. By 1929, the total number of factories enumerated was 9,597 and the total factory population was 17,55,937. Although there was a continuous increase in the factory population, yet its percentage to the total population remained small as the general population also increased simultaneously. This percentage ranged between 4 to 5.5.

This industrial proletariat also included in it the "child proletariat." Because of the poverty of the parents and absence of any vigorous attempt to enforce labour laws, child labour had become an integral part of the family labour. The Quinquennial Review on Education for the period 1907-12 stated, "poverty, custom and the apparent futility of education have combined to bring about the general employment of child labour in India." It was found in the first decade of the twentieth century many factories employed children even below nine years of age which was actually held illegal by the Factory Act of 1892.

This emergence of the industrial proletariat generally and the child proletariat particularly, had both negative and positive influences on the growth of general education.
in India. On the negative side, no definite evidences are available, but there is a conjectural reason to believe that in a poor country like India, the provision of child labour must have led to the withdrawal of some pupils from, and to the lowering of the rate of admission of new pupils to, the primary schools. On the positive side, the influences were both direct and indirect - direct in the sense that the owners of the factories and the Government made some attempts to open schools and educate the "child proletariat", and indirect in the sense that the workers by coming into contact with better educated people in the factories learnt to appreciate the value of education and often dreamt of the days when their children would also be educated.

The progress in enrolment in the Nation's primary schools was, however, not appreciable. This was shown by the author of the Quinquennial Review on Education, 1907-12. He stated:

"Figures of attendance are available for four Provinces, containing about half the children thus employed. About 16 per cent of the children are at school. Disappointing as the result is, it is to be remembered that the percentage of those at school to the children of school-going age of all kinds in India is but 17.7. The problem is difficult one and calls for constant effort."47

The causes given for this state of affairs were many. The apathy of the mill-owners and the hostility of the children themselves towards such schools were the most accepted out of the lot.
During the period 1917-22, there were some spurts according to official reports. The number of factory children of the labourers employed in factories increased. In Madras alone, for example, the number of schools increased from 5 to 26 with a final enrolment of nearly 3,000 pupils. In Bengal, the number of children in such schools rose from 1,000 in 1916-17 to 2,500 in 1921-22. Some progress in this direction was also being made in other Provinces.

After 1922, again, a relatively rapid progress was registered. By the end of 1929, a large number of schools existed in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, Assam etc. The schools were clearly categorized into three kinds: those provided and financed entirely by the employers and those provided by the employers and aided by the Government and by Local Bodies.

No correct information could become available about the number of children in the factories and in such schools. B. Shiva Rao puts the figures of such children in factories in 1923 at 74,620. It was not clear to him also, how many of them received instruction in schools. But there was one disquieting fact which he noted. He stated, some survey indicated that the schools originally meant for the children of workers, were used instead by children of clerks and other white collar workers.

So in brief, this was the picture of the "child proletariat" and his education during the period under
study. And this can be directly attributed to the industrial development of India during the period.

6.5. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND EDUCATION

As already seen, the agricultural base of Indian economy and gradual development of the industries in India have not only affected the growth of education but also the economic conditions of the people. During the period, economic conditions, in turn, were explained by the movements in the fields of agriculture and industry. At the same time economic conditions also affect the growth of education in general. In the following pages, the growth of education in India during the period under study, will be seen in the light of economic conditions of the people - per capita income, prices, cost of living etc. Apart from other sources, the "Moral and Material Progress of India", reports have been found specially, useful in this period. These were published after every ten years upto 1911-12, and there after every year.

The main factors which influenced economic prosperity of the people during the period under study were:

(i) The nature of monsoon,
(ii) Appearance of devastational epidemics and diseases such as plague, cholera, and influenza,
(iii) Financial and monetary factors,
(iv) Internal political movements, such as the Swadeshi Movement, Gandhiji's Non-Cooperation Movement (1921), Civil Disobedience Movement etc.
(v) The reaction of the external events such as the World War I, World War II.

(vi) Public Works

(vii) Drainage of Indian money to foreign country. 53

Before the beginning of the period also, the economic conditions of the people were deplorable. While the British Government explained this poverty as an attribute of the rising population, the Indians indicated the Government and held her economic policy to be responsible for the malady. The extent and magnitude of this poverty becomes clear from the different estimates of per capita income put forward by different economists. Any claim in favour of the absolute truth of the figures may be discounted, since most of the estimates were based upon inadequate data. Nevertheless, they do provide an insight into the extent of poverty of the Indian people. In 1876, Dadabhoy Naroji brought out an estimate of rupees twenty. Later on F.J. Atkinson in 1908 calculated the per capita income for 1875 and 1895. He produced figures Rs. 27.3 and Rs. 35.2 respectively. 54 It seems that this small income kept the majority of the people in India at starvation level. It not only prevented the people to attend the schools, but it also became the cause of diseases which reduced the attendance at various levels of education.

The period under study showed some increase in the per capita income. For example, the per capita income for the year 1921-22, according to Shah and Khambhata, was Rs. 74
while V.K.R.V. Rao after making some necessary corrections
gives Rs. 89 as the per capita income for the year 1921-1922.
But Findlay Shirras estimates it to be Rs. 107 for the same
year. For the years 1925-29 when the signs of economic
depression had become clearly visible, Rao estimates the per
capita income to be as Rs. 77.9. Some other economists
also gave their own estimates of the per capita income for
the period under study, but what has been stated so far is
sufficient for the purpose of this study.

This ostensible increase in the per capita income of the
people gives an idea that the economic conditions of the
masses were becoming better. But in relation to the develop­
ment of education, it was not of much significance, nor was
it a real increase as the prices also increased leaving no
surplus money with the people to educate their children. The
aftermath of World War I saw rise in the prices. "The
cultivators saw their increased money earnings more than
swallowed up by a relatively greater increase in the price of
these commodities which they purchased."55

The story of wage earners was no better. The prices
generally increased much earlier than their wages. On the
basis of this, it would be difficult to say that the average
Indian had improved economically. Actually for education, it
was the spare money which was needed and all evidences point
out that there was no spare money with most of the Indians.
Another fact to be noted here is that whatever increase in the per capita income of the people in India during the period under study was for all the classes of people in which the poorest and the richest came together. But the general picture of the society showed that a vast amount of wealth was always accumulated in a few hands while the vast mass suffered with immense poverty. It is difficult to produce any statistics for the different economic groups, and difficult to state further how much wealth each controlled. A rough idea can be formed from the following explanation.

V.K.R.V. Rao while explaining his figures as Rs. 38 on per capita income in 1921-22, also shows the trend of accumulation by breaking down the figures for national income in the following table:\(^56\)

**Table 6.2 : Distribution of National Income (1921-22)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Total Income (Crores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Income of Zamindars in the Permanently settled areas</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Income of landholders of all sorts earning over Rs. 2,000 a year except the Zamindars of permanently settled areas</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Income of Income Tax assesse earning over Rs. 2,000 a year</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An upper class of 10 lakhs accounted for income of Rs. 375 and it supported another 40 lakhs from the population at the rate of 4 persons with each earner. Deducting these 50 lakhs from the population, Rao arrived at an average per capita income of Rs. 64.6 for the vastness of the country. This was a rough estimate which gives the trend. Another point to argue here is that all the rest did not get Rs. 64.6 as a matter of economic equality. There were still many classes whose per capita income came much lower than the figure quoted above. The lower classes existed from starvation to subsistence level. All of them had a deficit budget. It is not denied that small middle class, which by and large, consisted of the professional groups, shaped not only the politico-economic thought but also the educational thought of the country. But this was a small class. The largest section consisted of poor people and their poverty stood as a rock in the way of educational development. It was their poverty of course, apart from the unsuitability of the curriculum, which did not allow them to forego the work of their children, even when education became largely free. Their poverty largely explains the failure of compulsion in education and also the poor literacy percentage. It was this division of the people into economic classes which made secondary and higher education develop much faster than primary education. Table below gives an insight into the development of various stages of education in the first decade of the period under study.
Table 6.3. Pupils attending Educational Institutions in British India (1921-1931)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>1921-22</th>
<th>1926-27</th>
<th>1931-32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art Colleges</td>
<td>45,933</td>
<td>71,968</td>
<td>81,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td>12,39,524</td>
<td>18,54,067</td>
<td>22,97,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>68,10,400*</td>
<td>82,56,760</td>
<td>94,54,360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Excludes 51 pupils in two night schools in Assam.

From this table one thing is clear. The development of primary education had not been so rapid as developments in secondary education or university education, if seen proportionately. This was in spite of the fact that almost all the attention of the Government in respect of education was centred round the development of primary education and, moreover, there were extremely high percentages of wastage and stagnation on the one hand and bogus enrolment on the other.\(^{58}\)

The reasons for this are not far to seek. One, the vast majority of population which lived below subsistence level simply could not send their children to schools to forego the benefit of the income from their remuneration. It has been observed from the records and reports\(^ {59}\) that very often the attendance in the first, and to some extent in the second standard was more pronounced. But in the third, fourth and...
fifth standards, the attendance dwindled sharply. The explanation for this lies in the fact that at the age when the child belonged to the first two standards, he could not be economically a useful member for helping the other family members. Rather he tended to be a burden and nuisance. But after crossing the second standard generally he was taken away from the school to lend his hand in the materially useful work of his parents. That the children were removed from schools because of this reason has been stated again and again by many official records and educationists of the period. For instance, the author of the Quinquennial Review on Education 1927-32, pointed out:

"...owing to the poverty of the masses the length of time in which parents can afford to keep their children in school is limited. As soon as children reach an age when they become of economic value to the household, they have to leave the school no matter what stage they may have reached in their education."

Still another fact, which appears responsible for the poor educational development of masses and low literacy percentage was, that often the poorer sections tended to have a strong prejudice against secular education because of the very fact of poverty and close attachment to superstition and religion. It was because of poverty that they could travel less, and see less of the outside world. They never attained the broadmindedness which others possibly could have. As has been shown earlier those people who had gone abroad during the course of the World War I, had seen other countries and as a natural outcome of that they began to have good
educational aspirations and they became progressive. Added to poverty, because of the lack of development of means of communication, people were unable to travel frequently. Consequently, they remained confined to their native places and this bred apathy towards secular nature of education. For instance, the author of the United Provinces Quinquennial Review on Education for 1917-22 wrote "Among the poorer classes the prejudices against secular school were found to be strong enough to retard educational progress."\(^{62}\)

These two factors will explain in large measure the poor development of literacy in India during the period. Those who criticized Government of the time for the malady because it did not provide sufficient funds for more schools or more teachers are not wholly justified. They should take into consideration two very important points. One, that wherever schools were provided, hundred per cent children of vicinity did not seek admission to them. Secondly, not all those who joined the school completed the stages of education which could give them a claim to permanent literacy. This point is very well proved by the fact that "out of hundred students in Class I in 1922-23 only 19 reached Class IV in 1925-1926."\(^{63}\)

At this juncture, it should be made clear that it is not intended to reject the stand that more schools and more teachers could not have increased the attendance at schools and thereby improved literacy percentage. They definitely could have contributed to the spread of education among the masses. The only point which is being stressed here is that
even that would not have combated the colossal illiteracy.
The liquidation of illiteracy was bound up with the
liquidation of poverty. English authors of the history of
education hold the view that poverty was a good cause for
the non-development of education. But they often laid more
stress on the cultural aspect. Their contention is that
Indian culture - ideas, beliefs and values vis-a-vis educa-
tion was the main factor responsible for the slow progress
of education. Official authorities quoted this very view
during the time of Gokhale’s Bill and thereby rejected the
Bill on compulsory primary education on the plea that Indian
people themselves were against compulsory education. This
view is further corroborated by the observation of the
author of the Quinquennial Review on Indian Education 1912-17,
when he remarked that there was not wide spread feeling among
the people for compulsion, and that “conservatism” of the
agriculturists was one of the main reasons of poor attendance
in the elementary school. It is not denied that this was
so to some extent. But during the period under study, the
ideas, beliefs, the values of the people had undergone a
tremendous change. If in spite of that, literacy in India
did not increase, the fault could be only that of mass
poverty. This can be further explained hereunder.

Most of the parents who could perceive the educational
values sent their children to schools. But later on, pressed
by poor financial conditions, many of them had to withdraw
their wards from schools after one, two or three years. This
situation cannot be better explained by any factor other
than poverty. In addition to poverty, other causes responsible for poor attendance include distance of the school from the place of students' residence, rains and other geographical factors, diseases, etc. But among all these factors, poverty alone was the most potent and formidable factor for poor attendance at the elementary schools. This view is further substantiated from the following paragraph from the Quinquennial Review on Education, 1917-22. It stated:

"During the year 1920-21 enquiries were made in 49 villages of Bihar and Orissa containing 9,491 boys between the ages 5 and 16. Of these boys 2,467 were at school and 7,024 were not. Of the boys not at school, 46.03 per cent were stated to be kept away because of poverty, 33.78 per cent because they were required to earn a living, 17.58 per cent owing to unwillingness or indifference on the part of their parents and 2.61 per cent owing to the absence of further educational facilities locally."65

If seen more objectively, those 33.78 per cent who were required to earn a living instead of getting education could easily be added to those of 46.03 per cent who were kept away from school because of poverty. Thus, 80.81 per cent of the young children between the ages of 5 and 16 were deprived of education because of poverty, while there were only 17.58 per cent who were the victims of cultural backwardness. Thus, it was poverty and not culture which was mainly responsible for the non-development of education.

In this context, there is still another group of English historians on Indian education who maintain that Indian culture was largely responsible for poverty and thereby was indirectly responsible for illiteracy. For
example, Arthur Mahew stated, "National characteristics and the social system encourage the preservation of traditional ideas rather than the concentration of energy to raising the material standard of living."^66

It is better to leave the decision about the poverty of Indians to better hands - let some students of economic history decide whether the Indian culture, or the English rule itself was responsible for this poverty. It may be the safely stated on the basis of above discussion that it was the mass poverty which was responsible for mass illiteracy. This mass poverty was also decreasing the educational values even as the difference in standard of living invariably brought a difference in cultural and educational values. During the period under study, there were some demands for equalizing the educational opportunity, but nobody gave any serious thought to equalize the economic opportunities which to a great extent formed a precondition for bringing about educational equality.

There were other supporting sources to the hypothesis that poverty of the masses came in the way of their general education.

Saiydain and Naik had observed that -

"...the general poverty of the people and their rather deep-rooted conservatism formed serious obstacles to progress, and the scatter of the population over tens of small villages with poor means of communication, created great administrative difficulties. But while the problem and difficulties were enormous, the resources - human and financial at the
disposal of the authorities were meagre in the extreme. Thus, the programme of educational expansion could be adequately financed neither by the government nor by any private resources. "67"

A problem of such magnitude and difficulty needed far-sighted and competent handling. But, the history of education shows that the administrators of the period failed to rise to the occasion. They were responsible for making two major errors - failure to take effective steps to raise the standard of living of the people, and failure to accord a sufficiently high priority to education. This was due, largely, to reasons which were inherent in the situation and the nature of the British rule itself. Both these factors need further elaboration.

(a) The Allocation to Education

One might begin with the problem of the standard of living. It is obvious that the measure of educational facilities provided in a country is intimately related to the national dividend, and mass education can progress only in proportion to the rise in the standard of living. A low national dividend cuts educational progress at both ends. It reduces the taxable capacity of the people and restricts the total revenues of the State, thus making a reduction of educational expenditure inevitable. On the other hand, it also restricts the capacity of the average parent to spend on education and this leads to premature withdrawal of the children from schools, as their earnings are looked upon as indispensable to the family
budget. A careful perusal of the educational records and other allied literature shows that during the period under study, the low priority was accorded to education in the distribution of Government revenue. The Departments of Education in India were never really given a fair chance to work out their ideas as they were all born under the gloomy star of financial stringency. This fact is always proved by the annual reports of the Directors of Public Instruction of different Provinces. To quote Saiyidain and Naik again,

"...the total educational grant available in 1921-22 was £ 6,017,335. Education was then transferred to the control of Indian ministers at the provincial level and this improved the situation to some extent, especially after the Provincial Autonomy was introduced in 1937 and the Congress Ministries came in power in most Provinces. Government grant for education increased to £ 8,242,347 in 1936-37 and £ 17,305,936 in 1946-47 the year in which British power was withdrawn from the country." 68

Considering from this point of view one finds that this percentage had varied from 0.3 (in 1854-55) to 6.1 in 1936-37. It is obvious that with such a small allotment education could not in any country and under any circumstances progress satisfactorily.

(b) Sources of Revenue

Two other criteria may be applied to determine the importance given to education in the total economy of the country - the share of the total educational expenditure which the Government was prepared to bear from its own funds and the expenditure per head of the population.
Accurate figures are not available, but it is correct to say that initially the Government was prepared to bear practically the total expenditure on education. But as education began to expand, the assistance of other sources was invoked. Fees began to be charged and came to be looked upon as an important source of revenue. Missionary enterprise and the voluntary efforts of the people were encouraged and thus the resources of the Missions and private philanthropy were fully utilized. When the demand for education increased still further, local rates for education also increased in as much as Local Bodies in rural areas and Municipalities in urban areas were required to contribute their share. Private enterprise, which now conducted the bulk of the educational institutions in the country, was, therefore, compelled to raise a considerable portion of its expenses through public charity. All these measures tended to reduce the Government's share of the total expenditure to a marked degree. It had fallen to about 80 per cent in 1854, touched the lowest mark of 26 per cent in 1901 and was about 45 per cent in 1947. Such a policy under the economic circumstances obtaining in the country shows that Government accorded a low priority to education in its scheme of values. According to the second criterion, i.e. educational expenditure incurred per head of the population, the situation is shown to be no more favourable. In 1870-71 this was about a penny, but it had risen to 1s. 2d. per capita in 1947. This small increase,
judged by any standard, cannot be regarded as evidence of due priority being accorded to educational developments.

The reasons for the low priority are not far to seek. The British Government, motivated by imperialistic tendencies, used the larger part of its revenue first for imperial needs like army, law and order, and smaller portion of the revenue was allotted to the developmental needs connected with imperial purposes and a much smaller portion of it was allocated to education. Thus, it seems obvious that the small grants allocated to education were not due mainly to the paucity of total Government resources but were the direct and inevitable consequences of the imperialistic policies.

This policy produced several undesirable results. For example, secondary and college education was unduly emphasized and received a proportionately larger share of funds and the expansion of primary education was relegated to the background.

Secondly, the Government would have preferred to conduct the bulk of the educational institutions through their own agency, but as the direct maintenance of such institutions was much costlier than the payments of grants-in-aid to private associations, it was decided, on financial grounds, to encourage private enterprise to take on this responsibility and to restrict the direct educational activities of the Government. This, however, gave a wrong orientation to the educational system as a whole. Private
enterprise had limited financial resources and, therefore, the educational institutions started by it were usually of the academic type, and not many professional and vocational schools and colleges sprang up. These were, of course, very costly to establish and maintain, so that there was an over emphasis on general academic education, to the neglect of vocational and technical education. Even within this field, training in the 'black-coated' professions of law, medicine and teaching received greater attention than technical and industrial education and the industrial development of the country was seriously handicapped.

Another important result of this policy was that, comparatively speaking, the rural areas came to be neglected. Private enterprise was restricted largely to cities and towns, which were more vocal and politically conscious and had the necessary personnel and funds. Government schools, too few in number, were mostly concentrated in urban areas. This created a gulf between rural and urban conditions which had many repercussions on the developing pattern of national life. The education of the backward classes also suffered as a result of this over-emphasis on private enterprise. It was only the advanced classes who had the necessary resources to organise schools and their efforts were mostly restricted to the higher and the middle classes and hardly touched the backward classes.
Another important issue arising out of this policy was that of the quality versus quantity. As the available funds were limited, the point at issue always was whether they should be spent on the improvement of educational institutions by ensuring better pay-scales for teachers, better training facilities and equipments, and so on, or utilized for securing expansion. A careful study of the policy followed during the period under study shows that there was a shift of emphasis from time to time. It may be well argued that this was not a very suitable policy for a country where the education of the masses had been very largely neglected, and an all-out attempt should have been launched to make up the leeway, as was done in many Western countries in the nineteenth century. In actual fact, however, what happened was that the policy of mass education was never adopted and even qualitatively, education remained poor.

"As a result of the various mistakes of commission and omission discussed above, the development of education during the period under study was far from satisfactory. The percentage of literacy, according to the Census of 1941, was about 12, and in 1946-1947, only one village out of three was provided with some sort of a school, while the percentage of pupils enrolled to the total population was only 6.3."70

This is how economic conditions of people and Government's financial policy in education along with its policy of priority in education affected the development of Indian education in quantitative expansion and quality during the period under study.
To understand the role of economic determinants of education during the period under study, it is necessary to refer to the major transformation of the Indian society in the earlier phase of British rule in India. The decline of the existing feudal ruling classes along with their culture, was accompanied by the wholesale change in the ownership of property.

With the change in the property relations, the system of education also changed. The changes in the system of land tenure, the judicial rights given to agrarian classes, the free market in land, and the diminution of the area of estates and holdings have enough to transform the economic organization of the rural areas in which the great majority of the people lived. Other changes had been brought about by the play of economic forces due to increased contact with the West and the development of transport between India and Western countries as well as between different parts of India. Trade and money played a vital role in changing the economic conditions of the people.

The growth of population had increased the pressure on the soil and this pressure had not been appreciably relieved by agricultural improvements and a consequent increase of productive capacity.
These changes could not stop the inevitable decay of a kind of education which had no inherent function in the new society being created by mercantile and emergent capitalism. The Anglicists triumphed over the Orientalists in the famous controversy culminating in Macaulay's Minute of 1835, because they understood the forces of change. The perpetuation of classical education would not lead to the creation of the new class which the political and economic interests of the company demanded. Orthodoxy, obscurantism, and loyalty to the older order needed to be replaced by a system of education conducted in the language of the new masters and comprising all kinds of subjects which would create both a taste for the products of Lancashire and respect for the ideas and things that were British. Since it was also more economic to employ Indian subordinates who knew modern Indian languages which came to be known as Anglo-Vernacular, the policy to support English education was found to succeed.

As a result of the depressed conditions of agriculture which affected the precariously placed landlords such as peasants, some of Indian elite, drawn from the highest castes, began to look to company's service and clerkships in British firms for a new material security. They were to form the planks of the emergent Indian middle class.

Between 1857 and the turn of the century the decline of the old and the triumph of the new education continued. The only people who continued on traditional system were the very orthodox and the very poor who continued to receive education in tols etc. This also happened because
the indigenous education had continued to be free and the new education cost money. Even when oriental departments were established in the new colleges and universities, they attracted only those who could not afford to pay the higher fees charged by the modern departments.

In the post-war period, the economic conditions of Indians were far from satisfactory. Quite a substantial number of them remained normally exposed to scarcities - ill clad and underfed. In a statement delivered in the Legislative Assembly during those days, G.D. Birla, the Leader of Indian bourgeoisie, alleged that India was suffering not from world depression but from an internal depression, caused by the poverty of the agriculturalists who constituted 75 per cent of the Indian population. Indian masses wore only 10 yards of cloth per head as compared with 18 yards in pre-war days. Besides, the internal depression was also reflected in the rise of prices of other necessities of life. In fact, prices reached a high level never before touched. If the figures for 1919 were compared with those of 1914, it will be found that in the case of rice, the rise ranged from 26 per cent in Assam to 73 per cent in the Central Provinces. In the case of wheat the lowest increase was 38 per cent in Assam and the highest 100 per cent in the Central Provinces. Even more serious was the case of millets which were so largely consumed by the poorer classes. The increase in prices ranged from 102 per cent in the United Provinces to 132 per cent in Bombay. Famine and scarcity were declared in numerous areas. The prices generally rose by an average of 93 per cent since the
commencement of the War. The high rise in prices was due partly to the imperialist nature of the alien regime whose whole energy only a year ago was devoted to the destructive work of World War I. The diversion of a large number of people formerly engaged in production to the army and supply services and the piling up a huge additional volume of credit and currency to meet the expenditure of War led to an enhanced cost of production of practically all commodities. Such conditions were bound sooner or later to create discontent among Indian people. They caused the greatest distress and the embarrassment, to poorer classes and persons living on small fixed incomes in the towns; but the effect had been felt by every section of the Indian community.

As the impact of the British on the sub-continent began to be felt, the process of change was accelerated. It was the West that introduced influences that were to disrupt ultimately craft exclusiveness and shake the very foundations of the existing economic order. When the Indian economy began to have a link with the expanding world economy, new occupations were introduced and the old trades attracted new workers by promise of greater financial rewards. Thus, Buchanan observed in 1934, that -

"The Camars (leather workers), a caste of extremely low in Hindu hierarchy, had gained considerable prestige because the sale of hides to European countries had produced a new source of wealth out of all proportion to their traditional income - similarly, the telis (oil presses) of Bengal had profited greater from the new markets, and many of their members had become wealthy bankers and merchants."
The British rule, by its economic policies, also undermined the traditional values attached to occupation as clean and unclean, holy and unholy. Occupations ceased to be hereditary and were opened to all who acquired that necessary qualifications. Thus, they lost their sacred character.

The British rulers, though they promoted modernization of the Indian economy, obstructed free and rapid industrialization. In fact, they ruined the town handicrafts and the village artisan industries without replacing them adequately with modern industries. The ruin of the old industries destroyed the productive skills of the old type. The absence of a free and extensive growth of modern industries prevented the development of new productive skills.

The new economic set up demanded a new type of education to provide the skills, techniques, knowledge as well as a reorientation of values to enable individual and groups to carry on new functions. If this was done by the British rulers, the Indian education during the period would have been an instrument of producing economic wealth. But, unfortunately, that did not happen, though, it did produce a chain of changes, though slow and few, in people's perceptions, value system and attitudes. Trends in Indian economy had left their impact on the development of education.

6.7 ROLE OF MODERN MEANS OF TRANSPORT

The role of modern means of transport such as railways, buses, and steamships in the consolidation of peoples into
modern nations cannot be overestimated. Due to the feeble means of transport existing in pre-British India, there could not develop large scale unified economic, social and cultural life among the people.

The role of the railways in accelerating the process of industrialization was also pointed out by John Beauchamp:

"The building of railways, the spread of education among the Indian classes, the growing burden of the tribute exacted by Great Britain coupled with the increasing pressure on agriculture the presence of raw materials such as cotton, jute, iron and coal, which could be profitably worked up in India itself. All these things made the coming of industrialism in India inevitable..."76

The extension of modern means of communications made it possible for the rich people to send their wards to get education even to the distantly located centres. There is no doubt in the statement that though railways and road construction in India were motivated by the considerations of the British interest and though, as a result of this, its development remained insufficient and lop-sided, it obviously played a progressive role in the history of Indian people. The agricultural economy became an integral part of the national and even world economy. The economic isolation of the village, the main cause of its social and cultural stagnation, slowly began to break down.

Modern means of transport were a formidable force in unifying the Indian people socially. Railways and buses made mass migration of people from one part of the country to
another possible. To get work or to improve their prospects, people travelled to different parts of the country. Educated individuals, doctors, teachers, clerks, etc. chose to change their province for employment. This paved the way for further growth of education in the country.

But for the railways, the motor buses and other modern means of communications, political and cultural life on a national scale would not have been possible. Likewise railways and buses made it possible to spread progressive social and scientific ideas among the people. But for the modern means of transport, scientific and progressive literature (books, magazines, papers) could not have been quickly distributed throughout the country. Printed books for elementary schools were instruments for filtering education to the masses. Printed books might have been turned out in tens of thousands but, without their quick distribution among thousands of villages and towns which railways and motor buses could accomplish, these books would not have reached those centres. No mass education would have been possible without the services of modern means of transport. Thus, mass education as well as national culture depended as much on railways as on other factors.

6.8 THE BRITISH FINANCIAL POLICY TO UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN INDIA

A careful analysis of the historical treatment of the development of compulsory primary education in India shows
that the demand for universal compulsory primary education in India, existed only in a few areas, mostly urban and that too mainly to boys. Its practical enforcement has been so unsatisfactory that, in most of the areas, it remained practically on paper.

This failure was due to physical, social, cultural, political, administrative and economic obstacles that were inherent in the Indian situation. In this unit the researcher would confine to only financial aspect that impeded the progress of mass education. These had two aspects: on the one hand, the State was too poor to support a programme of universal education. The Sargent Report estimated that such a programme would cost Rs. 2,000 million a year (estimate based on a population of about 29 crores and the price-levels of 1938-39). If allowance was made for the growth of population (25 per cent) and for the rise in prices (300 per cent), the same programme during the period of study would have cost much more. Every attempt to work out a reasonable scheme of universal education had, therefore, ended with the conclusion that the country could not afford to finance it.

Moreover, the British Government had always accorded a low priority to education. Consequently there had been a neglect of mass education. It was not the intention of the rulers to secure a reasonable amount of education to the bulk of the Indian masses. The policy dominating the system for over three quarters of a century was to educate the higher classes and when the classes were educated they would carry
down the culture to the 'masses' by the natural process of 'filtration'. It was however, characteristic of imperialism not to educate the 'masses'. According to the imperialistic conception of instruction, the less education among the masses, the better, as uneducated people are easier to control.

The British rulers like all imperialists aimed at a dual conquest to consolidate their hold on the country:

"The conquest was physical or territorial, followed and supplemented by the cultural. As a matter of fact, the physical and cultural conquests were the two facets of an imperialist's plan - the inseparable components of a total Imperialism."  

On the other hand poverty of the average parent was so great that even if the State had the money to appoint the required number of teachers and to provide the necessary school buildings, he (the guardian) would not have been able to send his children to school on a full time basis. The success of compulsory education was inevitably connected with the standard of living of the people.

During the British Period, under consideration, the poverty of the masses had increased still further because of the growth of population, the disappearance of traditional handicrafts, economic exploitation from abroad, and the failure to develop the agricultural and industrial resources of the country.
History shows that these financial difficulties affect the progress of compulsory education in several ways. But because of financial implications many schemes of compulsory education had to be abandoned. The Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 started with the main object of introducing universal education in a period of 10 years was an example in this regard. The scheme was abandoned soon after the start. In 1944, the Central Advisory Board prepared a forty-year plan (popularly known as the Sargent Plan) of introducing universal education in all parts of the country; but the action taken on it in the later period was far short of the expectations. Thus financial difficulties were responsible for the slow progress.

The Provincial Governments under the Diarchy (1921-37) were very greatly handicapped for funds. The additional financial resources that became available to the Provinces under the Government of India Act of 1919, were scanty; and a large part of them was absorbed by the increased expenditure connected with the reforms and the heavy contributions that had to be paid to the Central Government under the Meston Award. These contributions were discontinued in 1927-28, but immediately there came the great economic depression of 1929 the effects of which lasted till 1937. The whole of this period, therefore, was dominated by
problems of retrenchment and economy rather than of expansion and development. Thirdly, the damping report made by the Hartog Committee exerted a very bad influence. This Committee, as stated earlier, recommended that consolidation was more important than expansion, that quality was to be more sought after the quantity, that hasty introduction of compulsion increased wastage instead of diminishing it, and that the Provincial Governments would do well to go slow with their programme of introducing universal compulsory primary education. This advice of the experts to the Government gave a moral excuse to the Government and an educational justification for a failure. Prior to the Hartog Committee Report, the Provincial Governments had at least to express regret for not being able to expand compulsory education in all parts of the land and to blame the prevailing financial stringency for it. After the Hartog Report, however, the Provincial Governments changed their attitude entirely. They now urged that the time to introduce universal compulsory education had not yet arrived and that they were perfectly justified in adopting a policy of consolidating in preference to that of expansion.

Next, the World War II also hindered the progress of compulsory primary education very greatly. Within a few months of its start, the Congress Ministries resigned and the Caretaker Governments which took their place refused
to proceed with any developmental schemes. They argued that their one job was to prosecute the War effectively and that in developmental matters like education, they would only maintain the status quo. In fact, this was a time when money was plentiful and cheap so that good progress in compulsory education would have been possible. But the unfortunate attitude of the Caretaker Governments made the extension of compulsory areas absolutely impossible.

6.9: POPULATION, POVERTY, THE DRAIN AND EDUCATION

The report on the 1951 census of India (which was published in 1953) drew attention prominently to the fact that the year 1921 was the great stride in the history of India's population growth. The pattern of growth during three decades subsequent to the pattern of growth during the three preceding decades could be seen from the table 6.4 on the next page.

There are two main differences between the two thirty years periods. The first difference is a simple one. Whereas before 1921, the population had increased by only 12 millions in thirty years, the increase after 1921 was as much as 109 millions in thirty years. There was even more significant difference to be remarked on. There was more definite trend of growth before 1921. During two out of three decades there was a slight diminution of population. But there was a large increase of population
Table 6.4: The Growth of Population in India (1891 - 1951)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population** (in millions)</th>
<th>Increase +</th>
<th>Decrease -</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>235.9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>235.5</td>
<td>- 0.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>249.0</td>
<td>+13.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>248.1</td>
<td>- 0.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three decades subsequent to 1921:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population (in millions)</th>
<th>Increase +</th>
<th>Decrease -</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>248.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>273.5</td>
<td>+ 27.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>312.8</td>
<td>+ 37.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>356.9</td>
<td>+44.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(** Population figures relate to the territory on which 1951 Census of India was taken.)
The accelerating growth of population since 1921 was the direct result of the progressive adoption of modern methods of control over prematured deaths while (at the same time), continuing the traditional practices of uncontrolled births. In 1871, when the first regular, although incomplete Census was taken, the population stood at 254 million. In 1931, sixty years later, the Census revealed 353 million (275.52 million for the present area of India) representing an increase of 10.6 per cent over the 1921 figure. The Census of 1941 showed a total of 389 (314.88 million for India alone) showing an increase of 15 percent over the 1931 figure or an increase of 50 millions.

The various economic factors, which had contributed to the decline of the joint family, had acted in unison as it were, whereas the land available for cultivation had remained more or less stationary, the population had kept on rising throughout the nineteenth century and the twentieth century. Along side of this phenomenal rise in population - it actually rose from 225 million in 1871 to 400 million in 1941 - the age-old process of partition in the joint household had resulted in the fragmentation of land. Even the small, and often uneconomical plots of land were difficult to retain as a consequence of general impoverishment. Faced with the contingencies like marriage or death, the resourceless of the peasant had so often been forced
Table 6.5: Enrolment in Classes I-VIII 1916-17 to 1946-47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Class-wise Enrolment (in 000's)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-17</td>
<td>2,933*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>3,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td>5,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>5,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>5,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>5,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>3,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** NCERT, Op.Cit., p.17.

*Includes enrolment in infant A and B Classes*

*Note:* Figures within brackets indicate the percentage of enrolment in each class to the enrolment in Class I of the same year.
either to lose his land directly through sale or indirectly through mortgaging it to a money-lender. Landless peasants thus came into being, each individual seeking his own fortune and unwilling to take the responsibility for anybody except his own primary kin and relatives. It was usually easier to earn individual incomes in towns and cities than in villages because of the absence of opportunities in the villages where occupations were limited and usually associated with caste. The village pushed him out and the urban centres attracted him, and the villager thus became a migrant of the village but not in it, in the town or city but not of it.82

There was no objective criterion of 'poverty'. In fact the extreme poverty of the people of India was undeniable and undenied. According to the census of 1921, the manual workers included a vast proportion of the whole population. As 80 per cent of the population was classed as 'rural', this implied that the bulk of the labouring population still lived in a simple primitive environment although many industrial as well as agricultural workers lived in the villages. In 1921, over 73 per cent of the population depended upon the production of raw material, 10.5 per cent on industrial pursuits and 7 per cent on trade and transport.

Unfortunately the detailed figures of the 1931, Census reveals a starting and unprecedented increase from 319 million to nearly 351.5 million - an increase of over 32 million or 10.2 per cent during the decade. It is difficult to believe that such a rapid increase could have taken place had not conditions of life been eased to some extent.
From this excessive pressure of population on land, arose the great evil of almost universal under-employment. There was insufficient work to employ those dependent upon small holdings for more than (perhaps) one-third of their time. Very little relief was afforded by the rural industries largely because most of them were pursued by separate castes.

This widespread under-employment in agriculture partly accounted for the cultivators' lack of enterprise, as there was little stimulus to adopt labour-saving methods. Pressure on the soil also accounted for the widespread indebtedness characteristic of Indian life. If the rainfall was subnormal, or anything-else went wrong, the ryot was forced to take resort to the money-lender. The other main causes of the indebtedness were the customary extravagant expenditure on religious and social ceremonies and upon litigation. Owing to the prevailing exorbitant rates of interest charged and the size of the loans in relation to income, the borrower could seldom repay his debt, but remained permanently dependent upon the money lender. The Cooperative Credit Movement, initiated in 1904, provided the most helpful remedy, but notwithstanding a large absolute increase had so far touched only a very small proportion of the population.
It was impossible to estimate the average or normal income of a typical cultivator, as it consisted of self-grown produce. An increase in prosperity could only be indirectly from general indications of improved production, and circumstantial evidence of a higher standard of living.

George Blyn showed that per capita output of crop declined by 1.14 per cent in British India between 1911 and 1941 and regional decline also moved round this figure. 84

The only available statistical evidence relates to the average income of the population, but details of the estimates made from time to time are hardly worth quoting, owing to the incomplete and unreliable nature of the data upon which they are based. 85

Estimates of agricultural produce available for consumption in India illustrate forcibly the extreme low standard of life that prevailed. For instance, Mr. Lupton calculated in 1919-20 that, in an average season, the main food stuffs available for human consumption in India worked out at 1.2 lb. per head per day. 86 This is just about on par with the diet providing in jails, and on relief works during famine.

The normal diet, in India was extremely monotonous and consisted primarily of cereals, being seriously deficient in fats and proteins. Diets varied in detail from
locality to locality and among different races and classes, and scientific experiments showed that there was close correlation between difference in physique and in nutrition. Mal-nutrition, whether due chiefly to dire poverty, bad farming, or custom, accounted largely for the poor physique, liabilities to disease and relative inefficiency of a large section of the population.

The industrial worker, especially in large cities was even worse off in these and certain other respects. Rural wage-earners, whether agricultural or industrial workers, formed perhaps, the most unfortunate class of India's 'poor'. They received the smallest earnings, and had uncertain, intermittent employment. It was from these classes (and from the less successful cultivator families) that recruits were mainly obtained for the organized industries. It may be noted that the workers in organised industries, who numbered 2.6 millions in 1921, still formed only a minority of industrial workers in general, although there had been a considerable transference from unrecognized to recognized industrial employment. The Whitley Commission which reported on the Industrial labour in India in 1931 emphasized the fact that workers in the organised industries were pushed, not pulled to their new occupations.
"Very few industrial workers would remain in industry if they could secure sufficient food and clothing in the village." 89

The Commission concluded that on the whole, the adoption of such occupations was advantageous to the workers, when comparison was made with the conditions and earnings of the classes from which such workers were recruited, and that both earnings and standard of life had definitely risen during the last thirty years. Conditions were best in the large factories, not so good in smaller and seasonal factories, and worst of all in unregulated factories and workshops. In the latter children from 5 years upward were employed. In mines the legal age limit was 13 and it was 12 in establishments which came under Factory Acts. Women and children were employed in unregulated workshops in most unhealthy and sometimes disgusting processes.

This short survey of the outstanding facts with regard to poverty in India presents a gloomy picture.

The next step is to find out the fundamental causes of poverty in India.

Extreme nationalists claim that British rule and the policy of the Government of India were the root causes of poverty in India during the British rule, having been utilized primarily to exploit India's resources and trade and that poverty had increased under British rule. They
agree that additional expenditure, including the cost of military operations and occupations and excessive expenditure upon civil administration had been incurred and had resulted in the annual payment by India of the 'tribute' in the form of the so called 'Home Charges' i.e. of sums payable in London by the Government of India from the revenue raised in India. In addition, the nationalists argue - the profits of England, instead of spreading or investing them in India and large sums had to be paid abroad by India on account of interest and profit on foreign capital privately invested in India. It is alleged that all these foreign payments arose out of British rule and constituted what is called the 'Drain' - a process described as 'Bleeding to death.'

The high level of Governmental expenditure, the charge continues, had entailed burdensome taxation on even the poorest, especially by means of the land revenue and salt tax.

The next allegation is that the whole trend of production and trade had been perverted and forced into channels profitable only to Great Britain. Indigenous manufacturers and the export of high quality goods had been destroyed, the masses had been progressively forced back on to the land and driven to rely on the production of raw materials and food stuffs which were exported in
return for British manufacturers. Famines had increased in severity. Indian interests and aspirations, it is alleged, had been entirely ignored. Little or nothing had been done to remedy social evils or improve health, whilst education had been retarded.

Further, it is said that the construction of railways had aggravated the whole process, as well as entailing a direct financial loss of many years. Tariff policy had been directed to the same ends and the currency and exchange policy had at certain times involved India in heavy losses.

On the other hand, the British historians/scholars are of the view that these alleged casual factors have been magnified out of all recognition concealing the really fundamental issues. They say that the British Government had a very great deal on credit side of its economic account and moreover, the policy pursued has progressively improved. They argue that India of its own could not provide anything like the equivalents and it was also certain that, at that time India could not herself have provided equally good technical and administrative services. Even Indian capitalists had employed foreign experts, as in the case of the Tata Sons Ltd. who obtained technicians from Germany and the United States.

The British historians hold the view that the 'richness of the country' has been exaggerated. India had great resources but also marked defects, the most obvious being the nature of rainfall and the bad distribution of the resources of
industrial power. The efficiency of the population was undoubtedly impaired by the climate and the prevalence of endemic and epidemic diseases, whilst the traditional social structure and customs tended to decrease mobility and economic effectiveness in many ways.

The British historians point out that the condition just before the introduction of the British rule should also be taken into consideration. They allege that during the British period there was definitely marked improvement in the standard of living of the masses in contrast to what existed during the Mughal period. They also opine that all throughout the nineteenth century, the failure of monsoon entailed great loss and suffering but the construction of railways and of irrigation works together with the gradual perfection of famine relief administration entirely transformed the problem. They claim that since the beginning of this century no deaths from starvation due to the failure of the rains occurred, food was supplied to the afflicted districts. The problem was no longer one of "Life and death" but of the distribution of work and of relief. According to them, the most notable achievement of the Government of India during the British rule was its conquest of the cruel spectre of famine.

They further note that there were small grounds for the assertion that India used to be the richest in the past,
but had become the poorest country in the world, if 'rich' and 'poor' are applied not to the fortunate few, but to the less fortunate many. All extent evidence suggests that the masses had always to struggle hard for existence and that famine had always been a serious problem. To support this view they argue that in olden times it would have been quite impossible to support a population of the present dimensions.

The pro-British view, as propounded by British historians, also refers to their reaction that the part played by the Government as an economic pioneer, especially in the sphere of public works deserves greater recognition. They say that some 28 million acres were then irrigated by Government works, 4,2000 miles of railways had been constructed, and the famine problem had been transformed. They further support their view by pointing out that the promotion of scientific agriculture, stimulation of cooperation, grant of assistance to industry, improvements in sanitation, advances in medical research and extension of industrial legislation had all played their part in the economic development of the country. Thus, the extensive and fruitful investigations into every sphere of economic life, the grant of fiscal autonomy and adoption of "discriminatory protection" and last but not the least, the Whitley Commission - all reveal the attitude adopted by the Government and the interest then taken in economic matters.
The results of all these activities, they allege, were that there had been a vast increase in total production and trade since the introduction of the British rule, and a definite, though unfortunately small, improvement in the economic position of the masses.

They admit that there had been certain regrettable features, such as decline in the indigenous industries, and mistakes in policy from time to time, some of which had been freely recognized, but the fact remains that India was then better equipped for future economic progress than ever before and that some improvement in the standard of life had been achieved.

They conclude that in spite of all these good points in favour of the British Government of India, the reason as to why prosperity had not increased more rapidly was due to both environmental and social causes. They concluded by pointing out that apart from environmental factors (such as the climate and the prevalence of epidemic and endemic diseases) - the primary causes of India's poverty was to be found in spheres other than the purely economic, the outstanding factors being the population problem and the influence of social stratification, institutions and customs upon economic life.

India, during that stage, was also characterized by extremely high birth and death rates. The statistical expectation of life in India during that period was only
25 years, as compared to 54 in Great Britain. India was over populated in the sense that a smaller population could almost certainly produce more per head. They argue that the size of the population was mainly regulated by Malthus's 'positive' checks i.e. misery and vice, as shown by the high infant and maternal mortality rates, by the prevalence of the ill health and the family low rate of expectation of life.

Finally, they admit that while nothing has been done to remedy these major underlying causes of poverty, minor modifications of economic policy - such as imposition of a new protection tariff, the establishment of a Reserve Bank, or the grant of a subsidy to a new industry - appear a mere tinkering at the problem.

Rabindranath's 'Crisis in Civilization' is an appraisal of the British rule. The poet said:

"As I emerged into the stark light of bare facts, the sight of the dire poverty of Indian masses rent my heart... the wheel of fate will someday compel the English to give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery."94

Sir William Hunter contended that struggle for life became more difficult for a large section of people than it had been when the English took possession of the country.95

The British Government did not seriously contemplate any industrialization in India before the World War I. The Indian National Congress was against any industrialization upto
1920's and in the late nineteenth century they were agitating for more Indianisation of jobs. Dada Bhai Naoroji, Ramesh Dutt, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Surendra Nath Banerjee's works and statements upheld the Indian interest of respective classes in the main and exposed the policy of the rulers.

The boom of 1914-1920 proved short-lived and depression set in by 1921 resulting in liquidation of a large number of industrial organizations. The boom turned into a crisis and the large scale Indian industries except the jute industry and some others were very hard hit. The crisis deepened further due to a fall in agricultural prices in 1929 as an effect of the world-wide depression. The economic setting was most depressing in the thirties. The economic depression of the thirties had a shattering effect on the economies of capitalist countries. The colonial dependencies had also to bear the brunt of the crisis.

The industrial development upto 1939 was narrowly confined to the growth of limited large scale sectors. Foreign capital together with foreign managing agency dominated industry and private finance and foreign trade.

All available contemporary records, however, suggest a decline of local craft as a continuous process, reveal a decadent village system and an increasing overcrowding of population in agriculture which can be seen from the following statistics:
Table 6.6: Population of Undivided India
(in Millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Growth from previous year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>+ 1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>+ 6.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>+ 0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>+10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>+15.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>+12.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


An economic growth implies a constant transfer of surplus population from village to urban centres of non-agricultural activities, a constant shift from primary to secondary and tertiary sectors but this process never started.

English education, growth of secularism, nationalism, trade union and peasant movement are all considered as indicators of progress. But the English education in India did not filter to one person per mile in course of one hundred and fifty years; secularism and nationalism were there. But any communal riots could not be suppressed without the help of the army. The number of workers engaged in factory increased absolutely, but proportion to the
total population was more or less the same. The rate of growth of literacy was slow, and the rate of growth of illiteracy was high. The scholars in schools were increasing, but wastage in education was also mounting. This was the real paradoxical situation in Indian education during the period under study.

One of the basic reasons underlying these deep rooted ills was perhaps the worsening type of property relations in agriculture where half a dozen family in every village controlled the major portion of land and its output by intrigues. They controlled village cooperative stores and Panchayats; they controlled other bodies; they were in the leadership.

The War, no doubt, temporarily solved the growing problem of the educated unemployment by throwing open new avenues of employment, but the problem remained just below the surface as a potential threat to the national social peace and progress, and the following statement made in the thirties was still basically true for the whole British period:

"Bengal is faced with a tragic situation. While the problem of employment is becoming increasingly acute, the university is flooding the province with an unemployed but also often unemployable."96

Quoting the Provincial reports from Bengal, Bombay and Madras the main cause for the set-back in the growth
of enrolment and institutions appeared to be financial stringency due to the economic depression of 1930. The need for a reorganisation of the educational system was felt actually during this period:

"A further outcome of these years of depression has been the emergency of a widely spread dissatisfaction with the present system of education... secondary education in particular is regarded as too academic and as suffering from a lack of variety. Probably at no period in India's history has there been a livelier interest in and concern for the future of education than at the present moment."

It is noticeable that the cumulative effect of economic depression and political instability was on the growth of middle vernacular schools. The impact was felt least on the middle English Schools.

The Bombay Session of the All India Congress Committee passed the following resolution on social and economic changes:

"In the opinion of the Committee, the great poverty and misery of the Indian people are due, not only to foreign exploitation in India, but also to the economic structure of society, which the alien rulers support so that their exploitation may continue. In order therefore to remove this poverty and misery and to ameliorate the conditions of the Indian masses it is essential to make the revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities."

The conflicting postures taken on various economic and social issues reflected on the policy and attitude of
The system of education was operative in a particular socio-economic political setting and could not escape the effects of events taking place in these spheres.

"Economic distress, far exceeding in magnitude and intensity even that experienced in the post-war years, has intervened; expenditure has been cut down in all directions; the pace of expansion has been retarded; political life has been disturbed; communal bitterness has been accentuated."99

It may be remarked that the destruction of the economic disunity of India based on self-sufficient independent village economy and the transformation of India into a single economic unit by the introduction of capitalist constitute historically progressive results of the British rule over India. However, to the extent that this transformation was subjected to the economic requirements of the British trading, industrial and banking interests, the independent and untrammelled economic development of Indian society was impeded. Thus the British impact both helped as well as hindered the historical progress of Indian society. The economic backwardness of the people constituted a mighty obstacle to the development of Indian education, both general and vocational as well as technical.

Fiscal policy adopted by the British Government in India during the period under study had far-reaching influence on the development of Indian education.
In the prevailing economic conditions the British Government in India realized quite a substantial revenue from the public. During the period of 1919 to 1926 the average of the annual revenue was nearly Rs. 150 crores. This annual revenue could meet the local requirements satisfactorily. But quite a substantial amount of it was spent on items not being of direct public utility, e.g., military expenditure, heavy salaries and pensions to the Civil Servants of English origin.

Like the pre-1919 period, there continued the annual drain of Indian money which was an absolute loss to the country. The most considerable part of the drain was constituted by the Government of India in Home Charges. They were not entirely matched by any corresponding receipts by India. One of the items of the Home Charges was repayment of the debt. Due to the heavy and extravagant expenditure there began to pile up a debt during British rule. In 1929-30 the total debt figured more than Rs. 1,050 crores, nearly Rs. 540 crores was kept in Britain, bearing an interest of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Besides the repayment of the debt, there were also other items of expenditure leading to the drain of Indian wealth. The table on the next page provides an analytical account under principal heads of the expenditure of the Government of India incurred in England.
Table 6.7: Home Charges (1918-1923)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Debt Rs. nearly</th>
<th>Civil Expenditure Rs. nearly</th>
<th>Military expenditure Rs. nearly</th>
<th>Stores Rs. nearly</th>
<th>Miscellaneous Rs. nearly</th>
<th>Total Rs. nearly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>21,28,20,000</td>
<td>3,85,00,500</td>
<td>6,27,00,500</td>
<td>3,21,70,500</td>
<td>87,48,750</td>
<td>35,49,40,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>20,02,92,000</td>
<td>4,88,98,500</td>
<td>8,00,50,000</td>
<td>5,16,79,500</td>
<td>21,97,500</td>
<td>40,31,46,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>19,76,80,500</td>
<td>5,65,16,000</td>
<td>11,45,11,500</td>
<td>9,41,14,500</td>
<td>1,51,36,500</td>
<td>47,79,59,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>45,86,87,325</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economists like Shah and Khambata characterised these Home Charges as "a mortgage charges on our national income."\(^{102}\) Besides the Home Charges, the annual drain also reflected in the form of (1) payment of interest on foreign capital invested in India; (2) payments made, directly or indirectly, on account of the shipping services; (3) payments on account of commission for banking and allied services in connection with overseas trade; (4) profits and earnings of foreign merchants, professional men, civil and military who were not permanently domiciled in India; (5) remittance of the profits from railways.

According to economists like Shah and Khambata, the average income per day of an Indian was believed to be in the twenties nearly one anna and six pies.\(^{103}\) But in the estimation of the nationalist leaders these statistics were misleading because the average income was worked out from the figures of the income of the poor person as also of the Viceroy and the millionaires. In their view the actual income could, therefore, be hardly three picee per head.\(^{104}\) This was the result of the foreign exploitation and financial drain with this shamfully low per capita income, it is natural that education could develop only among those sections of the social which had money to support costly education.
6.10 THE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN BRITISH INDIA (1921-1947)

Nothing concrete was done in the field of educational planning prior to 1937. A reference to this effect had been made in previous chapters. A careful perusal of the development of education in British Period in India shows that no serious thought was ever given to educational planning. The growth and development of education was mostly unplanned and suited to the needs and requirements of the imperialistic and bureaucratic British Government. The first exercise in educational planning in British India was done after the introduction of the Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935. When the Congress assumed office in nine out of the eleven provinces of British India in 1937 it was then felt that steps should be taken to prepare a comprehensive plan of national development on all aspects. Accordingly the National Planning Committee set-up in 1938, under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, began its work early in 1939. For education, which was one of the important sectors under its consideration, two sub-committees were appointed - one for general education under the Chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan and the other for technical education and developmental research under the Chairmanship of Dr. M. N. Saha. Unfortunately, the work of the National Planning Committee and its sub-committees could not progress satisfactorily. Pandit Nehru was arrested in 1940 and, under the stress of political events, neither he nor the other members of the Committee could devote adequate
attention to its work till 1947 when it was practically wound up. The Sub-Committee on General Education prepared a broad and a tentative report which was considered by the National Planning Committee, but the report of the Sub-Committee on Technical Education and Development of Research could not even be considered. The General Secretary of the Committee, however, brought out a volume on Education in 1948 containing a broad outline of whatever work had been done in planning educational development. The work of the National Planning Committee did not have any impact on educational planning on India. This was due to two things: one, the report of the Sub-Committee could not be finalized and two, the plan for Post-War Educational Development in India prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education was already published in 1944. "Its main significance is historical: it was the first organization to think of preparing a plan of educational development as a part of an over-all plan of socio-economic development."

This plan needs to be examined in some details.

Side by side with the National Planning Committee, an official agency, the Central Advisory Board of Education also took up the problem of educational reconstruction in India. Between 1938 and 1943, it appointed a number of committees to examine the different aspects of educational reconstruction, such as Basic education, adult education, welfare of school children, school buildings, recruitment, training and
conditions of service of teachers and technical education. Originally, there was no concept of evolving a comprehensive plan of educational development; but the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India directed in 1943 that a plan of post-war development should be prepared for all sectors, including education. So, a comprehensive plan of educational development in India was prepared and presented to the Central Advisory Board of Education in January 1944. The Board also approved it with slight modifications. This document, popularly known as the 'Sargent Plan', is the first comprehensive plan of educational development ever to be prepared in the country. The broad outline of this plan may be briefly indicated. It proposed the evolution of a national system of education in India which would be comparable with standards already attained in Great Britain and other Western countries before the War. This plan envisaged all aspects of education starting from pre-primary right up to the university stage and such other allied issues as technical and art education, adult education, training of teachers, school medical service, education of the handicapped, employment bureaux, school medical service, recreative and social activities, educational administration etc. etc. The unique feature of this Plan was to give details of cost likely to be incurred on the fulfilment of the recommendations. Thus, it was a pioneering step in the educational planning in India.

It visualises a vast network of educational institutions, which included the provision of schooling facilities for one
child in every 21 at the pre-primary stage for compulsory education on the lines of Basic lines for all children in the age group of 6-13, secondary education for selected and gifted children (for one child out of every five who complete the primary course), university education for one out of every fifteen students who complete the secondary school, a fair sized programme of technical education and the provision of other essential ancillary services. It was spread over a period of 40 years (1945-84) and was estimated to cost about Rs. 3,120 million a year which on the then estimated population of 290 million works out roughly at Rs. 11 per head of population at the 1939 prices. Admireable as the proposal was, it did not catch popular imagination for several reasons, most important being the failure to relate its programmes to national aspirations. It did not seek to identify national goals in social, cultural, political and economic development, mainly because it was essentially an effort of an alien Government, unsupported by national leaders, most of whom were in jail at the time it was being formulated. Table 6.8 on the next page will give some idea about the costs recommended by the Sargent Plan.

These estimates, as shown in Table 6.8, were based on the pre-school World War level of prices and will have to be adjusted for any subsequent rise in them.

Two other features of the Plan that have an important bearing on the fundamental issues in educational planning
Table 6.8: Details of Costs as recommended by the Sargent Plan on Various Aspects of Education (in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated gross annual expenditure (Rs.)</th>
<th>Estimated income from sources other than public funds (Rs.)</th>
<th>Estimated net expenditure to be met from public funds (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Basic (Primary and Middle) Education</td>
<td>20,00,000</td>
<td>20,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pre-Primary Education</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High School Education</td>
<td>7,90,000</td>
<td>5,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. University Education</td>
<td>96,000</td>
<td>67,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Technical, Commercial and Art Education</td>
<td>1,00,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Adult Education</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Training of Teachers</td>
<td>62,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. School Medical Service</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Education of the Handicapped</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Recreational and Social Activities</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Employment Bureau</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Administration</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31,26,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,70,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

have to be pointed out. The first is that it did not prepare a detailed programme for reaching the goals of educational development which it postulated. The second important feature is the inadequate attention given to the financial aspects of the Plan. One feels that this financial problem, which was so vital to the success of the whole scheme, should have received greater attention.

Though this plan was bold in its outlook and comprehensive character, the principal criticism was that it was spread over too large a period. On account of severe criticism, the Sargent Plan was never accepted as the basis of national educational development in India. Several factors were responsible for this result. The first was the natural prejudice as it was prepared by an alien Government which was not in sympathy with national needs and aspirations. The second was that the plan borrowed too heavily and too exclusively from the British system of education. The third and perhaps the most significant factor was that the recommendations and approaches of the Sargent Plan were so totally opposed to the public sentiments and aspirations.

An educational plan cannot be made in vacuum - it has to be integrally related to the social, economic, political and cultural background. This was totally absent in the Sargent Plan. Another thing which stands out is the inadequacy of data which the framers of the Sargent Plan
Planning in a vast country like India where the responsibility for education is divided at so many points is not a total plan in which all aspects of the problem could be fully controlled, but, at the best it was only a restricted exercise in the manipulation of a few key sectors. The authors of the Sargent Plan did not give due weight to this aspect and prepared 'total plan' which could hardly have been implemented.

The Sargent Plan also failed to realize another important fundamental issue of educational planning, viz., in certain situations, quality can be attended to only after a certain expansion is attained. While the Sargent Plan highlighted quality only and in fact this was the most distinctive feature of the Plan but in India the quality of the teachers has been very low.

While the recommendation of the Sargent Plan for universal basic education for all children in the age group of 6 - 13 was totally accepted, there was no popular sympathy and enthusiasm for its proposals of restricting schools admissions to secondary and colleges on a highly selective basis, nor for its tame and limited programmes for the development of technical education.

"The Sargent Plan thus stands out as the first comprehensive effort ever made in the educational history of this country to conceptualise a national system of education, but it is only of historical importance at present, because by and large it never found the basis of educational policies in the post-independence period."
From the above discussion it would be seen that even educational planning did not help in the expansion of education in India. The Sargent Plan failed miserably because it did not take into consideration the socio-economic and political determinants into consideration.

The various facets of the discussion presented in the present Chapter clearly establishes the close and integral relationship between economic growth and development of education, and both economy and education act and react on each other and influence the course of development in both the vital sectors of national reconstruction and development.

6.11. CONCLUSION

In the foregoing sections, it has been observed that there is a close relationship between the economic determinants and education. Each influences others. In fact, economic determinants are at the root of the development of education. The higher the standard of people, the more chances for the people to get education and better education. On account of economic importance, education is considered as an instrument of economic development. More and more emphasis is given to the economic aspect of education. It is because of economic considerations that Britishers in India introduced modern system of education in India.
From the discussion it appears that economic forces were at the heart of all history - educational, social and political. Even the anarchist movement of the period was attributed to the influence of economic discontent.

Education betters the economic lot of the people by increasing production efficiency. Richer the parents, more education their wards are likely to get. Besides, education also helps in raising the social status also. Thus, education and economic determinants are interdependent and inseparable. Like political and social determinants, economic determinants in themselves and also along with social and political determinants influence education.

The base of Indian economy, despite some distinct progress in the field of industry during the period 1921-47, remained predominantly agricultural. As said earlier, nine out of the ten bread earners in India were engaged in agriculture. The prevalent educational system did not pay any heed to the needs and requirements of the farmers and agricultural education was, in general, neglected. The school remained out of touch with village life and was purely an agency of producing literates. It never became a source of economic incentive to the people. As a natural outcome of this, the villagers could not take full advantage from education. Thus, no extra knowledge was gained for the improvement of agriculture. Consequently, there was no extra growth of production. As a result, there was no betterment of economic conditions of the cultivators. And in return, because of these poor conditions, there was no appreciable growth in
education. It has thus been seen that the lack of proper education was the cause of agricultural stagnation and the lack of agricultural growth was the cause of educational stagnation.

In the field of industrial development also education did not help very much. Some elements of technical and vocational education was provided in some Provinces. But this suffered from one great defect. There was no clear appreciation of the aim of this instruction and it never tended to give any industrial bias to education. Naturally, the students who had industrial aptitude could not get much benefit from the secondary school curriculum.

On the basis of the discussion, it can be stated that the growth of industry in India during the period had not any marked influence on the content or growth of general education. Another important outcome of this period was rise in the child proletariat and his education. Though not very significant, yet it can be attributed to the industrial development of India.

The economic conditions of the people influence the growth of education in general. The economic conditions of the people have been determined on the basis of per-capita-income, cost of living etc. Both per capita income as well as poor conditions of the majority of the people in India were responsible for the poor attendance of the children at schools. Thus, poverty was the sole factor which affected the education adversely. Owing to poverty parents had to
withdraw their wards from schools and thereby giving birth to educational wastage. This point is very well proved by the fact that "out of hundred students in Class I in 1922-23 only 19 reached Class IV in 1925-26.

In addition to poverty, other causes responsible for poor attendance included distance of the school from the place of residence, rains, diseases, and other geographical factors. But among these factors poverty alone was the most potent factor.

Low priority accorded to education shows that the British Government, motivated by imperialistic tendencies, spent large part of the revenue reserved for imperial needs like army, law and order. Thus, it seems obvious that the small grants allocated to education were not due mainly to the paucity of total government resources but were the direct and inevitable consequences of the imperialistic policies.

In addition to this, economic depression of the thirties, World War II, poor educational planning as evinced in the Sargent Report, lack of vocational and technical education, increase in population, poor financing of Indian education were other economic determinants responsible for the lop-sided development of education in India and this development was far from satisfactory. The percentage of literacy according to the census of 1941 was about 12 and in 1946-47 only one village out of three provided with some sort of school while the percentage of pupils enrolled to the total population was only 6.3. This also shows that along with
economic determinants, political and social determinants were also influencing development of education in India.

Thus, the present study largely bears out the assumptions that political, social and economic influences affect education vitally and determine both its quantity and quality. Indian education of the British period could not be understood without due understanding of its political, social and economic determinants. The present study has amply testified to this fact of history and education.
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51. Ibid., p.212.


59. See for details Reports for Progress of Education in India for the period under study.


61. Refer to section on International Events and Education in Chapter IV of this Thesis.


68. Ibid., pp.270-271.
(According to the usual convention, a rupee was taken an equivalent to 1s.6d.)
68. Ibid., p.271.
69. Loc Cit.
74. Ibid., p.61.
77. For details see Chapter III of this Thesis.
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(It may be true that out of the salaries received by the British Civil and Military personnel for the services rendered in India a sizable portion could have been spent in India itself, which undoubtedly would add to the Indian incomes. But it is obviously impossible) (For further details of economic exploitation see Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, London: Orient Longmen, 1972, Vol.II, p.252.)
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